

ARMENIAN TERROR DURING THE CHANGE IN THE PERCEPTION OF AND REACTION TOWARDS TERRORISM

(TERÖR ALGISININ VE TERÖRE KARŞI VERİLEN
TEPKİLERİN DEĞİŞİM SÜRECİNDE ERMENİ TERÖRÜ)

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Abstract: *This paper aims to see in entirety the picture in which Armenian terrorism and the Armenian terrorists spring to life. To that end, the characteristics and the targets of Armenian terrorism were determined with the methods of research and analysis of literary science. The data thus gathered was evaluated using a comparative method. It has been observed that the French revolution was a turning point in the history of terrorism. The revolutionary slogans and symbols, while lighting a fire under freedom, also led the way for terrorist acts. In recent periods, the countries around the world lean towards cooperation with the maturity of accumulation of knowledge and experience of hundreds of years. The common reaction shown towards the terrorist attacks in France on 7 January 2015 can be considered as a signal of this tendency. In this picture, the phenomenon that is determined by keeping track of the phases of progress and transformation the Ottoman Empire experienced from its period to today is that Armenian terrorism was resistant to a great extent and had a mutation depending upon changing conditions.*

Keywords: *French Revolution, terrorism, Armenian terrorist organizations, Nemesis, ASALA, National United Party*

Öz: *Bu çalışmanın amacı Ermeni terörü ve teröristlerinin hayat bulduğu tabloyu bütün olarak görebilmektir. Bu amaçla terörün tarihi fonunda Ermeni terörünün karakteristik özellikleri ve hedefleri edebiyat biliminin araştırma ve inceleme yöntemleriyle tespit edildi. Toplanan veriler karşılaştırma yöntemi kullanılarak değerlendirildi. Görüldü ki, Fransız Devrimi terör tarihi için bir dönüm noktası olmuş. Devrimin sloganları ve sembolleri özgürlük ateşini yakarken terör eylemlerine de öncülük etmiş. Dünya ülkeleri son dönemlerde, yüzlerce yıllık bilgi birikimi ve*

deneyimin verdiđi olgunlukla terörle mücadele konusunda işbirliđi yapma eğilimindedir. 7 Ocak 2015 tarihinde Fransa'da yaşanan terör olayına verilen ortak tepki bu eğilimin işareti olarak okunabilir. Bu tablo içinde, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu döneminden bugüne geçirmiş olduđu gelişim ve dönüşüm evrelerini takip ederek tespit edilen olgu, Ermeni terörünün son derece direngen olduđu ve deđişen koşullara bađıl olarak mutasyon geçirdiđiydi.

Anahtar sözcükler: Fransız Devrimi, terörizm, Ermeni terör örgütleri, Nemesis, Asala, Ulusal Birlik Partisi.

Armenian Terror During the Change in the Perception of and Reaction Towards Terrorism

This article is devoted to a 14 year-old child, Neslihan Özmen, who lost her life due to the terrorist act by ASALA on 31 July 1980 in Athens, and to all victims of terrorism.

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“A terrorist cannot be a national hero”

Aleksandr Remigaylo

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“Of all the passions capable of enslaving man’s will, none is more incompatible with reason and liberty than religious fanaticism.”

Robespierre

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“Shoulder to Shoulder Solidarity in Paris against Terrorism”

Source: Hürriyet/12 January 2015

Aleksandr Remigaylo, whom I cited for the epigraph, was a part of the team which investigated the terrorist act¹ that took place in Moscow on 8 January 1977 and resulted in the deaths of 7 people and serious injury of 37 people. Ten months later, at the end of a careful study, the terrorists Agop Stepanyan, Zaven Bagdasaryan, and Stepan Zatikyan, who are members of National United Party of Armenia (Ազգային Միացյալ Կուսակցություն) were determined.² The court condemned the three defendants to death and

1 Note: There were three explosions in Moscow on 8 January 1997. The first bomb was in the train going from the Izmaylovskaya station to Pervomayskaya on 17.33. As a result, seven passengers, of which the majority were children, pregnant women, and old women died, and thirty seven got seriously wounded. The second explosion took place in a store at 18.05 on 25 Oktyabrya street (called Nikolskaya today). The third explosion took place in a waste bin near the Archives Institute on the same street. Please see the following for details: Леонид Каневский, Армянский терроризм, взрыв в Московском метро (НТВ), <http://portall.zp.ua/video/armjanskijj-terrorizm-vzryv-v-moskovskom-metro/id-jCwgQ5iO-B0.html> ve <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wPjtD5vB-O0> (19.02.2015)

