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# THE HISTORIC EVOLUTION OF THE ARMENIAN QUESTION AND THE CONFLICT OVER "NAGORNO KARABAGH" "ARSTAKH" 



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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

## I. INTRODUCTION

II. THE HISTORIC EVOLUTION OF THE ARMENIAN QUESTION
III. THE ORIGINS OF THE ARMENIAN QUESTION
IV. THE ARMENIAN REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT
V. THE ARMENIAN NATIONALISTS AND THE YOUNG TURKS
VI. ARMENIAN GENOCIDE AND EXODUS
VII. THE RISE AND FALL OF THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA
VIII. THE SOVIET REPUBLIC OF AR MENIA
IX. THE NATIONALITY PROBLEM IN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE QUESTION OF "NAGORNO KARABAGH"
X. THE ORIGINS OF THE BOUNDARY FEUDS
XI. THE ISSUE OF "NAGORNO KARABAGH": SOME HISTORICAL NOTES
XII. THE RECENT REVIVAL OF THE "KARABAGH" ISSUE
XIII. CONCLUDING REMARKS
XIV. FOOTNOTES
-- ABOUT THE AUTHOR
.. APPENDIX

## I. INTRODUCTION

Historical Armenia, situated at the "crossroads of the world", between the Black, Caspian and the Mediterranean Seas, is the homeland of a people whose culture and history extends over a period of 3,000 years. A country early civilized and the first state to accept Christianity as its religion in 301. A.D., Armenia was burdened by a rule more onerous than it had ever experienced. The period of $1890-1921$, is of great significance because it found the Armenian people and its land amidst one of the greatest upheavals of modern history. Two of the mightiest empires of the region, the Ottoman Empire and the Russian Tsarist Empire generated huge forces which shaped the destiny of the peoples anew. World War I, the labor movements, the Armenian Deportations and Genocide and finally, the Russian Revolution of 1917, happening one after the other in a short period of time, put their imprint on the history of the region.

The year 1988 marks the seventy third anniversary of the Armenian Genocide of over one and a half million Armenians, who were killed in what has been described as "The Genocide of the Twentieth Century". The Armenians as a Christian minority in the Ottoman Empire, often became the chattels of the oppressive Sultan and the slaves of his corrupt officialdom. Systematically, their rights for nationhood had been denied and consequently, were subjected to the menace of extinction and to the floodtides of Xenophobia and injustice. Above all, the Armenians had to endure official discrimination, inequality, the inadmissibility of legal testimony and the prohibition of bearing arms, a heavy price they paid in order to retain their religion, language, culture and sense of identity. However, being the Victims of a national trauma, the Armenians cannot stop remembering unless justice is done.

Genocide, a deplorable feature of modern history and the most heinous of international crimes, has been committed through the ages and has shocked the conscience of mankind. A cursory
glance through the pages of history, is adequate to unveil enough evidence, that genocide has been used as a weapon of political warefare on the domestic and international levels. Usually, genocide takes the form of organized violence directed by a state against defenseless people, and according to James $H$. Tashjian, a noted Armenian historian,


The protracted Turko-Armenian conflict, marked by international massacres, eventually, was resolved during World War I, by a governmental decree issued in Istanbul. This decree issued the death warrant to the Armenian population which was to be uprooted from its ancestral homeland and systematically deported to the Syrian desert. The overall picture portrayed by the foreign diplomatic corps, was that of a deportation - destruction syndrome, entailing the "murder of a nation". Today, Amenians in Turkey have dwindled in number to 70,000 , mostly located in Istanbul, as a community which is in a process of constant erosion. This is the culmination of the Turkification policy implemented by the previous regimes and is being completed by the current regime with all recourse to oppression, illegality and strict administrative measures.

At any rate, the Armenians of today are still suffering from the injustices inflicted upon them in the past and it would be extremely difficult for them to disconnect present and past injustices in favor of future improvements. It is worthwhile mentioning, that Armenian independence was declared in 1918 by the Armenians themselves, however, the Allies failed to give it their support. The Armenian Republic lasted two years and then disappeared in the midst of Turkish and Russian political maneuvering when the two countries were jockeying for territorial and political influence in the region.

The Armenian Republic could not survive the strains of war in addition to a ravaging famine and a poor economy. Consequently, it was easily dislodged by the Armenian Communists who were assisted by their fellow Russian comrades. Armenia was henceforth without independence and its territories were once again divided between Russia and Turkey.

In the following pages, we will delve into the subject of Armenian history to give more details of the points raised in this introduction. Turkish genocide of the Armenians will highlight their history simply because it has become the most important element in the conscience of Armenians. Furthermore, we will discuss the genesis of the Nagorno Karabagh Conflict, an issue that had been dormant since 1923, when the province was officially made under the administrative jurisdiction of Soviet Socialist Republic of Azerbaijan, which neighbours Soviet Armenia. The history, however, goes deeper than this.

