HRATCH DASNABEDIAN



HISTORY OF THE ARMENIAN REVOLUTIONARY FEDERATION DASHNAKTSUTIUN

1890 / 1924

Collana / Collection / Reihe / Series

Muhrak

2

Hratch Dasnabedian

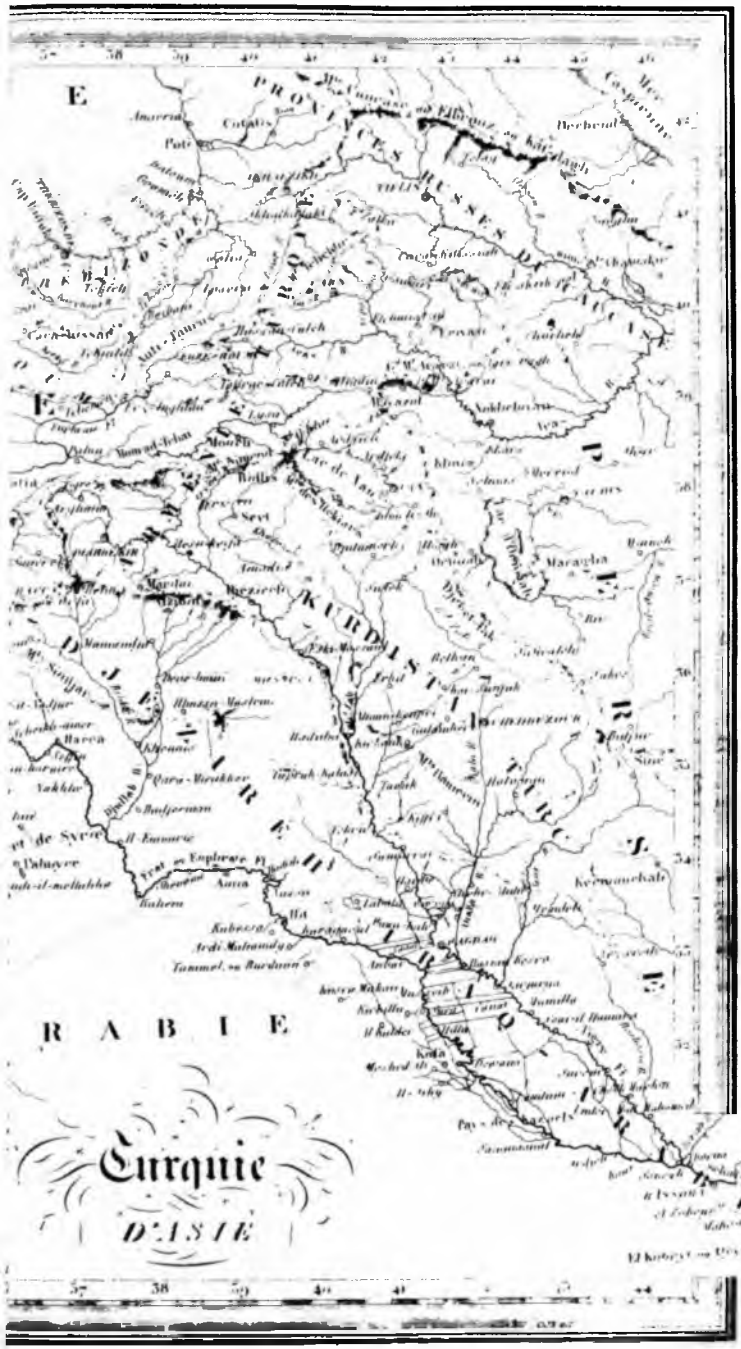
History of the
Armenian Revolutionary Federation
Dashnaktsutiun
1890/1924

La collection Muhrak (sceau)
se propose de présenter
un recueil de chronologies historiques,
d'études préliminaires
et d'essais concernant
les multiples aspects
de l'histoire religieuse,
culturelle
et socio-politique
des peuples et des réalités
des régions du Caucase,
de l'Anatolie
et du haut-plateau iranien,
du moyen âge
jusqu'au début de notre siècle.

Les textes sont écrits
dans les langues choisies
par les auteurs,
par cette collection
pluraliste quant aux contenus,
aux opinions
et à son aspect critique
reflète
du point de vue linguistique,
également, les aspects multiformes
des réalités des régions étudiées.

for Mardo, Sanan and Sarin


M E R N O I R
CONSTANTINOPLE
Canal de Constantinople
Mer de Marmara
Smyrne
Angora
Konieh
Karamanie
Cilicie
Caramanie
Scanderoon
Alexandrette
Tarsous
Adana
Tripoli
Beyrout
Damas
Saide
Acre
Jaffa
Jerusalem
Gaza
Rosette
Alexandrie
Damiette
Le Nil
Le Delta
Lac Menzaleh
Lac Maréotis
Lac d'Aboukir
Lac de Natron
Désert de Tyeh
Kerrek el Shobak
Scarpanto
I. de Candie
C. Carmanchi
C. Arnaut
Paphos
C. Gallo
ILE CHYPRE
C. Blanc
C. Cacamo
C. Carmel
Cesaree
Ladikie
Tortosa
Tripoli
Hems
Hamah
Alep
Bir
Orfah
Mer Méditerranée
Afrique



A map of Asia Minor
drawn by A.H. Dufour (ca. 1890).

A.H. Dufour.

HRATCH DASNABEDIAN

HISTORY OF THE ARMENIAN REVOLUTIONARY FEDERATION DASHNAKTSUTIUN

1890 / 1924

Zohrab, Krikor, 93, 110, 206, **213**
Zohrab Khan, 98
Zohrabian, Saghatel Khan, 51
Zoravar, Vartan, 135
Zorian, Arisdakes (Garo), 36, 49, 97, 155, 157, 186, 199, **214**
Zorian, H., 155, 157
Zorian, Partogh, 61
Zorian, Stepan (Rosdom), 32, 33, 35, 36, 38, 51, 54, 55, 58, 59, 60, 62, 63, 71, 72, 81, 83, 85, 86, 92, 93, 95, 100, 107, 108, 117, 136, 137, 139, 167-169, 172, 177, 181, 188, 189, 193, 199, 200, 206, 208, 209, 210, **214**
Zouloumat - see Basetsi Hovhannes



Table of Contents

9 Foreword

11 Introduction

29 **1 /** Formation, Purpose, Expansion, 1890-1895

37 **2 /** The Realm of Ideas and the Evolution of Programmatic Objectives

45 **3 /** The Activities of the ARF until the Second World Congress (1898)

57 **4 /** The Second World Congress of the ARF and the five-year period from 1898 to 1903

71 **5 /** 1904-1907 (until the Fourth World Congress)

85 **6 /** The Period of the Fourth and Fifth World Congresses, early 1907 to Mid-1911

99 **7 /** The Years 1911-1914 and the Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth World Congresses

109 **8 /** Genocide, Chaos, Resurrection

127 **9 /** The ARF and the Republic of Armenia, 1918-1921

149 **10 /** Activities Outside Armenia in the Years 1920-1921

165 Chronologies

185 Selected biographies of persons mentioned in this work

215 Index

Collana / Series / Collection / Reihe

Muhrak

2

Hratch Dasnabedian

The History
of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation Dashnaktsutiun (1890-1924)

Translation / Bryan Fleming and Vahe Habeshian
Editing / Antranig Kassarian / Leo Sarkisian / Vahakn Sevanian
Historical chronologies / Haroutiun Kurkdjian
Photos from the originals in the ARF Dashnaktsutiun
Historical Museum, Paris
Research for historical photos
Nazélie Fortune / Hovik Ovaness Moradesian
Photographed by Hertzel Nassiri

© 1989 OEMME Edizioni
Via P. Giovio, 6
20144 Milan / Italy

Printed in Italy by
Grafiche Editoriali Ambrosiane / Milan

First Edition / July 1990
ISBN 88-85822-11-8

First Edition in French / October 1988
ISBN 88-85822-12-6

Foreword

Originally, this work was to have provided a brief history of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Dashnaktsutiun), the leading party of the Armenian liberation movement, from its formation in 1890 to the establishment of the Armenian Republic in May, 1918. However, because certain components of the ARF's program and political strategy found their logical conclusion only in the early twenties, we deemed it fit to extend the period under discussion to the end of 1924, until the end of the Tenth World Congress of the ARF.

Clearly, then, in this work we are interested in the Armenian Republic only in so far as it directly relates to the activities of the Dashnaktsutiun. Similarly, the diasporan activities of the ARF, from the twenties until our time, are also beyond the scope of the present work.

The history of the first 30 or 35 years of the ARF, related here as concisely as possible, is dealt with in chronological order, following the development of events, ideas, trends and activities. The consecutive time frames examined in the work generally correspond to the years that fall between the World Congresses of the ARF, because these supreme assemblies determined — for all organizational Regions and executive bodies of the Party — the strategic objectives, new military and political initiatives, organizational rules and regulations, amendments or radical changes in the Program and sometimes tactical variations as well.

The only exception to this chronological approach is chapter two, which deals with the ARF's ideology; the entire development of the subject matter is related at once, from beginning to end.

First, however, we shall briefly describe the struggle for Armenian national liberation before the formation of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation.

Introduction

As a whole, the Armenian liberation movement in the 19th century fits into the general framework of the Eastern Question, and from the seventies onward, into the more particular framework of the Armenian Question. We consider the reader to be already familiar with these terms and their definitions so dear to historians, and we shall concentrate exclusively on the development of the objective and subjective conditions that affected the Armenians-their situation, attitudes, and efforts to achieve liberation.

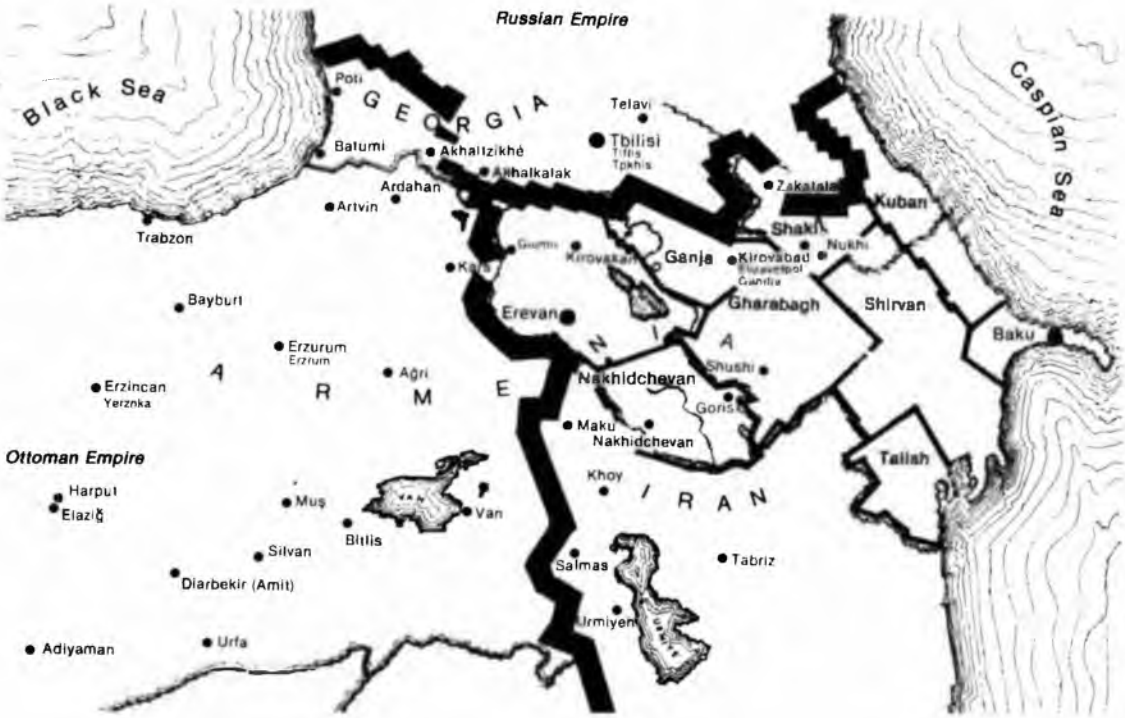
The Armenian liberation movement, after unfulfilled expressions in the 17th and 18th centuries, was revived in the 1840's and 1850's, when under the immediate influence of the literary-cultural renaissance of the times, the value system of the Armenians was radically transformed.

While the tyrannical regime of the Sultans, the corrupt administration of the Ottoman Empire and the outrages of Kurdish feudal lords continued to devastate the eastern provinces predominantly populated by Armenians, in the large towns, thanks to relatively more bearable conditions, Armenians gradually came into contact with the great currents of world thought and began to engage in the pursuit of their human rights.

The National Constitution of the Western Armenians, with its democratic concepts and the enthusiasm, as well as debate and struggles, it generated;

The Russian-Persian border and the Persian khanates - Yerevan (Erevan), Nakhidchevan, Gharabagh, Ganja, Shaki, Shirvan, Talish, Baku and Kuban - before the Goulistan treaty (1813).





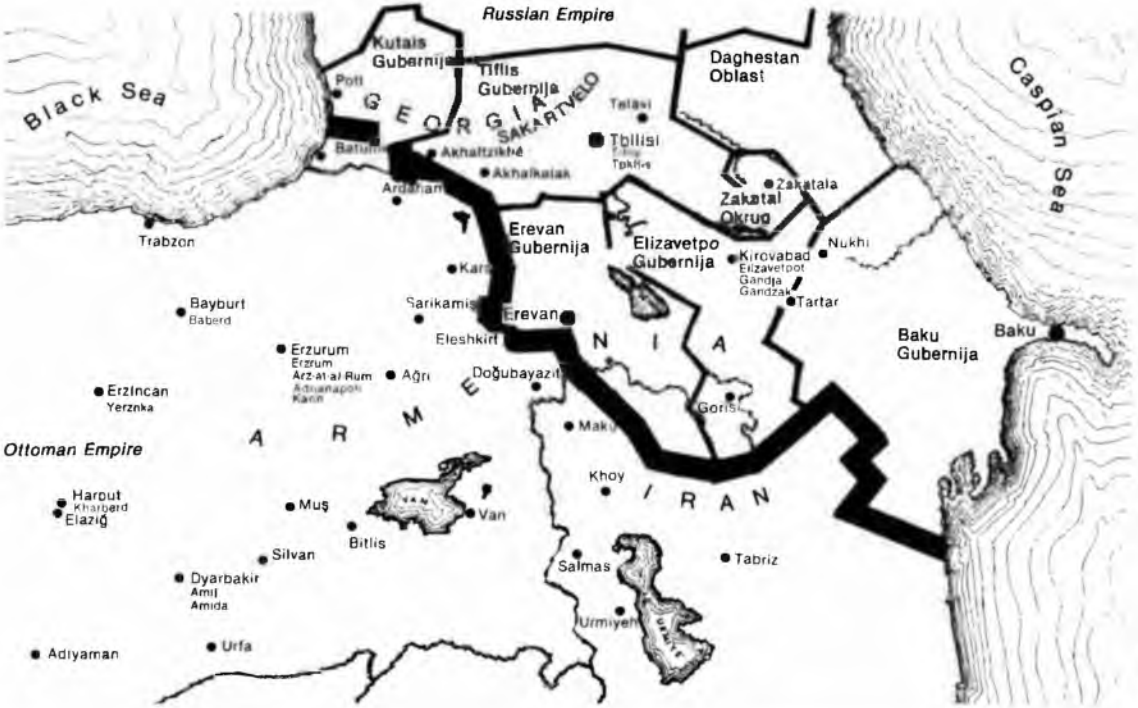
Notes on the geographical maps

First of all, the maps give the present-day names of towns followed by their historical names. Then comes the Armenian name (should it be different from the others); as a ruie, the Armenian name is a transcription based on the Eastern Armenian language. Below are the few names which have two versions in the transcription: respectively Eastern and Western Armenian. The text often uses transcriptions from the Western Armenian.

Baberd-Papert / Karin-Garin / Makou-Magou

The present borders, international and federal (with the USSR in the latter case) are shown on all maps with a fine dotted line. As for the present-day names of states and regions, unlike the names of towns and the delimitation of borders, the modern versions are used.

Territories under Russian rule after the Treaties of Turkmentchaï and Adrianople (with Persia and the Ottoman Empire respectively, in 1828 and 1829); the administrative divisions ("governments" and "districts") of the Tsarist Empire appear as well.



N.B. The titles of the works mentioned in these brief bibliographies are in the original languages, with the exception of Armenian ones, which have been translated into English and marked with an asterisk.

the intellectuals educated in Western Europe, with their progressive ideas expressed through the Armenian press of Constantinople and the forum of the National Assembly; The works of Khachadour Apovian, Mikayel Nalbandian, Hayrig (Mgrdich Khrimian), Ghevond Alishan, and later, Raffi (Hagop Mellk-Hagopian), with their widespread influence; the progress of the press and the school system; the reports by the Armenian Patriarchate's commissions of inquiry on the intolerable state of the provinces; the creation of a large number of associations and organizations; the activities of Khrimian in Vasbouragan (Van), Daron, and Constantinople — all of these fall within the context of the first four decades of the Armenian liberation movement, which in this period of initial and gradual expansion had the following characteristics:

1 / Anderson, M.S., "THE EASTERN QUESTION, 1774-1923", London, 1966.

2 / Mariott, J.A.R., "THE EASTERN QUESTION (A STUDY IN EUROPEAN DIPLOMACY)", Oxford, 1969.

3 / Sidari, Francesco, "LA QUESTIONE ARMENA NELLA POLITICA DELLE GRANDI POTENZE", Padua, 1962.

4 / Pastermadjian, Hrant, "HISTOIRE DE L'ARMENIE", Paris, 1964.

a / It was essentially a yearning for human rights and democratic freedoms, intending to restore human dignity to the Armenians, to recapture their most basic rights, to achieve equality before the law along with the Muslim subjects of the empire, and to at least gain the prospect of some internal autonomy in religious, scholastic, and cultural matters. There is no evidence of aspirations for national independence or demands for separation from the Ottoman Empire.

b / It was a reform movement, aiming at receiving, from the upper echelons of the Turkish state, human rights and liberties in peaceful conditions. The Zeytoun uprising of 1862, although considered the heroic prelude of the



Population movements due to the Russian occupation:
some Armenians moved from Turkey and Persia
to Eastern ("Russian") Armenia
to seek more bearable living conditions.





Armenian revolutionary movement, in fact remained an isolated event, with no contagious aftermath.

c / In scope it did not become a national movement that involved all the segments and strata of the Armenians; rather, in general it remained the product of an intellectual elite's efforts, inclinations and way of thought. One characteristic phenomenon at this initial stage, however, was the participation, or at least the positive disposition, of the bourgeoisie in the large towns; later, during the revolutionary phase of the movement, they would withdraw their support or actually adopt a negative posture.

d / Its development, advance or retreat, were to a lesser degree dependent on activities planned and organized internally (nationally) and were, to a greater degree, dependent on the course of outside factors (the often contradictory intervention of the Powers with the Sublime Porte, their fluctuating interest in the Armenians, the successes achieved by the liberation movement of the Balkan peoples, and so on).

e / Although during this initial stage of the liberation struggle there were Armenians writers, intellectuals, teachers and some enlightened national and church leaders (such as Khrimian Hayrig and Patriarch Nerses Varzhabedian), and the participants in the National Assembly, there was not, however, an organization that could rally the people around a collective goal, articulate ideas and attitudes, and effectively pursue the rights of Armenians. There was not a political party that would lead the struggle.

5 / Basmadjian, K, "MODERN HISTORY OF ARMENIA", Paris, 1922 (*).

6 / Nalbandian, Louise, "THE ARMENIAN REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT", Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1963.

7 / Alem, Jean-Pierre, "ARMENIA", P.U.F., Paris 1962.

8 / Varantian, Mikayel, "HISTORY OF THE ARF", I, Chapter 1 (*).

9 / Roupen (Der Minasian), "MEMOIRS OF AN ARMENIAN REVOLUTIONARY", I and II, Beirut, 1974 (*).

10 / Giuzalian, Karnig, "Before the Armenian Revolutionary Movement", in "CHRONICLES OF THE ARF DASHNAKTSUTIUN", Boston, 1950, pp. 16-60 (*).

11 / Vratsian, Simon, "The Founding and the Founders of the ARF", idem, especially pp. 61-89 (*)

12 / Hovhannesian, R.P., "THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS AMONG THE WESTERN ARMENIANS AND THE BASHDBAN HAYRENIATS ORGANIZATION OF GARIN", Yerevan, 1965 (*).

13 / Dasnabedian, Hratch, "Historical Necessity", in "A BALANCE-SHEET OF THE NINETY YEARS", Beirut, 1985, pp. 11-21 (*).

The Armenian movement's efforts at reform reached their peak at the end of the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78, when due to the efforts of Patriarch Nerses Varzhabedian, the victorious Russians included Article 16 in the armistice treaty of San Stefano, requiring reforms in favor of the Armenians.

Victims of fresh outrages during the war, but heartened by the occupation of most of historical Armenia by Russian troops under the command of generals of Armenian origin (Loris-Meiikov, Der Ghougasian, Lazarian), the Armenian people had placed much greater hopes on the Russian victory. Nevertheless, Article 16 of the Treaty of San Stefano was at least a promise to soon better the situation of Western Armenians.

But within a few months the ploys of British diplomacy were able to weaken the San Stefano provisions by the convening of the Congress of Berlin and the signing of a new Treaty. Article 61 of the Treaty of Berlin merely expressed a vague wish for the Sultan to implement reforms in the Armenian provinces. Although the Armenian Question received international recognition, it was weakened, and prospects ended for an immediate (though partial) solution.

Far from implementing reforms, Sultan Abdul-Hamid II unleashed ravages without precedent upon the Armenians. Taking advantage of antagonism among the Great Powers and especially the pro-Turkish position of Tsar Alexander III, he adopted a policy of systematic persecution and periodic massacre. To render meaningless any new intervention on behalf of the Armenians, he began to effect definitive changes in the ethnic-demographic character of the provinces of Bitlis, Van, and Garin (Erzurum), where his Armenian subjects had constituted an absolute majority until that time. He armed the Kurds and conscripted them into irregular bands, called *hamidiye*, which for long years spread terror and ruin throughout Western Armenia.

The arbitrary taxes and unpaid forced labor imposed on the Armenian peasants by Kurdish feudal lords exacerbated the already unbearable burden of government taxes. Ali teaching of Armenian history, even the mention of the word "Armenia" in books and in the press, was prohibited. Censorship dealt severely with the Armenian press and theater; many cultural and educational organizations and institutions were closed down; numerous teachers, public figures and church leaders were exiled. The situation of the Armenians throughout the Ottoman empire, and particularly on their own historical lands, soon became unbearable.

The Caucasian Armenians, in turn, experienced ill-treatment under the harsh rule of Alexander III, who carried out a policy of Russification against minorities. The national institutions of the Russian Armenians, as well as their cultural and political figures — the intelligentsia — were persecuted. The Armenian schools of the Caucasus were closed down in 1885. In the eyes of the Russian government, the Armenians were now undesirable elements.

This callous neglect of the reform issue and the unprecedented wave of persecution on both sides of the Russo-Turkish border were to give rise to profound feelings of not only disenchantment but also a new and more powerful arousal of consciousness. The deterioration of the Armenians' objective conditions further intensified national self-awareness. The Armenians, who had expected the solution of the Armenian problem through the intervention of the Great Powers and the goodwill of the Sultan, began to be convinced that only through their own armed struggle could they establish the foundation for their liberation. The diplomatic efforts of Patriarch Varzhabedian, the sermons of Khrimian Hayrig, and the patriotic-revolutionary

Six eastern vilayets (founded in Ottoman Armenia around 1866):
Sivas (Sepasdia), Harput (Kharpert/Mamuret-ul-Aziz),
Diarbekir, Bitlis (Paghesh), Van and Erzurum (Garin, Karin).



novels of Raffi helped not only to gradually popularize the Armenian movement but also to radicalize it. The character of the liberation struggle also evolved. Along with its humanist inspiration, a national ideology and objectives were formulated among the Armenians, who lived under two different tyrannies but under similar conditions; and the idea of national unity was fortified.

Thus the eighties of the 19th century formed the period of preparation for the phase of armed struggle in the Armenian liberation movement. On both sides of the border revolutionary ferment gained momentum, and underground cells and clandestine armed organizations were formed.



Even before 1878, in the regions of Daron-Sasoun and Vasbouragan there had been underground cells, secret groups, and bands of "brigands" who fought against government forces. During the eighties, Khrimian and Mgrdich Portugalian were active in Van, the former as father-superior of

the monastery of Varak and the latter as teacher at the town's school. Also in Van were the "Sev Khach" (Black Cross) secret organization and the "Zinagir" (Soldier) semi-scouting association. In Daron-Sasoun, where Khrimian's influence was also felt, the monasteries of Saint Garabed and Arakelots (The Apostles) were genuine hotbeds of revolutionary sentiment; from 1885 onward the brigand bands of Arapo, Derekvanktsi Mkho, and later, Markar Varzhabed, under the influence of the Armenian revolutionary movement, soon became partisan units that openly fought government forces and Kurdish feudal lords. Similar partisan bands operated in the regions of Alashgerd (Houno), Garin (Shamil), and later, Yerznga (Erzincan)-Dersim (Kalousd Arkhanian and Dersimi Keri), and elsewhere. From 1887 onward, an "Armenian Revolutionary Association", led by Haroutiun Chakurian of Zeytoun, was operating in the very capital of the Ottoman empire.

The honor of having formed the first large-scale clandestine organization belongs to the town of Garin. In the beginning of the 1880's, a group of young activists led by Khachadour Geregtsian and Garabed Neshikian founded "Bashdban Hayreniats" (Defender of the Homeland), also known as "The Secret Association of Upper Armenia". This organization worked with a decentralized structure of cells composed of ten individuals. Its main objective was the purchase of arms and military training. It appears to have had several hundred members. They had established contact with revolutionary groups in the Transcaucasus, especially Tiflis (Tbilisi), who assisted them financially. In August of 1882 the Turkish police, in possession of a seized document, began a series of mass arrests (more than 400). The two collective trials of "Bashdban Hayreniats", in January and June of 1883,

the first political trials in Ottoman Armenia, aroused unprecedented noise and excitement on both sides of the border.

During the same years cells and groups were being formed in the Transcaucasus as well; their primary objective was to assist, through ali possible means, the efforts at liberation of their compatriots on the other side of the border. Through their writings and distribution of revolutionary literature, their financial and logistical support, as well as their frequent visits and the sending of fieldworkers — propagandists and organizers — to the other side of the border, the Armenians of the Caucasus played a decisive role in the development of the Armenian revolutionary movement. In Yerevan, the "Azkaser" (Patriot) and "Ousoutsichner" (Teachers) groups; in Tiflis, the "Mshag" (Farm Laborer) movement, with its liberal and liberationist tendencies, led by Krikor Ardzrouni; in Baku, patriots under the leadership of Parsegh Melik-Krikorian (Ghara-Melik); in Karabagh, the "Ouzh" (Strength) secret organization — ali had an undeniable role in the process of revolutionizing the Armenian liberation movement.

In particular, the Armenian students of Moscow and St. Petersburg — the former, convinced socialists (many of them originally members of the Russian "Narodnaya Volya" organization), the latter, in general nationalists — played an important role. The few issues of Azadutian Avedaper (Messenger of Freedom), the roneotyped publication of the Moscow students between 1883-84, greatly assisted the Caucasian Armenians in the formulation of an ideology for national revolution with a socialist outlook. From 1888-89 onward, the same students, settled in Tiflis and Baku and led by Kristapor Mikayelian, Simon Zavarian, Martin Shatirian, Hovsep Ishkhan Arghoutian,

Territories under Russian
rule after the Treaty of San Stefano (1878).



and others, established an organization called "Yeridasart Hayastan" (Young Armenia). Its military cells, called "Droshak" (Flag), also spread beyond the borders of the Transcaucasus into certain regions of Iranian Azerbaijan (Armenian Adrbadagan) and Ottoman Armenia. These were all elements that naturally merged in the summer of 1890 to create the Federation of Armenian Revolutionaries.

Expelled from Van in 1885, Mgrdich Portugalian left the Ottoman Empire and settled in Marseilles, where he published the periodical Armenia. His students and friends in Van considered Armenia their voice, and in 1886 established the "Armenagan" Party, the purpose of which was to "secure the sovereignty of the Armenian people through revolution". The Armenagans, however, restricted to Vasbouragan and Adrbadagan, did not become a national organization. Their main activities were propaganda and military training, although they engaged in some armed action, which had its martyrs, such as Vartan Koloshian and Hovhannes Akribasian, who were killed by Turkish police in May 1889, during a clandestine arms shipment from Salmasd to Van.

But the most brilliant — and last — military action was their participation, alongside the Dashnak and Hnchak forces, as leaders in the battles of self-defense of Van in June of 1896. After 10 days of fighting, as a result of the intervention and deceitful guarantees of the British consul in Van the Armenian combatants left the city in groups, headed for Adrbadagan. But along the way they were surrounded by Turkish forces and armed Kurdish bands.



Fighting heroically, the Armenagan leader Avedisian (his real name, Mgrdich Terlemezian), the Dashnak representative Bedo, and the Hnchak leader Mar-

Territories under Russian
rule after the Treaty of Berlin (1878).

San Stefano treaty

Berlin treaty



dig, along with about one thousand fellow combatants, were killed, just when they were about to reach the Persian border. Subsequently, the Armenagans ceased to exist as an organized party.

Chronologically, the Hnchakian party was the first truly revolutionary organization of the Armenian liberation movement. It is impossible here to present all the activities of the Hnchak party, which was founded in the autumn of 1887 by a group of idealistic students in Geneva (Avedis Nazarbegian, Maro Markarian, Kapriel Gafian, Roupen Khanazad, Kevork Gharajian, and Kristapor Ohanian). They had assimilated Marxist ideology under the influence of Russian and German revolutionary thought, and at least in their initial program they proposed the creation, through revolution, of an integral Armenia by the unification of the Armenian territories of the Ottoman Empire, Russia, and Persia and the establishment of an independent republic endowed with all the democratic freedoms and a socialist regime. In Geneva they published Hnchak, a theoretical-ideological and political periodical, from which their party took its name.

From 1889-90 onward, the Hnchakian Party expanded fairly rapidly from Constantinople to Armenia Minor and Cilicia, also to Trebizond and Daron-Sasoun, but less so for other regions of Ottoman Armenia and Transcaucasia. The Hnchaks occasionally organized violent demonstrations in the capital of the Ottoman Empire (at Kum Kapu in 1890 and Babi Ali in 1895). They also mounted an anti-government armed movement in Cappadocia and Armenia Minor during which truly popular heroes were created: Shmavon (Kapriel Gafian), Zhirayr Boyajian, Levon (Parsegh Zakarian), Minas Oghlou (Hovhannes Minasian), Medz Chello (Toros Dzaroukian), Andon



Rshdouni and others. But the Hnchakians played an especially important role in the Sasoun rebellion of 1894 (Mourad, or Hampartsoum Boyajian) and the battles of Zeytoun in 1895-96 (Aghasi, Mleh, Hrachia Maral, others); these heroic battles of self- defense may rightly be considered the first insurrections of the Armenian revolutionary movement.

After the battles of Zeytoun, the Hnchakians splintered as a consequence of the disagreements between their field commanders, who were actually conducting battles inside the Ottoman Empire, and their Center in Europe, which had adopted an essentially centralized system of leadership. Underlying the disagreements, beyond the practical issues, was the existence of a conflict between socialist-internationalist ideology and nationalist mentality. For years the Hnchakians were to accuse and harass each other. Despite a certain reinvigoration during the days of the Ottoman Constitution, they were never able to reorganize as before or regain their revolutionary drive.

1 / Formation, Purpose, Expansion 1890-1895

1 / The Brief Interval of the "Federation of Armenian Revolutionaries"

Toward the close of the eighties, both Eastern and Western Armenians were caught up in the excitement of revolution. The Hnchakians had begun to expand throughout Constantinople, Asia Minor and Trebizond. In Vasbouragan the Armenagans were at work. In Tiflis the Yeridasart Hayastan organization had been established; its members periodically visited Ottoman Armenia to become more familiar with the situation and disposition of Armenians there; on both sides of the border they had established military cells, called the "Droshak" groups. In various regions of Western Armenia bands of "brigands" or groups of partisans were already operating or gradually being formed, independent of each other; these included the groups of Arapo and Mkho (Sasoun), and later, Markar Varzhabed (Daron), Shamil (Upper Armenia), Houno (Alashgerd), Chato and Shero (Shadakh, Vasbouragan), Kalousd Arkhanian (Yerznga), and Keri (Dersim). In Russia, the cities of Moscow, St. Petersburg, and Tiflis were centers of students moved by the spirit of revolution. In 1890, Sarkis Gougounian, a student in St. Petersburg, formed an armed group of 125 young patriots to cross from Kars into Turkish Armenia. Despite differences of opinion regarding tactics, Yeridasart Hayastan, and later, the newly-formed Federation of Armenian Revolutionaries provided him with assistance.



Կ. Ս. Գուգունյանը խումբ մարտիկների հետ

Twenty prisoners who were members of Gougounian's contingent (Gougounian is in the center, to the left). The page shown is taken from an article in *Droshak* (1910, no. 6), dedicated to the 20th anniversary of the expedition.

ԿՈՒԳՈՒՆՅԱՆԻ ԽՄԲԻ ՊԱՏԱՍԽԱՆԱՏԻՒԸ

Վէրոյիշեալը գտնուեալ Նուի 1890 թուականը. Շարժուձեւն արդարացած է «Յոյսը արդէն ընկերի եր կզգուսի լեռնաբնակն», կասարդ էր Իրկրտան մէջ ահագնակի և սրի. նա ցոյցը ապրելականան բռնակալութեան գեմ թոյլ, գիչերուս տարուչը աւելի էր իր գոյութեան առաջին ազդարարը և սրնչանից նոպիսով փոքրաթիւ էր հոյլեն. նոյն ծագանի մոգութիւնը, ազգասիրական կոմրմոմաս թուացիկներ, խմբակուն անդգալին պատրաստութիւնները և ամենագրեր նոյն պատմական ստրատուրը ֆոլը սպեկտ հայատատ՝ն.

Ու մինչ խմբապետ-քառապիկներն շրջանը ղ՝ուգունեան գեկավարում էին մեզ մղուում էր պատմական վիրայից գեկի վ ատարութեան սրամոգրու թիւնները շարեցու, խոպան Տղոը մշակելու և հասատնցնելու ազատագրական ֆունդերի համար — անգին բաներ մի այլ նատր, մի ամրողջ վաստ, պետերբուրգի արհեստատ գիտական գպրոցի ատանոց Ս ր գ ի ս կ ո կ ա ն ն ե ա ի ա ր-գիտութեամբ, պատում էր յոգնաճան թափորով Ւ.տրատատան գաշտի վրայից. Ընէբ-Նգր.պրի.

Գ.րսի և ամրողջ գեի Տղ ազգասիրութեան խանգամած ցաւերի մէջ. գեկի Քիւրդեան տհմատատ գաւ.թը, գեկի ոնտիկը՝. գնում էր պատմելու Տրգազատ ազգագրի սրհնարան ատանների, վքէմիկեցիր լինելու բոշիրազուկ ճամարտութիւնից ու բրգանան Տրատատնների և գիմելու անկատար ատատանգան գործատութիւններ...

Խոսքը, ինչպես յայտնի է, տահմանի մոտ գտնուեց տատանան ճոգևիներին, ձերբակալուեց և գատաստ նրանատ մի մտաք, իբրև «քոշոզանան յանցատորներ», ազատուեց Ութիրից, տատանագիրը չնատատագրի վարչութեան միջամտութեամբ և ազատ արձակուեց։ Ապա նա ստիպուած եղաւ Թիֆլիս գալ, որտեղ նրան ջերմորեն ընդունեցին ազգայինները։ Այնուհետ էլ մնաց Թիֆլիսում։

1 / The expedition undertaken by Sarkis Gougounian is typical of the somewhat romantic nature of the early days of the Armenian Revolutionary Movement. The Kentron of the ARF tried to convince Gougounian to move his forces over to Turkish Armenia gradually, in small groups, with the aim of meeting there in spring 1891 to set off the insurrectional movement. Enjoying the protection and material aid of certain rich Armenians in Tbilisi and Baku, Gougounian refused to comply. Having crossed the border, he had to retreat

after a skirmish, and the Cossack border guards in turn rushed after him. Fifty combatants, including Gougounian, were arrested and, on the basis of blatantly fictitious accusations, the Yerevan regional court gave them heavy sentences, involving exile to Siberia. The Armenians in the Caucasus were staggered by this first manifestation of the malevolence and Armenophobia of the Czarist authorities. See "The Expedition of S. Gougounian", (with a transcription of the indictment), in "ARCHIVES OF THE ARF", I, Boston, 1934, pp. 10-86 (*); "The Expedition of S. Gougounian", in "CHRONICLES OF THE ARF DASHNAKTSUTIUN", Boston, 1950, pp. 272-279 (*); Nalbandian, Louise, "THE ARMENIAN REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT", Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1963, pp. 156-160.

2 / On the Garin demonstration and massacre in 1890, see Ghazarian, Sheram, "The First Incident at Garin" in "ARCHIVES OF THE ARF", I, Boston, 1934, pp. 4-10 (*).

3 / On the Kum-Kapu demonstration organized by the Hnchaks, see Nalbandian, Louise, op. cit., pp. 118-9.

4 / Records of the proceedings of the Founding Congress and of the First World Congress (1892) have not survived, nor have any documents that may have emanated from them, with the sole exception of the text of the first Program (see note 6 below). On this point, see Mikayelian, Kristapor, "Scraps of Memories", in "THE SIXTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ARF", Boston, 1950, pp. 24-37 (*); Hankoults, N., "Memoirs of Martin Shatirlan", in "HAIRENIK" (monthly), 1st Year, nos. 5 and 6 (*); Khanazad, Roupen, "Memoirs of an Armenian Revolutionary", in "HAIRENIK", 6th Year, from no. 2 on (*); Varantian, Mikayel, "HISTORY OF THE ARF DASHNAKTSUTIUN", I, pp. 52-106 (*); Ghazarian, K., "How the ARF was created", in "HAIRENIK", 4th Year, no. 1 (*); Sevlan, R., "When was the ARF founded?", in "HAIRENIK", 15th Year, no. 2 (*); Vratsian, S., "The Founding and the Founders of the ARF", in "CHRONICLES OF THE ARF DASHNAKTSUTIUN", Boston, 1950, pp. 61-140 (*); "ARCHIVES OF THE ARF", I, Boston, 1934, pp. 86-95 (*); Nalbandian, Louise, op. cit., pp. 150-178; Der Minassian, Anahide, "Naissance de la F.R.A.", in "LA QUESTION ARMENIENNE", Paris, 1983, pp. 59-71.

Although Gougounian's expedition, at the end of September 1890, ended in failure — as might have been expected — it had a significant impact on the revolutionization of the Armenians of the Caucasus. (1) in June of the same year the Turkish government had stifled in blood a protest demonstration by the Armenians of Garin against the searches carried out in the Armenian church and archbishopric. (2) In July the demonstration of Kum Kapu had taken place. (3) The conditions were ripe, and the environment was galvanized. Ali that was lacking was the organization that would coordinate the efforts of ali and lead the Armenian liberation struggle under one banner.

It was this historical vision that motivated a group of young Armenian intellectuals gathered in Tiflis, led by Kristapor Mikayelian and Simon Zavarian. Both had been brought up in the socialist and revolutionary ideas of the Russian Narodnaya Volya, but they proposed to rally all Armenians around the armed struggle for liberation, including ali the groups and organizations already fighting or willing to fight. The members of Yeridasart Hayastan and their socialist sympathizers met in a hostel called Yuzhniye Nomera (South Chambers); they included Simon Zavarian, Apraham Tasdagian, Dikran Stepanian, Ishkhan Hovsep Arghoutian, Martin Shatirian, Nigol Madinlan, and others. In opposition, a group of former students from St. Petersburg used the Severniye Nomera (North Chambers) as their gathering place; under the ideological influence of Gonsdantin Khadisian, they were exclusively nationalist in outlook. Ali shades of political points of view could be found between these two extreme wings. The representatives of the Tiflis groups were Hovhannes Yousoufian, Arshag Tadeosian, Hagop Kocharian and Martin Shatirian, in general proponents of a national revolution, with socialist leanings. There were also representatives of the Tiflis bourgeoisie, such as Dr. Hovhannes Loris-Melikian, Kapo Mirzaian, and Levon Sarksian; liberal followers of Mshag, such as Khachadour Maloumian (later known as E. Agnouni); Marxist Hnchaks, such as Roupen Khanazad and Hagop Meghavorian; teachers such as Aleksandr Melik-Allahverdian; and many others. These young intellectuals and activists, so different in social extraction and tendencies, nevertheless shared the same overriding idea: The liberation of the Turkish Armenians, by means of revolutionary struggle. Kristapor Mikayelian, thanks to his powerful personality and with the immediate cooperation of Simon Zavarian, succeeded in keeping ali of them united around this common denominator, and in July-August 1890 the Federation of Armenian Revolutionaries was formed.(4)

The newly-formed party issued a Manifesto of the liberation struggle, calling upon ali Armenians, without distinction, to undertake the struggle for the political and economic liberation of the Turkish Armenians. In Tiflis it established a central body, the "Kentron" (Center), composed of Kristapor Mikayelian, Simon Zavarian, Apraham Tasdagian, Dr. Hovhannes Loris-Melikian, and Levon Sarksian. Its task was to conduct, in a centralized manner, the entire revolutionary movement, both inside and outside of the Ottoman Empire. It was agreed that the Hnchak in Geneva would become its theoretical organ, and that an organ of the revolutionary struggle, Droshak,



A postcard showing the three principal founders of the ARF. From left to right: Stepan Zorian (Rosdom) (1867-1919), Kristapor Mikayelian (1859-1905) and Simon Zavarian (1866-1913).

would be published in Tiflis. The Kentron immediately sent fieldworkers — propagandists and organizers — to Western Armenia, Trebizond, Constantinople, the Northern Caucasus, Baku, Adrbadagan (Persian Armenia), and elsewhere.

However, by the spring of 1891 the Kentron had lost its efficacy due to the arrest and exile to Bessarabia of Zavarian in Trebizond and Mikayelian in Tiflis; the three other members of the Kentron did not manifest revolutionary abilities. Others, such as Martin Shatirian, Arshag Tadeosian, and Kapo Mirzaian intermittently carried out the work of the Kentron; specifically, Rosdom (Stepan Zorian), who had returned from exile in early 1891, took on the burden of all practical tasks (the formation of cells and groups, military training, propaganda, the preparation of tracts, and other activities). Above all, the centralized system of organization did not work well. Distances were too great, and contact too difficult, between the various units working within the borders of three autocratic regimes. Moreover, the worldviews and stand-

5 / Later, around 1897-98, at the behest of Kristapor Mikayelian, Khachadour Maloumian was to return to the ranks of the ARF and very soon became one of its best-known journalists and political commentators under the pseudonym of E. Agnouni.

6 / The only surviving document from the 1892 World Congress is the "Program and Bylaws", published in Droshak in 1894 and later as a separate brochure. M. Varantian says: The sessions were held in a tense atmosphere, under the very nose of the watchful police. The delegates moved incessantly from one district to another, from one hideout to another. For the First Congress, see also Rosdom (Stepan

points of the various groups and individual fieldworkers were often very different from each other. In May 1891, with an official declaration, the Hnchakians withdrew from the Federation of Armenian Revolutionaries. Also, imbued with ultra-nationalist inclinations, Gonsdantin Khadisian and his group, called "Fraktsya", avoided all active participation and eventually withdrew, as did the representative of Mshag Khachadour Maloumian [5] and others of the bourgeoisie. In the spring of 1892, there was again a mood of uncertainty. Therefore, when several groups presented a demand to hold a Congress to clarify the objectives of the Party, to revise its structure and method of operation, and to develop a comprehensive strategy for the revolutionary struggle, the others agreed.

2 / The First General (World) Congress, Clarification of Objectives, Expansion of the Organization

The Congress met in Tiflis in the autumn of 1892. It was, in effect, the founding congress of a new, unified, consolidated party, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (though stili, in the next few years, one stili sometimes meets the term Federation of Armenian Revolutionaries). The Congress [6] gave the party a "Program and Rules", which was published in 1894 in the 10th and 11th issues of Droshak, with the addition of a preface written by Rosdom (with the collaboration of Kristapor and Zavarian). The actual Program-Rules consisted of three parts:

a / Objectives: "The aim of the ARF Dashnaktsutiun is to achieve political and economic liberty in Turkish Armenia by means of insurrection". This section formulated the party's political, social, and economic demands — (in order) a democratic regime, democratic freedoms, equality before the law, etc.; security of life and labor, the elimination of forced and unpaid labor, compulsory education; an equitable division of land, reorganization of the tax system (progressive tax), etc.

b / Means: Propaganda, revolutionary education of the people, the organization and arming of the people for self-defense, sabotage, the execution of corrupt government officials and all exploiters as well as Armenian informers and traitors, and other means. [7]

c / Organization: In this sphere, the fundamental turning point achieved by the first Congress was the adoption of the principle of decentralization (which Simon Zavarian and Hovnan Tavtian had ceaselessly advocated from the very beginning). Indeed, this was a healthy system much better suited to the wide area of operations undertaken; it created a dynamic network of organizational bodies that freely conducted organizational and revolutionary work based on the conditions and dictates of each region, while at the same time guided by the same objectives, laid down in the Program, and motivated by the same ideological inspiration. In an ennobling at-

Zorian), "The First Steps". In "ARCHIVES OF THE ARF", I, Boston, 1934, pp. 89-91 (*).

7 / For the integral text of the Program and Bylaws of the ARF, see "DROSHAK", 1894, nos. 10 and 11; or "DOCUMENTS FOR THE HISTORY OF THE ARF", II, 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1985, pp. 11-16 (*); see also Sevian, A., "The Initial Program and Bylaws of the ARF" and "The Authors of the First Program of the ARF" in "HAIRENIK", 15th Year, nos. 3 and 4 (*); Vratsian, Simon, "The Principles and Organizational Method of the ARF", in "CHRONICLES OF THE ARF", Boston, 1950, pp. 141-166 (*); Nalbandian, Louise, op. cit., pp. 166-173.



A montage: the cover of *Droshak* with a photograph of Kristapor Mikayelian. Cards and posters were a popular vehicle for revolutionary propaganda.

8 / Until 1924, and with the exception of the Founding Congress, the ARF held 10 World Congresses: in 1892, 1898, 1904, 1907, 1909, 1911, 1913, 1914, 1919 (the only one held in the capital of independent Armenia, Yerevan) and 1924. The World Congresses of the ARF are its most important assemblies, for they modify the Party's Program, work out bylaws, define the political lines and strategy for the immediate future, and elect the Bureau and other responsible bodies. All subordinate meetings and bodies are bound to observe the principles laid down by the World Congresses and to execute their decisions.

"Rayonagan" Congresses also played an important role, for they involved representatives of several regions from the same geographical area: Transcaucasia and Russia or the whole of Turkish Armenia, or regions abroad. Very often, these "Rayonagan" Congresses took tactical or even strategic decisions in the period between one World Congress and the other, on behalf of their respective geographical area. One example of such strategic decision making was the Caucasian "Rayonagan" Congresses of 1895 and 1896-97. Regional Conventions (Congresses) are the most important assemblies for a region corresponding to a Central Committee.

9 / Until 1895, the leading organizational body of Adrbadagan was also called a Bureau. It was by a decision of the Second World Congress (1898) that the editorial office of Droshak in Geneva became the Western Bureau, and the Tbilisi Bureau, still in its management role of revolutionary operations, became the Eastern Bureau. For the part played by the Bureaus in the organizational structure of the ARF, see Dasnabedian, Hratch, "THE EVOLUTION OF THE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE ARF", 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1985, pp. 15-24.

mosphere of unconditional devotion to the cause of Armenian liberation, decentralization guaranteed the unprecedented vitality and unrestrained expansion of the ARF.

The years from 1892 to 1895 formed a period of maturation, organization, expansion, and consolidation for the ARF. Many fieldworkers were sent to the various regions of Ottoman Armenia to establish contact and cooperation with the local revolutionary propagandists and military leaders, such as Arapo, Markar Varzhabed, Avedisian, Hrayr, Dersimi Keri, Houno, and others. New revolutionary cells were organized, as well as local and regional organizational bodies (Committees and Central Committees), and the transfer of weapons and ammunition to Western Armenia was stepped up. Moreover, to secure the penetration routes of the groups that transported these arms, special emphasis was placed on organization along those routes, resulting in a heavy concentration of manpower and materiel in regions around Persian Adrbadagan, Yerevan-Surmalu, and Alexandropol-Kars. An armory was established in Tabriz.

Outside the Armenian provinces of Turkey, Dashnaktsakan groups and committees multiplied and were consolidated in Constantinople, Trebizond, Batum, Nor Nakhichevan (in the Ukraine), Tiflis, Baku, Kantsag, Karabagh and abroad as well, in areas populated by Armenians (the Balkan countries, Egypt, Cyprus, Geneva, Paris, Marseilles, and from 1896 onward, the United States, and elsewhere). Based on the principle of decentralization, the executive body of each organizational Region freely conducted organizational-revolutionary work, always remaining in strict compliance with the objectives of the Program and the decisions of the World Congress, "Rayonagan" Meetings, and Regional Conventions. [8] And to the extent possible, they also communicated with the Tiflis ARF Bureau and the editorial office of *Droshak* in Geneva (which was to be called the Western Bureau from 1898 on). The Bureau was the coordinating and information processing body for revolutionary activities, the liaison center between the Regional units, and the depository and distributor of the Party's assets (money, weapons, fieldworkers). The *Droshak* editorial office conducted the external propaganda for the Armenian liberation struggle and was responsible for political relations. [9]

The pioneers in the formation, expansion, and consolidation of the organization in this first period of activity and up to the Second World Congress in 1898, through the example of the complete dedication of their lives, created for generations to come an entire tradition. A few of the more important figures were Kristapor Mikayelian, in Tiflis and Baku after having returned from exile; Simon Zavarian, mainly in Tiflis, where he spent a good ten years managing the relations of the Bureau with the organizational bodies; Rosdom (Stepan Zorian), mainly in Geneva as editor-in-chief and sometimes... typesetter and printer of Droshak, but also at times in Garin, the Caucasus, and Adrbadagan; Hovhannes Yousoufian, in Constantinople and then the United States; Hovnan Tavtian, in Adrbadagan and Geneva;

Ishkhan Hovsep Arghoutian, Vartan, Nigol-Douman, Arisdakes Zorian, and Kalousd Aloyan in Adrbadagan; Bedo and Vazken in Vasbouragan; Bedros Seremjian in Vasbouragan and the Balkans; Kourken and Aghpiur-Serop in Akhlat and Sasoun; Ghara-Melik, Tatoul (Aram Aramian), and Dikran Okonian in Garin and Pasen; Hrayr in Pasen and Daron; Apro in Sasoun; Roupen Shishmanian (Keri, in Dersim); Karekin Khazhag in the Balkans and Smyrna; Armen Garo and Mar in Egypt and Constantinople; Hrach in Constantinople, Egypt, and Smyrna; Arshag Vramian (Vahab) in Constantinople and the United States; Vartkes Serengiulian in Constantinople and Van; Yekibdatsi, Papken Siuni, and Khachig Knouni in Constantinople; Arshag Tadeosian and Levon Tadeosian in Tiflis and Kantsag; Hayr Apraham (Avedik Sahakian) in Tiflis; Haroutiun Shahrigian in Trebizond, then Baku; Martin Shatirian, Mardiros Markarian (Safo), and Hamazasb Norhadian in Batum and Kars. Few of these survived long. Most were martyred while carrying out their revolutionary activities; many others became living martyrs, spending their young lives in dungeons and prisons. (10)

Droshak became the official publication and main voice of the Dashnaktsutiun. The first two issues of Droshak were published in Tiflis, May and September of 1891; the third was published in February 1892 in Galats, where Kristapor Mikayelian and Simon Zavarian were in exile. From the fourth issue onward (March 1893), Droshak was published in Geneva, edited by Rosdom (1893-95 and 1896-98), and in his absence, by Hovnan Tavtian (1895-96). Later (1898-1903), Kristapor became the editor-in-chief, with Mikayel Varantian, E. Agnouni, Sarkis Minasian, and others as his assistants, who in turn became editors when Kristapor left. The publication of the *Droshak* was suspended from 1915-1924; it was then restarted and continued until 1933, under the direction of Simon Vratsian and Arshag Jamalian.

10 / Kristapor Mikayelian, Simon Zavarian and Rosdom (Stepan Zorian) are considered the "Founding Trio" of the ARF. For information on them and their collaborators in the initial period, see Vratsian, Simon, "CHRONICLES OF THE ARF", Boston, 1950, pp. 61-140 (*).

2 / The Realm of Ideas and the Evolution of Programmatic Objectives

1 / Ideological Factors in the Armenian Liberation Movement

Two currents of world thought had a marked influence on Armenian avant-garde circles in the pre-revolutionary and revolutionary periods.

The first, brought home from Western Europe by intellectuals who studied there, was democratic-liberal ideology, the concept of the rights of man, a legacy of the French Revolution of 1789. It was prevalent especially among the Armenians of Constantinople and the intellectuals in the provinces. A result of the mentality created by it was the National Constitution of the Western Armenians, with its democratic structure.

The second, again imported from Europe but essentially filtered through Russian revolutionary thought, was socialist ideology, specifically its Marxist variant. Of course the theories of historical materialism and class struggle did not directly apply to the realities of Western Armenia, given the nature of Turkish persecution, driven by religious and racial hatred. But under the influence of the social-democrats and Narodnaya Volya (the progenitors of the social-revolutionaries), socialism was adopted by an important segment of the Caucasian-Armenian intelligentsia as its ideology.

Furthermore, always present, and heightened as a reaction to the growing persecution under Turkish and Russian despotism, was re-awakened awareness and pride, in general the concept of nationality and national consciousness. As we have already seen, a growing national self-awareness

and nationalistic tendencies eventually gave the Armenian liberation movement the aspect of national-liberation, in addition to its initial character as a movement essentially for human liberation.

Any approach that would place the Armenian revolutionary movement solely in one or another of the above ideological currents would be flawed. All those tendencies, attitudes and feelings were present in varying proportions among Armenians of the last quarter of the 19th century, on both sides of the Russo-Turkish border. [1] The Programs of the two main Armenian revolutionary parties, the Hnchak Party and the Dashnaktsutiun, demonstrated this thesis well. All differences were simply a matter of dosage, timing, and evolution.

The official Hnchak ideology was in essence Marxist. According to the "Long-term Objective" of their program, they aspired to establish a socialist order. But where? (and here is another extreme expression of the initial Romanticism of the revolutionary period) — in an independent and free Armenian republic, to be created by the unification of the historically Armenian lands of Ottoman Armenia, the Transcaucasus, and Persian Adrbadagan. [2] This proposition, in and of itself ideal yet quite unfeasible in the actual conditions of the times, combined with the understandable contradictions between Marxism and nationalism, created polarizations inside the Hnchak Party and hastened its initial splintering (1896).

The principal founders of the ARF were also socialists, and Marxist elements are clearly present in the introductory section of the Party's first Program written by Rosdom and entitled "General Theory". [3] Yet the aspiration for national independence is also common to all of them, whether as a result of patriotic feelings or well-grounded ideology. [4] Moreover, the formulated objectives and corresponding claims are much more modest and realistic, objectively based on the actual needs and the potential of Western Armenians. The first Program of the ARF did not include ambitions of building a socialist order or creating an independent Armenian state detached from the Ottoman Empire. [5] The ARF was to formulate such Programmatic propositions in the course of time, coordinating its claims with the consecutive evolutionary stages of the Armenian Question, which its activities transformed into a National Cause. [6]

2 / The Ideological Evolution of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation

In the introductory paragraph of the "General Theory" of the Program published in 1894, the Dashnaktsutiun expressed its confidence in the final victory of the socialist order, without actually using the word "socialism". Subsequently, through a brief historical-sociological retrospective, it concludes with the following thesis: "No model of social organization, however

1 / On this subject, see Der Minassian, Anahide, "Nationalisme et socialisme dans le Mouvement Révolutionnaire Arménien", in "LA QUESTION ARMENIENNE", Paris, 1983, pp. 73-111.

2 / On the programs of the Armenian revolutionary parties, see Nalbandian, Louise, "THE ARMENIAN REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT", Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1963, page 169 especially.

3 / See "DOCUMENTS FOR THE HISTORY OF THE ARF", II, 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1985, pp. 11-14 (*). Anahide Der Minassian gives a partial translation of the "General Theory" in French in her op. cit., pp. 69-70.

4 / See Darakir (Shatirian, Martin), "The Idea of Independence in the founders of the ARF", in "HAIRENIK", 10th Year, no. 11 (*).

5 / In his article entitled "The Principles and Organizational Method of the ARF", in "CHRONICLES OF THE ARF DASHNAKTSUTIUN", Boston, 1950, (*) Simon Vratsian discusses at length the leading articles of the first issues of Droshak and the series of articles entitled "Aypupen" (Alphabet) styled by the pens of the three founders of Dashnaktsutiun (in nos. 5, 6, 7 and 8, 1893-94), with the principal aim of detecting differences between Dashnaktsakan and Hnchak thinking. He concludes: "It's quite obvious that Droshak stood resolutely on the soil of Armenian reality, while Hnchak was lost in the orbits of abstraction".

6 / See Dasnabedian, Hratch, "The ideological creed" and "The evolution of objectives" in "A BALANCE-SHEET OF THE NINETY YEARS", Beirut, 1985, pp. 73-103 (*).

7 / See "DOCUMENTS FOR THE HISTORY OF THE ARF", II, 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1985, p. 11 (*).

8 / Ibid. The allusion is ostensibly to the Hnchaks.

9 / Ibid., pp. 14-16. See also Chapter 1.

10 / By a decision of the Third World Congress, the "Body Representing the Will of the Dashnaktsutiun" was replaced by the "ARF Council". It was composed of the representatives of the Eastern and Western Bureaus and the Responsible Bodies. It was endowed with far-reaching powers of decision in lieu of the World Congress. For its 1905 sessions and the "Plan of Action for the Transcaucasus", see ibid., pp. 226-236.

ideal it may be, can be realized at once", and "the only way to achieve this ideal society is through the transformation of existing conditions". [7]

The "General Theory" continues in the same realistic spirit: "We do not enter the arena as the followers of one or another utopian "dogma" with it attendant "doctrines"... [8] Our aspiration is for our program to be viable; our attention, on the whole, is concentrated on the present situation of our country". An analysis follows, on the main features of the tyrannical Ottoman regime and the unbearable conditions of life for the Armenians, and stresses the necessity, through revolution, of "shaking off that infamous yoke; destroying the despotic, tyrannical regime; achieving a fraternity of nations, the right to work, and freedom of conscience, speech, and belief", and also, "struggling against the class of economic exploiters". Then, the objective of the Dashnaktsutiun is formulated: "To attain political and economic freedom in Turkish Armenia by means of insurrection", after which follow the practical demands and the sections on "Means" and "Organization". [9]

The first Program of the ARF, then, endowed the Party with an essentially democratic worldview enriched by a socialist perspective. Realistically based on the objective conditions of Western Armenians, the Program stressed the historical necessity of changing those conditions through armed struggle. Without using the terms "Independence", "Democracy", and "Socialism", the Program expresses the entire, multifaceted make-up of the Armenian revolutionary movement, including its national-liberation, political, and social-economic aspects.

Despite subsequent partial modifications, clarifications, and amendments, the above-mentioned principles and tendencies, in their fundamental outlines, continued to characterize the ideological world of the Dashnaktsutiun. Its realistic approach toward issues also remained unchanged. Never did the ARF fail prey to rigid, infallible dogma; nor did it adopt the phraseology of propaganda dear to the social-democrats and communists. Perhaps it concerned itself little with theoretical matters, yet it transformed the consciousness of the Armenian people and led the national-liberation struggle. And it remained, always, a party of action.

Its internal harmony was shaken for a time between 1904 and 1907, especially after Council of the Dashnaktsutiun[10] in 1905 published its "Action Plan for the Caucasus". As a result of the growing severity of Tsarist oppression, the ARF, and especially its Caucasian Regions, deemed it necessary to take part in the expanding revolutionary movement in Russia. Convinced that the cause of Western Armenians was being abandoned or becoming secondary, some fieldworkers and members of the armed forces and Western Armenian intelligentsia for an instant rebelled. Both sides displayed extremist tendencies and intolerance. But in 1907 the Fourth World Congress reconciled the opposing viewpoints and established internal unity. It affirmed the willingness of the ARF to collectively wage a liberation struggle for ali Armenians — the Western and Eastern segments — equally; and this time

Fédération Révolutionnaire Arménienne

(Daschnakzoutioun).

PROGRAMME MINIMUM

(Extrait du Programme du Parti)

Հ. Յ. ԴԱՇՆԱԿՑՈՒԹԻՒՆ

ՆԻՄԱՍՏԱՅՒՆ ՊԱՀԱՆՋՆԵՐ

(ՔԱՂԻԱԱՑ ԾՐԱԳՐԻՒԶ)

GENÈVE 1907

PROGRAMME MINIMUM

(Extrait du Programme du parti.)

Revendications politiques

La Fédération Révolutionnaire Arménienne, comme parti révolutionnaire et socialiste, tend à protéger les intérêts, soit économiques, soit politiques et nationaux des masses travailleuses du peuple arménien, en se proposant de rendre le peuple maître du gouvernement, de substituer l'ordre monarchique par une large démocratie et de remplacer le capitalisme par la socialisation des moyens de production.

Guidé par les principes socialistes et tenant compte des besoins réels des pays habités par les Arméniens, le Parti pose les revendications minimum suivantes :

En Arménie turque.

1. — Liberté politique et économique basée sur l'autonomie locale et les liens fédératifs, tout en faisant partie de l'Empire Ottoman.

2. — Le gouvernement central Ottoman, organisé sur des bases constitutionnelles et démocratiques, dirige les affaires de l'Etat : politique extérieure, armées, finances, douanes, postes et télégraphes, chemins de fer, en laissant les autres fonctions de l'Etat aux arrondissements locaux autonomes.

3. — L'Arménie turque, comme partie intégrante de l'Empire Ottoman, jouit de la liberté d'action dans ses affaires intérieures. Tous ses arrondissements ainsi que les communes jouissent également, dans leurs affaires intérieures, de l'autonomie locale.

4. — Tous les corps législatifs et administratifs centraux et cantonaux doivent être élus sur la base du suffrage universel, égal, direct, secret et proportionnel, sans distinction de race, de religion et de sexe.

Transcaucasie.

5. — La Transcaucasie, république démocratique, fait partie intégrante de la Russie — Fédération républicaine. Elle est liée à cette dernière par la communauté de la défense de l'Etat, par le système monétaire, par les douanes et la politique extérieure.

6. — La République Transcaucasienne est indépendante dans ses affaires intérieures ; elle possède son Parlement central élu au système du suffrage universel, égal, direct, secret et proportionnel. Tout citoyen, âgé de plus de 20 ans, sans distinction de sexe, a le droit d'élection.

7. — La Transcaucasie délègue au Parlement de toute la Russie ses représentants, élus par le même système du suffrage universel.

8. — La République Transcaucasienne est divisée en cantons, jouissant d'une autonomie locale des plus larges. Les communes jouissent également de l'autonomie dans les questions communales.

9. — Lors de la délimitation des cantons, il faudra tenir compte des particularités topographiques et ethnographiques du pays pour former, autant que possible, des groupements homogènes.

10. — Tous les corps législatifs, judicaires, administratifs, ainsi que les fonctionnaires, sont élus par le peuple d'après le système électoral précité.

11. — Législation directe : droit d'initiative et de referendum.

Revendications communes aux deux pays.

12. — Liberté de conscience, de parole, de la presse, de

réunions, d'associations et de grèves.

13. — La séparation de l'Église et de l'Etat.

14. — Droit des nations de s'organiser librement. Égalité complète de toutes les nationalités et de tous les groupements religieux. Suppression de tous les privilèges de classes.

15. — Inviolabilité de l'individu, du domicile et de la correspondance.

16. — Liberté de déplacement ; suppression de l'obligation du passeport.

17. — Enseignement primaire général, obligatoire et gratuit. Laïcisation des écoles. Enseignement dans la langue maternelle.

18. — Juridiction gratuite.

19. — Répartition entre les nationalités particulières, et proportionnellement à leur nombre, du budget de l'instruction dans l'Etat et les cantons. Des corps spécialement élus veilleront à l'application de ce budget, ainsi qu'à l'organisation de l'instruction.

20. — Les fonctionnaires communaux et cantonaux doivent connaître les deux principales langues locales ; les fonctionnaires généraux connaîtront les trois langues principales. La langue de l'Etat respectif est obligatoire.

21. — Système de milices en remplacement de l'armée permanente. Tout citoyen valide fait partie des milices. La milice doit servir dans les limites de son arrondissement. Elle n'est appelée sous le drapeau de l'Etat que lorsque la liberté et l'intégrité de celui-ci est menacée.

Tout milicien, durant son service, doit recevoir la solde en proportion du salaire minimum courant.

Revendications économiques

1. — Socialisation de la terre.

2. — La terre doit cesser d'être une propriété particulière et aliénable.

3. — Transformation en propriété collective de toutes les terres appartenant à la couronne, aux grands propriétaires et aux institutions cultuelles.

4. — Le droit d'exploiter le sol appartient au travailleurs ; chacun, en vertu du principe de travail, a le droit de cultiver autant de terres qu'il puisse, sans exploiter autrui, pour subvenir aux besoins de sa famille.

5. — La distribution des terres et la décision sur les formes de sa mise en valeur appartiennent aux communes rurales et urbaines respectives.

6. — L'égalisation des terres par des partages périodiques entre les communes, arrondissements et cantons se fera par les organisations centrales et cantonales intéressées.

7. — Les terres d'une utilité collective (les forêts, les pâturages), les cours d'eau (forces motrices, pêches) sont conliés à la disposition des corps élus par les communes, et les bénéfices qui en proviennent sont appliqués aux travaux d'utilité générale.

8. — Les mines, comme les autres richesses naturelles, sont considérées comme propriétés de l'Etat ; les recettes en sont destinées pour servir au progrès et au bien-être du peuple en général.

9. — Suppression des impôts indirects (à l'exception des impôts sur les objets de luxe).

10. — Impôt progressif sur le revenu et les successions. Dégrèvement de l'impôt sur les revenus au-dessous du minimum d'existence.

11. — Suppression du système protectionniste.

12. — Crédit populaire organisé par l'Etat.

Suppression de la corvée et de tous travaux non rémunérés.

13. — L'assurance par l'Etat contre la sécheresse, les inondations, la grêle, l'incendie, les épizooties et les autres fléaux naturels.

14. — Organisation collective pour les entreprises générales : routes, éclairage, boulangerie, abattoirs, hospices, etc.

15. — Développement des entreprises de coopération, tant de production que de consommation.

16. — Journée de huit heures pour les ouvriers dans les villes et dans les campagnes ; journée plus courte encore pour les travaux anti-hygiéniques ou dangereux.

17. — Fixation d'un salaire minimum dans les villes et les villages.

18. — Protection législative du travail, conformément aux exigences de la science ; suppression du travail de nuit (sauf pour les travaux dont la nature technique ne souffre pas d'interruption).

19. — Suppression du travail de nuit — sans exception — pour les femmes et pour les enfants. Les femmes doivent cesser le travail six semaines avant et après leurs couches. Interdiction du travail pour les enfants âgés de moins de 15 ans et limitation du travail à 6 heures par jour pour les enfants âgés de 15 à 18 ans. Suppression des heures supplémentaires de travail. Interdiction de réduire les salaires sous forme d'amendes.

20. — Repos hebdomadaire. Les Musulmans chômeront leur jour de repos hebdomadaire.

21. — Election de la direction des usines par les ouvriers. Participation des ouvriers à l'administration des usines.

22. — L'assurance des ouvriers contre les accidents, les maladies, la veillesse et le chômage au dépens de l'Etat et des patrons.

23. — Traitement médical gratuit ; conseils gratuits pour les entreprises techniques.

24. — Bourses de travail.

officially, it endowed that liberation struggle with the humanist vision of socialism. [11]

Thus, socialist ideology formed the basis of the section on theory in the new Program adopted by the Fourth World Congress. While Marxism in effect only considers economic factors as the prime movers of history (historical materialism), the socialism of the Dashnaktsutiun (similar perhaps to the worldview of the Russian social-revolutionaries) grants equal value to the subjective factors of history — reason, conscience, will. The ARF considers these subjective and objective factors to be mutually dependent. This historical-philosophical assessment of man, added to the essentially democratic conception of human freedoms, completes and enhances the socialism of the Dashnaktsutiun.

After 1907 this Dashnaktsakan worldview remained unchanged, despite changes in the national and political conditions and the resulting evolution of the demands stated in the Program. Moreover, for long decades the Dashnaktsutiun had little time to dwell on ideological matters. At first it was engaged in a whirlwind of historic events while faithful to its role as the leader of a national liberation struggle; and in the diaspora, it was engrossed in the exhausting day-to-day task of organizing the communities and pursuing the Armenian Cause while in exile. It was only in the last decades that an ideological re-assertion and reawakening were considered necessary, and the ARF reformulated the section in the Program entitled "General Theory", adapting it to the current conceptions of socialism and democracy, the nationalities question, the right of self-determination, and the legitimacy of national-liberation struggles. [12]

3 / The Evolution of the National and Political Objectives of the ARF

A party's Program is never merely the expression of an ideology. With its proposed objectives and demands, a Program forms a totality of the practical concerns as well as the aspirations and goals of that party. Inescapably, that totality is dependent both on current conditions — the national and international situation, in general — and on the social and political thought of the given party. That totality, the Program itself, therefore, is subject to change in accordance with the evolution of these various factors.

Thus, the demands of the ARF Program in the national and political realms have been realistically coordinated with the evolutionary stages of the Armenian Case and international developments.

During the first period, until 1907, when the second Program was adopted, the objectives expressed in the ARF Program, basically, were connected

11 / See "PROGRAM OF THE ARF (ADOPTED BY THE FOURTH WORLD CONGRESS)", various Editions in the form of brochures; also "DOCUMENTS FOR THE HISTORY OF THE ARF", III, 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1985, pp. 315-328 (*).

12 / See "PROGRAM OF THE ARF (ADOPTED BY THE 22nd WORLD CONGRESS)", 1982 (*). On the ideological views of the Dashnaktsutiun, see also Navasartian, Vahan, "The Ideology of the ARF", in "CHRONICLES OF THE ARF DASHNAKTSUTIUN", Boston, 1950, pp. 167-259 (*), under the following subdivisions: Socialism, Independence, Democracy, Nation and Homeland, Federation, Individual, Freedom and Organization.

to the actualization of the promised reforms for Ottoman Armenia and intended to achieve, as already stated, political and economic freedom. There was no reference to any form of national sovereignty; nor was there any mention of Transcaucasian Armenians.

The "Plan of Action for the Caucasus" was the genuine expression of the Eastern Armenians' revolutionary outburst against Tsarist oppression. It proposed a federated system for the peoples of the Transcaucasus with a large degree of internal autonomy but not separation from Russia. Two years later, in the new Program adopted by the Fourth World Congress, the ARF advocated the principle of an autonomous Armenia in the framework of a Federated Democratic Republic of Transcaucasia; at the same time, it made the demand for a federated autonomous Turkish Armenia within the Ottoman state. In short, the ARF ceased to consider the concept of "Armenia" restricted to Turkish Armenia alone and considered it the right, and responsibility, of the Armenian people to struggle for the liberation of Russian Armenia, as well. Under the conditions of the times, the proposition of two separate Armenias within the borders of two different states was perhaps the only logical and possible way of creating an "Armenia" on the historically Armenian territories and providing the necessary solution to the problems of Turkish Armenia and Russian Armenia. (13)

During the period of the Ottoman Constitution (1908-1914), when the Dashnaktsutiun operated in Turkey as a legal, parliamentary party, the Programmatic objective of an autonomous Armenia was adopted as its political platform and was pursued in the Ottoman Parliament and government circles. In 1914, a variation of this objective, in the form of two autonomous Armenian regions under the control of two European High Commissioners, was about to be realized when the First World War broke out, and Turkey entered the war on the side of Imperial Germany. (14)

Similarly, the ARF's formula for a federated republic in the Transcaucasus was approximately realized in 1917, as a result of the political transformations brought about by the February Revolution in Russia. In April 1918 this Transcaucasian Republic even enjoyed a brief spell of independence, which ended, however, at the end of May 1918. The disintegration of the Transcaucasian Confederation, however, gave the Armenian Question a completely new aspect. Following the example of Georgia and Azerbaijan, Armenia declared independence. After the October Revolution, when the Russians abandoned the Caucasian front, the Armenians, alone in facing the Turkish armies, had waged a dramatic fight for survival that had taken on the aspect of popular war. National independence was the just recompense for that heroic effort, itself the culmination of long years of revolutionary struggle. (15)

Moreover, the World War had disintegrated the Ottoman and Russian Empires and made the concept of federated republics within them anachronistic and meaningless. The people and government of the Armenian Republic,

13 / See Gluzalian, Karnig, "THE DEVELOPMENT OF ARMENIAN POLITICAL THINKING AND THE ARF", Paris, 1927 (*).

14 / See Pastermadjian, Hrant, "HISTOIRE DE L'ARMENIE", Paris, 1964, pp. 398-400.

15 / See Ibid., pp. 416-423.

as well as the Armenians outside of the Republic, expressed their just aspiration to regain the territories of Western Armenia depopulated by Genocide and to create a unified, integral Armenia. On May 28, 1919, on year after the declaration of independence, Prime Minister Aleksandr Khadisian officially announced, in the Armenian Parliament, his government's new political platform: the creation of a united, independent Armenia. In September 1919, the Ninth World Congress of the ARF, held in Yerevan, in turn decided:

a / To consider null and void ali the minimum political demands of the Party's Program regarding Russian Armenia and Turkish Armenia;

b / To make the declaration of an Independent and United Armenia everlasting, and make every effort to implement it, on the basis of a democratic republic. (16)

As a result of the evolution of the Armenian Case and the liberation struggle waged by the ARF, a logical conclusion was reached, the final stage of Programmatic objectives: the need to establish the independence of a unified, integral Armenia. (17)

That demand, the culmination of Dashnaktsutiun's political thought and aspirations, remains in effect always, made permanent by the sacrifices made during the liberation struggle. Since 1919, ali the World Congresses of the ARF have adopted that programmatic objective of an integral Armenia repopulated by ali Armenians as the most just and final solution of the Armenian Question — in short, a Free, Independent, and United Armenia.

16 / "EXTRACTS FROM THE DECISIONS OF THE NINTH WORLD CONGRESS", Yerevan, 1920 (*).

17 / See Giuzallan, Karnig, op. cit.

3 / The Activities of the ARF until the Second World Congress (1898)

1 / The Tiflis Bureau and the Eastern Regions

After 1892, the central figures of the Tiflis Bureau were Kristapor Mikayelian and Simon Zavarian, both of whom had returned from exile in Bessarabia. Their colleagues were the brothers Arshag and Levon Tadeosian, Nigol Madinian, Mardiros Markarian (Safo), Parsegh Melik-Krikorian (Ghara-Melik), Avedik Sahakian (Hayr Apraham), Stepan Der Mgrdichian, and others. In the course of time the Bureau gradually became the executive body leading the revolutionary movement. It sent representatives and fieldworkers to the various regions of Western Armenia and Russia to organize and carry out propaganda; it maintained constant ties with the executive bodies of the Regions, helping them, when necessary, by providing guidance or further impetus to their operations; it watched over the implementation of the decisions taken by the World Congress and the "Rayonagan" (Regional) Conventions (the assembly of the delegates of several Regions); and it assured the proper distribution of funds. Though working in a decentralized system, consecutive Bureaus enjoyed a moral authority far greater than the central body, the "Kentron", of the beginning years.

The two Rayonagan Congresses that met in Tiflis — the first at the beginning of 1895 and the second in December 1896 to January 1897 — were initially considered World Congresses. But the Droshak editorial board, the Central Committee of Constantinople, and the executive bodies in Turkish Armenia and abroad, all of which had not sent delegates to the congresses, challenged that status. Therefore, these congresses have been considered



ARF combatants after the occupation of the Ottoman Bank in Constantinople (August 14, 1896). This photo was taken after they left Turkey.

Rayonagan Congresses of the ARF Caucasian (or Eastern) executive bodies. This definition, however, does nothing to diminish their historical importance. (1)

The 1895 Congress conducted a retrospective evaluation of the Party's activities since 1892; clarified "several issues that remained unclear"; reaffirmed the decentraiized system of organization, while stressing the necessity of the coordinating role of the Bureau; and shut down the "Tabriz Bureau". It also discussed the routes for transporting arms across borders, the issues of arms procurement and financial resources, and even the *Droshak* and external propaganda, which had nothing directly to do with the executive bodies of the Caucasus.