2 ФСБ России, Бомба в метро (документальный фильм), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mZQAK1POXtg>; Армянские Террористы в Московском Метро (Armenian Terrorists in Moscow Metro), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vZWB5GZU-k> (19.02.2015).

executions were carried out. Since the incident took place in the technical conditions of the day and behind the Iron Curtain of the USSR, it was almost impossible to get hold of information about the incident and the organization that carried out the act; to observe the public opinion; and even to immediately hear about the event. As a matter of fact, the archival documents were brought to the public attention only after thirty years following the incident. In addition, in this incident, it is now possible to reach the petition³ organized by the Moscow Helsinki Group dated 1 February 1979 that protested not the terrorists and their act, but the punishment of the terrorists who stated in the court that they left their promise of revenge as a legacy to their descendants.

National United Party of Armenia is an illegal organization founded by Armenian painter Haykaz Khachaturian, Stepan Zatikyan⁴ and Shahen Arutiunian on 24 April 1966. The goal in establishing the party was shaped in the framework of the Armenian genocide allegations taking reference the years between 1915 and 1923.⁵ But the allegations in the hearing in the court by the aforementioned terrorists targeted the Russians and the Soviet system.⁶

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Experts state that the first organized terrorist acts in the history of humanity was observed in Palestine in the 1st century A.D. and those who executed the act were the devotees of the Zealot sect⁷ which is referred to as Sicarii.⁸ The basic characteristics of the acts executed by the members of the sect is that

3 Заявление по поводу казни Степана Затикяна и двух других неназванных лиц, Документ № 81(1), <http://www.mhg.ru/history/15D6785> (19.02.2015)

4 Паруйр Айриkyан о Степана Затикяна и НОП, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UaWQq3lPNt0>; Степан Затикян, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GXTKxprsmWs> (19.02.2014).

5 Ազգային Միացյալ Կուսակցություն (ԱՄԿ) մաս 1, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=48Yrny2Gtx8>;

Ազգային Միացյալ Կուսակցություն (ԱՄԿ) մաս 2, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6wFzLbr3gp4> ;

Ազգային Միացյալ Կուսակցություն (ԱՄԿ) մաս 3, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Enbgpxurms0> ;

Ազգային Միացյալ Կուսակցություն (ԱՄԿ) մաս 4, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2_aNBMRrRbk (19.02.2015).

6 Степан Затикян, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GXTKxprsmWs> (23.02.2015);

Армянские Террористы в Московском Метро (Armenian Terrorists in Moscow Metro), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vzZWB5GZU-k> (23.02.2015)

7 For the Zealot sect, please see: Свящ. Александр Мень, “Сын человеческий”, Библия –центр, <http://www.bible-center.ru/book/son/009> (21.02.2015). Note: Sica, a latin word, is the plural of sicarii, sicarius (man with dagger).

8 Gérard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin, *The History of Terrorism*, University of California Press, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, 2007, p. 55.

they had killed the Roman Empire soldiers and the Jews who were in cooperation with the Roman Empire, with the daggers they carried. The Sicarii group had played an important role in the Jewish revolt of 66-71, and disappeared when the uprising was suppressed⁹ (there is information that, rather than surrendering, the sect members had committed mass suicide by means of killing each other¹⁰).

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While the history of terrorist acts takes us to ancient times, the word “terror”, which has the meaning of “spreading extreme fear” and “causing horror”, came into use during the French Revolution, when it was used to describe “*the action of the revolutionary government known as the “Régime de la terreur”, led by Maximilien Robespierre (July 1793-July 1794)*”.¹¹ Gérard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin, taking into account the power of influence countries have on diplomatic history, made the conclusion that “*the French Revolution marked a turning point in the history of terrorism*”.¹² They made such a conclusion because:

“The Age of Enlightenment had bequeathed humanity the idea of popular sovereignty, and it was in the name of that sovereignty that the Revolution claimed to defend it through the deployment of state terror, in which the ends justified the means, including extreme violence.”¹³

With the freedom flag it carried and the slogans of equality and brotherhood, the French Revolution had served as the force that prompted ethnic groups around the globe in their desire for independency. In the process as well,

9 http://ggpi.org/files/istoria_terr.pdf (20.02.2015).