## II. THE HISTORIC EVOLUTION OF THE ARMENIAN QUESTION

Armenia - a country linking Central Asia to Turkish Anatolia has been a regional bone of contention throughout the course of its history.(2) held together by their common religion and language, the Armenians preserved their autonomy through successive political upheavals in the region, by a combination of armed force and political alliances with the Christian World.(3) After the fall of the Armenian independent kingdom in 1375 A.D. and as a result of various Turkish - Persian, Russian - Persian and Russian - Turkish wars in subsequent centuries, Armenia was partitioned into what became known as Turkish Armenia and Russian Armenia, the larger part going to Turkey.

While Armenians lived under comparatively tolerable conditions in the Russian section, they were unable to enjoy similar conditions of life in the Turkish section where their culture was suppressed and their freedom of action was curbed by various
expressions of turkish intolerance and systematic oppression.(4) Their general situaton in the Turkish section was the essence of what became known in hisrory as the "Armenian Question".(5)

At the beginning of the 19th century, the crisis in the Ottoman Empire became intense, which in turn paved the way for Russia and the Western powers to encroach upon its independence, by establishing their spheres of influence in the area.(6) Thus, the central problem confronting the ruling Sultans was the rule over numerous peoples who had distinctive ethnic, cultural, linguistic and historical traditions, like the Arabs, Slavs, Rumanians, Armenians, Greeks and Kurds. However, to maintain strict control over diverse nationalities in the Empire, the Ottoman Turks resorted to military force, hence discarding the concepts of inter-racial equality and universal human political rights for the peoples of the Empire.

In fact, for almost three centuries, from the 16 th throughout the 19th century, the Ottoman Turks maintained the same social and administrative structures, that were characterized by feudalism, religious fanaticism, palace rule and above all military force. The Ottoman Turks were simply incapable of stemming the decline and dissolution of the Empire.

The history of the 19 th century Ottoman Empire is a history of abortive attempts, undertaken in response to both internal and external pressures, to institute reforms. In 1839, sultan abdul Mejid introduced a charter of reforms called "Hatti-Sherif". Except for the military, the impact of these reforms on the Turkish Christians was negligible. In 1856, Sultan Mejid issued the "Hatti-Humayun", the so-called Magna Carta of Turkey. Shortly after this document was issued, guarantees for internal reforms in the Ottoman Empire incorporated in the Treaty of Paris (March 30, 1856) following the Crimean War, but the assurances were of little avail. The provision in the "HattiHumayun" regarding religious liberty, for example, was ignored and the oppression continued.(7)

The avowed priciples of these reform movements were the establishment of inter - racial equality, freedom of conscience and religion, and the security of life and property. None of these efforts succeeded because Turkish rulers were reluctant to institute genuine reforms and risk the loss of power. However, the reforms to which the Ottoman government paid only lip service during the 19th century, were only intended to avoid the intervention of the European Powers. The justification for European and Russian efforts to intervene in the internal policies of the Empire was the protection of Christian interests in the Muslim World, but all efforts to carry thorough reforms only caused increasing hostility on the part of Turks against minorities in general, and the Armenians in particular.

## III. THE ORIGINS OF THE ARMENIAN QUESTION

To understand the Armenian situation in Turkey, it is important to trace the historical development of their struggle for self-determination. To make their plight known to Turkish authorities, the Armenians organized in 1860 a General Assembly in Istanbul. Through this Assembly Armenians in six vilayets (Erzeroum, Van, Bitlis, Kharpert, Diyarbekir and Sivas) articulated their most serious grievances, particularly their claim of mistreatment by Turks, Kurds, and Circassians.(8) The Assembly became their spokesman and by 1869, it had become the unofficial representative of the Armenian people, constantly making demands upon the Turkish government for improvements in the condition of Armenians. In 1869, the Assembly decided on a more systematic approach, by first defining the Armenian problem and second, by proposing concrete solution. After a lengthy month in 1870, a blue- ribbon committee of ten was elected to investigate and study the provincial problems and later make some recommendations for their solution. At the time, it was obvious that the Armenians were not speaking a separate and independent state of their own but only to have equal status with Turks on the grounds they were themselves citizens of the Turkish

Empire.(9) This comment about the Assembly's demands did not escape the attention of liberal Turks, one of whom was quoted by Arpiar Arpiarian in Nor Guiank (New Life):

> "If the Armenian recommendations of $1870-72$ had been acted upon, not in Antolia but in Romelia, we would not have been put through such a terrible time. The recommendations contain no thing to harm our Turkishh self Tinterests, nothing to lessen the Sutan's. Powers, no invitation of European intervention".(10)

The point becomes more clear if we can look at the Assembly's report and study some, not all, of the more important grievances cited. This will also give us an idea of the Armenian view of their own conditions in Turkey as well as the Armenian view of the Armenian Question which would soon become an international concern.

In the area of taxation, the report about gross inequities, especially with regard to four types of taxes.(11) First, the military - exemption tax, which non - Muslims had to pay in lieu of military service, was based upon outdated census. People who were already dead or had immgrated were taxed. As a result, the report stated, many Armenians were converting to Islam to avoid paying tax for their dead and absent relatives. Second, property and income taxes were inflated far beyond assessments on equivalent Muslim properties and incomes. Third, taxes required from tenant farmers were unduly heavy also because of inflated assessments of crop values. In addition, Armenian tenants had to pay one - tenth of this tax in cash. Many of these tenants were already over burdened by other liabilities and, therefore, could not pay. Lastly, Armenians were required to pay into a reserve fund which was set up to help poor peasants who had difficulty buying seeds or purchasing essential needs. Although the ideas of a reserve fund was a good one, Armenians found themselves paying into the fund but getting nothing out of it.