The records of the 1896-1897 Rayonagan Congress provide an idea of how widespread the ARF network had become in the east: It encompassed Tiflis, Baku, Kars, Alexandropol, the Ararat region, Yerevan, Shoushi, Adrbadagan (Iranian Azerbaijan), Shadakh, Dersim, Trebizond, Batum, the Black Sea basin, the Northern Caucasus, the region of the Don, Moscow, and St. Petersburg.

1 / The brief minutes of these Rayonagan Congresses have come down to us: see "ARCHIVES OF THE ARF", Boston, 1934, I, pp. 161-166 and II pp. 337-342 (*). See also "DOCUMENTS FOR THE HISTORY OF THE ARF", II, 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1985, pp. 17-34 (*).

2 / This idea of building up concentrations of armed forces in Sasoun (as in Vasbouragan and Dersim), in anticipation of future defensive battles or insurrections, was soon to become a basic principle of Dashnaktsutiun's military strategy.

3 / The expedition was to be organized and implemented in July 1897; see the third section of this chapter and notes 19-23 below.

4 / For the minutes, see "ARCHIVES OF THE ARF", Boston, 1934, II, pp. 239-250 (*) and "DOCUMENTS FOR THE HISTORY OF THE ARF", II, 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1985, pp. 36-44 (*).

After examining various proposals regarding the tactical aspects of revolutionary activities, the Congress reached fundamental decisions, including the following: to build up a concentration of Dashnak forces in Sasoun and to arm its population [2]; to organize a punitive expedition, from Adrbadagan to Vasbouragan [3]; to extend the work of revolutionary organizing to include Cilicia and Dersim, considering that these, too, were areas appropriate for revolutionary action; to convert the editorial board of *Droshak* into the propaganda and political relations body of the ARF, and to consider it the "Western Bureau". The first two of these decisions were implemented in the following year (the concentration of forces, including Serop, Kourken, Antranig and other military elements, In Sasoun; and the Khanasor expedition); the other decisions, with minor changes, were subsequently adopted by the Second World Congress.

A third Rayonagan Congress [4], was held in December 1897 - January 1898, a year after the previous one, to examine the agenda items of the upcoming Second World Congress (April - June of 1898). The conclusions of this Rayonagan Congress, with only a few changes, were adopted by the Second World Congress.

2 / Constantinople

The tight-knit network of the ARF in Constantinople was consolidated from 1893-1896, mainly through the silent and efficient efforts of Hovhannes Yousoufian (Melik), who came to Constantinople in 1892, via Trebizond. As a result of his untiring organizational work, a whole generation of revolutionary leaders came into existence: Ardashes Misakian, Ardashes Antreasian (Souren), Ardashes Tevian (Yekibdatsi), Papken Siuni (Bedros Parian), Zarmayr or Kisag (Vartkes Serengiulian, future member of the Ottoman Parliament), Vahram Shahbaz, Vram Kendirian [5], Khachig Knouni, Hagop Karageozian (Zaven), and others. [6]

Constantinople, the capital of the Ottoman Empire and a semi-European city, was of fundamental importance to the Dashnaktsutiun as a theater of operation for demonstrative activities and propaganda. It is in this light that we should view the "terrorist" activity that evolved from 1894 to 1896, when the Dashnaktsutiun assassinated Armenians who served the Sultan and the Turkish government. Included among those were Maksoud Simon Bey, the spy Ardashes, police chief Haji Dikran, defrocked celibate priest Mampre Benlian, the surgeon M. Tutunjiev, and others. [7] In 1896, within the same context of demonstrative actions, the two major undertakings by the Dashnaktsutiun in the capital took place, namely, the takeover of the Ottoman Bank and the battles of Samatia. [8] These were organized by the ARF Central Committee of Constantinople, intending to compel the Great Powers to intervene forcefully to help resolve the Armenian Question

5 / See Varantian, Mikayel, "HISTORY OF THE ARF" I, pp. 156-159 (*).

6 / Vram Kendirian was killed with Kristapor Mikayelian while testing explosives on Mount Vidosh, near Sofia, in March 1905.

7 / See "DOCUMENTS FOR THE HISTORY OF THE ARF", I, 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1985, pp. 146-163 (*).

8 / A district of Constantinople densely populated by Armenians.

(especially because the takeover of the Ottoman Bank placed European interests in jeopardy). [9]

The takeover of the Ottoman Bank was probably the first act of its kind in the history of political terrorism. With detailed planning, 26 Dashnak combatants under the leadership of Papken Siuni staged a surprise attack on the bank at midday, August 14, 1896. They occupied the bank and took nearly 150 staff members and customers as hostages. Papken Siuni was killed on the steps of the Bank as a result of the explosion of the bombs he was carrying; immediately, his assistants Hrach and Armen Garo took charge. [10] In the city, Levon Nevrouz and others distributed to the European embassies the message of the ARF Central Committee demanding the immediate implementation of reforms. [11] After several hours of fighting punctuated by bombs thrown at soldiers who had laid siege to the Bank, [12] the embassies stepped in and negotiations began. On behalf of the Powers, Maximov, a member of the Russian diplomatic corps, asked the fighters to evacuate the Bank and leave the country, having offered them every guarantee and having promised that the very next day a written pledge signed by the ambassadors assuring the implementation of reforms would be handed to them. In the early morning of August 15, after much hesitation, the revolutionaries, running short of ammunition, left the Bank accompanied by Maximov and Sir Edgar Vincent, the Bank's manager, leaving behind four dead and five seriously wounded. [13] They headed toward the port. No hostage had been harmed, and no attempt had been made to plunder or even open the Bank's vaults. However, Maximov's official promises were not kept. The very next day the Armenian revolutionaries were moved from Sir Vincent's yacht to the French steamer "Gironde" and taken to Marseilles as prisoners. [14]

On August 14 and 15, another bitter, intense battle took place against Turkish forces in the Samatia district. There, too, the bombs of the Dashnak combatants wreaked havoc. After more than 12 hours of desperate fighting, Khachig Knouni, the Misakian brothers, Souren (Ardashes Antreasian) and others were killed. [15]

Abdul Hamid II retaliated by organizing the massacre of unarmed Armenians in the streets of Constantinople. But the audacity and noble behavior of the Armenian revolutionaries aroused a wave of sympathy in European public opinion. Jean Jaurès and others spoke in favor of the Armenians from the dais of the French National Assembly; the elderly Gladstone multiplied his efforts on behalf of Armenian rights; Russia even began making preparations for a naval attack. As always, however, the wave of pro-Armenian sympathy quickly died down, and the promise of reforms remained a dead letter. [16]

A year later, in the summer of 1897, the ARF Central Committee of Constantinople carried out a bomb attack at the Sublime Porte. That attempt, however, did not achieve the expected results and was unsuccessful as an act of propaganda. [17]

9 / On the projects and activities in Constantinople and the occupation of the Ottoman Bank in particular, see the correspondence between the regional leaders (Yousoufian, Vramian, Papken Siuni, Hrach etc.) and editorial staff of Droshak in the two volumes of "ARCHIVES OF THE ARF", Boston, 1934; see also Vratsian, Simon, "The Ottoman Bank", in "CHRONICLES OF THE ARF DASHNAKTSUTIUN", Boston, 1950, pp. 280-301 (*).

10 / Papken Siuni, young, dedicated revolutionary, was only 23 years old, and the students Armen Garo (Karekin Pastermajian) and Hrach (Hayg Tiriakian) sent to Egypt, Cyprus and finally Constantinople by Droshak were only a little older.

11 / For the circulars and appeals issued by the Constantinople Central Committee and its memorandum demanding reforms, see "DOCUMENTS FOR THE HISTORY OF THE ARF", I, 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1985, pp. 164-168 (*). See also "Leaflets on the occasion of the occupation of the Ottoman Bank", in "ARCHIVES OF THE ARF", II, Boston, 1934, pp. 109-112. On the operation itself, see also Nalbandian, Louise, "THE ARMENIAN REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT", Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1963, pp. 176-178.

12 / See the telegrams and letters in "DROSHAK" from no. 20 (September 1896) onward. See also Varantian, Mikayel, "HISTORY OF THE ARF", I, pp. 159-164 (*).

13 / The only promise Maximov kept was first-aid for the five wounded, who were delivered to the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople.

14 / After being detained in the Marseilles prison for a certain time, Hrach and Armen Garo moved on to Geneva. Their comrades were put on a ship to Buenos Aires, from where some went to the Balkans via London. One of them was Vartan Shahbaz, who was to play an important role in the Vasbouragan region later on, from 1903 to 1908.

15 / See the dispatches in "DROSHAK" (*) and Varantian, op. cit., pp. 164-167 (*).

16 / For the aftermath of the operations in Constantinople, see Vratsian, op. cit. (*), and also Varantian, op. cit., pp. 169-176 in particular (*).

17 / See "DROSHAK", nos. 11, 12 et seq., 1897 (*).

Beginning with the time of the "Federation of Armenian Revolutionaries", Adrbadagan, especially the Tabriz-Salmasd-Makou triangle, was the main relay station for arms and armed bands in transit to Turkish Armenia, to Vasbouragan. Only later did the Kars-Pasen and Yerevan-Surmalu routes, especially the former, become equally significant. The advantage of Adrbadagan may be partly explained by the generally favorable attitude of the Persian authorities.

Initially, the core of the "Tabriz Bureau" consisted of Hovnan Tavtian, Hovsep Ishkhan Arghoutian, and Nigol-Douman (Nigoghayos Der Hovhannisian), who had settled there as teachers. These main figures were assisted by Satenig Madinian (Dzaghig), Vartan (Sarkis Mehrabian), the father-superior of the monastery of Derik — Rev. Pakrad Tavakalian (Zakki) — Sevkaretsi Sako, Sarkis Ohanjanian (Farhad), Kalousd Aloyan (Darvish, Toros), Garo (Arisdakes Zorian), and others. In subsequent years, other notable Dashnak workers operated in Adrbadagan, including Stepan Stepanian (Balajan), Dr. Garabed Pashayan (Taparig), Samson Tadeosian (Karekin) and Armenag Okhigian (Slak).

Some of these workers (especially Toros, Garo, and Sako) constantly traveled to Russia to purchase gun parts and ammunition and transport them to Tabriz and Salmasd, where, in the ARF's workshops, the weapons would be assembled. Others (especially Hovsep Arghoutian, Nigol-Douman, Vartan, Farhad) often traveled as far as Van, personally carrying out the work of transporting arms and ammunition, usually at the head of arms-transport and fedayee bands. They frequently engaged Turkish forces and bands of Kurds in battle; of these encounters, the battles of Boghaz-Kyasan and Derik, led by Nigol-Douman, are well-known. Also, Vartan himself organized and directed the self-defense of the mountainous region of Shadakh (Vasbouragan) in the spring of 1896. [18]

But the most brilliant military action organized by ARF bodies was the expedition of Khanasor. It was both a punitive action and a demonstration of force for propaganda. [19] It came about through a decision of the 1896-1897 Rayonagan Congress, but its implementation did not progress smoothly. Important figures, such as Ishkhan Arghoutian, Vartan, and Vazken of Van (Dikran Deroyan) were against the idea, preferring to discreetly continue the work of concentrating armed forces in Vasbouragan and Sasoun. On the other hand, Kristapor Ohanian, Nigol-Douman, and Kalousd Aloyan were disposed to carry out the expedition at all costs. Also, there was a polarization of opinions among the more than 300 combatants gathered in Adrbadagan. Therefore, in the beginning of July, the Bureau sent Haroutiun Shahrigian to Tabriz to eliminate the disagreements and hasten the implementation of the expedition. [20]

18 / See "Memoirs of Vartan", in "HAIRENIK", 15th Year, nos. 1-3 (*).

19 / The previous year, the Mazrik tribe had become sadly notorious when it encircled and massacred the mostly unarmed men of Avedisian, Bedo, Mardig. Also, it was deemed essential to shake Europe again and remind it of the necessity of reforms.

20 / See dispatches and articles in "DROSHAK", no. 11, September 1897 et seq. (*). See also Varantian, op. cit., pp.177-189 (*). See "ARCHIVES OF THE ARF", Boston, 1934, II, pp. 48-109 (*).



General Staff of the Khanasor expedition of July 1897. Standing in front of the flag, on the right, Vartan (S. Mehrabian), commander of the expedition, and on the left, Hovsep Arghoutian, his adjutant.

Ali went well. Of the two candidates selected by the combatants, the Central Committee appointed Vartan as commander of the expedition and Ishkhan Hovsep Arghoutian as his second in command. [21] The fedayees Pokhig and Akhber were appointed captains. Nigol-Douman, albeit the principal architect of the expedition, was appointed as one of the lieutenants. Sevkaretsi Sako was placed in charge of the cavalry. Vazken, with everyone's agreement, left for Van on July 14, at the head of a group of 30 men, carrying about 40 rifles. [22]

On the night of July 24, 1897 (old calendar), after taking solemn oaths, the expeditionary force consisting of 253 fighters crossed the Turkish-Iranian frontier at the Araoul mountains. They descended onto the plain of Khanasor, which was the campsite of the Kurdish chieftain Sharaf Beg and his tribe, the Mazriks. On July 25, the Mazrik fighters — nearly all the adult males in the tribe — were annihilated. A Turkish lieutenant visiting Sharaf was also killed; but Sharaf, disguised as a woman, managed to flee. By the strict order of the ARF commanders, all women and children were spared. Soon, however, the nearby hills were thronged with armed Kurds, and the expeditionary force, continuing to fight, retreated toward Iran. The fedayees lost

21 23 / Ibid., see note no. 20.

24 / See Bedo's letter addressed in 1896 to the "Bureau in Persia" in "ARCHIVES OF THE ARF", Boston, 1934, I, pp. 263-264 (*) and "DOCUMENTS FOR THE HISTORY OF THE ARF", II, 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1985, p. 24 (*).

25 / See "DROSHAK", nos. 7 and 8, 1899 (*).

20 men, including lieutenant Garo (Rosdom's brother), second-lieutenants Khan and Gredatsi, corporals Shavarsh and Khachig, as well as the volunteer soldier Saghatel Khan Zohrabian. (23)

After the Khanasor expedition, probably as a result of pressure by the Turkish government, the Iranian authorities for a while adopted a more harsh attitude and made some arrests. Prominent among those arrested was Hovsep Ishkhan Arghoutian, who was handed over to Russian authorities and remained in exile until 1902.

4 / The ARF in the Yergir ("The Land", Turkish Armenia)

By 1895-1896, ARF Gomidehs and groups operated in Ottoman Armenia in the following population centers and corresponding provinces: Trebizond, Garin (Erzurum), Yerznga (Erzincan), Van, Moush, Paghesh (Bitlis), and Khnous (Hinis). (24) The importance of various transport and infiltration routes inside the Yergir were recognized early on by Arapo and Houno and later by Tatoul (Aram Aramian) and Hrayr (Armenag Ghazarian). Tatoul had quickly become the first ARF fieldworker in Sasoun. Other early ARF fieldworkers in Sasoun and Daron included Apro (Mgrdich Sahakian) and the priest Vartan (father superior of the monastery of Saint Garabed). To oversee the work of arms transport, Dourpakh had settled in Khnous while Jallad traveled between Kars, Moush, and Sasoun. During the years 1895-1896, the prime mover of this work of infiltration, arms transport, and organization was Rosdom, who stopped editing the *Droshak* for about a year to work in Kars, Garin, and Adrbadagan.

In July of 1896, Hrayr and Tatoul were arrested during one of their trips to Pasen. Hrayr managed to have himself released, but Aram Aramian was detained, tortured, and hung in Garin in August, 1899. His last words were "Long live the revolution". Hrayr returned to his native Daron to continue his work in organizing and conducting revolutionary propaganda. (25)

The military activities of the ARF in the regions of Akhlat, Paghesh (Bitlis), and Sasoun gained momentum around the end of 1895, when Serop Vartanian returned to his native village of Sokhort with his group of 27 fedayees. He quickly organized the villages of Akhlat by not only establishing ARF gomidehs but also forming self-defense units, which proved to be the salvation of the region during the massacres ordered by Abdul Hamid II in 1896.



The chiefs of the Vasbouragan ARF Region, members of the Central Committee:

1 / Goghpetsi Dikran
2 / Vana Ishkhan (Nigol Odabashian-Boghosian)
3 / Aram Manougian
4 / Malkhas (Ardashes Hovsepian)
5 / Hamazasb Pagheshtsian (Salman)
6 / Vana Sarkis (Parseghian).

1 2 3 4 5
6

On many occasions Turkish troops surrounded the village or even the house in which Serop had taken refuge, but by fighting or subterfuge, each time Serop succeeded in breaking through the lines of the enemy and disappearing. Thus, he became an almost legendary hero revered by the Armenian peasantry, who gave him the name "Serop-Aghpiur" (Serop the Source).

The battles waged by his band of fedayees against government forces and Kurds — at Shamiram, Chrhor, Sokhort, Nemrout, Teghoud, Sasoun, Khatavin, "the ruined water mills", Papshen, and elsewhere — are historic examples of daring and selfless devotion. Often Serop's wife Sosse fought next to her husband. (26)

Due to his boundless devotion to the oppressed Armenian peasantry, his exceptional courage, but especially his uncompromising conception of firm discipline, Serop, until his tragic death in October 1899, was not only the incontestable revolutionary leader of Paghesh-Akhlat and Sasoun but also

26 / On Serop and his activities, see Roupen, "MEMOIRS OF AN ARMENIAN REVOLUTIONARY", III, Beirut, 1974, pp. 146-185 (*). See also Varantian, op. cit., pp. 228-234 (*) and "DROSHAK", no. 10, December 1899 (*).

27 / Most of of Serop's fedayees — Zouloumat, Palabekh Garabed, Arakel, Bitlistsi Moushegh, Jardar, Nado and Ariudz-Avak — are renowned in ARF history.

28 / See the part on the Armenagans in the "Introduction" to this present work; see also Roupen, op. cit., II, pp. 93-106.

29 / Roupen, ibid., pp. 107-113.

30 / Ibid., p. 119.

31 / Kourken, who was to join up with Serop again, as well as Antranig, whose

the creator of the historical and moral model of the Dashnak Fedayee. [27]

In July 1897, Kourken (Baghdasar Maliants) came to the same region and with his organizational work complemented the efforts of Serop. He assassinated the chief of police of Paghesh, Hilmi, who had been the terror of local Armenians, and then went on to Sasoun. Due to the efforts of Hrayr, Kourken, and Serop, the ARF established two organizational networks in that part of the Yergir — the Central Committee regions of Touran-Partsravantag (Daron-Sasoun) and Salno Tsor (Paghesh-Akhlat).

One of the oldest organizational networks of the Yergir was the Central Committee region of Sham or Shamir (Vasbouragan), the first organizer and leader of which was Bedo (Alexander Bedrosian). Bedo's closest colleagues were Vazken (Dikran Deroyan) and his sister Zhenia (Zarouhi Deroyan), as well as those fieldworkers based in Adrbadagan who often traveled to Vasbouragan, including Hovsep Ishkhan Arghoutian, Nigol-Douman, Vartan, Akhber, and Sarkis Ohanjanian.

Vartan, in particular, organized the mountainous areas of Shadakh and Rshdounik, often clashing with Kurds. During the days of the June 1896 self-defense of Van, [28] Vartan and his group were in Shadakh; there Vartan led the self-defense of Pesantashd, and by moving the Armenian peasants of the region up into the mountains, saved them from being exterminated. When after the battles he returned to Van via the island of Aghtamar, Bedo was no longer there. After the battles of self-defense in Van, only Vazken and a small group of fighters remained in the city, having refused to join the forces of Avedisian, Bedo, and Mardig in their fatal retreat. Vazken and Vartan reorganized Vasbouragan and were able to restore the morale and self-confidence of the population dispirited by the massacres.

Auxiliary forces, fighting units led by Bedros Seremjian and Shego, respectively, arrived from Adrbadagan. Their presence, however, was divulged by informants, and as a result, on September 10-12, 1896, again bitter fighting broke out in Van against Turkish troops. [29] Breaking through the enemy lines, Vartan, Akhber, Bedros Seremjian, and Miko, along with their units, succeeded in reaching Iran. Vazken, seriously ill with typhus, again remained in Van. This exceptional revolutionary "was the symbol of the revolutionary spirit and tenacity typical of the people of Van". [30]

By the summer of 1897 Vazken, too, reached Adrbadagan. Before the expedition of Khanasor, in the middle of June, he returned to Van with a group of 30 men. [31] In the first days of January 1898, after being betrayed, Vazken, group-leader Miko, and a fighter, Arshag, were surrounded by Turkish forces in the village of Gurubash. After a heroic and unequal battle, all three fell. For a time thereafter, Vasbouragan would remain without a leader. In another region, Yerznga-Dersim, in the years 1895-1896 local fighters — specifically, Dersimi Keri and his partisan band — joined the ranks of the ARF. Another of the earliest revolutionary workers in Dersim was Garabed Ghoumrigian. [32]

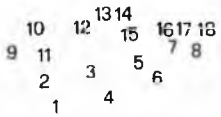
destination was to be the region of Sasoun, belonged to this group. For the Gurubash battle and Vazken's death (at the age of 25), see "DROSHAK", no. 3, March 31, 1899 (*).

32 / On Dersimi Keri and his efforts to establish friendly Armeno-Kurdish relations, see Varantian, op. cit., pp. 254-255 (*). Keri was denounced and arrested in 1899 and was hanged in June 1903, after four years in prison.



A group of young Dashnaktsakans in Geneva. Some of them soon became leaders and military or/and intellectual workers:

1 / G. Bahatrian
2 / Natalia (?) Madinian (physician)
3 / A. Ganjetsian
4 / Rosdom (Stepan Zorian)
5 / Simeon Chekhian
6 / Matchouk Abroumian (Pastermajian)
7 / Elisabeth Chahnazarian (Zorian)
8 / Mariam Khantamirian (Varantian)
9 / Mademoiselle A. Atabegian
10 / A. Melikian
11 / Mademoiselle Mirzaian (physician)
12-14 / Hnchak students
15 / V. Dodomiants
16 / L. Atabegian
17 / K. Khazhag
18 / Mikayel Varantian



By decision of the 1896-1897 Caucasian Rayonagan Congress, the *Droshak* offices became "the Dashnaktsutiun's representative Bureau for foreign countries". That decision merely affirmed a status that had already been attained. Whether working as the Editorial Board of Droshak, Bureau-Editorial Board, or (after the Second World Congress) the Western Bureau, the group in Geneva had always played a decisive role in Party life, in the work of organizing, propaganda, and external relations. The Tiflis Bureau and the organizational bodies and fieldworkers of Constantinople, Adrbadagan, and the Yergir maintained permanent contact with Geneva. All decisions of importance to the whole of the organization were always made in consultation with it. That sort of authority — not always mandated by the bylaws, yet real and definitive — can only be explained by the revolutionary-moral credibility enjoyed by Rosdom, Hovnan Tavtian, and their colleagues.

Until the Second World Congress, a whole array of Dashnaktsakan intellectuals and activists worked in Geneva as members of the editorial staff, contributors, or organizers: Rosdom and Hovnan Tavtian (who in Rosdom's absence in 1895-1896 edited Droshak by himself); university students such as Simeon Shukhiants, Mikayel Hovhannisian (Varantian), Karekin Khazhag, and others; and Hovhannes Yousoufian (after he left Constantinople, before being sent to America on organizational work), Arshag Vramian, Armen Garo, Smpad Khachadourian, Varto (Vart Badrigian), Vahram (Haroutiun Kalfayan), Vahan (Nigol Madinian), and others. The representatives and fieldworkers sent by the editorial staff to various parts of the world were, in the next few years, to organize several ARF networks: the United States (Simeon Shukhiants, Hovhannes Yousoufian, and Arshag Vramian), the Balkans (Khazhag, Varto, A. Vramian, and later Rosdom), Egypt (Armen Garo, Hrach, Vahram, Khazhag, Vahan), Cyprus (Hrach, Armen Garo, Mar, others), Smyrna (Martin Mouradian, Khazhag, Varto, Hrach), Cilicia and Syria (Martin, Mar, Rahver, Aghaser, Hrach, and others), and Paris, Lausanne, Leipzig, Berlin and other European centers, especially university towns (Mikayel Varantian, Avedis Aharonian, Dr. Hovhannes Loris-Melikian, and others).

Through its editorials and lead articles, Droshak was to become and remain the central instrument for expressing the ideological position and political thought of the Dashnaktsutiun. It was also to be the witness that expressed the suffering and rebellion of the Armenian people; the terrors and massacres to which it was subjected; the everyday struggles of Dashnaktsakan fedayees against the Turkish army and Kurdish hamidiye units; the great revolutionary undertakings (the takeover of the Ottoman Bank, the Samatia battles, the Khanasor Expedition, and the like); the punitive assassinations carried out by Dashnaktsakan "terrorists"; and the biographies and moral portraits of ARF martyrs.

During 1896-1898 the editorial board carried out negotiations with the representatives of Sultan Hamid and the Turkish government, in particular with Artin Pasha Dadian, a high-ranking Ottoman official whose son and nephew often traveled between Constantinople and Geneva. Members of the high bourgeoisie of Constantinople, these Armenians, who were undoubtedly patriots, hoped to eke reforms from the Sultan's regime if only the revolutionaries would curb their more extreme activities. A priori it was certain that such negotiations would lead nowhere. (33)

Also, relations were established and negotiations conducted with "Young Turks", liberal Turkish elements who were discontented with the Sultan's tyrannical regime, in order to engender overall cooperation. Also, Abdurrahman Bey of the Kurdish Badrkhan clan often visited the offices of the Droshak. Efforts to send him to Turkish Armenia to establish Armenian-Kurdish cooperation remained futile; he merely signed a series of appeals to his compatriots for publication in the Droshak. (34) Finally, the foundations for future Armenian-Macedonian cooperation (1899-1907) were laid down in the years 1896-1897, thanks to the close relations established between the Droshak editorial staff and the journalist Simon Radev and Bulgarian-Macedonian university students.

In the first 10 years of the ARF's political relations, the most complicated negotiations (and the most unpleasant in the course they took) were those conducted in regards to unification, or at least cooperation, with the "old" or "new", "the mother Party" or "reorganized" Hnchakians. Mihran Svazlian, Haroutiun Jangiulian, Hovhannes Shahnazar and other Hnchaks established contact and held discussions with the Droshak editors. Unfortunately, this problem was to remain unsolved as a consequence of successive schisms, internal misunderstandings, as well as the intrigues of Arpiar Arpiarian, a Hnchak leader. (35)



The Cyprus Committee Seal (ca. 1900).

33 / See Varantian, ibid., pp. 195-200 (*) and "The Negotiations of Haroutiun Pasha Ballan with the ARF", in "ARCHIVES OF THE ARF", II, Boston, 1934, pp. 113-207 (*).

34 / See Varantian, ibid., p. 254 (*); see also "DROSHAK", no. 6, 1899.

35 / On this subject, see the minutes and decisions of the Second World Congress in "DOCUMENTS FOR THE HISTORY OF THE ARF", II, 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1985, pp. 68-69 (*). See also N.D.S.T., "THE PROBLEM OF UNITY OR CONCORD AMONG ARMENIAN REVOLUTIONARY PARTIES", Boston, 1909 (*).

4 / The Second World Congress of the ARF and the five-year period from 1898 to 1903

1 / The Second World Congress

The Second World Congress of the ARF was held in Tiflis from April to June, 1898. The list of Regions and organizational bodies attests to the existence of an already widespread organizational network. In general, those absent were the organizational bodies that were conducting revolutionary activities at the time (Vasbouragan, Akhlat, Daron-Sasoun, Garin, and Ararat). (1)

In determining "tactics for future operations", the fundamental decision of the World Congress was to concentrate military forces and armaments in certain areas of the Ottoman Empire (Constantinople, Cilicia, Sasoun, and Vasbouragan), in preparation for large-scale insurrections or demonstrative activities. Moreover, the World Congress itself selected Responsible Central Committees, special bodies responsible for carrying out such activities, and along with the responsibility, endowed them with broad powers. (2)

1 / See "The Second World Congress of the ARF", in "ARCHIVES OF THE ARF", II, Boston, 1934, pp. 208-239 (*) and "DOCUMENTS FOR THE HISTORY OF THE ARF", i, 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1985, pp. 45-86 (*).

The World Congress clarified the organizational structure of the ARF, defining, through provisions of the bylaws, the reciprocal responsibilities, interdependence, as well as rights of the various organizational units and assemblies.

The sentiments expressed and the rules formulated reflect an overall tendency to create an equilibrium of powers, to achieve a regular, balanced distribution of rights and reciprocal obligations among the executive bodies. The

2 / Ibid. See also "PROGRAM OF THE ARF AND MINUTES OF THE SECOND WORLD CONGRESS", 2nd Edition, Geneva, 1903, pp. 32-33 (*).

ARF organizational system, made inviolable by the decisions of the 1898 World Congress, may be defined as follows: mutual moral dependence within a system of organizational decentralization. [3] The adopted bylaws also took into account differences in the mode of operation of ARF bodies inside Turkey (revolutionary and clandestine activities) and outside of Turkey (relatively more free conditions, and therefore the possibility of a more democratic organizational structure).

The Second World Congress affirmed the system, envisaged by the 1896-1897 Caucasian Rayonagan Congress, of two Bureaus, East (Tiflis) and West (Geneva); the Congress also clearly defined their geographic jurisdictions (east and west of the Giresun-Kharpert-Dikranagerd line). The Bureaus were to be elected by the World Congress and operate until the subsequent World Congress, to which they were accountable. [4]

They were to keep the Central Committees periodically informed on the progress of activities, arrange the distribution of Party funds to the Regions, and examine the financial accounts of the Central Committees. The Bureaus could, with the agreement of the executive bodies concerned, delegate new workers to become equally-empowered members of those bodies, to strengthen them. The Bureaus were to participate, through one representative, in the activities of the Responsible Central Committees operating within the respective jurisdictions of the Bureaus. Also, apart from these overall rights and responsibilities, the Western Bureau was assigned the responsibilities of publishing the *Droshak* and conducting external propaganda.

The World Congress also instituted a new and supreme Party unit, the Body Representing the Will of the Dashnaktsutiun. It was empowered to conduct the external relations of the Party; if necessary, to redistribute forces; to strengthen the Bureaus and Responsible Central Committees with new manpower; and in exceptional and unforeseen circumstances, to postpone or alter the decisions of the World Congress, as well as initiate new undertakings, under its own responsibility. The "Will" was composed of the representatives of the two Bureaus and the four Responsible Central Committees. [5]

The Second World Congress also examined other issues, such as cooperation with the Hnchakians, the negotiations in Geneva with the representatives of the Sultan, and other matters, and took appropriate decisions in each case. [6]

2 / Efforts to Implement Decisions, Difficulties Encountered

To implement the decisions of the Second World Congress, the extended sessions of the Eastern Bureau, held in Tiflis in January of 1899, envisaged

3 / See Dasnabedian, Hratch, "THE EVOLUTION AND ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE ARF", 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1985, pp. 25-37 and pp. 26-27 in particular.

4 / The Second World Congress was to elect the following team for the Partsravantag (Sasoun) Responsible Central Committee: Serop, Kourken Sevkaretsi Sako, Hrayr and Vartan (who resigned very shortly after); the Vishab (Constantinople) team, composed of Sev Ashod, Baba (Karekin Khazhag) and Garen (Aram Hagopian); the Lernavayr (Cilicia) team, with Hrach (Hayg Tiriakian), Mar (Mikayel Der Mardirosian) and Arpag Rshdouni (Hovsep Mirzaian). It was considered a little premature to set up the Vasbouragan Responsible Central Committee. The members of the Western Bureau were also elected: Ellen (Kristapor Mikayelian), Rosdom, Armen Garo, Vahab (Arshag Vramian) and Boris (Smpad Khachadourian). And the Eastern Bureau: Simon Zavarian, Avedik Sahakian, Haroutiun Shahrigian, Arshag Tadeosian and Dikran Tadeosian, plus two others whose names are illegible in the transcription. See "DOCUMENTS FOR THE HISTORY OF THE ARF", II, 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1985, p. 20 note 11 and p. 93 note 15 (*).

5 / The only meeting of the Body Representing the Will of the Dashnaktsutiun was held at Philippopolis in April 1901 (see below). The Third World General Congress was to replace this body with the ARF Council and endow it with practically the same rights.

6 / See "The Problem of Unification" and "The Problem of Negotiations" in "DOCUMENTS FOR THE HISTORY OF THE ARF", II, 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1985, pp. 68-69 (*).

7 / For the minutes and decisions of this Congress, see "DOCUMENTS FOR THE HISTORY OF THE ARF", II, 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1985, pp. 89-93 (*).

8 / See Varantian, Mikayel, "HISTORY OF THE ARF", I, pp. 205-206 (*).

9 / See Dasnabedian, ibid, p. 36 note 10 (*).

10 / See "The Answers of Garen", in "DOCUMENTS FOR THE HISTORY OF THE ARF", II, 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1985, pp. 94-98 (*).

11 / See dossiers 210, 211 and 863-867 in the Central Archives of the ARF. (*).

an immediate budget of one million rubles, [7] which was impossible to collect without recourse to coercion. But just as the World Congress had rejected the idea, so too the extended sessions of the Bureau in turn refused, or at the very least thought it premature, to use violence to obtain funding.

It seems that a widespread disappointment, a deterioration of morale had overtaken the Armenians, especially the Caucasian Armenians, as a consequence of meager political-diplomatic results achieved by the large-scale revolutionary actions (Bank Ottoman, Samatia, Khanasor) and the fedayee movement. "Misfortunes, calamities, the diabolical ploys of international — and especially Russian — diplomacy weighed heavy like an incubus on hearts and minds". [8] In the Yergir, betrayal was becoming a more frequent phenomenon, resulting in the deaths of ARF military leaders (after Vazken, also Kourken and Serop), or the immediate arrests of organizers from abroad (in Cilicia, Mar; in Moush, Sevkaretsi Sako; in Vasbouragan, Tork-Achukgeozian and Sarkis Ohanjanian). [9] Meanwhile, the arrival of other fieldworkers was delayed, due mainly to the shortage of funds. [10]

The Responsible Central Committee of Constantinople recorded no significant activity during this five-year period, despite the permanent presence, at least until 1900, of Ashod and Karekin Khazhag, and the visits of Rosdom. [11]

The Dashnaktsutiun had shown interest in Cilicia well before the Second World Congress. At the end of 1895, the attempt by a group of young Dashnaks to reach Zeytoun to assist the insurgents there had failed, due in large part to the procrastinations and rejectionist attitude of the Hnchakians. In the summer of 1897, arms were discovered by the Cypriot customs authority, which resulted in the disclosure, and failure, of yet another plan to infiltrate an armed group into Cilicia. Meanwhile, individual ARF fieldworkers, such as Bondatsi, Kachperouni, and Rahver (Misak Vartanian) were already busy organizing groups and gomidehs in Cilicia. After the Second World Congress, Hrach, a member of the Responsible Central Committee for Cilicia, chose Alexandria as his headquarters and from there conducted correspondence with the Western Bureau and the fieldworkers in Cilicia. [12] In November 1898 Mar (Mikayel Der Mardirosian) entered Cilicia, and before a year had passed, he was arrested. Quietly and patiently Rahver continued his organizational work in Cilicia, recruiting and assigning work to new members, including Ashod-Levon, Yolan, Sarhad, Aram, Dr. Giligian, and others. Those who assisted the work being conducted in Cilicia included Martin Mouradian, Vahram (Haroutiun Kalfayan), and Hagop Aghaser.

After the World Congress, Rosdom, who represented the Western Bureau and was appointed by it to the Responsible Central Committee of Constantinople, settled in Philippi (Philippopolis, or Plovdiv), Bulgaria. He not only revitalized the Balkan units of the Party but also inspired, thanks to his personal friendship with Boris Sarafov and other Macedonian leaders, a new

12 / On the action in Cilicia, see Varantian, Ibid, II, pp. 44-56 (*) and the memoirs of Hrach in "HAIRENIK", 9th Year, no. 4 (*).



Rosdom Zorian with a female ARF team in Bulgaria, around 1900.

spirit of practical cooperation between the ARF and Macedonian revolutionaries.

The propaganda machine of the ARF adopted the Macedonian cause as its own. In Bulgaria, Rosdom freely engaged in the work of testing and perfecting explosives. Dashnaktsakan youth were accepted into the Bulgarian Military Academy. [13]

Later, in the years 1906-1907, with the personal assistance of Sarafov, the ARF Central Committee of the Balkans established its own military training academy in the monastery of Rila. [14]

The Armenian-Macedonian alliance was to be sanctified in the summer of 1901. Near Adrianople (Edirne), a band of Armenian and Macedonian revolutionaries became embroiled in a battle with Turkish regular troops. Six of the revolutionaries were killed; the Turks took two Macedonians and two Armenians, Bedros Seremjian [15] and Onnig Torosian, as prisoners. All four were hanged on December 9, 1901, in Adrianople. [16]

For the ARF, Bulgaria was also the gateway to Constantinople. Many of the Constantinople fieldworkers for a while operated in Bulgaria, as well, or traveled back and forth in secrecy. [17] Apart from Bedros Seremjian, the Balkan Region contributed many other devoted revolutionaries to the liberation movement, including Vahan of Sasoun, Marzbed, Boulgaratsi Krikor, and others. [18]

Despite all the difficulties mentioned, the ARF network was growing in Western Europe. By 1901-1902, the Union of Armenian Students of Europe had already come under Party authority; in fact, many of the revolutionary, political, and cultural figures of the ARF were former students in France, Switzerland, and Germany. [19] Also, thanks to the efforts of Hrach, Vahram, Martin, Karekin Khazhag, Aghaser, and Dr. G. Pashayan, the activities of the regions that assisted Cilicia, namely Egypt and Smyrna, also expanded. [20]

In the western regions, the ARF in the United States was also developing and growing stronger, especially from 1899 on, thanks to Arshag Vramian and the newspaper Hairenik, which he edited. The U.S. Region produced a large cadre of fieldworkers and fighters for the Yergir. Some of them were to become well-known figures. [21]

3 / "Droshak", "Pro Armenia", and External Propaganda

Kristapor's presence in Geneva as a member of the Western Bureau gave momentum to the *Droshak* and the work of external propaganda and political relations. Kristapor not only gathered an excellent team of journalists and writers around the *Droshak* (Agnouni, Avedis Aharonian, Avedik Isahagian, Sarkis Minasian, and others) but also secured the periodic cooperation of non-Armenian sympathizers, including Francis de Pressensé, Urbain Gohier, Pierre Quillard, Chibriani, and Ricciotti Garibaldi, the son of the Italian national hero. [22]

The Second World Congress had decided to greatly expand the work of propaganda and external relations in Europe. In this regard, Kristapor's efforts succeeded, with the publication in France of the periodical *Pro Armenia*, in French. The journal served as the international foreign-language source of information about, and voice for, the cause of the Armenian people. Its editors and contributors were from the political and literary-cultural elite of France, including Pierre Quillard (editor), Jean Jaurès, Anatole France, Francis de Pressensé, Georges Clemenceau, Victor Berard, E. de Roberty, Destournelles de Constant, Urbain Gohier, Denys Gochin, Jacquelard, and others. From England, the main contributor was James Bryce, from Italy, Enrico Ferri and Chibriani, and so on. For many years, with the arrangement of Kristapor, Dr. Hovhannes Loris-Melikian (Loris) was to supervise, and give impetus to, *Pro Armenia* and the work of propaganda in Europe.

Pro Armenia was entirely financed by the Western Bureau. Quite understan-

13 / Nzhdeh, Rashid and others.

14 / Antranig, the hero of Sasoun, was to go to Bulgaria in 1906 to assist in the founding of the military training school. The United States Central Committee dispatched its representative Tovmas Jeiaiian and took on the vast majority of the schooi's expenses. Administration was supervised by the Balkans Central Committee, teaching activities by Rashid and Captain Boghoylan. Unfortunateiy, the school oniy lasted a year, for in autumn 1907, its activities were brought to an all-too-early end as a result of the Bulgarians' complete change of poiicy and financial difficuities.

15 / Bedros Seremjian was one of the ieaders in the fighting that took place in Vasbouragan in September 1896.

16 / See Varantian, ibid, pp. 262-263 (*).

17 / Sev Ashod, Torkom, Karekin Khazhag, Arshag Vramian, Boris, Vart Badrigian, etc.

18 / Outstanding figures in the Balkans Region aiso included Andon Kosh, Garabed Bionian, Yervant Alajajian, Partogh Zorian and Sarkis Araradian. For a few years, Roupen Zartarian worked here and published the periodical Raz mig (1905-1907).

19 / Armen Garo (Karekin Pastermajian), Hrach, Sarkis Srents, Levon Nevrouz, Hamo Ohanjanian, Avedis Aharonian, Mikayel Varantian, Avedik Isahagian, Karekin Khazhag, Libarid Nazariants, Nigol Aghbalian, Ardavazt Hanemian, Parsegh Shahbaz, Roupen Tarpinian, Ardavazt Apeghian, Yeghisheh Topjian and many others.

20 / Also among the propagandist-organizers working in Smyrna (Izmir) were Edouard (Smpad Boyajian), Shavarsh Derounian, Varbed (Hovhannes Boyajian) and V. Edgar. See the report from Voskehank (Smyrna) to the Third World Congress in "DOCUMENTS FOR THE HISTORY OF THE ARF", II. 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1985, pp. 147-153 (*).

21 / For example: Martin Mouradian, Armenag Levonian (Ashod-Yergat), Minas Dolbashian (Kayl-Vahan), Hovhannes Nahikian (victim of the dynamite explosion in Kars in 1903), Ardashes Hovsepian (Malkhas), Hagop Aprahamian (Vart-Manoushag, who worked in Smyrna), Siragan Boyajian and others.

22 / See "DROSHAK", 1898-1902 (*).

dably, however, this fact was revealed only to the most important executive bodies of the Party. it was published twice monthly until October, 1908. In many aspects (format, regular columns, etc.) it closely resembled *Droshak*; furthermore, copy coming from the Yergir to *Droshak* was translated and also inserted in *Pro Armenia*. It was sent free of charge to a large number of European governmental, political, scientific, and literary-cultural figures, as well as journalists and correspondents. [23]

Aside from *Pro Armenia*, during the same years, thanks to the persistent, tenacious efforts of Loris, the Western Bureau was able to create an unprecedented movement in European countries in favor of the Armenians. That movement mobilized ali known Armenophiles, including the non-Armenian friends of the Dashnaktsutiun, especially the leaders of the socialist parties. Propaganda was also conducted on behalf of the Macedonians and other peoples oppressed by Ottoman rule. Throughout the years 1899-1906, and within the context of the ARF's activities in political relations and propaganda, the following types of activities were organized: attempts in the parliaments of Europe (especially in France, but also Italy, Belgium, England, The Netherlands, and elsewhere) to ensure intervention on behalf of the Armenians; Public meetings and demonstrations in Paris and other capitals, with the active participation of many eminent personalities, including Jaurès, Marcel Samba, Francis de Pressensé, and others; international conferences of friends of the Armenian Cause; pro-Armenian resolutions in successive peace conferences and successive socialist congresses. [24]

4 / The Meeting of the "Body Representing the Wili of the Dashnaktsutiun", and "Potorig"

The date for the next World Congress was decided for the end of 1900, [25] but neither the international political situation nor the financially difficult position of the Party allowed it to take place. Therefore, with the mutual agreement of the Bureaus and Responsible Bodies, in April of 1901 a meeting of the Body Representing the WIII of the Dashnaktsutiun took place in Philippi. [26]

The meeting examined ordinary agenda items, including the financial obligations of the executive bodies, the establishment of an "Armenian Revolutionary Red Cross", the cessation of the prolonged and fruitless negotiations with the "reorganized" Hnchaks, reactivation of military groups, cooperation with Macedonians and Young Turks, and so on. [27]

More importantly, as an unavoidable measure for alleviating the financial crisis of the Party, the Body adopted a plan of collecting funds through coercion. The plan was to secure, with threats and if necessary assassination, significant amounts of money from apathetic wealthy Armenians, in order to finance the revolutionary and propaganda activities. The results of this "unavoidable maleficence" [28] were to secure the continued publication

23 / See "PRO ARMENIA" from the beginning (November 1900 to October 1908.

24 / See the reports presented by Loris (Dr. Hovhannes Loris-Melikian) to the Third and Fourth World Congresses, in "DOCUMENTS FOR THE HISTORY OF THE ARF", 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1985, Volume II pp. 158-161 and Volume IV pp. 88-127 respectively (*).

25 / See "DOCUMENTS FOR THE HISTORY OF THE ARF", II, 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1985, p. 64 (*).

26 / For the minutes of the meeting of the Body Representing the WIII of the Dashnaktsutiun, see "DOCUMENTS FOR THE HISTORY OF THE ARF", II, 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1985, Supplement, pp. 361-366 (*). Those taking part were Kristapor and Rosdom (Western Bureau), Harutiun Shahrigian (Eastern Bureau), Ashod and Garen (Constantinople Responsible Central Committee) and Hrach (Cilicia Responsible Central Committee).

27 / Ibid. See also the circular of the Body Representing the WIII of the Dashnaktsutiun, in "DOCUMENTS FOR THE HISTORY OF THE ARF", II, 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1985, pp. 98-99 (*).

28 / See the motion of the Third World Congress concerning the collection of funds by coercion, in "DOCUMENTS FOR THE HISTORY OF THE ARF", II, 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1985, pp. 129 (*).

29 / According to Garen, the decision to slay the Red Sultan had already been taken in Philippopolis. "Nevertheless, as the enterprise needed a budget of at least 50,000 rubles, its implementation became dependent on the fund-collection enterprise (Potorig)". See "DOCUMENTS FOR THE HISTORY OF THE ARF", II, 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1985, pp. 95 (*).

30 / In 1905, the ARF Council decided to "cease implementing new projects and pursue old accounts without taking extreme measures" (ibid, p. 230). In 1907, the Fourth World Congress was to decide to "prohibit once and for all any recourse to violent means for the purpose of fund-raising". See "DOCUMENTS FOR THE HISTORY OF THE ARF", III, 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1985, p. 308 (*).

31 / Sarkis Minasian, E. Agnouni, Mikayel Varantian and Avedis Aharonian were considered as substitutes for the Western Bureau members absent from Geneva (Rosdom, Arshag Vramian, Armen Garo). The Eastern Bureau

of *Pro Armenia* and the continuation of external propaganda; the implementation of the assassination attempt on the life of Sultan Hamid; [29] the concentration of manpower and materiel in Sasoun and the battles of self-defense in 1904; the positive outcome of the Armeno-Tatar clashes of 1905; and countless other revolutionary undertakings. However, considered fundamentally incompatible with ARF ethics, the project would be repudiated by successive World Congresses. [30]

Also, the meeting of the Body supplemented the membership of the Bureaus and the Responsible Central Committees. [31]

The collection of funds was to be implemented formally in the name of the Responsible Central Committee of Constantinople. This project was given the name "Potorig" (storm). Members appointed to the committee charged with implementing the project were Kristapor, Rosdom, Sev Ashod (Yeghigian), and Garen (Aram Hagopian); Nitra (Haroutiun Shahrigian) participated on behalf of the Eastern Bureau.

In 1902 Kristapor went to Transcaucasia, where Ashod and Garen awaited him; Rosdom and Nitra were to join them later, in 1903. Several assistants, including Onnig Nevrouz, fedayee group-leader Mihran, [32] Markar Zhamharian and Sarkis Parseghian, [33] were to be assigned to "Potorig" by Kristapor. The first attempt at collection was made at Shoushi, in Karabagh, from the millionaire Isahag Zhamharian. After promising to pay the amount demanded (30 thousand rubles), Zhamharian denounced those who had met him to the Tsarist police. As a result, Sarkis Parseghian was arrested.

Three months later, in the courtyard of the Armenian church in Moscow, in the midst of a large crowd, Isahag Zhamharian was stabbed to death by the Dashnaktsakan terrorist Mateos. Afterward, "Potorig" was to continue for about a year in the large cities of Transcaucasia and Russia. Certain capitalists who obstinately persisted in their refusal to pay (e.g. Janpoladian, Atamian) were sentenced to death. But on the whole, the majority of the upper classes paid heed, sometimes complying completely with the demands, and sometimes bargaining. [34]

According to the accounts presented by Kristapor to the Third World Congress (1904), "Potorig" had raised 432,500 francs, or 163,208 rubles — below initial expectations, yet a substantial amount. [35]

During the same period, the same sort of project was organized by Hrach in Smyrna, to finance the work in Cilicia. In implementing the project the ARF lost a few of its men; nevertheless, it also carried out several dramatic assassinations. [36]

5 / The Continuation of Activities in the Yergir

Greater, more systematic efforts were made to concentrate armed forces

team was completed by the appointment of Arsen and Melik (Hovhannes Youscufian), who had previously withdrawn for health reasons. Hrach remained a member of the Cilicia Responsible Central Committee, also composed of Martin (Martin Mouradian), Bedros Seremjian and Armenag Levonian. Then, for the Sasoun Responsible Central Committee along with Hrayr, Kisag (Vartkes Serengulian), Vahan Manouelian and Stepan Der Ghazarian were considered. (Der Gazarian never did enter the Yergir).

32 / Later, Mihran was to lead a rightist breakaway movement. He was eventually executed.

33 / In 1905, Sarkis was to go to Van and became one of the leading operatives of the Yergir.

34 / See Varantian, "The Potorig Mission", in op. cit., pp. 319-330 (*).

35 / See "DOCUMENTS FOR THE HISTORY OF THE ARF", II, 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1985, p. 127 (*).

36 / Ibid, pp. 147-153 (the Smyrna report) (*).

Pro Armenia

paraissant le 10 et le 25 de chaque mois

Rédacteur en chef : Pierre QUILLARD
[illegible]
10, rue Monsieur-le-Prince, Paris

ABONNEMENTS
France … 8 »
Étranger … 10 »

COMITÉ DE RÉDACTION
G. Clemenceau, Anatole France, Jean Jaurès
Francis de Pressensé, E. de Roberty

Secrétaire de rédaction : Jean LONGUET
[illegible]
PARIS
[illegible]

ABONNEMENTS
France … 8 »
Étranger … 10 »

Pro Armenia est en vente chez les libraires et dans les principaux kiosques de Paris

Nous avertissons nos abonnés, nos lecteurs et nos amis que l'administration de *Pro Armenia* est transférée

10, rue Monsieur-le-Prince

et nous les prions d'y adresser tous mandats et communications.

SOMMAIRE

Déclaration des Délégués arméniens. — La Quinzaine : Le Congrès des libéraux ottomans [illegible]

Déclaration des Délégués arméniens

Les délégués des Comités arméniens [illegible] au Congrès des Libéraux ottomans :

1° Que les Comités arméniens [illegible]

[illegible]

LA QUINZAINE

Le Congrès des Libéraux ottomans

Après cinq jours de débats, le Congrès des libéraux ottomans a terminé ses séances, le [illegible] février.

Le seul fait qu'il ait pu se réunir à Paris semble déjà d'une notable importance. Sans doute il aurait été souhaité que les discussions ne fussent pas publiques et que les orateurs n'exprimassent pas tous leur pensée à l'égard d'Abd-ul-Hamid. Mais malgré les euphémismes, réticences et périphrases diplomatiques, il n'en est pas moins vrai que les Turcs, les Arméniens, les Grecs, les Arabes, les Albanais, les Circassiens, les Israélites assemblés avaient pour sentiment commun la haine de l'Assassin et qu'ils désiraient d'abord le mettre hors d'état de nuire par les moyens qui conviendront le mieux.

[illegible]

[illegible] qui soit au Yildiz-Kiosk, n'est pas seul responsable du mal commis ; le régime en partie est [illegible], régime [illegible] qui n'offre aucune garantie contre le despotisme d'une bête féroce et qui même, sous un autre prince, perpétuerait [illegible] l'oppression et aggraverait la ruine et la décadence de la Turquie.

Tous également sont d'accord que [illegible] leurs droits acquis, selon la nature de leur délégation même, selon des convictions [illegible] que la lecture des documents ne modifie en rien, les uns et les autres se sont trouvés en dissentiment sur trois points :

1° Les Arméniens représentaient des comités organisés depuis longtemps, qui agissent en vue d'exécuter un programme précis et limité ; désireux d'obtenir leurs [illegible] dans la mesure du possible [illegible] les [illegible] et les [illegible] de l'Europe [illegible]

[illegible]

Front page of *Pro Armenia*, no. 7, 1902.

in Vasbouragan and Daron-Sasoun, in accordance with the decisions of the Second World Congress. Although the Eastern Bureau was the driving force and overall supervisor of this activity, the executive bodies of the regions containing the arms transport routes also gained Party-wide importance. The Central Committee Region of Kars, in particular, gradually became a veritable training ground for revolutionary fieldworkers and leaders. Its "graduates" became some of the most famous figures in ARF history, including Dourpakh, Jallad, Aram Manougian, [37] Vana Ishkhan (Nigol Boghosian), Isajan Arakelian, Torkom (Touman Toumiants), Yegor Arstamiants (Menag), and Roupen Der Minasian. [38]

Of course, not all fieldworkers and armed bands entered the Yergir unobserved. Although certain Kurdish chieftains and Begs had become more tolerant — and sometimes even cooperated with the fedayees — thanks to the efforts of ARF operatives in the frontier regions, frequent clashes occurred with the Kurdish hamidiye and Turkish troops. Consequently, the build up of forces and materiel in the Yergir was adversely affected.

In September, 1898, a group led by Pokhig successfully crossed the border from Adrbadagan into Vasbouragan, [39] but the groups led by Shavro, in 1898, and Shasho, in 1899, were involved in heavy fighting and suffered serious losses. [40]

From 1900 onward, the Adrbadagan Central Committee ended the practice of transporting arms across the border by large groups; instead, it adopted a procedure called "absorption", whereby small amounts of arms and ammunition would be brought into the Yergir by very small groups or simply by mule drivers. At the time, Samson Tadeosian, having settled in Salmasd, coordinated the arms transport operations. [41]

A band composed of 66 of Serop's fedayees led by group-leader Jardar, while transporting materiel from Kars to Akhlat in the autumn of 1898[42], became embroiled in a series of terrible clashes in the region of Khatavin mountain against hamidiye forces and Turkish regulars numbering in the thousands. The survivors of the band reached Serop a few at a time, having left a large number of casualties behind. Although the fedayees, including Jardar, had fought with inordinate courage, [43] Serop stripped Jardar of his rank, because he had been unable to protect his men.

In the fall of 1899, near the Khasdour village of Alashgerd (Eleshkirt), another arms-transport fedayee band, composed of 80 fighters and led by Khan (Parsegh Tiriakian), clashed with Turkish troops and Kurds. Leaving 15 of their own men and hundreds of the enemy dead on the field of battle, [44] the fedayees retreated to Kars. For several years after the battle of Khasdour, the transport of arms by means of large bands was discontinued on the Kars-Sasoun route, as well. [45]

Through the efforts of the Central Committee of Yerevan, the transport route from the Ararat region to Aladagh, and from there to Akhlat-Sasoun or

37 / One of the greatest architects of the independence of Armenia in 1918.

38 / See Roupen, "In the Forge of Kars", in "MEMOIRS OF AN ARMENIAN REVOLUTIONARY", I, Beirut, 1974 (*).

39 / Ibid, II, pp. 47-49 (*).

40 / See the report of the Adrbadagan Region to the Third World Congress, in "DOCUMENTS FOR THE HISTORY OF THE ARF", II, 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1985, pp. 137-147 (*).

41 / Ibid. On Samson, see also Malkhas (Ardashes Hovsepian), "EXPERIENCES", pp. 328-333 (*).

42 / Jardar, a veteran, was Serop's first cousin.

43 / Both Armenians and Kurds composed songs in praise of the legendary courage of the fedayees at the battles of Khatavin and the "Ruined Mill". On the subject, see also Roupen, op. cit., III, pp. 163-171 (*).

44 / On the Khasdour-Khan combat, see "CHRONICLES OF THE ARF", Boston, 1950, pp. 163-171 (*).

45 / Only Sevkaretsi Sako and Sebouh crossed the border in this period, with very small bands. Sako was arrested and held in the Moush prison for a number of years.

Routes and transit lines of men and ammunition.

1 / Salmasd-Van (via the monastery of Derik), extending towards Sasoun (via Lernabar, south of Lake Van).
2 / Nakhichevan-Van direct (via the monastery of St. Thaddeus or Stepanos Nakhaveka).
3 / Yerevan-Van direct (via Ararat).
4 / Kars-Akhlat (via Alashgerd).
5 / Kars-Sasoun (via Pasen, occasionally with a branch towards Garin).
6 / Batum-Sasoun (via Kars).



Vasbouragan, gradually became used more regularly. That route was established thanks to the efforts of Slak (Armenag Okhigian) and good relations with the region's Kurds, cultivated by Tokhmakh (Kghetsi Boghos). (46)

In the Yergir, too, 1898-1901 was to be a period marked by financial difficulties, a downturn in mood, and crisis. The revolutionary leaders of the early years gradually, one by one disappeared as a result of betrayal or death in battle. And until they were replaced by new leaders, and until these new leaders established themselves, the work did not always go smoothly.

After the death of Vazken, Vasbouragan experienced a period of reflux, until the arrival of Vartkes Serengiulian (Kisag) in early 1900. In a short time (47) Kisag succeeded in reorganizing the Region of Vasbouragan and the groups operating there. He also mobilized a new cadre of local leadership. (48) In the spring of 1902 Vartan Shahbaz arrived in Van, (49) and in September of 1903 arrived Nigol Boghosian (Ishkhan) and Vahan Papazian (Goms), who were to operate in Vasbouragan for many years. The latter remained in Van, while Ishkhan went to the mountainous regions of Shadakh, Mogk, and Rshdounik. There, with the help of Shahbaz, Ishkhan established a tight-knit organizational network, the new Central Committee Region of Lernabar. (50)

The Daron-Sasoun-Akhlat Region also experienced crises. In April of 1899 in the village of Tsronk, Kourken, with several of his comrades, was killed in battle. (51) At the end of October, in Sasoun, Serop became the victim of a conspiracy; he was poisoned and then killed. (52) Sevkaretsi Sako, arrested soon after arriving in Daron, was incarcerated in the prison of Moush. (53) Only Hrayr remained from the Central Committee of the Region. He traveled from village to village in the Plain of Moush, patiently organizing and conducting propaganda. Hrayr considered the battles of the fedayees to be fruitless and an unnecessary waste of effort and energy; he preferred silent, long-term preparation for an eventual popular uprising.

The more impulsive dispositions of Sasoun's fedayees stood in contradiction to Hrayr's mentality. Consequently, the years 1899-1902 were characterized by frequent misunderstandings between the Region's official leader, Hrayr, and the fedayees. In particular, Antranig, who with his bravery and military abilities had begun to replace Serop in the eyes of the fedayees, could not tolerate the low-key but popular organizer, Hrayr. (54)

The small army of Sasoun's fedayees gradually rebuilt itself and became more active. Well-known group leaders and daring fighters, such as Sbaghanats Magar (55), Kevork Chavoush, (56) Kaleh, Goriun (Komsa Iso), Chrits Hampartsoum, Godoyi Haji, Seydo Boghos, Gaydzag Vagharshag, and many other fedayees who had served with Serop. Successive, frequent clashes occurred (the three battles of Pertag, the battles of Sbaghank, Mazra, Bnav, Dirngadar, Gouravou, Norshen, and others). Also, the fedayees executed many Armenian informers and government collaborators. In the

46 / See Roupen, op. cit., III, p. 254 (*).

47 / Kisag was arrested on December 31, 1902 and kept in the Van prison until 1905 and then at Diarbekir until the Ottoman Constitution (1908). He was able to continue work for the Region by means of fairly regular clandestine correspondence.

48 / Ales, Teos, Armenag, Nshan, Panos, Melikset, etc.

49 / He had taken part in the occupation of the Ottoman Bank in Constantinople and had stayed in the Balkans for a time. In 1902-03, in Van, he executed the informers and traitors responsible for the assassination of Vazken and the arrest of Tork, Sarkis Ohanjanian, Vartkes and others.

50 / On the revolutionary activities of Vana Ishkhan, see Roupen, op. cit., pp. 120-196 (*).

51 / See Roupen, Ibid, III, pp. 173-176 (*).

52 / Ibid, pp. 178-185 (*).

53 / On Sevkaretsi Sako, see Valadian, V., "Sevkaretsi Sako", in ' HAIRENIK", Boston, 1959, nos. 2-8.

54 / See Roupen, op. cit., III pp. 186-211 (*).

55 / Ibid, pp. 211-212. See also Ibid, II, pp. 278-302 (*).

56 / On Kevork Chavoush, who was soon to become a legendary leader of a band of fedayees in Sasoun, see Roupen, ibid, II, III and IV. He was to die a hero's death in the fighting at Souloukh on May 27, 1907.

0 60 150 km

autumn of 1900, Antranig, Kevork, and Magar assassinated the Kurdish chieftain Bshareh Khalil, who had murdered Serop and destroyed the village of Sbaghank. [57]

While safeguarding the dignity and morale of the Armenian population, this guerrilla activity had a negative effect, as well. Each time the fedayees of Sasoun were involved in battle, the enemy retaliated by massacring or destroying entire villages in the Plain of Moush. Demoralized and in despair, many resorted to conversion, adhering to Russian Orthodoxy, hoping to thus gain protection. [58] Concerned, the Central Committee of Moush organized a more resolute demonstrative-military action to once again attract the attention of the Powers to the fate of the Armenians. In November of 1901, 60 fedayees under the leadership of Antranig entrenched themselves behind the walls of "Arakelots Vank" (The Monastery of the Apostles). They battled Turkish forces for 20 days, punctuated by negotiations with Turkish officials. The battle of Arakelots Vank, despite its uncertain outcome, [59] had a positive effect on the Armenians of Daron-Sasoun by re-awakening in them the spirit of resistance and putting an end to the tragi-comic conversions to Russian Orthodoxy. [60] News of the fighting echoed outside the Ottoman Empire, and the work of external propaganda received a boost. [61]

In the spring of 1902 Vahan Manouelian arrived in Sasoun as the fully-empowered representative of the Dashnaktsutiun. In the summer, Yergat also arrived and chose to work in Akhlat.

The arrival of the new leaders put an end to the quarrels between Hrayr and the fedayees. All of them, without exception, submitted to the representative of the Party, and the activities of the fedayees were halted. Although Sasoun was hemmed in and the anti-Armenian persecutions in the Plain of Moush multiplied, the years 1902 and 1903 formed a period of quiet and persistent work, propaganda, and reorganization. Moreover, the work of concentrating manpower and arms in Sasoun was intensified; in this regard, Menag and Tokhmakh often traveled back and forth, the former from Pasen and the latter from the Partogh Mountains, to Moush and Akhlat. [62]

In May 1903 Torkom's Mrrig (storm) group, led by Menag, safely arrived in Sasoun, bringing materiel and experienced fighters. [63] At the end of the summer, Torkom returned to Kars with a few of his soldiers to give further impetus to the work of transportation, while Yergat left for the Transcaucasus. These men were never to see Sasoun and Akhlat again. [64] Faced with the overt effort by the Turkish army and the Kurds to infiltrate forces into Sasoun and completely surround it, Vahan and Hrayr requested assistance from the Eastern Bureau and the Regions of the frontier.

In response to their repeated appeals, the Bureau and the Central Committee of Kars made preparations to send a second, larger group of fedayees to Sasoun. This effort, however, was unsuccessful and had a tragic end. Had Khan's cavalry and Onnig Nevrouz's infantrymen — a total of 150 fedayees — arrived safely in Sasoun by September, the 1904 battles of Sa-

57 / Roupen, ibid, III pp. 217-218 (*).

58 / Ibid, pp. 220-228 (*).

59 / The government drew out the negotiations for a long time and in the end, and as always, refused to accept the demands of the fedayees. After 21 days, in a night attack, the fedayees opened a breach in the ranks of the Turkish troops and made off toward Sasoun, leaving only one victim on the field of battle. See Roupen, ibid, pp. 229-233 (*).

60 / Ibid, especially p. 233 (*).

61 / See "PRO ARMENIA", no. 11 (35), May 10, 1902.

62 / See Roupen; op. cit., III. pp. 252-254 (*).

63 / Dourpakh, Keri, Sebouh, Sepasdatsi Mourad. Gümüshkhanetsi Avedis (Avo), Meshedi Avedis, Vorsort Kevork, etc, all courageous combatants and future group leaders. See Roupen, ibid, pp. 254-260 (*).

64 / Both were to die heroes' deaths in spring 1904 when, at the head of reinforcements, they were making haste toward Sasoun, which was in agony at the time.

65 / On the battles of Khan's and Nevrouz's groups, see Roupen, ibid, I, pp. 156-173 (*).

68 / The Caucasian and Russian Regions: Tbilisi, Baku, Yerevan, Alexandropol, Kars, Gharabagh, Kantzag, Batum, the Northern Caucasus, Nor Nakhichevan. There were also ARF members organized in cells in Moscow and St. Petersburg.

67 / See Ghulkhandanian, Apraham, "The Role of Baku in our Liberation Movement", in "HAIRENIK", 2nd Year no. 3 to 3rd Year no. 5 (*).

68 / See Roupen, op. cit., I, pp. 215-225 (*).

69 / In the letters written by Simon Zavarian in 1902-03, we find frequent allusions to the shortcomings of the Eastern Bureau and the need to reorganize it. See "Simon Zavarian", II, Beirut, 1987 (*).

70 / See Document no. 1577-1, Central Archives of the ARF (*).

71 / On the records and decisions of the Third World Congress, see "DOCUMENTS FOR THE HISTORY OF THE ARF", II, 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1985, pp. 108-137 (*).

soun may well have had a different outcome. But after crossing the border the fedayees were surrounded by a force of 300 horsemen and eight companies armed with cannons. One of the most fierce and heroic battles in the history of the Dashnaktsutiun took place in the triangle formed by the villages of Deli Baba, Komatsor, and Yuzveran. The enemy lost about 800 men, but the ranks of the fedayees were also decimated. The two group leaders Khan and Nevrouz, as well as Menag, Serop of Souloukh with his two sons, Sheg Hamo, and many others, were all killed. (65)

6 / The Eastern Regions and Transcaucasian Matters

The Eastern Bureau was responsible for the organization not only in the Yergir and Iran but also in the Transcaucasus and other areas of Russia. (66) The most important organizational bodies outside the Yergir were the Central Committees of the frontier Regions (Kars, Yerevan, and Adrbadagan), because they were the ones immediately responsible for the transportation of men and arms to the Yergir. But the Regions of Vosganabad (Baku) and Kar (Alexandropol) had always been considered important, as well. The former was a training ground for fieldworkers and military leaders and was in constant contact with Adrbadagan. (67) The latter mainly assisted the Region of Kars. It was also in Alexandropol that significant amounts of arms and ammunition were taken from Russian arsenals, an operation conducted with rarely equaled expertise and boldness. For several years these supplies were to arm Dashnaktsutiun's units both in the Yergir and the Transcaucasus. (68)

From 1901 to 1902, the Eastern Bureau was in a half-dissolved state due to the frequent absence from Tiflis of many of its members. That shortage of manpower was to be felt even more strongly when in the spring of 1902 Zavarian left the Transcaucasus for Paris and then Geneva. The revolutionary workers of the Transcaucasus, therefore, made serious efforts to supplement the membership of the Bureau and make it a more active body. (69) In May of 1903, by the invitation and participation of the Eastern Bureau, a Rayonagan Congress of the organizational bodies of Russia was held in Baku. (70) The Congress made a critical analysis of Dashnaktsutiun's activities from 1900 to 1903, specifically the work of transporting and concentrating manpower and materiel in the Yergir, the difficulties encountered and the reasons for them (the situation of the Bureau, financial difficulties, etc.). The Congress also dealt with tactical concerns. The decisions and conclusions it reached in this regard were almost literally adopted by the Third World Congress, held eight or nine months later. (71)

At the time, one of the main concerns of the Caucasian organizational bodies of the ARF was the issue of Armenian refugees who had fled the atrocities of the Turks and settled on the shores of the Black Sea and in the Northern Caucasus. [72]

From the years 1900-1901 onward, the organizational bodies of the Caucasus more actively pursued the work of procuring arms and forming armed bands, [73] which were to play a fortuitous role several years later, during the Armeno-Tatar clashes of 1905-1906.

Starting in 1903, the ARF bodies of the Caucasus and Russia faced another problem. Under the influence of the Social-Revolutionary and Social-Democrat movements, certain elements of the Dashnaktsutiun (students, intellectuals, workers), began leaning further to the left and disavowing national objectives. [74] The Rayonagan Congress of 1903 considered the agitation of the workers in Russia to be a "vital and great phenomenon", but it also held that "although sympathetic, the Dashnaktsutiun cannot actively participate, because the national cause is in a critical stage, and our energies are insufficient for two tasks". Less than two years later, however, due to the natural evolution of events and attitudes, the Dashnaktsutiun published its "Plan of Action for the Caucasus", essentially socialist in its basis. [75]

In actuality, the second (anti-tsar) front of struggle had already been established by 1903, when on June 12 the Tsar issued a decree authorizing the confiscation by the state of all the properties of the Armenian Church. This unexpected decision, made within the context of the policy of gradual Russification of minorities, caused an unprecedented wave of anger and revolt among the Eastern Armenians, and the Dashnaktsutiun took charge of the movement. The ARF convinced Khrimian, Catholicos of All Armenians, to reject the decree and refuse to voluntarily hand over the wealth of the Armenian Church. Also, demonstrations and public meetings were organized in all cities of the Transcaucasus, and for a time the external propaganda of the Dashnaktsutiun was concentrated against Tsarism. Moreover, the Armenian clergy as well as national-church bodies were warned not to submit to the threats of the police and the Ministry of the Interior. Meanwhile, a "Central Committee for Armenian Self-defense" was formed, composed of various strata of the people, [76] and the Armenians of Constantinople and other communities abroad were also mobilized in the propaganda campaign. Demonstrations in Yerevan, Ikdir, Ashdarag, Kantsag, Tiflis, Baku, Kars and elsewhere were often violent and bloody. Dashnaktsakan assassins executed numerous Russian functionaries and Armenian collaborators. [77]

This popular movement against the Tsar reawakened the national identity of the Transcaucasian Armenian bourgeoisie and revitalized the organizational Regions of the ARF in the Transcaucasus.

72 / See op. cit., letters of Simon Zavarian (*).

73 / Idem, and particularly the letter of December 5, 1902 addressed to the United States Regional Convention.

74 / One of the earliest documents on the leftist faction within Dashnaktsutiun is the letter of resignation tendered by Nariman Der Ghazarian dated October 3, 1903 (document no. 290-45, Central Archives of the ARF [*]).

75 / See "DOCUMENTS FOR THE HISTORY OF THE ARF", II, 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1985, pp. 231-236 (*).

76 / See "DROSHAK", 1903-04; and also Agnouni, E., "The Wounds of the Caucasus", Geneva, 1903, and "Toward Combat", Geneva, 1904 (*).

77 / The following were among those who were assassinated: Sakharov, police superintendent of Shoushi; Shcherpagovski, high-ranking tax official; Grozdov, sworn translator; Sherif Beg, military liaison agent in Kars; Andreev, vice-governor of the province of Kantzag; Boguslavski, governor of the district of Surmalu; Bekov, colonel, commandant of the Oltu border garrison. The failed missions included Schmerling, mayor of Echmiadzin, Kherkheuleze, police superintendent of Kars. The death sentence was also pronounced for Galitsin, viceroy and governor-general of the Caucasus, but Hnchak terrorists were first to make an attempt, which failed. In October, 1905, within the framework of the Constitution forced out of the regime by the First Russian Revolution, the Czar was to return to the Armenians the national and religious properties confiscated two years earlier.

5 / 1904-1907 (Until the Fourth World Congress)

1 / The Third World Congress of the Dashnaktsutiun

The Third World Congress took place in Sofia in February and March, 1904. Because of the income from "Potorig", the organization's financial crisis had nearly been remedied by then, and the World Congress could concentrate on other pertinent issues. Many of the ARF's leaders were present. Notably absent was Rosdom, who had remained in the Caucasus because of organizational work. Pierre Quillard, editor-in-chief of Pro Armenia, was invited as a guest and attended some of the sessions. (1)

The Congress first addressed the issue of the Partsravantag Region, because enemy forces had tightly encircled Sasoun and were preparing for a general offensive. Yergat suggested taking the initiative, since the political climate at the time was in favor of the Armenians. (2) The Congress responded by empowering the Responsible Body of Sasoun to act as it saw fit and placed financial and military resources at its disposal. The organizational bodies of the border regions, particularly Kars, were given the responsibility of immediately sending groups to Sasoun to transport arms. The organizational bodies of the Yergir were given the responsibility of supporting the Sasoun movement through hit-and-run actions, sabotage, and assassinations. Im-

1 / See "DOCUMENTS FOR THE HISTORY OF THE ARF", II, 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1985, pp. 108-137, Including the notes (*).

2 / Ibid. "PRO ARMENIA" (*) and propaganda in Europe had caused a wave of sympathy and interest in the Armenian Cause. People also expected the reactivation of the Macedonian movement.

mediately after this decision, Yergat and Gaydzag Vagharshag left the Congress to form new groups in the Caucasus and return to Sasoun.

A similar armed action in Cilicia was considered premature, but the Congress thought it necessary to continue the organizing and arming of Vasbouragan and to resume activities in Yerznga and Dersim. (3)

The Congress replaced the Responsible Central Committee of Constantinople with a Demonstrative Body (Tsoutsagan Marmin), which would be responsible for organizing intense demonstrations in Constantinople and Smyrna in support of Sasoun and, also, independent of it.

The Congress decided to further promote propaganda in Europe, in particular by establishing a Permanent International Bureau of Armenophiles. A proposal to also publish *Pro Armenia* in languages other than French was considered superfluous. (4)

The World Congress decided to end ali talks with the two, mutually antagonistic wings of the Hnchak Party; the Congress nevertheless suggested that the organizational bodies cooperate on the local level with truly dedicated and trustworthy Hnchaks. Efforts at cooperation with other discontented elements in the Empire — Kurds, Turks, Macedonians, Lebanese, and others — were encouraged.

The ARF, although continuing to pursue "the historical cause of Ottoman Armenia", also accepted the responsibility for "the self-defense of Armenians in the Caucasus" — a turning point in the strategy of the ARF. The Central Committee for Armenian Self-defense was granted official status in the Party and was renamed the Responsible Body for the Caucasus. (5)

The Congress also made tactical decisions: the dispatching of reporters/operatives to the Yergir; the organization of several important areas in Armenia Minor; the formation of local self-defense groups; the arming and training of the population, etc. (6)

The Third World Congress did not introduce fundamental changes in the organizational structure, which had been formulated by the Second World Congress and had naturally evolved during the years 1898-1903. The system of two Bureaus, with the same geographical demarcation, remained the same. The Responsible Central Committees were also maintained and their rights and responsibilities further clarified. (7) The Body Representing the Will of the Dashnaktsutiun was renamed The ARF Council, composed of the representatives of the Bureau and the Responsible Central Committees. The clarifications were universal. In fact, detailed rules were formulated, numbered as articles, and noted in the minutes of the Congress. After the Third World Congress, for the first time, ARF Organizational Bylaws were printed in booklet form by the *Droshak's* press.

3 / These regions were practically left in a state of abandon after the arrest of Dersimi Keri.

4 / In spite of the decision, one issue of "PRO ARMENIA" in English appeared on November 1, 1905.

5 / The Transcaucasian Rayonagan Congresses were left with the task of working out suitable tactics. The decision on "self-defense" was to be radically modified by the ARF Council one year later.

6 / In the development of revolutionary awareness, the self-arming and military training of the masses were given particular importance. See "DOCUMENTS FOR THE HISTORY OF THE ARF", II, 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1985, pp. 136 (*).

7 / See Dasnabedian, Hratch, "THE EVOLUTION AND ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE ARF", 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1985, pp. 38-44, including the notes. At the Third World Congress, the Executives elected were Rosdom, E. Agnouni, Hovhannes Loris-Melikian, Avedis Aharonian and Mikayel Varantian for the Western Bureau; Kristapor Mikayelian, Safo (Mardiros Markarian), Torkom (Touman Toumiants), Ashod Pakradouni Yeghigian (Sev Ashod) and Hovnan Tavtian (who in fact was practically inactive) for the Demonstrative Body; Simon Zavarian, Vartan (Sarkis Mehrabian), Hagop Aghaser and M. Kouyoumjian (Arantsar) for the Cilicia Responsible Central Committee; and the de facto team of the Sasoun Responsible Central Committee included Vahan, Hrayr, Ashod-Yergat (all three of whom were soon to fall on the field of honor) was simply confirmed. Elections for the Eastern Bureau were delegated to the Caucasus Rayonagan Congress and the Organizational Bodies in the Yergir.

8 / See Roupen, "MEMOIRS OF AN ARMENIAN REVOLUTIONARY", 2nd Edition, III, Beirut, 1974, pp. 262 and 264 (*). According to Roupen, the "insurgent" region besieged by the army numbered from 8,000 to 9,000 Armenians, that is, only a small portion of the Armenian population of Touran-Partsravantag, an estimated total of 180,000.

9 / See Varantian, Mikayel, "HISTORY OF THE ARF", p. 267 (*).

10 / Roupen, op. cit., p. 264 (*).