10 Emrah Aydoğan, “Terörizmin Tarihi Gelişimi”, TURKSAM, please see Caspian Weekly for the article, <http://tr.caspianweekly.org/ana-kategoriler/guvenlik-ve-terorizm/1016-terorizmin-tarihi-geliimi.html> (21.02.2014).

11 Brief History of Terrorism, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uB_XPZ26f7U (21.02.2014).

In addition, there is the following information on French sources regarding the usage of the word “terrorism” in the aforementioned period: “30 August 1793, ‘The usage of the concept of terrorism based on the desires of the revolutionary army (ROYER, in the meeting of the Jacobins, according to G. Vanden Heuvel op. cit. p. 898 and footnote 35: Let’s bring terrorism into light), cf. A. GEFFRIO, *Mél. Guilbert (L.)* pp. 125-126; the formula that is often mythicized: November 1793, sacred terrorism (Musset and Delacroix, Committee of Prosperity of People, according to G. Vanden Heuvel op. cit. p. 899 and footnote 42); 5 February 1794 (Robespierre, op. cit. and footnote 45: terrorism is nothing other than quick, strict, and merciless justice [...] it is a consequence of the general principle of democracy implemented according to the urgent needs of the country, cf. H. KESSLER, *op. cit.*, s. 159 sqq.” Source: <http://www.cnrtl.fr/etymologie/terreur> (21.02.2015). The text was translated from French to Turkish by Research Assistant Doğanay Eryılmaz.

12 Gérard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin, *ibid.*, p. 95.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 95.

revolutionaries and the revolution itself were mythicized. It draws attention that, following the revolution, especially at the end of 19th century and the beginning of 20th century, there was a numerical majority of those French revolutionaries who desired to put on their shirts and carry out a revolution and those who desired to realize their demands by means of terrorism. This, namely the desire of new leaders of revolutions to actualize the French Revolution again and again in their own space and time periods, caused danger. This was underlined by Milan Kundera in his comments on the philosophy of Eternal Return (by Nietzsche):

“If the French Revolution were to recur eternally, French historians would be less proud of Robespierre. But because they deal with something that will not return, the bloody years of the Revolution have turned into mere words, theories, and discussions, have become lighter than feathers, frightening no one. There is an infinite difference between a Robespierre who occurs only once in history and a Robespierre who eternally returns, chopping off French heads.”¹⁴

We recognize this danger by hundreds of years of experience and accumulation of knowledge in the living conditions in which societal security can be provided (without threatening individual freedoms). This accumulation has been reflected on the reaction towards the terrorist act in Paris on 7 January 2015 as well:

“France will march this Sunday in Paris to commemorate the victims and to say no to terrorism. But it will not be alone. Heads of states and governments from all over the world will stand ready in the capital. From the German Chancellor Angela Merkel to British Prime Minister David Cameron, leaders of sixty countries including Prime Minister of Israel Benjamin Netanyahu, President of the Palestinian National Authority Mahmoud Abbas and the King of Jordan, will join the ‘Republican Marches’ in Paris on Sunday on the occasion of the attack against Charlie Hebdo magazine and the Jewish supermarket.”¹⁵

In the first weeks of 2015, people from all over the world read news reflecting the content we have included above.¹⁶ This was the first in the history of

14 Milan Kundera, “The Unbearable Lightness of Being”, p.2
http://11th-grade-ib-english.granadahills.groupfusion.net/modules/locker/files/get_group_file.phtml?fid=24475648&gid=3937650 (06.03.2015)

15 Source: <http://www.20minutes.fr/monde/1514443-20150111-marche-republicaine-longue-liste-chefs-etat-gouvernement-presents-paris> (19.02.2015). The text was translated from French to Turkish by Research Assistant Doğanay Eryılmaz.

16 Source: *BBC NEWS EUROPE*, “Charlie Hebdo attack: Three days of terror”,
<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-30708237> (19.02.2015).

humanity, and with this reaction towards the terrorist act, at least the countries represented by political leaders, announced that they would not sympathize with those who terrorize, frighten, suppress and assassinate innocent people to reach their aim with whatever motive they have.

“Would this reaction become a turning point in combating terrorism?” Time will tell.