In the area of government abuses, the Assembly's report recalled some of the more serious grievances.(12) It referred'to
instances when Turkish local officials imposed economic hardships upon Armenians without due process of law. Some Armenians suffered even death at the hands of ruthless local officials. Local officials also interfered in Armenian religious rights including feast and burial cermonies and rites. In addition, there were instances in which women were "dishonored" and children were abused. Moreover, authority over the public domain was abused and Armenians were forced, as individuals and as institutions, to pay money or accept arbitrary confiscations of property for the building of palaces, the transportation of Turkish troops, or for other reasons not authorized by law.

The Assembly's report made specific recommendations as solutions to specific grievances. In the area of taxation, it recommended that Armenians be recruited into armed forces on the same footing as others of the Muslim religion:
> "Let the Porte [Tyrkish ruler] know," stated the report that we the Armenians] are ready to serve and spill our blood for the fatherland alongside our Muslim countrymen."

This recommendation, if adopted, would naturally eliminate the military - exemption tax. In dealing with the problem of tax inflation, the report recommended "Post assessment lists" to include both Muslim and non-Muslim property assessments. It was thought that this public procedure would help eliminate the unfair practice of over - assessing Armenian property value by listing it with Muslim assessments. Finally, the report recommended that the existing tax system, which employed tax collectors known as "tax farmers," be replaced by direct collection system. The "tax farmers" were allowed to impose whatever tax ammounts they wished to collect as long as they paid the government the fixed amounts it required. The new system, the report believed, would do away with inequities and would bring more revenues for the government.(13)

In the second area of "government abuses," or abuses by the
local officials, the report recommended a system of inspection to enable central government officials to check the abuse of local officials. It recommended changes in the selection procedure of local council members to guarantee that Armenian members would represent more closely the local Armenian population and that Muslim leaders would abuse the representational system.(14) the report also recommended that directives issued by the Porte should be published so people would know their rights and be able to detect abuses and violations by local officials. Finally, the report recommended measures designed to reduce the influence of local feudal lords.(15)

As the preceding trends of abuses and pressure for reform continued, the Armenian National Assembly adopted an attitude of "Wait and See." In 1876, Armenian hopes for reform were revived when Murad IV was inaugurated as a Sultan. The new ruler had the reputation of being a liberal, but unfortunately, he was mentally ill and, consequently, was deposed by his brother, Abdul Hamid II.(16) It is important to note, that Abdul Hamid was approved as his brother's successor only after he had convinced Midhat Pasha, the powerful reformer, that he wished to be a constitutional monrach, and that he would introduce liberal reforms.(17)

For the European diplomats who were participating in the Constantinople Conference of December 1876, Abdul Hamid's promise to promulgate a new constitution was nothing but a political ploy to undermine their position at the conference.(18) The reason of their meeting was a contrived effort, led by Russia, to compel Ottoman acceptance of European - supervised reforms in the Balkans. Both Armenians and Turks showed aversion to the idea of intervention by the European powers in favor of the Balkan Christians, and preferred internal reforms that applied to all parts of the empire alike.

It was hoped that the liberal Ottoman Constitution of 1876, would relieve the burdens of the Christians in general and the

Armenians in particular. Unfortunatly, the constitution was replaced by the absolute rule of the sultan after it had been in force for only a few months. The lot of Turkish Armenians was unimproved, and early in 1877, when hostilities broke out between Russia and Turkey, the situation became desperate.

In this war, Russia conquered much of eastern Turkey where there was a heavy concentration of Armenians. The conquest included Bayazid, the vale of Alashkert, Kars, Sarikamish, Olti, Artvin, and Batum.(19) Early in the war, Armenians were loyal to the Turkish Porte. However, during the war, they were subjected to severe punishment by Kurdish irregulars whowere paid by the Turkish government. Armenian losses in life and property were very heavy. As a result, Armenians shifted their sympathy to the Russian side. Their National Assembly in Istanbul authorized the Armenian Patriarch to get in touch with the Russians in order to bring about improvements in the lives of Armenians. Specifically, the Patriarch was to ask for guarantees of local self-government from the Russians. Armenians were no longer content with promises of reform since they new that reforms were promised before and they were always ignored. They wanted greater control over their own affairs which could not be achieved without self-government.(20)

Unfortunatly, the Russians were not interested in such extreme Armenian demands, and the Patriarch's mission failed. One reason for the Russian attitude was Britain, which was reluctant to allow Russia to extend its influence beyond certain limits. Thus, when the treaty of San Stefano was signed (March 1878) Armenian demands for local self-government were ignored. Article 16 of this treaty stated:

[^0]Obviously, the treaty was disappointment to the Armenians. However, for entirely different reasons, British disappointment was even greater. In fact, the British insisted on a total revision of San Stefano. Since Russia did not want military confrontation with Britain it agreed to attend a conference in Berlin, along with the other European powers.