11 / ibid, p. 263 (*).

12 / They were group leaders and fedayees, all veterans of guerrilla warfare. Some of them, Keri, Mourad,

In January 1904, Sasoun was completely surrounded. [8] Neither the cautious approach of Hrayr and Vahan nor the repeated warnings of European Armenophiles had been able to alter the Sultan's plans. Making use of the anti-Armenian policy of Russia, the Sultan "planned to annihilate the stronghold of Armenian rebellion Sasoun, which he had failed to crush in 1894-1895". [9] Under the general command of Zeki and Salih pashas, the regular Turkish forces numbered about 10,000 soldiers, with cannons, sophisticated weapons, and abundant ammunition. They were assisted by 5,000 to 7,000 armed Kurds. [10]

The number of the small yet elite force of fedayees was less than 200, although they were assisted by 700-800 armed villagers. [11] The leadership consisted of Vahan and Hrayr, who were members of the Responsible Body for the Region, as well as Antranig, who was elected military commander, and Keri, who was placed in charge of supplies and logistics. Antranig's assistants and group leaders were no less famous for their bravery and experience in battle. They included Kevork Chavoush, Sbaghanats Magar, Sepasdatsi Mourad, Sebouh, Smpad, Gaydzag Arakel, Avo, Shenigi Manoug, Kaleh, Cholo, Goriun (Komsa Iso), Godoyi Haji, Seydo Boghos, and others. [12] The lines of defense for Sasoun were the villages of Dapug and Shenig to the north, Dalvorig and Ishkhntsor to the south, and Gelieguzan at the center. [13]

In January, several skirmishes foretold of the coming conflagration. The Kurds had conspired to assassinate Antranig in Dapug, and the reaction of the fedayees was severe. In February, the Turkish army began to pressure the positions at Khiank and Dalvorig in the south, but did not succeed in attacking from the north (the Taurus Mountains) as a result of the winter snow. The army began to make headway after March 20. The Kurds, in turn, became active, and the fedayees fought several bitter clashes with them at Dalaveh and Lajgan. [14] The clashes became more frequent at the beginning of April, and subsequently erupted into all-out fighting.

The fedayees not only waged unequal combat against the Turkish regulars and Kurdish irregulars but also evacuated the populations of endangered Armenian villages, transporting them to more secure areas.

From April 1 to 11, Markar and Kevork waged fierce battles on the southern front. At the same time, the enemy attacked from the north; the great battle of Shenig took place on April 11, with the Turks suffering heavy casualties. The fedayees were eventually forced, however, to evacuate Shenig, taking the populace to Semal and Aliank. On April 12, the government sent an Armenian celibate priest to the fedayees, attempting to trap them with false promises. [15] The emissary had not yet returned, when the army began a night

Sebouh and Avo, had come to Sasoun with the group led by Torkom in 1903. The others were from Sasoun or Daron.

13 / Roupen, op. cit., p. 275 (*).

14 / Ibid, p. 273-275. Varantian, Mikayel, op. cit., p. 274 (*).

15 / Roupen, op. cit., p. 275 (*).



Antranig, still a young fedayee in Daron.

assault on all fronts. During the heroic defense of Semai, Sebouh was wounded and Hrayr was killed. [16] On the shores of the Chay river, in Aliank and Merger, Mourad, Goriun, Cholo, Magar, Haji, and their fedayees fought with legendary daring against the army and cannons of Keoseh Binbashi. [17] On the southern front, there was another assault on April 16 (the battle of Ishkhntsor), and the vice of Turkish pressure gradually tightened. The Armenian forces gradually concentrated around Gelieguzan, bringing with them thousands of unarmed villagers; from April 20 to 22, the great battle of Gelieguzan took place. The Turkish forces again suffered heavy casualties. Only as a result of cannon fire was the army able to dislodge the fedayees from a few advanced positions. However, the food and ammunition of the Armenians had run out.

Convening a meeting in Alouchag, Vahan, Antranig, and Kevork decided to transport the unarmed population to the Plain of Moush and send for arms and ammunition from Vasbouragan. This impossible double mission was entrusted to a body of 115 armed men led by Sepasdatsi Mourad. Encumbered by a large group composed of children, the elderly, and the wounded, Mourad nevertheless succeeded in breaking through enemy lines and safely delivering the people to the Plain of Moush. Dropping off the wounded Sebouh in Akhlat, he went on to Vasbouragan. [18]

After several more clashes, beginning on May 1, the fedayees that had remained in Sasoun also descended to the Plain of Moush. Only Vahan remained behind, in Dalvorig, with a few of his comrades. Noticed by Turkish soldiers, he was killed when leaving his hideout for a moment. [19] The portion of the population that had refused to leave was subsequently subjected to massacres and unspeakable torture. [20]

After the fedayees descended into the Plain of Moush, clashes occurred there as well (the battles of Pertag, Mgrakom, Alikulboun, Terig, Gouravou, Komer, Tergevank, Koms, and Sheikh Yousouf); these clashes continued until mid-July. [21]

At the same time, the Turkish government intensified its oppression of the Armenians of Daron, as well. The Central Committee of Moush decided to put an end to the guerrilla operations and move the fedayees out of Daron. Memoranda regarding the intensifying oppression were presented to the consulates of European states as well as the Ottoman government itself. [22] Some of the Sasoun combatants, considering withdrawal to be desertion, again returned to Sasoun with Sbaghanats Magar. The others, led by Antranig, Kevork, and Mourad, went on to Akhlat, where in the village of Shamiram they clashed with troops stili pursuing them. [23] Then, crossing Lake Van in boats, they reached the island of Aghtamar, where Ishkhan of Van and Goms awaited them. By unanimous decision, Kevork and Goriun returned to Sasoun with a group of 15 fedayees. The others, after a short stay in Vasbouragan, left for the Caucasus via Adrbadagan. [24]

In accordance with the decision of the Third World Congress, the Eastern

16 / Ibid, p. 280-282. Varantian, Mikayel, op. cit., pp. 276-279 (*).

17 / Roupen, op. cit., p. 275 (*).

18 / For the facts, see Roupen, op. cit., p. 275 (*).

19 / Ibid, p. 294-295. Varantian, Mikayel, op. cit., pp. 282-283 (*). The exact date of Vahan's death is unknown.

20 / See Roupen, op. cit., p. 275 (*). "After April 22, many are the acts of heroism and the tragedies concealed for ever in the valleys and gorges of Sasoun. It so happened that the old women, having tied themselves to their daughters-in-law, threw themselves into rivers to avoid their honor being smeared by the "Turk". It so happened that Armenians threw themselves into the void, like hind, to smash down at the foot of rocks. It so happened that the vanquished, seated at their hearth, calmly awaited the massacres, and fell under the bayonets unconcerned. But never once did one witness supplication, never once did they beg for mercy. That is why the Ottoman hero Keoseh Binbashi had begun to love this proud people, and conqueror as he had been, he now became the defender of the Armenian heroes".

21 / Roupen, op. cit., pp. 296-306 (*).

22 / Ibid, pp. 307-309 (*).

23 / Ibid, pp. 311-312 (*).

24 / Ibid, pp. 312-314. See also Malkhas (Ardashes Hovsepian), "WHAT I HAVE EXPERIENCED", 2nd Edition, Beirut 1956, pp. 260-272 (*).

Bureau and the organizational bodies in the Caucasus made serious attempts to send reinforcements and arms and ammunition to Sasoun and Daron during the fighting. Not a single effort succeeded, however. In the spring and summer of 1904, group after group left to reach the combatants; Vagharshag, Rouss Kevork, Torkom, Vorsort Kevork, Yergat, Tokhmakh, Pokhig and their fedayees were all martyred in this effort. The fundamental reason for the failure of these groups was the close cooperation between the Russian and Turkish intelligence services as well as border patrols. [25] As a consequence of clashes near the border, the efforts of Nigol-Douman to cross into Vasbouragan from Adrbadagan (and then to Sasoun) also failed. [26] The groups of Kayl-Vahan and Mihran carried out the only successful expedition at the time ("successful" in a demonstrative-propaganda sense), against a Turkish border garrison and a hostile Kurdish tribe. Known as the Mosoun-Zori Expedition, it took place on July 11-12, 1904. [27]

3 / The Demonstrative Body and the Plan to Assassinate the Sultan

The idea of assassinating Sultan Abdul Hamid II, the chief executioner of Armenians, was not new to the Dashnaktsutiun; [28] but the financial difficulties of the party had thus far postponed implementation. "Potorig" had now made that undertaking possible. At the Third World Congress, Kristapor himself joined the Demonstrative Body to accomplish the task of the Sultan's assassination, which had become an idée fixe for him. [29]

The final decision was taken during the meeting of the Demonstrative Body in Athens, in the summer of 1904. Kristapor headed the entire operation, which, along with the Nzhouyk (steed) mission, [30] had several other aspects (including acts of sabotage in Smyrna, where a number of European interests were present). Along with the appointed members of the Demonstrative Body, other revolutionaries — Armenian and non-Armenian — were invited to participate. [31] In the following months, nearly all of them went to Constantinople under false names. [32] Only a few remained in Bulgaria, to make arrangements for transporting explosives and other materials to Turkey.

After detailed analysis, the Demonstrative Body concluded that the best opportunity to kill the Sultan presented itself on Fridays, after the Selamlik ceremony, when Hamid, leaving the mosque, would proceed to his carriage to return to his palace. Having secured places as Europeans at the pavilion reserved for guests, Kristapor, Vram, Safo, Ashod, and one or two others would shower the area with small bombs hidden on their persons. Additionally, while the Sultan passed by, a large bomb placed inside a luxurious carriage would explode. [33]

But circumstance would dictate another fate for the plan. In January 1905 Kristapor went to Bulgaria, where Vram Kendirian joined him. Making use of the facilities and assistance provided by Macedonian friends, they tested and perfected the small bombs they were to use. And on March 4 (March

25 / For these partisan corps, see Varantian, Mikayel, op. cit., pp. 285-297. See also Roupen, I, pp. 328-333 and 348-351 (*). Some of them were caught in the Turkish-Russian crossfire; very often, their members, avoiding directing their fire against the Russian side, surrendered to the Cossack border guards, but the latter killed them without hesitation. One of the main perpetrators of these infamous deeds, Colonel Bekov, was soon to receive his well-deserved punishment from the Dashnaktsakan avenger Hamo Janpoladian [Roupen, I, pp. 355-356 (*)].

26 / Ibid, pp. 287-304 (the Razi conflict) (*).

27 / Ibid, pp. 344-346. See also Varantian, Mikayel, op. cit., pp. 298-301 (*).

28 / See Chapter Four, "The meetings of the Body Representing the Will of the Dashnaktsutiun and the Potorig Mission" and especially note 29 to the same chapter. The idea of assassinating the Sultan had already emerged in 1895-96 in the correspondence between the editors of Droshak and the Constantinople Central Committee (see, for example, "ARCHIVES OF THE ARF", I, Boston, 1934, pp. 388-389 (*).

29 / See Varantian, Mikayel, op. cit., pp. 437. See also Aharonian, Avedis, "KRISTAPOR MIKAYELIAN", Boston, 1926, p. 162.

30 / The code name for the mission to assassinate the Sultan.

31 / Apart from members of the Demonstrative Body, the following Armenian or other revolutionaries were called upon to cooperate: Roubina (later the wife of Hamo Ohanjanian), Vram Kendirian (Kristapor's companion in the fatal explosion on Mount Vidosh), Kris Fenerjian, Krikor Sayian (Jahil), Mademoiselle Emile (?), Zhoris (Belgian) and Sophie Ribbs (German).

32 / On the preparation and implementation of operations, see the "Official Report of the Demonstrative Body to the Fourth Congress", in "DOCUMENTS FOR THE HISTORY OF THE ARF", IV, 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1985, pp. 194-223 (*). See also Varantian, Mikayel, op. cit., pp. 435-459 (*).

33 / Ibid, pp. 208-212 (*).

34 / March 4/17: the date of the assassination attempt according to the old and new calendars, respectively.

35 / On the death and burial of Kristapor and Vram, see Varantian, Mikayel, op.

17), [34] on the slopes of Mount Vidosh overlooking Sofia, Kristapor, the principal founder of the ARF, and his young comrade Vram were killed by the accidental explosion of the very bombs that had been destined for the Red Sultan. [35]

After the death of Kristapor, the leadership of the operation was entrusted to Safo. He went abroad, participated in the sessions of the ARF Council being held in Geneva, met with explosives experts [36], placed an order for the carriage, and returned to Constantinople at the end of April 1905.

The membership of the Demonstrative Body was supplemented by Roubina and Kris. Safo chose not to implement the pavilion aspect of the plan, considering the carriage explosion sufficient for the task; this was perhaps Safo's most fateful error. The preparation of the large bomb and related mechanisms and their placement in the carriage consumed several weeks. The attempt on the life of the Sultan took place on Friday, 21 July 1905, in the manner decided, but not with the expected outcome. Roubina and Zareh connected the wires, activated the timer, and moved away from the carriage. The carriage exploded exactly 108 seconds later. [37] But the Sultan had been delayed, having briefly conversed with the Sheikh-ul-Islam, and had not yet reached the carriage. The failure of the assassination attempt was also probably due, in part, to the adulterated nature of the explosive materials purchased. [38]

Weeks later, with the arrest of one of the conspirators and the examination of various papers found on him, the role of the ARF in the attempt on the life of the Sultan became apparent. [39] Also, the initiatives planned for Smyrna were aborted as a consequence of the arrest.

Ironically, this second large-scale demonstrative activity planned by the ARF in Constantinople shared the fate of the first — the takeover of Bank Ottoman. The leaders, the very souls of the operations, died in the early stages, and the operations did not achieve the desired results.

In 1907 the Fourth World Congress of the ARF carefully examined the dossier of the Demonstrative Body and held its members accountable. [40]

4 / The ARF Council and the "Plan of Action for the Caucasus"

The ARF Council met in Geneva in 1905 and held two sessions — the first at the end of February, with the participation of a small group, the second in April, with the participation of an enlarged group. The Council examined the tactics of ARF operations in Turkey. With the battles of Sasoun and Daron, as well as the negligible reaction of Europe, [41] fresh in everyone's mind, the Council decided a) to avoid localized clashes and instead prepare

cit., pp. 454-459 (*). See also the article by Pierre Quillard on Kristapor in "PRO ARMENIA", April 15-May 1, 1905.

36 / "DOCUMENTS FOR THE HISTORY OF THE ARF", IV, 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1985, pp. 206-209 (*).

37 / Ibid, pp. 214-216 (*).

38 / Ibid, p. 219 (*). It seems that instead of the promised melinite (trinitrophenol), the smugglers supplied the members of the Demonstrative Body with a mixture mainly composed of potassium chlorate and potassium nitrate.

39 / The Smyrna projects were to blow up banks and bridges, burn the customs house, occupy consulates and so on; in other words, to attack European interests so as to oblige the Powers to concentrate on the Armenian Question. On this topic, see Tokajian, Mgrdich, "Demonstrative Operations", in "HAIRENIK", 38th Year, no. 9, p. 72 (*).

40 / The Fourth World Congress was to state that there had been "serious shortcomings on the part of the Tsoutsagan Body in terms of Dashnaktsakan ethics and the Committee's responsibility for the failure of the Mission" ["DOCUMENTS FOR THE HISTORY OF THE ARF", III, 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1985, pp. 310-311 (*)]. Considered as the source of doubts and slander about the deaths of Kristapor and Vram, Safo was expelled from the Party. Ashod, Torkom and Kris were suspended conditionally, while Roubina and Zareh were acquitted.

41 / Efforts had been made — in France especially — to establish political contacts. Pressure by socialist figures, in particular, led Delcassé, the minister for foreign affairs, to take positive steps. See Varantian, Mikayel, op. cit., pp. 302-318 (*).



Kayl-Vahan (Minas Dolbashian) with his adjutants, during the punitive expedition against the Mosoun-Korun Turkish border barracks, where he died on the field of honor (summer 1904).

fully for large-scale movements in Vasbouragan and Cilicia (in the case of the latter, preferably when Turkey was embroiled in a war); b) to carry out the Smyrna aspect of the Demonstrative Body's operations after the assassination of the Sultan; and c) to organize the province of Sepasdia (Sivas), in preparation for activities there in the future. [42]

The Council also examined the matter of the Armenians in the Caucasus. With a sound and well-founded rationale, it considered a separate plan for revolutionary activity in the Caucasus a necessity. It decided "to move on from the phase of self-defense to revolutionary activity", and to prepare and publish an outline of a plan of action that would be ratified by the next World Congress. The "Plan of Action for the Caucasus" [43] provided the ARF with the following theoretical and political formulations: a) An analysis which considered the political and social conditions of the Transcaucasian Armenians as the basis for the revolutionary movement there and which then placed that movement in the context of socialist ideology, and b) A demand for a federated system for the Transcaucasus — with equal rights and broad autonomy for all nations, communities and classes — but not separation from Russia. [44] These formulations necessitated changes in the ARF Program. They were subsequently reflected, sometimes word for word, in the new Program adopted by the Fourth World Congress in 1907. [45]

From 1904 to 1906 the eastern regions of the ARF held consecutive Rayonagan Congresses. [46] The immediate concern of these Congresses were the Armeno-Tatar confrontations, but the most fundamental part of their agendas dealt with the participation of the peoples of the Caucasus in the Russian revolutionary movement, the role of the ARF in that movement, and the "Plan of Action for the Caucasus". The Plan had energized the new (Caucasian) front opened by decision of the Third World Congress. Some extreme leftist elements within the ARF were nevertheless still dissatisfied. They did not wish to concern themselves with the Turkish Armenian cause and demanded to completely separate it from the Russian Armenian cause, intending to operate exclusively within the context of the Russian revolutionary movement. These elements gradually left the ranks of the ARF and joined the Russian Social Revolutionaries or Social-Democrats, forming the Armenian sections within them. [47] In turn, other elements, specifically Western Armenian intellectuals, fieldworkers in the Yergir, and fedayees, could not, or did not want to, understand this new phenomenon, so understandable in the light of the objective and subjective factors of the Caucasian Armenians' experience. Nor could they tolerate the frequent use of "socialism", and other sociological and philosophical terms associated with it, in ARF assemblies and press. For them, all this was a betrayal of the principles and the fundamental objective of the ARF. Some of these elements, in turn, took to extremes and eventually left the Dashnaktsutiun. [48] Fortunately, the Fourth World Congress was able to bring about a synthesis of these two antagonistic tendencies. The Congress reunited minds and confirmed the resolve of the ARF to wage, collectively and equally, the liberation struggle of the entire Armenian nation. [49]

42 / See "DOCUMENTS FOR THE HISTORY OF THE ARF", II, 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1985, pp. 226-231 (*).

43 / See "DOCUMENTS FOR THE HISTORY OF THE ARF", II, 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1985, pp. 231-236 (*).

44 / Dasnabedian, Hratch, "A BALANCE-SHEET OF THE NINETY YEARS", Beirut, 1985, p. 93 (*).

45 / For the 1907 Program, see "DOCUMENTS FOR THE HISTORY OF THE ARF", II, 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1985, pp. 315-328 (*).

46 / For the Rayonagan Congresses, see "DOCUMENTS FOR THE HISTORY OF THE ARF", II, 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1985, pp. 200 et seq. (*).

47 / Leaders of the left-wing separatists were Levon Atabegian and Arsen Amirian (alias Mrav, later a renowned Bolshevik). On the leftist Armenian movements in the Caucasus, see Der Minassian, Anahide, "Time to decide (1903-1907): class struggle or national struggle?", in "LA QUESTION ARMENIENNE", Paris, 1983, pp. 89-107. See also Vahe, "THE SEPARATISTS" Tiflis, 1907 (*).

48 / Right-wing separatism was led by the fedayee Mihran, a group leader.

49 / See the decisions of the Fourth World Congress in "DOCUMENTS FOR THE HISTORY OF THE ARF", III, 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1985, pp. 301-302 "The problem of separation" and pp. 311-312 ("The provisional military council") (*). See also Varantian, Mikayel, op. cit., pp. 474-492 (*).



Vazken's team (Dikran Deroyan - Vazken himself - is sitting in the forefront, the second from the left) the day before leaving for Van.

5 / The Armeno-Tatar Conflict and the Expansion of the ARF

The anti-Tsarist struggle unleashed by the ARF as a result of the confiscation by Russia of the properties of the Armenian Church was viewed in different ways by the various Russian political parties. The Social-Democrats, who considered the ARF a "bourgeois-nationalist" party, were hostile toward the new expansion of the ARF in the Transcaucasus. For the Social Revolutionaries, Polish Socialists, and Russian Constitutional Democrats, on the other hand, the Armenian movement in Transcaucasia was a healthy and authentic revolutionary movement against autocracy. [50] These parties and the ARF, as well as other opposition organizations (Finns, Latvians, etc.), held a secret conference in Paris in November of 1904. [51] Within the sphere of the Transcaucasus, especially after the publication of the "Plan of Action for the Caucasus", the ARF would have certainly played a much more active role in the Russian revolutionary movement, were it not forced, throughout 1905, to once again dedicate itself to the self-defense of the Armenian population, this time against the attacks of the Transcaucasian Tatars (Azeris).

The Tatar Azeris, racial brethren of the Turks, having been carried away by hatred nourished by Pan-Islamic and Pan-Turanian dreams, unleashed a

50 / See Varantian, Mikayel, op. cit., p. 351 (*).

51 / Ibid, p. 352 (*).

52 / For details on the Armeno-Tatar conflict, see Varantian, Mikayel, op.cit., Chapters XX to XXIV, pp. 358-434 (*).

53 / More particularly, Babayev, the prefect Nakashidze (by Dro) General Alikhanov (Dro and Mardiros), Kengerlinski, Javakhov, Shumakevich, Shamir, Hatam Beg and many others.

54 / Hamazasb stood out in 1915 as one of the leaders of the Armenian volunteer corps. After the Sovietization of Armenia, he was arrested by the Bolsheviks and hacked to death with an ax in prison in Yerevan (February 1921).

55 / At Kantzag above all, where his presence was decisive, as was that of Hamazasb with his militia corps as well as Apraham Giulkhandanian, chief of staff of the Self-defense Council.

56 / On this topic, see Varantian,

war against Armenians in the cities and villages, with a clear intention to massacre, pillage, and destroy. The massacre of the unarmed Armenians of Baku began on the first days of February, 1905. Then, beginning in May, armed Azeri mobs, incited by Azeri notables and mullahs and led by brigands and outlaws whose appetites for plunder had been whetted, undertook a campaign of simultaneous or successive attacks on Armenians in Nakhichevan, Yerevan, Sharour-Daralakiaz, Zankezour, Karabagh (especially Shoushi), again Baku (August of 1905), the regions of Kantsag, and finally, the capital of the Caucasus, Tiflis (November-December). All of these atrocities were perpetrated under the noses of the Russian troops, cossacks, and police, whose encouragement and celebration were overt. They usually intervened only when it was necessary to prevent or stop Armenian retaliation. And despite the criticisms and condemnations directed against the political and military authorities of the Transcaucasus by the Russian and European liberal press, those authorities, with few exceptions, continued in their cynical attitude. [52]

The ARF quickly organized the self-defense of the threatened regions and quickly counterattacked. Under the leadership of experienced fedayee leaders, the military cadres of the ARF played a major role in stopping the original momentum of the armed and destructive Azeri mobs that vastly outnumbered them. Popular militias were rapidly organized, and within a short period, the ARF organizational bodies of the Caucasus were able not only to prevent general massacres but also to counterattack and sometimes severely punish the armed combatants and populations of aggressor Azeri towns and villages (Ghapan, Khachen, Kilaplou, Avdal, Khazakh, Shoushi, Topal Hasanlou, Seokiutlou, and others). Those responsible for inciting the Azeri mobs, the brigand chiefs, and high-ranking Russian officials and military personnel were one by one assassinated by ARF avengers. [53] The battles ended in early 1906, when the Azeris proposed reconciliation.

The ARF personnel who became the military leaders in the Armeno-Tatar Confrontations included Nigol-Douman (in Baku, then Yerevan and Nakhichevan), Vartan (in Karabagh), Armen Garo and Dourpakh (in Tiflis), Sevkaretsi Sako, Dashnaktsakan Khecho, Madzoun Khecho, as well as the heroes of Sasoun — Sepasdatsi Mourad, Keri, Sebouh, Arakel, Seydo Boghos, Avo, Ariudz-Avak, Godoyi Haji and many others (in Yerevan Province and Zankezour). And new figures emerged, such as Hamazasb — the hero of Askeran — and Mardiros Varzhabed. [54] Meanwhile, Rosdom was everywhere — wherever there was fighting and organizing to be done. [55]

Thanks to its decisive role in the popular revolt of 1903-1904 against Tsarism and the Armeno-Tatar confrontations of 1905, the ARF's prestige in the Caucasus and elsewhere had noticeably increased, both in the eyes of the Armenians and unbiased non-Armenians. Until 1907-1908, up to the time of Stolypin's persecutions, [56] the ARF was firmly entrenched in Transcaucasia. For the Caucasian Regions of the ARF and its press, these years formed a fruitful period of growth and dynamic activity. [57]

Mikayel, op. cit., II, "Czarist reaction and the trial of the Dashnaktsutiun", pp. 102-132 (*).

57 / In August 1906, among the 60 delegates of the Supreme National Assembly of the Russian Armenians, no less than 54 delegates were Dashnaktsakan members or sympathizers elected from Dashnaktsutiun's slate. Simon Zavarian chaired the Assembly. The Dashnaktsakan Press, Harach, Alik, Zank, Khariskh, Yergir and so on were expanding enormously everywhere in the Caucasus. On this topic, see Varantian, Mikayel, op. cit., I, pp. 468-472 (*).



Palabekh Garabed.

6 / Activities in the Yergir and Abroad from 1904-1906

In Geneva, the official Party organ Droshak continued to appear regularly, once a month, edited by E. Agnouni, Mikayel Varantian, and Sarkis Minasian. Avedis Aharonian, although a member of the Western Bureau, was often in the Caucasus. Rosdom, too, left for the Caucasus when he heard of the violence by the Tatars. Pro Armenia and propaganda in Europe continued, thanks to the tireless efforts of Loris. It is worth noting that while the external propaganda of the ARF up to the end of 1904 dealt mainly with the battles of Sasoun and news from the Yergir, from mid- 1905 on it dealt mainly with the struggle against the Tsar and news from the Caucasus. (58)

The Responsible Body for Cilicia selected by the Third World Congress was no luckier than its predecessor. Vartan, who had left for Cilicia after the World Congress, remained in Aintab for a few months, then returned to the Caucasus via Geneva. Simon Zavarian, however, spent more time in the region. His investigative travels from Egypt to Beirut and Suedia (Musa Dagh), and from Kesab to Adana and Aintab, lasted more than a year. At the 1907 World Congress Zavarian was to present a report, (59) which did not express optimism at the possibilities of turning Cilicia into a hotbed of rebellion in the near future. (60)

During the years 1905-1907, Vasbouragan was to reach the zenith of its organizational preparedness, thanks to the efforts of an important number of local leaders, including Teos, Ales, Panos, as well as others from elsewhere, including Sergei (Aram Manougian), Ishkhan, Vartan Shahbaz, Roupen (Der Minasian), Dikran, Magouetsi Mesrob, Malkhas, and Sarkis (Parseghian). With the affiliation of ex-Armenagans Hamazasb Pagheshtsian and Ghevond Meloian to the ARF, the organization's hegemony in the region became absolute.

Vasbouragan was divided into two Central Committee organizational regions: Sham, which included the city of Van and its northern and eastern hinterlands, where Aram, Dikran, Sarkis and the local leaders operated; and Lernabar, which consisted of the expansive mountainous region south of Lake Van, organized and led by Ishkhan, Roupen, and Vartan Shahbaz. (61)

There were differences of opinion between Roupen and Ishkhan regarding methods of operation. In June of 1906, the joint meeting of the two Central Committees addressed the problem and issued its verdict. The meeting accepted Roupen's request to leave for Sasoun to assist Kevork Chavoush. (62) At the end of June, the young Roupen, fully empowered as the representative of the Dashnaktsutiun, experienced an adventure-filled journey to Akhlat, the Plain of Moush, and Sasoun.

In Sasoun, disagreement had also arisen between Goriun and Kevork after their return from the island of Aghtamar in Lake Van. Goriun, with the consensus of Msho Kegham and Vartan Vartabed, (63) followed Hrayr's course,

58 / See the issues of "DROSHAK" and "PRO ARMENIA" for this period.

59 / See "DOCUMENTS FOR THE HISTORY OF THE ARF", III, 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1985, pp. 281-283 (*) and "Simon Zavarian", II, the report on Cilicia.

60 / For the decision of the World Congress, see p. 283.

61 / For the events and protagonists in Vasbouragan, see Roupen, op. cit., II, the entire volume (*).

62 / For the proceedings of the Third Rayonagan Congress of Vasbouragan, see Roupen, op. cit., II pp. 303-313 (*).

63 / Both were active members of the Moush Central Committee, and are often mentioned also as members of the Touran-Partsravantag Responsible Body with Kevork Chavoush. The report submitted by this Responsible Body to the Fourth World Congress bore the signatures of Dadrag (Kegham Der Garabedian), Vga (Vartan Vartabed) and Roupen.

carrying out propaganda and organizing Daron, Boulanukh, and Khnous, while Kevork, at the head of a handful of fedayees, intimidated or assassinated the Kurdish begs (feudal lords) who had been persecuting the Armenians of the Plain of Moush. Sometimes, Kevork was confronted with and also fought against the Turkish regular troops pursuing him (the battles of Araghi and Kars), but he was never captured. [64] Goriun, however, was unhappy with Kevork's method of operation and left for the Caucasus in the spring of 1905. Also, on October 1 of the same year, ten of Kevork's fedayees lost their lives, and 134 villagers were massacred by enemy troops, during the unfortunate battle of Arvarinch. [65] Consequently, although Kevork had acquired a half-mythical standing among both the Kurds and Armenians of the region, even his own fedayees began to oppose his impulsive, imprudent behavior, and the tradition of unquestioning obedience to the orders of fedayee leaders gradually began to erode.

Eventually, Roupen reached Sasoun, and during the months of June and July, 1906, as a result of his efforts as the ARF's representative, the misunderstandings were smoothed out and the fedayees were spiritually reunited. [66]

Subsequently, the Responsible Body for Touran-Partsravantag was reorganized, with Roupen, Kevork Chavoush, and Dadrag (Msho Kegham) as its members. A Regional Convention was held, and the Central Committees of Daron and Sasoun, their gomidehs (local organizational bodies), and military groups were reorganized. Various important issues were discussed and resolved, including relations with Kurds and the government, as well as the agrarian question and the issue of schools. With the mission of organizing, Kevork then left for Khnous, and Avruna Aram went to Boulanukh. Serious efforts were made to better relations with the Kurds, and in Moush, Roupen even held secret talks with the chief of police, Mehmed Efendi[67], and the commander of the Turkish army in the region, the Circassian Keoseh Binbashi. Although the revolutionary leaders were constantly pursued by the authorities, the situation and morale of the people gradually improved. In the spring of 1907, Kevork and Roupen prepared to go abroad to participate in the Fourth World Congress of the Dashnaktsutiun. But on May 27, 1907, in the village of Souloukh, they were forced into battle with Turkish troops. Kevork Chavoush, Sbaghanats Kaleh, and Kharsa Hago were killed in the fierce battle, during which the Turkish army lost more than 120 men, including Keoseh Binbashi. [68]

64 / See Roupen, op. cit., III pp. 330-347 (*).

65 / Ibid, pp. 348-352 (*).

66 / See Roupen, op. cit., II pp. 278-302 (*), above all the part where the young plenipotentiary Roupen deals out the severe disciplinary sanction to Sbaghanats Magar, the veteran fedayee, who was stripped of his arms and cartridge belts. This is one of the most moving pages in the history of the ARF.

67 / An Islamized Armenian, who did everything in his power to assist the revolutionaries.

68 / On the whole story, see Roupen, op. cit., IV, from the beginning to p. 188 (*).



The Kessaria (Cesarea/Kayseri) ARF Committee seal-ca. 1910.

6 / The Period of the Fourth and Fifth World Congresses Early 1907 to Mid-1911

1 / The Fourth World Congress of the ARF

Held in Vienna, Austria, from February 22 to May 4, 1907, the Fourth World Congress is considered one of the most important assemblies in the history of the Dashnaktsutiun. [1] The Party, especially in the Caucasus, was in internal turmoil. Contributing to the undesirable situation were both the movement led by the fedayee leader Mihran against the "Plan of Action for the Caucasus" and the intentions of various Russian-Armenian leftist elements to separate the causes of the Turkish- and Russian-Armenians and to pursue each cause through separate organizations. Thus, aside from its regular agenda, the Congress was also forced to deal with thorny problems such as these.

Thanks to the conciliatory intercession of such central figures as Agnouni, Zavarian, Yeghisheh Topjian, and in particular Rosdom, [2] the difficulties were resolved. The Congress:

a / Rejected the proposal on separation and decided to pursue both causes, the Turkish-Armenian and Caucasian, under the banner of the Dashnaktsutiun

b / Ratified both the legitimacy and content of the "Plan of Action for the Caucasus"

1 / The agenda and the number and quality of participants made this an important Congress. See "DOCUMENTS FOR THE HISTORY OF THE ARF", 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1985, III, pp. 1-9 (*). The Yergir was represented by Antranig and Mourad (who replaced Kevork Chavoush and Roupen) and by Aram, Vana Ishkhan, Hamazasb Pagheshtsian, Sevkaretsi Sako and Khanasori Vartan. Also present, as an advisor, was Sebouh. Nigol-Douman, also invited, was unable to attend.

2 / The proceedings of the Fourth World Congress are reproduced verbatim in "DOCUMENTS FOR THE HISTORY OF THE ARF", 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1985, III, pp. 11-293 (*) along with the "Decisions", the first edition of which appeared as a brochure immediately after the Congress (pp. 298-313) (*).

c / Adopted the fundamental principles of the socialist program, declaring the ARF to be the party of the Armenian workers, whom it aims to organize politically and economically and whose economic/class and political/national rights it intends to defend

d / Re-established its essentially revolutionary tactics: rebellion, armed resistance against government forces, political assassination, demonstrative activity, armed popular self-defense, political and economic strikes, etc.

e / Adopted the principle of solidarity and cooperation with all peoples and parties, without religious or national distinction, who were at war with, or were waging a class struggle against, the same oppressive rule: a principle expressed by the adopted slogan, "the oppressed of all nations, unite". [3]

With certain revisions, the Organizational By-Laws formulated by the Third World Congress were re-affirmed. Definitions were made more precise, as were the qualifications for forming Central Committee, Gomideh, and Khoump (group) organizational regions. The rights of, and mutual obligations between, the Bureaus and the Responsible Bodies remained unchanged. The ARF Council also remained, with the additional right of being the "supreme judicial court for organizational litigation". [4]

The Fourth World Congress dealt with a large number of issues: the activities of the regions, the *Droshak* and other organs of the ARF press, propaganda regarding the Armenian Cause, the affiliation of the ARF with the Socialist International, participation in the Iranian liberation movement, the final rejection of obtaining funds through threats, examination of the Demonstrative Body's activities, [5] the matter of Varto [6] and the "Temporary Military Council", [7] elections [8], etc. The Congress also elected the "Committee of Nine", [9] charging it with the responsibility of the final editing and publication of the new ARF Program, Organizational By-laws, and World Congress decisions, as well as resolving several secondary issues still pending. The Program was published soon after the World Congress. [10] Based on the ARF's conception of socialism, the new Program made its political claims in terms of a federated system for both Russian and Turkish Armenia. [11]

2 / Between the Fourth and Fifth World Congresses

The two- and one-half years between the Fourth and Fifth World Congresses of the ARF formed a period full of surprises. On the one hand, the proclamation of the liberal Ottoman Constitution brought about expansion and consolidation of the ARF organizational regions in the Yergir, Turkey, and abroad. On the other hand, however, the overall recession of the Russian revolutionary movement, and in particular the repression initiated by Stolypin and Leizhin against the Dashnaktsutiun, weakened the eastern organizational regions.

3 / See also Dasnabedian, Hratch, "THE EVOLUTION AND ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE ARF", 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1985, pp. 53-55 (*).

4 / Ibid. pp. 56-58. For the Organizational Bylaws, see "DOCUMENTS FOR THE HISTORY OF THE ARF", 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1985, III, pp. 329-346 (*).

5 / For the decision, see Ibid., pp. 296-297 (*).

6 / Varto was expelled from the Party and sentenced to death for having appropriated sums belonging to the Party. Ibid., p. 311 (*).

7 / This concerns Mihran and the right-wing separatists. Ibid., pp. 311-312 (*).

8 / The following were elected members of the Western Bureau: Mikayel Varantian, E. Agnouni, Hovnan Tavtian and Sarkis Minasian. For the Eastern Bureau: Hamo Ohanjanian, Simon Zavarian, Armen Garo, Yeghisheh Topjian and Arshag Vramian. Members of the Responsible Body for Daron-Vasbouragan: Sarkis, Goms, Mourad, Karmen (Dajad Melkonian) and Kevork Chavoush (who was killed in the battle of Soulloukh). Members of the Demonstrative-Terrorist Body: Antranig, Vahakn Datevian and Maloumian.

9 / Rosdom, Yeghisheh Topjian, Simon Zavarian, E. Agnouni, Hamo Ohanjanian, Arshag Vramian, Sarkis Minasian, Shahkhatounian and Gagik. For the proceedings of the Committee of Nine, see "DOCUMENTS FOR THE HISTORY OF THE ARF", 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1985, III, pp. 294-297 (*).

10 / The 1907 Program, which appeared many times in brochure form, is reproduced with its Eastern and Western Armenian variants in "DOCUMENTS FOR THE HISTORY OF THE ARF", 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1985. III, pp. 315-328 (*).

11 / For the Program, both sections on theory and demands, see Chapter Two herein.

12 / See "DROSHAK", no. 8 (185), August 1907, pp. 110-114 (*).

13 / Ibid., pp. 107-110.

14 / In the Yergir, mixed Armeno-Turkish revolutionary committees were set up with a view to a common struggle against the Sultan's tyranny. Violent demonstrations were held in Garin, Van, Paghesh (Bitlis) and elsewhere. In Batum, Ali Beg, the former prefect of Van, was assassinated. See Varantian, Mikayel, "HISTORY OF THE ARF DASHNAKTSUTIUN", II, p. 4 (*).

In the name of its Russian Armenian organization, the ARF participated in the Seventh Congress of the Socialist International held in Stuttgart, Germany in August 1907 with three representatives, one in an official and two in an advisory capacity. [12] During the same time, due to the efforts of the Western Bureau, the Armenian Question was placed on the agenda of the Second World Peace Conference, held in the Hague. [13]

Gradually, the ARF strengthened ties with the Turkish opposition parties — the "Ittihad" of Ahmed Riza and the "Terakki" of Prince Sabaheddin. These organizations, initially reticent about the national-revolutionary objectives of the Dashnaktsutiun, in turn underwent a period of radicalization under the influence of the insurgent movements and uprisings in the Ottoman Empire. [14] At the end of 1907 in Paris, at the invitation of the ARF these parties participated in the Congress of Opposition Forces of the Ottoman Empire. A victory for the ARF's strategy of many years, the fundamental decisions of this Congress were to dethrone the Sultan and to establish a democratic order with an Ottoman Parliament, to be achieved through refusal to pay taxes, armed resistance, active propaganda, the formation of mixed gomidehs — all with a view of bringing about a general uprising. [15]

A few months later, in July 1908, the Turkish army in Macedonia, led by radicalized officers, rebelled and forced the Sultan to restore the 1876 Constitution, which had never been implemented. The Ottoman Empire thus became a constitutional monarchy, in which individual freedoms and national-ethnic rights were, at least in principle, recognized and safeguarded. For several months the entire population of the empire was ecstatic: overnight, Turks, Armenians, Greeks, Arabs, and Kurds became brothers. In Van, Moush, and elsewhere, Armenian revolutionaries and fedayees who came down from the mountains were acclaimed as heroes who had fought for the liberation of all Ottoman peoples. Public celebrations and demonstrations were organized in their honor and attended by the representatives and masses of the empire's nationalities. [16]

Faithful to the principles of federalism in the ARF Program, the Council of Representatives of the ARF's organizational bodies of Turkey, with its circular dated September 1, 1908, acknowledged the independence and territorial integrity of Constitutional Turkey; the Council declared Turkish Armenia, within a structure of administrative decentralization, to be inseparable from Turkey. The circular also articulated the demands of the ARF for human rights and democracy. [17] In short, the Dashnaktsutiun thus associated itself with the concept of "Ottomanism".

In March-April of 1909, with the assistance of reactionary elements, Sultan Abdul Hamid attempted to re-establish the old regime. But the Turkish army in Macedonia reacted by occupying Constantinople and this time dethroned the Sultan.

The Armenians became the most ardent defenders of the new regime. And

15 / See the Declaration of the Congress, in "DROSHAK", no. 1 (189), January 1908 (*) and "PRO ARMENIA", 8th Year, no. 173, January 5, 1908. The text also appeared as a brochure in Armenian and in French. An earlier attempt to organize such a Congress, made by Prince Sabaheddin in Paris in 1902, had met with no success.

16 / See Roupen, "MEMOIRS OF AN ARMENIAN REVOLUTIONARY", Beirut, 1974, IV, pp. 390-394, and V, Chapters 1, 11 and 12 (*).

17 / Varantian, Mikayel, op. cit., II, pp. 11-13 (*).

RAPPORT

présenté au

CONGRÈS SOCIALISTE INTERNATIONAL

DE COPENHAGUE

par le Parti Arménien

"DASCHNAKTZOUTIOUN"

TURQUIE — CAUCASE — PERSE

GENÈVE 1910

La question agraire

Même attitude conservatrice à l'égard de ce grave et brûlant problème agraire qui domine la situation et la dominera pendant longtemps, la Turquie étant un pays essentiellement agricole. L'industrie moderne s'est plus ou moins développée dans la partie européenne de l'empire, alors que l'Anatolie est le pays de l'agriculture par excellence. La vie économique y est peu développée, les moyens modernes de communication manquent encore, les instruments de travail sont à l'état primitif, et même dans plusieurs endroits on est en pleine économie naturelle (Naturalwirtschaft). L'aspect général du pays est désolant; le régime hamidien, loin de contribuer à l'épanouissement des forces productives, les a, au contraire, desséchées, paralysées par une brutale politique de pillage, de spoliation, de massacre, de famine artificielle, d'émigration forcée. Le peuple arménien qui, dans son énorme majorité (95 %), était voué depuis des siècles à l'agriculture et qui était un facteur puissant de la vie économique dans ces lointaines régions, ce peuple a été, comme on le sait, dépouillé, mutilé et paralysé économiquement, et c'est un immense préjudice pour la prospérité de l'Anatolie...

La question agraire se complique de *questions nationales*. Après les Vêpres de 1895-96, des centaines de mille de nos co-nationaux ayant émigré à l'étranger (principalement en Transcaucasie et en Amérique), les féodaux kurdes ont, avec l'approbation du gouvernement hamidien, saisi les terres des émigrés. Aujourd'hui, dans la libre Turquie, les expropriateurs ne veulent plus restituer ces terres à leurs anciens propriétaires; et les masses de paysans arméniens, rentrés dans leurs foyers, continuent de vivre dans la plus noire misère; pour le moment toutes nos pro-

testations auprès du gouvernement constitutionnel demeurent sans résultat La Jeune-Turquie, pour « libérale » et « égalitaire » qu'elle soit, ne veut cependant pas contrarier les velléités de la classe des hobereaux kurdes, très puissante encore, et qui est considérée dans les milieux des politiciens turcs comme le meilleur tampon contre la « poussée de l'arménisme ». Malgré nos déclarations nettes et précises de vingt années, par lesquelles nous répudions catégoriquement toute idée de séparatisme, comme un non-sens politique, les dirigeants de la Turquie actuelle ne veulent pas abandonner complètement et franchement l'ancienne politique hamidienne à l'égard des Arméniens.

Nous espérons cependant que la logique des choses et nos efforts finiront par vaincre toutes les difficultés qui se dressent devant la solution de la question agraire. Déjà, un mouvement se dessine aujourd'hui contre la « noblesse » kurde au sein même de la population musulmane. Suivant nos dernières informations, reçues de Van et de Mousch, un vif mécontentement et une fermentation se produit dans la masse paysanne kurde, des deux provinces, contre leurs patrons séculaires. Traitée jusqu'ici de vrai bétail humain, cette masse inerte de serfs moyenâgeux commence à protester et arrivera sûrement à faire valoir ses revendications... Une action solidaire des paysans kurdes, turcs et arméniens, exploités et opprimés par la même minorité féodale et parasite, n'est point chose impossible. Elle est déjà engagée dans la province d'Erzéroum....

La propagande socialiste.

Pendant longtemps les questions nationales domineront la politique intérieure de la Turquie. Et ce fait rendra la propagande de l'internationalisme fort difficile. L'état arriéré du pays au point de vue économique et culturel est déjà un grand obstacle. Certes, d'ici une dizaine d'années, l'aspect du pays changera considérablement par suite de la création de chemins de fer et d'autres moyens de communications et de transports. Mais pour l'instant, l'état de la culture générale est misérable. Il faut aussi tenir compte des haines séculaires, des antagonismes de races et de religions.

Et néanmoins, nous sommes une légion aujourd'hui qui portons dans cet immense désert le drapeau du travail et du socialisme universel, le soutenant de notre parole vivante et de nos actes. Dans l'Anatolie même, l'idée socialiste, la propagande de notre programme maximum et minimum sort à l'heure qu'il est des milieux purement intellectuels pour faire son chemin dans les masses. Le grand combat pour la cause des déshérités a toujours sa puissante raison d'être, même dans un pays sans culture, sans économie, mais où les classes parasites — hobereaux, clergé, bureaucrates, usuriers, etc. — se distinguent par leurs appétits insatiables d'exploiteurs et d'oppresseurs.

En particulier, la propagande de l'idée de la *socialisation des terres*, la pierre angulaire de notre programme minimum, trouve un terrain relativement favorable dans ces régions (dans l'Arménie turque), où sont encore vivants les vestiges du communisme primitif.

Nombreuses sont les brochures que nous avons publiées durant les trois dernières années sur la théorie et la pratique socialistes, ainsi que sur les problèmes de l'organisation démocratique. Nous jouissons en Turquie, comme en Perse, d'une liberté assez large de la parole et de la presse, et ce fait facilite grandement la propagande.

A la Chambre même, durant la discussion sur les syndicats, nos camarades, voulant élargir et approfondir les débats, ont prononcé des discours où pour la première fois ils ont abordé la question des rapport entre le *Capital* et le *Travail*, soutenant éloquemment la cause du dernier. Ils firent l'éloge du prolétariat et des syndicats devant une assemblée ahurie et un gouvernement « misonéiste » qui par la bouche du ministre Férid pacha déclarait: « Notre pays n'a pas besoin de ces choses-là... »

Le pays ne suivra pas les préceptes du ministre turc; les grandioses meetings ouvriers de Salonique, protestant contre la campagne anti-syndicaliste, en étaient une preuve. Les syndicats et d'autres organisations ouvrières continueront à vivre et à grandir à l'ombre.

Tout récemment un journal socialiste turc *Ischtirak*, « Solidarité » a été fondé à Constantinople...

Le mouvement *travailliste* se concentre pour le moment dans la Turquie d'Europe, mais bientôt, avec la marche de l'évolution économique, il se répandra dans tout l'Empire, et nous saurons nous autres socialistes arméniens, turcs et slaves, organiser tôt ou tard notre petite *Internationale ottomane*, à la manière de nos camarades socialistes autrichiens.



The ARF military academy at the monastery of Rila in Bulgaria (1906-1907).

despite the massacre in Adana of more than twenty thousand Armenians — the victims, once again, of Turkish fanaticism — the ARF carefully avoided altering its policy of cooperation with the Young Turks and their leading political party, the Ittihad. (18)

Until the proclamation of the Constitution, revolutionary-partisan activities had been continuing in Daron-Sasoun and Vasbouragan. In 1907, new fieldworkers entered the Yergir; Goms returned to Van, and Karmen went to Daron. Later, in February of 1908, as a result of betrayal the government discovered and confiscated the ARF's main arsenals in Vasbouragan. (19) After the proclamation of the Constitution, when partisan and underground activities were no longer productive, the fedayee bands were disbanded. (20) The Responsible Bodies of Daron-Vasbouragan and the Demonstrative Body, elected by the Fourth World Congress, also lost their reason for existence and were dissolved. (21)

The years 1907-1908 were relatively peaceful for the eastern Regions. The Eastern Bureau was successful in its struggle against the Mihranagan and other separatist movements, neutralizing them and expurgating the ranks. (22) Also, with the cooperation of the Central Committee of Adrbadagan, the Eastern Bureau aided the Iranian liberation movement.

18 / Ibid. pp. 13-21 (*).

19 / See Goms (V. Papazian), "MEMOIRS", I, pp. 512-526 (*). The traitor was soon punished by an adolescent terrorist, Dajad Terlemezian.

20 / See Roupen, op. cit., V, pp. 54-63 (*).

21 / Under a regime of constitutional liberties, logically, such tactical elements as the concentration of military forces and clandestine operations were excluded. Having been supplemented with additional members, with the agreement of the Bureaus, the Demonstrative-Terrorist Body became the responsible Body for Constantinople, handling relations with the Ittihad Party and, when necessary, the organization of self-defense.

22 / Not, of course, without serious repercussions. Not only Mihran and his partisans but also other fedayees of Western Armenian origin were to display perplexity and reticence. Never-

In March 1908, the ARF Council convened in Tiflis[23] and examined various matters: the probability of a war breaking out and the possibilities for organizing the defense of the Armenians; cooperation with opposition Turkish parties and Iranian revolutionaries; demonstrative/terroristic projects; the necessity of cleansing and strengthening the ranks, and other issues. At the end of the same year, however, the situation in the Caucasus had deteriorated. An important segment of the ARF's leadership was imprisoned by the Russian authorities; others, taking advantage of the freedoms granted by the Ottoman Constitution, had managed to leave in time for the Yergir or Constantinople. In April of 1909, the Extraordinary Congress of the Caucasian Region's Bodies attempted, without much success, to reorganize the Region and redistribute available resources. An Interim Eastern Bureau was elected. Nevertheless, in the Caucasus the Central Committee of Baku remained the actual leading force in the Party until the Fifth World Congress. [24]

3 / The Fifth World Congress and Ensuing Years

Convened In Varna, Bulgaria in August-September, 1909, the Fifth World Congress on the one hand offered an image of weakened Caucasian Regions, and on the other — Constantinople and the Yergir, with Regions prospering at least in numbers if not vigor. [25] This tilted balance in favor of the Regions in the Yergir and the west was due, in large part, to the Ottoman Constitution and the subsequent fail of the Sultan.

Aside from the regular agenda item of reviewing the activities of the various Regions, the World Congress examined the following issues: Turkey and the Constitution, the relations of the ARF with the Ittihad and other parties, parliamentary activities, the Cilician incidents (the massacres of Adana), organizing for self-defense, the party press and propaganda, the activities of the ARF in Iran (participation in the liberation movement) and Russia, the Program and organizational matters, etc. [26]

Regarding modus operandi (i.e. tactics), the Congress decided to discontinue underground activities, especially in Constitutional Turkey and Iran, and place the party's entire military forces in the service of protecting the Constitution and the freedoms it had brought. The Congress nevertheless affirmed that in the case of any reactionary movement the Armenian people would again resort to self-defense: "In the case of danger, the Dashnaktsutiun will enter the stage with all its forces". [27] The "parliamentary fractions" of the ARF were given the status of organizational bodies which would be represented at World Congresses, to which they would be accountable. *Pro Armenia* had already ceased publication after the proclamation of the Constitution, [26] while *Droshak* continued to be published in Geneva as the central organ of the Dashnaktsutiun. The Congress also authorized publication of Regional party organs. [29] Finally, the Congress decided to remove the word "Minimum" from the 1907 Program's section entitled "Minimum Demands". [30]

theless, time and further developments, such as the Ottoman Constitution, the fighting in Iran and Stolypin's persecutions were to heal the wounds of dissent. Mihran and his disciple Gopetsi Khecho were assassinated on June 1, 1907 at Armavir by a decision of the the Terrorist Committee for the Caucasus (on the reasons for the decision, see note 47 below). Whatever the case, the execution was to have unfortunate consequences: in 1909 near Garin, Yeghisheh Topjian, the young leader and brilliant Party intellectual, met an absurd death. He was probably assassinated by Mihran's brother.

23 / See Dasnabedian, Hratch, op. cit., pp. 61-63. Between the Fourth Congress and the sessions of the ARF Council, the Eastern Bureau Regions held a consultative congress and a Rayonagan Congress. See ibid., p. 61 (*).

24 / Ibid. p. 63 (*).

25 / The Congress even questioned the right of the practically non-existent Eastern Bureau to participate. The Western Regions — Vasbouragan, Moush-Sasoun, Salno-Tsor (Paghesh), Garin, Kharpert, Dikranagerd, Marzvan, Trebizond, Constantinople, Smyrna, the Balkans and America — along with the Western Bureau and the Constantinople Responsible Body all had representatives.

26 / See Dasnabedian, Hratch, op. cit., p. 69 (*).

27 / Ibid., p. 70 (*).

28 / The last issue (no. 192) appeared on October 25, 1908. Four years later (December 1912), with Francis de Pressense and Victor Berard as editors and Jean Longuet as secretary, virtually in direct line with Pro Armenia, the bilingual (English-French) review entitled For the Peoples of the East appeared. One year later, in December 1913, it resumed its original title and was published as Pro Armenia until July 1914, when World War I broke out.

29 / Harach appeared in Garin, Horizon in Tbilisi. Azadamard, official organ of the Western Bureau in Constantinople, edited by Roupen Zartarian, began publication on 1909.

30 / Hence, the formula for a Turkish Armenia with internal autonomy linked confederally with other nationalities of the Empire was ratified and instituted as a final objective. This marks yet another patent expression of "Ottomanism" on the part of Dashnaktsutiun.



Hamo Ohanjanian, ARF leader and member of the Eastern Bureau. Seen here when arrested during the Leizhin persecutions, before he was deported to Siberia.

In structural matters, although the Fifth World Congress did not elect Responsible Bodies, [31] a proposal was made to create a "Bureau" for Turkish Armenia. [32] Finally, the Congress decided to maintain the two Bureaus with their respective jurisdictions but to also establish in Garin (Erzurum) a "Section of the Eastern Bureau for Turkey", composed of three members. [33] Geneva continued to be regarded as the center of the Western Bureau; however, because some of its members were almost permanently in the Ottoman capital, in the years following the World Congress a "Constantinople Section of the Western Bureau" was also established.

The period from September 1909 to July 1911 brought nothing out of the ordinary in the history of the ARF. The situation that had begun to take shape in the previous two years continued: in Turkey, parliamentary activities, and cooperation — at least in principle, and in a prevailing atmosphere of reciprocal mistrust — with the Ittihad; in Iran, permanent collaboration with the Iranian revolutionary movement; in the Caucasus, gradually increasing persecutions, led by Stolypin and Leizhin, against the ARF. The organizational bodies of the Dashnaktsutiun in the Caucasus went completely underground, and only the Garin Section of the Eastern Bureau remained active. Rosdom and Sarkis Parseghian remained in Garin on a permanent basis, while Zavarian settled in Daron-Sasoun to consolidate the system of Armenian education, as overall supervisor of the schools in the region. [34]

In August of 1910 the ARF participated in the Congress of the Socialist International, held in Copenhagen, Denmark. Two of the ARF's four delegates [35] represented the "Eastern Armenian segment", and two delegates

represented, for the first time, the "Turkish Armenian segment". On that occasion, and by invitation of the ARF, a conference of Russian socialist organizations was also held in the Danish capital. [36]

The adherence of the ARF to the idea of "Ottomanism" and the continuation of cooperation with the Ittihad [37] — even after the initial elation brought about by the Constitution had died down — were not always looked upon with favor by various Armenian factions. Moreover, the ARF was subjected to fierce criticism, and Armenian opposition parties, as well as some clergymen, actually made slanderous accusations against the ARF. [38] Although sensing danger, and taking some precautionary measures, [39] the Dashnaktsutiun continued its realpolitik. It had, in fact, become one of the most important actors in the Ottoman political scene. Whether from the rostrum of the Parliament — through its deputies [40] — or through direct talks with the Ittihad, and through its press, the ARF continued to demand the creation of an Armenia, with broad internal autonomy, within the framework of the Ottoman state. These demands were made in accordance with those stated in the 1907 Program and the formulations of the Fourth and Fifth World Congress. And despite all the difficulties and the sometimes disturbing news from the provinces, many of the Armenian leaders in the Ottoman capital remained optimistic. Constantinople had once again become an intellectual center for the Dashnak — and more generally, the Armenian — intelligentsia. [41]

4 / The Persecution of the ARF by Stolypin and Leizhin

During the years from 1907 onward, the Russian revolutionary movement was in a state of decline, in general due to the weakness of the Russian parties and their unwillingness to resort to armed struggle. Moreover, despite the heroic actions of the crew of the battleship "Potemkin" and the sailors of Kronstadt, traitors and informers among the Social Revolutionaries [42] and empty quarrels and internal divisions — the result of an extreme dogmatism — among the Social Democrats, also slowed down the momentum created by the 1905 Revolution and led to an autocratic reaction that was to triumph for some time.

As a leading party in the Caucasus, the ARF was to become the victim of the ongoing persecution of Stolypin, the de facto dictator of the Tsarist regime in the years 1906-1911. [43] The Russian government began to view the ARF as even more dangerous after 1908, when the party's role in the political formation of constitutional Turkey and its role in the Iranian revolutionary movement gained international recognition for the ARF. Top functionaries of the regime, the "Black Hundreds", and even the State Duma accused the ARF of separatist intentions. [44] For Stolypin, "the Caucasian Movement and the Dashnaktsutiun were nearly synonymous". [45]

Okhrana, the Tsarist secret police, for years prepared file after file on the ARF. [46] Finally, a series of arrests began. ARF leaders such as Hamo

31 / See note no. 21 above and also Dasnabedian, Hratch, op. cit., p. 72 (*).

32 / This idea was to be fulfilled for a brief moment by the decision of the Seventh World Congress in 1913.

33 / Rosdom, Sarkis Parseghian and a third (?).

34 / See "SIMON ZAVARIAN", II, "Public education in Daron" (*).

35 / See Varantian, Mikayel, op. cit., II, pp. 111-112, note (*).

36 / Ibid., pp. 111-116.

37 / After the massacres in Adana (Cilicia), the ARF's Constantinople Responsible Body and the Ittihad's Central Committee issued a joint communiqué. See Ibid., pp. 18-19 (*).

38 / Ibid., pp. 23-27.

39 / The minutes of numerous meetings and, above all, the forecasts of the Fifth World Congress, under the heading "Self-defense", give a sufficiently good idea.

40 / Krikor Zohrab of Constantinople, Armen Garo and Vartkes Serengulian of Garin, Kegham Der Garabedian of Moush, Arshag Vramian of Van, Babigian of Adana, Goms (Vahan Papazian) and others, not necessarily at the same time.

41 / Gathered around the official organ Azadamard, was a collection of the most outstanding personalities in the Dashnaktsakan intelligentsia and the representatives of various generations: Haroutiun Shahriglan, Roupen Zartarian, E. Agnouni, Karekin Khazhag, Levon Shant, Taniel Varouzhan, Simon Zavarian (except for his mission to Moush), Arshag Vramian (before his departure for Van), Garabed Pashayan, Hrach (Hayg Tirlakian), sympathizer Krikor Zohrab, the brilliant author and member of parliament, as well as Vartkes, Msho Kegham and many others.

42 / See Varantian, Mikayel, op. cit., II, pp. 102-107 (*).

43 / Ibid., pp. 141-149. For Stolypin's reaction, see also Der Minassian, Anahide, "LA QUESTION ARMENIENNE", Paris, 1983, pp. 107-108.

44 / See Varantian, Mikayel, op. cit., II, p. 117 (*).

45 / Ibid., p. 119.

46 / The Okhrana archives, partly translated into Armenian and published in "DOCUMENTS FOR THE HISTORY OF THE ARF", 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1985, II, pp. 325-338 (*), belong to the Hoover Documentation and Research Institute in San Francisco.



Yeprem Tavtian (Yeprem Khan), Dashnaktsakan fedayee, military chief of the Iranian revolution, with Sardar Bahadour and Iranian militia leaders.

Ohanjanian, Avedis Aharonian, Sarkis Manasian, Sarbaz Khecho, and many others, including teachers, journalists, writers, doctors, clergymen, craftsmen and merchants, were jailed; all were accused of being Dashnaks, whether they actually were or not. [47] The more important among the accused, approximately 160 in all, were quickly transferred to the prison of Novocherkassk, in Russia.

Leizhin's indictment against the ARF was composed of more than 20,000 bound pages. [48] It accused the ARF of being an illegal organization, the aim of which was to topple the regime of the Tsar by use of political and economic terrorism. [49] "The trial of the Dashnaktsutiun" took place at the end of 1911, in St. Petersburg, before the Special Court of the Senate. Following the trial, in early 1912, 52 persons were sentenced to prison and exile, but only four of them to forced labor in Siberia. [50] Clearly, the verdicts were not as harsh as expected and did not correspond to the fury of Leizhin's accusations or the prosecutor's speeches. [51] In this regard, the sincere efforts of the defense lawyers Kerenski, Zarutni, Miliukov, and Gruzenberg, as well as the pro-Armenian sentiments of the liberal Russian press, certainly played a role. However, there is reason to suspect that in 1912 (when Stolypin was no longer in power) the Russian government had political

47 / Mikayel Varantian says that judge Leizhin had based his indictment mainly on the evidence of Mihran, the fedayee-informer. See ibid., pp. 125-126 (*).

48 / The 20,000 pages is according to Anahide Der Minassian. Mikayel Varantian speaks of 40,000 pages. See ibid., p. 122 (*).

49 / See Varantian, Mikayel, ibid., II, p. 124 (*).

50 / Hamo Ohanjanian (later prime minister of the Republic of Armenia), Sarkis Manasian, Hovhannes Ghazariants and Arshag Mouradov. See ibid., p. 131 (*).

51 / For the prosecutor's statements, see ibid., pp. 129-131 (*).

52 / Der Minassian, Anahide, op. cit., p. 108 (*).

53 / Varantian, Mikayel, op. cit., p. 132 (*).

54 / For details of the decision, see "DOCUMENTS FOR THE HISTORY OF THE

motives for not causing unnecessary hardship for the Armenians, especially Ottoman Armenians. [52] Moreover, during the triai it became apparent that Leizhin had tampered with evidence and had introduced numerous false witnesses; consequently, Leizhin himself was brought to triai. [53]

5 / The Contribution of the ARF to the Iranian Liberation Movement

The dominant presence of the ARF in the Iranian Liberation Movement undoubtedly forms one of the most brilliant pages of its history.

When the Fourth World Congress of the ARF made its decision regarding events surrounding Iran, [54] the Iranian Liberation Movement was still only a year in the making. Shah Muzafer-ed-din, exposed to the effects of Anglo-Russian rivalry and popular pressures, had established a "Mejlis" (parliament) in 1906. But he had died in January of 1907, and his successor, Shah Mehmed Ali, soon exhibited tendencies of returning to autocracy. When in February of 1908 he became the target of an assassination attempt, he grew more severe, and in June of the same year, the Iranian army, under the command of the Russian Colonel Liakhov, surrounded and bombarded the Mejlis. The rebellion was thus temporarily checked in Tehran. The situation in Tabriz, however, was altogether different; there, the anti-government rebel forces led by Sattar Khan and Bagher Khan were in firm control. [55]

Capitalizing on the confusion in Iran, Abdul Hamid II sent an army to Adrbadagan with the blatant intent of annexing the region. Alarmed, Rosdom arrived in Tehran in January of 1908 to hasten the implementation of the World Congress's decision to help the Iranian revolutionaries. With the assistance of Hovsep Mirzaian he conducted negotiations with vice-president of the Mejlis Vosough-ol-Dovle and other liberal representatives, as well as notable personalities who supported the revolutionary movement. The Iranians expected the Dashnaktsutiun to provide experienced leaders, explosives experts, weapons, and ammunition; moreover, they justly placed great hopes on the ARF in regards to external propaganda (Europe). In turn, the Iranians promised to broaden the national rights of the Armenians in liberated Iran and to provide arable land in the Salmasd region to the Armenian peasantry. [56]

Rosdom then went to Tabriz and personally conducted tests of explosives and new types of mortar rounds. In July 1908 the Eastern Bureau also sent Vramian and Sebouh to Tabriz. Further agreements were reached with Sattar Khan and soon after mixed (Armenian and Iranian) revolutionary committees were established. The ARF Central Committee of the Region ordered its gomidehs in Tehran, Rasht, Gilan, Salmasd, and elsewhere to assist the Iranian revolutionaries in any way possible.

Dashnak forces from the Transcaucasus began to arrive in Adrbadagan. Sevkaretsi Sako was placed in command; soon after, however, he died, hav-

ARF", 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1985, III, pp. 309-310 (*).

55 / See Varantian, Mikayel, op. cit., II, pp. 67-69 (*).

56 / Ibid., pp. 80-83. For the participation of ARF in the Iranian liberation movement in all its details, see also "YEPREM" by H. Elmar, the two-volume "ARF — YEPREM — IRANIAN CONSTITUTION" Tehran, 1976 and 1979, by A. Amourian, and again by the same author, "THE ARF IN IRAN", Tehran, 1987 (*).

№ 5—6 (212) XX ՏԱՐԻ ՄԱՅԻՍ—ՀՈՒՆԻՍ 1910

„Droschak"
ORGANE
de la Fédération
Revolut. Arménienne

ԴՐՕՇԱԿ

Adresse:
RÉDACTION DU JOURNAL
„Droschak"
GENÈVE (Suisse)

„ՀԱՅ ՅԵՂԱՓՈԽԱԿԱՆ ԴԱՇՆԱԿՑՈՒԹԵԱՆ" ՕՐԻՆԸ

ԿՈՒԻՆԵՐ ՊԱՐՍԿԱՍՏԱՆՈՒՄ



ՄԱՐԴԻՐՈՍ ՖԱՐՈՒԽՅԵԱՆ

ՆԱՀԱՏԱԿՈՒԱԾ 1909 Թ. ՓԵՏՐ. 7, ԹԱՒՐԻԶԻ ՄՕՏ, ԱԼԻՍԻՐԻ ԿՈՒՒՈՒՄ

Droshak, no. 5-6, 1910, the front page dedicated to the death of fedayee-avenger Mardiros and the growing participation of the ARF in the revolution in Iran.

ing contracted the plague. In his stead arrived Keri in October of 1908 with an armed band of 25 men. Having formed armed bands, Dashnaktsakan Khecho, Shamil, Zouloumat, Samson Tadeosian, Sarhad, Smpad, Khoren (from the ARF military academy in Bulgaria), and other fedayee leaders began to operate throughout Adrbadagan.

Later, Nigol-Douman also entered Adrbadagan and took charge of the revolutionary forces in Tabriz. Together, the Iranian and Armenian revolutionaries not only repulsed the attacks on Tabriz by the pro-Shah forces but also counterattacked successfully, and all of Adrbadagan was soon embroiled in the struggle. Dashnaktsutiun's forces, often fighting alone, also waged battles against Kurdish tribes intent on pillaging Armenian villages. During the years 1908-1910, the ARF lost some of its most highly regarded fedayees — Zouloumat, Shamil, Mardiros, Garo, Seto, Mamigon, Panos, Apraham, Khoren — in the battles that took place in Adrbadagan. Although the fighting there died down as a result of the invasion of Russian forces, it had already spread to other fronts. [57]

Another Dashnak fighter, Yeprem Tavtian, then emerged as a leader. Yeprem was to become the foremost hero of the Iranian Revolution, thanks to his talents as an organizer and his exceptional daring. [58] After having organized the area of Gilan, in February of 1909, at the head of only a dozen men, he took over the building in Rasht that housed the seat of the provincial government. He then occupied Enzeli (Bandar Khomeini), which surrendered without resistance. His forces gradually grew, joined by Iranian but in particular Armenian fighters. After occupying Kharzan with 40 men, he captured Ghazvin with a band of 90, taking 1200 enemy soldiers prisoner and seizing more than 2000 rifles. The Shah concentrated his forces on the Ghazvin-Tehran road, but Yeprem's combatants again triumphed. Reaching the gates of the capital, Yeprem's forces were joined by 2000 Bakhtiari fighters led by Sardar Asad, as well as Sipahdar with 200 volunteers. With a concerted assault, the revolutionary forces entered Tehran on June 29, 1909, while Shah Mehmed Ali fled with the help of the Russians. Soon after the Mejlis reconvened. Sardar Asad was appointed minister of the interior, while Yeprem was obliged to accept the post of commander of the police. [59]

After pacifying Tehran, with a punitive expeditionary force Yeprem marched against Rahim Khan of the Shahsavans, and after four to five months of fighting, he swept the regions of Zanjan and Gharandagh clean of anti-constitutional forces.

But the fugitive Shah did not end his maneuvering. In 1911 a series of reactionary movements emerged in various regions of Iran. In particular, the anti-constitutional forces of Salar Dovle began to threaten Iran, while the forces of Arshad-ol-Dovle, the son-in-law of the Shah, advanced from Mazandaran. Yeprem, having at his side the fighters of Keri and Dashnaktsakan Khecho, the loyal Bakhtiaris, and units of the constitutional army, waged a series

57 / Varantian, Mikayel, op. cit., II, "Dashnaktsutiun in the Iranian liberation movement", pp. 57-101 (*).

58 / Ibid. See also the works listed at note 56 above (*).

59 / Ibid., p. 85. The very fact of the revolutionary Yeprem taking over as commissioner of police in the new regime aroused discontent in the ranks of Dashnaktsutiun. In the end, the Region's Central Committee allowed Yeprem, Keri and the Dashnaktsakan armed forces to continue collaborating with the new regime only after written guarantees had been received from the Tehran government concerning human rights and democratic liberties.

of victorious battles against the Dovles (Arshad-ol-Dovle was captured and executed). Eisewhere, in Adrbadagan, Nigol-Douman once more resolutely defended the city of Tabriz against the periodic attacks of Suja Dovle.

On April 25, 1912, while attempting to recover the body of a fallen comrade (Dr. Zohrab Khan) during an assault against the counter-revolutionary forces of Mujalla in the village of Bahar, near Hamadan, Yeprem Khan, the hero of the liberation movement in Iran, was killed by a bullet in the head. After Yeprem's death, the Armenian forces, under command of Keri, continued to fight side by side with the Iranian constitutional forces. (60)

60 / Ibid., pp. 9-99 (*).



Seal of the ARF's tailor's trade union in Baku, 1905.

7 / The Years 1911-1914 and the Sixth, Seventh and Eighth World Congresses

1 / The Sixth World Congress of the ARF

When in August-September of 1911 the Sixth World Congress of the ARF was held in Constantinople, the organizational units of the Caucasus had reached their lowest point. Not one delegate came from Russia, with only Rosdom, representing the Eastern Bureau (or more correctly, its Garin Section), reaching the Congress at mid-point. [1] Thus, the issue of the validity of the Congress was raised. The Congress decided that it would be fully empowered to make decisions on issues related to Turkey, Iran, and other diasporan communities, and that in regards to Russia, the decision of the previous World Congress would remain in force and be implemented. The ARF Council had not met since the last World Congress, but according to the reports, Rayonagan Congresses had been held in the Caucasus and Armenia Major. [2]

First of all, the Sixth World Congress established the ARF's policy regarding the working class. It considered the struggle against feudalism and capitalism, through the strengthening of workers' organizations and trade unions, a necessity both on the national and international levels. The Congress then examined the issue of lands taken by force from their Armenian owners and reached appropriate decisions. [3]

1 / Delegates of the Western Bureau (Vramian) and of Van (Aram), Garin (H. Der Tavtian), Moush (Simon Zavarian), Dikranagerd, Sepasdia (Sivas), Kesaria (Kayseri), Samson-Marzvan, Trebizond, Constantinople (Haroutiun Shahrigian), America, the Balkans and Iran took part in the Sixth World Congress. Those invited included Mikayel Varantian, E. Agnouni, Khazhag, Vartan, Zartarian and Hrach.

2 / See "DECISIONS OF THE SIXTH WORLD CONGRESS (SUMMARY AND EXTRACTS)" (*).

3 / Ibid., particularly pp. 1-7 (*).

However, the main item on the agenda was the issue of relations and cooperation between the ARF and the ruling "Ittihad ve Terakki" Party. The Congress affirmed that the policy of the government during the past three years "not only has not promoted a harmonious existence for religious and national minorities but also has generally opened the way for the creation of mistrust and the suppression of national rights.... Moreover, Ittihad did not attempt to combat and eliminate rightist elements that infiltrated its ranks, gradually increased their numbers in the Party, and gained overriding influence over it". [4] Therefore, the Congress decided to send a declaration in the name of the ARF to the Ittihad, clearly stating conditions under which cooperation could continue, and attaching a memorandum regarding the previous three years. The declaration also stressed, that if Ittihad and the government it represented did not change their course, the Western Bureau would have the right to end relations with Ittihad.

The Congress also examined the activities of the Armenian members of Parliament,[5] matters regarding national assemblies and representative bodies, cooperation with other Armenian political parties, the situation of Russia and Iran, etc. [6]

The structure of the Bureaus and Bureau Sections remained unchanged. [7] However, taking into account the gradual worsening of conditions for Armenians in Turkey and the probable necessity of resorting to self-defense, the Congress elected a "Self-Defense Body", which was fully empowered to direct all military affairs. [8]

2 / The Years 1911-1913 and the Break with Ittihad

The breaking of ties with Ittihad was not a smooth process. The organizational bodies of the provinces and Constantinople favored ending relations, but some members of the Western Bureau and the members of Parliament were not in favor of taking this abrupt step. [9]

In any case, the declaration and memorandum of the Sixth World Congress were delivered to Ittihad in the beginning of 1912, when the Ottoman Parliament was already dissolved and new elections had begun. After receiving the memorandum, Ittihad not only did not alter its conduct but also intentionally arranged the elections in such a way that the number of Armenian members of Parliament decreased. [10] In the eastern (Armenian) Provinces, the arbitrary and violent behavior of the government was reminiscent of the reign of Sultan Hamid. In particular, the oppression of non-Turkish minorities in the Ottoman empire had become unbearable — a consequence of the Pan-Turanian "Turkji" movement. [11]

According to the records of the Seventh World Congress, [12] the break with Ittihad was made official by the ARF with a notice presented to Ittihad on May 5, 1912. It became public through the Western Bureau's official an-

4 / Ibid., pp. 8-9 (*).

5 / Ibid., pp. 12-15 (*). See also "PLATFORM FOR PARLIAMENTARY ACTION IN TURKEY", Constantinople, 1912 (*), and Goms, "MEMOIRS", II, pp. 96-102 (*).

6 / Ibid., pp. 15-26 (*).

7 / See Dasnabedian, Hratch, "THE EVOLUTION AND ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE ARF", 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1985, pp. 76-77 (*).

8 / Ibid., pp. 77-79 (*). The idea of providing Armenia Major or the Yergir with a body enjoying broad powers was to be fulfilled very late, at the Seventh World Congress (1913) with the establishment of the Bureau of Armenia.

9 / Constantinople had become the de facto seat of the Western Bureau, but there was not always real agreement between it and the Region's Central Committee.

10 / See Circular no. 17 of the Constantinople Central Committee (June 1, 1912) (*).

11 / See Goms, op. cit., II, pp. 150-166 and 176-202 (*). See also Pastermadjian, Hrant, "HISTOIRE DE L'ARMENIE", Paris, 1964, pp. 397-398. For pan-Turanism in general, see Zarevant, "UNITED AND INDEPENDENT TURANIA" (*), or the translation from the Armenian by Professor V. Dadrian.

12 / See "DECISIONS OF THE SEVENTH WORLD CONGRESS", 1913, pp. 6-7 (*).

13 / See "DROSHAK", June 1912 (*), the leading article entitled "The Present Moment" and the appeal "To Ottoman Citizens".

14 / See the circular letter dated July 20, 1913 issued by the Constantinople ARF Central Committee, in "DOCUMENTS FOR THE HISTORY OF THE ARF", II, 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1985, I, pp. 184-185 (*).

15 / Ibid. See also the circular of the Central Self-defense Body, idem, pp. 182-184. Could this be the one proposed by the Sixth World Congress and composed of Rosdom, Antranig, Vartan, Mar and Hrach? There is no evidence one way or another, as the extraordinary Council left no records.