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The symbols and the slogans of the French Revolution fit the spirit of the time; thus, it was quickly adopted, but only with the nuances caused by the economic, political, geographic, cultural and social conditions. In contrast, there is a tendency in studies about the period to ignore the mentioned differences and acknowledge the evidence of the countries that succeeded in industrialization as an absolute criterion. Yet, the effects and the consequences of the French Revolution must be examined in the terms of the political structures that cannot catch up with the industrialization process, but which also cannot avoid the disintegration caused by reactions coming out of the efforts to not be excluded from the process. The Ottoman Empire is an interesting example in this matter.

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In a short period of 15 years following the French Revolution, terrorist acts began in the territories of the Empire in the Balkan Peninsula. These transformed into rebellions later on and this process continued in the Balkans until the end of the century. These rebellions targeted breaking away from the Ottoman Empire and establishing an independent state. They did not target transforming the political and economic structure of the state and bringing down aristocracy. Thus, there was no perception of threat towards the system in the Ottoman state mechanism. The second case was not even possible, because the Ottoman Empire, with the system it established, did not allow the creation of the aristocratic class. As a result, Serbia, Greece, Romania, Montenegro, Albania and Bulgaria that were within the Ottoman Empire territories in the previous century, had, in the years of the First World War, the status of independent states. As a matter of fact, Bulgaria joined the Great War in the same side as the Ottoman Empire.

The subject of this study, the Armenian terror, has a different structure than those of the above mentioned terrorist acts: the terrorist organizations in the

Balkans completed their missions after independencies had been gained; they transformed within the newly established state system or they disappeared (or at least they succeeded to appear that way). However, the Armenian terror took on new missions and continued to exist even after the independent Armenian states were established as well.

Let us elaborate on this.

The slogan used in the beginning was to establish an independent Armenia. Among the organization which adopted this slogan were those who adopted the socialist view which acquired a political identity in the 19th century; those who defended the liberal idea and the radical nationalists. For example, the Armenekan Party (Արմենական կուսակցություն), that was founded in Van in 1885, “argued for being active only among Armenians”¹⁷, and the Social Democrat Hunchakian Party (Սոցիալ Դեմոկրատ Հնչակյան Կուսակցություն), that was founded in 1887 in Geneva, represented the socialist idea. The Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Հայ Յեղափոխական Դաշնակցություն), that was established in 1890 in Tbilisi, represented the radical nationalist idea. The Democratic Liberal Party (Ռամկավար Ազատական Կուսակցություն), established in Istanbul in 1908, adopted (according to R.G. Hovannisyán) “*liberalism, an anti-revolutionary stance and the rule of laissez-faire (let them do as they please)*.”¹⁸

The irreconcilable structure depicted above gives the impression that, among the Armenian organizations, problems that can arise in the system Armenians imagine are inevitable. As a matter of fact, the Hunchakian Party and the Armenian Revolutionary Federation blocked the support of Armenians living in Anatolia to the Armenekan Party.¹⁹ In another source, we come across the information that speeches of Karakin Hunchakian’s, a member of the Hunchakian Party who traveled from Boston to Sofia, were blocked by the members of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation.²⁰ The terrorist activities of the secret organization “Black Cross” (this organization had both legal and

17 Orhan Doğan, “Ermeni Komiteleri Hınçak ve Taşnaksütun (Russian Justice Minister Y. Murayyev’s Report on Armenian Committees)”, <http://dergisosyalbil.selcuk.edu.tr/susbed/article/view/370/352> (06.03.2015)

18 Erdal İter, “Ramgavar Partisi Tarafından II.Meşrutiyet (1908) Meclis-İ Mebûsân’ına Sunulan Beyânâme ve Program”, <http://dergiler.ankara.edu.tr/dergiler/19/821/10434.pdf> (28.02.2015).

19 Sadi Koçaş, *Tarih Boyunca Ermeniler ve Selçuklulardan Beri Türk-Ermeni İlişkileri*, Ankara, 1967, pp. 21-23.

20 Özlem Karsandık, “Osmanlı Arşiv Belgelerine Göre Ermeni Hınçak Cemiyeti’nin Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’ndaki Siyasal Faaliyetleri (1887-1908)”, Master’s Thesis, Thesis Supervisor: Remzi Demir, Mersin University Social Sciences Institute Department of History, Mersin 2005, footnote 232.

illegal organs²¹) established in Van at the end of 1879 targeted Armenians who did not support the Armenian national movements.