In Berlin, it became clear the British had interests in limiting Russian gains from the 1877-78 war. They wanted to protect their trade and, more specifically, they had ambitions in Cyprus.(22) They had already reached an agreement with the Turks to achieve both goals. The Berlin Treaty (July 1878) reflected British interests. It was agreed that Russia would keep Kars, Ardahan, and Batum while Alashkert and Bayazid would return to Turkish control.(23) Five days later, in the Cyprus Convention, Britain guaranteed Turkey immunity from Russian future expansion. In return, Turkey promised to introduce reforms, "to be agreed upon later between the two powers", for the protection of the Christian population of territories reverting to Turkish sovereignty. Thus, neither San Stefano nor the Berlin Treaty came anywhere close to satisfying Armenian demands for self-government. According to Richard G. Hovannisian, the eastern vilayets were no longer identified as "Armenia" after the Berlin Conference, and the promised reforms were now dependent upon the collective will of the big powers.(24) In effect this meant that "Christian" and "civilized" Europe was to abandon the Armenians who were left to their own resources which were scanty and negligible. Article 61 of the Treaty of Berlin transformed the Armenian question into an international issue, but the Armenians gained no advantage from that status.

The failure of the European powers to redress Turkish wrongs and the obvious impotence of the Armenians themselves forced the Armenians to tolerate Turkish notorious mistreatment for some time. However, in the latter part of the nineteenth century signs of resistance and outright insurrection appeared among the Armenians. Thus by the 1890s, internationally based,
structured secret societies were replacing earlier local defense groups. The leaders of these organizations never expounded national independence as their goal. Instead, Armenian cultural freedom and regional autonomy were the stated aims of these Armenian revolutionaries. The new organizations were influenced by the ideas of the Armenian Awakening which at that time had reached maturity and were a vital factor in molding the mind of the patriot.(25)

Rather than reforming their system the Turks became more oppressive of Armenians. Abdul Hamid II (the Red Sultan) armed the Kurds, and encouraged them to attack and spread havoc throughout the eastern provinces, particularly in the districts from which the Russian army had recently withdrawn. And, in 1891, the terror intensified by the formation of the notorious "Hamidiye" Cavalry corps. It was then obvious that the situation was getting out of hand, and in the 1890s, the Armenian revolutionary movement was already in full swing. Turkish oppression was to be matched by Armenian armed resistance.

## IV. THE ARMENIAN REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

As mentioned earlier, the Armenians hoped that European powers could intercede with the Sultan to introduce reforms for their protection. In fact, these powers were eager to find a stronghold of influence within the Empire and used the pretext of the suffering of Christians to advance their own interests.(26) Turkish reaction was harsh and severe, and consequently, the social and national repression of the Armenians took the most repugnant, shameful forms. The unchecked outrages perpetrated by the Sultans knew no bounds, and the Armenians constantly lived under threat of pogroms and slaughter.(27)

The first calls to resistance came from Armenian writers and intellectuals who addressed themselves to the plight of the Armenian peasants, and their continuous exodus from their fatherland. Michael Na!bandian, Khrimian Hairig, Raffi and

Servantzdiantz and many others began literary campaigns to focus national and international attention on the unbearable persecution suffered by the Armenian peasants in the Ottoman Empire.(28) However, in the latter part of the 19th Century, signs of resistance and outright insurrection appeared among the Armenians. Thus by the 1890s, internationally-based, structured secret societies were replacing earlier local defense groups. Turkish oppression was to be matched by Armenian armed resistance that drew its inspiration from Russian Socialists "Narodnaya Volia". But the effectiveness of this nascent revolutionary movement was no match for the Sultan's mechanisms of repression.

In the atmosphere of increasing tension between the Armenians and the Ottoman authorities, and as a result of the impact of the nationalist reawakening which swept through Europe at the end of the 19 th Century, the years 1885-1890 saw the birth of the first Armenian political parties.

The first of the underground defense groups was the "Armenakan" party of Van 1885, which was followed by the Hunchaks in 1887 and the Dashnaks in 1890 . The last two groups started their organizations in Geneva and Tiflis respectively. They were revolutionary socialist groups, drawing their inspiration from Russian revolutionary committees like the "Narodnaya Volia". During the early 1890s, the underground carried out few acts of armed defiance of Turkish authorities, and put up seditious placards calling on the people to revolt. At the time, the centers of revolutionary work were Zeitun, Van, and Erzeroum.

By 1885, the first group, Armenakan was fully developed. One of its founders was Mugurditch Portukalian who had been editor of Istanbul's "Armenia and Asia". The group was not organized as a national group, but only as a local group whose purpose was self-defense. Although unsuccessful in establishing a strong Armenian front, Portukalian's work was instrumental in
the formation of the first political party in the provinces. The purpose of this party was to win for the Armenians the right to self-determination. The party followed a policy of Armenian exclusiveness in party affairs because it believed that the inclusion of non-Armenians in the movement would only serve to dissipate energy and impede the progress of the Armenian revolution.

The Hunchakian society, the second group of Armenian underground, was the first significant organization of national influence. The name Hunchak, meaning "Bell", was taken from a political journal of that name. The group started its work in Geneva between 1887-1888, by Nazarbekian, one of the ideological fathers of the movement.