16 / Some of these documents appear in "DOCUMENTS FOR THE HISTORY OF THE ARF", II, 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1985, I, pp. 180-181 (*).

nouncement directed to "Ottoman citizens" and printed, with an accompanying editorial, in the June 1912 issue of the *Droshak*. [13]

The ARF organizational bodies in Turkey again went underground. Nevertheless, the situation was not favorable for a re-activation of any sort, and as a result, even the existence of the Bureaus became nominal. [14] In September of 1912 the ARF Council attempted to convene in Constantinople, but because provisions of the ARF by-laws could not be fulfilled, the assembly considered itself an "Extra-ordinary Council". It specifically concerned itself with Armenian self-defense and created a "Central Self-Defense Body", which, "with the addition of several comrades, was compelled to take on and carry out the responsibilities of the Western Bureau". [15]

The amelioration of the unbearable conditions in Turkish Armenia through parliamentary means had not been realized, and the government refused to grant any Armenian demands for the decentralization of the Armenian provinces. Having no other choice, Turkish Armenians once again sought external intervention. Catholicos Kevork V formed an "Armenian National Delegation", led by Boghos Noubar Pasha, to present new appeals to the Powers. Armenian community authorities in Constantinople established contact with the Russian consul, who had begun to express signs of being positively disposed toward Armenian demands. (The prevailing conditions also brought about closer relations between the Armenian political parties, which issued joint statements on various occasions). [16] Alarmed, the Ittihad attempted to dissuade the Armenians from petitioning for foreign intervention. Yet, despite Talaat Pasha's promises, the conditions in Turkish Armenia steadily grew worse. [17]

3 / The Seventh World Congress of the ARF

Convened in Garin on August 17, 1913, and lasting only one week, the Seventh World Congress is the briefest in ARF history. The preface to the booklet containing the decisions of the Congress states: "The agenda of the Congress was condensed, addressing only issues which were ripe and demanded immediate solutions"; therefore, "all those decisions of the previous, Sixth, World Congress not affected by the new decisions of the present, Seventh, World Congress remain in effect". [18]

The "interrelation of the various segments of the ARF" was the first issue to be examined. Because war was foreseeable, the probability that the various (Caucasian, Iranian, Turkish Armenian) segments of the Armenian people — and therefore the ARF — would be on opposing sides in that war caused great concern. The World Congress decided "to prevent armed conflict — when political complexities arise — through all possible legal means and in consultation with other socialist parties"; however, should war become unavoidable, "all citizens will carry out their civic duties toward their own government". This decision foreshadows the similar answer that the delegates of the Eighth World Congress of the ARF were to give a year later, in the summer of 1914, to the Ittihad's representatives.

17 / See Goms (V. Papazian), op. cit., pp. 235-236 and 254-258 (*).

18 / See "DECISIONS OF THE SEVENTH WORLD CONGRESS", 1913, p. 3 (*).


ԱԶԱՏԱՄԱՐԴ

Front page of *Azadamard*, the ARF paper in Constantinople, August 1910.

The Congress also examined the situation in Turkey as well as the Armenians' efforts at political relations. In this regard, the World Congress set down the reasons for the severing of ties with the Ittihad and also noted the circumstances under which that decision was made: in short, Ittihad was unwaveringly continuing the traditional Turkish policy of oppressing its minorities, especially Christians; that policy was not only leading to economic and political disaster but also inspiring no hopes in regards to the physical security of the Armenians in the Ottoman empire. [19] Other items on the agenda were Armeno-Kurdish relations, land claims, the activities of the Armenian national authorities, etc.

The Congress decided to establish a separate supreme body for the Yergir — the Bureau of Armenia — the jurisdiction of which included the six Armenian-populated provinces as well as the province of Trebizond. The Eastern and Western Bureaus remained, but with new geographic jurisdictions; the former included Russia and Iran, the latter, Western Turkey and the various communities abroad. Taking into account prevailing conditions, and foreseeing difficult times ahead, the World Congress endowed the Bureaus with the responsibilities and rights that the ARF By-laws normally allowed only to ARF Responsible Bodies. Moreover, the ARF Council was to consist of "the representatives of the three Bureaus and the Central Committee of America", [20] which affirms that the ARF organization in America had expanded and grown stronger.

4 / The Situation between the Seventh and Eighth World Congresses

The conclusions reached by the Seventh World Congress, especially the decision to establish a separate Bureau-Responsible Body for Turkish Armenia, as well as the threat of war and the growing danger of the Turkji movement, drove the ARF organizational bodies to reorganize and revitalize the Dashnaktsutiun. A year later, at the Eighth World Congress, the organizational bodies of Turkey and the Yergir had already regained the dynamism evident at the Varna World Congress (1909). However, judging from the affirmations of the Eighth World Congress itself, such improvement in the Party's situation and its activities was more the result of the persistent work of individual leaders and regional-local organizational bodies and less the result of collective efforts planned by the Bureaus. [21]

There were pointed differences in outlook and tactical approach between the younger elements, full of revolutionary tendencies, and the traditional leadership of the main organizational bodies as well as the members of the Ottoman Parliament. [22] These differences were possibly a continuation in different form of the duality in approach that had arisen during the first days of the Ottoman Constitution between the ARF's military and political operatives. In any event, in this atmosphere of differences in mentality and approach, despite the above-mentioned reactivation of organizational life, it seems that the work of arming the populace and the preparations for self-defense were not carried forward with the necessary pace,

19 / For all relative information, see "DECISIONS OF THE SEVENTH WORLD CONGRESS', 1913, (*).

20 / Ibid., pp. 19-20. See also Dasnabedian, Hratch, op. cit., pp. 83-86 (*).

21 / See "EXTRACTS FROM THE DECISIONS OF THE EIGHTH WORLD CONGRESS", especially pp. 17-20.

22 / In his letter of August 17, 1914 to the United States Central Committee, Simon Vratsian wrote from Constantinople: "In the organizational ranks, I noticed two distinct tendencies, with which we are already familiar. The younger generation tends to safeguard the revolutionary attitudes and values underlying our tradition. The older ones and those with a certain social standing tend to favor pacific policies. [...] The conflict between the two sides can be sensed everywhere in Azadamard as in organizational propaganda". See (title in Armenian) "HIN TGHTER NOR BADMOUTIAN HAMAR" Beirut, 1962, pp. 68-69 (*).



Ousanogh, the European ARF Students' Union paper, no. 7, 1912, dedicated to the 400th anniversary of Armenian printing. Pubiished in Constantinople.



ԱՍԲԱՐԵԶ

Շաբաթաթերթ
Ընդհանուր Հասարակական,
Քաղաքական եւ Գրական

ASBAREZ
- The ARENA -
AN ARMENIAN WEEKLY

105

Front page of Asbarez, ARF's paper in the Western USA, Fresno (California), 1910, no. 116 (it is still published today).

ԵՐԿՈՒՆՔ

ՀԱՅՏԱՐԱԿԱԿԱՆ, ԳԻՏԱԿԱՆ ԵՒ ԳՐԱԿԱՆ

ԱՄԱԱԹԵՐԹ

ՕՐԿԱՆ Հ. Յ. Դ. Կ. ՊՈԼՍՈՅ ՈՒՍԱՆՈՂԱԿԱՆ ՄԻՈՒԹԵԱՆ

1/14 ԴԵԿՏԵՄԲԵՐ 1913 Բ. ՏԱՐԻ Թիւ 6



ՍԻՄՈՆ ԶԱՒԱՐԵԱՆ

Yergounk, the journal of the ARF Students' Union in Constantinople, no. 6, 1913, dedicated to the memory of a great man, Simon Zavarian.

23 / It should also be noted that probably noone at the time foresaw the terrible proportions of the 1915-1916 massacres. That is to say that noone could reasonably have predicted the extermination of the entire Armenian popuiation, a Genocide planned by the Turkish state. The more pessimistic Armenian leaders would very probably never have foreseen anything worse than the Hamidian massacres of 1895-1896. And it was reasonabie to assume that the Turkish Armenians, far better organized and better armed than 20 years previousiy, would put up more efficient seif-defense and thus gave up a smaller number of victims.

24 / Debilitated by exhaustion and self-deprivation, Simon Zavarian died suddenly on October 28, 1913 in Constantinople while on his way to the Azadamard offices. For Armenians everywhere, from the Ottoman capital to the Caucasus, where his body was transferred, his funerai became an unprecedented act of apotheosis.

25 / See Pastermadjian, Hrant, "HISTOIRE DE L'ARMENIE", Paris, 1964, pp. 398-400. A new era seemed to be opening for the Armenian popuiation of the Empire. The Dutchman Westenenk and the Norwegian Hoff were appointed high commissioners. Hoff actually reached his office in Van in Juiy 1914, in spite of the machinations of the Turkish government. But in October Turkey entered the war on Germany's side. The February Convention was instantly canceled and the high commissioners were sent home.

26 / Most of the information on the subject is taken from the secret records of Okhrana, the Czarist intelilgence service. See Dasnabedian, Hratch, op. cit., p. 87 (*).

27 / The following partlcipated in the Eighth World Congress: E. Agnouni (Western Bureau), Roupen Zartarian (Azadamard), Mardiros Haroutlunian [Eastern Bureau (?)], Simon Vratsian (United States), Roupen Der Minasian (Moush), Mihran Terlemezian (Van), Armenag Okhigian (Siak) (Bitlis), Hamazasb Srvantsdiants (Constantinople), Ardavazt Hanemian (Egypt), Avedis Injejikian (Beirut) and many other delegates and guests, including the social-revolutionary Vahan Minakhorian, a loyal, sincere friend of the ARF.

28 / See "EXTRACTS FROM THE DECISIONS OF THE EIGHTH WORLD CONGRESS", particulariy p. 5 (*).

notwithstanding alarms sounded at the World Congresses. A probable result, at least in part, was that during the days of the 1915 Genocide, the heroic self-defense of various regions (Van-Vasbouragan, Sasoun, Urfa, Musa Dagh, Shabin Karahisar) did not spread throughout Turkish Armenia. [23]

At the end of October 1913, Simon Zavarian, the second of the ARF's founders, died suddenly in Constantinople. The strength of Zavarian's moral and ideological convictions had gained him the title of "secular saint". [24]

Armenian appeals to the Powers finally resulted in an important accomplishment in February 1914, when Grand Vezir Sayid Halim Pasha and Russian ambassador Kulgevich signed an agreement. It envisaged the partition of Turkey's seven eastern vilayets (provinces) into two administrative districts, each under the supervision of a European high commissioner presented by the Powers and appointed by the Porte. The agreement also guaranteed Armenians the right to have civil servants and police, in proportion to their numbers in any given area. These terms did not, of course, bring the internal autonomy proposed by the ARF, yet if implemented, they would have become the first step in the administrative decentralization of the empire's Armenian vilayets. [25]

In March 1914, the ARF Council convened in Berlin. It dealt mainly with preparations for the Eighth World Congress and self-defense. [26]

5 / The Eighth World Congress of the ARF and Subsequent Months

The World Congress again took place in Garin, this time in mid-July 1914, and lasted two weeks. Headed by Rosdom, about 30 delegates — veterans and an emerging leadership alike — were present. [27]

The situation that the Eighth World Congress faced was critical. The World War had already been declared, and the pro-German leanings, as well as Pan-Turanian appetites, of the Ittihad were well-known. The Congress's agenda centered around the prevailing situation and probable developments: the political direction of Turkey, anti-Armenian persecutions by the Ittihad-led government, the February agreement and the Turkish efforts to undermine it. The Congress decided to "maintain the role of unbending opposition and objective critic vis-a-vis the Ittihad, struggling against its harmful and anti-state chauvinist policy". [28] Furthermore, after lengthy deliberations, with near unanimity the Congress decided not to change the decision of the previous World Congress, i.e., in the case of war, the citizens of each state were to fulfill their civic responsibilities to their state. [29]

The World Congress eliminated the Western Bureau. The regions that had fallen under its jurisdiction were transferred to the Bureau of Armenia, which was also to have a Constantinople Section. [30]

In August, after the delegates had already left, a Commission of Nine continued to deal with other matters that needed to be addressed. While the

29 / On this subject, see Vahan Minakhorian, "Before the tempest", in "VEM", 2nd Year (193), no. 4, particularly pp. 12-16 (*). Hamazasb Srvantsdiants alone opposed the decision to the end, upholding the option of general insurrection should Turkey declare war.

30 / See the brochure entitled "DECISIONS OF THE SEVENTH WORLD CONGRESS", 1913, (*) and Dasnabedian, Hratch, op. cit., pp. 88-89 (*).

Commission met, an Ittihad delegation composed of Behaeddin Shakir and Naji Bey arrived in Garin to conduct negotiations with Rosdom, Vramian, and Agnouni. Convinced that Germany would emerge victorious, the Turks considered an alliance with it a unique opportunity to realize their Pan-Turanian aspirations. They proposed that the ARF start an insurrection in the Transcaucasus to strike the Russian army from the rear and to facilitate the advance of the Turkish army toward Baku. In exchange, they promised to aid in the establishment of an autonomous Armenia in the Transcaucasus. The leadership of the Dashnaktsutiun attempted to dissuade the Turks from entering the war, finding such a step dangerous for the future of the Empire. They also informed the Turkish delegation of the above-mentioned decision of the World Congress. [31] Not satisfied, the Ittihadists departed.

Subsequent events developed very rapidly. Compelled by these alarming developments, the Eastern Bureau expended efforts in Russian governmental circles to save the Western Armenians. The Russian government responded by suggesting that Caucasian Armenians assist the Russian army. To plan the formation of Armenian volunteer battalions, an Armenian National Bureau was established in Tiflis, while all practical aspects of military organization were entrusted entirely to the ARF. [32]

Meanwhile, in Turkey, in the face of growing oppression and with the rather naive concern of providing no pretext for massacres, Armenian political and national organizations exhorted the Turkish Armenians to make the necessary accommodations and submit to the orders and arrangements of the government.

A Rayonagan Congress took place on September 21-23, 1914, in the Caucasus. Cut off from the majority of the members of the Bureau of Armenia, [33] as well as the organizational bodies in Turkey, the Congress hesitated in giving its final approval for the establishment of an Armenian National Bureau and the formation of volunteer units. But finally, "not having the decisions of superior organizational bodies on this matter, it affirmed the decisions of the Bureau and assisted in their implementation".

At the end of 1914, and thereafter, events succeeded each other at a catastrophic rate. The Eastern Bureau was completely cut off from the leadership in Constantinople and the Yergir. Moreover, the Bureau of Armenia was completely scattered, with some of its members (Agnouni, Vramian, Sarkis Parseghian, Roupen Zartarian), along with other ARF leaders (Vana Ishkhan, H. Shahrigian, K. Khazhag, Hrach, Vartkes, Dr. G. Pashayan, and many others), among the first to fall victim to the 1915 Genocide.



Seal of the ARF Bureau of Armenia, Garin, around 1913-14.

31 / Winston Churchill was to write on this subject in "THE WORLD CRISIS", V, London, 1929, p. 404: "The Armenians preferred to serve in two enemy camps, thus engaging in fratricide, so that they would not betray the Turkish and Russian states of which they were citizens". See Pastermadjian, Hrant, "HISTOIRE DE L'ARMENIE", Paris, 1964, pp. 407-408. See also Vratsian, Simon, "THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA", pp. 7-9 (*) and Vahan Minakhorian, op. cit., from p. 12 on.

32 / See Vratsian, Simon, op. cit., Supplement A, pp. 577-581 (*).

33 / Rosdom, Armen Garo and Simon Vratsian, members of the Bureau of Armenia had gone to the Caucasus after the Eighth World Congress. Arshag Vramian, Sarkis Parseghian, E. Agnouni and Roupen Zartarian, back from Constantinople, fell victim to the Genocide. The members of the Bureau who stayed in the Yergir, Aram and Roupen, in Vasbouragan and Daron respectively, led heroic self-defense battles, the first crowned with victory, the second a failure, owing to unfavorable circumstances.

8 / Genocide, Chaos, Resurrection 1915-1918

1 / Genocide

The plan for the total extermination of the Armenian nation had been worked out well before the war. The proceedings of meetings of Ittihad leadership, the memoirs and testimonies of Turkish statesmen and government officials such as Melanzade Rifaat and Nayim Bey, as well as the telegrams sent by Minister of the Interior Talaat to provincial governors, clearly give proof of what in legal terms is called "premeditation". [1]

The history of the Genocide and narration of its events are beyond the subject of this work. A large number of memoirs and studies by both Armenian and non-Armenian authors are available on the subject. [2] Briefly, however, we must recall that the systematic implementation of this monstrous plan began on the night of April 11/24, with the arrest and massacre of the Armenian elite of Constantinople: writers, poets, artists, men of science, politicians, party leaders, and churchmen. The massacre of already disarmed Armenian officers and men in the Ottoman army immediately followed; many of those Armenian soldiers had performed their duty in the Ottoman army on the Caucasian front, and many of their Armenian comrades had fallen on the field of battle while in the Turkish ranks. The third stage was the extermination of the Armenian populations in the towns and villages, both through on-site massacres (as was the case in Moush, Paghesh, and other parts of Eastern Anatolia) or through mass deportation and exile to the deserts of Syria and Mesopotamia. Already decimated by starvation and disease while on the road, the deportees were often subjected to massacre,

1 / On the Armenian Genocide, see the following fundamental works: "THE MEMOIRS OF NAYIM BEY" (*), published in Paris in 1920 by Aram Andonian and "RAPPORT SECRET SUR LES MASSACRES D'ARMENIE", by Dr. Johannes Lepsius, Paris, 1918 (reissued by Payot, 1987). Since then, numerous collections of documents and studies have been published, both in the international periodicals and in single volumes. See also "THE DARK ASPECTS OF THE TURKISH REVOLUTION" by Mevlanzade Rifaat (In Turkish), Aleppo, 1929.

2 / See particularly Morgenthau, H., "MEMOIRES", Paris, 1919, and "THE TRAGEDY OF ARMENIA" (In English), London 1918, (the "MEMOIRES" were reissued by Flammarion in 1984); Mandelschtam, André, "LA S.D.N. ET LES PUISSANCES DEVANT LE PROBLEME ARMENIEN", 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1970; Brice, Viscount James, "LE TRAITMENT DES ARMENIENS DANS L'EMPIRE OTTOMAN", (a Blue Book published by the British government), new Edition, Paris, 1987.

and sometimes a slow death, once they arrived at their destination. Impeccably well-planned, and carried out with undeniable expertise, the extermination of the Armenians was to inspire and serve as an example to Hitler and the Nazis decades later. Talaat could justifiably boast: "I have done more for the solution of the Armenian Question in three months than Abdul Hamid did in thirty years". [3]

In any case, it is evident that after the first few years of elation after the Ottoman Constitution, and despite the gradual deterioration of conditions after 1911, as well as the spread of Pan-Turanian thought and the efforts of the "Turkji" movement, the Armenians of Turkey — including the executive bodies and ranks of the Dashnaktsutiun — were not psychologically or practically ready in 1915 to resort to general self-defense, let alone a general uprising. They had, starting in 1912, elected to again appeal to international diplomacy instead of relying on their own armed struggle. Still, even in 1914-15, when the violence had just begun, the Armenian community authorities, religious leaders, and party bodies appealed to the Armenian masses to be patient and to submit to arrangements made by the government in order to avoid repression and bloodshed. [4] It seems, that no one realized the extent of the impending catastrophe.

The ARF, too, paid dearly for that temporary disregard for its military traditions. The organization, with its executive bodies, leadership, and ranks, completely disappeared from the whole of Turkey, as did the entire Armenian nation there. The Genocide took the lives of Haroutiun Shahrigian, E. Agnouni, Karekin Khazhag, Roupen Zartarian, Taniel Varouzhan, Siamanto, Vartkes Serengiulian and Krikor Zohrab, Sarkis Parseghian, Hrach (Tiriakian), Dr. Garabed Pashayan, Sarkis Minasian, Arshag Vramian, Vana Ishkhan, Roupen Sevag, Vartan Vartabed, Slak (Armenag Okhigian), Kalousd Aloyan, Mihran Terlemezian, Vahakn Datevian, Balajan (Stepan Stepanian), Palabekh Garabed, Karmen, Tovmas Jelalian, Goriun and Godoyi Haji (the last two fell in battles of self-defense), and many other leaders, intellectuals, and fedayees.

2 / The 1915 Battles of Self-Defence

Alongside this universal tragedy, there were, fortunately, cases of armed self-defense, as well as examples of self-sacrifice and dedication, which enriched the history and collective values of the Armenian people. In some places Armenians rebelled against the certain threat of collective holocaust, and fought, sometimes with fortunate — often with unfortunate — outcomes, in all cases preferring to die on the field of honor. These battles of life and death were led by the leaders and organizational bodies of the ARF and other parties in Van-Vasbouragan, Daron-Sasoun, Shabin Karahisar, Urfa, and Musa Dagh. In other places (certain areas of Cilicia and Trebizond), men competent in the use of arms ascended nearby mountains and waged partisan warfare until the end of the war and Turkey's defeat. [5]

Nevertheless, the Armenians resorted to self-defense only at the last moment, when all means for a collective peaceful existence were exhausted. The vast majority of the Armenian men who had entered the Ottoman army in the first days of the war were massacred in April and May of 1915 after being disarmed. Others, more fortunate, were sent to far-off regions to serve on work details. Had the entire population of young men in Vasbouragan, Daron, Shabin Karahisar, Urfa and Musa Dagh remained behind, there is no doubt that the last-minute rebellions would have yielded happier outcomes.

a / Vasbouragan

Events were triggered in the mountainous region of Shadakh in the first days of April, 1915. Upon the deceitful request of the Turkish prefect Jevdet Ishkhan left Van for Shadakh to calm the people and prevent bloodshed. On his way, Ishkhan was murdered by Jevdet's men. The battles of self-defense in Shadakh were led by Samouel Bedrosian and Dikran Baghdasarian (both ARF members) and lasted 45 days, until Dro's volunteer battalion arrived and the Turks fled the region. [6]

Two days after Ishkhan had left, Arshag Vramian, a deputy in the Ottoman Parliament and an ARF member, was arrested in Van. Aram Manougian barely escaped the same fate. An inter-party meeting on April 5 decided to resort to self-defense and elected a military council composed of Boulgaratsi Krikor and Gaydzag Arakel (ARF members) as well as Armenag Yegarian (a Constitutional Democrat). Various auxiliary committees and a Red Cross were also established.

The city of Van was at first surrounded by 6,000 and later 10,000, Turkish soldiers. The Turks had succeeded in cutting off the Armenian section of Aykestan from the rest of the city. The Armenians had 800 fighters, only 400 of whom were armed with military weapons (Mausers). The guiding spirit and leader of the self-defense in Aykestan was Aram Manougian, while the leaders of the battles that took place in the rest of the city were Hayg Gosoyian, Haro, Sarkis Shahinian, and others.

The fighting broke out on April 7 and continued until the first days of May. The Turks used large cannons and made numerous attempts to break through Armenian lines. Each time they were thrown back after suffering considerable losses. The Armenian positions that were destroyed as a result of bombardment were rebuilt each night by the people. Yegarian, Boulgaratsi Krikor, and their comrades-in-arms fought with inordinate courage. Thanks to the ingenious efforts of Krikor, the Hamoud Agha barracks of the Turkish army were blown up; moreover, the Armenians were able to fashion their own cannon. On April 20 and 21 the fighting turned into bloody hand-to-hand combat. The population of nearby Armenian villages (Shahbagh, Arjag, Kharagonis, Shoushants, Varak, Gouroubash, etc.) group by group succeeded in finding refuge in Aykestan. The population of refugees grew to 15-20,000, raising the specter of famine. In the first days of May, however,

3 / Morgenthau, H., "MEMOIRES", new edition, Paris, 1984, p. 294.

4 / Pamboukian, Y., "The hecatomb of April", in Shiragian, Arshavir, "THE LEGACY OF THE MARTYRS", Beirut, 1986, pp. 35-36 (*).

5 / For the massacres and resistance in Trebizond, see Torlakian, Misak, "THE COURSE OF MY LIFE", Beirut, 1963 (*).

6 / See Baghdasarian, Dikran, "The self-defense of Shadakh", in "HAIRENIK", 9th Year, nos. 3 to 11 (January to September 1931) (*).



ARF military leaders, whose activity (defense of the border and the Armenian regions) was to begin from 1915 onward, but especially after the Russian retreat (end 1917).

the Turks quickly abandoned their positions and fled. On May 3, the Armenians of Aykestan and the main city were reunited and held sway over the entire city, and the red flag of the Dashnaktsutiun flew over the historic fortress of Van.

The Armenian volunteer battalions entered Van on May 5, led by Dashnaktsakan Khecho, Ashod Melik-Mousian, and Deli Ghazar. That night and the next day Dro, General Nikolayev, and the Russian army arrived. On May 7 Aram was appointed the governor of liberated Vasbouragan, and a regional administration was formed. (7)

The Armenian administration over Van was short-lived (70 days). The Russian army retreated, rejecting the proposal of the Armenian volunteer battalions to stay behind. Panic-stricken, the Armenian population of Van retreated along with the Russian troops, losing thousands of their numbers along the road and in the Plain of Ararat. Thereafter, several times the Russians re-took Van then abandoned it. Each time the surviving Armenians of Van returned to their homes only to leave again months later and to be gradually decimated in the process. The last Armenian administration in Van was the longest (from 1917 to the final retreat in the spring of 1918) and was headed by Gosdi Hampartsoumian of the ARF. (8)

b / Daron-Sasoun

The population of Daron and Sasoun, relatively distant from the war front, was subjected to an even crueler fate. Under the leadership of veteran ARF fedayees, the people heroically defended their homes and ancestral land, but in the end most were massacred.

Roupen, who had returned to Daron at the end of 1913, foreseeing imminent danger, worked feverishly to arm the people with the assistance of his colleagues: Goriun, Petara Manoug, Sasountsi Moushegh (Avedisian), Alijana Dikran and Misak, Avruna Aram, and others. Until the autumn and end of 1914, when Turkey had already entered the war and the government had already embarked upon its outrages in the Armenian provinces, the ARF Central Committee of Daron and the Armenian national authorities were of two minds. The military elements favored an attempt at a general uprising, while the rest, relatively conservative and certain of a Russian victory, preferred to wait. A plan quickly drawn up in January 1915 for a general uprising in the Plain of Moush and in Sasoun was aborted as a result of the rapidly developing course of events. (9)

On February 6-7, after a skirmish in the village of Koms, Goriun was forced to abandon and set fire to his own ancestral home, withdrawing toward Sasoun with Roupen, Avruna Aram, Alijana Dikran, and a band of fedayees. In early March, after a clash with Turkish soldiers at Arakelots Vank, the veteran fedayee Boleian Mgrdich (Mjo), with a small group of comrades, also arrived in Sasoun. Numerous other skirmishes and limited massacres

7 / See Mkhitarian, Onnig, "The self-defense of Van", in "HAIRENIK", 2nd Year, no. 6 to 3rd Year no. 7 (April 1923 to May 1925) (*); Gosoyian, Hayg, "The April fighting in the center of Van", ibid., 6th Year no. 9 to 7th Year no. 6 (July 1928 to April 1929). See also ibid., special issue on the 25th anniversary of the Van epic of 1915 (18th Year, no. 7, May 1940).

8 / See Manougian, Hmaïag, "Events in Vasbouragan (1914-1918)", in "VEM", 5th Year no. 1 to 6th Year no. 2 (January-March 1937 to January-May 1938). See also Baghdasarian, D., ibid., 6th Year, nos. 3-4 (June-September and October-December 1938).

9 / See the memoirs of Sasountsi Moushegh (Avedisian) in Roupen (Der Minasian), ' MEMOIRS OF AN ARMENIAN REVOLUTIONARY", VII, Beirut, 1974, 2nd Edition, pp. 53-59 (*).

took place during the same months in Ahronk, Tsronk, Moushaghshen, etc. In March, during a meeting of fedayee group leaders who had arrived in Sasoun, Roupen, Goriun, Mjo, Petara Manoug, Sasountsi Moushegh, Ghazar, Semali Manoug, Cholo, Morouk Garo, and others decided to resort to self-defense, dividing the entire Sasoun front into seven lines of defense.

The Sasoun battles of self-defense lasted more than six months. The details of the fighting fail outside the bounds of this book; suffice it to say, however, that the intensity of the battles and the daring of the fedayees matched what has been already related regarding the battles of 1904. Goriun, Mjo, Avruna Aram, and many others were killed. Roupen, with several comrades-in-arms, succeeded in reaching the Kan mountains in early September. There, joining the fedayee group of Vahan Papazian (Goms), they broke through the Turkish lines and reached Manazgerd, where Russian forces had established outposts. (10)

The illogical movements — consecutive advances and retreats — of the Russian army indirectly facilitated and accelerated the extermination of the Armenians in Daron and Sasoun. In those days of death (April-September of 1915), while the people of the Plain of Moush were being massacred under the noses of the Russian commanders, other last-minute, desperate yet heroic, acts took place in the city of Moush, in Alijan, Avran, Garnen, Sourp Garabed, Khnous, and Nemrout. Veteran Dashnak fedayees such as Hagop Godoyian (Godoyi Haji), Garnenou Mgrdich, Sordartsi Aram, and others fell during the fighting. In Akhlat and Bitlis, the Turkish police arrested and murdered Palabekh Garabed and Sogho, who had been Serop's loyal soldiers, as well as Armenag Okhigian (Slak) the ARF's representative. (11)

c / Shabin Karahisar

In Shabin Karahisar, by the first months of 1915, the arrests of Armenians and efforts at disarming them had become blatant, and the prelate of the Armenian diocese was arrested and subsequently murdered. Only in June, after a long, patient wait did the fight for self-defense spontaneously break out. The Armenians captured the citadel and entrenched themselves there, while the Turks set fire and destroyed ali the Armenian sections of town. A fistful of Armenian fighters held off the Turkish force of 6,000 for 18 days, until their ammunition and food stores were exhausted. Some of the fighters then broke through the Turkish encirclement in hand-to-hand fighting and succeeded in reaching the plain, where they dispersed. On June 28, the Turks entered the citadel and massacred the unarmed population.

The leading figure of the self-defense of Shabin Karahisar was a popular hero named Ghougas, who did not have any party affiliations, while Vahan Hiusisian, H. Karageozian, H. Margosian and Krikor Baronvartian, all Dashnaktsakans, also played important roles. (12)

d / Urfa

The gomideh of Urfa fell under the jurisdiction of the Lernavayr (Cilicia) Cen-

tral Committee. Aithough the ARF organizational network in Urfa had become entrenched only during the period of the Ottoman Constitution, the battles of self-defense in 1915 (and later, in 1920) were entirely initiatives of the Dashnaktsutiun.

Events began to unfold in May, when important national and party figures were arrested one after another. Mgrdich Yotneghpayrian proposed immediate insurrection, but the conservative leadership of the community considered such a step dangerous. Thus, the battles of self-defense in Urfa began only at the end of September, when the Turks had already arrested, tortured, and killed nearly ali of the Armenian notables, including the prelate, as well as the 1500 disarmed Armenian conscripts from Urfa.

On September 30, a Turkish mob numbering in the thousands entered the Armenian quarter intent on massacre and looting. Ali fled upon resistance, however, leaving behind 450 dead. The main leaders of the resistance were Mgrdich Yotneghpayrian and Haroutiun Rastgelenian, assisted by other members of the Military Council — Haroutiun Simian, Khoren Kiupelian, and Levon Eghperlerian, ali ARF members.

The regular columns of the Turkish army arrived in Urfa on October 5-6. Six cannons bombarded the Armenian quarter from three sides. The Armenians fought with fierce courage until October 23, when the Turks succeeded in entering the quarter. Many Armenians, to avoid capture by the Turks, threw themselves into wells or burned their homes with their families and themselves in them. Alongside their comrades, the two leaders were also killed; Mgrdich Yotneghpayrian, about to be captured, shot himself. The Turks announced his death with 24 fusillades of cannon fire.

The Armenians of Urfa who survived the Genocide were forced to defend themselves against the Turks also in 1920, during the French occupation of Cilicia. The Armenians fought with the assistance of 500 French troops; but on April 10 the French quickly retreated toward Syria, leaving the Armenians to their fate. Led by Mihran Herartian, Dr. Mirza Ketenjian, Misak Melkonian, and other ARF leaders, the Armenians of Urfa continued to fight. Gradually, however, they too withdrew toward Aleppo. (13)

e / Suedi/Musa Dagh

In July 1915, the population of the Armenian villages of this mountainous corner of Cilicia chose to ascend their mountains to defend themselves rather than join the caravans of death. By August 5, nearly the entire populations of the Armenian villages of Suedia had already ascended the heights of Musa Dagh and were surrounded by Turkish forces. Their only access to the outside world — in this case, the Mediterranean sea — was through the steep western slope of the mountain. (14)

For about forty days, the Armenians of Suedia waged a life and death strug-

10 / For the fighting in Daron-Sasoun, see Sasouni, Garo, "HISTORY OF DARON", especially pp. 761-788 and pp. 948-998 (*). See also Sasountsi Moushegh, op. cit., 59-96.

11 / Sasouni, Garo, op. cit., pp. 885-947 (*).

12 / Haygaz, Aram, "The self-defense of Shabin-Karahisar", in "HAIRENIK", 5th Year, nos. 6 to 9 (April to July 1927) (*).

13 / For the fighting in Urfa, see Urhayetsi, K., "The heroic self-defense of Urfa", in "HAIRENIK", 4th Year no. 12 to 5th Year no. 9 (October 1926 to July 1927) (*); Luter (Aram Sahaklan), "THE HEROIC SELF-DEFENSE OF URFA", Beirut, 1933. For Mgrdich Yotneghpayrian, see Aharonian, Vartkes, "Yotnekhbrants Mgrdichu", in "HAIRENIK", 18th Year no. 11 to 19th Year no. 10 (September 1940 to August 1941) (*).

14 / In his novel entitled "THE 40 DAYS OF MUSA-DAGH", the German writer Franz Werfel exalts the epic of the Armenians in Suedia.



Bedros Seremjian in two photos used as postcards: in his military unIform (he was an officer in the Bulgarian army) and in his fedayee clothing, somewhere between Salmasd and Van.

gie against 4,000 Turkish troops and an equai number of irreguiars. The Armenian combatants, numbering about 800, only 600 of whom had regular weapons, were divided into 43 groups. The overall military commander was Movses Der Kalousdian, a Dashnaktsakan, while the chairman of the Administrative Council for the entire encampment was Rev. D. Antreasian, a protestant minister. During the fighting, Hagop Karageozian, one of the oldest ARF leaders in the region, was killed, along with Bedros Aramayisian, Sarkis Habeshian, Bedros Kalousdian, and others.

After numerous attempts to contact and request assistance from the French fleet in the Mediterranean, on September 7 and 8, two French warships, the Guichen and Dezek, approached the coast. By boat the survivors were taken to the ships, which took them to Port Said, Egypt. [15]

Subsequently, many of the refugees in Port Said volunteered to join the Eastern Legion, and under the command of General Allenby fought on the Palestinian and Syrian fronts. [16] When the First World War ended, the people of Musa Dagh returned to their native land. [17]

15 / See Boursalian, H., "The epic of Suedia", in "HAIRENIK", 7th Year nos. 9 to 12 (July-October 1929) to 8th Year no. 1 (November 1929) (*).

16 / For the Eastern or Armenian Legion, see Pastermadjian, Hrant, "HISTORY OF ARMENIA", Paris, 1964, p. 415 (*).

17 / Once again, they had to abandon the villages of Suedia. They finally settled at Aïnjar in Lebanon when the French authorities of Syria gave the sanjak of Alexandretta to the Turks.

18 / See Vratsian, Simon, "THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA", 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1958, pp. 9-10 (*); see also Hovannisian, Richard, "ARMENIA ON THE ROAD TO INDEPENDENCE", Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1967, pp. 43-44.

19 / For the proceedings of the Rayonagan Congress of September 1914, see Vratsian, Simon, op. cit., pp. 577-581 (*).

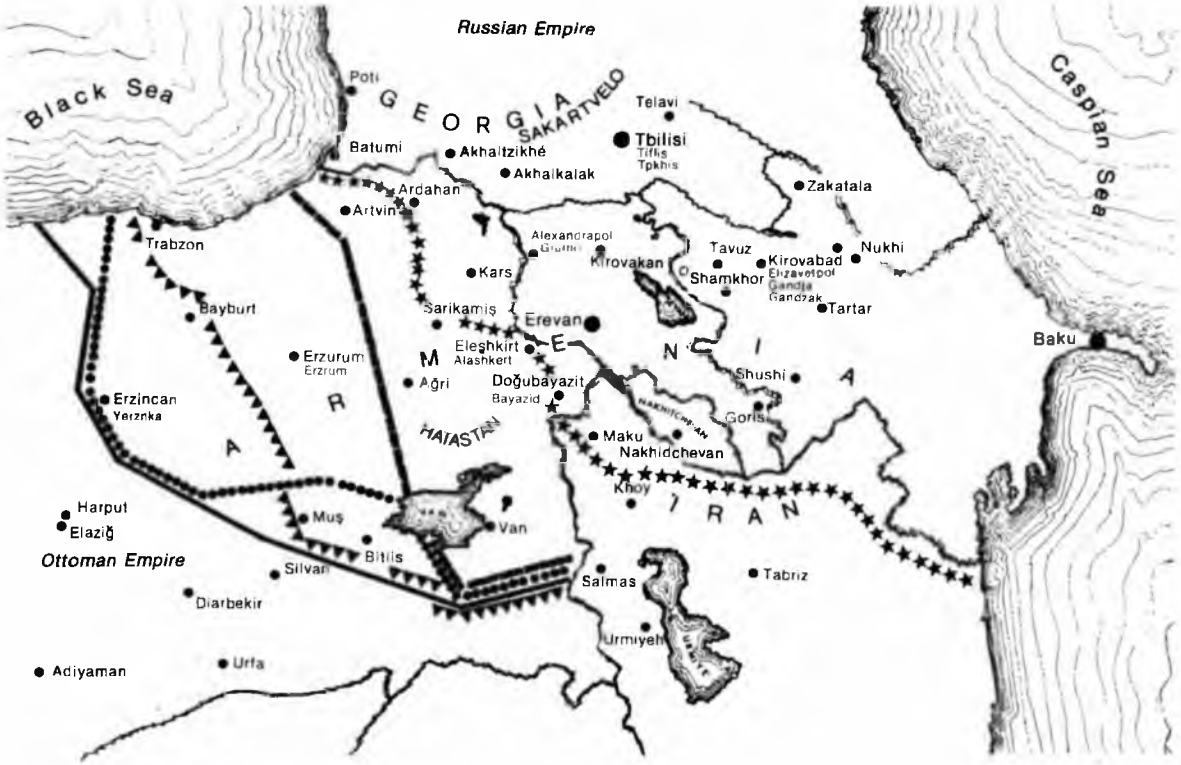
3 / The Volunteer Movement and the Years 1915-1916

At first, the volunteer movement that developed in the last months of 1914 was the resuit of the initiative taken by the Armenian National Bureau in Tiflis, with the encouragement of the Viceroy Vorontsov-Dashkov. [18] At the Rayonagan Congress held during September 13-14, 1914, the ARF in turn adopted the principle of having volunteer units alongside the Russian army and began implementing its decision by assisting the volunteer movement. [19] The Executive Committee for Volunteer Battalions was formed, composed of Rosdom, Dr. H. Zavrian, A. Giulkhandanian, Armen Garo, Simon Vratsian, Ishkhan H. Arghoutian, and Nigol Aghbalian. The military leaders called upon to lead the corps were long-time ARF fedayees: Antranig, Vartan, Keri, Hamazasb, Dro, Dashnaktsakan Khecho, Ishkhan H. Arghoutian, Armen Garo. Antranig's battalion left for Adrbadagan, where, under the overall command of General Nazarbegian, it won the historic battle at Dilman in April of 1915. The Second Battalion, under the leadership of Dro, advanced toward Van via Ikdir. The Third and Fourth battalions, led by Hamazasb and Keri, respectively, operated mainly in the regions of Sarighamish and Olti. After the liberation of Van, the forces of Antranig and Dro advanced toward Akhlat and Bitlis from the south of Lake Van. [20]

20 / For the volunteer regiments, see Vratsian, Simon, ibid., pp. 581-585 (*).

Ottoman regions in Armenia occupied by the Russian army as from 1915.
in 1917, they came under the Armenian administration before being evacuated by the same Russian army after a Bolshevik appeal and were reconquered by the Ottoman troops (beginning of 1918).

Borders before the war:
December 1914
December 1915
May 1916
December 1916



21 / See Vratsian, Simon, ibid., p. 10 (*).

22 / On this subject and for the allied plan to divide up the Ottoman Empire, see Hovannisian, Richard, op. cit., pp. 57-64. See also Sasouni, Garo, "WESTERN ARMENIA DURING THE FIRST WORLD WAR", Beirut, 1966 (*).

23 / For the contribution of the volunteer regiments to the Russian war effort, see General Korganoff, "LA PARTICIPATION DES ARMENIENS A LA GUERRE MONDIALE SUR LE FRONT DU CAUCASE", Paris, 1927; see also Poidebard, A., "LE ROLE MILITAIRE DES ARMENIENS SUR LE FRONT DU CAUCASE", Paris, 1920.

The main objective of the volunteer movement was to save, as soon as possible, the Western Armenian masses threatened by massacre. During the first year, the Russians themselves encouraged the Armenian volunteer movement, half-officially promising the Armenians "autonomy for the six vilayets and Cilicia, an inseparable part of the whole, under the powerful protection of Russia". (21) But with the Russian victories came the return of what had been the policy of Lobanov-Rostovsky: creating an "Armenia without Armenians". This change in Tsarist policy explains why the Russian high command did not allow the Armenian volunteer units that had reached Akhlat and Boulanukh to hasten to the aid of the people and combatants in the Plain of Moush and Sasoun. The Tsarist policy also explains the consecutive advances and retreats, each time causing a new migration of Western Armenians and reducing to a minimum the possibilities of establishing a more or less stable collective existence on Armenian lands taken from Turkey. (22)

Around mid-1916, by decision of the Russian command, the Armenian volunteer battalions were integrated into the regular units of the Caucasian army, thus losing ali independence of movement and initiative. During their one and one-half years of existence, the Armenian volunteer units, with their military daring, not only had helped in the Russian victories but also had saved more than 200,000 Western Armenians from the Turkish sword and safely brought them to the Transcaucasus. (23) Hundreds of Dashnaktsutiun's fighters, among them the group leaders Dashnaktsakan Khecho, Keri, Zemliag, and others, had lost their lives while protecting the Armenian populations.



The volunteer battalions were not the only form of assistance the Arme-

nians brought to the Allied war effort. More than 250,000 Armenians fought against the Central Powers, about 200,000 of them in the Russian army on the European front. Keeping ali proportions, these numbers and the corresponding losses suffered place the Armenians alongside the French and Serbs as one of the nations who sacrificed most for the Allied victory. (24)

4 / 1917-1918: The War of Independence

At the end of February 1917 (March 8-12 according to the new calendar), the First Russian Revolution put an end to the autocratic regime of the Romanovs, which was replaced by the provisional government led by Alexander Kerenski in Petrograd. An unprecedented wave of freedom swept the Empire. Responding to Armenian requests, Kerenski removed army and Caucasian administration over Western Armenia and linked it directly to the central government. General Averianov was appointed commissar over Turkish Armenia, with Dr. Hagop Zavriev as his assistant. The right of the Armenians to manage the affairs of liberated Armenia as they saw fit was de facto acknowledged. (25)

Reconstruction and agricultural activities began throughout the four administrative regions of Turkish Armenia (Van, Bitlis, Garin, and Trebizond) where the refugee population of Western Armenia had resettled after the Russian advance of 1916. ARF Regions and Central Committees of the Yergir were reorganized (i.e., Vasbouragan, Touran-Partsravantag, Garin) and new ones were created in Pasen and Alashgerd. The armed forces of the Dashnaktsutiun were able to operate more freely, as militia units devoted to the protection of the people. (26)

In early May of 1917, the First Congress of Western Armenians took place in Yerevan. Of the 64 delegates present, 41 were ARF members. The Congress examined the refugee problem, as well as the task of reconstruction, and created a Western Armenian Council to deal with these issues. The Executive Bureau of the Western Armenian Council was composed of two Dashnaktsakans (Goms and Armen Garo), three Ramgavars, and one Hnchak. (27)

Starting on October 11, 1917, the Congress of Eastern Armenians, initiated by the National Bureau, took place in Tiflis. Of the 200 delegates present from throughout the Empire, 113 were ARF members. The main item of the agenda was the new situation in Russia and the Transcaucasus. The Congress elected a legislative National Council of Russian Armenians composed of 35 members, as well as an Executive Council, six of the 15 members of which were Dashnaktsakans: Avedis Aharonian (president), Aram Manougian, Nigol Aghbalian, Roupen Der Minasian, Khachadour Garjigian, and Ardashes Babalian; two Populists, two Social-Democrats, two Social-Revolutionaries, and three non-partisans formed the rest of the Executive Council. During the critical year that was to follow, until the formation of the first government of Armenia, the National Council of the Eastern Armenians served as the de facto government of the Transcaucasian Armenians. (28)

With the intention of fortifying and securing the Turkish Armenian war front, Dr. Zavriev and Armen Garo urged Kerenski to transfer the Armenian officers and soldiers of the European Russian army to Armenia. The provisional government approved the Armenian proposal, with the condition that the transfers occur discreetly and in stages. However, even the first of the Armenian units returning to the Caucasus did not reach Armenia. Obliged to pass through Baku, they were met with obstacles laid by the Azeri Turks. Remaining in Baku, these Armenian forces later participated in the defense of Baku against the Turkish army and Pan-Turanian Azerbaijani mobs. (29)

Near the end of October, 1917 (on November 7 of the new calendar), the Bolshevik Revolution shook the entire Russian Empire. Headed by Lenin, the new government (the Sovnarkom) not only adopted the principle of the free self-determination of nations but also issued, in January 1918, a decree "On Turkish Armenia", which granted military, administrative, and political freedoms to Turkish Armenia and its people. (30)

Nevertheless, on March 13 of the same year, communist Russia signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, Article 4 of which not only returned all of conquered Turkish Armenia to Turkey but also gave up the regions of Kars, Ardahan, and Batum. And because after October the Russian forces, heeding Lenin's call, had begun to quickly retreat, deserting the Caucasian front (Turkish Armenia), developments in the subsequent months were to have a fateful significance for the Armenian people. (31)

The Armenians were thus left alone to defend a war front extending some 400 kilometers. The ARF militias, which had been organized secretly and sometimes semi-officially after the dissolution of the Armenian volunteer battalions, were insufficient for the task. Apprehensive, The Western Armenian Bureau formed a Security Council, which issued a call to arms. With the assistance of the Caucasian high command and the National Council of Eastern Armenians, the Security Council succeeded in forming the Armenian Corps, which was placed under the overall command of General Nazarbegian. The number of Armenian fighters was nearly 30,000. (32)

Transcaucasia, in the de facto situation created after the Bolshevik Revolution, had become a semi-independent state. In February of 1918, the government of the Transcaucasus, the Commissariat, proposed a separate truce with Turkey, which had initiated a general offensive. But after the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk the Turks hardened their stance, and the negotiations broke down. (33) The Armenian forces fought bravely, but gradually gave ground to the superior numbers of the Turks. Neither the Georgians nor, of course, the Azeri Turks participated in the defense of Armenia, even though her loss would have meant the very destruction of an independent Transcaucasia. During the beginning of May, the Transcaucasian Commissariat was forced to concede the annexation of Kars, Ardahan, and Batum to Turkey, which, already victorious, demanded more. Once again the Pan-Turanian prospect of destroying Caucasian Armenia and uniting with their racial brothers in Azerbaijan had opened up for the Turks.

24 / See Pastermadjian, Hrant, op. cit., pp. 411-412 (*).

25 / Hovannisian, Richard, op. cit., pp. 79-80; see also Vratsian, Simon, op. cit., pp. 24-25 (*).

26 / See Sasouni, Garo, op. cit., especially pp. 143-146 (*). According to Simon Vratsian, op. cit., p. 59 (*), the Western Armenian-Dashnak militia regiments were "the regiment of Van, commanded by D. Baghdasarian directly supported by Boulgaratsi Krikor and Levon Shaghoyian. In the regions of Khnous-Moush, there was the regiment of Sasoun, commanded by Manoug and Moushegh. At Alashgerd, local units had been created, thanks to the efforts of Smpad; Mourad and his companions were in the region of Yerznga; Sebouh was in Papert; and so on".

27 / See Vratsian, Simon, ibid., pp. 28-30 (*); see also Hovannisian, Richard, op. cit., pp. 78-79.

28 / See Vratsian, Simon, ibid., pp. 31-47 (*); see also Hovannisian, Richard, op. cit., pp. 86-90.

29 / See Hovannisian, Richard, ibid., p. 81.

30 / Ibid., pp. 98-101; Pastermadjian, Hrant, op. cit., p. 418 (*).

31 / For the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk and its tragic consequences, see Hovannisian, Richard, op. cit., pp. 103-105. See also Pastermadjian, Hrant, op. cit., pp. 418-419 (*).

32 / The Armenian Corps under the supreme command of General Tovmas Nazarbegian was composed of several divisions: the first division under General Areshian; the second division under General Silglan; the Western Armenian division, with three brigades, under General Antranig; also included in this third division were the Dashnaktsakan militia units; the cavalry brigade under Colonel Ghorghanian, and various local units and battalions. See Vratsian, Simon, op. cit., pp. 60-61 (*).

33 / For the peace negotiations of Trebizond, see Vratsian, Simon, ibid., pp. 77-84 (*). See also Hovannisian, Richard, op. cit., pp. 131-134, 138-141 and 149-156.

Armenian territories yielded by the Soviets to the Ottomans after the Bolshevik revolution (March 1918).



34 / On the personality and work of Aram Manougian, see "ARAM", published by the ARF on the fiftieth anniversary of his death, Beirut, 1969 (*) and more particularly the section by Asdvadzadrian, A., which draws a complete picture of his activities in Yerevan, particularly. See the chapter entitled "Aram in Yerevan", pp. 85-145.

35 / For the decisive fighting at Sardarabad, Bash Abaran and Gharakilseh, see Vratsian, Simon, op. cit., pp. 138-144 (*). See also Poidebard, A., op. cit.; Chenéour, Alexandre G., "THE EPIC BATTLE OF SARDARABAD", Fresno, 1967; Kayaloff, J., "THE BATTLE OF SARDARABAD", The Hague-Paris, 1973; and Afanasyan, S., "LA VICTOIRE DE SARDARABAD", Paris, 1985.

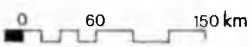
36 / Vratsian, Simon, op. cit., pp. 145-156 (*); see also Hovannisian, Richard, op. cit., pp. 182-190.

37 / The "Declaration" of the National Council was published only on May 30, after an extra-ordinary meeting on May 29 attended by members of the Eastern Bureau and the Bureau of Armenia, the ARF Central Committee of Georgia, and ARF fractions of the Transcaucasian Seim and the Armenian National Council. It was less a solid, determined declaration of independence than the confirmation of a de facto state of affairs imposed by events. The Georgians enjoyed German protection, while the Azerbaijanis enjoyed Turkish support. The Armenians had no such "patrons". Being cut off from Russia under these conditions was alarming for the Armenian leaders and masses alike.

38 / The Treaty of Batum — "a treaty of peace and friendship between the Imperial Ottoman Government and the Armenian Republic" — was the first international document signed by representatives of independent Armenia (Aleksandr Khadisian, Hovhannes Kachaznouni and M. Babajanian). See, among other works, Khadisian, Aleksandr, "THE BIRTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA", 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1968, especially pp. 88-95 (*).

Under such desperate conditions, the will to survive transformed the remnants of the Armenian nation gathered around Yerevan, in the heart of the Plain of Ararat and Armenia, itself. A general mobilization took place. The defense of the city was quickly organized; the battle front was consolidated; and supplies and medical services were arranged for as best as possible. Not merely the army and armed ARF forces but literally the entire nation was to be involved in the battle for existence. The central personality of this act of national over-achievement, the very soul of the victorious battle for national survival, was Aram Manougian. One of the most celebrated heroes of Dashnaktsutiun's epic history, the leader of the 1915 battles of self-defense in Van, Aram was sent to Yerevan from Tiflis as the fully empowered representative of the National Bureau, and in Yerevan he was declared "dictator" by the collective will of the people and the army. (34) Under the leadership of generals Nazarbegian, Siligian, Dro, and Taniel Beg-Piroumian, as well as the immediate assistance of the people's collective resistance, the Armenian forces stopped the Turkish advance at the critical battles of Gharakiliseh, Bash-Abaran, and Sardarabad in the last days of May, 1918. (35)

While Armenia fought for its life, Transcaucasia fell apart as a political unit. On May 26, with the blessings of the Germans, Georgia declared independence. On the very next day, Azerbaijan followed Georgia's example. (36) Finally, on May 28, 1918, sanctioning a situation already extant since January, when the Armenians were forced to fight alone against Turkey, the Armenian National Council in Tiflis drafted a declaration of Armenian independence and sent its representatives to Batum to sign a separate truce with Turkey. (37) On June 4, 1918, Turkey became the first nation to officially recognize the Republic of Armenia. (38)



Territories yielded to Turkey by the Transcaucasian government
under the Treaty of Batum (June 1918)
after the withdrawal of its forces and despite the Armenian
victory in Sardarabad, Bash-Abaran and Gharakliliseh.



The territorial expanse of the Republic was limited — barely 12,000 square kilometers around the capital Yerevan, Echmiadzin, and Lake Sevan. Moreover, Armenia was filled with more than 300,000 Western Armenian refugees who were being cut down by famine and typhus. [39] But teams of Armenian volunteers arrived from the communities abroad to assist in the reconstruction and to provide social services. The government itself took decisive actions, and through exceptional efforts, within one to two years it established a state administrative apparatus, reorganized the army, founded orphanages and hospitals, schools and a university, rebuilt routes of transportation and lines of communication, set the foundations for economic development, and established diplomatic relations with various states worldwide. [40]

After the declaration of Armenian independence, ARF forces continued to fight in Baku (until September 15), as did Antranig's regiment in the mountains of Zankezour (until the Treaty of Mudros), alongside Allied forces, obstructing the Turkish-German advance and thereby assisting in the achievement of final Allied victory. [41] On October 30, 1918, after the signing of the Treaty of Mudros between the Allies and Turkey, the Armenian Republic justly regained pre-war Russian-Armenian lands and became a viable state covering nearly 56,000 square kilometers. [42]

39 / According to Simon Vratsian, "in six months, about 180,000 people died of illness and starvation in Armenia": op. cit., p. 192 (*). it was only at the beginning of 1919 that the first help from the "Near-East Relief" plan arrived in Armenia.

40 / See Vratsian, Simon, and Khadisian, Aleksandr, op. cit. (*).

41 / For the fighting in Baku (next Chapter) see also Vratsian, Simon, op. cit., pp. 157-174 (*); see also Hovannisian, Richard, op. cit., pp. 220-222 and 225-227.

42 / Regarding the Armenians, the armistice treaty of Mudros was defective in more than one point. See Hovannisian, Richard, ibid., pp. 238 241.





Seal of the ARF Central Military Body, around 1907.

The Republic of Armenia towards the end of 1919.



1 / For basic reference works on the Republic of Armenia, see Vratsian, Simon, "THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA", 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1958 and Khadisian, Aleksandr, "THE BIRTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE ARMENIAN REPUBLIC", 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1968. See also the monumental work by Professor Richard Hovannisian entitled "THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA", (the third volume of which has not yet appeared), Vol. 1, "THE FIRST YEAR, 1918-1919", University of California Press, L.A., 1971; Vol. 2, "FROM VERSAILLES TO LONDON, 1919-1920", same publisher, 1982).

9 / The ARF and the Republic of Armenia 1918-1921

As stated in the Foreword, the history of the Armenian Republic, as the chronological depiction of a state's development, political relations, and accomplishments, is outside the scope of this work. We shall only discuss the development of the Republic's history insofar as it relates to the activities of the Dashnaktsutiun. [1]

Nevertheless, that relationship is not incidental. It is present, permanently, in various realms and on different levels. So much so, that if it is incorrect to state that the history of the Armenian independent Republic is identical to the history of the ARF from 1918 to 1921 — because, after all, a party and a state are two different entities — then we can assuredly state that the two were in a state of mutual and immediate dependence. For the ARF's activities in that period were mandated by the absolute goal of creating a truly Armenian independent state. Despite the losses it had suffered in the Genocide, the ARF remained — during the life-and-death struggle of 1917-1918 and the two-to-three years of the Republic's existence — the only real force capable of inspiring the remnants of the Armenian people and the newly liberated homeland with a social ideology, a national agenda, and the will to survive. Within the environment of an independent state the Dashnaktsutiun not only operated as a truly political and parliamentary party — one, moreover, that held governmental power — but also kept intact its military and revolutionary traditions, deploying party resources to consolidate the state and secure its Armenian character.

The Transcaucasian territories claimed by the Republic of Armenia in 1918-20.
The shaded regions are those partially controlled by the state.



2 / For Kachaznouni's ministry, see Vratsian, Simon, op. cit., pp. 177-253 and above all, Hovannisian, Richard, op. cit., chapters 1-12. When the Populist Party refused to take part in the government, Kachaznouni first formed an almost exclusively Dashnaktsakan cabinet, with Aram Manougian as Minister of the Interior. But Aram died on January 29, 1919 in the epidemic of typhus that swept Yerevan, and Aleksandr Khadisian took over his portfolio until a new government was formed. Kachaznouni, meanwhile, had introduced other changes in his cabinet (October 1918), transforming it into a de facto coalition government, with the participation of Populist Party members.

3 / See Aleksandr Khadisian, op. cit., pp. 133-193; see also Hovannisian, Richard, op. cit., the whole of volume 2. After the breakdown of the coalition in June 1919, Khadisian in turn formed an almost exclusively Dashnaktsakan government, even appealing to such members of the ARF Bureau as Simon Vratsian, Apraham Giulkhandanian, Arshag Jamalian and Roupen Der Minasian; his main aim was to neutralize or at least alleviate tensions generated by the Party/government duality.

4 / The Bureau-government's enterprises, especially the May 1920 repression of Bolshevik and Turkish-Tatar subversion will be discussed below. For the May to October 1920 period, see Vratsian, Simon, op. cit., pp. 378-485. See also Khadisian, Aleksandr, op. cit., pp. 195-221. The Bureau-government included Hamo Ohanjanian, prime minister and minister for foreign affairs, Roupen Der Minasian; interior and defense, Apraham Giulkhandanian, finance, Arshag Jamalian, communications, Simon Vratsian, labor and agriculture, Kevork Ghazarian, education, Sarkis Araradian, provincial administration. This team was none other than the ARF Bureau elected six months earlier by the Ninth World Congress. It set to work on the essential task of saving the homeland, in spite of the express interdiction of the Congress ("Dashnaktsakan members of the government may not at the same time belong to any body of the ARF").

5 / See Vratsian, Simon, op. cit., pp. 486-507. See also Khadisian, op. cit., pp. 299-326. This is how, in the same work, Khadisian characterizes the governments of the Republic and their deeds: "First period, under the presidency of

Kachaznouni: organization of the state. Second period, under the presidency of Aleksandr Khadisian: civil reorganization. Third period, under the presidency of Hamo Ohanjanian and Simon Vratsian: struggle against internal and external enemies. This last period ended on December 2, 1920 with the treaty of Alexandropol with Turkey and the transfer of power to the Bolsheviks". (p. 133).

6 / See Vratsian, Simon, op. cit., p. 182; Hovannisian, Richard, op. cit., I, p. 42.

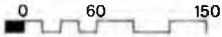
7 / See Vratsian, Simon, op. cit., p. 278; Hovannisian, Richard, op. cit., I, p. 473.

8 / Alongside the four prime ministers, certain other ARF leaders played important roles in the foundation and consolidation of the Republic of Armenia. The more important ones included: Aram Manougian, Khachadour Garjigian (victim of a fratricidal attack on November 14, 1918), Avedik Sahakian (alias Hayr-Apraham, president of the legislative assembly), Siragan Dikranian, Drastamat Ganaylan or Dro, Sarkis Manasian, Roupen Der Minasian, Apraham Giulkhandanian, Sahag Torosian, Vahan Khoreni, Ardashes Babalian, Nigol Aghbalian, Arshag Jamalian and Sarkis Araradian.

The ARF left an indelible mark on the life of the Armenian Republic both on the legislative and executive levels of government. The four consecutive heads of government were all from the ranks of the Dashnaktsutiun; moreover, all of them formed either entirely Dashnaktsakan cabinets or, in some cases, also coalition cabinets. The first prime minister was Hovhannes Kachaznouni, who led the government from the declaration of independence to April of 1919. [2] The second was the ex-mayor of Tiflis, Aleksandr Khadisian, who presided until early May of 1920. [3] At that time, Hamo Ohanjanian's administration was instituted; it was composed of ARF Bureau members, so that the Bolshevik and Azeri-Turkish rebellions then breaking out might be forcefully and more effectively restrained. [4] Finally, the last prime minister of Armenia was ARF Bureau member Simon Vratsian, who occupied his position from November 23, 1920 to the Sovietization of Armenia on December 2, 1920. [5]

The first legislative body of Armenia, the Council of Armenia, was formed in the summer of 1918. It was created by tripling the number of representatives for each constituent party of the Armenian National Council, with some other additions. The newly formed Council was composed of 18 Dashnaktsakans, six Social-Revolutionaries, six Social-Democrats, six Muslims, two non-partisans, one Yezidi, and one Russian. [6] These proportions in no way reflected Armenian reality, in which the Social-Revolutionaries, Social-Democrats, and Populists, collectively, were far from equaling the ARF in the numbers of their ranks or in the masses of their sympathizers. In fact, when at end of June 1919 general elections took place to form the Armenian Parliament, of the 80 representatives elected, 72 were members of the ARF, four were Social Revolutionaries, three were Azeris, and one was an "independent peasant". Having foreseen such results, the Social-Democrats and Populists boycotted the elections. [7]

At the various levels of government ARF leaders and fieldworkers worked untiringly to bring the newly created Armenian state out of the "shapeless chaos", [8] to endow it with democratic structures, a socialist economic and social order, and above all an Armenian character, with national unity, and integrity as a state. Moreover, in the field of foreign relations, the ARF worked to obtain international recognition of, and the necessary assistance for,



9 / The ARF leaders also took on an essential role in the sectors of external relations and diplomacy, in particular Avedis Aharonlan, who as president of the delegation of the Republic, represented Armenia with the Allies (and in talks with the Armenian National Delegation of Boghos Noubar in Paris). in the French capital, his assistants were Hovhannes Kachaznouni and Aleksandr Khadisian, after their terms as prime minister. Hamo Ohanjanian was given a simllar role before being called upon to lead the government. Before the Treaty of Mudros was signed, Ohanjanian also did diplomatic work in Germany. Hagop Zavrian, Libarid Nazariants and Ardashes Chilingarian (Roupen Tarpinian) held negotiations with the Soviet government in Moscow, with a view to obtaining diplomatic recognition for Armenia. The former two were arrested by the Soviets and imprisoned. in March 1920, some months after his release, Zavrian died from the treatment he had received in prison. Inltiaily, Levon Shant took part in the work of the Delegation of the Republic of Armenia in Paris. In 1920, at the time when the Bolshevik subversion and the Turkish-Tatar rebeliion were jeopardlzing the possIbility of Armenian independence and it became necessary to come to an agreement with Moscow, he led the Armenian delegation in the Soviet capital. Stili in the field of diplomatic representation, we should mention Armen Garo (Washington), Mikayel Varantian (Rome), Hovsep Arghoutian (Tehran) and Dikran Begzatian (Tbilisi and Baku). Also well worthy of mention in other sectors are Goms (Vahan Papazian), Hagop Nevrouz, Hagop Kocharian, Ardavazt Hanemian and Hampartsoum Derderian.



A popular demonstration in Yerevan to greet the declaration of United Armenia (May 1919).

10 / Certain commentators seem to take pleasure in contesting the political and diplomatic capacities of the Dashnaktsakan heads of government and other governmental workers. There has, for example, been no hesitation in stating that Aharonian, aibeit a gifted man of letters, was not a diplomat. Insinuations such as these are tendentious and not honest. Armenia simpiy did not have well-prepared political leaders. The Dashnaktsakan heads of government and statesmen never pretended they were perfect in their management of state affairs or of their diplomatic efforts, but these revoiutionaries of yore

accomplished their tasks as statesmen and administrative leaders with unmatchable loyalty and dedication in spite of all the internal and external difficulties they encountered. Even if all the leaders of the Republic had been consummate Machiavellis, it would be practically impossible to give a different picture of events: whatever the case, Armenia was never able to rely either on the "Great Allies" with their imperialistic appetites or on the understanding or goodwill of the Turks, the Azerbaijanis or the Bolsheviks. Hrant Pastermadjian, in his "HISTORY OF ARMENIA" (p. 431), quite rightly comments: "The resurrection of independent Armenia on May 28, 1918 will remain one of the most solemn moments in the history of this people. The men who made it possible, who accomplished their task in the midst of unspeakable difficulties, in the dark period from 1915 to 1920, when victory and death floated on the same crest, rendered an immense service to their country, even if subsequent events proved that Armenia could only subsist within the broader framework of union with the other peoples of the former Russian Empire".

11 / For the opposition between the two ways of thinking (radical-revolutionary and administrative-institutional), see especially Hovannisian, Richard, op. cit., I, pp. 150-156, and II, pp. 265-267 (above all for the way it was expressed at the Ninth ARF World Congress). There was also a difference of opinion regarding the management structures and methods of operation: should the Bureau dictate its line directly to the government or through the ARF fraction in the Council of Armenia or in parliament (as the World Congress had stipulated)? For all this, see Roupen, "MEMOIRS OF AN ARMENIAN REVOLUTIONARY", 2nd Edition, VII, Beirut, 1974, pp. 226-236 (*).

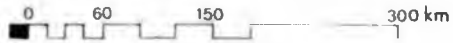
12 / The Second Congress of Western Armenians was held in Yerevan, at the seat of the Council of Armenia, from February 6 to 13, 1919. Boulgaratsi Krikor chaired the first session. 55 delegates participated, the majority of them Dashnaktsakan members. Antranig was invited to attend, but refused. See Vratsian, Simon, op. cit., pp. 254-260; see also Hovannisian, Richard, op. cit., I, pp. 450-454.

the Armenian Republic. [9] Of course, the prime ministers, other ministers and high-ranking officials, as well as political representatives, of the new Republic were not always successful in their numerous and varied governmental and diplomatic undertakings. Small, weak, and surrounded by enemies, the country was exhausted, after all, and the people who led it were inexperienced in conducting the affairs of a state. Nevertheless, whatever they attempted, they did so with a high level of national consciousness, unselfishly, and with wholehearted dedication. [10]

The process of leading the state did not always progress smoothly; often, there was unavoidable tension between the state's legislative and executive branches and the ARF's organizational bodies. Moreover, individual Dashnaktsakans who worked in the government or administrative apparatus sometimes wavered between the radical and revolutionary traditions of the ARF and the civic-democratic conceptions of the state. [11] The highest levels of leadership, however, were endowed with the necessary wisdom to strike a certain balance between the two mentalities. Only during the months of May and November, 1920, during the term of the Bureau-government, when the existence of the state was immediately at stake, did it become necessary to temporarily dissolve the Parliament, establish the party's dictatorship, and adopt a revolutionary mode of operation (see note 4).

The fundamental legacy of the Armenian Republic was the creation of a national outlook and agenda: the establishment of a United (free and independent) Armenia. The concept was first articulated in Yerevan in February of 1919, during the Second Congress of Western Armenians, which in its resolutions demanded the establishment of a single, integral Armenia, through the reclaiming of Turkish-occupied Armenian territories. [12] With

Azeri claims, the expression of an unlimited expansion fueled by Ottoman Pan-Turanists (same period).





its historic declaration on May 28, 1919 by prime minister Khadisian, the government of Armenia adopted the principle of a democratic United and Independent Armenia as a political platform to be pursued by the state itself. [13] Finally, in September 1919, the Ninth World Congress of the ARF, held in Yerevan, in turn adopted the formulation "Free, Independent, and United Armenia" as a fundamental programmatic objective. [14]

2 / The Military Assistance of the Dashnaktsutiun to the Republic of Armenia

Convened in Yerevan from September to October 1919, the Ninth World Congress of the ARF reached the following conclusion: "The World Congress finds it necessary to stress, that presently Armenia is experiencing an essentially revolutionary period, and for that reason the government ... must, at the required moment, resort to manifestly revolutionary measures". [15]

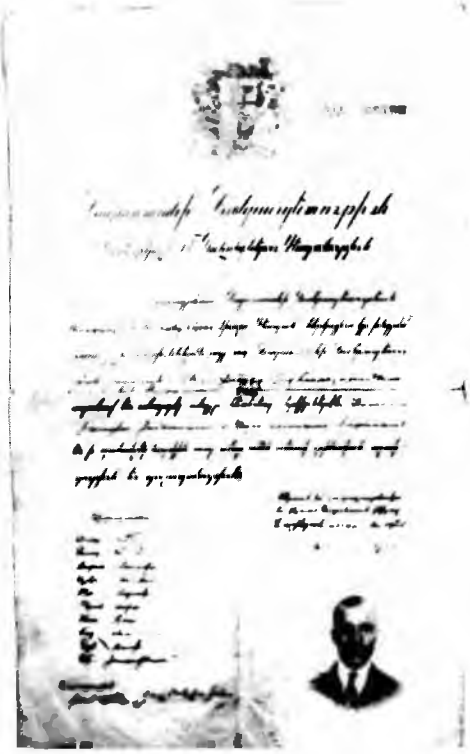
Indeed, beginning in the days of the war of independence and continuously thereafter, the rebellions and outrages of the Turkish Azeri-Tatars in Armenia and the need to restrain them formed the objects of primary concern for the Armenian army and ARF armed forces and organizational bodies. In turn, after mid-1919 agitation by the Bolsheviks compounded the problem, resulting in armed uprisings in May of 1920 in the regions of Kars, Ichevan, and especially Alexandropol.

Moreover, despite the provisions of the Treaty of Mudros, in 1919-1920 the Turks continued to consider the entire region of Kars as theirs, while their racial brothers, the Azeris, claimed Sharour and Nakhichevan, Gharabagh, Borchalou, Mountainous Kantsag, and even Zankezour, nearly all of which

13 / The official declaration of the government was followed by the acceptance of 12 Western Armenians in the Council of Armenia. But it was rather badly welcomed by the "Armenian Assembly" in Paris and, more particularly, by the "National Delegation" led by Boghos Noubar Pasha. Both considered it their unchallengeable prerogative to support the idea of an integral Armenia (sea to sea...). At Yerevan, the Populist Party ministers resigned and that was the end of the coalition government of Khadisian. See Khadisian, Aleksandr, op. cit., pp. 149-154; also Vratsian, Simon, op. cit., pp. 261-265; and Hovannisian, Richard, op. cit., pp. 455-471.

14 / See "EXTRACTS FROM THE DECISIONS OF THE NINTH WORLD CONGRESS", Yerevan, 1920 (*). Under the heading "Modification to the Minimum Program" (pp. 4-5), we read the following decision: "The Ninth ARF World Congress solemnly ratifies the proclamation of independent, unified Armenia and aspires with all its power to consolidate it as a democratic Republic; to this end, it decides: a) to render null and void all political claims in the Party's minimum Program having to do with "Russian Armenia" and "Turkish Armenia"; b) re-examination of the entire Program is postponed until the next World Congress".

15 / Ibid., "Internal Policy", XII, p. 9.



Passport issued by the Armenian Council in Washington, September 16, 1920.

was populated entirely by Armenians. [16] The rejectionist posture and aggressive appetites of the Turks and Azeris were infrequently, and even then only partially, restrained by the Transcaucasian British security forces, which often openly sided with their former enemies. [17] The Turko-Tatar populations of Vedibasar, Zankibasar, and Daralakiaz, all located near Yerevan, were in a state of constant revolt against the Armenian government. [18]

Even during the days of the great retreat of 1918, the armed ARF units, led by tested fedayee leaders, [19] played a fundamental role not only in transporting the Western Armenian refugees to the Transcaucasus but also in neutralizing the Turkish and Kurdish Chetes (brigands) that robbed and massacred the unarmed Armenians. In early May of 1918, the exhausted remnants of the population of Sasoun, numbering about 70,000, were still in a state of suffering around the area of Sardarabad. Meanwhile, the heights and base of Mt. Arakadz were held by the Azeri-Tatars, a permanent threat to the Armenian army and the Armenian population in the region. On May 5, 1918, in a successful expedition, Petara Manoug's and Moushegh Avedisian's forces from Sasoun, Daron, and Khnous occupied the fortress of Talin, thought to be impregnable, and cleared the Arakadz region of the Azeris. The following spring the people of Daron and Sasoun settled there. The taking of Arakadz also secured the rear flank of the Armenian army. [20]

16 / This was still the pan-Turanian program which, despite the defeat of Turkey, was obstinately and systematically pursued and implemented. In their expansion to the east, to their racial brothers in central Asia, and in their obsession to found an immense Turko-Tatar empire, the Talaats and Envers proposed as the first step the immediate annexation to Turkey of Borchalou, Akhalkalak, Kantzag, Baku and all Azerbaijan. See Zarevant, "UNITED AND INDEPENDENT TURANIA", translated by V. Dadrian, Leiden, The Netherlands, especially pp. 83-153. See also Hovannisian, Richard, op. cit., I, pp. 308-309, 371 and 447; II, pp. 26-27, 92, 168-206, 395-396, 448-452, 487-495, and so on; and Pastermadjian, Hrant, "HISTORY OF ARMENIA", Paris, 1964, pp. 407-408 (*). In actual fact, the forces of the Republic of Armenia only entered Kars after April 18-19, that is, four months after the Treaty of Mudros. They entered Sharour-Nakhichevan only in May 1919 (ibid., pp. 228-249), when Gharabagh was still considered Azerbaijani territory on account of the favoritist attitude of the British forces of occupation (ibid., pp. 156-196). For the uncovering of Azerbaijani plots, see the secret telegrams sent by the diplomatic representative Tekinski, to his government and the replies, in Roupen, op. cit., VII, pp. 193-204 (*). See also Vratsian, Simon, op. cit., Chapter 23, pp. 292-302.

17 / For the political standpoint of the British, see Hovannisian, Richard, op. cit., pp. 62-139, Chapters 4 and 5, V, II. See also Khadisian, Aleksandr, op. cit. pp. 161-193.

18 / See Roupen, op. cit., VII, Chapter 5, and especially pp. 208-210 (*).

19 / Sepasdatsi Mourad, Sebouh, Smpad, Sasountsi Moushegh (Avedisian), Petara Manoug, Dikran Baghdasarian, Levon Shaghoyan, Aslan and others. See note 26 of the preceding Chapter. See also Garo Sasouni, "TURKISH ARMENIA DURING THE

During independence, as well, the fedayee units from Sasoun and Daron participated in checking the Turko-Tatar revolts and played a crucial role in safeguarding the Armenians of Armenia and resettling the refugees from Western Armenia. They participated in the battles of self-defense in Zankezour, subdued the Azeri-Tatar regions of Aghoud and Bashgiarni, fought in Daralakiaz, and liberated Jghni Zor and Millidere. They were in direct contact with Roupen Der Minasian and Minister of the Interior Aram Manougian and operated at their behest. Their role in making the Armenian Republic actually Armenian was crucial. (21)

Antranig's regiment, on its return from the northern Iranian front, made camp in Zankezour and remained there, in effect, as the region's Armenian army, successfully countering the plots of the Azeris to absorb the region. (22) In January and February of 1920, in the region of Koghtn, the fedayee leader Ghazar Kocharian avenged the massacre of Armenians at Akoulis. (23)

The army of Armenia also conducted similar military operations, by decision of the government, to save the populations of the endangered regions of Armenia. Colonel Arsen Shahmazian was sent to Zankezour in March of 1919, and in November of the same year another officer, Karekin Nzhdeh, arrived there. (24) In February 1920, the forces under the command of General Hovsepian put down the Turkish rebels in the region of Kars. (25) Dro, in turn, led various army operations to subdue Turkish revolts; he also saved the Armenians of Karabagh from extermination by rushing there in April of 1920 and remaining for about 45 days. (26)

In the first days of May 1920, Bolshevik agitation in the regions of Kars, Alexandropol, Nor Bayazid, Dilijan, and Ichevan turned into open rebellion, at a time when Azerbaijan had already been sovietized and the pact between the Soviet Bolsheviks and Turkish Kemalists had already been revealed. (27) Armenia was in serious danger. On May 5, 1920, the Armenian parliament broke for a month, and the ARF Bureau, invested with full powers, took the helm of state in order to check the coordinated revolts of the Bolsheviks and Turko-Tatars. (28) Both the loyal regular units of the army and the armed forces and organizational bodies of the ARF were mobilized, and popular militias were called to life. (29)

The Bolsheviks, having won over several army units to their side, were in control of Alexandropol and its train station, where Colonel Mousayelian had raised the flag of rebellion on the armored train named "Vartan Zoravar". Mousayelian had formed a "Military-revolutionary Committee of Armenia" and demanded that the Yerevan government hand over all state power to him. (30) General Nazarbegian, as well as the minister of war and the prime minister, counseled Colonel Mousayelian to hand over the armored train peacefully, but with no results. While Sebouh took charge of the security forces and militias in the region, the fighters of Sasoun also arrived from Arakadz. (31) On May 13-14, after violent clashes, the armored train was taken and neutralized. And on May 14, the loyal Republican forces entered

FIRST WORLD WAR", Beirut, 1966, and especially Chapters 6 and 7, pp. 135-183.