Another dimension of the Armenian terror is the collaboration (1902-1907) of the leaders of the Social Democrat Hunchakian Party (Hunchak) and the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Dashnaktsutyun) with the Young Turks²², which came together with the purpose of delivering equality and justice for everyone by transforming the absolute monarchy into a constitutional monarchy with slogans in accord with the spirit of the French Revolution.²³ Later on, despite opposition from other organizations, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, showing its will to become the dominant force, attended the congress of the Committee of Union and Progress²⁴ (which was founded in Paris in 1894 and would come to power in the future) held in 1907. Armenian historian Meri Kochar comments on this support as follows:

“Despite all these circumstances, the 1907 Paris Congress at least had one positive meaning because it aimed to topple the despotic regime of Abdülhamit for the victory of bourgeois law.”²⁵

With this support, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation officially declared its willingness to live with Turks and its position against the absolute monarchy. On the other hand, the goal of the Committee of Union and Progress was grand in scale:

“The Committee of Union and Progress was formed under extraordinary conditions in an extraordinary period when the Ottoman state, even if not de facto, was ex officio collapsing. The committee emerged under the influence of the Young Turks, arose from concepts such as liberty, constitutionalism, elections and public opinion, perceived the Ottoman territories as a whole and set its policies accordingly. When it was established, it embraced all foreign and non-Muslim subjects.”²⁶

21 Ազատագրական խմբակներն ու կազմակերպությունները,
<http://www.findarmenia.com/arm/history/24/459/461> (28.02.2015)

22 Taner Aslan, Dr., “İttihâd-ı Osmani” den Osmanlı İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti’ne”
<http://yayinlar.yesevi.edu.tr/files/article/201.pdf> (01.03.2015)

23 Мери Кочар, *Армяно-Турецкие общественно политические отношения и армянский вопрос*, Ереван, 1988, pp. 73-130.

24 Until 1907, the Committee of Union and Progress was known as the Ottoman Committee of Progress and Union.

25 Мери Кочар, *ibid.*, p. 128.

26 Selçuk Kızılkaya, “İttihat Terakki Cemiyeti Merkez-İ Umumisi”, Master’s Thesis, Thesis Advisor: Prof. Dr. İbrahim Ethem Atnur, Ataturk University, Social Sciences Institute, Departement of History, Erzurum, 2013, p. 140.

In the emerging picture following the end of the First World War, it was seen that all sides had lost: The Ottoman Empire, the Committee of Union and Progress and certainly its supporter, the Dashnaktsutyun. From this, the following conclusion emerges: Neither the state, nor the parties nor the organizations supporting them could estimate that they had no power to generate a solution by perceiving the magnitude of the events, the challenges of the conditions, the depth of the discrepancies (as a whole and in parts), and they could not act in the right place at the right time.

The above conclusions could be drawn also from evaluations from two different aspects, from the Turkish and Armenian point of view.

A Turkish historian whose research subject is the Committee of Union and Progress, reflected a common idea with his evaluation below: *“During process from the Young Turks to the Committee of Union and Progress, the Ottoman Empire was shaken from its foundation. This movement, which its foundations and starting points and its results, had different consequences, turned into both a disaster and a chaos affecting the future.”*²⁷

Yervant Odian (1869-1926), despite his father having been an Ottoman consul and whose sympathy for the Hunchak Party is felt from his works and actions (based on the data in my possession), and who was dispatched to Deir ez-Zor within the scope of the “Law of Resettlement”, evaluated those days from the Armenian aspect by looking at Armenian organizations. In his novels, which he penned between 1893 and 1915, he satirized *“the ones who presented themselves as ‘revolutionaries’, ‘patriots’, ‘national heroes’, but who in fact disregarded these glorified values”*²⁸ and introduced the character ‘Comrade Panchoonie’ to literature. Alexander Sarukhan, a fan of the work and its caricaturist, comments on *Comrade Panchoonie* that took its name from the novel’s protagonist: *“< ... > it shows how even correct principles and ideas could be destructive when they are implemented without taking into account the present conditions by demagogues, dreamers, and educated but nevertheless irresponsible and ignorant people.”*²⁹

Vahan Totovents, another Armenian writer who had joined the volunteer units in 1915 and fought in Van and Erzurum, saw the developments as the result of taking action based on unrealistic goals and expressed his complaint in his