The intellectual orientation of the leadership was influenced to a great degree by the ideals of the Social Democratic revolutionaries as promulgated by the early Marxists and protoMarxists. For this party, raising money and waging propaganda were formidable tasks in themselves, but the greatest problem lay in winning over the masses.

The Hunchakian Constitution gives some indication of the goals the party intended to pursue. The Hunchaks were:
(a) To revolt and do away with all despotic regimes.
(b) To deliver the Armenian people from their present state of slavery and to enable them to participate in political affairs.
(c) To lift all barriers which hinder their economic progress and their cultural progress in general.
(d) To create political conditions which will give the working class freedom to express its aspirations and demands, and to better the present dire working conditions in order to create class consciousness.
(e) To organize the Armenians into a political body in order to facilitate the organization's social efforts
which must under all conditions help attain the remote aim.(29)

While the Hunchaks were interested in the liberation of Armenia, they were, and still are, also interested in the world revolution of Socialism and Communism. In addition,the Hunchaks were aware of the conflicting interests of the Armenian classes in Turkey. Thus, the party's immediate aim, as it was stated in its constitution, was to create a class consciousness among the peasantry. In fact, much of the Hunchaks' dialectic regarding the class struggle was alien and meaningless to the peasantry.(30) However, the Hunchaks were welcomed by the peasantry not because of any Marxist ideological interests but because the Hunchaks had weapons which Armenians needed for defense purposes and to continue the struggle against the oppressive Ottomans.

Another serious shortcoming of the Hunchaks was their administrative techniques. Article four of the constitution made it clear that the entire organization was to be rigidly centralized under executive control. Also, their policies were unclear because of ideological contradictions. There was always uncertainties about whether practice conformed to theory or not.

The third revolutionary group was the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, first known as the "Federation of Armenian Revolutionaries" and commonly referred to as the "Dashnaktzoutyoun" or simply the "Dashnaks". This group was the result of a merger of a number of Armenian groups, primarily in Russia, into a single political party. The leaders who were chiefly instrumental in bringing about this political unification during the summer of 1890 were the triumvirate Christopher Mikaelian (1859-1905), Stepan Zorian (Rostom or Kotot) (1867-1919), and Simon Zavarian (1866- 1913).(31) According to the Dashnak historian and statesman, Simon Vratzian, two crucial factors led to the formation of the Federation. One was the Giulizar incident and the other was the closing of the universities by the

Tzarist edict. At the end of 1889, Giulizar, an Armenian peasant girl of Moush, was kidnapped and raped by the Kurdish chief, Mousa Beg. At about the same time, in Russia, student demonstrations against the Tzarist regime led to a closing of the universities. This incident stirred the dissatisfaction of the Moscow Armenian students. These students had become identified with other revolutionaries (Russian and Georgian) who wished to overthrow the Tzarist regime. The nationalist students among these revolutionaries considered the freeing of Turkish Armenia as one of their main objectives and they had some spiritual influence upon the formation of the Federation.(32)

These three revolutionary groups just briefly discussed, were the genesis of later political groups which would operate as political parties. In its early development it was clear that the Caucasian-Armenian intelligentsia played a prominent role in the formation of the Armenian revolutionary movement both in Russia and in Turkey. The Hunchak and Dashnak parties were both formed by Russian Armenian intellectuals, and the ideological complexions of these and other Armenian parties were influenced by the ideological currents which had divided the Russian revolutionary movement.

Two principal factors affected the Armenian Revolutionary Movement. Its relation with other peoples of the Russian Empire, particularly the Russian Revolutionary Movement, and the question of the appropriateness of Socialism as program and goal for the Armenian political parties. These two factors were a constant source of tension within the Armenian revolutionary movement preventing any effective unity between its constituent parts.

By and large, these first nationalist stirrings intensified a Turkish sense of the potential threat posed by Armenian concentrations in the eastern part of the Empire. It is worth mentioning, that both the Turkish and Tsarist Russian governments were hardly enthusiastic over the rise of patriotism among Armenians. "Goaded by incessant demands from Europe that the Sultan press
"reforms" in the Armenian vilayets fearful of the increasing boldness of the suppressed nationalities of the Empire, the Sublime Porte reacted with characteristic ruthlessness".(33)

In 1894 some 10,000 Armenians were killed in Sassun. In 1895 around 100,000 Armenians were killed in Constantinople, Trebizond, Erzeroum, Marash, Sebastia, Van, Diyarbekir and other cities.(34) In Ourfa (historic Edessa) on Christmas Eve, the 3,000 Armenians who had taken shelter in the church were burned alive. However, 2,500 cities, towns and villages were destroyed, hundreds
of churches and monasteries were razed and more than 150,000 Armenians perished.(35) When the extent of the slaughter became known, the Turkish authorities offered as explanation that they were forced to put down a vast uprising. It is clear that these massacres were intended to intimidate the Armenians and discourage them from seeking the intercession of European powers, at the same time encouraging a demographic shift in favour of the Turkish population.(36)