20 / On the taking of the fortress of Talin and the Arakadz (Alakiaz) operations, see Sasouni, Garo, op. cit., pp. 195-197; see also "The memoirs of Moushegh Avedisian (Sasountsi)", in Roupen, op. cit., VII, especially pp. 97-107 (*). Alongside the main military leaders, the following took part in operations: Morouk Garo, Cholo, Ghazar Bedoyian, Mkhitar Tarmanian, Akho and others. As for their numbers, Garo Sasouni gives us a thousand (op. cit., p. 196) while Moushegh mentions about 500 (op. cit., p. 104).

21 / See Sasouni, Garo, op. cit., Chapter 9, pp. 213-221. See also Avedisian, M., op. cit., pp. 107-118 et seq.

22 / Antranig arrived in Zankezour toward the end of July 1918 and stayed there until March 1919. See Vratsian, Simon, op. cit., p. 329.

23 / See Vratsian, Simon, op. cit., pp. 337-340.

24 / Ibid., pp. 333-335. Karekin Nzhdeh gained great fame at the end of 1920 and in 1921 as supreme commander of the self-defense of "Lernahayastan".

25 / Ibid., pp. 368-369.

26 / Ibid., p. 373. Deli Ghazar, the commander of the Askeran front, was killed during the violent fighting in March. At the beginning of April, Shoushi's Armenians had been massacred.

27 / See Vratsian, Simon, ibid., pp. 384-386 and 378-387. In January 1920, with a copy of the Bolshevik-Kemalist agreement in their dossier, Arshag Jamalian, Roupen Der Minasian and Simon Vratsian, members of the ARF Bureau, went to Tbilisi for talks with H. Nazaretian, secretary-general of the Bolshevik Caucasian Bureau. The latter's attitude and response convinced them of the imminent risk that the Armenian state would be sacrificed in the interests of "World Revolution" and Bolshevik-Kemalist cooperation (pp. 382-363).

28 / On this subject, see also note 4 above.

29 / See Vratsian, Simon, ibid. pp. 390-396.

30 / Ibid., pp. 388-389.

31 / Ibid., pp. 392 and 396. See also Roupen, op. cit., VII, "The Memoirs of Moushegh Avedisian", pp. 118-121. Roupen Der Minasian, then minister of defense, personally accompanied the Armenian forces of Arakadz.

Alexandropol, where order was easily restored, for the army units that had been swayed by Bolshevik propaganda returned to their senses. Colonel Mousayelian and members of the "Military-Revolutionary Committee" were arrested, except for Avis Nourijanian, who had fled. [32]

In the following 8-10 days, the Bolshevik disturbances in Kars, Gaghzvan, and Nor Bayazid were also put down. [33] On May 21, in a surprise attack from Khazakh, in Azerbaijan, Bolsheviks and Azeris took Ichevan and Dilijan but were quickly pushed back by the Armenian militias. [34] In June, when Dro's forces had already left Karabagh, the Bolshevik forces of the region entered Zankezour and took Goris, its capital; [35] the Turko-Bolshevik conspiracy was stili at work. In the region of Arevik in southern Zankezour, which was under Turkish and Bolshevik domination, Karekin Nzhdeh took charge of the popular movement there and in a short time liberated Zankezour. [36]

After the Bolshevik movements were quelled, in the resulting atmosphere of excitement the Bureau-government undertook the eradication of ali rebellious Turko-Tatar regions. Gradually, Zankibasar, the coal-mine regions of Kars province, Goghp, Buyuk Vedi, the western shores of Lake Sevan, and Sharour were brought under the control of Yerevan. [37] The ARF forces from Sasoun and Vasbouragan, as well as the popular militias, played an important role alongside the army in subduing the rebellious regions. During the fighting in Goghp, the veteran fedayee Petara Manoug fell in battle. [38]

3 / The Defense of Baku

The Defense of Baku indirectly hastened the defeat of Germany during World War I, by delaying her ally Turkey's seizure of the Baku oil fields. [39] Nevertheless, little has been written about this episode. The six-month defense of Baku, at least in its initial stages, is a rare historical example of ARF-Bolshevik cooperation against the common Turkish enemy. Furthermore, it was "to have enormous significance for ... the fate [of Armenia]; without Baku, the events in Armenia could have taken an entirely different course". [40]

Baku was cut off from the outside world starting in January of 1918. In practical terms, control of the city was in the hands of the Workers' Council (Soviet), in which the Social-Revolutionaries were at first dominant. Gradually, however, the Soviet fell under Bolshevik influence. The situation of the Armenians in and around Baku was particularly difficult. In the Azeri-Turkish sections of town and in the outlying areas, they were subjected to ali manner of outrages and periodic massacres. The frequent appeals of the Armenian National Council [41] to the appropriate Azerbaijani authorities and the Musavat party remained unanswered. The Armenian soldiers returning from the European front were amassed in Baku, unable to proceed to Armenia. Faced with a gradually deteriorating situation, the National Council had

32 / See Vratsian, Simon, op. cit., pp. 397-398. See Sasouni, Garo, "THE MAY SUBVERSION AND REBELLIOUS TATAR REGIONS", Beirut, 1968, pp. 103-108.

33 / See Vratsian, Simon, op. cit., pp. 398-399. See Sasouni, Garo, op. cit., pp. 97-99 and 108-119.

34 / See Sasouni, Garo, ibid., pp. 121-129. Vratsian, Simon, op. cit., pp. 399-400. At Karvansaraí (Ichevan), the Bolsheviks arrested Sarkis Manasian, assistant to the minister of the interior, General Baghdasarian and others.

35 / See Sasouni, Garo, op. cit., pp. 129-136.

36 / For the self-defense battles in "Lernahayastan" by Karekin Nzhdeh, see the end of this Chapter.

37 / See Sasouni, Garo, ibid., pp. 137-145. Vratsian, Simon, op. cit., pp. 415-420.

38 / See Sasouni, Garo, op. cit., pp. 144-145.

39 / See Pastermadjian, Hrant, "HISTORY OF ARMENIA", Paris, 1964, p. 420 (*). General Ldendorf, "MEINE KRIEGESERINNERUNGEN", Berlin, 1919, pp. 499, 500 and 509.

40 / See Vratsian, Simon, op. cit., p. 157.

41 / The National Council had three Dashnaktsakan members: Apraham Giulkhandanian (president), Sarkis Mehrabian (better known as Khanasori Vartan) and G. Barunagian; two populists: H. Der Mikayelian and Stepan Der Ghazarian; one social-democrat: Nariman Der Ghazarian; and one social-revolutionary: Levon Atabegian. Later, Barunagian and Atabegian were replaced by Sarkis Araradian and H. Der Ohanian, respectively. Rosdom (Stepan Zorian) took part in the meetings with voting rights, as did Hovhannes Kachaznouni, Dr. Isakhanian, R. Kachperouni and Zabel Yesayian (the two latter periodically, on behalf of Western Armenians. See Vratsian, Simon, ibid.

42 / Ibid., pp. 158-161.

43 / Ibid., p. 166.

44 / Ibid., pp. 162-166. Levon Atabegian, the delegate empowered to negotiate peace with the Turks, was killed by them on his way to their positions.

45 / Ibid., pp. 166-167.

46 / Ibid., pp. 167-168. See also Hovannisian, Richard, "ARMENIA ON THE ROAD TO INDEPENDENCE", Berkeley

organized them into regular divisions, under the general command of Hamazasb. Moreover, with Rosdom's proposal, a cali to arms was issued for ali Armenian men up to age 45. (42) In April 1918, the Armenian forces numbered 10-12,000 men. (43)

When on March 17 fighting broke out between the forces of the Workers' Soviet and the "Savage Division" of the Musavat party, the Armenian National Council and the ARF adopted a position of positive neutrality. They sent peace negotiators to both sides, offered to separate the warring factions from each other with Armenian forces, and effectively protected the Muslim populations of the areas under their influence. This initial outbreak of fighting ended with the defeat of Musavat on March 21. The Workers' Soviet then sent punitive squads to the outlying areas of Shamakh and Geokchay, which also fell under its control. Meanwhile, the Armenian forces of Baku successfully stopped the advance toward Baku of Azeri-Tatar highlanders. (44)

In April, the Bolsheviks and the Military-Revolutionary Committee formed by them were masters of the situation in the city. Under duress, the Armenian National Council accepted the terms of the Committee and placed ali Armenian forces at its disposal. Colonel Avedisian was appointed commander-in-chief, but Hamazasb remained in charge of the Armenian forces. On April 25, the Soviet of the People's Commissars (Sovnarkom) of Baku was formed, headed by Stepan Shahoumian.

Power was thus completely concentrated in the hands of the Bolsheviks. (45)

In the region of Kantsag, the Turkish army and the Azeris were feverishly preparing for battle. However, with a surprise attack, on June 5 the forces of the Baku Commune reached ali the way to the Garmarkian-Kiurdamir-Zoubovka line. But a new division of the Turkish army advanced toward Geokchay, where on June 27 a furious battle ensued. At first the Turks retreated, then launched a counteroffensive. On July 1, the Baku forces began to retreat. Although the return of Colonel Bicherakhov's forces from Iran for a moment inspired the fighters of Baku, and despite the resulting fierce resistance, the retreat continued. The Armenian populations in the path of retreat (Geokchay and Shamakh) also fled towards Baku. At the end of July the Turkish army was at the outskirts of the city, while Colonel Bicherakhov and his forces made off toward Derbent. (46)

Despite Shahoumian's opposition, the July 27 extra-ordinary meeting of the representatives of Baku's workers, soldiers, and peasants, as well as of the Military-Revolutionary Committee, almost unanimously decided to appeal to the British forces in Iran for assistance. Disgruntled, the Sovnarkom made preparations to leave, and on the night of July 30 the Bolshevik leadership and fighters, along with their families, boarded ships headed for Astrakhan. (47) After the desertion of the Bolsheviks, the "Baku Dictatorship" (48) was formed and attempted to halt the flight of the Sovnarkom and its forces.

& Los Angeles, pp. 220-221.

47 / See Vratsian, Simon, op. cit., pp. 168-169. Hovannisian, Richard, op. cit., p. 221.

48 / See Vratsian, Simon, op. cit., p. 170. Hovannisian, Richard, op. cit., p. 221.

The part of historical Armenia that passed from Ottoman Turkey
to the Republic of Armenia,
under the Treaty of Sèvres and Wilson's arbitration.



The defense of the city now rested entirely on the shoulders of the Armenian forces, especially the Dashnaktsakan combatants. At the beginning of August, Sepasdatsi Mourad and Sebouh somehow reached Baku from the Northern Caucasus and joined the fighters. [49]

in the first few days of August, the Armenians defended the city with fury. Baku was under cannon fire from the Turks, and Rosdom personally moved from position to position to encourage the combatants. The Armenian losses were in the hundreds. On August 5, on the front iine of battle, Sepasdatsi Mourad was killed. [50] That same day the British forces of General Dunsterville arrived in Baku, creating enthusiasm among the inhabitants but actually changing nothing in the situation on the battlefront. [51] During subsequent weeks, the Turks refrained from launching new attacks.

However, after the arrival of reinforcements, the Turks launched a major offensive at the end of August. The heroic defense by the Armenians lasted until September 14. That day, while the Turks entered the city in a fresh assault, the British deserted their positions and boarded ships, refusing to stay another day or two even if only to safeguard the evacuation of the population. [52] During that same night and the next day, whoever among the population and fighters that could boarded ships. The battle had ended. Last to leave on the last ship was Rosdom, somber, his soul in ruins. [53]

For three days the Azeri mobs and Turkish forces plundered, raped, and massacred the remaining Armenians of Baku. [54]

49 / See Vratsian, Simon, op. cit., p. 171.

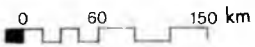
50 / Ibid. See also Hovannisian, Richard, op. cit., p. 221.

51 / General Dunsterville and his 2,700 soldiers seem to have come along merely because they were ordered to. They took part in the fighting, but separately, and took no interest at all in the other fighters and the population. See Vratsian, Simon, pp. 172-173. According to Richard Hovannisian (op. cit., p. 222), there were no more than 1,500 British soldiers under Dunsterville.

52 / See Vratsian, Simon, op. cit., pp. 172-173. As to the numbers of Turkish and Azerbaijani soldiers in Khalil Pasha's offensive against Baku in September, Richard Hovannisian mentions 15,000 (op. cit., p. 225).

53 / Rosdom (Zorian) left Iran for Tbilisi, where he died of typhus on January, 19, 1919. Ten days later, in Yerevan, the epidemic carried off Aram Manougian, one of the main architects of Armenian independence.

54 / During the Baku fighting and successive massacres, the number of Armenians killed and missing greatly exceeded 10,000 and, according to certain sources (Bashkni Ishkhanian), was close to 30,000. See Vratsian, Simon, op. cit., pp. 173-174; Hovannisian, Richard, op. cit., p. 227. Three years later, on July 19, 1921, Behboud Khan Jivanshir, the butcher of Baku, was duly punished in Constantinople by the avenger Misak Torlakian. With regard to the resistance of Baku, it is interesting to read a document (entitled simply "A Document") published by Simon Vratsian in his "MEMOIRS" (VI, pp. 318-346). The anonymous writer, clearly a Soviet Armenian historian, refutes the Bolsheviks' attempts at self-justification on the Baku tragedy, and stresses: "It is a fact: the armed forces defending the Commune [of Baku] were essentially the forces of the ARF; of the 16,000 combatants, as Shahoumian himself said, Petrov's Bolsheviks were no more than 200; he gives the same figure for Amirian's partisans; and there were about 3,000 others". (p. 323)



4 / The Ninth World Congress of the ARF

In April of 1917, a Rayonagan Congress of organizational bodies of the Caucasus and the Yergir had taken place under conditions of freedom and enthusiasm created by the First Russian Revolution. The delegates from the five Central Committee Regions of the Yergir (Daron-Sasoun, Vasbouragan, Garin, Pasen, and Bagrevand) and the seven Central Committee Regions of the Transcaucasus (Baku, Tiflis, Yerevan, Alexandropol, Kantsag, Kars, and Batum-Sochi), as well as the representatives of the Gomideh regions of Karabagh and Zankezour, had participated in the Rayonagan Congress. [55]

The Ninth World Congress of the ARF — the only one to take place in an independent Armenia — convened on September 27, 1919, in Yerevan, and met for the entire month of October.

From March 1, 1919 circular issued by both the Bureau of Armenia and the Eastern Bureau, the intention to have the widest possible representation at the World Congress, and to give it a clearly pan-national nature, is manifest. [56] The right of participation was granted to ali the organizational Regions that had been in existence during the Eighth World Congress (1914) as well as those that had been formed in the subsequent five-year period (Pasen, Bagrevand, Hark-Abahounik), and to those organizational entities that were the result of a new Armenian reality (the ARF faction in the Parliament, the Representative Council of Yerevan, etc.) Special arrangements were made for the Western Armenian organizational bodies to enable them to complete their numbers. [57] According to the booklet containing the decisions of the Congress, 61 voting delegates as well as 19 guests in an advisory capacity had participated in the Ninth World Congress. [56]

The agenda was composed of five major sections: a) Reports and Accountability (the Bureaus, Central Committees, etc.); b) Political and Social Issues (state constitution, the internal and external policies of Armenia, the army, the ministries, the procurement of goods and supplies, repatriation, reconstruction, etc.); c) Organizational Matters (amendments to the minimum Program of the ARF and the organizational by-laws, the communities abroad and their ties to the homeland, the financial situation of the Party); d) Party Concerns (the matter of an ARF museum and archives, publications, the necessity of writing the history of the ARF, establishing a Party school, etc.); e) Election of the Bureau. [59]

Aside from the official agenda, the World Congress of course discussed various classified issues, including the pacification of rebellious Azeri-Tatar regions, the resettlement of Armenian refugees, [60] and the punishment of those responsible for the Genocide. [61]

As a fundamental turning point in the political demands of the Dashnaktsutiun (see note 14), the amendment of the Minimum Program is cited first

55 / For the resolutions at this meeting, see Vratsian, Simon, "THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA", 2nd Edition, Supplement, (pp. 590-595). Garo Sasouni, in his study "TURKISH ARMENIA DURING THE FIRST WORLD WAR", mentions a rayonagan congress which took place in September 1917. Could this have been the same meeting, with an error in the dating?

56 / See Dasnabedian, Hratch, "THE EVOLUTION OF THE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE ARF", 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1985, p. 104.

57 / Ibid., pp. 104-105: "Those Regions whose organizational bodies have been thrown into disorder by war and deportation must reorganize themselves as quickly as possible in order to participate in the World Congress. They are exempted from the payment of organizational quotas. If a Region for some reason or other cannot manage to reorganize, the surviving members of the Committees and Central Committees that existed in 1914 may meet and collectively send delegates".

58 / See "EXTRACTS FROM THE DECISIONS OF THE NINTH WORLD CONGRESS", Yerevan, 1920, pp. 3-4 (*).

59 / Dasnabedian, Hratch, op. cit., p. 105.

60 / On this subject, see the memoirs of Moushegh Avedisian and the writings of Garo Sasouni quoted and used in this chapter. See also Roupen, op. cit., 7, pp. 306-311.

61 / See Vratsian, Simon, op. cit., pp. 568-570.

62 / See Chapter Two of this work and Dasnabedian, Hratch, "A BALANCE-SHEET OF THE NINETY YEARS", Beirut, 1985, Chapter 7, "Evolution of the Programmatic objectives", pp. 87-103 (*).

63 / See "EXTRACTS FROM THE DECISIONS OF THE NINTH WORLD CONGRESS", Yerevan, 1920, pp. 5-14 (*). The motion for Armenianization reads, "a / As a means of communication in all ministries and for all institutions, allow the use of Armenian only; b / Within three months, dismiss all functionaries who do not know Armenian and henceforth consider the Armenian language an essential criterion in the selection of public servants".

64 / Ibid., pp. 14-15. See also Dasnabedian, Hratch, "THE EVOLUTION OF THE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE ARF", 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1985, pp. 99-100.

in the booklet containing the decisions of the World Congress. The ARF officially and permanently adopted the goal of creating a United, Free, and Independent Armenia, a decision that had, in a sense, already been ratified by the thirty years of struggle waged by the ARF for national liberation. [62] The booklet then lists the decisions on the internal and external policies of Armenia; the army; public education; economic policies; and the resolution on "Armenianization". [63] Further, the following are also cited: Criticisms of the activities during the previous five years of the Bureaus and its members, with specific mention of a lack of unified direction; [64] a resolution on the volunteer movement; [65] various decisions on organizational life, [66] after which, the resolution on the allegiance of the ARF to Socialism, as "a true and equal member of the international socialist family"; [67] premises for negotiation with the delegation headed by Boghos Noubar Pasha; [68] and changes in the organizational structure.

The new organizational structure strove to put an end to the organizational chaos created by the existence of "local" and "immigrant" ARF executive bodies in the same geographical areas. In this regard, the Congress reached the following decisions: "a) Within the boundaries of one Central Committee, to disallow the existence of another Central Committee; b) Ali Gomidehs within the boundaries of a Central Committee are to be subject to the Central Committee of that Region only". [69]

Other decisions regarding structure were also derived from and corresponded to the conditions and reality of an Armenia that had become a state (i.e., organizational bodies and corresponding assemblies on village, rural area, city, district, province, and central levels). [70] The ARF was to have a single Bureau, "the central executive body of the party"; [71] Bureau members could not, at the same time, be members of the government; the Bureau was to have definitive control over the Parliament's ARF faction, and through it, therefore, on the appointment of the prime minister and other ministers; and again it is stressed, "Dashnaktsakan members of government cannot concurrently be members of any party body". [72]

An innovation in the ARF's structure was the establishment of the Conference, convened at the request of either two-thirds of the Bureau members or at least three Central Committees, to deal with "issues unforeseen by the World Congress, and make decisions mandatory for the Bureau and ali bodies". [73] Another innovation was the Supreme Judicial Court, which, as defined by the by-laws, along with the Conference would share the rights and responsibilities of the former ARF Council. [74]

Unfortunately, there would be no time to fully establish and consolidate the new structure. [75] Quickly, unforeseen political events were to create new conditions, along with new misfortunes, for the entire Armenian people. Similarly, over the next five years, the ARF's organizational machinery was to be dismantled, scattered, or at the very least subjected to fundamental changes.

65 / See "EXTRACTS FROM THE DECISIONS OF THE NINTH WORLD CONGRESS", Yerevan, 1920, pp. 15-16 (*). The chapter entitled "The Party and the Volunteer Movement" explains and justifies the contribution of the ARF to this movement.

66 / Ibid., the items under "Press", "ARF History", "Archives and Museum", "Party School" and "Thirty Years of the ARF", pp. 16-20.

67 / Ibid., pp. 20-21.

68 / Ibid., pp. 21-22.

69 / Ibid., pp. 22-23. For the organizational chaos before the Ninth World Congress, see also Dasnabedian, Hratch, op. cit., pp. 100-103 and Kurkjian, Haroutiun, "Outline of the History of the ARF from 1919 to 1924", in "DROSHAK" ("AZTAG-SHAPATORIAG"), 4th Year (1973) especially nos. 36 and 37.

70 / See Dasnabedian, Hratch, op. cit., pp. 107-109, and Kurkjian, Haroutiun, op. cit. (no. 36, p. 569), where the author quite rightly concludes: "With the Ninth World Congress, the ARF ratifies its character as a Party that builds and guides the state".

71 / See "ORGANIZATIONAL BY-LAWS", Yerevan, 1919, or 2nd Edition, 1923, art. 37.

72 / Ibid., art. 38-39 and 60-65.

73 / Ibid., art. 96 and 97.

74 / The Supreme Judicial Court was empowered to inquire into "acts of a financial, criminal or disciplinary nature" committed by members, Party bodies (including the ARF Bureau), the Party fraction in parliament and its members in the government, and to issue verdicts to be transmitted to the Bureau for information and implementation.

75 / Toward the end of 1919 and in the early months of 1920, the territory of the Republic of Armenia included three organizational Regions or Central Committees: Yerevan, Alexandropol and Kars. Zankezour, Gharabagh and Kantzag had direct links with the Bureau as isolated Gomideh regions. The Bureau had also created an extra-territorial Central Committee for railroad workers. The ARF Regions of Georgia (Tbilisi) and Azerbaijan (Baku) each had a Central Committee. Abroad, the organization had the Central Committee Regions of Constantinople, Cilicia, Tabriz, Tehran, the Balkans and America as well as the Megousi Committee Regions of Smyrna and Egypt.

The Battle of Baku was not the sole historical example of Bolshevik-ARF cooperation. During their clandestine activities, various communist leaders enjoyed the assistance and protection of ARF personnel. Stepan Shahoumian himself, at the time a fugitive who had found refuge in Kantsag, entrusted his life to the Dashnaktsakan Hayg Melkoumian and his band of fighters, who safely took him to Tiflis. There, Shahoumian covertly met with Roupen Der Minasian and Dr. Zavriev, and together they drew up a secret plan of cooperation. During the same days, Aram was in negotiation with Boghos Magintsian in Yerevan. Once more under the protection of ARF fighters, Magintsian was taken to Tiflis, from which he would continue to Moscow, planning to return with the official position of the Bolshevik central authorities (he never did). To pursue these efforts further, Zavriev also left for Moscow. (76) According to Roupen, "the results of [these] negotiations and cooperation, mainly through the efforts of Zavriev and thanks to Shahoumian, was the issuing of Lenin's famous decree on independence for United Armenia". (77) In Yerevan, in 1919, ARF leaders were also in contact with the communist Arshavir Melikian, who like Magintsian left for Moscow, taking ARF's various proposals and concerns. Like Magintsian, he did not return. (78)

In short, until the first months of 1920, the Bolsheviks, who were persecuted by Georgia's Mensheviks and Azerbaijan's Musavat, freely moved about and operated in "Dashnaktsakan" Armenia. Some of them, such as S. Gasian, A. Mravian, S. Khanoyian, and A. Nourijanian, found refuge in Armenia and were given responsible positions in government and public institutions. (79)

The situation changed when for the sake of "World Revolution" the leaders in Moscow began to court Kemalist Turkey, the Red Army entered the Transcaucasus, and Azerbaijan was Sovietized. When in January 1920 members of the ARF Bureau secretly met with the communist H. Nazaretian, they were confronted with the latter's brusque and sarcastic behavior (see note 27). Various searches and arrests in Armenia, along with information gathered as a result of investigations, clearly proved that "the Bolsheviks were preparing for a general insurrection in Armenia, had received large amounts for that purpose, and were undertaking the organization of armed groups". (80) Finally, we have already discussed the attempted revolt by the Bolsheviks in May of 1920 and the actions taken by the Bureau-government to control it.

The Bolshevik-Kemalist plot against Armenia became all the more apparent especially after the Sovietization of Azerbaijan in April, 1920. Much more

76 / See Der Minasian, Roupen, op. cit., VII, pp. 138-144 (*).

77 / Ibid., p. 264. According to Roupen, after the fall of Baku, the members of the ARF Georgia Central Committee, sometimes "at the risk of their lives", hid and protected many Bolshevik leaders in Tbilisi: Gasian, Khanoyian, Nazaretian, Shahverdian, Gegechkori, Makharadze and others.

78 / Der Minasian, Roupen, ibid., pp. 266-268.

79 / See Vratsian, Simon, op. cit., p. 378 and "MEMOIRS", Vol. VI, p. 325. "For two years", writes the anonymous author of "A Document", "no communist was harassed in any way at all; their public demonstrations were held in total liberty and even included debates with members of the ARF. They published their papers and acted and wrote against the ARF. Persecuted in Baku, Georgia and the Northern Caucasus, they took political refuge in Armenia. The arrests began only after the events of May 1920. As for executions and killings, they were begun by the Bolsheviks themselves. Such is the reality of history".

80 / See Vratsian, Simon, "THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA", pp. 383-384.

81 / For details and facts, see ibid., pp. 445-452 and Khadisian, Aleksandr, op. cit., pp. 196-208 and 252-253.

82 / See Vratsian, Simon, op. cit., p. 453.

83 / Ibid., pp. 454-457.

84 / For all of this and for details of the treaty outline, see Vratsian, Simon, pp. 458-459 and Khadisian, Aleksandr, op. cit., pp. 261-262.

85 / For the Armeno-Turkish war, see Vratsian, Simon, op. cit., pp. 460-485.

86 / During the Armeno-Turkish war, the Armenian Bolsheviks, with their press and otherwise, had regrettably adopted a clearly pro-Turkish position. Certain units of the national army, contaminated by their counter-propaganda, refused to fight. One of the most pathetic episodes in the chronicles of this war was the suicide of Colonel Mazmanian near Kars, due to his soldiers' refusal to obey orders and fight.

blatantly than before, the Azerbaijan Communist Party's central body, of which Anastas Mikoyian was a member, began to harass Armenia by raising the issues of Karabagh, Zankezour, and Sharour-Nakhichevan and by provoking internal instability. Ultimatums, threats, and military operations succeeded each other, as some of the most notorious among the Pan-Turanists and those that had participated in the Genocide against the Armenians gathered in Baku. (81)

At its wit's end, the government of Armenia decided to attempt direct communication with Moscow once more. In May, a delegation composed of Levon Shant, H. Derderian, and L. Zarifian left for Moscow to initiate negotiations in an attempt to gain Soviet Russian recognition of the independent Armenian state and, at least in principle, its rights over Turkish Armenia. (82) But the deceitful counter-propaganda and intrigues of the Armenian and Azeri Bolsheviks undermined the signing in mid-June of a Russian-Armenian friendship treaty, which would have had immeasurable importance for Armenia. In a July 1 telegram to the Armenian government, Chicherin proposed to continue the negotiations in Yerevan. (83)

A delegation of 47 members, headed by Legran, arrived in Yerevan on October 11 and was welcomed with great honors. By that time, thanks to the efforts of the Armenian government and the Armenian delegations in Paris, international recognition for United and Independent Armenia had already been achieved by the signing of the Treaty of Sèvres on August 10, 1920. On the other hand, however, on September 23 of the same year the disastrous Armeno-Turkish war had broken out with the surprise general offensive of Kiazim Karabekir's armies. Legran's proposal to abandon the Treaty of Sèvres was rejected. An outline of a treaty was drafted, according to which Soviet Russia would recognize the independence of Armenia (Zankezour included) and would play the role of arbitrator in attempts to end the Armeno-Turkish war and solve the Armenian-Azerbaijani territorial disputes. But Legran suddenly broke off discussions and left for Baku. Once again, the Armeno-Russian treaty was left unsigned. (84)

Despite the stubborn and heroic resistance of various Armenian army units, the Armeno-Turkish war ended with the defeat of Armenia. (85) On October 30, Kars fell, as did Alexandropol on November 6. On November 23, as the delegation headed by Aleksandr Khadisian left for Alexandropol (86) to conduct peace negotiations, the Bureau-government resigned; (87) Simon Vratsian was appointed prime minister and formed a coalition cabinet. Considering the ruthless terms presented by Karabekir, reaching an immediate accord with the Russians was an absolute necessity in order to save all that could be saved of Armenia's territory and her people. And on December 2, within the difference of a few hours, Dro and H. Derderian signed the agreement for the Sovietization of Armenia with Legran, while Khadisian's delegation signed the treaty of Alexandropol with the Turks. (88) Abandoned and forgotten by her "Great Allies", the subject of conspiracies coordinated between the Turks and Bolsheviks, the independent Republic of Armenia came to an end.

87 / See Vratsian, Simon, ibid., pp. 486-494. The following were Dashnaktsakan ministers in the Vratsian cabinet: Dro (defense), Arshag Hovhannesian (agriculture, regional administration and labor) and Hampartsoum Derderian (finance). The cabinet also included the social-revolutionaries Arsham Khondkarian (justice) and Vahan Minakhorian (public education and the arts).

88 / For the Treaty of Alexandropol, see Vratsian, Simon, ibid., pp. 504-505. For the negotiations and signature, see Khadisian, Aleksandr, op. cit., pp. 299-314.

6 / The Short-lived Rule of the "Heghkom" (Revolutionary Committee) and the February Revolt

Completely exhausted and with the terror of new Turkish atrocities in their hearts, the peopie of Armenia greeted the establishment of Soviet order not, understandably, with enthusiasm but with a certain relief. Bolshevik or not, the newcomers were Armenians, after ali; moreover, they had "Christian Russia" behind them, and therefore Armeno-Turkish and Armeno-Azeri disputes would perhaps end favorably and permanently, bringing peace to Armenia. [89] On December 1 the ARF Bureau decided that its members, as well as other central figures in the government or the Party, should leave Armenia.

Only Simon Vratsian would remain to transfer power to the country's new rulers. Furthermore, the Bureau directed that those Dashnaktsakans staying in Armenia should remain law-abiding citizens. [90]

The agreement on Sovietization provided that two "left" Dashnaktsakans would participate in the country's new leadership (the Heghkom), while members of the ARF, the Social-Revolutionaries, the Social-Democrats, and the military would not be subjected to persecution for any of their previous actions. [91]

But after the arrival of S. Gasian [92] in Yerevan on December 4, Dro's role as liaison to the Heghkom was neutralized, and the signed agreement quickly became a dead letter. [93] Formed on December 6, the Cheka (secret police) immediately began to make arrests. Hamo Ohanjanian, Ardashes Chilingarian (Roupen Tarpinian), Vahan Navasartian, Dr. Hovsep Der Tavtian, Varos Babayian, and others were arrested while heading for Georgia.

Later on, Hamazasb, Avedik Sahakian (president of the Parliament), A. Asdvadzadrian, B. Ishkhanian, Hovhannes Kachaznouni, M. Mousinian, Levon Shant, Nigol Aghbalian, and many others were also jailed. On January 10, 1921, Dro was exiled to Russia, while on January 24, commander-in-chief General Tovmas Nazarbegian, General Siligian (who had led the Battle of Sardarabad), Generals Hakhverdian and Khamazian, as well as 1200 other Armenian officers, were taken on foot to parts unknown. [94] The confiscation of homes, property, clothing, and foodstuffs were everyday occurrences. [95] As for the territorial disputes, neither Karabagh [96] nor Nakhichevan were incorporated into Armenia. The frontier separating Turkey from Armenia remained, with very minor changes, almost entirely the same as that provided for by the Treaty of Alexandropol, although the Bolsheviks had every reason to consider that treaty null and void, because it was signed by the representatives of the independent Armenian Republic, after it had already been Sovietized. [97]

89 / See Vratsian, Simon, op. cit., pp. 508-510.

90 / Ibid., pp. 524-525.

91 / For the convention on Sovietization, see Vratsian, Simon, ibid., pp. 501-503 and Khadisian, Aleksandr, op. cit., pp. 315-317. It was agreed that while waiting for the arrival of the Heghkom, defense minister Dro would hold power.

92 / Composed of A. Mravian, S. Der Kaprielian, A. Nourijanian, A. Begzatian, I. Dovlatian, headed by S. Gasian, assisted by Atarbegian, the known chekist.

93 / See Sasouni, Garo, "THE FEBRUARY INSURRECTION", p. 37. Vratsian states that "the treaty signed with Legran was canceled" (op. cit., p. 511).

94 / See Vratsian, Simon, ibid., p. 501.

95 / Ibid. See also Khadisian, Aleksandr, op. cit., p. 319 and Borian, B., "ARMENIA, DIPLOMACY AND THE SOVIET UNION", II, p. 126, quoted by Vratsian, Simon (op. cit., p. 512), in which the Soviet historian affirms: "The Heghkom undertook appropriation, indiscriminately and without consideration of social class, without taking account of the general economic situation of the peasantry or its psychological condition. Without an organized, disciplined apparatus and a preliminary explanatory campaign, the Heghkom gave orders to appropriate and confiscate for the state the town-dwellers supplies and the peasants' bread. In a state of anarchy, they collected everything: military uniforms, craftsmen's tools, mills of all sorts, beehives, laundry and clothing, furniture. It is obvious that these violent measures were the fundamental causes of the insurrection throughout the country".

96 / During the Sovietization of Armenia, Narimanov, prime minister of Soviet Azerbaijan, sent the Heghkom in Armenia a telegram announcing that "fraternal" Soviet Azerbaijan declared an end to the territorial dispute, returning the provinces of Gharabagh, Nakhichevan and Zankezour to Armenia. See Vratsian, Simon, ibid., p. 517.

97 / The Treaties of Moscow and Kars later introduced certain modifications, not always positive, into this state of affairs. For the three treaties, see Toriguian, Shavarsh, "THE ARMENIAN QUESTION AND INTERNATIONAL LAW", Beirut, 1973, pp. 195-213.

98 / See Vratsian, Simon, op. cit., p. 525. Khadisian, Aleksandr, op. cit., p. 326.

It would be incorrect to ascribe the barbarities of the Heghkom exclusively to the incidental and senseless acts of a Gasian, Nourijanian, or Atabegian. The penchant to see the Sovietization of Armenia pass through the phase of civil war is apparent in the various statements of Bolshevik leaders of the time. Nevertheless, on December 2, a peaceful transfer of power had taken place; but that was contrary to conceptions of how Soviet order should be established... (98)

In this sense, the Heghkom succeeded. The people of Armenia, especially the peasantry, did not tolerate the widespread tyranny of the regime. Dumbfounded by the course of events, the popular forces of Arakadz, Bash-Giarni, Godayk, and other regions had refused to disarm, despite the appeals to the contrary by Vratsian, Dro, and other Dashnaktsakan leaders. (99) In nearly all regions, especially after the army officers were sent into exile, secret groups, "committees for salvation," were formed to safeguard the property and lives of the people. Mass arrests on February 9-10, 1921, providing an occasion for widespread discontent, became the immediate cause of revolt. S. Vratsian, A. Hovhannesian, H. Devejian, Y. Sarksian, H. Der Hagopian, and other ARF leaders who had remained in Armenia went underground. The Committee for the Salvation of the Homeland was formed, headed by Simon Vratsian. (100)

The February Revolt broke out on the night of February 16, when the cavalry units from Arakadz, under the overall leadership of Sasountsi Moushegh, took Echmiadzin and Ashdarag, freeing hundreds imprisoned by the government. (101)

Almost at the same time, the popular militias (102) of Parakar (Aslan), Yelenovka (Hayrigian), Akhda (Pilos), Bash-Giarni (Khngo) and Godayk (Mardiros and Gouro) went into action, liberating their respective regions. The assault on Yerevan from all sides began at dawn on February 18. The Heghkom's forces put up a resistance, but as a result of the determined assaults by the forces of Colonel Gouro Tarkhanian and Mardiros of Bash-Giarni, they fell back and escaped towards Sharour-Nakhichevan. (103) With the taking of the Yerevan prison, many intellectuals and government personalities were freed (Ohanjanian, Kachaznouni, Levon Shant, Avedik Sahakian, Nigol Aghbalian, A. Asdvadzadrian, and others). At the same time, however, it became apparent that on the night of February 17 to the morning of the 18th, with the order and direct participation of Avis Nourijanian, the Cheka had organized a slaughter, shooting and hacking to death a significant number of government and party members, including Hamazasb Srvantsdiants, commander of the Baku Commune's Armenian forces and the hero of Askeran. (104)

With some additions, the Committee for the Salvation of the Homeland became the new government and managed the affairs of the liberated country for nearly one and a half months. (105)

Once again, Armenia was completely alone, especially after the Sovietization of Georgia on February 25, 1921. The appeals of the Armenian govern-

99 / See Sasouni, Garo, op. cit., especially pp. 144-145.

100 / See Vratsian, Simon, op. cit., p. 528. A. Hovhannesian, in charge of defense; Garo Sasouni, the interior; Hampartsoum Derderian, finance; H. Der Hagopian, supplies; S. Yeghiazarian, administration. Later, the following were added: A. Khondkarian and V. Minakhorian (social-revolutionaries). Officer Gouro Tarkhanian (Souren) took command of the army.

101 / See Sasouni, Garo, op. cit., pp. 97-110.

102 / Ibid., pp. 110-115.

103 / See Vratsian, Simon, op. cit., pp. 526-527. Sasouni, Garo, op. cit., pp. 116-127.

104 / See Vratsian, Simon, op. cit., p. 527. Sasouni, Garo, op. cit., pp. 117-121.

105 / See Vratsian, Simon, op. cit., pp. 528-545. Sasouni, Garo, op. cit., pp. 137-150.

The Republic of Lernahayastan ("Mountainous Armenia"): Zankezour during the insurrection.



ment, directed at the European governments for assistance; at Moscow for understanding; and at neighboring states for amicable relations, remained voices in the wilderness. (106)

With daily military operations, the forces of the Heghkom from the southwest (Sharour-Nakhichevan), and the regular divisions of the Red Army from the east and the north, attempted to re-conquer the liberated areas. Up to the beginning of April, violent battles took place in Ghamarlou (Ardashad), Zankibasar, Akhda, Soukho Foundan, and elsewhere. (107)

On April 2, as members of the Armenian government and popular forces crossed into Zankezour, where sovereign rule had been established under the command of Karekin Nzhdeh, the Red Army re-conquered Yerevan. (108)

One of the concrete results of the February revolt was that the new Heghkom, led by Aleksandr Miasnikian, on the advice of Lenin himself, exhibited a much more restrained and balanced behavior toward the Armenian people. (109)

106 / See Vratsian, Simon, op. cit., pp. 529-530 and 540-541.

107 / For a description of the various fronts and operations, see Sasouni, Garo, op. cit., pp. 145-203. During the fighting, numerous Dashnaktsakan fedayees and soldiers once more revealed exceptional courage: Mardiros, Khngo, Sasountsi Moushegh, Smpad, Tsronktsi Mourad, the Van battalion (in the defense of the capital), Ghazar Bedoyian, Pilos, Aslan and Yabon, to mention only a few.

108 / See Vratsian, Simon, op. cit., pp. 544-545. Again for the February insurrection, see Vratsian, Simon, "MEMOIRS", VI.

109 / For the Heghkom of Aleksandr Miasnikian and Lenin's advice, see see Vratsian, Simon, "THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA", pp. 564-568.

110 / See Vratsian, Simon, ibid., pp. 546-550.

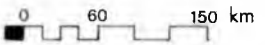
111 / Ibid., pp. 551-556.

112 / Ibid., pp. 555-560.

7 / The Struggle of Lernahayastan (Zankezour)

As we have seen, the Bolsheviks had entered Zankezour from Karabagh in July of 1920. In October, the popular revolt there broke out from two different points: the region of Sisian, in the north, was liberated by Boghos Der Tavtian's fighters, while Ghapan and the surrounding areas were liberated by Karekin Nzhdeh's forces. To quell the rebellion, the Bolsheviks brought fresh Red Army forces from Azerbaijan, who were joined by 1200 Turkish soldiers passing through on their way from Baku to Nakhichevan. These forces began to savagely attack and massacre the people of Zankezour and destroyed their villages. Soon, however, the popular revolt spread throughout Zankezour, and the rebel forces in the north and the south joined each other at Datev. By the end of November, after bitter fighting — frequently, hand to hand combat — in which Boghos Der Tavtian was killed, all of Zankezour was liberated. (110)

On December 25, at a time when the other regions of Armenia were already under Soviet rule, the First Congress of Zankezour was taking place. It took on the nature of a constitutional assembly for "Sovereign Siunik" (the historical name for the region). Although a government was elected, "supreme commander" Nzhdeh remained the de facto leader of Zankezour until its fall. (111) The province's autonomy had created a barrier between the Bolsheviks and the Turks of Nakhichevan. (112) The Bolsheviks made countless attempts to reclaim the region, whether through persuasion, threats, trickery, or appeals to "common sense". In response, in February



of 1921, Nzhdeh's forces also occupied the region of Daralakiaz and attached it to Sovereign Siunik, which thereafter became known as Independent Lernahayastan (Mountainous Armenia). [113]

In April, the exiled popular forces and the governmental and public figures accompanying them arrived in Zankezour via Daralakiaz. Some crossed the Arax River into Iran, while others, particularly the armed forces, remained in Lernahayastan, at the disposal of the local government. The Second Congress of Lernahayastan was convened at the end of April in Datev and elected a new government, headed by Karekin Nzhdeh. The Congress decided to continue the struggle against the Bolsheviks until the liberation of all of Armenia. [114]

The Soviet rulers of Armenia again made attempts to regain Zankezour. Heghkom member Ardashes Garinian, along with a Red Army officer, arrived in Zankezour to conduct negotiations with the government of Lernahayastan. The negotiations, however, did not produce any results. [115]

After the failure of the negotiations, the fighting again broke out. The struggle for freedom and independence waged by the people of Zankezour, though heroic and noble, was hopeless. All attempts to receive political or military assistance from abroad gave no results. The brave combatants of Zankezour fought until their last bullet, and on July 1, 1921, members of the government, intellectuals, and the last of the fighters crossed into welcoming Iran. [116] The final phase of the struggle by Armenians for liberation from Bolshevik tyranny had come to an end.

113 / Ibid., p. 561.
114 / Ibid., pp. 562-563.
115 / Ibid., p. 563.
116 / Ibid., pp. 563-564.

10 / Activities Outside Armenia in the Years 1920-1921

1 / The Conference of Bucharest and the Diasporan Responsible Body

The ARF Bureau elected at the Ninth World Congress had only one year of collective existence and activity in Armenia. It had been able to keep ties with the organizational bodies in Turkey (Constantinople, Cilicia, and Smyrna), Georgia, Iran, and abroad (the Balkans, Egypt, and America); [1] it had given direction and impetus to the work of the Paris Delegation; and it had succeeded in putting in order the organizational chaos [2] that had existed in Armenia by establishing three Central Committee Regions (Kars, Alexandropol, and Yerevan) and by creating an extraterritorial structure, the Central Committee of the Railroads, for the workers. [3] But these organizational efforts were almost entirely broken off in May of 1920, when the Bureau-government was formed to control the insurrectionist movements of the Bolsheviks and the Azeri-Turks. After December 2, 1920, only two members of the Bureau remained in Yerevan — Hamo Ohanjanian, who was in prison, and Simon Vratsian (at first legally, then clandestinely). [4] And by July 1921, after the fall of Lernahayastan, Ohanjanian, Vratsian, and Roupen Der Minasian were in Tabriz.

Meanwhile, however, an important event had taken place in the diasporan life of the ARF, unbeknownst to the three above-mentioned Bureau members. The other members of the Bureau, Apraham Giulkhandanian, Arshag Jamalian, and Sarkis Araradian, along with Bureau alternate members Vahan Navasartian and Kevork Ghazarian, had reached the Balkans via Constantinople. There, instead of continuing to work as the Bureau, they had convened a Conference in April of 1921, in Bucharest. [5]

1 / For these relations and for the assistance of the ARF Regions outside Armenia, see Roupen "MEMOIRS OF AN ARMENIAN REVOLUTIONARY", VII, pp. 163-176. See also Kurkjian, Haroutlun, "Outline of the History of the ARF from 1919 to 1924" in "DROSHAK" ("AZTAG-SHAPATORIAG"), 4th Year, no. 38, pp.606-607.

2 / See Dasnabedian, Hratch, "THE EVOLUTION OF THE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE ARF, 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1985, pp. 100-103. Kurkjian, H., ibid., in "DROSHAK" ("AZTAG-SHAPATORIAG"), 4th Year, nos. 36 and 37.

3 / Roupen, op cit., pp. 159-160.

4 / Arshag Jamalian, Apraham Giulkhandanian and Sarkis Araradian had managed to go abroad via Tbilisi. Roupen had gone to Zankezour via Daralakiaz. A new clandestine body, the "Committee of Armenia", had formed in Yerevan. After the February insurrection, it completed its team and, under the lead of Simon Vratsian, it became the government, the "Committee for the Salvation of the Homeland". See note 100, Chapter Nine.

5/ For the Conference of Bucharest, see see Kurkjian, H., op. cit., pp. 665-666. Dasnabedian, Hratch, op. cit., pp. 123-126.

The Bucharest Conference analyzed the events that had taken place after the Ninth World Congress; criticized the Yergir's organizational bodies, which "had been unable to sufficiently conduct organizational work; and noted the expansion of the organization in the communities abroad, despite the crisis in Armenia and the difficulties in establishing communications with the Bureau". [6] Furthermore, based on the report of the three Bureau members present, the Conference rather severely criticized the Bureau, finding that it "had not risen up to the historic moment, had not worked to forge a strong Party organization, [had instead] entered the government, abandoning the organizational ranks"; further, after the splendid work in safeguarding the homeland during the revolts of May, it "had not immediately resigned from power".

In the political realm the Conference decided to "stand firm on the position of independence for United Armenia", and to "enter into communication with Soviet Russia from outside the country, with the purpose of making use of its political weight". [7] Also, the Conference appointed Aleksandr Khadisian to the Paris Delegation of the Republic of Armenia.

The innovation brought by the Conference in the organizational realm was the creation of the Diasporan Responsible Body, which "manages political and party affairs, with the full rights of a Bureau, until the next World Congress.... The Transcaucasus and Iran fail outside the jurisdiction of the Responsible Body.... The Responsible Body retains its role until the Bureau declares itself to be in a position to manage party affairs abroad". [8]

The above criticisms and crucial decisions, all of which had party-wide ramifications, came from an assembly at which the members of the Bureau in the Yergir, as well as the organizational bodies of Armenia, the Transcaucasus (except for a representative from Georgia), and Iran were not present. It is understandable, then, that discontent would arise among those absent.

Numerous letters and telegrams went back and forth between the three Bureau members in Tabriz, the Diasporan Responsible Body, as well as the Supreme Judicial Court. [9] The Responsible Body decided that Vratsian, Roupen, and Ohanjanian should manage the affairs of the Yergir, the Transcaucasus, and Iran, as a Bureau Section; Vratsian found the decision regarding the activities of the Bureau, taken in the absence of those it concerned, to be unjust and humiliating and wanted to present his resignation; in turn, Roupen protested against the "absurd experiments" in Riga (see below); and the Supreme Judicial Court demanded clarifications on the rights of the Diasporan Responsible Body in regards to judicial matters. Nothing came of these exchanges, however. And even after Roupen and Vratsian arrived in Europe, the Bureau did not reconvene. Until the Vienna Conference in April-May of 1923, the Responsible Body called to life in Bucharest served as the supreme body of the ARF.

Settling first in Constantinople and then Bucharest, the Responsible Body

6 / The Conference was not empowered with the right to assess the activities of the region's bodies, especially in their absence. In effect, only the two delegates of the Georgian ARF Region were present, along with a delegate from the Alexandropol Region: D. Tavitkhanian, A. Torosian and B. Levonian respectively. The Armenian parliamentary ARF fraction was represented by Smpad Khachadourian. The Constantinople Region had two representatives attending, H. Amadouni and A. Parseghian. Two delegates had come from the Balkans: O. Vartanian and H. Ohannesian. There were two from America, Shahan Natali and Z. Zadigian, one from Cilicia, H. Krikorian and one from Egypt, Libarid Nazariants; also, Avedis Aharonian, in the delegation of the Republic of Armenia in Paris, and Mikayel Varantian, in the ARF representation at the Socialist International. Also, there were members of the Bureau currently operating abroad: (Arshag Jamalian, Sarkis Araradian and Apraham Giulkhandanian). Armen Garo, momentarily in the United States, could not be present, nor could the stand-ins Krikor Ghazarian and Vahan Navasartian. Invited along as consultants were Aleksandr Khadisian, Dr. Nevrouz and V. Arakelian.

7 / The decision was soon to lead to the Riga talks.

8 / See Dasnabedian, Hratch, op. cit., p. 125 and p. 132 (note 11); Kurkjian, H., op. cit., p. 666. The three members of the Bureau present at the Conference as well as the two stand-ins were elected members of the Diasporan Responsible Body, along with three new personalities: Shahan Natali, H. Amadouni and T. Tavitkhanian.

9 / The Supreme Judicial Court's members were Hovsep Arghoutian, the Armenian diplomatic representative in Tehran, and Hovsep Der Tavtian, former member of the ARF Bureau, two authoritative figures within the Party.

10 / See Kurkjian, H., op. cit., pp. 682-683. Dasnabedian, Hratch, op. cit., pp. 125-127.

11 / Relations between the Diasporan Responsible Body and the Paris Delegation were also having difficulties: Avedis Aharonian in effect refused to recognize the authority of the Body, considering himself accountable only to the government of Armenia, while the bodies in America complained about taking on the Delegation's expenses. See Kurkjian, H., ibid.

conducted both the internal organizational affairs and external political relations, though not always authoritatively or with the necessary effectiveness. (10)

Further declining in efficacy after mid-1922, (11) the Responsible Body attempted to move up the date for convening the Tenth World Congress. However, the impossibility of having delegates from the Yergir and the Transcaucasus on the one hand, and the pressing work being conducted in regards to the Lausanne Conference on the other, combined to make the convening of a World Congress at the end of 1922 or the beginning of 1923 impossible. Instead, it was decided to hold an extra-ordinary conference of ARF bodies in the Diaspora. (12)

2 / The Riga Talks

Apart from the diplomatic activities of the Delegation of the Armenian Republic before and after Sèvres and up to Lausanne, ali of which belong to the history of the Republic, (13) the central political work of the Diasporan Responsible Body was the negotiations with the representatives of the Russian Communist Party.

The decision to enter into negotiations in Europe with the representatives of Soviet Russia for the sake of safeguarding Armenian independence and improving conditions in Armenia was taken by the Bucharest Congress. The first contacts occurred in London, where an appointment was made to meet in Riga, Latvia. The Diasporan Responsible Body empowered Jamalian, Navasartian, and Goms to conduct the negotiations. (14)

The Riga talks began on July 7, 1921, when Lernahayastan had already fallen, although the Responsible Body was not yet aware of that fact. The representatives of Soviet Russia were Yoffe, Der Vahanian, and S. Der Kaprielian. The ARF spokesmen presented a report on the events that had taken place in Armenia, on the violence initiated by the Bolsheviks, and on the damage wrought to the Armenian Case by Russo-Turkish collaboration. Yoffe responded that the Armenian factor did not have a place in Russia's international policy, and that the Soviet rulers had entered Armenia "in response to the appeals of the Armenian people", would continue to govern the country in accordance with their unshakable principles and would crush ali those who rebelled against it. Der Kaprielian denied any collusion with Kemal; he stressed that the Soviet order was not a pluralistic system, and therefore the ARF had to submit; moreover, he stated that had the ARF yielded in May to the "ripened popular movement", the most recent territorial acquisitions by Turkey would not have taken place. In turn, Der Vahanian underscored that it would be politically and economically unnatural "to separate Armenia from Russia" and suggested more flexibility, as well as less of an appetite toward Armenian lands occupied by Turkey. In subsequent sessions, however, the Soviet spokesmen displayed a bit more of a sympathetic attitude and willingness to compromise.

12 / The Conference was convened in Vienna, Austria, in April-May 1923.

13 / For the political-diplomatic activity of the Delegation of the Republic of Armenia, see Aharonian, Avedis, "FROM SARDARABAD TO THE TREATIES OF SEVRES AND LAUSANNE", Boston, 1943; Khadisian, Aleksandr, op. cit., pp. 327-485; Papazian, V. (Goms), "MY MEMOIRS" III, the whole volume. See also Mandelstam, André, "LA SOCIETE DES NATIONS ET LES PUISSANCES DEVANT LE PROBLEME ARMENIEN", 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1970.

14 / For the Riga talks, see Papazian, V., op. cit., III, pp. 203-233; for the ARF delegation, see p. 207.

The Soviet Republic of Armenia,
created for a short perlod in 1922
(it was to be re-constituted after the disappearance of the Federal S.S.R. of Transcaucasia in 1936).



After the ARF spokesmen submitted clear proposals, [15] an agreement was formulated on July 14, in the Soviet Embassy of Riga. With the agreement, in regard to the "physical existence of the Armenian people and its free and independent political development", the representatives of the Communist Party agreed to the following:

a / The existence of a free and independent Armenia;

b / The unification of the previously Armenian-populated territories of Turkish Armenia to Russian Armenia;

c / Assistance and cooperation by the Russian Communist Party.

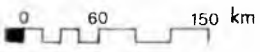
in turn, the Dashnaktsutiun was to rally the Armenians of the Yergir, as well as the Diaspora, around the government of Armenia; cease ali hostilities in Lernahayastan and ali other similar activities elsewhere; and in both its internal and external policies, remain faithful to the principle of friendship with Soviet Russia.

Notes appended to the agreement contained various details. [16] Furthermore, the Communist Party of Russia was to intervene with the Heghkom of Armenia, so that the latter would enter into negotiations with the ARF in Armenia.

While the ARF delegation awaited ratification of the agreement by Moscow, the Delegation of the Armenian Republic received a telegram on July 23 from Tehran announcing the fail of Lernahayastan. Yet, apparently, that was not the main reason for the failure of the Riga draft, which was to share

15 / They proposed a) the re-establishment of the former regime in Armenia. with the agreement that it would remain a faithful ally of Soviet Russia, b) to forestall the Kemalist danger and take back from the Turks certain portions of occupied territory and c) to achieve, thanks to Russian mediation, an agreement allowing the construction of a railroad through Turkey and Georgia to the Black Sea. See Kurkjian, H., op. cit., p. 667.

16 / See Kurkjian, H., Ibid. For certain details, the author uses the report presented by Goms to the Diasporan Responsible Body.



Territories yielded by Moscow to Turkey in October 1921
under the Treaty of Kars, which sanctioned the terms of the Treaties of Moscow
(March 1921) and Brest-Litovsk (March 1918).



17 / See Papazian, V., op. cit., p. 228.

18 / See Vratsian, Simon, "The Armenian Nuremberg", in "THE LEGACY OF THE MARTYRS" (Arshavir Shiragian), Beirut, 1965, pp. 55-61, and especially p. 59 (*). For understandable reasons, the brochure containing the Decisions of Ninth World Congress makes no mention of this decision, but the memoirs of Soghomon Tehlirian, Misak Torlakian and A. Shiragian clearly explain and confirm the nature of this series of political executions as an organized initiative.

the fate of the proposed Moscow and Yerevan agreements; during those same days, Yoffe was to confide to Navasartian, "The Armenian Communists of Baku have prevented the ratification of the agreement". [17]

3 / The Punishment of Those Responsible for the Genocide

The verdict to punish the executioners of the Armenian people was handed down by the Ninth World Congress of the ARF. [18] The subsequent planning to implement that decision was most probably carried out during, or on the occasion of, the Bucharest Conference. [19] There is also the possibility that it was one of the first tasks of the Diasporan Responsible Body. The series of assassinations, described as the "Special Operation" [20] by the Tenth World Congress, was carried out under the overall leadership of the Responsible Body, [21] assisted by the Central Committees of America (especially financially) [22] and Constantinople (mostly by providing manpower) [23], as well as individual ARF members in the various cities of Europe. [24] The details of the assassinations — the preparatory steps, the acts themselves, and their immediate consequences — are fully presented in the memoirs of the avengers.

The series began, quite justly, with the assassination of Talaat Pasha, the Ottoman Empire's former Minister of the Interior and the man most responsible for the Genocide. Six others, Jivanshir, Sayid Halim Pasha, Behaeddin Shakir, Jemal Azmi, Jemal Pasha, and Enver Pasha, were also felled one after another in the years 1921-1922. Justice, thwarted by the Genocide of the Armenian people, was at least partially restored, while the shame of having walked like sheep to the slaughterhouse was wiped away from

19 / Except, of course, for the punishment of Talaat, which had already been dealt out before the Conference. The American Central Committee, under the general supervision of Armen Garo, seems to have had an important role in organizing this first major execution; that Soghomon Tehlirian had been to America before going to Berlin as well as the leading role of Shahan Natali in the mission are clear proof. The active cooperation of the Constantinople Central Committee is proved, in turn, by the presence of Hrach Papazian in the mission. Comrades living in Berlin also played important roles: Parsegh Zakarian, H. Zorian and others.

20 / See "EXTRACTS FROM THE DECISIONS OF THE TENTH WORLD CONGRESS", Geneva, 1925 (*).

21 / In the memoirs of the avengers, Diasporan Responsible Body members H. Amadouni (Constantinople), Apraham Giulkhandanian (in Constantinople, then in Europe) and above all Shahan Natali (in America and in Berlin) are mentioned as sources of directives and the latter is named as an active participant.

22 / See Tehlirian, Soghomon, 'MEMOIRS", Cairo, 1956.

23 / Soghomon Tehlirian had gone to Transcaucasia, where he joined the volunteer batallions (the unit commanded by Antranig). Misak Torlakian had been a fedayee leader in the Trebizond area and had shuttled several times between Trebizond and Tbilisi, crossing the front on various missions. Aram Yerganian, who had also served in the volunteer units, had tested his abilities as an avenger in Georgia and Azerbaijan. Arshavir Shiragian, in Armenia in 1920, had worked with Yerganian (they spent time together in Medekh prison in Tbilisi). On the eves of their missions, all had stayed in Constantinople for a month or two. These facts confirm the connection, at least, for the selection and training of the avengers, between members of the ARF Bureau in Armenia (especially Roupen) and the Constantinople Central Committee, or later, the Diasporan Responsible Body.

24 / Vahan Zakarian, Libarid Nazariants and H. Zorian in Berlin, and the artist-painters A. Orakian and O. Avedisian and the sculptor Ara Sarkisian, friend of Shiragian, made their contribution but did not take a direct part. Mikayel Varantian, Armenian ambassador in Rome, also played a role.



The ARF Regional Convention in Constantinople, 1920.

the face of the Armenian nation. The settlement of accounts with those responsible for the Genocide was incomplete, of course, but it was successful overall, with that success also bringing honor to the ARF. It was, in the parallel drawn by Simon Vratsian, "The Armenian Nuremburg". [25]

In 1920, Soghomon Tehlirian went from Constantinople to the United States, [26] where he was briefed by the Central Committee and received the blessings of Armen Garo. He returned to Europe, arriving in Berlin on December 3 to search for the murderer Talaat. Shahan Natali, Hrach Papazian, Libarid Nazariants, Vahan Zakarian, Hazor, [27] and several others were already in Berlin to organize and conduct the necessary undercover work. Tehlirian joined them. The collective effort finally bore fruit; Talaat's residence was discovered and placed under surveillance. [28] On March 15, 1921, in front of number 17 Hardenberg Strasse, Talaat, shot in the head with one round from Tehlirian's pistol, fell dead on the sidewalk. One can easily obtain the details of Tehlirian's subsequent arrest and noisy trial — the testimony by the great armenophile Dr. Johannes Lepsius on the Genocide, the successful efforts of the German defense lawyers, the not guilty verdict of the German Court, and Tehlirian's release at the start of June 1921. [29]

Behboud Khan Jivanshir, a leader of the Musavat party, was Azerbaijan's Minister of the Interior in 1918 during the fighting in Baku. He was considered

25 / Of those on the list of criminals drawn up by the Ninth World Congress, only Enver was to escape the Dashnaktsakan avengers, for he was killed in August 1922 in Soviet Turkestan by an Armenian soldier in the Red Army. At the head of the racist and pan-Turanian movement of the "Basmaji", Enver was fighting the Soviets. See "SOVIET ARMENIAN ENCYCLOPEDIA", II, p. 304, "The Basmaji movement".

26 / Soghomon Tehlirian had killed the informer Haroutiun Mgrdichian in Con-

stantinople.

27 / The pseudonym Hazor, in Soghomon Tehlirian's memoirs, seems to be for H. Zorian. Vaza seems to correspond with Vahan Zakarian and Hrap is Hrach Papazian.

28 / He was living in Berlin, at number 4, Hardenbergstrasse, under the pseudonym of Ali Salih.

29 / Accounts of the preparations and execution and details of the trial can be found in the "MEMOIRS" of Soghomon Tehlirian, written down by Vahan Minakhorian and published in Cairo in 1956. See also "TEHLIRIAN THE AVENGER", an anthology of texts and documents by Kurkjian, H., Beirut, 1981.

30 / The execution of Jivanshir was an act of extreme daring and an example of clear awareness of duty. Having slain Jivanshir and made off without being apprehended, Torlakian had doubts that he might have missed. He returned and right under the noses of the crowd and policemen, he emptied his gun into the body of the criminal. Only then was he arrested. For the whole story, see Torlakian's "THE COURSE OF MY LIFE", 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1963, especially pp.439-506.

31 / In 1920, Arshavir Shiragian had slain the Armenian informer Vahe Ihsan in Constantinople, before leaving for Armenia and Georgia. Back in Constantinople, around the middle of 1921, he then left for Italy, where Krikor Merjanoff was awaiting him. See "THE LEGACY OF THE MARTYRS", Beirut, 1965, especially pp. 91-153.

32 / Ibid., especially pp. 154-227.

33 / Unfortunately, neither the memoirs of Shiragian nor those of Yerganian tell us anything of the real identity of S. In his "OPERATION NEMESIS", (Paris, 1986), Jacques Dérogy, having access to the ARF archives of the period, identifies S as Seto Jelalian (Jelalian), Yerevan Police Chief during the Republic.

34 / See Shiragian, A., op. cit., especially pp. 228-337. Yerganian, Aram, "HOW WE KILLED", Beirut, 1954. In 1919 and 1920 in Tbilisi, under the orders of the ARF Central Committee of Georgia, Aram Yerganian had executed Ghasimbekov, Sarafov and Khan Khoiski, leading Armenian-haters among the Azerbaijanis.

35 / See Haigazian, Tareh, "The Execution of Jemal Pasha", in "HAIRENIK", 27th year, no. 3 (March 1949), pp. 8-9 (*).

the man most responsible for the massacres carried out against the Armenians in September of that year. In mid-1921 he was in Constantinople.

The Responsible Body assigned the task of assassinating Jivanshir to an ARF fedayee, Misak Torlakian, who was assisted in the task of surveillance by Haroutiun Haroutiunian and Yervant Fundukian. On the night of July 28, as Jivanshir left the "Petit Champ" theater for the "Pera Palace" hotel, he was shot to death by Torlakian. The avenger was arrested and badly beaten by the French security forces of Constantinople but was later handed over to the British occupation forces, whose court acquitted him in November of 1921. (30)

On the afternoon of December 5, 1921, in Rome, Sayid Halim Pasha, Prime Minister of the Ottoman Empire in the days of the Genocide, was assassinated as he drove to his home on Via Eustacchio. The avenger was young Arshavir Shiragian, who had been sent to Rome at the end of June by the Diasporan Responsible Body. (31) He was assisted by Krikor Merjanoff in conducting the surveillance of Sayid Halim, and Mikayel Varantian, who was stili in Rome as the official representative of the Armenian Republic, was also kept informed of the operation. Quick and adroit, Shiragian avoided capture after the assassination and was back in Constantinople within a month. (32)

Shiragian did not stay in Constantinople for long, however; the Responsible Body sent him to Berlin in pursuit of other criminals. With him went Arshag Mousheghian (Yezid) as his assistant, while the organizers of the operation, Shahan Natali, Hrach Papazian, and S., (33) were already in Berlin, as was the veteran ARF avenger Aram Yerganian. The surveillances began in mid-February, 1922; the plan was to assassinate the collective Ittihad leadership gathered in Berlin. Hrach Papazian, disguised as a wealthy Turkish student, had infiltrated Turkish circles and almost daily passed on information to Natali and Shiragian. Finally, on the night of April 17, on the main street of Uhland, Arshavir Shiragian and Aram Yerganian assassinated the butcher of Trebizond, Jemal Azmi, and Ittihad Central Committee member Behaeddin Shakir. Both avengers escaped, disappearing into the night. (34)

A few months later, another assassination took place, this time in Tiflis. On July 25, in broad daylight and in front of Cheka headquarters, ARF avengers Stepan Dzaghigian, Bedros Der Boghosian, and Ardashes Kevorkian felled Jemal Pasha, member of the Ittihad Triumvirate, who was at the time in collaboration with the Bolsheviks. Witness to the act, the infamous Lavrenti Beria, then chief of the Georgian Cheka, told those near him with certainty, "Eda Dashnakski terror". (35) The daring nature of the attack had attested to its authorship.

Not a month had passed, when in August 1922 the last member of the Ittihad Triumvirate, the former Minister of War Enver Pasha, was killed in Soviet Turkestan (See note 25).

The extra-ordinary Conference of the ARF's diasporan bodies took place in Vienna, from April 7 to May 19, 1923. This was the time of the Lausanne Conference, and the efforts of both the Delegation of the Armenian Republic and the Western Armenian Delegation seemed to have failed. Understandably, therefore, spirits were not high.

ARF Bureau members Simon Vratsian and Roupen, despite their former reservations, were present and reported on the events of 1920-1921 in the Yergir. Aside from the members of the Bureau and the Diasporan Responsible Body, the voting delegates of Syria-Lebanon, [36] Constantinople, the Balkans, Rumania, and Paris, as well as the representatives to the Socialist International, were also present. Twelve others were present in an advisory capacity. [37] The Conference evaluated the financial and operational activities of the Bureau, the Diasporan Responsible Body, the Delegation of the Republic of Armenia, and the diplomatic representatives. Vratsian presented a special report "On the Political Moment". The Conference also examined the problems of the old and new communities of the dispersion, organizational matters, as well as various other issues. [38]

The decisions of the Conference were considered binding for ali the organizational bodies of the Diaspora; however, on political matters that concerned the bodies of the Yergir and the Transcaucasus, the decisions of the Conference were to be implemented with the mutual agreement and cooperation of the organizational bodies of the Yergir.

United and Independent Armenia would continue to be considered the leading principle of national and political strategy, but there would be no resort to violence or armed struggle to topple the Bolshevik regime in Armenia. On the contrary, the ARF would assist in the reconstruction of the Yergir with ali available means. Efforts at rapprochement and friendship with neighboring peoples would continue, but the ARF would not side with any of the large powers. Efforts at organization would go on both inside the Yergir and abroad, with the ARF remaining opposed to Bolshevik totalitarianism and its methods. [39]

After hearing the reports by Roupen and Vratsian, the Vienna Conference found that because they had been separated, those members of the Bureau who had remained in Armenia had been unable to conduct efforts collectively. For some (like Mikayel Varantian) who had not lived through the reality of the last years in Armenia, the February Revolt appeared to be "superfluous adventurism". Nevertheless, after evaluation, the Conference determined it to be a spontaneous popular outburst, the course of which was subsequently regulated, as it should have been, by ARF members and various organizational bodies in Armenia. The Conference also determined that the movement in Lernahayastan, as well, held significance, from the point of view of keeping Zankezour a part of Armenia, bringing the Bolsheviks to

36 / See "EXTRACTS FROM THE DECISIONS OF THE EXTRAORDINARY CONFERENCE OF THE ARF REGIONS OF THE DISPERSION", Vienna, 1923. After the evacuation, Lernavayr, the previous Party name for Cilicia, was given to the Syrian region (including Lebanon, for the first two decades).

37 / See Dasnabedian, Hratch, op. cit., p. 127. The American Central Committee submitted its report but did not attend the Conference. The two Iranian ARF Regions are not mentioned.

38 / For the agenda, see ibid., pp. 127-128. The report entitled "The political moment" written by Vratsian was later to serve as the basis for the "Political strategy" chapter in the report presented by the Diasporan responsible Body to the Tenth ARF World Congress and as a starting point for an examination of political problems.

39 / Ibid., pp. 128-129. Outside the brochure "EXTRACTS FROM THE DECI-

their senses, and securing the retreat after the re-conquest of Armenia by the Red Army in April, 1921. The Conference reacted less positively towards the movement in Karabagh, attributing its lack of success to various mistakes; however, because it lacked information, the Conference left the detailed examination of the Abarazh (Karabagh) issue up to the Supreme Judicial Court and the next World Congress. During the discussions and assessments regarding nearly ali issues, two opposing currents emerged, one representing the Yergir (Vratsian, Roupen, and Ohanjanian), and the other, the Diaspora. (40)

The Conference again elected a Diasporan Responsible Body. It was to manage party affairs until the Tenth World Congress (planned to take place within a year), or until the next Conference — in case holding the World Congress became impossible. Vratsian was elected to the Responsible Body, but unfortunately we have no written record of who else was on the Body. That some members of the previous Responsible Body were also elected seems likely.

In the subsequent one-and-a-half years, the Diasporan Responsible Body succeeded in strengthening and expanding its ties with the Yergir. It organized a Rayonagan Congress, in which the ARF organizational bodies of Yerevan, Alexandropol, Tiflis, Karabagh, and Zankezour took part; that Rayonagan Congress elected a Responsible Body for Armenia. The Tenth World Congress was to conclude that the Diasporan Responsible Body "conducted a circumspect policy" especially in attempting "to avoid the disasters that could have occurred in the Yergir as a consequence of Georgia's [anti-communist] rebellion"; it was, however, lax "in the supervision of the party press, the political education of the young, and the organizing of the working classes in the new, communities". (41)

5 / The Tenth World Congress of the ARF

The Tenth World Congress convened in Paris from November 17, 1924 to January 17, 1925. Present with voting rights were the delegates from the Central Committee Regions of Armenia, Adrbadagan, Syria-Lebanon, Egypt, the Balkans, and America, as well as the "Megousi" (to the side) Region of Greece, the Bureau, the Diasporan Responsible Body, the Supreme Judicial Court, Constantinople, and the "Special Operations Body". Also present, in an advisory capacity, "were members of the Bureau, the Responsible Body, the Delegation of the Armenian Republic, the representative to the Socialist International, and others... a total of 10 individuals". (42)

The World Congress heard the reports and examined the activities of the Supreme Judicial Court, (43) the ARF Bureau, (44) the Diasporan Responsible Body, (45) the Armenian Republic's Delegation, the ARF representation in the Socialist International, the "Special Operations Body", etc. The Congress also examined in detail the financial accounts of Armenia's government, Delegation, and diplomatic missions. In re-evaluating the February

SIONS OF THE TENTH WORLD CONGRESS", Geneva, 1925 (*), supplementary details may be found in the work mentioned herein by Kurkjian, H., op. cit., pp. 684-686.

40 / Kurkjian, H., ibid., pp. 685-686. Dasnabedian, Hratch, op. cit., p. 129.

41 / Simon Vratsian was a member of the new Responsible Body (there are no full details of the rest of the team, but it probably included most of the former members). As for the evaluation of its action, see Dasnabedian, ibid., p. 130. See also "EXTRACTS FROM THE DECISIONS OF THE TENTH WORLD CONGRESS", Geneva, 1925 (*).

42 / Kurkjian, H., op. cit., p. 701. Dasnabedian, Hratch, op. cit., p. 133. "EXTRACTS FROM THE DECISIONS OF THE TENTH WORLD CONGRESS", Geneva, 1925, p. 1 (*). Absent: the Regions of Shahustan (Tehran) and Rumania (the latter was present at the Conference of Vienna).

43 / A very positive evaluation for the Supreme Court: "The Court has worked with a moral prestige which has gained the respect of not only the Party ranks but also neutral elements".

44 / In spite of the difficult circumstances and crucial situations it had to tackle, the ARF Bureau, from 1919 to 1920, had been able "a) to stimulate, as much as possible, reconstruction of the Yergir; b) to promptly and energeticaily repress the Boishevik uprising of May 1920; c) to pursue successfully the struggle against anti-state elements; d) to lead successfully the fight for liberation in Zankezour from the Ninth World Congress until December 1920" and so on. But the Tenth World Congress also states "with deep regrets" the shortcomings of the supreme Executive: the lack of cohesion in views and decisions, the insufficiency of efforts to prevent the Armeno-Turkish war, the extension of its governmental mandate after the May insurrection had already been repressed, etc. See "EXTRACTS FROM THE DECISIONS OF THE TENTH WORLD CONGRESS", Geneva, 1925, pp. 5-6 (*).

45 / The objective of a unified, independent Armenia remained unchanged (it is still included in the ARF Program, at the top of the list of claims). See "ARF - PROGRAM" (ratified by the Tenth World Congress), Geneva, 1925. The Program was subsequently republished several times.

Territories (Armenian historically and demographically)
annexed by Azerbaijan in 1921,
thanks to Stalin's unjust, favoritist arbitration.



Revolt and the movements in Zankezour, the Congress adopted the corresponding decisions of the Vienna Conference in their entirety.

The final revision of the ARF Program would again be left up to the next World Congress, but the clarifications made by the Congress in the "political strategy" section of the Program would render its publication in 1925 possible. The Congress determined the position of the ARF toward Soviet Armenia, Russia, Turkey, the Transcaucasian countries, and the Great Powers. It also paid special attention to the issues of organizing and educating the new communities and the youth. The Congress eliminated the Diasporan Responsible Body and elected a new ARF Bureau, [46] which in the decentralized system of the ARF would play the role of liaison between the Central and Megousi Committees; it would also distribute incoming funds in accordance with the budget determined by the World Congress; and, in a supervisory capacity, it would make sure that the decisions of Rayonagan Congresses and Regional Conventions did not contradict the decisions of the World Congress.

The World Congress preserved the Responsible Body of Armenia, [47] which would act as the central executive body of the Yergir and all the organizational regions subject to it. For understandable reasons, the method of its election and the location of its headquarters were replaced by ellipses in the booklet containing the decisions of the Congress. [48]

Clearly, however, it would be elected during the Rayonagan Congress of the Yergir at which the representatives of the Central Committee Regions of Armenia, other Soviet states, and Adrbadagan would be present. [49] Its

46 / The following were elected members of the ARF Bureau: Roupen Der Minasian, Simon Vratsian, Arshag Jamalian, Shavarsh Misakian and Shahan Nataii.

47 / The Tenth World Congress "expresses its satisfaction about activities carried out, in very serious circumstances, by the bodies and comrades of the Yergir, ever faithful to Party traditions and spirit of self-sacrifice, safeguarding the prestige of the ARF and the influence of its ideas on our people". See "EXTRACTS FROM THE DECISIONS OF THE TENTH WORLD CONGRESS", Geneva, 1925, p. 19 (*).

48 / See "ORGANIZATIONAL BYLAWS" (ratified by the Tenth World Congress), Geneva, 1925, p. 8, articles 30 and 31; p. 13, art. 66.

49 / Ibid., p. 10, art. 40.

0 60 150 km

responsibilities included managing the organizational affairs of Armenia and the neighboring countries, with the decisions of the World Congress as its guidelines; assuring that the decisions of the Rayonagan and World Congresses were being consistently followed; acting as the liaison between the organizational bodies of the Yergir and neighboring countries; periodically reporting to the Bureau; distributing funds and watching over the accounts of subordinate bodies; etc. Only "while resolving issues unforeseen by the World Congress does the Responsible Body of Armenia operate according to the directives of the Bureau". (50)

After affirming that the catastrophic events of Constantinople, Smyrna, and Cilicia had prevented the natural growth and consolidation of the ranks, and after noting that despite such conditions certain accomplishments had taken place, the Tenth World Congress of the ARF decided that 1925 was to be a year for internal work and reorganization. Thus, it decided to expend special efforts in regard to the workers and the generation of orphans scattered throughout the new communities, especially Greece, Syria, and France. Moreover, it decided to limit bureaucratic activity to the benefit of actual organizational work, further deciding not to allow the intellectual and financial resources of the Party to be drained in the conduct of various community and public affairs. As for "Special Operations", the World Congress considered the activities of the previous term "sufficient and successful". The new decisions of the Congress appear as ellipses. (51)

Also, the Organizational By-Laws ratified by the Tenth World Congress still form the basis of ARF structure: Central, Megousi, and sometimes Arantsnagi (Isolated) Committees, operating in different countries on the principle of decentralization, each with its internal sub-structures — Khoump

(group), Yentagomideh (subcommittee), and Gomideh, (committee) — with the ARF Bureau as the central executive body that binds them all. The Organizational By-Laws published by subsequent World Congresses brought only minor changes to the By-Laws of 1925.