27 Durdu Mehmet Burak, Asst. Prof., “Osmanlı Devleti’nde Jön Türk Hareketinin Başlaması ve Etkileri”, p. 291 <http://dergiler.ankara.edu.tr/dergiler/19/1271/14637.pdf> (02.03.2015)

28 Yervant Odyan, *Yoldaş Paçuni*, translated by: Sirvants Mahlasyan, Aras, İstanbul, 2000, p. 9.

29 Aleksandr Saruhan, “Bir Çift Söz”, see. Yervant Odyan, *ibid.*, p.13.

story titled “Legacy” that he penned in the years 1929-30 using the language of tales:

“Once upon a time, there was a great war. The whole world was enveloped by the smoke of gunpowder, and there flowed rivers of blood. The ministers and the wealthy compatriots shouted into these people’s (Armenians’) ears: ‘The time of freedom has come! Strike your neighbor! Strike his baton with your cross!’ The black and beautiful eyes of this ancient nation sparkled with the desire for freedom. An unequal fight began: they struck and in turn were struck themselves, and of this ancient people there remained a mere fragment, akin to a nightmarish memory.

Whereupon, with supreme and sublime cynicism, the ministers and the wealthy compatriots laughed on top of the bones and the ashes.”³⁰

The independent Republic of Armenia (Հայաստանի Հանրապետություն) was founded on May 28, 1918. The newly founded state of the Armenian Republic established diplomatic relations with the Ottoman Empire, just as the Balkan states had done. The Dashnaksutyun Party was in government at that time. A council, which consisted of the party members, signed the Treaty of Batumi in Istanbul on June 3, 1918. According to data of Nurşen Mazıçı, during their time in Istanbul, the council members extended their gratitude to Sultan Mehmed V of the Ottoman Empire for being the first state that had recognized the Republic of Armenia, and ceding the essential lands to Armenia.³¹

However, the Republic of Armenia did not turn out to be a long-lasting state. In 1920, with great fanfare of the Armenian people, it became a part of the USSR.³² Two years after that, on November 1, 1922, the abolishing of Ottoman Sultanate by Grand National Assembly of Turkey declared the loss of state

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30 Վահան Թոթովենց, Ժամանակություն, <http://www.chi.am/index.cfm?objectID=80F51EE0-8DC0-11E0-9A42005056A30FF7&year=2007&month=05&legacyURL=070508/07050804> (23.02.2015)

31 Nurşen Mazıçı, *Ermeni Sorununun Kökeni (1878-1920)*, Pozitif, 2005, p. 124.

32 Г.А. Аветисян, *История армянского народа*, учебник для 9-10 классов средней школы, Ереван, 1985, с.52. For further information, please see: М.Г.Нерсисян, *История армянского народа*, Ереван, 1980, с. 297.

status of the Ottoman Empire. The Committee of Union and Progress had also comprehended the defeat in World War I, and put an end to its own existence.

Armenian parties and terrorist organizations, however, mutated yet again: they started to feed off from the new atmosphere, and named themselves as ‘Armenian avengers (Հայ վրիժառուներ). They survived until today by transferring their revenge to the new generation of terrorist organizations. Among these new groups, Nemesis (Նեմեսիս), ASALA (ԱՍԱԼԱ), and the Armenian Revolutionary Army (Հայ Հեղափոխական Բանակ) attract attention due to having occupied the world agenda for a long time with their assassinations, and having made sure that their demands were discussed in political and diplomatic platforms.

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At this point, after the overall picture portrayed above, the promise of revenge³³ made by the members of Nemesis, ASALA, and the Armenian Revolutionary Army raises the question of towards whom and for what this revenge is to be directed to.

The terrorist organization called Nemesis targeted the leaders and prominents of the Committee of Union and Progress. Based on this info, the answer to the above question

becomes; members of the Committee of Union and Progress were held responsible for what happened during the World War I. However, victims of Nemesis also included some Azerbaijani statesmen such as Fatali Han Hoyski, Halil Bek Hasmamedov, and Hasan Bek Agayev, the justification being that massacres against Armenians had taken place in Baku in 1918. Furthermore, Armenians like Mkirtıç Arutyunyan, Vage İshan (Eseyan), Amyak Aramyants (ex-member of Hunchakian Party) were also victims of Armenian Avengers. Such assassinations originated from the list of 650 people, was created with the initiative of Shahan Natalie at the IX Congress of the Armenian Revolutionary Army that took place in Yerevan in October, 1919, started all these (events). Among the names in the list, 41 people were determined to be the “main criminals”, and the terrorist acts were thus started.³⁴