The causes of the new massacres of 1894-1896, were mainly four, all of which had been present for years. There was first a traditional feeling of hostility among Muslim neighbors who believed they had the right to plunder Christians; secondly, Armenian enterpreneurship, thrift and ingenuity were responsible for the economic inequities separating them from others; no doubt Turks looked at Armenians enviously and suspiciously; thirdly, education had fostered in Armenians the desire to be free. Lastly, lesser incidents of persecutions had exacerbated conditions preceding the massacres and Armenians felt utterly helpless in view of the fact they could not obtain redress for their grievances. This destruction of Armenian life, stirred little comment in most countries. But in England and the United States, expressions of indignation at Turkish atrocities and sympathy for the suffering Armenians were evident in associational concern and the raising of relief funds.(37)

As the winter of 1895-1896 wore on, the massacre was followed by the general destitution of the Armenian population. In all the Armenian districts, survivors - chiefly widows and orphans - were in need of food, shelter, and raiment. Every time Armenians experienced a major calamity, their numbers were reduced and the 1895 massacres were no exception.

## V. THE ARMENIAN NATIONALISTS AND THE "YOUNG TURKS"

Sultan Abdul Hamid's excesses and corrupt policies had alienated not only the subject peoples of the Ottoman Empire, but also a sizeable proportion of the Turkish people. Armenian antipathy towards Abdul Hamid was shared by several other nationalities that conceived of the reigning Sultan as the major source of affliction.

In the 1860 's and 1870 's, a number of secret organizations, whose members were known as the "Young Turks", were formed to bring about fundamental reforms in the imperial system of Ottoman Turkey. The despotic rule of Abdul Hamid and later his failure to reform the system contributed to the appearance of these secret organizations.

One of these organizations was founded in 1865 by Namik Kemal, a Westernized Turk who advocated the Western concepts of fatherland, freedom and constitutional government. He proposed a new concept of citizenship to solve the problem of identity which was the natural consequence of an imperial system based on a multi- religious multi-racial population. At the time, the Ottoman Empire was beset by conflicts stemming from ethnic and national diversities. The concept was Pan-Ottomanism which Namik predicted would create a new national identity through a constitution, and would do away with the archaic "Millet" system. The basic objective was to rally the Empire's diverse population around the state in a common loyalty based upon non-racial, non-ethnic and non-religious identity. However, the Young Turk
movement was torn between two factions advocating different ideological positions which became more pronounced as the struggle against the Sultan intensified, especially among Ottoman subjects living outside the Empire.

One group of liberals, headed by Prince Sabaheddin, favored some measure of decentralization and autonomous rights for the religious and national minorities. The second group were the nationalists, headed by Ahmed Reza, who favored the establishment of a Turkish-dominated central system. This group was known as the Committee of Union and Progress (Ittihad ve Terraki).(38) Prince Sabaheddin was sympathetic to the Armenian cause. In addition to advocating the overthrow of the oppressive, anti-Armenian regime of Abdul Hamid, he favored social reforms beneficial to minorities.(39) His support of administrative decentralization and his sincere desire for social harmony among the ethnic and religious groups was very appealing to the Armenians and the other minorities of the Empire.(40) The hope for some kind of a federal system attracted the Armenian nationalists who believed that autonomy might be an attainable solution for the Armenian problem.

Unfortunately, the nationalist faction in the Young Turk movement gained the upperhand. Secret Organizations were formed in the imperial armed forces, particularly among young officers in the army headquarters at Salonika, and they became part of the Committee of Union and Progress. This meant the officers were united with Reza's nationalist group.(41)

By early 1908 the center of gravity for the revolution had shifted from France to Macedonia where the army officers' discontent with the Sultan's regime was strong and growing. However, on July 23, 1908, the revolution took place and Abdul Hamid was deposed, and the 1876 Constitution was restored. According to Richard Peters, freedoms were assumed for the citizens of the empire: "With the victory of the revolution all the phantoms of the Hamid era vanished. Young Turkish commissars
occupied the Sultan's palace."(42) In this manner the Ottoman Empire was transformed into a constitutional monarchy, where human and individual rights were recognized and guaranteed.

The Armenians championed by the ARF (Armenian Revolutionary Federation), had taken an active role in the Young Turks revolt, with the hope that the Unionists would grant them equal rights with other Turks. As a gesture of good will, the ARF party called a halt to Armenian guerrilla activities in the eastern provinces, which it had instigated intermittently since 1895. But Armenian hopes were soon to be shattered, for "cooperation remained largely an empty letter, and revolutionary protests against lack of equality failed to strike a chord among the Muslim population of Turkey, while revolutionary reforms in the government system failed to obtain the support of Sultan Abdul Hamid himself."(43)

In April 1909, Abdul Hamid attempted a counter-coup to regain power with the assistance of the reactionary forces. But the Macedonian army reoccupied the capital and deposed the Sultan. On this occasion the Armenians came out as one of the staunchest supporters of the new regime. Even in spite of the Cilician massacres of 1909 (the Adana massacres), when more than 30,000 Armenians had been killed, the ARF continued to cooperate loyally with the Young Turk authorities.(44)