With the Tenth World Congress, the first chapter of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation's history — the period of active struggle for liberation — came to an end. It was a struggle that on the whole brought honor to the Armenian people and the Dashnaktsutiun; a chapter that had begun with the simple demand for reforms and concluded with the eternal vision of a United, Free, and Independent Armenia; one of the most heroic periods in Armenian History, consecrated with the sacrifice of thousands of dedicated, selfless heroes known and unknown; a time "that defined us before the world and even ourselves". (52)

The period of activities in the Dispersion — a new chapter in the history of the ARF — was beginning. However, it lies outside the present subject.

50 / Dasnabedian, Hratch, op. cit., p. 135.

51 / See "EXTRACTS FROM THE DECISIONS OF THE TENTH WORLD CONGRESS", Geneva, 1925, p. 32 (*).

52 / Pastermadjian, Hrant, "HISTORY OF ARMENIA", Paris, 1964, last page (431) (*).



Seal of the ARF Supreme Judicial Court, around 1920.

Kristapor Mikayelian with the young activist Roubina Areshian.



Chronologies

History of the Armenians

1860 The writings of Apovian, Khrimian, Nalbandlan, Beshiktashlian and many other "pioneers" have already radicalized the cultural movement, at first mainly in Constantinople.

1862 The first Zeytoun Uprising takes place and there is further radicalization within the Armenian intelligentsia.

1863 The National Constitution of Armenians in Turkey is proclaimed.

1868 Protest petitions from the Daron peasantry are submitted to the Sublime Porte.

1869 Mgrdich Khrimian is elected patriarch of Constantinople.

1872 A new report on oppression in Armenia is sent to the Sublime Porte. A year later, Khrimian resigns. The clandestine Salvation in Union Organization is founded in Garin.

1874 The Kevorkian Seminary/College is founded in Echmiadzin.

1875 A second uprising in Zeytoun takes place.

1876 Sultan Abdul-Hamid II comes to the throne and proclaims an Ottoman Constitution (never implemented).
The Ketronagan College in Constantinople is founded.

1877-78 The Russo-Turkish War ends with the Russian victory and the Treaty of San Stefano, which ratifies the annexation of Kars-Ardahan-Batum to Russia. It also contains a clause committing Turkey to reforms in the Armenian provinces.

1878 After a diplomatic offensive, at the Berlin Conference, the other European powers neutralize the Russian acquisitions. Among other things, the Treaty of Berlin

dilutes the guarantees made to the Armenians, who soon become aware of the inconveniences of diplomacy not supported by military strength. (Khrimian's "iron ladle" speech in Constantinople on his return from Berlin).

1879 The Normal School in Van is founded. At the Varak monastery, Khrimian in turn becomes a teacher.
Clandestine patriotic groups begin to form.

1880 The novelist Raffi publishes *The Mad One* (Khentuh), in which the characters anticipate the Armenian revolutionaries.
Miatsial Ungeroutiun, (United Association), is founded in Constantinople.

1880 and ensuing years / There is patriotic agitation in Daron. Khrimian's cultural and political activities take place.

1881 Bashdban Hayreniats, the Defenders of The Homeland movement, also called the Upper Armenian Secret Society, is founded in Erzurum (Garin).
The Union of Patriots is founded in Moscow.

1882 After denunciation, the Bashdban Hayreniats network is dismantled. There are more than 400 arrests and two mass trials in 1883. The entire Armenian world is deeply shaken.

1883 and following years / Small, well-organized groups are at work in Yerevan, Tbilisi, Baku and Shoushi.
The periodical *Azadoutian Avedaper* is published by students in Moscow.

1885 The first closing of Armenian schools in the Caucasus takes place.
The regime becomes particularly Armenophobic with the advent of Czar Alexander III.
The review *Armenia* is founded in Marseilles by Mgrdich Portugalian, exiled from Van for patriotic activities. Portugalian's students and sympathizers found the Armenagan Party in Van and a branch in Salmasd. Arapo, Mkho and Markar Varzhabed move underground and work vigorously to radicalize the patriotic movement in the villages of Daron.

1887 An Armenian Revolutionary Association is formed in Constantinople. The Hnchak Social-Democrat Party is founded in

Geneva, where it publishes a journal of the same name.

1887 **and following years in Turkish Armenia** / Houno in Alashgerd, Shamil in Upper Armenia, Dersimi Keri and Kalousd Arkhanian in the Yerznga (Erzincan) region become proficient in clandestine operations.

1888 Kristapor Mikayelian organizes the Yeridasart Hayastan (Young Armenia) movement in Tbilisi. It is to be the core of the future Federation of Armenian Revolutionaries.

1889 **May** / Vartan Koloshian and Hovhannes Akribasian are killed in a skirmish on the Turkish-Iranian border. They are the first martyrs of the Armenian revolution.

1890 **July-August** / Tbilisi: the congress which founded the Federation of Armenian Revolutionaries is held, the focal point being Kristapor Mikayelian. After the congress, propagandists and organizers are sent to the various regions of Western Armenia.

October / Trebizond: Simon Zavarian and Hovsep Ishkhan Arghoutian arrive and after a few months are arrested, tried and expelled from the area.

1890 **Spring** / The young patriot Sarkis Gougounian forms a contingent to "free" Western Armenia. The enterprise fails and Gougounian and half of his men, 50 in all, are imprisoned in Kars.

June / Agitation, unrest and a wave of arrests take place in Erzurum (Garin).

July-August / Yeridasart Hayastan and certain other groups come together and found the Federation of Armenian Revolutionaries. The Hnchaks join but leave the Federation soon after. A Hnchak demonstration is held in Kum-Kapu (Constantinople)

1891 **First months** / Tabriz: Kalousd Aloyan arrives and is joined later by Nigol-Douman, Hovsep Ishkhan Arghoutian, Hovnan Tavtian and others.

Same period / Van: Aleksandr Bedrosian (Bedo) settles in the region.

Other activists representing the ARF settle in provinces throughout Western Armenia and the bordering regions.

Young Stepan Zorian (Rosdom) joins the other leaders in Tbilisi.

May / The Hnchak Party leaves the Federation.

Same month / Tbilisi: the first issue of *Droshak* is published in secrecy and Kristapor Mikayelian is arrested by the Czarist police and exiled to Bessarabia.

1891 The Hnchak network is extended as far as Asia Minor, Pontus and Constantinople.

September / One of the first Dashnaktsakan Khmpabeds (group leaders), Houno (Haroutiun Agha), is killed during a skirmish in the Alashgerd (Eleshkirt) region.

Tbilisi: the second issue of *Droshak* appears, still clandestine.

During the course of the year / Turko-Persian border: Zakki (Father Pakrad Tavakalian) settles in the ruins of the Derik monastery.

Same year: / Tabriz: the ARF gunsmith's workshop is founded and Kalousd Aloyan and Sevkaretsi Sako set up their clandestine arms and ammunition network.

1892 **February** / Galats (Rumania): the third issue of *Droshak* is published by Kristapor Mikayelian and Simon Zavarian.

1892 Mgrdich Khrimian is elected Catholicos of All Armenians, in Echmiadzin.

Early autumn / Tbilisi: the First World Congress of the ARF is held and the Federation of Armenian Revolutionaries officially becomes the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, a decentralized but united Party. The Bylaws and first Program are drawn up. The Tbilisi and Tabriz Bureaus are set up.

December / Tbilisi: arrests (including Simon Zavarian) after the funeral of Krikor Ardzrouni.

Constantinople: Hovhannes Yousoufian lays the foundations of the Dashnaktsakan organization in the Ottoman capital.

1893 **January** / Paghesh: the Dashnaktsakan fedayee leader Markar Varzhabed is arrested, tried and hanged.

1893 Gougounian and comrades are tried. The sentences inflicted are heavy (Siberia). Patriotic emotion seizes Transcaucasia.

Same month / Kars: first contacts are made by the Hnchak Mourad with Dashnaktsakan leaders with the objective of procuring arms.

March / Geneva: Stepan Zorian (Rosdom) organizes the editorial staff and printing shop for *Droshak* and the fourth issue is published.

Early autumn / Daron: Arapo is killed in a violent skirmish with Turkish troops.

November / Geneva: the fifth issue of *Droshak* is published.

1894 **January** / Geneva: *Droshak* no. 6. Rosdom is assisted by Mikayel Hovhannisian (Varantian), Hovnan Tavtian and others.

Spring / Kars: after Mourad, Armenag (Hrayr Tzhokhk) meets and cooperates with ARF leaders.

May / Constantinople: a long series of punitive initiatives begins against Armenian spies and traitors collaborating with the government.

August / Sasoun is besieged by the regular and *hamidiye* troops and there is fierce fighting under the command of Mourad. Short of ammunition, the combatants have to surrender. They are subsequently massacred. Mourad is arrested, tried and sent to jail.

Geneva: the ARF Program drawn up two years previously is published in *Droshak*.

Autumn / Aram Aramian (Tatoul) is working in Sasoun. He will be assisted, and then replaced, by Apro.

End of year / Bulgaria: the Dashnaktsakan network in the Balkans is set up.

1894 A Hnchak insurrection takes place in Sasoun. The schedule of reforms "imposed" on Abdul-Hamid II by European diplomacy is launched but will not be implemented. Indeed, the Red Sultan has received guarantees that will allow him to act freely. The Kurdish hamidiye regiments, specially conceived to exterminate the Armenians, are activated.

1895 **Beginning** / Tbilisi: the Eastern Rayonagan Congress is held. It eliminates the Tabriz Bureau and recommends a two-pole structure for the ARF, with Eastern and Western Bureaus.

May / Rosdom takes temporary leave from his job as editor of *Droshak*. Consultations in Kars and meetings with Armenag (Hrayr Tzhokhk) and the other leaders. The groups running arms relay routes will gradually increase in number (Jallad, Dourpakh, Tatoul, Hrayr). Rosdom organizes the self-defense of Garin (Erzurum) during the massacres.

September / Constantinople: the Central Committee condemns the Babi Ali demonstration organized by the Hnchaks along with their counterproductive sectarian posture.

October / Baku: Kristapor Mikayelian is arrested, held in prison for six months and then kept under surveillance.

Akhlat: Serop Vartanian, at the head of an elite armed group, becomes famous as Aghpiur-Serop.

1895 There is a Hnchak demonstration in Constantinople (Babi Ali).
The great massacres ordered by Abdul-Hamid II begin and go on until autumn 1896.

1895-96 For the third time, Zeytoun rises in self-defense, inadequately led by the Hnchak propagandists.

Massacre at Paghesh. Attempted massacre at Khnous, foiled by the self-defense organized by Dourpakh.

Kars: Armenag (Hrayr Tzhokhk) joins the ARF New contingents are armed and sent to Sasoun.

November / Constantinople: Hovhannes Yousoufian leaves for Geneva. Arshag Vramian takes his place for a year.

1896 **Early summer** / Kars: consultations among the military leaders. Shortly after, Tatoul and Hrayr are arrested in Pasen. Tatoul is imprisoned and will be hanged three years later.

June / Van: harsh self-defensive fighting. After evacuating the city, Bedo, Avedisian and Mardig, and a thousand of their unarmed men, are massacred as they attempt to cross the Iranian border.

Same month / Region of Van: the Turkish endeavor to extend the massacres around Van is only partially successful. Shadakh is successfully defended under the command of Vartan Mehrabian.

Spring-summer / Constantinople: combatants and arms are amassed by the Central Committee with a view to an "important military enterprise".

July / First official contacts with the Socialist International: the ARF submits a report-appeal to the Fourth Congress, held in London.

Summer / The epic events of Derik come to an end. After the last battles, led by Nigol-Douman, the fortified monastery is destroyed by the Persian authorities under Turkish pressure.

Mid-August / The Ottoman Bank is occupied after an armed attack. The fighting is very bloody. The Bank is evacuated after the intervention of European ambassadors. The occupants — some 25 fedayees — are allowed to leave the Empire, but the formal promise of reforms remains a dead letter. That same day and the following day, bombs are thrown and fierce fighting breaks out elsewhere in the capital, especially in the Samatia district.

September / Van: the Bsdig Tebk, or little battles, of Van are fought. There are also

1896 Van defends itself, led by the Armenagan Party (Avedislan), the ARF (Bedo) and the Hnchak Party (Mardig). The Armenagan Party virtually ceases to exist after this date. The Hnchak Party explodes as a result of internal pressures and ideological and organizational contradictions.

skirmishes and battles elsewhere in the region.

October / Geneva: Sultan Abdul-Hamid II makes his first attempts to neutralize the ARF using negotiations (envoys sent by Haroutiun Pasha Dadian, the Ottoman statesman). The ARF puts an end to these talks two years later.

End of the year / Yousoufian goes to America and organizes the Dashnaktsakan network in the Armenian community. He very quickly convenes a Regional Convention and sets up a dynamic Region.

End of December / The Eastern Rayonagan Congress is held. The decisions include military concentration in Sasoun, the Khanasor Expedition and the organization of Dersim and Cilicia.

1897 **June** / Geneva: conversations with the Hnchaks begin on the initiative of a well-meaning Hnchak, with a view to eventually linking up with Dashnaktsutiun. Three years later, the ARF ends these conversations, given the disarray of the discredited Hnchaks.

July / Akhlat: Kourken (Baghdasar Maliants) arrives and, until his death two years later, plays an essential role in the organization of Akhlat, Moush and Sasoun.

Turkish-Persian border: the punitive Khanasor Expedition takes place against the Mazrik tribe which, the previous year, had massacred the combatants of Van during their retreat toward Salmasd.

August / Constantinople: a bomb attack is made at the Sublime Porte on the anniversary of the occupation of the Ottoman Bank.

End of the year and until the end of 1898 / This is Serop's most active period, aided by Jardar: border crossings, numerous groups, heroic fighting (Khatavin, battle of the Ruined Mill and Papshen).

End of December / The Eastern Rayonagan Congress is held to prepare for the World Congress.

1898 **April-June** / Tbilisi: the Second ARF World Congress is held and is an important stage in giving the Party its final structure. The militant organization in "The Land"

1897 **July** / The punitive Khanasor Expedition takes place.

1899 Small Armenian social-democrat groups begin to appear. They will remain marginal.

(Yergir) is reinforced and propaganda for the Armenian cause is stepped up. There are now two Bureaus and four Responsible Central Committees.

Autumn / Geneva: Kristapor Mikayelian arrives and takes charge of Droshak and European Propaganda. His input will turn out to be essential.

1899 **Summer** / Rosdom, in Philippopolis (Bulgaria), works to consolidate the ARF organization in the Balkans and works on projects with Constantinople, where he stays for a time.

Same period / Cilicia: the region's organization, which began operations the previous year, is brought to a standstill thanks to "Armenian" informers. ARF leaders are arrested or flee.

End of October / Russo-Turkish border: a large contingent of fedayees clashes with troops in Khasdour and withdraws after a violent battle.

Same month / Sasoun: Serop, denounced and moribund (poisoned), is killed by Turkish troops. His family and followers are massacred, arrested or dispersed.

November and following July / Turkish Blockade, violent fighting and destruction in the village of Sbaghank. The main target of the blockade, the fedayee Magar, fights and escapes from the besiegers.

1900 **First months** / Van: Vartkes Serengiulian arrives and works productively for three years until his arrest.

April to September / Kevork Chavoush and Antranig execute the Armenian informers on Serop, along with his killer, Bshareh Khalil.

Summer / Paris: on the occasion of the International Exhibition, there is a great propaganda drive for the Armenian cause (organized by Kristapor Mikayelian) which leads to pro-Armenian resolutions at numerous congresses and parliaments throughout Europe.

November / Paris: *Pro Armenia* begins publication. The initiative and finances come from the ARF. The editorial team is led by Pierre Quillard and includes other friends of the Armenian Cause.

1901 **First months** / Hrayr attempts to redirect the Party's activities in the Daron-Sasoun region toward popular organization. There is reticence among the fedayees, convinced that their "military" line is correct.

April / Bulgaria: the conference of the Body Representing the Will of the Dashnaktsutiun takes place. Between two World Congresses, this conference acts as the Party's supreme organ. A fundamental decision is made: the Potorig Operation is initiated. Its aim is fund-raising by force and it is intended to solve the Party's chronic financial difficulties. New leaders are appointed to organizational bodies to replace those fallen or taken prisoner.

Same period / After consolidating the ARF network in Cilicia, Dashnaktsakan operatives organize the Regions of Kharpert, Arapgir and Yerznga (Erzincan), among others.

Summer / Sasoun: the female peasants foil a fresh Turkish attempt to erect barracks. During the whole summer, there are nighttime "visits" and intimidation attacks carried out by Kevork Chavoush against the troops and Kurds.

Smyrna (Izmir): the local network begins operations, with a Central Committee set up by Hrach.

Adrianople: there is an armed skirmish between an Armeno-Macedonian band and the Turkish troops. The survivors, including Bedros Seremjian, are taken prisoner and hanged a few months later.

Leaving Geneva and passing by Berlin, where he meets A. Bebel, Kristapor Mikayelian goes to Baku. He explains the Party's position in the face of ideological controversies launched by the Russian and Armenian social democrats (Shahoumian) and then settles down to work on the Potorig Operation, which lasts about two years.

1902 **Spring** / Via Salmasd-Van, where he has discussions with Vartkes and Hrayr, Vahan Doghramajian arrives in Sasoun. With Hrayr, he runs the region for two years before leading the self-defensive insurrection of 1904.

Summer / Brussels: an international con-

ference on the Armenian cause is organized by *Pro Armenia*.

Summer-autumn / New transit routes are opened up: Yerevan-Khnous-Sasoun (the Shant team and border operatives). The Kars-Sasoun route is kept open by Hrayr and Menag.

Via Salmasd-Van, Ashod-Yergat (Armenag Levonian) goes to Akhlat where he works until his death two years later, in a skirmish, while returning from the World Congress.

1903 **First months** / Vartan Shahbaz comes down from the mountains to Van and organizes the execution of the traitors who informed on Vartkes.

1903 The property of the Armenian Church is appropriated by Russian authorities.

February / Paris: a large popular political meeting in favor of the Armenians and Macedonians takes place. Similar meetings are held elsewhere in Europe during the year.

May / Sasoun: a whole contingent, the Mrrig Formation, arrives safe and sound. It is led by Torkom (Touman Toumiants).

June / Yerznga (Erzincan): Dersimi Keri (Roupen Shishmanian) is hanged after three years in prison.

Tbilisi: the Russian imperial ukase (decree) expropriating the Armenian Church of its properties is published. It opens the Armenian liberation struggle onto a new front: the Caucasus.

July-August / protest demonstrations (some of them very bloody) are organized by the ARF and held throughout Transcaucasia. Following direction given by the Party, Catholicos Khrimian refuses to subscribe to the imperial decree.

Mid-September / Russo-Turkish border: two fedayee formations, led by Nevrouz and Khan (Parsegh Tiriakian), are exterminated while headed for Sasoun.

Van: Vana Ishkhan and Goms (Vahan Papazian) arrive disguised as peasants. One settles in the mountains south of Lake Van; the other in Van. Both work there for several years.

1904 **First months** / Alexandropol: a Russian arms depot is thoroughly sacked by Vagho and Pitsa.

1904 The Sasoun insurrection, led by the ARF, takes place.

February-March / Sofia: the Third World Congress of the ARF is held. The objectives laid down in 1898 are confirmed. It is decided to assassinate the Red Sultan and the Tsoutsagan Marmin (Demonstrative Body) is set up. It is decided to take on the self-defense of the Armenians in the Caucasus against Czarist oppression.

From April / A campaign of protests and interventions in European parliaments is promoted by the Western Bureau and *Pro Armenia*. The aim is to give advance warning of the repression in Sasoun and, later, to alleviate it.

April or May / Alexandropol: military consultations are held to organize help for besieged Sasoun. Simon Zavarian, Ashod-Yergat, Kayl-Vahan, Gaydzag Vagharshag and Sergei (Aram Manougian) are among those present.

April and July / Tbilisi: two important Eastern Rayonagan Congresses are held alongside the complementary elections of the Eastern Bureau.

May-June / Sasoun: in spite of Hrayr's and Vahan's efforts, government provocation leads to general conflict. Violent battles rage for more than three weeks and end only when ammunition runs out. Led by the fedayees, the population is evacuated toward Moush. There are numerous victims and martyrs, including Hrayr and Vahan.

June / Russo-Turkish border: the fedayee contingent led by Torkom is almost completely eliminated. The contingent led by Gaydzag Vagharshag shares the same fate. The Russian colonel of the garrison responsible for the massacre will later be assassinated by Dashnaktsakan justice.

July / Border in the Yerevan region: Kayl-Vahan and Mihran lead a punitive expedition against two Turkish garrisons.

July-August / The fedayees decide to quit Daron, leaving behind a small team under the command of Kevork. They leave via Van (battle on the island of Aghtamar).

Athens: a session of the Tsoutsagan Body is held and the plan to assassinate Abdul-Hamid II is worked out.

September-October / Daron: Kevork

June / A remarkable intervention is made by Francis de Pressensé, political friend of the Armenians, by extensively questioning Minister Delcassé in the French National Assembly.

Chavoush and Goriun take the situation in hand, raise up collective morale and preach unarmed popular resistance. Nighttime "sorties" are made to intimidate the enemy. There are a few inevitable battles.

Constantinople: certain members of the Tsoutsagan Body, including Kristapor Mikayelian, arrive secretly to prepare the assassination attempt against Abdul-Hamid II. It is decided to use a coach filled with explosives.

October / Salmasd-Van: after incidents make it dangerous to continue frequent visits to Van, the extermination of Pokhig's band discredits once and for all the methods adopted by the arms shipment teams. The gradual adoption of the so-called "absorption system" is begun. Leaders, organizers and propagandists will henceforth often travel in disguise.

Sergei (Aram Manougian) goes to Van via Salmasd and begins a long and exceptional revolutionary and political career.

1905 **February** / Geneva: sittings of the ARF Council are held to work on the Plan of Action for Transcaucasia. The meetings are continued until April in Tbilisi.

Transcaucasia: beginning in Baku, the anti-Armenian pogroms devised by the Czarist authorities and executed by the reaction of the Tatars stain nearly all the towns with blood. After initial surprise, the ARF organizes Armenian self-defense, which is brilliant and decisive.

March / Near Sofia: Kristapor Mikayelian is killed while handling the explosives intended for use against the Sultan. Safo takes over command of the Tsoutsagan Body.

May / Roupen Der Minasian arrives in Van and begins a long career, first in mountainous Vasbouragan and then in Daron.

Baku: Nakashidze the prefect is slain by the avenger Dro (Drastamat Ganayian) for the part he played in organizing the Armeno-Tatar confrontations.

July / Constantinople: a bloody assassination attempt is made on the Red Sultan, who is unharmed. The "author" will be identified only some time later.

1905-6 Anti-Armenian pogroms in Transcaucasia by Azeri-Tatars.

During the course of the year / Simon Zavarian founds the ARF Student Organization in Beirut. He conducts a long reconnaissance and organization mission in Amanus and Cilicia.

1906 **June** / Traveling via Salmasd-Thade, Sarkis Parseghian and Malkhas arrive in Van, where they will work for a long time.

1906 The Armenian General Benevolent Union is founded in Egypt.

July / Roupen Der Minasian is in Daron.

October / Bulgaria: the ARF Military School starts operating.

1907 **February-April** / Vienna: the Fourth World Congress of the ARF is held. The 1894 Program is modified: socialist theses are updated and new emphasis is placed on the urgency and specific nature of the national problem. Ratification of the struggle on two fronts: Ottoman and Caucasian, with parallel strategic objectives — national autonomy. It is decided to take part in the Iranian revolutionary movement. There are negligible separatist tendencies on the right and left wings of the organization.

End of May / The battle of Souloukh in the plainland of Moush is led by Roupen and Kevork Chavoush, who is killed at the same time as the Ottoman military leader Keoseh Binbashi.

July / Tbilisi: an important Rayonagan Congress is held. The after-effects of the "separatist" problem are eliminated.

Summer / Stuttgart: the Socialist International welcomes the ARF ("Eastern" section) as an Armenian Socialist party.

December / Paris: a congress of the opposition forces of the Ottoman Empire is organized by the ARF.

1908 **First months** / Tehran: negotiations between Rosdom and the Iranian Mejlis. The alliance between the ARF and the constitutional Iranian forces is implemented.

1908 Just after the proclamation of the Ottoman Constitution, the Liberal-Constitutional Party is founded (later known as Ramgavar Liberal). M. Izmirlian is re-elected patriarch of Constantinople.

February / The Turkish government makes a clean sweep of the ARF's main arms dumps in Vasbouragan. There are a number of arrests. The informer is eventually executed.

March / Tbilisi: the ARF Council meets and discusses an important agenda.

April / Geneva: the First General Congress of the ARF Student Organization of Europe is held.

July / The Ottoman Constitution is proclaimed. Large numbers of fedayees and leaders return home. There is much (provisional) fraternization and enthusiasm between Armenians and Turks. There is also a good deal of distrust.

October / Brussels: the "Ottoman" section of the ARF is also admitted to the Socialist International.

End / Transcaucasia: already underway for a few months, the Czarist anti-ARF persecutions have already sent hundreds of Dashnaktsakans to prison. There is a return to total clandestinity in the Transcaucasus.

1909 **April** / Tbilisi: a congress of the executive bodies of the east is held to decide what to do about the anti-Dashnaktsakan persecutions.

June / Yeprem Khan occupies Tehran and restores the constitutional regime.

September / Varna: the Fifth ARF World Congress is held and the Party works on a new Ottoman policy.

1910 **August-September** / Copenhagen: the Eighth Congress of the Socialist International is held. The ARF is represented by its two sections, with four votes.

1911 **August-September** / Constantinople: the Sixth ARF World Congress is held and restricts discussion to the problems faced by the western regions of the Party, who are the only ones present.

Final months / The Trial of the Dashnaktsutiuns is held in St. Petersburg. Numerous verdicts are pronounced, but they are less serious than expected. The moral failure of the regime is disclosed.

1912 **May** / Constantinople: the alliance with the ruling Ittihad Committee is broken off and announced to the latter by a memorandum, as previously laid down by the Sixth World Congress.

June / Yeprem Khan is killed on the battlefield in Iran.

1909 Massacres occur in Cilicia (Adana).

1912 The Armenian Question is re-launched by the Intervention of Russian diplomacy.

December / Paris: after a four-year interruption, *Pro Armenia* reappears with the title *For the Peoples of the East*. In 1913, the review will resume its original title.

1913 **August** / Erzurum (Garin): the Seventh ARF World Congress is held. The main item on the agenda is reforms in Turkish Armenia. For organizational purposes, the Bureau of Armenia is created and will later replace the Western Bureau.

October / Constantinople: sudden death of Simon Zavarian, the "secular saint" of Dashnaktsutiun.

1914 **March** / Berlin: sessions of the ARF Council are held. The agenda includes the situation of the Armenians in the current regional-international context.

July-August / Erzurum (Garin): the Elghth ARF World Congress is held and is short. On the agenda are reforms in Armenia, self-defense and the War. After the Congress, there is an underhanded attempt by Ittihad to renew the broken-off agreement.

September / A Rayonagan Congress is held in Tbillsi and finally decides to create volunteer corps to fight alongside the Russian army.

Final months and early 1915 / The Caucasus Armenian Volunteer Units are set up: six brigades, all led by ARF officers.

1914 **First months** / Efforts to implement Ottoman reforms succeed. The powers, Russia at their head, agree to appoint two European commissioners and send them to the Armenian provinces. But World War I breaks out, Turkey goes to war and the reforms are shelved. The commissioners are sent back.

1915 **Early April** / ARF leaders, organizers and the intelligentsia are arrested throughout Turkey, starting in Constantinople. All will be executed in the following months, except the ones that manage to avoid capture and go underground.

Same days / The self-defense of Van is organized by Aram Manougian and a multi-party Military Council. Meanwhile, in the neighboring Shadakh region, self-defense fighting begins under the command of ARF leaders and the entire population is saved.

April to September / Sporadic self-defense fighting breaks out during the massacres on the plains of Moush. Meanwhile, ARF fedayees and leaders fight on in Sasoun, waiting in vain for the Russian troops.

1915 **First months** / Repressive measures are taken by the Ittihad-controlled government while preparations are made for massacres and deportation. The Turkish armies face disaster on the Caucasian front.

Early April / Van rises in self-defense after the assassination of Vana Ishkhan and Vramian.

April 11, or 24 according to the new calendar and following days / Hundreds of intellectuals, men of letters and political leaders are arrested in Constantinople. They will be taken to the interior and exterminated.

May-July / On-site extermination of Armenians in the eastern vilayets.

End of September and October Desperate self-defense of Urfa organized and led by the local ARF Committee.

June 15 / 20 Hnchak leaders are hanged in Constantinople after being denounced by one of their comrades.

June-October / Armenians, refusing to join the "caravans of death", fight in self-defense, often desperately. After Van and Shadakh, it is the turn of Shabin-Karahisar, Sasoun, Musa-Dagh and Urfa. in other regions (Amanus, Hamshen in Pontus) groups go into hiding in the mountains and remain underground until the armistice in 1918.

August-December / The Armenian populations of centrai and Western Anatolia and Cilicia are deported to the deserts of Syria.

1916 **End and until May 1917** / Executive Bodies and Regions of the ARF reorganize in the Russian-occupied Armenian provinces, from Erzurum (Garin) to Moush-Sasoun, Van and so on. A Body appointed by the ARF Bureaus supervises them.

1916 **the whole year** / The deportation of Armenians to the desert continues. They are duly exterminated by massacres, epidemics, privation and artificial famine. Russian troops and Armenian regiments occupy most of Western Armenia. Resistance workers and survivors are saved.

1917 **April** / Thanks to the facilitation of the provisional Russian government, the survivors of the eastern vilayets, now refugees in Transcaucasia, return home. The National Council and Executive Body of the Western Armenians are set up in Yerevan. Dr. Zavriev is named vice-governor of Western Armenia.

September / The National Council and Executive Body of the Western Armenians are elected in Tbilisi.

December / The Armenian Army Corps is formed and General Nazarbegian is appointed its commander-in-chief.

1918 **First months** / The final exodus of the Western Armenian population toward Yerevan begins, alongside the Russian retreat. ARF armed forces lead and protect it.

Early March / The Baku National Council in the already isolated town organizes available Armenian forces, led by Dashnaktsutiun.

End of April / The Baku Soviet is constituted under the Bolsheviks (Shahou-

1918 **First months** / Hostilities on the Transcaucasian front are resumed by the Turks. A new and final exodus of refugees who had returned to Western Armenia.

March / The Bolsheviks abandon the Caucasian front and Western Armenia after the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, which assigns all Armenian territories (including Kars-Ardahan) to Turkey.

April / The Federal Republic of Transcaucasia is proclaimed.

mian), but the armed forces are practically ali from the ARF.

Early May / ARF armed forces occupy the citadel of Talin, a Tatar stronghold in the heart of the Ararat region. Refugees from Daron-Sasoun will soon arrive and settle there.

End of May / Decisive self-defense action at Sardarabad led by the ARF and the "dictator" Aram Manougian is carried out around Yerevan. Independence is proclaimed.

End of July / The "Dictatorship" of Baku replaces the Soviet, which has deserted. For about 40 days, the Armenian forces (Rosdom, Apraham Giulkhandanian, Hamazasb and others) resist the Turkish-Tatar onslaught. Sepasdatsi Mourad dies on the field of honor. After the city is taken, the civilian population is massacred.

May 24 / The Armenians are victorious at Sardarabad. In the days that follow, Transcaucasia is divided into three republics.

May 28 / Armenian independence is proclaimed by the National Council.

June 4 / The Armeno-Turkish Treaty is signed in Batum.

June-mid-September (from April, in effect) Baku is defended by Armenian forces.

August / The Parliament of Armenia is inaugurated in Yerevan.

September / The Eastern Legion (Armenians under allied command) is victorious over the Turks at Arara, in Palestine.

October 30 / With the Mudros armistice, the Armenian Republic obtains territories that make it viable.

December / An act of the Kachaznouni government makes Armenian the official language of the republic. Fighting breaks out on the Armeno-Georgian border and goes in favor of the Armenian forces; British intervention and "arbitration". Cilicia is evacuated by the Turks. The Armenians exiled in Cilicia return home (for a short time).

1919 **January** / Yerevan and Tbilisi, respectively: a few days from one another, Aram Manougian and Rosdom (Stepan Zorian) die in the typhus epidemic.

September-October / The Ninth ARF World Congress is held in Yerevan. Independent and United Armenia is proclaimed as a basic strategic objective. It reorganized the Party structures (one single Executive Bureau). Operation Nemesis, aimed at punishing the criminals of the Genocide, is started up.

Last months / The ARF Bureau reorganizes the Party according to new geographic and political factors.

1919 **April** / There is Armeno-Tatar fighting around Gharabagh-Zankezour. American aid starts to brake the famine. The Khadisian government replaces the one headed by Kachaznouni.

End of May / United Armenia is proclaimed in Yerevan.

June / The Armenian parliament is elected by universal suffrage. In unfavorable positions, the Populists and the Social Democrats boycott the elections. Out of 80 deputies, 72 are members of the ARF.

December / Turkish military leader Kemal begins attacking, with the aim of occupying Cilicia.

1920 **January** / On the initiative of the ARF, there is a meeting between the Bureau and H. Nazaretian, secretary of the the Caucasus Bolshevik Bureau. There will be as little consequence to this meeting as

1920 **January** / Marash is evacuated by the French and the Armenians follow them after violent self-defensive fighting. Armenia is officially recognized by the Allies.

there has been to previous ARF initiatives.

Early May / The ARF Bureau takes government over from the Khadisian cabinet in order to repress the Bolshevik and Turkish-Tatar subversion.

May-August / After a quick liquidation of the Bolshevik troubles, the ARF armed forces and army clean out the regions occupied by the rebellious Azeri-Tatar population.

A delegation headed by Levon Shant goes to Moscow, but negotiations with the Soviet authorities are sabotaged by the Caucasian Bolsheviks.

Summer-autumn / Under the leadership of K. Nzhdeh, Zankezour rebels against the Turkish-Bolshevik yoke. The entire region is soon liberated.

End of November / The Bureau government resigns and the new cabinet is presided over by Simon Vratsian. There are talks with the victorious Turks and with the Soviets (Legran).

December 2 / The Armeno-Soviet agreement on the one hand, and the treaty of Alexandropol with the Turks on the other, are drawn up.

December / Yerevan: after the arrest or return to the underground of the ARF Bureau and Yerevan Central Committee, the Heghkom unleashes persecutions and other acts of unspeakable violence.

The first University of Armenia is opened in Alexandropol.

March / The population of Gharabagh rises against the conquering Azerbaijanis. Zankezour follows the example three months later.

March-November / Heroic battles take place in the self-defense of Hajin.

May / Bolshevik demonstrations are held in certain cities of Armenia and are followed by a tentative insurrection in Alexandropol.

May 31 / Soviet-Armenian negotiations begin in Moscow.
The United States Senate refuses a proposed mandate over Armenia.

August 10 / The Treaty of Sèvres is signed.

September 23 / The Turkish offensive against the Republic of Armenia begins.

November 29 / Red Army elements invade the northeast border region of the Republic. A Soviet Republic is proclaimed, contrary to the spirit of current Moscow negotiations.

December 2 / The Soviet regime comes to Yerevan. The Treaty of Alexandropol is signed with the Turks.

1921 **From January to mid-February** / The absurd violence of the Heghkom triggers off popular wrath. The dispersed militia and leaders of the ARF re-form and organize a Committee for the Salvation of the Homeland.

February 16-18 / The popular insurrection, eventually led by the Dashnaktsutiun, gives chase to the Heghkom, saves prisoners and frees the country. The Committee for the Salvation of the Homeland becomes the government.

March 16 / Berlin: Soghomon Tehlirian slays Talaat Pasha, leading perpetrator of the Genocide.

Early April / The Red Army occupies Yerevan for a second time, after violent fighting. The government, ARF militia and patriotic intelligentsia fall back on Iran via Zankezour.

April / Bucharest: an ARF conference is convened by Bureau members abroad. A Diasporan responsible Body is created. The fundamental objective of national independence is re-affirmed. The idea of talks with the Soviets is ratified.

June / Soghomon Tehlirian is tried and acquitted.

July / After a year's fighting against the Bolshevik and Azeri-Tatar forces, the government and ARF armed forces of Zanke-

1921 **February 18** / There is a popular revolt against the excesses of the new Soviet power.

March / The Treaty of Moscow replaces (in effect ratifies) the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk.

April / Soviet power returns with the occupation of Yerevan by the Red Army. There is a new, reformed leadership (Miasnikian).

October / The Treaty of Kars ratifies the Soviet territorial concessions to Turkey, all to the detriment of Armenia.

In the course of the year / The Ramgavar Democratic Liberal Party is founded by uniting the various minor branches of the Liberal-Constitutional and Reconstituted Hnchak Parties.

zour (Lernahayastan) fall back toward Iran.

Riga: Talks begin between the ARF and the Russian Communist Party. They are propitious in the early stages but are sabotaged by the Armenian Bolsheviks of Baku.

Constantinople: the second mission of Operation Nemesis is launched. Misak Torlaklan slays Jivanshir, butcher of the Armenians of Baku. He is acquitted.

December / Sayid Halim Pasha, another criminal of the Genocide, is slain in Rome. The avenger, Arshavir Shiragian, evades the police manhunt.

1922 **April** / Berlin: Arshavir Shiragian and Aram Yerganian execute Behaeddin Shakir and Jemal Azmi.

End of July / Tbilisi: Jemal Pasha is eliminated by Stepan Dzaghigian and two comrades in front of the Georgian Cheka headquarters.

1922 **January** / Cilicia is evacuated for good after being offered to Kemal by France.

Same month / The provisional formation of Armenian S.S.R. takes place.

March / A decree is issued by the Armenian S.S.R. "reforming" the official orthography of the Armenian language (but in effect deforming it for political motives).

September / The Smyrna catastrophe takes place and the Greek and Armenian populations are massacred.

December / Armenia is incorporated into the Federal Soviet Republic of Transcaucasia.

1923 **April-May** / Vienna: an extraordinary Congress of the Regions of the Dispersion is held. It decides on cooperation in the reconstruction of Armenia (under the Soviet regime) and ideological opposition to the Soviets but neutrality in international politics. The (clandestine) ARF structures are maintained in Armenia, but there is no hostile activity.

1923 July / The Treaty of Lausanne is ratified. It ignores the Armenian Problem, which remains suspended.

1924 **November-1925 January** / Paris: the Tenth ARF World Congress is held and all the Regions are present, including Armenia. The Vienna decisions are ratified, the regions of the dispersion are consolidated, the bylaws are revised and the decision is taken to recommence publication of *Droshak* in Paris.



Selected biographies of persons mentioned in this work

A

Achukgeozian, Hovagim (Tork)
(?-1907)

Born in Trebizond, Achukgeozian went to the Kevorkian Seminary of Echmiadzin and then into teaching. On the death of his wife in 1896, he devoted himself entirely to the revolution. He went to Batum, visited the Caucasus and then arrived in Varna, where he dealt with teaching and propaganda. In 1898, immediately after the Second World Congress, he returned to the Caucasus and then secretly to Van, where he was denounced and arrested. He was sent to Constantinople and then to the prison at Akia in Tripolitania to serve a life sentence. He remained there for nine years, until, ill and weakened, he died in December 1907, just seven months before the proclamation of the Ottoman Constitution.

Aghbalian, Nigol
(1875-1947)

Born in Tbilisi, Aghbalian studied at the Nersesian College and then at the Kevorkian College (Seminary) in Echmiadzin. He later attended university in Moscow and Lausanne.
In the ranks of the ARF since his youth, he was sent on an organizational mission to Egypt in 1905. From 1909 to 1912, he was director of the Armenian National School in Tehran and a member of the Central Committee. In 1913 Aghbalian was a member of the *Horizon* editorial team in Tbilisi (with Jamalian) and a member of the National Tbilisi Bureau and of the Committee for the Organization of Volunteer Troops in 1914-15. After independence, he was elected a member of parliament and made Minister of Education. Thanks to his efforts, the State University of Alexandropol (Leninakan) was opened on January 31, 1920.
Aghbalian was arrested by the Bolsheviks on February 9, 1921, but was released thanks to the February Uprising ten days later. He crossed into Iran and settled in Alexandria, where he became the school director. In 1928, he was one of the founders of the Hamazkaïn Cultural Association and, with Levon Shant, founded the Association's college in Beirut (1929-30). He remained in Lebanon as a teacher at the Hamazkaïn College and the right-hand man of Levon Shant until his death.
Aghbalian is acknowledged as an erudite philologist and impartial literary critic, gifted with a profound sense of literature and art.

Aharonian, Avedis (Gharib)
(1866-1948)

Born in Ikdir (Ighdir), Aharonian graduated from the Kevorkian College (Seminary) of Echmiadzin in 1886. He was a talented teacher, journalist and author and was very active in literature and society.
While completing his secondary studies in Switzerland at the University of Lausanne in 1898, he worked for *Droshak* under the pseudonym of Gharib and came under the propitious influence of Kristapor, who left a deep

impression on him. He was elected a member of the Western Bureau by the Third World Congress in 1904. Soon back in Tbilisi, he joined the editorial staff of *Mourj* and then *Harach*. He was also appointed director of the Nersesian College in 1907 and also took part in the Fourth World Congress that same year. Arrested during the Leizhin persecutions (1909) as a Dashnaktsakan militant, he was freed in 1911 and settled in Switzerland.

From 1918 to 1921, Aharonian headed the Delegation of the Armenian Republic in Constantinople and then in Paris. In the name of the government of Armenia, he signed the historic Treaty of Sèvres in August 1920. After the loss of independence, Aharonian stayed in France and lived there until his death. In February 1934, while giving a public speech in Marseilles, Aharonian had a stroke which deprived him of the powers of speech and writing. He died on April 20, 1948.

Aloyan, Kalousd (Darvish, Toros)
(?-1914)

Born in Yerevan in the early sixties, he worked for a few years making arms in Tula (Russia) until 1889. After the founding of the Federation of Armenian Revolutionaries, Aloyan set up a gunsmith's shop and depot in Tbilisi. In 1891, with Garo (Arisdakes Zorian) and the armorer Katanian, he founded and started up the Khariskh gunsmith shop in Tabriz. He made numerous trips to Russia to barter for parts of guns and ammunition which he then brought back secretly to Tbilisi and then Tabriz. It was on his initiative that Dashnaktsutiun opted once and for all for the Mossin rifles. Aloyan, who was one of the principal organizers of the Khanasor Expedition, worked in Iranian Azerbaijan, and after 1898, mainly in in Yerevan, where he soon became a central figure in the Party. In 1908, he was back in Iran, where he took part in the first revolutionary battles in Tabriz. He crossed over to Turkey after the proclamation of the Ottoman Constitution and settled in Bayazid, where he was the victim of a cowardly assassination in 1914 while preparing his return to Transcaucasia.

Amirian, Markar (Markar Varzhabed)
(1858-1893)

Born in Vartenis (Daron), Amirian studied at the monastery school of Sourp-Garabed. Back in Vartenis, he built a school and became its teacher (Varzhabed). He visited the Caucasus and Constantinople, where he was encouraged and aided by Krikor Ardzrouni, the novelist Raffi and Khrimian Hayrig. On his return, he too engaged in revolutionary propaganda. In 1890, during a Kurdish attack, Amirian organized and commanded the resistance of Vartenis. He then went into hiding and joined up with a large number of young men thirsting for freedom. He went back to the Caucasus, joined the Federation of Armenian Revolutionaries and started arms shipments toward Daron and Sasoun. At this time he met Arapo and the two coordinated their activities. In autumn 1892, however, Markar Varzhabed was arrested in the village of Azvoud (Daron) and shut up in the prison of Bitlis. After unspeakable torture, he was hanged in Bitlis on January 27, 1893.

Amseyan, Dikran (Fered Jemil, Dikran Zamhour)
(?-1921)

Born in Sghert, Zamhour studied at the Sanasarian College of Erzurum. He became a Dashnaktsakan and a teacher first in Sghert, from 1908 at the Ardznian School in Erzurum, and finally at Bardizag, near Izmit. Arrested in 1915, he was exiled to Konya. With few friends, he managed to keep body and soul together until the armistice, and then went to Independent Armenia, where he dealt with public and political matters. On February 18, 1921, when the insurgents were chasing the Bolsheviks out of Yerevan, Zamhour was shot dead just when he was raising the Armenian tricolor flag on the roof of the parliament building.

Antreasian, Ardashes (Souren)
(?-1896)

Born in Samatia, a district of Constantinople, Antreasian left the local school and was sent to the Kevorkian College of Echmiadzin in the eighties. He returned in 1891 after student troubles. He was persuaded to join the Dashnaktsutiun by Yousoufian, set up the Zoh (sacrifice) group of combatants and became an outstanding member of the Samatia Committee of the ARF. With Khachig Knouni and Ardashes Misakian, he organized the bloody demonstration in Samatia of August 15, 1896, during which all three were killed.

Arakelian, Isajan
(1880?-1903)

Born in Gharabagh, Arakelian went to the municipal school of Shoushi, where his schoolmates included Torkom, Menag and the future Vana Ishkhan. He was a volunteer in the Russian army, which he left with the rank of officer in the reserves. He was in Baku in 1901 working as a propagandist in officer circles and then went to Kars like his old school friends and became an organizer. In April 1903, he made a tour of Pasen. On August 29 the same year, he was the victim in Kars of a violent outbreak of fire during experiments with dynamite. Four other young militants perished with him: Hovhannes Nahikian, a recent arrival from America, Boghos Boghosian, Vartan Donoyian and Rodostatsi Sarkis.

Aramian, Aram (Ashod, Tatoul)
(1870-1899)

Born in Garin (Erzurum), Aramian was one of the most courageous and dynamic agents during the first decade of the ARF. During the First Congress (1892) he fervently defended his proposal for individual terrorism and revolutionary tactics (the Congress rejected the proposal). From 1894 onward, he worked with Hrayr in the Kars and Pasen regions, arming the Armenian population and setting up safe relays for the passage of armed groups of revolutionaries from Kars to Sasoun. Tatoul was also one of the first Dashnaktsakan organizers in Sasoun. In July 1896, Hrayr and Tatoul were arrested in Kpri-khoy (Pasen) but Hrayr was soon released while Tatoul was imprisoned in Erzurum. The young revolutionary nevertheless found ways of

corresponding from prison with the Garin, Daron and Kars Committees and with the Tbilisi Bureau. Tatoul was hanged on August 9, 1899.

Arapo
(1863?-1893)

In 1885, two chiefs of insurgent bands were active in Sasoun and the plainland of Moush: Arapo and Derekvanktsi Mkho. The former soon became famous and forced the latter into submission. But the sufferings of the Daron Armenians and the ideological influence of the revolutionary propaganda spread by Caucasian fieldworkers transformed Arapo, who subsequently devoted his underground activities exclusively to dealing with Turkish and Kurdish plunderers. He was arrested but managed to escape from the Bitlis prison. From 1889 onward, Arapo made several visits to the Caucasus and joined the Federation of Armenian Revolutionaries, the Kentron of which recognized him as the delegate of Daron-Sasoun. As delegate, he attended the First World Congress of 1892. In 1893, on his return to the Caucasus, Arapo was killed during a skirmish in the valley of Kealisor. Two of his men, Kevork Chavoush and Kalsho Manoug later became famous fedayee leaders.

Araradian, Sarkis
(1886-19?)

A teacher in Tabriz from 1905 to 1907, Araradian wrote for *Droshak* at the same time. He was called "the philosopher of socialism" by his followers on account of his interest in theoretical matters. He was in the Caucasus in 1908 and arrested there during the Leizhin persecutions. He was then exiled and was freed only in 1912. An established militant and propagandist in the volunteer movement, he took part in the epic events of Baku in 1918. In 1919, he was at the Ninth World Congress in Yerevan and was elected a member of the ARF Bureau. He also became a member of the Armenian Parliament and served as Minister of Finance in the Khadisian cabinet and Minister for Reconstruction in the Vratsian cabinet. After Sovietization he went to Iran via Zankezour, and from there to the Balkans, where he spent the rest of his life.

Ardzrouni, Krikor
(1845-1892)

Born in Moscow, Ardzrouni was a leading personality. A journalist and political commentator with liberal and democratic ideas, he was one of the forefathers of the Armenian liberation movement. He graduated in political economy from the University of Heidelberg. in 1872, in Tbilisi, he founded the periodical *Mshag* and remained its owner and editor until his death, enjoying the esteem and sympathy of all. Ardzrouni initially favored armed struggle and had encouraged Gougounian in his project for an expedition in Turkish Armenia. But he was reprimanded by the Czarist authorities and became too cautious. Instead of personally leading the whole movement, he only took part in the talks that led to the foundation of the Federation of Armenian Revolutionaries through an intermediary (Kristapor Maloumian). He died in Tbilisi in December 1892 and was given a national funeral of unusual splendor (Simon Zavarian was one of the orators).

Arghoutian, Hovsep Ishkhan
(1863-1925)

Born in Sanahin (Lori), Arghoutian graduated from the Nersesian College of Tbilisi. A teacher, organizer and combatant, he went to Trebizond with Simon Zavarian in autumn 1890. Like Simon, he was arrested and exiled to Bessarabia. After the First World Congress, Arghoutian settled in Tabriz. He spent a few months in Van in 1894-95. In July 1897, he was appointed adjutant commander of the Khanasor Expedition.
Arrested after the expedition, he was handed over to the Russian authorities, who exiled him to Astrakhan and then to Vologda (until 1902). He stayed in Transcaucasia until 1909 but was arrested once more during the Leizhin persecutions. He was freed in 1912.
Commander of the 7th Contingent of Armenian Volunteers, he took part in operations on the Caucasian front in 1915. In 1919, he was elected a member of the Armenian Parliament and was then appointed ambassador of the Republic in Tehran. He settled in Paris in 1922 and died there in 1925.

Arkhanian, Haji Kalousd (Hajl Beg)
(1860?-1905)

Born in Armdan in the region of Erzincan, Haji Kalousd was the central figure in the revolutionary cells of Yerznga, Akn and Divrighi in 1890-91. Suspected and hunted, he went into hiding with a group of men in October 1891. He punished Armenian traitors and frequently clashed with Turkish troops. Near Mount Sebouh, he met up with another partisan, Dersimi Keri. The two leaders coordinated their activities and soon became the much-beloved heroes of the region's Armenian population. In 1893, Arkhanian and a small group of combatants were surrounded in a cave near Armdan. The battle lasted three days, at the end of which, with neither food nor ammunition, they surrendered. Haji Kalousd Arkhanian spent 12 years in prison in Yerznga, where he contracted cholera and died on November 18, 1905.

Arstamiants, Kevork-Yegor (Menag)
(1882-1903)

Born in the village of Brasni in Gharabagh, Arstamiants went to the municipal school of Shoushi, where Torkom (Touman Toumiants), Nigol Odabashian (who was to become Vana Ishkhan), and Isajan Arakelian were among his schoolmates. He was in Baku in 1900 as a propagandist among the workers and he then went to Kars, soon becoming one of the most highly esteemed propagandists of Kars-Pasen. He observed and studied the relay routes on the Kars-Pasen-Khnous-Sasoun passage. In 1902, he arrived alone in Sasoun and stayed there for two weeks. The following year, he took Torkom's Mrrig formation there safe and sound, returning to Kars with Torkom. In September the same year (1903), he joined the forces of Khan (Parsegh Tiriakian) and Onnig Nevrouz and went back to Sasoun. He, too, fell in the border fighting in the Dali Baba-Yuzveran-Komatsor triangle.

Badrigian, Vart (Varto, Arvakhi)
(?-1907)

Varto was a former Hnchak who took part in the Caucasian Rayonagan Congresses of 1895 and 1896-97 and in the Second and Third World Congresses of the ARF. He worked mainly in Bulgaria, where, in Varna, he published the review called *Sharzhoum* (movement). It may be wondered whether, during his ten years or so as member of the ARF, he ever thought of himself as a Dashnaktsakan in the true sense of the word (ideology, discipline, solidarity, and so on). Whatever the case, scorning these notions, Varto published articles in Sharzhoum and separate volumes containing scathing criticisms and bitter attacks on several leaders, including Kristapor, Hrach, Rosdom, Hovnan Tavtian and Marzbed. When this wholly unacceptable behavior within a revolutionary organization was exacerbated by misappropriation of funds, the Balkans Central Committee submitted Varto's case to the Fourth World Congress and demanded the death sentence. The Congress approved the decision of the Balkans Committee and the sentence was carried out that same year.

Baghdasarian, Vagharshag (Gaydzag)
(1875-1904)

Born in Moush, Gaydzag went to the local Nersesian College. He wanted to operate in the manner of Arapo, whose memory he revered. He went into hiding with a few men. He then joined Dashnaktsutiun and worked alongside Hrayr, Serop, Kevork Chavoush and also with Antranig, with whom he organized and fought the battle of Arakelotsvank in 1901. In 1904, he represented the Daron Central Committee at the Third World Congress. Early in June the same year, at the head of a formation of 30 horsemen, Gaydzag went from Kars to Pasen on the way back to Sasoun. The men were sighted and surrounded. Violent fighting ensued and most of them, including their leader, Gaydzag Vagharshag, were killed.

Barsamian, Arshag (Shego)
(1869-1897)

Born in Tbilisi, Shego was in Moush in 1891, sent there by the Kentron. He was arrested, taken back to the Caucasus and exiled to Lenkoran, but he escaped two and a half years later and went to Iran. In September 1896, he arrived in Van at the head of 22 armed men. He had some successful fights in the region but was caught by the Iranian police on his return to Iran. To "hush up the affair", he handed over 14 guns to the police, all to the discontent of the soldiers. Later, Shego went to the Caucasus and raised funds for Party needs but on his return did not submit all the accounts to the Tabriz Central Committee. Shego was killed by his own soldiers in February 1897, but malicious gossips attributed the deed to the Central Committee. Nigol-Douman and Hovsep Mirzayiants were entrusted with the inquiry and found that the soldiers had acted on their own initiative. Misak Hagopian, the guilty party, was shot and his accomplice, Krikor Ghazarian, was expelled from Dashnaktsutiun.

Basetsi Hovhannes (Zouloumat)
(?-1911)

Born in Constantinople in a family from Bas in the regions of Bitlis, Zouloumat went to Bitlis when still very young. He became one of Serop's soldiers when Serop returned to Akhlat and was in all the important battles, including Khatavin and Papshen, where he was seriously wounded. Some time after the death of Serop, he went to the Caucasus. In 1903, after the arrival of Torkom (Touman Toumiants) in Sasoun, Zouloumat and Tokhmakh managed to bring a new shipment of arms to Akhlat and Sasoun. Zouloumat then remained in Akhlat, and when in 1904 Antranig left the mountains with his men, Zouloumat was with him during all the battles on the Moush plainlands, in Akhlat and in Vasbouragan (Pertag, Gouravou, Shamiram, Aghtamar). He was in the border region of Iran, mostly at the monastery of St. Thaddeus, from 1905 onward. After 1908, he took part in the Iranian liberation struggle in the Tabriz region. He was killed near Khoy in February 1911.

Bedrosian, Aleksandr (Bedo)
(?-1896)

Born in Kars, Bedo was a schoolteacher in Alexandropol (present-day Leninakan) in 1890. After the foundation of the ARF, he went to Iranian Azerbaijan and then to Van with the aim of examining the possibilities of revolutionary organization in the area. He took part in the First World Congress in Tbilisi in 1892 and then returned to Van as Dashnaktsutiun's representative. Certain Armenagans like Vazken and Vosgan rallied to Bedo with their men. Obstinate and persevering, Bedo set up one of the earliest Dashnaktsakan organizations in the Yergir. In 1894, after a few months in Iranian Azerbaijan, he returned to Van. At the head of the town's Dashnaktsakan forces, he took part in the heroic defense of Van in June 1896. He was killed, while the Armenian combatants were falling back toward Iran, along with the Armenagan leader Avedisian and the Hnchak leader Mardig and all their men. Vazken took over his position in Vasbouragan.

Boyajian, Hampartsoum (Mourad)
(1867-1915)

Born in Hajin (Cilicia), Mourad was a renowned Hnchak leader and the prime mover, along with Jangiulian, of the demonstration of Kum-Kapu (Constantinople) on July 15, 1890. He went on an organizational mission to Sasoun in autumn 1892 and then, in 1893, crossed into Transcaucasia with the aim of procuring arms for Sasoun (the only real help he got was from the Kars ARF Central Committee). Mourad returned and led the heroic defense of Sasoun in 1894. The Turks finally captured him. He was sent to Constantinople and then exiled to Akia (Tripolitania). On his return from exile, in 1907, Mourad endeavored to reunite

the ranks of the Hnchak Party, which had been shattered. He settled in Constantinople after the restoration of the Ottoman Constitution and enjoyed the esteem of ali. He was elected a member of the Ottoman Parliament, but was later hanged at Kayseri in Cappadocia, a victim of the 1915 holocaust.
Mourad's elder brother, the Hnchak hero Zhirayr, born In Hajin in 1856, was hanged 21 years before Mourad (March 1894 in Yozgat).

C

Chakalian, Karekin (Khazhag)
(1867-1915)

Born in Alexandropol, Khazhag graduated from the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Geneva. In 1894, Khazhag arrived in Geneva from Baku, where he had already joined the ranks of the ARF. He began working for Droshak. In 1895, the editors sent him on a mission to the Balkans, where he soon became one of the pioneers of the Dashnaktsakan organization. Later (1897-98), with a similar mission he was in Smyrna (Izmir) and Egypt. From 1898 to 1903, he was a member of the Constantinople Responsible Body. In Transcaucasia in 1903, he taught at the Nersesian College and worked for Mshag in Tbilisi. From 1906 onward, he belonged to the editorial team of Harach in Tbilisi, along with Avedls Aharonian and Yeghisheh Topjian. He settled in Constantinople in 1911-12, where he became director of the national school in the Samatia district and worked for *Azadamard* at the same time. Khazhag was one of the most brilliant representatives of the Dashnaktsakan intelligentsia. In 1915, he was one of the first victims of the Genocide.

Charoukjian, Mardiros (Mardiros Varzhabed)
(?-1909)

A Dashnaktsakan combatant and avenger, Mardiros was at the side of Nigol-Douman during the defense of the Baku Armenians in the Armeno-Tatar war of 1905 and helped Dro with the assassination of Nakashidze, again in 1905. The same year, he slew General Alikhanov in Alexandropol. In 1908, he was in Adrbadagan when the Iranian people's armed struggle for liberation broke out. In Dashnaktsakan forces, he took part in a number of battles (Mouzhambar, Salmasd, Tabrlz and so on). He was also in the Alvar battle with Keri and Rosdom and was killed there in February 1909.

D

Dashnaktsakan Khecho
(?-1915)

Khecho was a renowned Dashnaktsakan combatant and fieldworker who formed and trained combatant groups in the Caucasus. He was in Iran in 1904 and joined the group led by Nigol-Douman. With Sasoun as their objective, the group was forced to return as a result of the battle of Razi. During the Armeno-Tatar conflict of 1905, he was one of Douman's right-hand men. In 1908-10, he was a group leader in the Iranian struggle for liberation. In Berlin in 1914, he took part in a meetings of the ARF Council. In 1915, at the head of a squad of volunteers, he was one of the first to enter Van in victory. His squad then made for Bitlis and Moush to help the combatants of Daron-Sasoun. He fell near Bitlis during a violent fight with the Turkish forces.

Datevian, Vahakn
(1875-1916)

Born in Sepasdia (Sivas), Vahakn settled in Constantinople in the early nineties. While there, he met Papken Siuni and joined the ranks of Dashnaktsutlun. He was soon entrusted with certain confidential missions. Vahakn crossed into Bulgaria in 1897 and then went to America, where he conducted organizational and propaganda work. In 1907, with Tovmas Jelalian, he represented America at the Fourth World Congress, which elected him member of the Responsible Body for military-terroristic action along with Agnouni and Antranig. He went to Constantinople in 1908 and then to Adana (Cilicia) in 1909, where he took charge of an orphanage for the victims of the new round of massacres. Meanwhile, he continued working for the Party. Datevian was hanged during the Genocide, in Adana, on November 27, 1916.

Der Garabedian, Kegham (Msho Kegham, Dadrag, Asoghig)
(1865-1918)

Born in the village of Kheybian on the Moush plainlands, Kegham studied at the monastery of Sourp-Garabed in Moush and, from 1885 to 1887, at the Kevorkian Seminary in Echmiadzin. He was secretary to the prelate in Moush from 1888 onward. He went to Constantinople for the Giulizar trial (the young Armenian girl kidnaped by a Kurd) and married Giulizar in 1892. He was in Diarbekir from 1894 to 1896, but returned to Moush to resume his work and became one of the pillars of the Daron Central Committee. He worked closely with Hrayr and Vartan Vartabed. He dealt with the region's economic and educational problems while writing reports to the Armenian patriarchate of Constantinople about the exploitation inflicted on the Armenians of Daron and Sasoun. He also had an active literary career.
He was elected deputy from Moush after the restoration of the Ottoman Constitution and ardently and unremittingly defended the cause of the Daron population in parliament. Sick with tuberculosis, he escaped the holocaust of 1915 but died on November 28, 1918. Kegham also used the pseudonyms Dadrag and Asoghig.

Der Haroutlunian, Karekin (Karekin Nzhdeh)
(1886-1957)

Born in Nakhichevan, Nzhdeh joined the ARF early on. He graduated from

the Sofia Military Academy in 1907, then went to the Caucasus, where he was arrested. He escaped in 1911, returning to Bulgaria and joining Antranig's brigade, which took part in the Balkans War on the Bulgarian side. In 1914, he was in the volunteer movement and was Dro's alde in the 3rd Battalion. In 1918, he was in Gharakiliseh under the command of General Nazarbegian. In 1919, he repressed the Tatar rebellions in the Nakhichevan region. After July 11, he led the fighting in Zankezour against the Tatars, and later against the Bolshevik forces (1920-21). When the agreement on the Sovietization of Armenia was signed in Yerevan on December 2, 1920, Nzhdeh proclaimed the independence of Lernahayastan, the mountainous region of Zankezour. He then went to Iran and later to Bulgaria. In America in 1933, he founded the Tseghagron young Dashnaktsakan movement, which later became the Armenian Youth Federation (AYF). In Eastern Europe, he worked with General Dro in World War II, at the end of which he was arrested by Soviet forces in the Balkans and deported to Siberia. He died in exile.

Der Hovhannisian, Nigoghayos (Nigol-Douman)
(1867-1914)

Born in Gharabagh, Nigol-Douman studied at the diocesan school of Shoushi. While pursuing organizational activities, he also taught in the Armenian schools of Tabriz and Salmasd from 1891 to 1894. From 1894 onward, he moved between Salmasd and Vasbouragan, engaging Turkish troops and Kurdish bands in battles that have remained famous: Derik, Sara, Boghaz-Kyasan, and so on. In 1897, Nigol-Douman was one of the principal organizers of the Khanasor Expedition.
He then settled in Baku, where he dealt in particular with training young Dashnaktsakans in underground and military activities. In 1904, he tried in vain to reinforce the ranks of the Sasoun insurgents, but his armed band was dispersed after violent border skirmishes. During the Armeno-Tatar fighting in 1905, Nigol-Douman was appointed commander-in-chief of operations in the province of Yerevan and the Ararat plainland.
In September 1914, seeing his health declining hopelessly, Nigol-Douman took his own life.

Der Kevorkian, Vahan (Vahan Khoreni)
(1884-1920)

Born in Prnagot, near Sisian, Khoreni graduated from the Kevorkian College of Echmiadzin in 1907 and followed courses in philosophy, history at the University of Leipzig in 1913. He then returned to Tbilisi and taught at the Kaylanian School. In 1917, he devoted all his efforts to journalism and public and Party activities. He published the review *Ashkhadavor* (worker). In Armenia in 1919, he was a journalist for *Worker of Armenia*. He was a member of the Central Committee of Armenia and member of parliament. During the troubles stirred up by the Bolsheviks in 1920, he went on an official mission to Zankezour where he met the Bolsheviks in an endeavor to avoid civil war. But they arrested him, and on August 2, 1920, Khoreni and another 13 Dashnaktsakan activists were hanged in the prison in Goris.

Der Mardirosian, Haroutiun Agha (Houno)
(?-1891)

Born in the village of Shahbagh in the region of Van, Houno was a chief with half-brigand, half-revolutionary tendencies. He spent the eighties in Alashgerd (Eleshkirt) and then in the border region of Kars. He worked with Zakki (Father Pakrad Tavakallan). It is said that Houno assassinated Father Arsen Tokhmakhian, a militant in the Armenian liberation movement, on the basis of a never-proven accusation of treachery. Houno was killed on September 14, 1891 in the region of Alashgerd while fighting a Kurdish tribe with a small group of combatants.

Der Mardirosian, Mikayel (Mar)
(?-1931)

Born in Nor Bayazid, Mar was one of the most idealistic and dedicated members of the ARF's second-generation. He was in Geneva early in 1896 and was sent on missions in Egypt, Cyprus (1896), Constantinople, Bulgaria (1897), and then Cyprus again. With Hrach and Hadig (Bondatsi), he submitted a plan on the possibilities of revolutionary action in Cilicia to the Second World Congress (1898). Elected with Hrach as member of the Cilicia Responsible Central Committee, he went there secretly in November, 1898, but was arrested in July, 1899, and kept in the dungeons of Marash prison until the end of 1905. Released, he returned to Geneva and then went to the Caucasus (1906), Constantinople (1909), and the Caucasus again (1913), always as a teacher and worked for the Party. After Sovietization, he stayed in Armenia and died there in June, 1931.

Der Minasian, Roupen
(1882-1951)

Born in Akhalkalak (Georgia), Roupen studied at the Kevorkian College in Echmiadzin and then at the Lazarian College in Moscow. As a young organizer, we was molded into a Dashnaktsakan in the "Kars Furnace" in 1903-04. He joined Aram in Van in 1905. He worked in Lernabar (south of Lake Van), but tactical differences with Vana Ishkhan made him leave for Sasoun to back up Kevork Chavoush (1906). He stayed there until the proclamation of the Ottoman Constitution, having taken sole charge of the Dashnaktsakan fedayee forces after the death of Kevork in May 1907. He attended the Fifth World Congress in Varna in 1909 and then left for Geneva to resume his studies. Back in Moush in 1913, he went to Sasoun in 1915 and with his veteran fedayees led the heroic resistance on the mountain against the regular Turkish forces. He then crossed into the Caucasus with a handful of men. In 1917-18, he was a member of the Armenian National Council and then a member of parliament. He was elected to the ARF Bureau at the Ninth World Congress and remained a member virtually without interruption until his death. Minister of Defense in the Bureau-government of Ohanjanian, Roupen played a leading role in repressing Bolshevik riots and liquidating Turko-Tatar insurrections in Armenia. He went to Zankezour after Sovietization, then to Iran and finally abroad.

He died in Paris.
The seven volumes of Roupen's memoirs, *Memoirs of an Armenian Revolutionary*, are exceptionally valuable both as testimonies of men and events and as a storehouse of revolutionary ideas and analyses.

Der Tavtian, Hovsep
(1870-1946)

Born in Tbilisi, Der Tavtian studied medicine and ophthalmology in Moscow. He set up as a doctor in Tbilisi in 1900. He attended all the more important assemblies of the Dashnaktsutiun as a member of the Eastern Bureau. Discreet and not very talkative, he corresponded with the various committees in the Caucasus and abroad. He went to Van on an organizational mission after the Ottoman Constitution was proclaimed and then settled in Garin as a member of the Yergir section of the Eastern Bureau. He later returned to Tbilisi, where he became a member of the Armenian National Bureau in 1915. In Yerevan after independence, he was elected a member of parliament. He took part in the Ninth World Congress and was elected member of the Supreme Judicial Court of the ARF. His integrity was above all suspicion. He settled in Paris in 1924 and worked as an ophthalmologist. He died on July 9, 1946.

Deroyan, Dikran (Vazken)
(1872-1898)

Born in Van, Vazken joined the ARF in 1892 and soon became Bedo's assistant. He was a keen organizer and fearless combatant. In spite of his youth, one perceives a developed revolutionary thinking in his correspondence. At the head of his group, Vazken took part in the heroic defense of Van in June 1896, but he subsequently refused to leave the town. On Bedo's death, he became the representative of Dashnaktsutiun in Vasbouragan and was practically the only leader left after the little battles of Van in September 1896. Stubbornly, he endeavored to reorganize the ARF network and rearm the Region, moving between Van and Salmasd. He returned to Van for the last time in July 1897 at the head of a group of 30 well-armed men (Kourken and Antranig were in this group). On January 2, 1888, Vazken and two of his men (group leader Miko and soldier Arshag) were unexpectedly surrounded at Gouroubash. All three were killed in unequal combat. Vazken's sister Zarouhi Deroyan (Zhenia) was also an undaunted revolutionary. A member of the ARF's Vasbouragan Central Committee, she was arrested in spring 1896 and exiled to Jerusalem.

Dolbashian, Minas (Kayl-Vahan)
(1872-1904)

Born in the village of Halav near Palou, Dolbashian went to Constantinople at 16 and joined the Hnchak Party. He was then in Bulgaria, after which he went to Providence (Rhode Island) in the USA and became an active member of the ARF Committee. He left America in 1902 and went to the Caucasus. On orders from the Yerevan Central Committee, he settled in a village near the border and dealt with clandestine relays of arms and men towards Turkish Armenia. He was very successful. In 1904, the Central Committee organized and armed two expeditionary groups called "Masis" and "Ardavazt", with the aim of destroying Turkish arsenals near the border. The Masis contingent was placed under the command of Kayl-Vahan. His sixty men attacked the Turkish garrisons of Mosoun and Korun with bombs and neutralized them. But a new wave of Turkish forces arrived and the fighting became violent. Kayl-Vahan was killed along with some of his men, but the large contingent managed to withdraw across the border.

Dzaghigian, Stepan
(1886-?)

Born in Mokhrgoud in the region of Khodorchour in the Pontus, Stepan studied in Trebizond and joined the ARF in 1908. He volunteered in 1914 and joined Antranig's contingent. Military adjutant of Sebouh during Armenian independence, he worked on the repression of Bolshevik insurrections in Shirag and Ichevan. In Georgia after Sovietization, on July 21, 1922, in broad daylight and in front of the Cheka secret police headquarters in Tbilisi, he organized and carried out the execution of Jemal Pasha who, along with Talaat and Enver, was in the Turkish triumvirate responsible for the Armenian Genocide. He then took to the underground and set up an organization to aid Armenian prisoners and exiles in the Soviet Union (through this organization, provisions and clothing were sent as far as Siberia). Finally arrested, he, too, was exiled. There is no information available about the date and circumstances of Dzaghigian's death.

Dzovlanian, Sarkis (Sevkaretsi Sako)
(1870-1908)

Born in Sev-Kar in the region of Ghazakh, Dzovianian was one of the outstanding figures in the military activities of Dashnaktsutiun. He took part in the Second and Fourth World Congresses.
Sako was already in Salmasd in 1890 and soon became one of the residents of the Derik monastery. In 1894 and 1985, he was in one of the first groups of men who shuttled arms to Van. In 1896-97, he organized the clandestine passage of arms and ammunition from Russia to Iran. He was a cavalry leader in the Khanasor Expedition. After the Second World Congress of 1898 elected him a member of the Sasoun Responsible Body, he immediately went to Daron, but was arrested there (June 1898) and imprisoned in Moush until March 1901. He then returned to the Caucasus, where he took charge of training the Dashnaktsakan armed forces and the transport of arms to Turkish Armenia. During the Armeno-Tatar war in the Caucasus in 1905, he was successful in defending Ghazakh and Shamshadin. In 1908, he was appointed commander of the Dashnaktsakan forces being prepared to back the Iranian revolutionaries, but he contracted cholera and died on the way.

F

Fenerjian, Kris (Silvio Ricci)
(1884-1926)

A Dashnaktsakan specialist in clandes-

tine operations, Fenerjian, as auxiliary member of the Demonstrative Body (he lived in Constantinople under the Italian pseudonym Silvio Ricci) helped to prepare the plan to assassinate Sultan Abdul-Hamid II. He was arrested but released shortly thereafter, in 1908. Arrested in 1915 and sent to Ayash with a number of Armenian intellectuals from Constantinople, he was saved from certain death by his Bulgarian citizenship. Back in Constantinople after the armistice, he went to Bulgaria and then, in 1924, to Paris, where he died in March 1926.

G

anayian. Drastamat (Dro)
(1884-1956)

Born in Ikdir, Dro was one of the most audacious terrorists and military leaders of Dashnaktsutiun. In Surmalu, when still young, he eliminated Gallitsi.., the Armenophobe administrator. In the full light of day in 1905 in Baku, on a decision by the ARF Central Committee, he shot down Nakashidze, who had sparked off the Armeno-Tatar war. In 1908, Dro settled in Bayazid as a merchant, in order to supervise arms shipments.
In 1915, Dro commanded the 2nd Contingent of Armenian volunteers. Later, he played an essential role in the decisive battles of 1918, gaining the victory of Bash-Abaran. He was a general in the army of the Armenian Republic and was Minister of War in the Vratsian cabinet. He went to Moscow and then Rumania after the Sovietization of Armenia. During World War II, his work to protect the Armenians in the areas occupied by the German army and the Armenian prisoners-of-war in the Nazi camps saved many lives. He settled in Lebanon in 1947 but died in Boston.

Garjigian, Khachadour
(1882-1918)

Born in Vagharshabad (Echmiadzin), Garjigian studied at the Kevorkian Seminary, the High School of Yerevan and then read law in St. Petersburg. He became a teacher and Dashnaktsakan militant in Alexandropol, returning to St. Petersburg to finish his studies. He settled in Tbilisi in 1910 and worked as a lawyer while leading a very active public and Party life. He was elected a member of the Eastern Bureau. In 1914-15, he encouraged and supported the volunteer movement. On the Pasen front, he welcomed and housed Armenian refugees who had escaped the massacres; he also reorganized the management of the liberated territories. Financial commissar in the Transcaucasian government in 1917-18, he was a member of the Seïm (government) in Transcaucasia. He soon made his name as a statesman and politician. Garjigian opposed the downfall of Transcaucasia and was a stout advocate of a federal Caucasus. Because of this, he had sworn adversaries, even within his own Party. During independence, he was Minister of Finance in the Kachaznouni cabinet. He was killed by Yegor Der Minasian on November 14, 1918.

Gaydzag Arakel
(?-1917)

Born in Papert (Bayburt), he went to Yerznga (Erzincan) while still very young and joined the formation led by Dersimi Kerl as a fedayee. He went to the Caucasus with Gümüshkhanetsi Avo in 1896. Arakel spent a few years in Baku and then, from 1900 to 1903, in Kars, where he handled shipments of arms and ammunition. He went to Sasoun in 1903, again with Avo (Torkom's Mrrig formation) and took part in the epic events of 1904. They were still with Sepasdatsi Mourad during the Armeno-Tatar fighting in the Caucasus in 1905 and then in the Iranian revolutionary struggles in 1908. Gaydzag Arakel then returned to Papert, Sepasdia (Sivas) and finally Van, where he was one of the leaders during the defense of the city in April 1915. Arakel joined up with Mourad again in Yerznga and helped to save the Armenians who had escaped the massacres. He died in Yerznga in 1917.

Geregtsian, Khachadour
(1847-1891)

One of the forerunners of the Armenian liberation movement, Geregtsian, together with Garabed Neshikian, Hagop Ichkalatsian and others, in Garin (Erzurum) in 1881, founded the clandestine revolutionary organization called Bashdban Hayreniats (defender of the homeland), also known as the Upper Armenian Secret Society. Geregtsian had contacts with Ormanian, prelate of Erzurum, Mgrdich Khrimian (Hayrig) and, most importantly, with the clandestine circles of Tbilisi which procured arms and cash for the organization. But in November 1882, Bashdban Hayrenlats was discovered by the Turkish police. Its members, about 400 in number, were arrested. Geregtsian was imprisoned until September 1886. A staunch adversary of the Federation of Armenian Revolutionaries, Geregtsian was killed in 1891 by Aram Aramian after a decision of the Erzurum Central Committee. But the ARF Kentron publicly branded as an act of infamy this deed perpetrated by the Erzurum Central Committee.

Gezian, Krikor (Boulgaratsi Krikor)
(1878-1918)

Born in Rusjuk in Bulgaria, Krikor specialized in the gunsmith's shop at the ARF's military school in Bulgaria. He was an exceptional do-it-yourself expert. He was in Van in 1907 and became a member of the Central Committee there in 1915. He was a member of the Military Council during the heroic defense of Van. He organized the plan to blow up the Turkish barracks of Hamoud Agha and carried it out, thus saving the Armenians in Aykestan (a suburb of Van) from a certain nightmare. He also developed a cannon for the Van combatants. Krikor was with the Van population during the retreat but came back in 1918 and became a member of the city's provisional government. After the final retreat, he decided to return to Bulgaria but died on the way, in Constantinople, as a result of an illness.