The founder of Nemesis terrorist organization, Karekin Pastermadjian (aka

33 Հայ Վրիժառուներ: (Նեմեսիս) (Ասալա) (Հայ Հեղափոխական Բանակ)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wGfVpavQvRg> (04.03.2015)

34 Операция Немесис, <http://www.armenianarthall.com/index.php?newsid=104> (04.03.2015)

Armen Garo; 1872-1923) was the first Republic of Armenia's first ambassador to the United States. Karekin Pastermadjian followed an extraordinary path in order to build a career: he was one of the leaders of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation. He took part at the Zeitun Resistance in 1895. He was one of the ringleaders of the Raid on the Ottoman Bank in 1896 that resulted in the death of tens of people, deputy from Erzurum in the Ottoman parliament between 1908 and 1912, one of the participants of the Van Insurrection of 1915, and a national hero of Armenia.³⁵

The Jewish Holocaust which took place in Nazi Germany during the World War II, and the postwar judicial process which ended in material compensation, became a new source of synergy for Armenian avengers. The Armenian organizations took action in order to be articulated with the victims of the Jewish Holocaust. The stories of the arrest of organization members on April 24, 1915, which is presented as the “genocide day”, did not become (was not) a fruitful resource for the propounded claims, as such the resettlement stories within the scope of the “Law of Resettlement” (27 May 1915) had to be articulated to the claims. When this process started, terrorism once again became the main propaganda tool of the Armenian claims. This time, 77-years old Gourgen Yanikian started the Armenian terrorism. Yanikian murdered two Turkish diplomats, Mehmet Baydan and Bahadır Demir, whom he invited to the hotel in which he stayed in Santa Barbara (USA) on January 27, 1973, promising to grant a historic painting to Turkey. He struggled to change the case heard at the court into a case for the genocide claims. He did not succeed, but he did lead the way for the establishment of ASALA.³⁶ ASALA terrorist organization carried out attacks against Turkish and other civil and diplomatic targets in different countries between 1975 and 1985, killing and maiming tens of innocent people.

In 1991, Armenia became an independent state once again and took its place among world countries. Mikael Danielyan, in his article titled “Terrorism as an Ideology” on 13 September 2001, explained the attitude of Armenia towards Armenian terror as follows:

“The journalists applauded him when he entered the saloon for his first

35 Նեմեսիս, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=62sXI3qNUjM> (04.03.2015);

Մեր մեծերը - Արշավիր Շիրակյան,

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O1hNUnSIrak> (04.03.2015);

Սողոմոն Թեղերյան Haxtanakı Skızb@ Հաղթանակի Սկիզբը,

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LpDW_oCroL0 (04.03.2015)

36 Гурген Яникян — «Цель и Истина»...,

<http://armeniangc.com/2013/09/gurgen-yanikyan-cel-i-istina/> (04.03.2015)

press conference in Yerevan at the beginning of May 2001. Armenian Prime Minister received his visit in the following day. He was not a talented artist or a notable politician, nor was he a famous sportsman or a popular singer. He was a terrorist; he was Varujan Karapetyan, who was a member of the Armenian Secret Army.”³⁷

At this point, the following question may be asked: Can the reactions of people all over the world against the terrorist attacks that occurred on 7 January 2015 in the capital of France, Paris lead to a change on the understanding of terrorism in Armenia? Again, time will tell.

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Consequently, the horrible terrorist incidents that took place in 21st century have altered the perception of terrorism and reactions toward it. Now, countries of the world have the tendency for cooperation to fight against terrorism with the maturity that was gained with the centuries old knowledge and experiences. The common reaction to the terrorist incidents in France on 7 January 2015 can be seen as a sign of this tendency. Nonetheless, there is also a paradoxical phenomenon in the newly emerged environment, since Armenian terrorists are being perceived as being national heroes.

37 Микаэл Даниэлян, “Терроризм как идеология”, www.prima-news.ru/news/articles/2001/9/13/15705.html (04. 07.2004) for the new address of this article see: <http://irakly.org/forum/post224442.html?style=1> (04.03.2015)

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