Unfortunately, the western educated elements in the "Ittihad ve Terraki" lost their influence to fanatics like Enver and Talaat, who were destined to become the founders of a racist regime. Turkish nationalism and racism together with gradual antagonism towards the non-Turkish elements of the Empire, neutralized and even erazed the sense of Ottomanism. This tendency gave birth to a policy of Turkification by force and this in turn generated several revolts by the Druse, Arabs of Iraq and Palestine in 1910, Yemenites in 1911 and the Macedonians in 1912. The policy of Turkification was directed against the Arabs and in a more stressed manner against the Armenians
whose land geographically blocked the fulfillment of the Pan-Turanism dream.(45)

This philosophy of Pan-Turanism was detrimental to the Armenians who had hoped and struggled for the achievement of autonomy. However, the real intentions of the Young Turks became clear by 1910, when they finally abandoned both the idea of equality for all peoples of the Empire and their promise to grant local autonomy. By October, 1910, many Armenians came to believe that the CUP (Committee of Union Progress) had already made plans at a secret meeting in Salonika, for the extermination of the Armenian people.

The Armenian situation became terribly serious when beginning 1912 the triumvirate Enver, Talaat, Djemal emerged as the leaders of the Young Turks. As the situation became more serious, efforts to head off the catastrophe were made. In 1912 and 1913, various Armenian leaders, including the leader of the St Echmiadzin Church in Russian Armenia, requested help from the European powers. Specifically, they wanted a European commission to be empowered to supervise Armenian reforms in Turkey. Also, on January 8, 1913, the Russian government presented to the concerned powers a plan of reform, and, a year later, Turkey accepted the plan.

According to the plan the six Armenian vilayets were to be divided into areas, each having a European Inspector with guarantees of cultural and religious freedoms.(46)

For a while, it looked like the Armenians would finally be secure in Turkey. The two European inspectors were dispatched to Turkey. In April 1914, Westenek, chief of the provincial administration in the Dutch East Indies, and Major Hoff of the Norwegian Army arrived in Istanbul. In the Summer of 1914, Hoff arrived in Van while Westenek was awaiting departure to Erzeroum when World War I broke out. Turkey made the fatal mistake of joining Germany against the European democracies.

Once again, the Armenians missed their chance in obtaining autonomy, and in 1915, they were the target of the worst violence and brutality they had ever experienced. It was genocide and another brutal massacre of the Armenian people.

## VI. ARMENIAN GENOCIDE AND EXODUS

When World War I broke out the contest for Armenia's freedom had made considerable progress. Unfortunately, the Young Turks found it expedient to manipulate the Armenians in Turkey, as a culmination, they approached the ARF leadership and made a tactical proposition. To disintegrate the Russian forces in the Caucasus, the Young Turks thought of inciting an insurrection by the Tartars, Georgians and Armenians if Russia would fight on the side of the Allies, which it did. The Young Turks wanted the Armenians of Turkey to win over their kinsmen of the Caucasus and join the insurrection. In return for this service, they promised the Armenians "an autonomous state consisting of Kars, the province of Erivan, a part of Elizabetpol, the provinces of Van and Bitlis, and a fragment of the province of Erzerum".(47)

These propositions were submitted to the ARF which, in August of 1914, was holding its 9th convention in Erzeroum. The ARF categorically rejected the deal, and consequently had to suffer the tragedy of genocide in 1915. "This refusal, coupled with accusations of Armenian activities on behalf of Russia (at around the same time Armenians in Transcaucasia were publicly advocating the liberation of Turkish Armenia), prepared the ground for the events that would from then on be known as the 1915 massacre."(48)

Turkey's leaders, members of the "Ittihad ve Terakki" party, believed that, if the war was to end with an alliec victory, Armenians would get their independence, along with the: Arabs, and the Empire would be completely dismembered. A Turkish intellectual and politician Mevlan Zadi Rifaat, reports; what Dr Nazem, Secretary General of the "Ittihad" party, told the

Central Committee at a meeting:

> "Now we are at war; there is no better opportunity than this, the intervention of great countries and the protests of newspapers cannot be heard; even are heard, the matter will become an accomplished fact and will be over. This timely operation must be one of annihilation. It is necessry to exterminate all Armenians and not leave one alive."(49)

There is incontrovertible evidence that the plan of extermination was conceived and meticulously carried out by Turkish government orders. Henry Morgenthau, the American Ambassador in Istanbul at the time, records in his memoirs countless conversations with Talaat, Enver and Gemal, as well as with German officials in Turkey that indicate clearly that the plan for massacre was developed years before the war and was executed as an official act of Turkish government. Morgenthau writes:

> "The conditions of the War gave to the Turkish government its longed-for opportunity to lay hold of the Armenians. At the very beginning they sent for some of the Armenian leaders and notified them that, if any Armenians should render the slightest assistance to the Russians when they invaded Turkey, they would not stop to investigate but would punish the entire race for it. During the Spring of 1914 they evolved their plan to destroy the Armenian race. They criticized their ancestors for neglecting to destroy or convert the Christian races to Mohammedanism of the time when they first subjugated them. Now, as four of the Great Powers were at war with them and the two others were their allies, they thought the time opportune to make good the oversight of their ancestors in the fifteenth century. They concluded that, once they had carried out their plan, the Great Powers would find themselves before an accomplished fact and that their crime would be condoned as was done in the case of massacres of 1895-1896, when the Great Powers did not even reprimand the Sultan."(50)