Ghazarian, Armenag (Hrayr, Tzhokhk, Ourvagan)
(1864-1904)

Born in Ahronk (Khout, Sasoun), Hrayr went to the Moush Central College. Self-taught intellectual and revolutionary thinker and highly popular propagandist, he was one of the most attractive figures in the Armenian revolutionary movement.
A former Hnchak, Hrayr joined the ARF in 1895 and worked with Tatoui in Kars and Pasen. Both were arrested in July 1896, but Hrayr was released shortly. He returned to Daron and devoted himself to revolutionary propaganda among the masses on the Moush and Akhlat plainlands. He became a member of the Sasoun Responsible Body in 1898 along with Serop, Kourken and Sevkaretsi Sako. Hrayr was opposed to untimely outbreaks of military clashes and favored slow but sure education of the masses in preparation for a general insurrection: hence his differences with the fedayees, Antranig in particular. However, after the arrival of the ARF representative Vahan Manouelian in Sasoun, he himself went and took part in the heroic fighting of 1904 during which he was killed (Semai, April 26, 1904).

Ghazarosian, Ghazaros
(1878-1918)

Born in Tomarza in the Kayseri region, Ghazarosian received his secondary schooling in Constantinople and studied pedagogy at the University of Leipzig. He was in Bulgaria from 1897 to 1900 as a teacher and Dashnaktsakan organizer. He then went to Iranian Azerbaijan where he was also an organizer for a few years. Later, he was in Van. In Bitlis with Sebouh after the restoration of the Ottoman Constitution, he applied his efforts fervently to school and organizational work. He was a correspondent for Azadamard. Arrested in 1915, he was sent to Kayseri but managed to escape, thus avoiding a tragic end in the holocaust. He was later taken on by a German railroad company and spent some time in Aleppo and then in Nisibin. With Dikran Zamhour and a few other fugitives, he did his best to save as many as possible of the Armenians who succeeded in avoiding the 1915-16 slaughter. An unfortunate accident in Nisibin in 1918 brought his life to an end.

Giragoslan, Haroutiun (Dourpakh)
(1866-1913)

Born in Kars, Dourpakh joined the ARF soon after its formation. One of the first militants to enter Turkish Armenia, in 1894, he was at Khnous (Hinis) in 1895 on an organizational mission. Arrested in Erzurum in 1896, he was taken back to the Caucasian border as a Russian citizen. Later, he was active in the regions of Kars, Alexandropol and Gaghzvan (Kaghizman), specializing in transporting arms and men to Turkish Armenia. He crossed into Sasoun in 1903 with Torkom's Mrrig group and then went back to the Caucasus with Torkom. He was in Tbilisi in 1905 with Armen Garo, organizing the defense of the city's Armenian population. He settled in Erzurum after the Ottoman Constitution was proclaimed and died there on May 6, 1913.

Giulkhandanian, Apraham
(1875-1946)

Born in Echmiadzin, Giulkhandanian studied at the Kevorkian Seminary and later at the Jaroslav Law School. He joined the ARF in 1894. In 1898, he was in Baku, where he was to stay for a long time. He was a member of the ARF Central Committee uninterruptedly from 1902 to 1908 and was much loved and esteemed in all classes of society. He led the defense of Kantzag during the Armeno-Tatar fighting of 1905. He was a member of the Eastern Bureau from 1908 onward. Arrested in April 1910 during the Leizhin persecutions, he was not freed until 1912. He was a member of the organizing committee of the volunteer movement in 1914-15. In 1918, he returned to Baku where, with Rosdom and other leaders, he led the heroic defense of the town. He was Minister of the Interior and Finance in independent Armenia. After the Sovietization, Giulkhandanian went to Rumania and then settled in Paris as a member of the ARF Bureau, taking charge of Party archives. He published a number of books, articles and memoirs which are particularly useful for the history of Dashnaktsutiun.

Godoyian, Haji Hagop (Godoyi Haji)
(?-1915)

Haji Hagop Godoyian was a Dashnaktsakan leader and fedayee chief in Daron and a member of the Moush Central Committee. He was the main architect of the battle of Arakelotsvank (the monastery of the Holy Apostles). He shut himself up in the monastery with a handful of men, who resisted for more than 20 days against the Turkish army laying siege. He took part in the epic events of Sasoun in 1904 and later (1905) in the Caucasus during the Armeno-Tatar conflict. Back in Moush in 1908, he remained active in public affairs and in the Party. In 1915, he led the self-defense of the city of Moush, where never once leaving his post, he fought on stubbornly against the Turkish cannon fire until his death.

Gougounian, Sarkis
(1866-1913)

Born in the village of Nizh in Nukhi, Gougounian studied at St. Petersburg and was the central figure in a group of nationalist Armenian students. He went to Tbilisi early in 1890, joined Krikor Ardzrouni and started to form and arm a contingent of 100-150 men with a view to making an expedition into Turkish Armenia.
The recently formed Kentron got in touch with Gougounian to suggest certain tactical variations, but he stuck to his position and on September 23 crossed the border at the head of 150 men. The contingent went off track and unwittingly returned into Russian territory, and there ensued a fight with the Cossack border guards. Most of the men were arrested, summarily tried and exiled to the island of Sakhalin. Pardoned in 1905, Gougounian returned to the Caucasus. However, during the Leizhin persecutions, he was arrested once more as a Dashnaktsakan and thrown into prison at Oriol (Orel). He died there in November 1913.

Gümüshkhanetsi Avedis (Avo)
(1867-1917)

Born in Gmshkhane, Avo went under-

ground at 23 and became a fedayee with Dersimi Keri. He became a close friend of Gaydzag Arakel, and from that moment on (1891-92) until the restoration of the Ottoman Constitution, they were inseparable in Dersim, Baku and Kars (1900-03), in Sasoun, on the Moush plainland, in the Armeno-Tatar fighting in the Caucasus and during the liberation struggle of Iran. In Batum, Avo took part in the assassination of the prefect of Van. He was in Yerznga after the Ottoman Constitution and then in Trebizond, where he stayed until 1914, when he was in the volunteer movement as a battalion commander. He then went back to Batum, where he died in 1917.

H

Hadigian, Mgrdich (Bondatsi, Hadig)
(?-?)

Born in Trebizond, Hadig was an early convert to revolutionary action. He was a militant in the Caucasus and Iran. After the Rayonagan Congress of 1896-97, the Bureau sent him to Cilicia on a study and propaganda mission. In January 1898, Hadig went from Mersin to Cyprus, where Hrach and Mar were awaiting him. Together, they submitted their report on Cilicia to the Second World Congress. Hadig returned to Cilicia in autumn 1898, spent a year there and organized Alexandretta, Mersin and Adana. He then went back to the Caucasus and participated in the volunteer movement.

Hagopian, Aram (Garen)
(?-?)

Born in Trebizond, Garen was secretary to the city's Armenian prelate. He was in Batum from 1894 to 1897 and also in the eastern coastal regions of the Black Sea. He represented the Batum Central Committee at the Second World Congress in 1898. There he was elected a member of the Constantinople Responsible Body along with Karekin Khazhag and Sev Ashod. He took part in the Meeting of the Body Representing the Will of the Dashnaktsutiun in April 1901 and was elected a member of the Potorig Committee. He resigned as a result of differences with the other members, but continued to work on the eastern shores of the Black Sea, dealing mostly with Armenian refugees from Turkey. He then went to Constantinople and later to Bulgaria, where the Soviet forces arrested him in 1944. He died in exile in Siberia.

Hampartsoumian, Gonsdantin
(1882-1918)

Born in Shoushi, Hampartsoumian went to the official village school. He was in America from 1900 to 1902 and then in Baku. He went on organizational missions to Iranian Azerbaijan until 1904 and then to Bulgaria and Smyrna (Izmir), where he dealt with clandestine operations for the Tsoutsagan Demonstrative Body. Back in the Caucasus in 1905, he was appointed director general of schools in the region of Ghapan. He arrived in Tbilisi in 1909 and spent a year in prison there before being exiled to Kharkov. He studied agronomy in Brussels from 1911 to 1914. On his return to the Caucasus, he was admitted to the Araradian Division which entered Van in May 1915. Back in Van with the Russian army at the end of the same year, as representative of the Union of Cities of Russia, he worked diligently on problems of housing, reconstruction and provisions. In 1917, he was elected president of the Armenian Authority of Van. During the last retreat, he was killed, in July 1918, in a skirmish with the Turkish forces who had invaded Iranian Azerbaijan.

Hovhannesian, Sergei
(Aram Manougian)
(1879-1919)

Born in the village of Zeyva in Ghapan, Aram was an organizer among workers in Baku in 1901, and then in Kantzag and Kars, where in 1903-04 he was already a highly appreciated leader. In 1904 he crossed into Iran and then to Van, where for four years he was the central figure. He was at the Fourth World Congress in 1907. He taught for a time in Ordu, after the proclamation of the Ottoman Constitution. He then went to Geneva for a year and returned to Van.
In 1915, after the assassination of Vana Ishkhan and Vramian, Aram was left alone with a catastrophic situation to face. He led and became the symbol of the heroic resistance of Van in April, 1915, and was appointed governor of free Vasbouragan. He accompanied the people in their exodus toward the Caucasus. In 1916-17 in Tbilisi, Aram was active in the affairs of the ARF Bureau, the Armenian National Council, and the refugees. Plenipotentiary representative of the National Council in Yerevan, he was proclaimed "dictator" of the Ararat region in May 1918 and led the resistance against the invading Turks. He was the symbol of the victory in the Ararat plainland and was considered by the people as the "founder" of the Armenian Republic.
In the Republic's first government (Hovhannes Kachaznouni was Prime Minister), Aram was Minister of the Interior and Minister of Supplies. He caught the typhus that was wreaking havoc at that time and died on January 29, 1919.

I

Isahagian, Avedik
(1874-1957)

Born in Alexandropol (Leninakan), Isahagian was a famous Armenian lyric poet, influenced by the ashoughs (troubadours) and folklore. When still very young, he joined Dashnaktsutiun and held responsible positions. He took part in the Fourth World Congress in Vienna (1907) as the Alexandropol delegate. Isahagian returned to Soviet Armenia in 1936 and lived there until his death, enjoying the esteem of all as a master of modern Armenian poetry.

J

Jamalian, Arshag (Isahagian)
(1882-1940)

Born in Kantzag, Jamalian studied at the Kevorkian College in Echmiadzin (1897-1902). In Berlin in 1905, he graduated from the department of social sciences at the university there. A delegate of the ARF Armenian Student Organization of Europe at the Fourth World Congress (1907), he then taught in Tbilisi, where he joined the editorial staff of Horizon. In 1914, he organized trained contingents of Armenian volunteers and was himself in the contingent commanded by Antranig. In 1917, he represented Dashnaktsutiun in Transcaucasian revolutionary and government circles. Elected a member of parliament after the independence of Armenia, he was minister of communications in the Ohanjanian cabinet from May to November 1920. Going to Constantinople and then to Europe after the Sovietization of Armenia, he took part in the Riga talks and represented the ARF at the Socialist International. A member of the ARF Bureau from 1919 to 1933, he also served on the *Droshak* editorial team from 1925 to 1933. Jamalian died in Paris on December 27, 1940.

K

Kachaznouni, Hovhannes (Roupen)
(1868-1938)

Born in Akhaltskha (Georgia), Kachaznouni was an architect in Baku, where he joined the ARF. He was a member of the Armenian National Council in 1917. A Dashnaktsakan deputy in the Transcaucasian Seïm (parliament) until 1918, he was a member of the delegations in Trebizond and Batum for peace talks with the Turks. Minister of Social Affairs in Chkhengeli's Transcaucasian government, he became the first Prime Minister of independent Armenia (July 1918 to August 1919). Arrested by the Bolsheviks after Sovietization, he was saved by the February 1921 uprising. However, in Bucharest in 1923, he published a pamphlet expressing a change of heart: "Dashnaktsutiun no longer has anything to do". He then returned to Soviet Armenia, retired from political life and worked as an architect. He died in 1938, probably a victim of Stalin's purges.

Kaftar Arshag (Keri)
(?-1916)

Born in Erzurum, he was an outstanding figure in the Armenian liberation movement. One of the oldest fedayee leaders in the ARF, Keri first worked with Aram Aramian (Tatoul) and then took part in practically all the great battles. He had already made a name for himself when he arrived in Sasoun in 1903 as part of Torkom's formation and was made responsible for general supplies there. Although Keri stayed in Vasbouragan for some time after the Sasoun insurrection, he was already in the Caucasus around the middle of 1905 and led the defense of Sisian during the Armeno-Tatar conflict. He became famous above all during the liberation struggle in Iran from 1908 to 1912 when he aided Yeprem very skillfully and then led the Armenian-Iranian troops after Yeprem's death. In 1915, Keri commanded the fourth volunteer battalion, took part in the victorious battle of Sarikhamish and then, at Revanduz, saved the Armenian-Russian forces, who were surrounded after a courageous break-through into the enemy lines. At the head of his men, he fell in the battle of Revanduz.

Karageozian, Hagop (Zaven)
(?-1897)

Born in Trebizond to a well-off family, Zaven finished his schooling and went off to the Caucasus, whence he was sent to Constantinople to help prepare the operations of August 1897 (the bomb attack at the Sublime Porte). Betrayed, his house was surrounded by the police. Zaven refused to surrender. Gunfire broke out, but Zaven kept the last bullet in his revolver for himself (August 24, 1897).

Kendirian, Vramshabouh (Vram)
(?-1905)

A young Dashnaktsakan revolutionary, Vram helped with the preparations for the assassination of Sultan Abdul-Hamid II and then became a member of the Demonstrative Responsible Body. He had left Constantinople by the beginning of March 1905 and had gone to Geneva to represent the Body at the ARF Council. On March 17, near Sofia, on the slopes of Mount Vidosh, he and Kristapor were the victim of a hand-grenade accident.

Kevork Chavoush
(Ghazarian K., Sarhad)
(?-1907)

Born in Daron, Kevork was sent to school at the monastery of Sourp-Garabed in 1876. There he met Arapo. Later he assassinated the man who informed on Arapo after the latter's arrest. He worked with the militant Hnchak Mourad Boyajian and was captured in 1894 but escaped from prison. He joined the ARF and worked with Serop and Kourken and later with Antranig. His exceptional courage and daring soon made him the most popular hero of Sasoun, with almost legendary fame. He took part in the epic events there in 1904. He crossed into Vasbouragan with Antranig, Mourad and their fedayees, but not very fond of the idea of leaving the people of Sasoun to themselves, he returned soon after. From 1904 until his death, Kevork was the unchallenged leader of the underground in Daron-Sasoun and the terror of the region's Kurdish tribes and Turkish forces. The Fourth World Congress elected him member of the Sasoun-Vasbouragan Responsible Body, but Kevork was killed in the battle of Souloukh on May 27, 1907.

Khachadourian, Smpad (Boris)
(?-?)

Boris was a Dashnaktsakan militant and leader during the first decade of the ARF. In spring 1897, after taking

part in a meeting of leaders in Bulgaria (Vramian, Nigol Madinian, Varto, Mikayel Varantian and others), Boris went to Constantinople to replace the sick Hovnan Tavtian and organize the clandestine operations of August 1897 (bomb attack at the Sublime Porte and so on). The Second World Congress elected him a member of the Western Bureau. In 1899, the Bureau sent him as a representative-delegate to assist Hrach in Alexandria, who had been left on his own to handle the activities of the Cilicia Responsible Body. Boris stayed there until the end of 1900. Not much is known about his subsequent work. It seems that he withdrew from organizational bodies and activities.

Khadisian, Aleksandr
(1876-1945)

Having studied in his birthplace, Tbilisi, in Moscow, and in Germany, Khadisian became a doctor. He was Mayor of Tbilisi from 1910 to 1917, president of the Armenian National Bureau from 1915 to 1917 and one of the prime movers and organizers of the volunteer movement. In 1917, he joined Dashnaktsutiun, of which he had always been a sincere sympathizer. In 1918, he took part in the talks with the Turks at Trebizond and then Batum (Batumi). Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Kachaznouni cabinet, he headed the Armenian Delegation to Constantinople. He was Prime Minister from April 1919 to May 1920. Subsequently, the Ohanjanian Bureau-Government sent him abroad to tour the various centers of the dispersion in order to put into order the internal finances of the Armenian government. He settled in Paris after the fall of the Republic. After false accusations by certain Armenian Communists, Khadisian was arrested in 1944 but released soon after that. Nevertheless, life in prison had taken its toll on his health, and he died on March 10, 1945.

Khadisian, Gonsdantin
(?-?)

A chemical engineer from the University of St. Petersburg and the older brother of Aleksandr Khadisian, who was to become Prime Minister of the Armenian Republic, Gonsdantin had a strong personality and character. In 1890, he led the Severniye Nomera group, purely nationalistic and opposed to socialism. In the Federation of Armenian Revolutionaries, Khadisian and his supporters organized a separate group, called Fraktsya (fraction). He did not remain within Dashnaktsutiun for very long. In 1892, he withdrew, traveled to the Northern Caucasus, and then settled in Baku, where he became involved with cultural activities and public life. He remained a loyal friend of the Dashnaktsutiun.

Khanazad, Roupen
(Nshan Garabedian)
(1862-1929)

Khanazad graduated from the University of Geneva and was one of the founders of the Hnchak Party in Geneva in 1887. In 1889, in Trebizond, he founded a Hnchak Committee for handling activities in Turkish Armenia (Hmaiag Khoushboulian, Bedros Marimian, Hagop Meghavorian and others). In 1890, in Tbilisi, first alone and then with Meghavorian, he took part in talks for the foundation of the Federation of Armenian Revolutionaries and, in the name of the Hnchak Party, he signed a protocol for unity with the Kentron. In spite of the opposition of the Hnchak Center in Geneva (May 1891), he worked for a time as a member of the ARF, mainly in Southern Russia in arms negotiations missions. After 1905, he broke with the Hnchak Party for good and retired from political life.

Khrimian, Mgrdich (Hayrig)
(1820-1907)-

Born in Van, Khrimian was ordained as a priest in 1854. From 1858 to 1862, after installing a printing press in the monastery of Varak, he published the monthly The Vasbouragan Eagle. Upon becoming Prelate of Moush in 1862, he published The Daron Eaglet there. Made bishop in 1868, Khrimian was elected Patriarch of Constantinople the following year, but he resigned his patriarchate in 1873 and devoted his efforts to his literary activities. In 1878, he headed the Armenian delegation to the Congress of Berlin. On his return to Constantinople, fully convinced that the salvation of the Armenian people now lay in armed struggle, he preached his famous "iron ladle" sermon.
Khrimian served as Prelate of Van from 1880 to 1885, but the Ottoman government exiled him first to Constantinople (1885) and then to Jerusalem (1890). Elected Catholicos of all the Armenians in 1892, he spent the rest of his life in Echmiadzin (Russian Armenia) and remained the well-loved Hayrig ("Father") he had always been, suffering for the miseries of his people and striving unremittingly for the well-being, education, and intellectual and ideological awakening of his community. Khrimian is recognized as the spiritual father of the Armenian revolutionary movement. He is well-known for his vehement opposition to the Czar's decree of 1903, by which the properties of the Armenian church were confiscated.

Knouni, Khachig (Shahen)
(1865-1896)

Born in Vasbouragan, Shahen went to the Kevorkian Seminary of Echmiadzin, but did not complete his studies. After teaching in his birthplace and then in Constantinople and Rodosto (1893), he returned to Constantinople. An independent and very strong personality with revolutionary ideas, he was always at odds with the agha class and the boards of the schools where he taught. He was one of the closest colleagues of Yousoufian and Vramian. With Ardashes Antreasian and Ardashes Misakian, Knouni conceived and organized the violent bomb attacks of August 14-15, 1896 at Samatia, following the occupation of the Ottoman Bank. Because of pursuit and searches conducted by the police, the enterprise was only a partial success, but for about twenty hours the three men wrought havoc in the street fighting, causing heavy losses among the Turkish soldiers. All three fell as heroes.

Kocharian, Hagop
(1865-1933)

Born in Yerevan, Kocharian studied

history and linguistics at the University of Moscow. He took part in the efforts to form the Federation of Armenian Revolutionaries. In the Party, he dealt more with social and cultural matters than with political and strictly revolutionary affairs. Kocharian was a teacher and a man of profound culture, a member of a number of associations, a political commentator and a translator. He headed the Secretariat of the National Bureau in Tbilisi and then the Delegation of the Armenian Republic in Paris. Later, he returned to Soviet Armenia, where he died in 1933.

Koloshian, Vartan (Aleksandr)
(1867-1889)
and **Akribasian, Hovhannes**
(1865-1889)

Vartan Koloshian belonged to a weil-known family of Tbilisi. A brilliant student, he was sent to the Lazarian College in Moscow, but ran away from school and then from home in 1883. He went to Juifa and then to Salmasd and, finally, Van, where he met Khrimian and Portugalian. He ventured as far as Moush and Sasoun and then visited Shadakh. In 1888, he was back in Iranian Azerbaijan where he met Hovhannes Akribasian from Van, who worked at a gunsmith's shop in Haftvan. The two young idealists decided to ship arms to "The Land". In spring 1889, entrusted with a shipment of arms and ammunition and together with a third person, Kulaksezian, they went from Iran into Turkey, heading for Daron. Before Van, in a place called Chukh Keatuk, they found themselves face to face with a unit of Turkish police. Refusing to surrender, Koloshian and Akribasian were killed in the skirmish that followed. They were among the first to die in the struggle for Armenian liberation.

Komsa Iso (Goriun)
(?-1915)

Born at Koms, on the Moush plainlands, Iso studied at the monastery of Sourp-Garabed and became a faithful disciple of Hrayr. When still very young, he punished the traitorous priest Garabed and went underground in Sasoun. He was arrested and sentenced to 101 years in prison, but managed to escape and joined Kevork Chavoush. He took part in all the important epic battles of Sasoun in 1904. He came back from Vasbouragan with Kevork and undertook the reorganization of the Dashnaktsutiun in the Moush plainlands, Bingöl and Khnous (Hinis). He went to the Caucasus in 1905 and took part in the Armeno-Tatar fighting on the Zankezour and Gharabagh fronts. Back in Daron after the restoration of the Ottoman Constitution, he worked closely with Simon Zavarian and Dr. Hagop Zavrian (Zavriev). With Roupen, in 1915, he led the heroic defense of Sasoun. Iso was killed during the Ambrni fighting in mid-July 1915.

Krouzinian, Simon (Simon Vratsian)
(1882-1969)

Born in the village of Medz Sala in Nor Nakhichevan, the Northern Caucasus, Vratsian graduated from the Kevorkian College of Echmiadzin in 1906 and took part in the Fourth World Congress in Vienna in 1907. He studied law at the University of St. Petersburg. In 1910, after stays in Constantinople and Batum, he settled for a time in Erzurum and then went to America (1911), where he took over the editorship of *Hairenik* daily newspaper. He represented America at the Eighth World Congress (1914) and was elected a member of the Bureau of Armenia. He went to the Caucasus and entered the committee organizing the Armenian volunteer contingents. He worked as editor for *Horizon* in Tbilisi in 1917. From the Ninth World Congress onward (Yerevan 1919), Vratsian was elected a member of the ARF Bureau several times. He was also Minister of Labor and Agriculture in the Ohanjanian cabinet (May-November 1920) and then, immediately after the Armeno-Turkish war, he was appointed Prime Minister. As such, it was his task, on December 2, 1920, to transfer power officially to the Bolshevik Revolutionary Committee. During the February, 1921, uprising, he was president of the Committee for the Salvation of the Homeland. He then went to Iran and abroad. From 1925 to 1933, he worked on *Droshak* (which had been moved to Paris) with Arshag Jamalian and Shavarsh Misakian. He then published the periodical *Vem* and his main work, *The Republic of Armenia*. In 1952, after the death of Levon Shant, he became director of the Hamazkain Association's College in Beirut and held that post until his death, meanwhile writing a series of memoirs and other works.

L

Levonian, Armenag (Ashod-Yergat)
(1872-1904)
and **Kghetsi Boghos (Tokhmakh)**
(?-1904)

Ashod-Yergat was born in Shekhiagouz, near Bitlis and graduated from that city's American School. He taught in Sasoun and settled in America in 1892. He joined the ARF after the arrival of Yousoufian and became one of the founders and journalists of *Hairenik*. The Meeting of the Body Representing the WIII of the Dashnaktsutiun appointed him member of the Cilicia Responsible Body. In 1902, he went to Smyrna (Izmir), met Hrach, but did not stay there. That same year he passed through the Caucasus and Iran on the way to Van, Akhlat and Sasoun, where, in 1902-03, he worked with Vahan and Hrayr. Leaving "The Land" once more, he represented the Sasoun Responsible Body at the Third World Congress (Sofia, 1904), but made haste to return, because Sasoun was already ablaze. He crossed the Caucasian border and arrived with a small group of men in Arjesh, but he was killed in a skirmish on June 2, 1904.
The entire group was slaughtered. It included another brave militant, Boghos Kghetsi, known by his pseudonym Tokhmakh. Long settled in the Aladagh mountains (northeast of Lake Van), Tokhmakh had set up friendly relations with the Kurdish chieftains,

thus ensuring safe passage for arms shipments from the region of Yerevan toward Van and Sasoun.

Loris-Melikian, Hovhannes (Loris)
(?-19?)

Born in Tbilisi, Loris-Melikian graduated from the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Paris in 1889. He settled in Tbilisi, took part in the efforts to form the Federation of Armenian Revolutionaries, and was elected a member of the Kentron. He later went to Paris, where he continued to work with the editorial staff of *Droshak* under the pseudonyms of Zarifian and Tayinian. In 1899, encouraged by Kristapor Mikayelian, Loris took charge of propaganda for the Armenian cause and the publication of *Pro Armenia* and achieved notable success very quickly. The Third World Congress of the ARF (1904) elected him a member of the Western Bureau. Loris continued to organize meetings and pro-Armenian congresses in various European capitals until, after Kristapor's death, his tactical differences with the other members of the Bureau led him to resign. In 1906-07, he withdrew completely from all organizational and public activity and lived out the rest of his days in Paris.

M

Madinian, Nigol (Vahan)
(?-?)

Born in Gharabagh, Madinian was a zealous member and leader of Young Armenia. He played an active part in the founding of the Federation of Armenian Revolutionaries and worked with the Kentron first and then in the Bureau. Harassed by the Russian police, he spent a number of years abroad (Izmir, Egypt, Geneva) from 1897 onward. Back in the Caucasus in 1904, he remained faithful in his duties toward the Party. All trace of him is lost after the Sovietization of Armenia.

Madinian, Satenig (Dzaghig)
(1874-1930)

Born in Gharabagh, Satenig was a dynamic member of the revolutionary cells in Tbilisi (1888-92). In 1892, she went to Tabriz as a teacher and stayed there until 1897, taking an active part in the organization of Dashnaktsutiun, concentrating on training the women's cells. Going to Russia in 1899, she married Hovsep Ishkhan Arghoutian, who was in exile there, and shared the life and work of her husband until his death. She died in Paris.
Satenig's sister, Natalia Madinian, a midwife by profession, was also active in Tbilisi during the founding of the Federation of Armenian Revolutionaries and during the first decade of the ARF.

Mallants, Baghdasar (Kourken)
(1873-1899)

Born in Akoulis (Koghtn), Kourken served in the army from 1894 to 1896. He then went to Iran, from where he moved into "The Land" to serve the revolution. In September 1896, he belonged to the group commanded by Bedros Seremjian that took part in the Bsdig Tebk (little battles) of Van. He returned to Van with Vazken in July 1897 and went on to Akhlat with Serop. He did a great deal in the organization of the Region and founded the ARF Central Committee of Salno Tsor (Bitlis-Akhlat). In Bitlis, Kourken killed the chief police commissioner, Hilmi, who was terrorizing the town's Armenians. He then went up to Sasoun on an organizational and propaganda mission. The Second World Congress (1898) elected him a member of the Sasoun Responsible Body, along with Serop and Hrayr. Kourken enjoyed the esteem and sympathy of the fedayees and of the Sasoun population. He was killed during the Tsronk fighting, on April 23, 1899.

Maloumian, Khachadour (E. Agnouni)
(1863-1915)

Born in Meghri, Agnouni studied at the Nersesian College of Tbilisi. A member of the editorial team of the review *Mshag* from 1883, he represented Krikor Ardzrouni in the negotiations preliminary to the founding of the Federation of Armenian Revolutionaries. Later, he went to Geneva to continue his studies. Due to the urging of Kristapor Mikayelian, he started working for *Droshak* in 1899. He used the name E. Agnouni to sign the series entitled Caucasian News. He soon joined the editorial staff, and was a member of the Western Bureau of the ARF from 1901 on. From 1907 onward, he attended all the World Congresses. He was one of the main organizers of the Paris Congress of opposition forces of the Ottoman Empire (1907). An energetic political commentator and an eloquent speaker, he published a number of works, including The Wounds of the Caucasus and Toward Combat. He lived in Constantinople from 1908 onward, and paid a number of visits to America, Egypt, Smyrna and so on. In 1915, he was in the first group of intellectuals who fell as victims of the Genocide.

Manasian, Sarkis
(?-1920)

Born in Chardakhlou in the region of Kantzag, Minasian graduated from the Nersesian College of Tbilisi. When still very young, he was involved in the clandestine revolutionary cells of the city. He took part in the Potorig operation in 1903, and gradually became a specialist in procuring, storing and distributing arms and ammunition. His skills were extremely useful during the Armeno-Tatar war in 1905, when he was a member of "Zifon", the military and logistical organization attached to the ARF's Eastern Bureau. Arrested during the Leizhin persecutions, he was not freed until 1914. He was Dro's right-hand man under the Kerenski government, Aram's aide in 1918 and then Giulkhandanian's assistant in the Bureau in 1920. He then became a member of parliament. As the official envoy at Dilijan in May, 1920, his mission was to find some way of coming to terms with the Bolsheviks, but they arrested and shot him.

Manouelian, Vahan
(?-1904)

Born in Medz Norkiugh near Yalova in the Balkans, Vahan joined the ARF in Constantinople during the Yousoufian period and worked with Vramian and Papken Siuni. While a member of the Party, he taught in Bulgaria (Varna and Philippopolis) from 1896 onward. He wrote for *Sharzhoum*. Encouraged by Rosdom, he went to the Caucasus in 1900. The meeting of the Body Representing the Will of the Dashnaktsutiun appointed him member of the Sasoun Responsible Body in 1901. He went to Iran and then reported to Vartkes in Van at the end of the same year. In 1902, Vahan arrived in Sasoun as the representative of the Party and was able to put an end to the internal squabbles among the fedayees and also ended the Hrayr-Antranig conflict. After the 1904 fighting, Vahan became sick and could not follow the fedayees to Vasbouragan. He stayed in Sasoun, where he was discovered and killed on May 16, 1904.

Markarian, Mardiros (Safo)
(?-?)

Safo was an active leader during the first 15-16 years of Dashnaktsutiun. In 1885, he went on a reconnaissance tour of Daron. With Hovsep Ishkhan Arghoutian, he was a member of the Young Armenia delegation sent "on pilgrimage" to the monastery of Sourp-Garabed in Daron. He took part in a number of Rayonagan and World Congresses of the ARF and was in the Council of Representatives of 1905 (Geneva). The Third World Congress elected him a member of the Demonstrative Responsible Body, and after the death of Kristapor, Safo organized preparations for the attack against the Sultan. Held to be the main cause of the failure of the attack and accused of having created an unhealthy atmosphere within the Demonstrative Body, Safo was expelled from Dashnaktsutiun by a decision of the Fourth World Congress (1907). He nevertheless remained faithful. He died in Rumania.

Mehrabian, Sarkis (Vartan Khanasori)
(18?-1943)

Born in Gharabagh, Vartan had served in the Russian Army. From 1890 onward, he was in Tabriz, Salmasd and at the Derik Monastery (Iranian Azerbaijan). At the head of small groups of fedayees, he often crossed the border toward Vasbouragan, experiencing skirmishes with the Turkish border guards and Kurdish tribes. In spring 1896, he organized and led the defense of Shadakh (mountainous region of Vasbouragan). Then, in September of the same year, he took part in the Bsdig Tebk (little battles) of Van and served as commander-in-chief of the Khanasor Expedition in July 1897. Later, he worked alongside Zavarian in the study and organization of Cilicia. During the Armeno-Tatar fighting in the Caucasus in 1905, he was put in charge of the self-defense of Gharabagh. In 1915, he was appointed commander-in-chief of the Araradian formation of Armenian volunteers who went to the help of the Van insurgents. Vartan remained in Armenia after Sovietization and died in Yerevan in 1943.

Melik-Hagopian, Hagop (Raffi)
(1835-1888)

Born at Payajuk, in the region of Salmasd in Iranian Azerbaijan, Raffi had his secondary schooling (unfinished) in Tbilisi and was involved with teaching and trade. He visited Turkish Armenia in his youth (Vasbouragan and Daron). He was in Tbilisi in 1868, in Tabriz in 1870 and then in Akoulis (Koghtn), working as a teacher in all three areas. From 1878 to 1884, he was a member of the editorial team of Krikor Ardzrouni's *Mshag* in Tiflis and then worked for Abkar Hovhannisian's *Artzakank*. His novels were originally published in these two periodicals.
Raffi's novels [*Jalaleddin*, *Davit Beg*, *Samuel*, *Khent* (The mad) and *Gaydzer* (Sparks)] were either historical or revolutionary in nature and content and did a great deal to arouse feelings of national dignity and to propagate revolutionary ideas. This great novelist is quite justifiably considered one of the forerunners of the Armenian liberation movement.

Melik-Krikorian, Parsegh (Ghara-Melik)
(?-1915)

Born in Akoulis, Ghara-Melik was one of the first agents in the Armenian revolutionary movement. He began his clandestine activities as early as the late seventies, first in Baku, then in Iran, Tbilisi, Yerevan, Kars and elsewhere. In 1882, he went to Erzurum in Turkish Armenia to help with the Defenders of The Homeland movement. After the foundation of the ARF, he traveled throughout the various regions of Transcaucasia for organizational and above all logistical missions. Back in Erzurum, he was arrested with Rosdom in 1895 and expelled to Iran. The following year, with Hrayr, Aloyan, Garo, Jallad and Apamelik, he was in the Military Council of the ARF in Kars. His name also appears on the list of members sent to the Second World Congress (1898). In 1904 he went to Berlin and then to America, but he was back in St. Petersburg in 1909. He returned to Baku in 1910 and died there in 1915 of inflammation of the lungs.

Melkonian, Dajad (Karmen)
(?-1916)

Once a priest but leaving the priesthood in 1906, Dajad Melkonian was a zealous revolutionary. He was secretary of the Fourth World Congress in Vienna, 1907, and then went to Daron with Zaven. After the proclamation of the Ottoman Constitution and the departure of Roupen, Karmen was appointed representative of Dashnaktsutiun for Daron-Sasoun. His unique and somewhat flashy mode of operating was not appreciated by all and caused a certain discontent. He was expelled from the Region by the Daron-Sasoun Regional Convention in 1911. Fleeing during the 1915 holocaust, he managed to arrive in Aleppo and lived there for some time with his family in a state of extreme poverty. In 1916, Karmen went to Urfa with the objective of reaching the Caucasus, but he was recognized

by local Kurds in the region of Moush and killed on the spot.

Mihran
(?-1907)

A fedayee and group leader, Mihran was with Kayl-Vahan in 1904 on the Mosoun-Zor Expedition. After 1905, Mihran rejected the socialism formulated by the Plan of Action for the Transcaucasia, which he interpreted as a denial of the fundamental objective of the ARF: liberation of the Armenians in Turkey. He had followers, mainly in the ranks of the fedayees who had fought or were still fighting Turkish tyranny in the Ottoman Empire. He was also protected by Hampartsoum Arakelian and the review *Mshag* in Tbilisi and also by the infamous secret police of the Czar, Okhrana, for which he gradually became an informer and a collaborator. By a decision of the Dashnaktsutiun, Mihran was assassinated in Rostov by Deli Ghazar in 1907.

Mikayelian, Kristapor
(1859-1905)

Born in Akoulis in the region of Koghtn, Kristapor graduated from the Normal School of Tbilisi. For a few years, he attended the Moscow Institute of Agronomy, but interrupted his studies, came back to Tbilisi in 1887 and started a feverish revolutionary campaign. At the same time, he taught workers and immigrants from Turkish Armenia to read, write and handle guns.
Thanks to his strong, attractive personality, Kristapor became the prime mover in the unification of Armenian revolutionary groups into a Federation of Armenian Revolutionaries in 1890. He was arrested in spring 1891 and exiled to Bessarabia, where with Simon Zavarian (also in exile), he published the first issues of *Droshak*. In 1892, he attended the First World Congress of the Federation and stayed in Transcaucasia until the Second World Congress (1898). He was always the central figure in his Party. In Geneva, from 1898 onward, Kristapor worked on the new *Droshak* (the central organ of the ARF) and handled propaganda for the Armenian cause. The fruit of his labor appeared in Paris from 1900 onward in the form of the bi-monthly *Pro Armenia*, which he published with the cooperation of the French intellectual and political elite (the review was published until 1914). After the Meeting of the Body Representing the Will of the Dashnaktsutiun, in April 1901, Kristapor ran the Potorig operation, the aim of which was to use threats if necessary to extort large sums of money from the richer Armenians for revolutionary action.
From the Third World Congress onward (1904), Kristapor was the central figure of the Demonstrative Responsible Body, whose main objective was to assassinate Sultan Abdul-Hamid. Unfortunately, this great pioneer of the Armenian revolutionary struggle was himself soon to be the victim of a bomb explosion near Sofia, while testing hand grenades.

Minasian, Sarkis (Aram Ashod)
(?-1915)

Aram Ashod was a Dashnaktsakan man of letters and political commentator. Born in the Constantinople region, he soon left for Europe to continue his studies. He worked for *Droshak* from 1896 onward and was a member of the editorial team after 1899. In 1905, he went to America, where he ran *Hairenik* for a time. In Constantinople after the proclamation of the Ottoman Constitution, he taught at the Central College there and worked for *Azadamard* at the same time. He was a victim of the 1915 Genocide.

Mirzaian, Asdvadzadour (Gredatsi)
(1871-1897)

Born in Ghzlar, Gredatsi studied at the village's parish school. A non-commissioned officer in the Russian army, he took part in the Khanasor Expedition and was killed during the fighting.

Mirzaian, Hovsep (Arpag Rshdouni)
(1873-?)

A Dashnaktsakan leader in Iran, Rshdouni was born in Tehran, studied at the city's mission school and worked in a bank. He took part in the Khanasor Expedition, in the cavalry. Elected a member of the Cilicia Responsible Body by the Second World Congress, he resigned for personal reasons. With Nigol-Douman, he was a member of the commission of inquiry into the events surrounding the assassination of Shego. Later, in 1908, Mirzaian was with Rosdom conducting talks with the Iranian revolutionaries. He was a long-term member of the Dashnaktsakan bodies in Persia, the Tehran Central Committee in particular. There are no details available about the latter part of his life and work.

Misakian, Ardashes
(1879-1896)

Born in Constantinople, Ardashes Misakian left the local school and was sent to the Armash Seminary, where he did not complete his studies. He settled in Samatia and became a local leader of the Dashnaktsutiun. With Khachig Knouni and Souren, he organized the August 1896 demonstration in Samatia during which he was killed.

Misakian, Mgrdich (Shavro)
(1880-1904)

Born in Kars, Shavro was a student at the Kevorkian Seminary in Echmiadzin and then at the Nersesian College in Tbilisi. He was well known for his courage and devotion in arms shipment operations from one side of the Turkish-Iranian border to the other. In 1904, while he was on his way from the monastery of the Apostle St. Thaddeus in Iran to Abagha in Turkish Armenia, Shavro was killed by a Kurd accompanying him.

Misakian, Shavarsh
(1884-1957)

Born in the village of Zimara in Sepasdia (Sivas), Misakian studied at the Central Armenian School of Constantinople. He started working as a journalist at 16. In 1908, he became editor of the weekly *Aztag* in Constantinople and was editor-in-chief of *Harach* in

Erzurum from 1911 to 1912. Later, he joined the editorial staff of *Azadamard* in Constantinople. Arrested and tortured in April 1915, he attempted suicide but fortune smiled upon him: he survived and recovered. He became editor-in-chief of *Jagadamard* in Constantinople after the armistice. In 1919, he took part in the Ninth World Congress in Yerevan. He went to Sofia in 1922 and then to Paris, where he founded *Harach*. He was elected to the ARF Bureau at the Tenth World Congress in Paris in 1925. From 1925 to 1933, he also published *Droshak* with Simon Vratsian and Arshag Jamalian. His output was vast and useful, in France especially, for Dashnaktsutiun and the Armenian community in general.

Mogatsi Haroutiun (Akhber)
(1861?-1902)

Born in Moks, Akhber left his home at an early age and went to Constantinople and Smyrna (Izmir). He returned to Moks in 1890, but he paid frequent visits to Van, where he met Bedo. He was already a Dashnaktsakan fedayee in 1894-95, operating in Van, Moks and Shadakh. he also dealt with clandestine shipments of arms from Salmasd (Iran) to Van. He was in a number of battles: Boghaz-Kyasan with Nigol-Douman, Pesantashd (with Vartan) and so on. He was in Salmasd in 1897 and, in July, took part in the Khanasor Expedition as a captain. He stayed in Iranian Azerbaijan after the expedition. At the monastery of St. Thaddeus, he organized relays of arms and men toward Turkish Armenia. He contracted a serious illness and died on June 25, 1902.

Mouradian, Martin (Ashod-Martin)
(?-?)

A Dashnaktsakan fieldworker, Martin was in Egypt in 1895 and then in Cyprus, where, with Armen Garo and other young militants, he made ready to reach Zeytoun and join the insurgents. He was in Smyrna (Izmir) in 1896, whence he returned to Egypt at the end of 1897. He was in America (Chicago) in 1898. In 1901, the Meeting of the Body Representing the Will of the Dashnaktsutiun appointed him member of the Cilicia Responsible Body, and Martin returned to Egypt in 1902. In 1904, he was in the auxiliary group of the Tsoutsagan Demonstrative Body and worked mainly in Smyrna. In Cilicia in 1907, he was a member of the ARF Gomideh of Adana. Later, he returned to the United States.

N

Nazarbegian, Avedis (Nazarbeg)
(1866-1939)

Born in Tbilisi, Nazarbegian completed his secondary schooling in St. Petersburg and Paris. He was a Marxist revolutionary, political commentator, orator and poet (his pseudonym was Lerents). Disappointed with Portugalian, he founded the periodical Hnchak and the Party of the same name in Geneva in 1887 with a group of young Caucasian Armenians (his fiancee Maro Vartanian, Kevork Gharajian, Kapriel Gafian, Roupen Khanazad and others). After the split within his Party in 1896, he took charge of the left wing. In America from 1923 onward, he joined the Communist (worker's) Party. He settled in Moscow in 1934 and died there in 1939. His wife, Maro Nazarbeg (Vartanian) was also a leader in the Hnchak Party. She worked mainly in the Caucasus and was exiled to Siberia in 1912. She joined the Bolsheviks in 1917 and died in Tbilisi in 1941.

Nazarbegian, Tovmas
(1855-1931)

Born in Tbilisi, Nazarbegian graduated from the Military Academy of Moscow. In 1904, he took part in the Russo-Japanese war as a colonel and was awarded a golden sword for his valor. Promoted to the rank of general in 1914, he was the architect of the overwhelming victory over the army of Khalil Pasha at Dilman in Iranian Azerbaijan. In 1917, after the Russian troops had evacuated the front, Nazarbegian was appointed overall commander, and commander-in-chief of the Armenian forces during independence. After the Sovietization of Armenia, Nazarbegian was exiled, on January 12, 1921, along with a group of 1,200 Armenian officers. Freed shortly after, he settled in Tbilisi, where he died in oblivion on February 19, 1931.

Nersesian, Arshag (Sebouh)
(1872-1940)

Born in Papert (Bayburt), Sebouh did his secondary studies in Trebizond. He joined the Hnchak Party in Constantinople in 1889 and took part in the demonstration at Kum-Kapu. Later, he was in the Crimea and then in the Caucasus where in 1894 he joined Dashnaktsutiun. He was an organizer in his home town and belonged to a number of arms shipment groups. He went to Sasoun and joined Torkom's formation in 1903 and became one of the leaders of the 1904 insurrection. Seriously wounded, he remained in Akhlat for a certain time and then in Vasbouragan. He attended the Fourth World Congress in Vienna in 1907 then returned to his birthplace after the proclamation of the Ottoman Constitution. Later, he was in the Caucasus and Kharkov. In 1914-15, Sebouh took part in the battles of Khoy and Dilman at the side of Antranig. Still later, he was part of the Armeno-Russian forces which liberated Garin. At the head of a Dashnaktsakan formation, he took part in the decisive battle of Sardarabad and later on went to help the Armenians besieged in Baku. After independence, he bore the rank of colonel in the Armenian army. At the head of a special unit, in May 1920 he repressed the Bolshevik insurrection in Shirag. After Sovietization, he went to America, where he spent the rest of his days.

Nevrouz Family

The family came from Tekirdag and joined the ARF early on, in Rodosto, where they were living. They dealt with the purchase and shipment of arms. The presence of the arms and the renown of the Nevrouz people living in Rodosto definitely played a role in the

sparing of the city during the 1895-96 massacres.
Hagop Nevrouz (later Dr. Nevrouz) led a very active public and political life and always remained faithful to the Party.
Levon Nevrouz (Jacques-Léon or Mrgo) was one of the students in Nancy who in 1895 broke off their studies and went to the *Droshak* Office in Geneva to enroll in the ranks of the ARF. He was sent to Constantinople where he did a great deal to help with the preparation of the August 14, 1896 operations. His main job was to handle contacts with the embassies. Later, he was also in the team that aimed to slay Sultan Abdul-Hamid II.
Onnig Nevrouz was a chef in Rumania in 1897-98. He visited Geneva in 1899. In 1902, he was one of the men Kristapor chose for the Potorig operation and left for the Caucasus. He then went to Kars. In September 1903, he commanded a formation of infantry which had to go to Sasoun with Khan's mounted forces. There were 150 men in all. The fedayees were spotted in the triangle of villages made up by Dali Baba, Yuzveran and Komatsor. For several days, the men fought ferociously against Turkish battalions armed with cannon and more than 300 horsemen. The two leaders, Onnig Nevrouz and Khan, fell with most of their men.

Norhadian, Hamazasb
(?-?)

Born in Kars, Norhadian was a Dashnaktsakan fieldworker of the second generation and was a member of the Kars Central Committee practically uninterruptedly from 1902 onward. He also led an active public and political life. Mayor of Kars during the independence of Armenia (1918-20), he took part in the Ninth World Congress in Yerevan in 1919. In November of 1920 he was sent to the gallows by the Turks; he had desperately tried to save Kars from falling into the hands of the Turks.

O

Odabashian, Nigol (Vana Ishkhan)
(1883-1915)

Born in Shoushi (Gharabagh), Vana Ishkhan went to the municipal schools of Shoushi and Yerevan. He was a gifted student, sociable and witty but always something of a rebel. In the early days, he operated in the regions of Alexandropol and Kars. In 1903, he received his baptism of fire among Nevrouz's troops. With Goms (Vahan Papazian), he crossed into Vasbouragan at the end of that year under the pseudonym Vana Ishkhan and remained there for the rest of his life. He organized the Lernabar region (south of Lake Van) and became its civilian and military leader. In 1907, he took part in the Fourth Congress. After the Ottoman Constitution was proclaimed, Vana Ishkhan refused to leave his post and disperse his fedayee formations. On April 3, 1915, along with three of his men, Vana Ishkhan fell victim to a cowardly plot hatched by the prefect Jevdet. All four were killed in their sleep.

Ohanian, Kristapor (Mkhitar)
(1864-?)

Born in Shoushi, Ohanian was the doctor-fedayee in the Khanasor Expedition. He studied medicine at the University of Geneva, and while still a student in Geneva, he apparently took part in the 1887 talks that led to the founding of the Hnchak Party. As a Dashnaktsakan, he operated mainly in Adrbadagan (Iranian Azerbaijan) and Transcaucasia under the pseudonym Mkhitar. There is no information available about his life and work after 1900.

Ohanian, Ohan (Pokhig)
(1873-1904)

Born in the village of Sag in Shadakh (Vasbouragan), Pokhig was a fedayee group leader operating in Vasbouragan and Adrbadagan. He was a captain in the Khanasor Expedition. During the summer of 1898, having arrived safely in Van at the head of 24 combatants, he returned to Iran with nine of his men, without previously advising organizational bodies. Sick, he was bedridden in Haftvan, while his soldiers took refuge in the village of Mahlam. Surprised in their sleep, they were all killed and beheaded by the local Kurds. Pokhig was expelled from the Party for negligence but returned some years later after a letter expressing his regrets and apologies. He dealt with shipments of arms and ammunition toward the Yergir on the Turko-Iranian border. In 1904, at the head of combatants on horseback, he once again attempted to cross into Vasbouragan. The whole contingent was killed in a violent skirmish with Turkish forces, who outnumbered them hopelessly.

Ohanjanian, Hamo
(1873-1947)

Born in Akhalkalak, Ohanjanian received his secondary schooling at the Tbilisi High School with further studies in medicine in Switzerland and Moscow. He was a Dashnaktsakan when still a student. He settled in Tbilisi and soon became a leader there, enjoying unanimous esteem. A member of the Eastern Bureau from 1905 onward, he took part as such in the Geneva Council where, a devout socialist, he ardently defended the "Caucasian Plan". He organized the publication of *Harach* in Tbilisi. With the esteem of the Dashnaktsakan combatants and left-wingers behind him, he played an essential role at the Fourth Congress and in the Caucasus, where he put a brake on the move toward dissent and helped to preserve the unity of the Party. Arrested by the Czarist police in 1908, he was sentenced to jail (Siberia) in 1912 after the famous trial of the Dashnaktsutiun. Freed in 1915, he began working for the protection of Western Armenian refugees. In 1917-18, he was part of the mission sent to Berlin by the Tbilisi National Council and then took part in the delegation of the Armenian Republic in Paris (under the lead of Avedis Aharonian). He was prime minister of Armenia from May to November 1920 (bureau-government). Ohanjanian was arrested after the Sovietization of Armenia but was released thanks to

the February 1921 rising. He crossed into Iran and then went to Cairo, where he spent the rest of his days as a member of the ARF Bureau and president of the Hamazkaïn Cultural Association, of which he was one of the founders, in 1928.

Ohanjanian, Sarkis (Farhad)
(1869-1918)

Born in Vagharshabad (Echmiadzin), Farhad served in the Russian army from 1889 to 1892. In Tabriz in September 1892, he joined the group led by Hovnan Tavtian, Hovsep Ishkhan Arghoutian and Nigol-Douman. In 1893, he was an organizer in Akoulis and Yerevan, where he set up the first Dashnaktsakan cells. He was back in Iran in 1894. He took part in the first battles at the monastery of Derik and, in September the same year, he went to Van with the forces commanded by Bedo. He returned to Tabriz and taught there. In 1895, he took part in the First Rayonagan Congress in the Caucasus. Then he went to Baku, whence he returned to Salmasd in 1897 to take part in the Khanasor Expedition, after which he returned to Baku. He tried to cross secretly into the Yergir in 1902 and actually reached Van but, having been discovered, he made his way back to the Caucasus. He became one of the central Dashnaktsakan figures in Yerevan and even commanded Dashnaktsakan forces in the city during the Armeno-Tatar conflict (1905). He was a member of the Yerevan Armenian National Council and the Yerevan Special Council in 1917-18. He contracted typhus and died in Yerevan in 1918.

Okhigian, Armenag (Slak)
(1874-1915)

Born in Bitlis, Slak went to the municipal school there. Wanted by police for clandestine activities, he crossed into the Caucasus in 1895. Until 1904, often working with Tokhmakh, he handled shipments of arms in the regions close to the province of Yerevan and to Iranian Azerbaijan. Under cover as a surgeon, he set up friendly relations with the local Kurdish tribes in order to facilitate the passage of arms and ammunition. Arrested in 1904, he was imprisoned in Van until 1907, when he returned to the Caucasus. Back in the Yergir after the proclamation of the Ottoman Constitution, he worked at Ikdir and Garin and finally settled in Bitlis in 1911. During the Kurdish revolution of Bitlis in February 1914, using all his diplomacy, he managed to keep the Armenians out of the troubles. He took part in the Eighth World Congress in Garin in 1914. During the 1915 Genocide, Slak was arrested and hanged in Bitlis.

Okonian, Dikran (Shamil)
(1868-1893)

Born in Akhaltskha (Georgia), Okonian was active in Kars, Tbilisi and Garin. From 1888 to 1890, using the name Shamil, he formed a band of 10-15 youngsters to defend Armenian peasants and to punish corrupt Turkish officials in the border region of Oltu (near Kars). In 1890, he joined the Federation of Armenian Revolutionaries and worked in Garin with Aram Aramian (Tatoul). Khachadour Geregtsian, one of the forerunners of the Armenian liberation movement, was killed in Garin (by order of the local Committee, but the Tbilisi Kentron formally condemned the assassination). Khachadour's brother retaliated by killing Okonian in Tbilisi in 1893.

Ozanian, Antranig (General Antranig)
(1866-1927)

Born in Shabin-Karahisar, Antranig was a brilliant figure in the Armenian liberation movement. Intractable by nature, he became an audacious, enterprising military leader. He joined the ARF in Constantinople and went to the Caucasus. He crossed over to Van with Vazken in July 1897 and then moved on to Akhlat and Sasoun, where he stayed until 1904. He took on a leading role there after the assassination of Serop. With Kevork Chavoush and Magar, he avenged Serop by killing the executioner, Bshareh Khalil. With the Moush Central Committee, he organized and led the fighting at the Arakelots monastery. In 1903, he was appointed commander of the Dashnaktsakan forces in Sasoun and led the 1904 uprising. He then withdrew to Vasbouragan with his fedayees and reached Iran. Antranig was at the Council of ARF Representatives at Geneva in 1905. He then settled in Bulgaria where he played an active part in organizing the ARF Military Academy. He took part in the Fourth World Congress in Vienna in 1907 and was elected member of the Demonstrative Body. He fought alongside the Bulgarians in the Balkans war. He went to the Caucasus in 1914 and was given command of the first volunteer contingent (battalion) on the Caucasian front. Under the supreme command of General Nazarbegian, Antranig won the battle of Dilman. He was promoted to the rank of division general in 1917. But after independence, Antranig had certain unfortunate misunderstandings with the Republic's government and left Armenia. He died in 1927 in Fresno (California) and was buried in the Père-Lachaise cemetery in Paris.

P

Pagheshtsian, Hamazasb (Salman)
(1883-1907)

A former Armenagan, Salman joined the ARF in the early nineties. He was born in Van and graduated from the Kevorkian College/Seminary of Echmiadzin. He was a member of the Vasbouragan Central Committee in 1906-07 and with Aram and Vana Ishkhan was chosen to take part in the Fourth World Congress. But tuberculosis was ravaging his health. When he reached Vienna, he was so weak that he was sent to the Austrian Tyrol to rest. Moved back to Geneva at his own request, he died there on June 26, 1907 at the age of 24.

Palabekh Garabed
(?-1915)

A famous soldier under the command of Serop, and an intrepid combatant, Palabekh was at Khatavin, Papshen and numerous other battles. In the Caucasus in 1904-05, he took part in

various operations during the Armeno-Tatar war. From 1905, after a certain hesitation but thanks to his solid sense of patriotism and partisanship, he became the sworn enemy of Mihran's movement. He returned to Akhlat after the proclamation of the Ottoman Constitution. In 1915, he was arrested and hanged in Bitlis.

Papazian, Vahan (Goms)
(1876-1973)

Born in Tabriz to a family from Van, Goms was the younger brother of the writer Vrtanes Papazian. At Nor Nakhichevan in 1893, he joined Dashnaktsutiun in 1895. He operated in the Northern Caucasus and Baku. As a fugitive, he stayed in Finland for two years, from 1900 to 1902. He secretly went to Van with Vana Ishkhan in 1903 and took the place of Vartkes, who was in prison. He organized and controlled the arms and ammunition routes to the Yergir from Iran and Yerevan in 1906-07. He was elected deputy for Van after the restoration of the Ottoman Constitution. He was active in the internationalization of the Armenian Question from 1912 onward. He was in Moush in 1913-14. When the Genocide began, he had difficulty in reaching the Caucasus, where he joined the handful of fedayees commanded by Roupen. He was in Tbilisi in 1917-18 and in 1919 became a member of the Armenian National Delegation in Paris. Then, he took part in the Ninth World Congress. In 1921, he participated in the Riga talks with the Bolsheviks. Later, he worked with the Kurdish insurgents in Turkey in the name of the ARF. He settled in Beirut in 1947 and lived there until his death.

Paperian, Yervant (Jallad)
(?-?)

A fieldworker and valorous soldier in the early years of the ARF, Jallad was born in Alexandropol. In Tbilisi in the late eighties, he took part in the "pilgrimage" organized by Young Armenia and went to Daron with Hovsep Ishkhan Arghoutian. On his return, he took part in the Gougounian Expedition. He was at the Derik monastery in 1891 and was sent on a mission to Bedo in Van. From 1894 onward, Jallad became one of the main agents for shipping arms to Sasoun on the Pasen-Khnous (Hinis) route. He was in the Kars Military Council in June 1896. However, he was dismissed from the ranks of Dashnaktsutiun after a decision by the Kars and Alexandropol Party Bodies in December 1896, accused of lack of discipline. It seems that he rejoined Party ranks later on, but was not outstandingly active.

Parian, Bedros (Papken Siuni)
(1872-1896)

Born in Pingian near Agn, Papken Siuni was in Constantinople at an early age and finished his studies there, at the Central School in 1891. He enlisted in the navy for a year, then received his Party education at Yousoufian's "school". Already a member of the Constantinople Central Committee in 1895, he conceived and organized the plan to occupy the Ottoman Bank. He was entrusted with overall command of the operation but was killed during its implementation.

Parseghian, Sarkis
(Bogos Odabashian, Vana Sarkis)
(1875-1915)

Born in Kedapeg in the region of Kantzag, Vana Sarkis attended the Nersesian College of Kantzag from 1891 onward and went to Switzerland for further studies. In 1903, he became Kristapor's aide in Potorig activities and was arrested by the police in Shoushi, but his comrades organized his escape. He went to Iran. Later, in Bulgaria, he helped with the clandestine activities of the Tsoutsagan Body. Then he went to the Caucasus and took part in the Armeno-Tatar conflict. He operated in Vasbouragan from 1906 to 1908. The Fourth World Congress elected him member of the Responsible Body for the Yergir, along with Mourad, Kevork Chavoush and Goms. He settled in Garin after the Fifth World Congress (1909) as a member of the Yergir section of the Eastern Bureau. Elected member of the Bureau of Armenia by the Eighth World Congress (1914), he was in Constantinople in 1915 and was one of the first victims of the Genocide.

Pashayan, Garabed (Taparig)
(?-1915)

A veteran revolutionary, Taparig worked in Yerznga (Erzincan) with Kalousd Arkhanian. He was arrested and sentenced to death but was reprieved on the intervention of the British ambassador in Constantinople. He later settled in Tabriz and soon became a member of the Dashnaktsakan leadership in Iranian Azerbaijan. He went to Egypt in 1904 and settled in Alexandria. In 1904-05, he took charge of the secretariat of the Cilicia Responsible Body.
After the proclamation of the Ottoman Constitution in 1908, Pashayan settled in Constantinople and became a member of community and Party Bodies and the board of *Azadamard*. He was one of the first victims of the 1915 Genocide.

Pastermajian, Karekin (Armen Garo)
(1872-1923)

Born in Garin (Erzurum), Armen Garo graduated from the Sanasarian College of the town and attended the Nancy Agricultural School in 1894. Strongly attracted by his people's armed struggle, with a few other Armenian students, he went to Geneva in 1895 to join the ARF. He was soon in Egypt and then in Constantinople, where he played a leading part in the occupation of the Ottoman Bank on August 14, 1896. He then went back to Switzerland and resumed his studies, graduating with a Ph.D. in chemistry in 1900. In 1898, the Second World Congress elected him member of the Western Bureau. In 1901, he settled in Tbilisi and led the Armenian population's defense of the city during the Armeno-Tatar war of 1905. In 1908, after the Ottoman Constitution was proclaimed, he was elected member of parliament and went to Constantinople and Garin. In autumn 1914, Armen Garo returned to the Caucasus and played an important role in the volunteer movement as Dro's right-hand man. After the independence of Armenia, he as a member of the Armenian National Delegation in Paris, and then ambassador in Washington, D.C. His role in the plan-

ning and successfully implementing Operation Nemesis was fundamental. He died in Geneva in March 1923.

Petara Manoug
(?-1920)

Born in Petar near Moush, Manoug studied at the monasteries of Sourp Hovhannes and Sourp-Garabed. While still very young, he joined the fedayees in 1903-04 and took part in all the epic battles of Sasoun. Then, as a fugitive, he hid out on the Moush plainlands. He became the trustworthy right-hand man of Kevork Chavoush and Goriun after their return from Vasbouragan and, later, Roupen's assistant. During his stay in Daron, Zavarian made him itinerant school teacher. In 1915, he took part in the defense of Moush and Sasoun. With the Russian army, he returned to Khnous (Hinis), Moush and Sasoun to help save his unfortunate compatriots who had managed to escape the holocaust. With the armed forces of Daron-Sasoun, Manoug took part in the decisive battle of Sardarabad in May, 1918. During independence, at the head of the same forces and working alongside Sasountsi Moushegh, Manoug played a fundamental part in crushing the insurrections of the Turko-Tatar populations (Jghni, Militsor, Vedi, Sharour-Nakhichevan and elsewhere) and transferring Western Armenian refugees to certain regions of the Armenian Republic. He fell during the battle for Goghp.

Portugalian, Mgrdich
(1848-?)

Born in Constantinople, Portugalian became a teacher when he was 19. He worked for a large number of papers as editor and journalist. In 1876, Portugalian founded the Araradian Society with the aim of propagating school-teaching in the Armenian provinces of the Ottoman Empire. He himself taught at the Normal School in Van from 1878 to 1885, and in 1881 founded a Central School there. He built up an intellectual, idealistic generation, and thus became one of the forerunners of the Armenian liberation movement.
He settled in Marseilles, where from 1885 onward he published the review *Armenia*. In Van, his former students and colleagues considered the review as their mouthpiece and founded the Armenagan Party.
Mgrdich Portugalian never returned to the Yergir. During the dispersion, he endeavored in vain to unite the various currents of the Armenian liberation movement into one organization.

S

Sahakian, Avedik (Hayr-Apraham)
(1865-1933)

Born in Jalal Oghli (Lori), Hayr-Apraham completed his secondary studies in Tbilisi. He graduated from the Moscow Institute of Agronomy. He founded of the Armenian Agronomic Union and was editor of the periodical *Kiughadndes*. Hayr-Apraham was busy with national, social and militant activities throughout his life. He was a member of the Eastern Bureau of the ARF and held top-ranking positions in the Party uninterruptedly from the Second World Congress (1898) onward. Arrested during the Leizhin persecutions, he was set free in 1912. Later, he became member of parliament in the Transcaucasian government, and then President of the parliament of the Armenian Republic. The Bolsheviks threw him into prison in December 1920, but he was freed upon the February 1921 insurrection. He emigrated to Iran and then settled in Lebanon, where he died in 1933.

Sahakian, Mgrdich (Apro)
(?-1896)
and **Maloyian, Avedik**
(?-1896)

These were two resolute fieldworkers in the early years of the ARF. They both met the same tragic end.
Apro was born in Shabin-Karahisar. With Tatoui or immediately after him, he arrived in Sasoun on an organizational mission. In March or April 1896, on his way from one mountain village to another, he died in a snowstorm. Avedik Maloyian, a schoolteacher in Alexandropol, was a modest but loyal militant. Toward the end of 1896, he set off on foot to reach the Yergir. Having crossed the border without problems, he was caught in a snowstorm and died.

Sarbaz Khecho
(?-1910)

Born in Sharour-Daralakiaz, he left the Russian army in 1896 and went to Iran. In 1897, he took part in the Khanasor Expedition. Arrested as a deserter in Russia in 1899, he returned to military service for another two years. He was then back in Salmasd where he helped Samson with arms shipments. He was in the Razi battle in Nigol-Douman's formation in 1904. During the Armeno-Tatar conflict, he fought at Daralakiaz. Arrested again by the Russians during the ARF's struggle against Mihranism (August 1907), he was imprisoned in Novocherkassk, where he died of typhus three years later.

Sarksian, Levon
(?-?)

Born in the Koghtn region, he went on a study tour in Turkish Armenia in 1889. As a member of the Severniye Nomera group, headed by Gonsdantin Khadisian, he took part in the effort to found the Federation of Armenian Revolutionarles and was elected a member of the Kentron. Later, he withdrew from Dashnaktsutiun and became its sworn adversary.

Sbaghanats Kaleh
(?-1907)

Kaleh was one of the oldest and most audacious of the Sasoun fedayees, an inseparable friend of Kevork Chavoush and Sbaghanats Magar. Like Magar, he was born in Sbaghank of Dalvorig (Sasoun). With Magar, he took part in the first epic fighting in Sasoun in 1894. Later, he participated in all the battles led by Kevork Chavoush and in the punitive expedition against Bshareh Khalil, the Kurdish murderer of Serop. Kaleh did not leave Sasoun after the events of 1904. He was killed in the battle of Souloukh, along with

Kevork Chavoush and Hago. The Circassian commander of the Turkish forces, Keoseh Binbashi, was also killed.

Sbaghanats Magar
(?-1907)

Magar was a veteran fedayee of Sasoun who fought by the side of Arapo, Mourad Boyajian, Serop, Kourken, Kevork Chavoush, Antranig, and Roupen. A descendant of the princes of Sbaghank, he was a courageous, daring fighter, chivalrous and devoted to his fedayees. In their endeavors to capture Magar, the chieftain of the Kurdish tribe Bshareh Khalil and the regular Turkish army attacked Sbaghank twice, in November 1899 and in July 1900, reducing the surroundings to ruins. Magar got partial revenge in autumn 1900, when, with Antranig and Kevork Chavoush, he killed Bshareh Khalil and his men. Magar took part in practically ali the battles of Sasoun. He refused to leave Sasoun after the epic events of 1904. Magar had certain differences with Kevork Chavoush and relations between them remained cold until the arrival of Roupen, the representative-delegate of the ARF, in 1906. Old Magar was killed during the fighting in Petar in the summer of 1907, while en route to take Kevork Chavoush's wife and son to safety.

Seghposian, Levon (Levon Shant)
(1869-1951)

Born in Constantinople, Levon Shant graduated from the Kevorkian College of Echmiadzin in 1891. He furthered his studies in Germany and Switzerland. A leading figure in Armenian Drama, he was a poet and a teacher. He joined the ARF in the early days and did much work in the fleld of culture, society and politics. He was vice-president of parliament in the Armenian Republic and in 1920 led the Armenian delegation the mission of which was to lay the foundations for an entente with the Soviet government in Moscow. He settled in Egypt after Sovietization and was one of the founders of the Hamazkaïn Cultural Association there. In 1930, he founded the Hamazkaïn College in Beirut with the help of Nigol Aghbalian. Despite his advanced age, he ran the school expertly until his death, ever active in intellectual and literary matters.

Sepasdatsi Mourad
(1874-1918)

Born in the village of Govdoun in the region of Sepasdla (Sivas), Mourad was a heroic figure in the Armenian revolutionary movement. He arrived in Sasoun in 1903 and joined the group led by Torkom (Touman Toumiants). He was to become one of the leaders in the heroic defense of the mountain in 1904 and led some of the population to safety in the Moush plainlands. He was in the Caucasus in 1905 and took part in the Armeno-Tatar fighting on the fronts of Nakhichevan and Zankezour. In 1907, he participated in the Fourth World Congress, which elected him member of the Yergir's Responsible Body along with Kevork Chavoush, Sarkis and Goms. He settled In Sepasdia after the proclamation of the Ottoman Constitution and did organizational work. In what was truly an odyssey, he crossed into the Caucasus at the beginning of World War I and, with Antranig, took part in the Yerznga (Erzincan) and Erzurum campaigns. In 1918, Mourad also participated in the heroic defense of Baku, where he was killed.

Seremjian, Bedros
(?-1901)

Born in Philippopolis (Bulgaria), Seremjian graduated as an officer from the Military Academy In Sofia. He went to the Caucasus in 1896, crossed over into Iran, arrived secretly in Van at the head of a group of 13 fedayees and joined Vazken and Vartan. He took part in the Bsdig Tebk (little battles) of Van in September 1896. He was fighting again in Shadakh during the retreat toward Salmasd. The following year, he was back in Bulgaria, where he soon became one of the most active and popular agents of Dashnaktsutiun. On the orders of Rosdom, he headed an Armenian-Macedonian mixed group in 1901 and battled Turkish troops in the Turko-Bulgarian border region. Seremjian, Onnig Torosian, and two Macedonians were captured by the Turks during the fighting. They were all hanged in Adrianople (Edirne) on December 9, 1901.

Serengiulian, Vartkes
(Hovhannes, Kisag, Zarmayr)
(1871-1915)

Born in Garin and a graduate of the Sanasarian College there, Vartkes was in Constantinople after 1891 and received his tralning as a Dashnaktsakan at Yousoufian's "school" there. He was arrested and imprisoned for a few months in 1896-97. He then spent a few years in Bulgaria and was in the Caucasus in 1900, whence he crossed over to Iran secretiy and made his way to Van as representative of the ARF, in early 1901. He reorganized the ranks in Vasbouragan, left leaderless after the death of Vazken, but he was arrested at the beginning of 1903 and kept in prison (first in Van and then in Diarbekir) until the proclamation of the Ottoman Constitution. He was later elected member of parliament and enjoyed the general esteem of the national and Ottoman milieus. He was killed in the 1915 slaughter, along with Krikor Zohrab (also a deputy in the Ottoman parliament) on the road to Diarbekir.

Sev Ashod
(Pakradouni, Yeghigian, Ashod)
(?-?)

Sev Ashod was a specialist in clandestine operations during the first 15-16 years of the ARF. But there were certain doubts about his behavior. He helped during the preparatory stage of the 1896 events (Ottoman Bank, Samatia and so on), but at the last minute, he managed to avoid taking part. As a member of the Constantinople Responsible Body he took part in the 1901 Meeting of the Body Representing the Will of the Dashnaktsutiun and joined the Potorig committee but was not around after the first few operations. Elected member of the Tsoutsagan Body at the Third World Congress, he went to Constantinople but vanished before the last and decisive stage of the plan against the Sultan. After the proclamation of the Ottoman Constitu-

tion, he entered the Turkish secret police in Constantinople. Much later, around 1930, he left the Soviet Union and settled in France.

Seydo Boghos
(1874?-1907)

Born in the village of Alvarinj in Daron, Seydo, when still very young, eliminated the Kurdish brigand Yousouf and became a fugitive. He had many a skirmish with the Kurds and with the Turkish police. He finally joined up with Kevork Chavoush and Antranig. By then a Dashnaktsakan fedayee, he was in the Arakelotsvank fighting with Antranig and in the Norshen battle with Kevork Chavoush and others. He was also group leader in the Sasoun uprising of 1904 and in the subsequent fighting on the Moush plainlands (Mgrakom, Shamiram) and in Vasbouragan (Aghtamar). He then went to the Caucasus and led the Armeno-Tatar conflicts of Sharour. Back in Sasoun in 1906, he worked closely with Kevork Chavoush and Roupen. He took part in the battle of Souloukh. At the end of 1907, Seydo and the fedayees Jndo and Zaven were the victims of a cowardly plot woven by their Kurdish "friend", Ghasem Beg.

Shahbaz, Vartan
(?-1959)

Shahbaz was born in the village of Odur in Sepasdia (Sivas). In 1896, he took part in the occupation of the Ottoman Bank. Soon after he was in Bulgaria for a certain time and then in the Caucasus. In Adrbadagan, he worked for a time in the Khariskh gunsmith's shop in Tabriz. He secretly crossed into Vasbouragan around the middle of 1902 and soon became one of the region's fedayee leaders. He took part in the Third World Congress in Sofia in 1904. He worked closely with Vana Ishkhan in the Lernabar region. After the proclamation of the Ottoman Constitution, Shahbaz settled in Sepasdia. He went underground in 1915 with a small group of men and, fighting all the way, managed to join up with Mourad in Yerznga (Erzincan). From the Caucasus, he went to Constantinople in 1918 and then to Cilicia, where he took part in the Marash fighting (1920-21), after which he went to Bulgaria and then Lebanon, where he spent the last 30 years of his life.

Shahrigian, Haroutiun (Nitra, Adom)
(1860-1915)

Born in Shabin-Karahisar, Shahrigian graduated from the High School of Galataserai and then from the Faculty of Law of the University of Constantinople. He was lawyer in Trebizond from 1889 to 1895. Arrested that year as a Dashnaktsakan, he managed to escape and crossed over into Transcaucasia. In 1897, in the name of the Bureau, he settled the internal squabbles in the Iranian Dashnaktsakan organization and gave his approval for the Khanasor Expedition. The Second World Congress elected him member of the Eastern Bureau (1898), which he represented in the Potorig Committee from 1901 to 1903. During the Armeno-Tatar conflict of 1905, he was in the Northern Caucasus on a similar fund-raising mission. He settled in Constantinople after the restoration of the Ottoman Constitution was proclaimed in 1908. A strong, original personality, he was a prominent figure in national affairs and in the Party. He was a victim of the 1915 Genocide.

Shatirian, Martin (Darakir)
(1867-1940)

Born in Alexandropol (present-day Leninakan), Shatirian completed his secondary studies in Baku and graduated from the Moscow Institute of Agronomy. A member of Yeridasart Hayastan, in 1890, he was active in the Yuzhniye Nomera. After the founding of the Federation of Armenian Revolutionaries, Shatirian went to Kars and Alexandropol to help with the Gougounian initiative and to set up ARF cells. When Kristapor Mikayelian and Simon Zavarian were exiled, he was elected member of the Kentron. He visited the Northern Caucasus on an organizing mission and then, after the First World Congress (1892) settled in Batum, for the same reason. In 1898, Shatirian ceased all activities and settled in Baku, remaining loyal to the Party. he went to Tabriz after the Sovietization of Armenia and spent the rest of his days there. Shatirian worked on the *Hairenik* (Homeland) monthly of Boston under the pseudonym Darakir (one who is exiled).

Shenigl Manoug
(?-1907)

One of the best-known fedayees of Sasoun, Manoug was born in the village of Shenig. When still very young, he took part in the first epic events of Sasoun (1894). Later, he was in the groups commanded by Kevork Chavoush and Sbaghanats Magar. With two other fedayees, Cholo and Ghazar, he punished the traitor who poisoned Serop. In 1901, with Antranig, Kevork and Magar, he took part in the execution of Bshareh Khalil. Manoug led the Shenig combatants during the Sasoun fighting of 1904, and he was also active in the skirmishes on the Moush plainlands (Komer, Gouravou and so on). Not wishing to leave Sasoun, he joined Magar after the departure of the other fedayees for Vasbouragan and participated in all the other fighting in Sasoun. His exceptional determination and courage were acknowledged by the Kurds and Turks in the region. He was killed along with Magar in the Petar battle in the summer of 1907.

Shiragian, Arshavir
(1900-1973)

Born in Constantinople, Shiragian soon became familiar with the constitutional milieu (after 1908) in Constantinople and grew under the wing of the Dashnaktsakan intellectual elite. While still in his teens, during the awful events of 1915-16, he was already a courier for the Party. After the armistice and the Ninth World Congress in Yerevan in 1919, he offered himself as candidate for punishing those responsible for the Genocide. He slew the traitor Vahe Ihsan in Constantinople on March 27, 1920. He then went to Yerevan, where he met Aram Yerganian, but they were both arrested in Tbilisi during a mission. Shiragian escaped and returned to Constantinople, whence he was sent on a mission to Europe. He killed the grand vizier Sayid Halim Pasha in the streets of Rome on December 5, 1921, and on April

17, 1922, in Berlin, he and Yerganian shot dead another two Ittihad Committee butchers, Behaeddin Shakir and Jemal Azmi. Shiragian spent the rest of his life in the United States.

Shishmanian, Roupen (Dersimi Keri)
(1865?-1903)

Born in Yerznga (Erzincan), Dersimi Keri worked alongside Haji Kalousd Arkhanian. After Arkhanian was arrested, Keri and his fedayees spread terror among the Turkish and Kurdish Begs in the region of Yerznga. In 1895, as his answer to the kidnaping of an Armenian girl, Keri seized the caïmacam (the district administrator) and those accompanying him, disarmed them, and killed an officer. The army (1,500 soldiers) went after him but he escaped after killing about 60 soldiers. In 1896, Dersimi Keri joined the ARF and, under orders from the Tbilisi Bureau and in cooperation with Garabed Ghoumrigian, he endeavored to lay the foundations for an agreement with the Kurdish tribes of Dersim. He soon became very popular among them. In 1898, Keri took part in the Second World Congress and then returned to Dersim, where he worked out a project for an Armeno-Kurdish insurrection. He was, however, treacherously arrested in 1900 and was hanged in June, 1903.

Shkhiants, Simeon (Souren)
(1867?-?)

Born in Noukhi, Souren graduated from the normal school of Tbilisi and taught in Kantzag after 1888. He was in Switzerland in 1892, studying at the Universities of Neuchâtel and Geneva. He helped Rosdom on *Droshak* and was the first Dashnaktsakan organizer in America (1895), where he laid the foundations for the organization that Yousoufian (1896) and then Vramian (1899) were to consolidate and expand. He returned to Geneva in 1896 and resumed his studies in Neuchâtel, remaining a Party member but no longer active. After Sovietization, he stayed in Yerevan. There are no details available of the date and circumstances of his death.

Sosoyian, Shasho
(1861-?)

A fedayee group leader, Sosoyian was born in the village of Sevkar in the region of Sbarkerd, southwest of Lake Van. He took part in the Khanasor Expedition as a corporal. In April 1899, he commanded a force of 15 armed men that was sent from Baku to Van. During skirmishes on the way, he lost three soldiers, but got the rest to Van safely.

Souloukhtsi Serop
(?-1903)

A veteran fedayee, Souloukhtsi Serop worked with Aghpiur-Serop from 1895 to 1897. In 1901, he was in Sasoun where with his two young sons he fought under Antranig. He then spent some time in Akhlat and, in 1902, in the Caucasus. In Kars, in September 1903, he joined the 'Shant' Group and returned to Sasoun. Serop was killed in the Yuzveran border fighting along with his two sons, Hagop and Avedis.

Srvantsdiants, Hamazasb
(1873-1921)

Born in Van, Hamazasb was in Yerevan from 1890 onward and later, in Shoushi, where he worked as a goldsmith. He was still in Shoushi when the Armeno-Tatar conflict broke out in 1905. At the head of a formation of youths from Shoushi, he became famous in the battle of Askeran. He then took part in the Kantzag fighting. During the Leizhin persecutions, he was arrested as a Dashnaktsakan and exiled in Siberia. He escaped and went to Constantinople. In 1914, he took part in the Eighth World Congress. Back in the Caucasus, he commanded the 3rd Battalion of volunteers on the Pasen and Van fronts in 1915. Later, he went to Baku, where he battled the forces of Nuri Pasha during the defense of the town in 1918. The Armenian government later made him commander of the Nor Bayazid garrison. The Bolsheviks arrested him at the end of 1920 and hacked him to death with axes in February 1921.

Stepanian, Dikran,
Mirzaian, Kapriel (Kapo)
and **Melik-Allahverdian, Aleksandr**

Well-known intellectuals in Tbilisi in 1890, they ali took part in constituent meetings of the Federation of Armenian Revolutionaries or worked for the Kentron. No biographical information about them is available.
Simon Vratsian, in his Chronicles, on page 115, writes: "Dikran Stepanian, a young, well-known engineer. After the foundation of Dashnaktsutiun, the Kentron sent him on a mission to Iran. However, he soon retired from ali revolutionary activity".
According to the writer Shirvanzade, Kapriel Mirzaian was a temporary treasurer of the Kentron. Aleksandr Melik-Allahverdian, was a teacher at the Nersesian College, it seems he worked on the first two issues of *Droshak* which were published in Tbilisi.

Stepanian, Stepan
(Dzerouni Haroutiunian, Balajan)
(1866-1915)

Born in Yerevan, Balajan went to the Kevorkian Seminary in Echmiadzin. He took part in the Gougounian Expedition in 1890.
Arrested, he was sentenced to 15 years hard labor and exiled to Sakhalin in the Pacific. He managed to escape with a small group of men and reached Japan on a makeshift raft. After stays in India, Egypt, Batum and Yerevan, he finally settled in Tabriz (Iran) in 1896. In 1907, he represented the Dashnaktsakan organization of Iran at the Fourth World Congress in Vienna. In 1908, he made an adventurous journey to Mosul, Bitlis, Akhlat and Van, taking photographs of the places he visited. He finally settled in Erzurum. Wherever he went, he was always the same devoted, sociable, witty comrade. He was hanged in Erzurum in 1915.

Tadeosian, Arshag (Vartan, Laklak)
(?-?)

An important leader in the first generation of ARF members, Tadeosian was a member of Yeridasart Hayastan (Young Armenia) in the preparatory meetings of the Federation of Armenian Revolutionaries. Then, when Kristapor Mikayelian and Simon Zavarian were sent into exile, he became a member of the Kentron. Also known as Vartan and Laklak (stork) he was a member of the first Bureau of the ARF (1892-98). He was probably elected member of the Bureau by the Second World Congress (1898) but his name appears more frequently in records of the first decade. We later find him as head of the Rivers and Forests Department of the Ministry of Agriculture of the Armenian Republic in 1918-20.

Tadeosian, Levon (Babasha)
(1865-1936)

Born in Akoulis, the nephew of Kristapor, Babasha left the Nersesian College of Tbilisi in 1884. After a few years teaching in Akoulis and shortly after the Federation of Armenian Revolutionaries was founded, he was sent on an organizational mission to Transcaucasia. He was then in Tbilisi and, after 1898, in Baku, a Dashnaktsakan leader fully committed to the Party. He was the Baku delegate at the Fourth World Congress held in Vienna in 1907. The Russian police arrested him in 1909 during the Leizhin persecutions, and he was imprisoned in Novocherkassk until 1912. He later stayed in Baku until the heroic defense of the city in 1918. Subsequently, he went to Yerevan, where he was elected member of the Armenian parliament. The Ninth World Congress of the ARF, held in Yerevan in 1919, also elected him member of the Party's Supreme Judicial Court. After the Sovietization of Armenia, he crossed over into Iran and went on to Geneva and then to Paris, where he died in December 1936.

Tadeosian, Samson
(1870-1945)

Born in Akoulis, Samson was Kristapor's nephew and younger brother of Levon and Hovsep Tadeosian. He was in Tbilisi in 1884 and learned gunsmithery in an official technical school there. Later, he took charge of the ARF's armories, first in Tbilisi and then in Tabriz. He settled in Ghalasar near Salmasd in 1897 as the ARF's representative where he controlled and ran relays of arms and men toward Vasbouragan. He set up excellent relations with the Persians, Kurds and Assyrians in the region and was loved and esteemed by ali. At the head of a group of combatants, he took part in the Iranian revolutionary movement from 1908 to 1910. In 1915, he was in Antranig's brigade and took part in the battle of Dilman. He later worked with Armenian refugees from Vasbouragan. He finally settled in Tabriz, where he died on March 1, 1945.

Tarkhanian, Guro (Nicola, Souren)
(1896-1944)

Born in Shoushi, Guro graduated from the Moscow Military Academy. An officer in the Russian army, he took part in operations in Galicia and on the German front in 1915. He requested a transfer to the Caucasian front and fought with exceptional courage in the Bitlis, Khnous (Hinis) and Alashgerd (Eleshkirt) campaigns in 1917-18. In the independent Armenian Republic, he was a colonel and an aide of Dro. He took part in the Armeno-Georgian campaign and was wounded. He also took part in the February 1921 revolt as a commander of the people's forces in Godayk in the Yerevan region. After the victory, the Committee for the Salvation of the Homeland appointed him commander-in-chief of the army. After April 2, he went to Europe and finally settled in Bucharest, where he died.

Tasdagian, Apraham
(?-?)

An intimate friend of Kristapor Mikayelian and member of the Yuzhniye Nomera group, he took part in the meetings that were to lead to the Federation of Armenian Revolutionaries, and was elected member of the Kentron. Nevertheless, he withdrew from revolutionary activities very early on and settled in Baku, where he became wealthy. He always remained on good terms with Dashnaktsutiun and helped the Party now and again with money.

Tavakalian, Father Pakrad (Zakki)
(1850-1902)

Aleksandr Tavakalian was born in Derpend and studied in Tbilisi, Baku and finally St. Petersburg (the Military Academy). In 1879, he went to Turkish Armenia and taught there, in Kharagonis (near Van) first and then at the monastery of St. Hovhannes (Üchkiliseh, near Alashgerd). He was ordained priest in the monastery under the name of Father Pakrad in 1889. He added revolutionary propaganda to his activities as a teacher and as a priest. In 1892, at the same time as Hovsep Ishkhan Arghoutian, Hovnan Tavtian and Nigol-Douman, he went to Adrbadagan where he was appointed father superior of the monastery of Derik. With the help of Vartan, Nigol-Douman and Sevkaretsi Sako, he made the monastery an important relay station for men and arms towards Vasbouragan. But in 1894, Catholicos Khrimian put an end to the clandestine activities of Zakki by calling him back to Echmiadzin.

Tavtian, Garabed (Khan)
(1873-1897)

Born in the village of Touz in the Ghazakh region, Khan took part as a fedayee in the defense of Van in 1896. He was killed during the Khanasor Expedition.

Tavtian, Hovnan (Honan Nanoyian)
(1865-1918)

Born in Shoushi, Honan was one of the most outstanding and most idealistic of the ARF's first generation. He completed his secondary schooling at the

Tbilisi Nersesian College and then studied social and political science at Geneva. In 1891, invited to go and teach in Tabriz, he joined the group run by Arghoutian and Nigol-Douman. In 1892, he attended the First World Congress where, with Zavarian, he hotly defended organizational decentralization. After a few years of teaching in Tabriz, he returned to Geneva to complete his studies. He worked on *Droshak* with Rosdom and during Rosdom's absence (1895-96). He was back in Tabriz in 1898 and in Switzerland once more in 1900. The following year, he was in Tbilisi for a fairly long period. He later was editor of *Harach* from 1905 to 1906. He was back in Tabriz from 1908 to 1913 as director of the Central School and then went back to Geneva for good. He died there of tuberculosis in August, 1918. Honan's wife, Hortense, a Swiss citizen, spoke and wrote Armenian perfectly. She was Honan's life companion, sharing his problems and sentiments. She also died of tuberculosis in Geneva in 1917.

Tavtian, Yeprem (Yeprem Khan)
(1871-1912)

Born in Kantzag, Yeprem took part in the Gougounian expedition and was later exiled to Sakhalin. He escaped and reached Iran. There, he joined the ARF and became a fervent fieldworker. In 1899, he killed the informer Zakeh, who had been responsible for the massacre of nine Dashnaktsakan fedayees in the village of Mahlam. Yeprem was several times a member of the Central Committee of Adrbadagan.
He earned fame especially in the days of the Iranian revolutionary movement, when with a small group of men he occupied Rasht and then Enzeli, Kharzan and Ghazvin. Later, at the head of an ever-growing number of Armenian and Persian revolutionaries, he entered Tehran in triumph. Yeprem was appointed chief of police there, and with Dashnaktsakan combatants under the command of Keri and Dashnaktsakan Khecho at his side, he continued fighting the anti-constitutional forces of Iran. Yeprem is considered the hero of the Iranian liberation movement. He was killed on April 25, 1912 near Hamadan, during a battle against counter-revolutionary forces.

Tehlirian, Soghomon
(1896-1960)

Born in the village of Pakarij at Gamakh (Kemah), Tehlirian went to schools in Yerznga (Erzincan) and then to the Central Armenian School of Constantinople. He was in Serbia in 1913. In 1914, he went to the Caucasus and participated in the volunteer movement. He took part in the division led by Sebouh. The Genocide and the desolation of Western Armenia, as well as the massacre of his whole family, shocked him profoundly and instilled a spirit of revenge in him. In 1919, he wrought vengeance on the traitorous mukhtar Haroutiun Mgrdichian. He then left Turkey and volunteered for Operation Nemesis, organized by the ARF. He went from America to Berlin, where on March 15, 1921, he killed the chief executioner of the Armenian people, Talaat Pasha. He was arrested but subsequently released on June 3 after being defended by Dr. Johannes Lepsius, the well-known German Armenophile. He then settled in Belgrade, which he left on the eve of the Second World War. He went to San Francisco, where he spent the rest of his days.

Terlemezian, Mgrdich (Avedisian)
(1864-1896)

Born in Van, Avedisian was the student and fervent admirer of Portugalian. In Van, in 1887, he founded the Armenagan Party with some of Portugalian's sympathizers (Krikor Terlemezian, Roupen Shadvorian, Krikor Ajemian, Ghevond Khanjian and others). After two years in Adrbadagan, he went to Constantinople, where he was arrested and exiled to Tripolitania. He managed to escape and went to Marseilles, where he worked with Portugalian. He was back in Iran in 1893, as director of the Armenian municipal schools. Moving to Van in 1895, he commanded the Armenagan forces during the June 1896 resistance. Avedisian was killed during the retreat toward Iran, along with the Dashnaktsakan representative Bedo, the Hnchak leader Mardig, and all their combatants (about 1,000), who were unexpectedly encircled and massacred by Turkish and Kurdish troops.

Tevian, Ardashes
(Yekibdatsi, Minasian)
(1888-1897)

Born in Trebizond, Yekibdatsi operated there in 1890-92 and then in Constantinople as one of the boldest assistants of Hovhannes Yousoufian. He was one for dangerous missions, shrewd and truly devoted to the cause. In 1895, he had actually submitted a plan to assassinate Sultan Abdul-Hamid II, but the Constantinople Control Committee rejected it. Suffering from tuberculosis, he was resting in his home town when he received news of plans for taking over the Ottoman Bank. He rushed to Constantinople, but in spite of his wishes, could not take part in the group. Nevertheless, he played an important role in Constantinople during the period following the occupation of the Bank. He then went to Egypt for treatment. He died in Alexandria in June 1897.

Tiriakian, Hayg (Hrach)
(1871-1915)

Born in Trebizond, Hrach studied at the Nancy Agricultural School from 1893 to 1895. He broke off his studies and went to Geneva with Armen Garo and a few other students to join the ARF. With Armen Garo, Hrach played an important part in the plan to occupy the Ottoman Bank. Also, both before and after the occupation, he was active in organizational work in Cyprus, the Balkans and Russia. The Second World Congress elected him member of the Cilicia Responsible Body. He stayed in Alexandria for some time and then went to Izmir, immediately after the Meeting of the Body Representing the Will of the Dashnaktsutiun of 1901, and organized a local Potorig Committee to extort funds from rich Armenian

merchants. Wanted by the law, he was arrested in September 1902, kept in prison in Izmir (Smyrna) for some time and then exiled to Bodrum. He was released after the proclamation of the Ottoman Constitution and settled in Constantinople, where he was appointed manager of *Azadamard*. He was a victim of the Genocide in 1915.

Tiriakian, Parsegh (Khan)
(1863-1903)

Born in the village of Derevenk in the region of Kayseri, Khan was a former Hnchak in Constantinople. He joined the ARF in the Caucasus in 1896. He took part in the Khanasor Expedition as a corporal. He was then in Kars, whence in October 1899, he left for Daron and Sasoun with a group of 80 armed men. Unexpectedly surrounded in Khasdour, he waged savage battle against several Turkish battalions and the Kurdish *hamidiye* militia. His leadership in that battle made him famous. In 1903, again on the road to Sasoun, he led the combatants of the Gaydzag cavalry formation into Pasen, waging battles with the same courage and expertise. Refusing the possibility of retreat toward the Russian border, Khan and his men fought on until they ran out of ammunition. They fell as heroes.

Topjian, Yeghisheh
(?-1909)

A brilliant figure in the Dashnaktsakan intelligentsia of the first decade of the 20th century, Topjian was an idealist devoted to the cause. When still very young, he taught and was a Party organizer in the Shirag (Alexandropol) region. He studied social science from 1898 onward at the Universities of St. Petersburg and Berlin. In Tbilisi in 1905, he took part in the revolutionary movements in the Caucasus. There he worked for *Harach*, was a member of the ARF Bodies and was an author and propagandist. In 1907, he took part in the Fourth World Congress, which elected him member of the Eastern Bureau. During the Leizhin persecutions, he left the Caucasus for Garin, where he founded the local *Harach* and played and important role in easing the tension that ensued after the reactionary hamidian movement of March 1909. On October 23, on his way back from Constantinople, near Papert (Bayburt), Yeghisheh Topjian was killed by Hapet, brother of group leader Mihran.

Toumiants, Touman (Torkom)
(1879-1904)

Born in Shoushi, Torkom went to the local municipal school, later attending lectures at the University of Moscow. He ended military service as an officer. After joining the ARF, he was appointed a fieldworker in the province of Kars where he worked with his old companions from Shoushi: Aram Manougian, Isajan Arakelian, Menag and Ishkhan. He was an ardent revolutionary and Party member. At the head of the 'Mrrig' cavalry formation, Torkom reached Sasoun late in May 1903 amid general enthusiasm. He then left for Kars, intending to return with a new contingent. In his absence, the Third World Congress of Sofia in 1904 elected him member of the Sasoun Responsible Body. But in June 1904, while Torkom was crossing the border at the head of the larger "Vorsgan" formation on his way to Sasoun to help the insurgents, he was caught under the joint fire of the Turkish army and the Cossack border guards in the region of Oltu. Few men escaped; Torkom was killed.

V

Varantian, Mikayel
(1872-1934)

Born in Varant (Gharabagh), Varantian went to the municipal school of Shoushi. Later he studied social sciences and philosophy at German and Swiss universities. He lived mainly in Geneva and Paris. He was a member of the *Droshak* team and then, after the Fourth World Congress (1904), a member of the Western Bureau. Mikayel Varantian represented Dashnaktsutiun at the Second International. He was ambassador in Rome during the independence of Armenia.
Varantian was the main theoretician-ideologist of the ARF. Political commentator and active journalist, he had a number of important articles published in *Droshak* and wrote many books: *The Prehistory of the Armenian Movement, Currents, Protest in Contemporary History, The Reawakening Homeland and Our Role, Dashnaktsutiun and its Adversaries, Simon Zavarian, Mourad* and others, especially his *History of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation*, published in two volumes.

Vartan Vartabed (Vga)
(?-1915)

A revolutionary clergyman in Daron, Vartan Vartabed was father superior at the monastery of Sourp-Garabed (Klag) of Daron for a long time. He was also prelate of Moush for a time. A well-educated man of the Church, Vartan Vartabed was also a clandestine revolutionary. A member of the Moush Central Committee, he was, with Roupen and Kegham Der Garabedian, also a member of the ARF Responsible Body in Daron-Sasoun. A relative of Hrayr, he shared the latter's views and tactics as an upholder of general psychological training for the masses before unleashing large-scale insurrection. He also maintained friendly relations with influential Kurdish chieftains. It was largely thanks to his efforts and diplomacy that Moush and Sasoun suffered relatively little in the massacres inflicted by the *hamidiye* troops in 1895-96. Vartan Vartabed was a victim of the Genocide in 1915.

Vartanian, Misak (Rahver)
(?-?)

Rahver was one of the most important organizers of the ARF in Cilicia. In April 1900, he went from Egypt, through Syria, to Aintab, where he organized the "Hovid" Gomideh Region. He then ma-

de a tour of Cilicia and neighboring regions. In April 1901, he was in Kharpert (Harput) at a Rayonagan Congress of several organizational regions in the western part of Turkish Armenia. During this meeting, the idea of shifting the headquarters of the Cilicia Responsible Body to Kharpert was discussed. There is no other information available about the life and work of Rahver.

Vartanian, Mourad (Jardar)
(1850-1900)

First cousin of Serop, Jardar was born in Akhlat and was involved in revolutionary activities from 1894-95 onward. He worked with Serop and Kourken in Akhlat and Sasoun, dealing specifically with arms shipments from the Caucasus to Akhlat and Sasoun. During this time he was involved in several instances of heavy fighting, including the Khatavin battle and the battle of the Ruined Mili in autumn 1898. His comrades were ali famous fedayees: Palabekh Garabed, Bitlistsi Moushegh, Arakel, Zouloumat, Ariudz-Avak, Nado, and others. After the death of Serop, Jardar stayed in Akhlat in 1899-1900 with some combatants. In November 1900, when he was in the village of Chrhor, Jardar was surrounded and killed.

Vartanian, Serop (Aghpiur-Serop)
(1864-1899)

Born in Sokhort, in the region of Akhlat, Serop returned from the Caucasus to his native village late in 1895, accompanied by a group of 27 combatants. There he undertook revolutionary activities, organizing the villages of Akhlat, setting up a network of combatant groups and fighting the Turkish troops and Kurdish *hamidiye* regiments. The government endeavored to capture him in vain.
In the eyes of his people, Serop soon became a legendary hero, invisible, invincible, lofty, ruthless with traitors and yet impartial and just. His strong personality had a profound effect on the fedayees of Sasoun and Daron, creating a tradition of courage and self-denial, along with a rigid sense of discipline.
In 1898, the Second World Congress of the ARF elected him member of the Sasoun Responsible Body. The following year, however, in October 1899, when Serop was in the village of Gelieguzan, he was treacherously poisoned and assassinated along with his two brothers and his son. His wife, Sosse, inseparable companion in Serop's heroic combats, was taken prisoner.

Varzhabedian, Nerses
(1837-1884)

Born in Khaskiugh near Constantinople, Varzhabedian graduated from the local Nersesian College. He taught in Constantinople and then in Adrianople (Edirne), where he was ordained a priest in 1858. Made bishop by the Catholicos of the House of Cilicia in 1862, he was elected Prelate of Nicomedia (Izmit) in 1870 and then Patriarch of Constantinople in 1874. In 1884, in Echmiadzin, he was elected Catholicos of Ali Armenians but had to give up his seat and his patriarchate for health reasons. He died that same year.
Through his tireless diplomatic endeavors on the occasion of the San Stefano and Berlin (1878) Treaties and through the reform plan he submitted to the Great Powers at the same time, Patriarch Varzhabedian played an important role in the internationalization of the Armenian Question. With his courage and his sermons ringing with patriotism, he contributed much to the evolution and popularization of the Armenian liberation movement as well as shifting the concentration of the intellectuals of the capital towards the Armenian provinces and their people.

Vramian, Arshag
(Onnig Tertsagian, Vahab)
(1871-1915)

Born in Constantinople, Vramian graduated from the Kevorkian College of Echmiadzin. Through further study on his own, he attained intellectual heights. He met Yousoufian in 1894 and soon joined the ARF. He was secretary of the Constantinople Central Committee the year after. When Yousoufian left the city, Vramian became the central figure in the Dashnaktsakan organization. Wanted by the police after the Ottoman Bank and Samatia events, he went over into Bulgaria and then, around the middle of 1897, to Geneva. He was elected member of the Western Bureau by the Second World Congress. He went to the United States in 1899 and stayed there until 1907 as a fieldworker, representative of the Party and editor for *Hairenik*. After spending some time in the Caucasus, he went to Van after the Ottoman Constitution was restored and then moved on to Constantinople, where he continued unremittingly as a member of the Bureau and of the editorial staff of *Azadamard*. In 1913, he was elected to represent Van in the Ottoman Parliament. He then settled in Van and, like Vana Ishkhan, fell victim to the cowardly machinations of the prefect Jevdet on the eve of the 1915 Genocide.

Y

Yerganian, Aram
(1900-1934)

Born in Garin, he was in the Caucasus at an early age. He joined the Armenian volunteer movement in 1917 and was highly esteemed for his courage. He was in Dro's regiment in the battle of Bash-Abaran. Yerganian then placed himself at the disposal of the Party for special missions. In 1921 in Georgia, he assassinated the Azerbaijani Armenophobe, Khan Khoiski. On April 17, 1922, in Berlin, he and Arshavir Shiragian assassinated Behaeddin Shakir and Jemal Azmi, notorious members of the Ittihad Committee responsible for the Genocide. Aram remained in Rumania for a time and in 1927 went to Buenos Aires. Suffering from tuberculosis, he moved to Cordoba (Argentina) in 1931 and died there on August 2, 1934.

Yousoufian, Hovhannes (Vahanian)
(1860?-1920)

Born in Yerevan, he graduated from the Nersesian College of Tbilisi. He was one of the most active and effective organizer-propagandists in the first decade of the ARF. He was a teacher in Trebizond from 1890 to 1892. As plenipotentiary representative of the ARF, Yousoufian set up the powerful clandestine organization in Constantinople (1893-95) and then laid the bases of the Dashnaktsakan organization in America (1896-98). The Second World Congress (1898) elected him member of the Eastern Bureau, but his failing health prevented him from being as active as before. He remained in the Caucasus until 1910 (and was elected mayor of Nor Bayazid, in 1905). Then, fleeing the Leizhinian persecutions, he settled in Switzerland, spending the rest of his days in Lausanne, sick and often penniless.

Z

Zartarian, Roupen (Aslan)
(1874-1915)

Born in Severeg, Zartarian studied in Kharpert (Harput) and taught from 1892 onward. Arrested in 1903 for revolutionary activities, he was in Smyrna (Izmir) after being released and then in Philippopolis, in Bulgaria, where he published *Razmik* (combatant) from 1905 onward. He took part in the Fourth World Congress in Vienna in 1907. In Constantinople, Zartarian founded the review *Azadamard* and was its editor-in-chief until his death. A member of the Eastern Bureau after the Sixth World Congress (1911) and of the Armenian National Bureau after the Eighth World Congress (1914), Zartarian, a well known figure in modern Armenian literature, was one of the first victims of the 1915 Genocide.

Zavarian, Simon
(1866-1913)

Born in Ikahad (Lori), Simon Zavarian completed his secondary schooling in Tbilisi and continued his education at the Moscow Institute of Agronomy from which he graduated in 1899. Zavarian then returned to Tbilisi where he became the right-hand man of Kristapor Mikayelian in founding the Federation of Armenian Revolutionaries in 1890. He went to Trebizond in October of the same year but was soon arrested and taken back to the Caucasus. The Russian authorities exiled him to Bessarabia.
He came back in 1892 and took part in the First World Congress of the ARF, fervently upholding the adoption of organizational decentralization. He remained in the Caucasus as member and secretary of the ARF Bureau until 1902, when he went to Geneva. There, during Kristapor Mikayelian's absence (Kristapor had gone back to the Caucasus to organize the operations of the Potorig), Zavarian coordinated the operations of the Western Bureau. He was elected a member of the Cilicia Responsible Body at the Third World Congress (1904).
Zavarian then visited Egypt, Lebanon, Syria and Cilicia on organizating missions. In 1905, he founded the Union of ARF Students in Beirut. At the Fourth Congress (1907), he submitted a detailed report on the situation of the Armenians in Cilicia and the possibilities for insurrection in the Region.
After the Ottoman Constitution was restored, Zavarian left the Caucasus for Constantinople. He took part in the Fifth (1909) and Sixth (1911) World Congresses of the ARF. Meanwhile, he spent two years in Moush-Sasoun as general director of Armenian national schools. He settled in Constantinople in the summer of 1911. A member of the Western Bureau, he taught there and worked for *Azadamard*.
Zavarian is considered the symbol, the very personification of the revolutionary and moral consciousness of the ARF. Constantinople gave him a national funeral unprecedented scope and ceremony, after which his body was taken to Tbilisi and buried there.

Zavrian, Hagop (Zavriev)
(?-1920)

Zavriev graduated from the Military Medical Academy of St. Petersburg and was chief physician in a Baku hospital. When he joined the ARF, at his own request he was admitted to the forces commanded by Nigol-Douman, headed for Sasoun (1904). He tried to settle in Moush and open a hospital, but his request was turned down by the Turkish government. He returned to Moush after the proclamation of the Ottoman Constitution and the fall of Abdul-Hamid (1909). In 1917, the Kerenski government appointed him civilian aide to the General Commissaire for Western Armenia (then occupied by Russian troops). In 1918, he tried to achieve reconciliation between the Soviets and the ARF. He was unjustly arrested by the Soviets in September 1918 and was freed only in March 1919. He died of typhoid fever in Moscow in March 1920.

Zhamharian, Markar (Mrav)
(1877-1905)

Born in Gharabagh, Mrav went to the official school in Shoushi. Later, in St. Petersburg, he joined the army, which he left with the rank of non-commissioned officer. He engaged in further studies in Germany. On his return, Zhamharian became extremely active in the Party as a member of the Caucasian Central Self-defense Committee and was, at the same time, an audacious terrorist (1903-04). At the end of 1904 he visited Turkish Armenia (Garin, Bitlis, Moush and so on). News of the outbreak of the Armeno-Tatar war brought him back. He was killed during the defense of Shoushi in 1905, at 28 years of age.

Zohrab, Krikor
(1861-1915)

Born in Constantinople, where he graduated in architecture and law, Zohrab was one of the luminaries of contemporary Armenian literature. Renowned especially for his short stories, he began writing for the Constantinople press at an early age. He led an extremely active life in national-public

and political affairs. A member of Ottoman parliament from 1908 onward, he was a renowned lawyer and teacher of law, in short, a distinguished personality and statesman of the Ottoman Empire. He was arrested with Vartkes on May 20, 1915 by order of Talaat. Both were savagely murdered a few weeks later on the road from Aleppo to Diarbekir.

Zorian, Arisdakes (Garo)
(1871-1897)

The younger brother of Stepan Zorian (Rosdom), Garo was born in Tsghna (Koghtn) and completed his secondary studies in Tbilisi, where he also became a gunsmith. Garo was in Tabriz in 1891, working in the Khariskh armorer's workshop set up by Dashnaktsutiun. Becoming one of the pillars of the workshop, he often went to Russia, alone or with Kalousd Aloyan, where he bought gun parts and ammunition, bringing them back secretly to Tabriz, where he assembled the guns and stored them. In July 1897, Garo took part in the Khanasor Expedition as the adjutant of Captain Akhber and was among the 19 Armenians who were killed.

Zorian, Stepan (Rosdom)
(1867-1919)

Born in Tsghna, in the region of Koghtn, Rosdom completed his secondary schooling in Tbilisi. In 1889 he entered the Moscow Institute of Agronomy but was soon expelled for being a revolutionary and an agitator. From 1891 onward, in Tbilisi and then in Tabriz, Rosdom became one of the most active figures of the Federation of Armenian Revolutionaries. He was present at the First World Congress and with the assistance of Kristapor Mikayelian and Simon Zavarian wrote the ideological introduction of the ARF's Program. He then went to Geneva, where until 1895 he was the editor of *Droshak*, and the typesetter, and the one who delivered it to subscribers.
In 1895, Rosdom was in Garin, and then in Iran and the Caucasus, on organizational missions. He subsequently returned to Geneva where he remained until the Second World Congress. From 1898 onward, he settled in Philippopolis (Bulgaria) where he and his wife ran a small private school. He took part in the Meeting of the Body Representing the Will of the Dashnaktsutiun in 1901 and became the architect of ARF-Macedonian collaboration. Rosdom returned to the Caucasus in 1902, playing a leading role both in the anti-Czar activities (1903-04) and in the Armeno-Tatar conflict of 1905. In 1907, the presence of Rosdom at the Fourth World Congress was a decisive factor in the synthesis of left and right-wing tendencies. He later went to Persia to negotiate with the Iranian revolutionaries. Later, after attending various Congresses of the Socialist International, he returned to Garin and remained there until the Eighth World Congress (1914). In 1915, he played a leading role in organizing the movement of Armenian volunteers. In 1918 Rosdom was the central figure in the heroic defense of Baku. He contracted typhus and died in Tbilisi in January 1919.
Rosdom's thought, will and relentless activity left an indelible mark on the ARF and its mode of operation.



Index

This index contains references
to all of the persons mentioned in this work.
Page entries in bold type refer
to main entries in the selected biographies.

Abdul-Hamid II, Sultan 18, 48, 51, 56, 62, 63, 73, 76, 77, 79, 86, 87, 95, 100, 110, 165, 169, 171, 175, 176, 192, 195, 199, 200, 202, 206, 210, 213
Abdurrahman Bey, 56
Abroumian, Matchouk (Pastermajian), 54
Achukgeozian, Hovagim (Tork), 59, 67, **185**
Adom - see Shahrigian, Haroutiun
Afanasyan, S., 123
Aghaser, Hagop, 55, 59, 61, 72
Aghasi, 28
Aghbalian, Nigol, 61, 117, 120, 129, 144, 145, **185**, 206
Aghpiur-Serop - see Vartanian, Serop
Agnouni, E. - see Maloumian, Khachadour
Aharonian, Avedis (Gharib), 55, 61, 62, 72, 76, 83, 94, 120, 130, 150, **185**, 189, 220
Aharonian, Vartkes, 115
Ahmed Riza, 87
Ajemian, Krikor, 210
Akhber - see Mogatsi Haroutiun
Akho, 135
Akribasian, Hovhannes, 25, 167, **197**
Alajajian, Yervant, 61
Aleksandr - see Koloshian, Vartan
Ales, 67, 83
Alexander III, Czar, 18, 19, 70, 166
Ali Beg, 86
Ali Salih, 157
Alijana Dikran, 113
Alikhanov, 80, 189
Alishan, Ghevond, 15
Allenby, 116
Aloyan, Kalousd (Darvish, Toros), 36, 49, 110, 167, 168, **186**, 199, 214
Amadouni, H., 150, 155
Amirian, Arsen, (Mrav), 79
Amirian, Markar (Markar Varzhabed), 22, 29, 35, 166, 168, **186**
Amseyan, Dikran (Fered Jemil, Dikran Zamhour), **186**, 193
Amourian A., 95
Anderson M.S., 15
Andonian, Aram, 109
Andreev, 70
Antranig, General - see Ozanian, Antranig
Antreasian, Ardashes (Souren), 47, 48, **186**, 196
Antreasian, D., 116
Apamelik, 199
Apeghian, Artavazd, 61
Apovian, Khachadour, 15, 165
Apraham, 97
Apro - see Sahakian, Mgrdich
Arakel, 52
Arakel, 81
Arakelian, Hampartroum, 200
Arakelian, Isajan, 65, **186**, 187
Arakelian, V., 150
Aram, 59
Aramayisian, Bedros, 116
Aramian, Aram (Ashod, Tatoul), 36, 51, 76, 83, 85, 99, 108, 169, 170, **186**, 192, 193, 195, 203, 205
Arapo, 22, 29, 35, 51, 166, 168, 186, **187**, 188, 195, 206
Araradian, Sarkis, 61, 128, 129, 136, 149, 150, **187**
Ardashes, 47
Ardzrouni, Krikor, 23, 168, 186, **187**, 198
Areshian, General, 121
Areshian, Roubina, 164
Arghoutian, Hovsep Ishkhan, 23, 31, 36, 49-51, 53, 117, 130, 150, 167, **187**, 198, 199, 203, 204, 209, 210
Ariudz-Avak, 52, 81, 212
Arkhanian, Haji Kalousd (Haji Beg), 22, 29, 167, 187, 204, 208
Armenag, 67
Apamelik, 199
Apeghian, Ardavazt, 61
Aprahamian, Hagop, (Vart-Manoushag), 61
Armenag, 67
Arpiarian, Arpiar, 56
Arsen, 63
Arshad-ol-Dovle, 97, 98
Arshag, 53
Arstamiants, Kevork-Yegor (Menag), 65, 68, 69, 174, 186, **187**, 211
Arvakhi - see Badrigian, Vart
Asad, Sardar, 97
Asdvadzadrian, A., 123, 144, 145
Ashod, 59, 62, 77
Ashod - see Aramian, Aram

Ashod, Aram - see Minasian, Sarkis
Ashod-Levon, 59
Ashod-Martin - see Mouradian, Martin
Ashod-Yergat - see Levonian, Armenag
Aslan, 145, 147
Aslan - see Zartarian, Roupen
Asoghig - see Der Garabedian, Kegham
Atabegian, A., 54
Atabegian, Levon, 19, 54, 79, 136, 145
Atamian, 63
Atarbegian, 144
Avedisian - see Terlemezian, Mgrdich
Avedisian, Colonel, 137
Avedisian, Moushegh, 134, 135, 140
Avedisian, O., 155
Averianov, 120
Avo - see Gmshkhanetsi Avedis
Avruna Aram, 84, 113, 114
Baba - see Karekin Khazhag
Babajanian, M., 123
Babalian, Ardashes, 120, 129
Babayian, Varos, 144
Babasha - see Tadeosian, Levon
Babayev, 80
Babigian, 93
Badrigian, Vart (Varto, Arvakhi), 55, 61, 86, **188**, 196
Baghdasarian, Dikran, 111, 113, 121, 134
Baghdasarian, general, 136
Baghdasarian, Vagharshag (Gaydzag), 67, 72, 76, 175, **188**
Bagher Khan, 95
Bahadour, Sardar, 94
Bahatrian, G., 54
Balajan - see Stepanian, Stepan
Baronvartian, Krikor, 114
Barsamian, Arshag (Shego), 53, **188**, 200
Barunagian, G., 136
Basetsi Hovhannes (Zouloumat), 52, 97, **188**, 212
Bebel, A., 173
Bedo - see Bedrosian, Aleksandr
Bedoyian, Ghazar, 135, 147
Bedrosian, Aleksandr (Bedo), 25, 36, 53, 49, 50, 167, 170, **188**, 191, 201, 203, 204, 210
Bedrosian, Samuel, 111
Begzatian, A., 144
Begzatian, Dikran, 130
Beg-Piroumian, Taniel, 123
Behaeddin Shakir, 108, 155, 157, 184, 208, 212
Behboud Khan Jivanshir, 139, 155, 156, 157, 184
Bekov, 70, 76
Benlian, Mampre, 47
Berard, Victor, 61, 91
Beria, Lavrenti, 157
Beshiktashlian, 165
Bicherakhov, 137
Bionian, Garabed, 61
Bitlistsi Moushegh, 52, 212
Boghosian, Boghos, 186
Boghosian Nigol - see Odabashian Nigol
Boghos Noubar Pasha, 101, 130, 133, 141
Boghoyian, 61
Boguslavski, 70
Boleian, Mgrdich (Mjo), 113, 114
Bondatsi - see Hadigian, Mgrdich
Borian, B., 144
Boris - see Khachadourian, Smpad
Boulgaratsi Krikor - see Gezian, Krikor
Boursalian, H., 116
Boyajian, Hampartsoum (Mourad), 28, 75, 72, 85, 86, 169, **188**, 189, 195, 204, 206, 207
Boyajian, Hovhannes, (Varbed), 61
Boyajian, Siragan, 61
Boyajian Smpad, (Edouard), 61
Boyajian, Zhirayr, 27, 189
Bryce, James, 61, 109
Bshareh Khalil, 68, 139, 172, 203, 205-207
Chahnazarian-Zorian, Elisabeth, 54
Chakalian, Karekin (Khazhag), 54, 55, 59, 99, 108, **189**
Chakurian, Haroutiun, 22
Charoukjian, Mardiros (Mardiros Varzhabed), 80, 81, 96, **189**
Chato, 29
Chekhian, Simeon, 54
Chenéour, Alexandre, G., 123
Chibriani, 61
Chicherin, 143
Chkhengeli, 195
Chilingarian, Ardashes (Roupen Tarpinian), 61, 130, 144
Cholo, 73, 75, 114, 135, 207
Chrits Hampartsoum, 67
Churchill, Winston, 108
Clemenceau, Georges, 61
Dadian, Artin, (Haroutiun) Pasha, 56, 171
Dadrag - see Der Garabedian, Kegham
Dadrian, V., 134
Darakir - see Shatirian, Martin
Darvish - see Aloyan, Kalousd
Dashnaktsakan Khecho, 81, 97, 113, 117, 119, **189**, 210
Dasnabedian, Hratch, 17, 34, 38, 58, 72, 79, 86, 91, 92, 100, 103, 107, 140, 141, 149, 150, 158, 159, 163
Datevian, Vahakn, 86, 110, **189**
De Constant, Destournelles, 61
Delcassé, 77, 175
De Pressensé, Francis, 61, 62, 91, 175
Der Boghosian, Bedros, 157
Derderian, Hampartsoum, 130, 143, 145
Derekvanktsi Mkho, 22, 29, 166, 187
Der Garabedian, Kegham (Msho Kegham, Dadrag, Asogh), 83, 84, 93, **189**, 211
Der Ghazarian, Nariman, 70, 136
Der Ghazarian, Stepan, 63, 136
Der Ghougasian, 18
Der Hagopian, H., 145
Der Haroutiunian, Karekin (Karekin Nzhdeh), 61, 135, 136, 147, 148, 182, **189**, 190
Der Hovhannisian, Nigoghayos (Nigol-Douman), 36, 49, 50, 53, 76, 81, 85, 97, 98, 167, 170, 188-**190**, 196, 200, 201, 203, 205, 209, 210, 213
Der Kalousdian, Movses, 116
Der Kaprielian, S., 144, 151
Der Kevorkian, Vahan (Vahan Khoreni), 129, **190**
Der Mardirosian, Haroutiun Agha (Houno), 22, 29, 35, 51, 167, 168, **190**
Der Mardirosian, Mikayel (Mar), 36, 55, 58, 59, 100, **190**, 194
Der Mgrdichian, Stepan, 45
Der Mikayelian, H., 136
Der Minasian, Anahide, 31, 38, 79, 93, 94
Der Minasian, Roupen, 17, 65, 67, 68, 72, 83-85, 90, 106, 108, 113, 114, 120, 128, 129, 131, 134, 135, 142, 149, 150, 158, 159, 161, 176, 177, **190**, 197, 199, 204, 205, 206, 211
Der Minasian, Yegor, 192
Der Ohanian, H., 136
De Roberty, E., 61
Derounian, Shavarsh, 61
Dérogy, Jacques, 157
Deroyan, Dikran (Vazken), 36, 49, 50, 52, 53, 59, 67, 80, **191**, 198, 203, 206
Deroyan, Zerouhi, (Zhenia), 53, 191
Der Tavtian, Boghos, 147
Der Tavtian, Hovsep, 95, 99, 144, 150, **191**
Der Vahanian, 151
Dersimi Keri - see Shishmanian, Roupen
Devejian, H., 145
Dikran, 83
Dikranian, Siragan, 129
Dodomiants, V., 54

Doghramajian, Vahan, 173
Dolbashian, Minas (Kayl-Vahan), 61, 76, 78, 175, **191**, 200
Donoyian, Vartan, 186
Dourpakh - see Giragosian, Haroutiun
Dovlatian, I., 144
Dr. Nevrouz - see Nevrouz, Hagop
Dro - see Ganayian, Drastamat
Dunsterville, 139
Dzaghig - see Madinian, Satenig
Dzaghigian, Stepan, 157, 184, **191**
Dzaroukian Toros (Medz Chello), 27
Dzovianian, Sarkis (Sevkaretsi Sako), 49, 50, 58, 59, 65, 67, 81, 85, 95, 168, **191**, 193, 209
Edgar V., 61
Edouard see (Smpad Boyajian)
Eghperlerian, Levon, 115
Ellen - see Mikayelian, Kristapor
Elmar, H., 95
Emile, Mademoiselle, 76
Enver Pasha, 134, 155, 156, 157, 191
Farhad - see Ohanjanian, Sarkis
Fenerjian, Kris (Silvio Ricci), 76, 77, **192**, 193
Ferri, Enrico, 61
France, Anatole, 61
Fundukian, Yervant, 157
Gafian, Kapriel, (Shmavon), 27, 201
Gagik, 86
Gallitsin, 70, 192
Ganayian, Drastamat (Dro), 80, 111, 113, 117, 123, 129, 135, 136, 143-145, 176, 189, 190, **192**, 198, 204, 209, 212
Ganjetsian, A., 54
Ghoumrigian, Garabed, 53, 208
Garabedian, Nshan - see Khanazad, Roupen
Garen - see Hagopian, Aram
Garibaldi, Ricciotti, 61
Garinian, Ardashes, 148
Garjigian, Khachadour, 120, 129, **192**
Garnenou, Mgrdich, 114
Garo - see Zorian, Arisdakes
Garo, Armen - see Pastermajian, Karekin
Garo (Rosdom's brother), 51
Garo, Mourouk, 114, 135
Garo, Sasouni, 115, 119, 121, 134, 135, 136, 140, 144, 145, 146
Gasian, S., 142, 144, 145
Gaydzag - see Baghdasarian, Vagharshag
Gaydzag Arakel, 52, 73, 81, 111, **192**, 194, 212
Gegechkori, 142
Geregtsian, Khachadour, 22, **192**
Gezian, Krikor (Boulgaratsi Krikor), 61, 111, 121, 131, **192**
Gharajian, Kevork, 27, 201
Ghara-Melik - see Melik-Krikorian, Parsegh
Gharib - see Aharonian, Avedis
Ghasem Beg, 207
Ghasimbekov, 157
Ghazar, Deli, 113, 114, 135, 200, 207
Ghazarian, Armenag (Hrayr, Tzhokhk, Ourvagan), 35, 36, 51, 53, 58, 63, 67, 68, 72, 73, 75, 83, 84, 169, 170, 173, 174, 175, 186, 188, 189, **193**, 197, 198, 199, 211
Ghazarian, Kevork - see Kevork Chavoush
Ghazarian, Krikor, 129, 150, 181
Ghazarian, Sheram, 31
Ghazariants, Hovhannes, 94
Ghazarosian, Ghazaros, **193**
Ghorghanian, 121
Ghougas, 114
Ghoumrigian, Garabed, 53, 208
Giligian, 59
Giragosian, Haroutiun (Dourpakh), 51, 65, 68, 81, 169, 170, **193**
Giulizar, 189
Giulkhandanian, Apraham, 68, 80, 117, 128, 129, 136, 149, 150, 155, 181, **193**, 198
Giuzalian, Karnig, 17, 43, 44
Gladstone, 48
Gochin, Denys, 61
Godoyian, Haji Hagop (Godoyi Haji), 67, 73, 81, 110, 114, **193**
Goghpetsi Dikran, 52
Gohier, Urbain, 61
Goms - see Papazian, Vahan
Gopetsi Khecho, 91
Goriun - see Komsa Iso
Gosoyian, Hayg, 111, 113
Gougounian, Sarkis, 29-31, 167, 168, 187, **193**, 204, 207, 208, 210
Gouro, 145
Gredatsi - see Mirzaian, Asdvadzadour
Grozdov, 70
Gruzenberg, 94
Gmshkhanetsi Avedis (Avo), 68, 73, 81, 192, **193**
Habeshian, Sarkis, 116
Hadigian, Mgrdich (Bondatsi, Hadig), 59, 190, **194**
Had Khan, 68
Hago, 206
Hagopian, Aram (Garen), 58, 62, 63, **194**
Hagopian, Misak, 188
Haji, 75
Haigazian, Tareh, 157
Haji Beg - see Arkhanian, Haji Kaiousd
Haji Dikran, 47
Hakhverdian, 144
Hamazasb, 81
Hamazasb, 117, 137, 144, 181
Hampartsoumian, Gonsdantin, **194**
Hampartsoumian, Gosdi, 113
Hamoud, Agha, 111
Hanemian, Ardavazt, 61, 106, 130
Hankouïts, N., 31
Hapet, 211
Haro, 111
Haroutiunian, Dzerouni - see Stepanian, Stepan
Haroutiunian, Haroutiun, 157
Haroutiunian, Mardiros, 106
Hatam Beg, 80
Haygaz, Aram, 115
Hayr-Apraham - see Sahakian, Avedik
Hayrig - see Khrimian, Mgrdich
Hayrigian, 145
Hazor, 156, 157
Herartian, Mihran, 115
Hilmi, 53, 198
Hitler, 110
Hiusisian, Vahan, 114
Hoff, 106
Houno - see Der Mardirosian, Haroutiun Agha
Hovhannes - see Serengiulian, Vartkes
Hovhannesian, Arshag, 143, 145
Hovhannesian, Sergei (Aram Manougian), 52, 65, 83, 111, 113, 120, 123, 128, 129, 135, 139, 142, 145, 175, 176, 179, 181, **194**, 211
Hovhannisian, Abkar, 199
Hovhannisian, Mikayel, 55
Hovhannisian, Richard, 17, 116, 119, 121, 125, 127, 128, 129, 131, 133, 134, 139
Hovsepian, Ardashes, (Malkhas), 52, 61, 65, 75, 83, 177
Hovsepian, General, 135
Hrach - see Tiriakian, Hayg
Hrap, 157
Hrayr, Hrayr Tzhokhk - see Ghazarian, Armenag
Ichkalatsian, Hagop, 192
Ihsan, Vahe, 157, 207
Injejikian, Avedis, 106
Isahagian - see Jamalian, Arshag
Isahagian, Avedis, 61, **194**
Ishkhan, 211
Isakhanian, 136
Ishkhanian, Bashkhini, 139, 144
Izmirlian, M., 177
Jacquelard, 61
Jacques-Léon - see Nevrouz, Levon
Jallad - see Paperian, Yervant
Jamalian, Arshag (Isahagian), 36, 128,

129, 135, 149-151, 161, 185, **195**, 197, 201
Jangiulian, Haroutiun, 56, 168
Janpoladian, 63
Janpoladian, Hamo, 76
Jardar - see Vartanian, Mourad
Jaurès, Jean, 48, 61, 62
Javakhov, 80
Jelalian, Seto (Jelalian), 97, 157
Jelalian, Tovmas, 61, 110, 189
Jemal Azmi, 155, 157, 184, 208, 212
Jemal Pasha, 155, 157, 184, 191
Jemil, Fered - see Amseyan, Dikran
Jevdet, 111, 202, 212
Jndo, 207
Kachaznouni, Hovhannes (Roupen), 123, 128, 129, 130, 136, 144, 145, 181, 192, 193, **195**, 196
Kachperouni, R., 59, 136
Kaftar Arshag (*Keri*), 29, 53, 68, 72, 73, 81, 97, 98, 117, 119, 189, **195**, 205, 210
Kaleh, 67, 73
Kalfayan Haroutiun, (Vahram), 55, 59, 61
Kalousdian, Bedros, 116
Karabekir, Kiazim, 143
Karageozian, Hagop (Zaven), 47, 114, 116, **195**, 199, 207
Karekin Khazhag (Baba), 36, 54, 55, 58, 59, 61, 93, 108, 110, 194
Karekin - see Tadeosian, Samson
Karmen - see Melkonian, Dajad
Katanian, 186
Kayaloff, J., 123
Kayl-Vahan - see Dolbashian, Minas
Keghan, Msho - see Der Garabedian, Kegham
Kemal, Atatürk, 151, 181, 184
Kendirian, Vramshabouh (Vram), 47, 76, 77, **195**
Kengerlinski, 80
Keoseh Binbashi, 75, 84, 177, 206
Kerenski, Alexander, 94, 120, 121, 198, 213
Keri - see Kaftar Arshag
Ketenjian, Mirza, 115
Kevork, 68, 75, 84, 190, 207
Kevork Chavoush (Ghazarian Krikor, Sarhad) 59, 67, 68, 73, 75, 83-86, 97, 150, 172, 173, 175-176, 177, 187, 188, 190, **195**, 197, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207
Kevorkian, Ardashes, 157
Kevork, Rouss, 76
Kevork V, Catholicos, 101
Kghetsi Boghos (Tokhmakh), 67, 68, 76, 188, **197**, 203
Khachadourian, Smpad (Boris), 55, 58, 61, 150, **195**
Khachig, 51
Khadisian, Aleksandr, 44, 123, 124, 127, 128-130, 133, 134, 142, 143, 144, 145, 150, 181, 182, 187, **196**
Khadisian, Gonsdantin, 33, **196**, 205
Khalil, Pasha, 139, 201
Khamazian, 144
Khan - see Tavtian, Garabed
Khan - see Tiriakian, Parsegh
Khan, 51
Khan, 201
Khanjian, Ghevond, 210
Khan Khoiski, 157, 212
Khanasori, Vartan - see Mehrabian, Sarkis
Khanazad, Roupen (Nshan Garabedian), 27, 31, **196**, 201
Khanoyian, S., 142
Khantamirian, Mariam (Varantian), 54
Kharsa Hago, 84
Khazhag - see Chakalian, Karekin
Kherkheuleze, 70
Khngo, 145, 147
Khondkarian, Arsham, 143, 145
Khoren, 97
Khoreni, Vahan - see Der Kevorkian, Vahan
Khoushboulian, Hmaiag, 196
Khrimian, Mgrdich (Hayrig), 15, 17, 19, 21, 22, 70, 165, 166, 174, 186, 192, **196**, 197, 209
Kisag - see Serengiulian, Vartkes
Kiupelian, Khoren, 115
Knouni, Khachig (Shahen), 36, 47, 48, 51, 186, **196**, 200
Kocharian, Ghazar, 135
Kocharian, Hagop, 31, 130, **196**
Koloshian, Vartan (Aleksandr), 25, 167, **197**
Komsa Iso (Goriun), 67, 73, 75, 76, 83, 84, 110, 113, 114, 175, **197**, 205
Korganoff, 119
Kosh, Andon, 61
Kourken - see Maliants, Baghdasar
Kouyoumjian M., (Arantsar), 72
Krikor, 111
Krikorian, H., 150
Kris, 77
Krouzinian, Simon (Simon Vratsian), 17, 31, 33, 36, 38, 48, 103, 106, 108, 117, 119, 121, 123, 125, 127, 128, 129, 131, 133, 134, 135, 136, 139, 140, 142, 143, 144, 145, 149, 150, 154, 156, 158, 159, 161, 182, 187, **197**, 201, 208
Kulaksezian, 197
Kulgevich, 107
Kurkjian, Haroutioun, 141, 149, 150, 153, 157, 159
Laklak - see Tadeosian, Arshag
Lazarian, 18
Legran, 143, 144
Leizhin, 86, 94, 95, 196, 187, 193, 199, 205, 208, 209, 211, 213
Lenin, 121, 142, 147
Lepsius, Johannes, 109, 156, 210
Lerents - see Nazarbegian, Avedis
Levon - see Zakarian, Parsegh
Levonian, Armenag (Ashod-Yergat), 61, 63, 68, 71, 72, 75, 77, 174, 175, **197**
Levonian, B., 150
Liakhov, 95
Lobanov-Rostovsky, 119
Longuet, Jean, 91
Loris-Melikian, Hovhannes (Loris, Zarifian), 31, 55, 61, 62, 72, 83, 143, **198**
Loris-Melikov, general, 18
Madinian, Natalia, 54, 198
Madinian, Nigol (Vahan), 31, 45, 55, 197, **198**
Madinian, Satenig (Dzaghig), 49, **198**
Madzoun Khecho, 81
Magintsian, Boghos, 142
Magouetsi Mesrob, 83
Makharadze, 142
Maksoud Simon Bey, 47
Maliants, Baghdasar (Kourken), 36, 47, 52, 53, 58, 59, 67, 171, 191, 193, 195, **198**, 206, 212
Malkhas - see Hovsepian, Ardashes
Maloumian, Khachadour (E. Agnouni), 31, 32, 36, 61, 62, 70, 72, 83, 85, 86, 93, 99, 106, 108, 110, 189, **198**
Maloumian, Kristapor, 187
Maloyian, Avedik, **205**
Mamigon, 97
Manasian, Sarkis, 94, 129, 136, **198**
Mandelschtam, André, 109
Manouelian, Vahan, 63, 68, 72, 73, 75, 193, **199**
Manoug, 121
Manoug, Kalsho, 187
Manougian, Aram - see Hovhannesian, *Sergei*
Manougian, Hmaïag, 113
Mar - see Der Mardirosian, Mikayel
Maral, 28
Mardig, 25, 53, 170, 168, 210
Mardiros, 80, 97, 145, 147, 189
Margosian, H., 114
Markar, 73
Markarian, Mardiros (Safo), 36, 45, 72, 76, 77, 176, **199**
Markarian, Maro, 27
Marimian, Bedros, 196
Mariott J.A.R., 15
Martin, 55, 61
Marzbed, 61, 168

Maximov, 48
Mazmanian, 142
Medz Chello (Toros Dzaroukian), 27
Meghavorian, Hagop, 31, 196
Mehmed Ali, 95, 97
Mehmed Efendi, 84
Mehrabian, Sarkis (Vartan Khanasori), 49, 50, 72, 85, 136, 170, **199**
Mejlis, 177
Melanzade Rifaat, 109
Melik - see (Hovhannes Yousoufian)
Melikset, 67
Melik-Allahverdian, Aleksandr, 31, **208**
Melik-Hagopian, Hagop (Raffi), 15, 21, 166, 186, **199**
Melikian, Arshavir, 54, 142
Melik-Krikorian, Parsegh (Ghara-Melik), 23, 36, 45, **199**
Melik-Mousian, Ashod, 113
Melikset, 67
Melkonian, Dajad (Karmen), 86, 90, 110, **199**
Melkonian, Misak, 115
Melkoumian, Haig, 142
Meloian, Ghevond, 83
Menag - see Arstamiants, Kevork-Yegor
Merjanoff, Krikor, 157
Meshedi Avedis, 68
Mgrdichian, Haroutiun, 156, 210
Miasnikian, Aleksandr, 147, 183
Mihran, 63, 76, 79, 86, 90, 91, 94, 175, **200**, 204
Mihran, 211
Mikayel Nalbandian, 15
Mikayelian, Kristapor (Ellen), 23, 31-36, 45, 47, 58, 61, 62, 63, 72, 76, 77, 164, 167-169, 172, 173, 176, 185, 188, 195, 198, 199, **200**, 202, 204, 207, 209, 213, 214
Miko, 53, 191
Mikoyian, Anastas, 143
Miliukov, 94
Minasian - see Tevian, Ardashes
Minasian Hovhannes (Minas Oghlou), 27
Minasian, Sarkis (Aram Ashod), 36, 61, 62, 83, 86, 94, 110, **200**
Minakhorian, Vahan, 106, 107, 143, 145, 157
Mirzaian, Asdvadzadour (Gredatsi), 51, **200**
Mirzaian, Hovsep (Arpag Rshdouni), 58, 95, **200**
Mirzaian, Kapriel (Kapo), 31, 32, **208**
Mirzaian, Mademoiselle, 54
Mirzayiants, Hovsep, 168
Misak, 113
Misak Hagopian, 168
Misak Melkonian, 113, 115
Misakian, Ardashes, 47, 186, 196, **200**
Misakian, Mgrdich (Shavro), 65, **200**
Misakian, Shavarsh, 161, 197, **200**
Misakian brothers, 48
Mkhitar - see Ohanian, Kristapor
Mkhitarian, Onnig, 113
Mleh, 28
Mogatsi Haroutiun (Akhber), 50, 53, **201**, 214
Morgenthau, H., 109, 111
Mourad, 121, 168
Mourad - see Boyajian, Hampartsoum
Mouradian, Martin (Ashod-Martin), 55, 59, 61, 63, **201**
Mouradov, Arshag, 94
Mousayelian, 135
Moushegh, 121
Mousheghian, Arshag, (Yezid), 157
Mousinian, M., 144
Mrav - see Zhamharian, Markar
Mravian, A., 142, 144
Mrgo - see Nevrouz, Levon
Msho Kegham, 83, 84, 93
Mujalla, 98
Mousayelian, Colonel, 135, 136
Muzafer-ed-din, 95
Nado, 52, 212
Nahikian, Hovhannes, 61, 186
Naji Bey, 108
Nakashidze, 80, 176, 189, 192
Nalbandian, 165
Nalbandian, Louise, 17, 31, 33, 38, 48
Nalbandian, Mikayel, 15
Nanoyian, Honan - see Tavtian, Hovnan
Narimanov, 144
Natali, Shahan, 150, 155-157, 161,
Navasartian, Vahan, 42, 144, 149-151, 155
Nayim Bey, 109
Nazarbeg - see Nazarbegian, Avedis
Nazarbegian, Avedis (Nazarbeg), 27, **201**
Nazarbegian, Maro, (Vartanian), 201
Nazarbegian, Tovmas, 117, 121, 123, 135, 144, 180, 190, **201**, 203
Nazaretian, H., 135, 142, 181
Nazariants, Libarid, 61, 130, 150, 155, 156
Nersesian, Arshag (Sebouh), 65, 68, 73, 75, 81, 85, 95, 121, 134, 135, 139, 191, 193, **201**, 210
Neshikian, Garabed, 22, 192
Nevrouz, 68, 69, 150, 174
Nevrouz, Hagop (Dr. Nevrouz), 130, 150, **202**
Nevrouz, Levon (Jacques-Léon, Mrgo), 48, 61, **202**
Nevrouz, Onnig, 63, 68, 69, 187, **202**
Nicola - see Tarkhanian, Guro
Nigol Boghosian (Ishkhan), 67
Nigol-Douman - see Der Hovhannisian, Nigoghayos
Nikolayev, 113
Nitra - see Shahrigian, Haroutiun
Norhadian, Hamazasb, 36, **202**
Nourijanian, Avis, 136, 142, 144, 145
Nshan, 67
Nuri Pasha, 208
Nzhdeh, Karekin - see Der Haroutiunian, Karekin
Odabashian, Bogos - see Parseghian, Sarkis
Odabashian-Boghosian, Nigol (Vana Ishkhan), 52, 65, 67, 75, 83, 85, 108, 110, 111, 144, 174, 186, 187, 190, 194, **202**-204, 207, 211, 212
Oghlou, Minas (Hovhannes Minasian), 27
Ohanian, Kristapor (Mkhitar), 27, 49, **202**
Ohanian, Ohan (Pokhig), 50, 76, 176, **202**
Ohanjanian, Hamo, 61, 86, 92-94, 128-130, 144, 145, 149, 150, 159, 195, 196, **202**
Ohanjanian Roupen, 190
Ohanjanian, Sarkis (Farhad), 49, 53, 59, 67, **203**
Ohannesian, H., 150
Okhigian, Armenag (Slak), 49, 67, 106, 110, 114, **203**
Okonian, Dikran (Shamil), 22, 29, 36, 97, 167, **203**
Orakian, A., 155
Ormanian, 192
Ourvagan - see Ghazarian, Armenag
Ozanian, Antranig (General Antranig), 47, 61, 67, 68, 73, 74, 75, 85, 86, 100, 117, 121, 125, 131, 135, 155, 172, 168, 189, 191, 193, 195, 199, 201, **203**, 206, 207, 208, 209
Pagheshtsian, Hamazasb (Salman), 52, 83, 85, **203**
Pakradouni - see Sev Ashod Palabekh Garabed, 52, 82, 110, 114, **203**, 212
Panos, 67, 83, 97
Pamboukian, K., 111
Papazian, Hrach, 155-157
Papazian, Vahan (Goms), 67, 75, 86, 90, 93, 100, 101, 114, 120, 130, 151, 153, 155, 174, 169, 202, **204**, 206
Papazian, Vrtanes, 204
Paperian, Yervant (Jallad), 51, 65, 169,

199, **204**
Papken Siuni - see Parian, Bedros
Parian, Bedros (Papken Siuni), 36, 47, 48, 189, 199, **204**
Parseghian, A., 150
Parseghian, (Vana Sarkis), 52, 63, 83, 92, 93, 108, 110, 116, 177, **204**
Pashayan, Garabed (Taparig), 49, 61, 93, 108, 110, **204**
Pastermadjian, Hrant, 15, 43, 100, 106, 108, 121, 163
Pastermajian, Karekin (Armen Garo), 17, 36, 48, 55, 58, 61, 62, 81, 86, 93, 108, 117, 120, 121, 130, 131, 134, 136, 150, 155, 156, 193, 201, **204**, 210
Petara Manoug, 113, 114, 134, 136, **205**
Petrov, 139
Pilos, 145, 147
Pitsa, 174
Poidebard, A., 119, 123
Pokhig - see Ohanian, Ohan
Portugalian, Mgrdich, 21, 25, 166, 197, 201, **205**, 210
Quillard, Pierre, 61, 71, **77**, 172
Radev, Simon, 56
Raffi - see Melik-Hagopian, Hagop
Rahim Khan, 97
Rahver - see Vartanian, Misak
Rashid, 61
Rastgelenian, Haroutiun, 115
Ribbs, Sophie, 76
Ricci, Silvio - see Fenerjian, Kris
Rodostatsi Sarkis, 186
Romanov, 120
Rosdom - see Zorian, Stepan
Roubina (wife of Hamo Ohanjanian), 76, 77
Roubina Areshian, 164
Roupen - see Kachaznouni, Hovhannes
Roupen, 114, 155, 158, 159
Rshdouni, Andon, 27
Rshdouni, Arpag - see Mirzaian, Hovsep
Sabaheddin, 87 Safo - see Markarian, Mardiros
Sahakian, Aram, Luter, 115
Sahakian, Avedik (Hayr-Apraham), 36, 45, 58, 129, 144, 145, **205**
Sahakian, Mgrdich (Apro), 51, 169, **205**
Said Halim Pasha, 73, 155, 157, 207
Sakharov, 70
Sako, 65
Salar Dovle, 97
Salman - see Pagheshtsian, Hamazasb
Samba, Marcel, 62
Samson, 65
Sarafov, Boris, 59, 60, 157
Sarbaz Khecho, 94, **205**
Sardar Asad, 97
Sarhad - see Kevork Chavoush
Sarkis, 63
Sarkis, 83, 86
Sarkis, 206
Sarkisian, Ara, 155
Sarksian, Levon, 31, 121, 134, **205**
Sarksian, Y., 145
Sasountsi Moushegh (Avedisian), 113, 114, 121, 134, 145, 147, 205
Satenig Madinian (Dzaghig), 49
Sattar Khan, 95
Sayian, Krikor (Jahll), 76
Sayid Halim Pasha, 107, 155, 157, 184, 207
Sbaghanats Kaleh, 84, **205**
Sbaghanats Magar, 67, 68, 73, 75, 84, 203, 205, **206**, 207
Schmerling, 70
Sebouh - see Nersesian, Arshag
Seghposian, Levon (Levon Shant), 93, 130, 143-145, 182, 185, 197, **206**
Semali Manoug, 114
Sepasdatsi Mourad, 68, 73, 75, 81, 134, 139, 181, 192, **206**
Seremjian, Bedros, 36, 53, 60, 61, 63, 116, 173, 198, **206**
Serengiulian, Vartkes (Hovhannes, Kisag, Zarmayr), 36, 47, 63, 67, 93, 110, 172, 173, 199, 204, **206**, 214
Serop, 63
Seto, 97
Sevag, Roupen, 110
Sev Ashod (Pakradouni, Yeghigian, Ashod), 58, 61, 63, 72, 194, **206**
Sevian, R., 31, 32
Sevkaretsi Sako - see Dzovianian, Sarkis
Seydo Boghos, 67, 73, 81, **207**
Shadvorian, Roupen, 210
Shaghoyan, Levon, 121, 134
Shahbaz, Parsegh, 61
Shahbaz, Vahram, 47
Shahbaz, Vartan, 48, 67, 83, 174, **207**
Shahen - see Knouni, Khachig Shahinian, Sarkis, 111
Shahkhatounian, 86
Shahmazian, Arsen, 135
Shahnazar, Hovhannes, 56
Shahoumian, Stepan, 137, 139, 142, 173, 180-181
Shahrigian, Haroutiun (Nitra, Adom), 36, 49, 58, 62, 63, 93, 99, 108, 110, **207**
Shahverdian, 142
Shamil - see Okonian, Dikran
Shamir, 80
Shant, Levon - see Seghposian, Levon
Sharaf Beg, 50
Shasho, 65
Shatirian, Martin (Darakir), 23, 31, 32, 36, 38, **207**
Shavarsh, 51
Shavro - see Misakian, Mgrdich
Shcherpagovski, 70
Sheg Hamo, 69
Shego - see Barsamian, Arshag
Sheikh-ul-Islam, 77
Shenigi Manoug, 73, **207**
Sherif Beg, 70
Shero, 29
Shiragian, Arshavir, 111, 154, 155, 157, 184, **207**, 212
Shirvanzade, 208
Shishmanian, Roupen (Dersimi Kerl), 22, 29, 35, 36, 53, 72, 167, 174, 187, 192, 194, **208**
Shkhiants, Simeon (Souren), **208**
Shmavon - see Gafiàn, Kapriel
Shoushi, 135
Shukhiants, Simeon, 55
Shumakevich, 80
Siamanto, 110
Sidari, Francesco, 15
Siligian, 121, 123, 144
Simian, Haroutioun, 115
Sipahdar, 97
Siuni, Papken - see Parian, Bedros
Slak - see Okhigian, Armenag
Smpad, 73, 97
Smpad, 121
Smpad, 134, 147
Sogho, 114
Sordartsi Aram, 114
Sosoyian, Shasho, **208**
Souloukhtsi, Agop, **208**
Souloukhtsi, Avedis, **208**
Souloukhtsi Serop, **208**
Souren - see Antreasian, Ardashes
Souren - see Shkhiants, Simeon
Souren - see Tarkhanian, Guro
Souren, 200
Srents, Sarkis, 61
Srvantsdiants, Hamazasb, 80, 81, 106, 107, 145, **208**
Stalin, 160, 195
Stepanian, Dikran, 31, **208**
Stepanian, Stepan (Dzerouni Haroutiunian, Balajan), 49, 110, **208**
Stolypin, 81, 86, 91-93, 94
Suja-Dovle, 98
Svazlian, Mihran, 56
Tadeosian, Arshag (Vartan, Laklak), 31, 32, 36, 45, 49, 53, 58, 83, **209**
Tadeosian, Dikran, 58

Tadeosian, Hovsep, 209
Tadeosian, Levon, 36, 45, **209**
Tarmanian, Mkhitar, 135
Tadeosian, Samson, (Karekin), 49, 65, 97, **209**
Talaat Pasha, 101, 109, 110, 134, 155, 156, 183, 191, 210, 214
Taparig - see Pashayan, Garabed
Tarkhanian, Guro (Nicola, Souren), 145, **209**
Tarpinian, Roupen, 61
Tarmanian, Mkhitar, 135
Tasdagian, Apraham, 31, **209**
Tatoul - see Aramian, Aram
Tavakalian, Father Pakrad (Zakki), 49, 168, 190, **209**
Tavitkhanian, D., 150
Tavtian, Garabed (Khan), **209**
Tavtian, Hortense, **210**
Tavtian, Hovnan (Honan Nanoyian), 33, 35, 36, 49, 55, 72, 86, 167, 169, 188, 196, 203, 209 **210**
Tavtian, Yeprem (Yeprem Khan), 94, 97, 98, 178, 195, **210**
Tayinian - see Loris-Melikian, Hovhannes
Tehlirian, Soghomon, 154-156, 157, 183, **210**
Tekinski, 134
Teos, 67, 83
Tergevantsi Mkho, 22
Terlemezian, Dajad, 90
Terlemezian, Krikor, 210
Terlemezian, Mgrdich (Avedisian), 25, 35, 49, 53, 170, 188, **210**
Terlemezian, Mihran, 106, 110
Tertsagian, Onnig - see Vramian, Arshag
Tevian, Ardashes (Yekibdatsi, Minasian), 36, 47, **210**
Tiriakian, Hayg (Hrach), 36, 48, 55, 58, 59, 61-63, 93, 99, 100, 108, 110, 173, 188, 190, 194, 196, 197, **210**
Tiriakian, Parsegh (Khan), 65, 69, 174, 187, 202, **211**
Tokajian Mgrdich, 77
Tokhmakh - see Kghetsi Boghos
Tokhmakhian, Arsen, 190
Topjian, Yeghisheh, 61, 85, 86, 91, 189, **211**
Torikian, Shavarsh, 144
Tork - see Achukgeozian, Hovagim
Torkom - see Toumiants, Touman
Torlakian, Misak, 111, 139, 154, 155, 157, 184
Toros - see Aloyan, Kalousd
Torosian, A., 150
Torosian, Onnig, 60, 206
Torosian, Sahag, 129
Toumiants, Touman (Torkom), 61, 65, 72, 73, 76, 77, 174, 175, 186-188, 192, 193, 201, 206, **211**
Tsronktsi Mourad, 147
Tutunjiev, M., 47
Tzhokhk - see Ghazarian, Armenag
Urhayetsi, K., 115
Vagharshag - see Baghdasarian, Vagharshag (Gaydzag)
Vagho, 174
Vahab - see Vramian, Arshag
Vahan - see Madinian, Nigol
Vahan, 55, 72
Vahan of Sasoun, 61
Vahanian - see Yousoufian, Hovhannes
Vahe, 79
Vahram - see Haroutiun Kalfayan
Vana Ishkhan - see Odabashian, Nigol
Vana Sarkis - see Parseghian, Sarkis
Varantian, Mikayel, 17, 31, 32, 36, 47, 48, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 58, 59, 61, 62, 63, 72, 73, 75, 76, 77, 79, 80-81, 83, 86, 93, 94, 95, 97, 99, 130, 150, 155, 157, 158, 169, 196, **211**
Varbed (Hovhannes Boyajian), 61
Varouzhan, Taniel, 93, 110
Vartan - see Tadeosian, Arshag
Vartan, 201
Vartan, 81
Vartan, priest 51
Vartan, 36, 58, 99, 100, 117, 206, 209
Vartan Vartabed (Vga), 83, 110, 189, **211**
Vartanian - see Nazarbegian, Maro
Vartanian, Misak (Rahver), 55, 59, **211**
Vartanian, Mourad (Jardar), 52, 65, **212**
Vartanian, O., 150
Vartanian, Serop (Aghpiur-Serop), 36, 47, 51, 52, 53, 58, 59, 65, 67, 68, 69, 75, 114, 169, 171, 172, 188, 193, 195, 198, 203, 205-208, **212**
Vartanian, Sosse, 52, **212**
Vartkes, 93, 108, 173, 174, 199, 204, 214
Varto - see Badrigian, Vart
Varzhabed, Mardiros - see Charoukjian, Mardiros
Varzhabed, Markar - see Amirian, Markar
Varzhabedian, Nerses, 17-19, **212**
Vaza, 157
Vazken, (Armenagan), 188
Vazken - see Deroyan, Dikran
Vga - see Vartan Vartabed
Vincent, Sir Edgar, 48, 61
Vorontsov-Dashkov, 117
Vorsort Kevork, 68, 76
Vosgan, 188
Vosough-ol-Dovle, 95
Vram - see Kendirian, Vramshabouh
Vramian, Arshag (Onnig Tertsagian, Vahab), 36, 48, 55, 58, 61, 62, 86, 93, 95, 99, 108, 110, 111, 170, 179, 194, 196, 199, 208, **212**
Vratsian, Simon - see Krouzinian, Simon
Werfel, Franz, 115
Westenenk, 106
Yabon, 147
Yegarian, Armenag, 111
Yeghiazarian, S., 145
Yeghigian - see Sev Ashod
Yekibdatsi - see Tevian, Ardashes
Yeprem Khan - see Tavtian, Yeprem
Yerganian, Aram, 155, 157, 184, 207, 208, **212**
Yesayian, Zabel, 136
Yezid - see Mouseghian, Arshag
Yoffe, 151, 155
Yolan, 59
Yotneghpayrian, Mgrdich, 115
Yousouf, 207
Yousoufian, Hovhannes (Vahanian, Melik), 31, 35, 47, 48, 55, 63, 168, 170, 171, 186, 196, 197, 199, 204, 206, 208, 210, 212, **213**
Zadigian, S., 150
Zakarian, Parsegh, (Levon), 27, 155
Zakarian, Vahan, 155-157
Zakeh, 210
Zakki - see Tavakalian, Father Pakrad
Zamhour, Dikran - see Amseyan, Dikran
Zareh, 77
Zarevant, 100, 134
Zarifian - see Loris-Melikian, Hovhannes
Zarmayr - see Serengiulian, Vartkes
Zartarian, Roupen (Aslan), 61, 91, 93, 99, 106, 108, 110, 134, 147, **213**
Zarutni, 94
Zavarian, Simon, 23, 32, 33, 35, 36, 45, 58, 68, 69, 70, 72, 81, 83, 85, 86, 92, 93, 99, 106, 107, 167, 168, 175, 177, 179, 187, 197, 199, 200, 205, 207, 209, 210, **213**, 214
Zaven - see Karageozian, Hagop
Zavrian, Hagop (Zavriev), 117, 120, 121, 130, 142, 180, 197, **213**
Zeki Pasha, 73
Zemliag, 119
Zhamharian, Isahag, 63
Zhamharian, Markar (Mrav), 63, **213**
Zhenia - see Deroyan, Zarouhi
Zhirair, (Hnchak), 189
Zhoris, 76

Muhrak (Siegel) ist eine Buchreihe,
die sich die Aufgabe stellt, eine Sammlung
von chronographischen Werken
Vorstudien und Abhandlungen
über die vielfältigen
Aspekte der Religions-,
Kultur-und soziopolitischen Geschichte der Völker
im kaukasischen und anatolischen Raum
sowie auf der iranischen Hochebene
vom Mittelalter bis zum Anfang
des Jahrhunderts zu verbreiten.

Die Texte sind jeweils in der
vom Autor bevorzugten
Sprache verfasst, weil die Buchreihe -
pluralistisch im Inhalt, in den Meinungen
und im kritischen Zuschnitt - auch sprachlich
die mannigfaltigen Aspekte der untersuchten
Gebiete wiederspiegelt.

The whole aim of the Muhrak (seal) series
is to provide a collection of historical chronologies,
preliminary studies and essays
on the manifold aspects of the religious,
cultural and socio-political history of peoples,
places and situations in the Caucasian,
Anatolian and Iranian plateau areas
from medieval times until early this century.

The texts will be in the original languages
chosen by the authors, because this series,
pluralistic in content, opinions and critique,
reflects the multifarious aspects
of its sphere of interest
also in language.



OEMME EDIZIONI

ISBN 88-85822-11-8