Moreover, a conscience-stricken Turkish official, Naim Bey, in his own memoirs, provides ample evidence of the official
responsibility. Order No. 691 to the Governor of Aleppo, November 23, 1915: "Destroy by secret means the Armenians of the Eastern provinces who pass into your hands there."(51)

> s - Minister of Interior,
> Talaat

Order No, 830, December 25, 1915:
"Collect and keep only orphans who cannot remember the tortures to which their parents have been subjected. Send the rest away with the caravans."

s - Minister of Interior,<br>Talaat

Order to the Governor of Aleppo, September 16, 1915:

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { "It was at first communicated to you that the } \\
& \text { Government, by order of the Jemiet (Committee of } \\
& \text { Union and progress), had decided to destroy in } \\
& \text { Turkey. Those who oppose this order and dec- } \\
& \text { ision cannot remain on the official staff of the } \\
& \text { Empire. An end must be put to their existence, } \\
& \text { however criminal the massacre taken may be, and } \\
& \text { no regard must be paid to either age or sex or } \\
& \text { conscientious scruples." } \\
& \text { s- Minister of Interior, } \\
& \text { Talaat }
\end{aligned}
$$

Arnold Toynbee, the noted historian, gave the following account of what was happening:


Fridtjof Nansen, High Commissioner for Refugees under the League of Nations, writes in his "Armenia and the Near East" (1926):
"Then, in June 1915, the horrors began to which we know no parallel in history. From all the villages and towns of Cilicia, Anatolia, and Mesopotamia the Armenian Christians were driven forth on their death march; the work was done systematically clearing out one district after another, whether the population happened to be near the scene of war or hundreds of kilometers away from it. "There was to be a clean sweep of all Armenians."

Baron von Wangenheim, German Ambassador in Constantinople, in a report to the German Chancellor dated July 17, 1915, writies:
"It is obvious that the banishment of the
Armenians is due not solely to military
consideration. Talaat Bey, the Minister of the
Interior, has quite frankly said to Dr Mordtman
of the Embassy, that the Turkish government
intended to make use of the World War and deal
thoroughly with its internal enemies, the
Christians in Turkey, and that it meant not to be
disturbed in this by diplomatic intervention from
abroad.

A telegram by Prince Hohenlohe of the German Embassy in Constantinople to the German Consulate in Aleppo, on August 2, 1915, reads:

> "In its attempt to carry out its purpose to resolve the Armenian question by the destruction of the Armenian race, the Turkish government has refused to be deterred neither by our representations nor by those of the American Embassy, nor by the delegate of the Pope, nor by the threats of the Alied Powers, nor in deference to the public opinion of the west representing one-half of the world."

Von Scheubner-Richter, the German Consul in Erzeroum, in a report dated December 4, 1916, stated:
"A great part of the Young Turkish Committee
seems to take the point of view that the Turkish
Empire can only be built upon a purely Moham-
medan pan-Turkish foundation. The population
which is neither one nor the other must either
become Turkish and Mohammedan or must be
completely destroyed.

However, the decision taken in secret meetings of the ruling Party of Union and Progress, "the consular reports of the period,
the voluminous depositions of eye-witnesses, the writings of war correspondents and historians, the evidence of those who escaped miraculously the massacres and finally the evidence provided by the Turks themselves before the Military Tribunal set up after the war in Istanbul to try the Turkish criminals, as reported in "Takvime Vakaye" (Turkish official journal) of 1919, give us abundant proof that massacres and deportations were part of a master-plan, the purpose of which was nothing less than the extermination of the Armenians in Turkish occupied Armenia and elsewhere within the Ottoman Empire ard the final elimination of the Armenian problem."(52)

The result was that more than million and a half Armenians, died a violent death, in culmination to massacres, deportations, torture and starvation. According to Howard M Sachar:

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Furthermore, all the property of the Armenians, movable and immovable, private and communal, was subjected to illegal seizure.

## VII. THERISEAND FALL OE THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA

Deportations and massacres quickly turned the Armenians against the Turkish state to which they were loyal at the beginning of the war. The Armenians fought on the side of the allies, with the hope that the latter would fulfill their promise of creating a unified Independent Armenia after the defeat of Turkey.(54)

On November 15, 1917, in a government decree, the Soviet Union declared the principle of self-determination as a right
belonging to all peoples. On the 30 th of the same month, Lenin and Stalin made a declaration recognizing the independence of Western Armenia from Turkish yoke, and suggesting the formation of a democratic Armenian governmant. On the 8th of January 1918, Woodrow Wilson, the United States president made a similar declaration with regard to peoples oppressed by Turkey, particularly the Armenians. These declarations provided more momentum for the Armenians to carry on the struggle with greater determination.(55) Consequently, the Armenian troops defeated the Turks in three major encounters at Sardarapat, Bash Abaran and Karakilisseh; which forced Turkey to sue for peace and on may 28, 1918, an independent Armenian Republic in the Causasus, ie, in formerly Russian Armenia, was declared.

It is important to note, that the Armenians had inherited nothing from the Russian Empire. There was no organized administrative machinery, no capital, no means of transportation, no trained experts for the three branches of government.(56) Kachaznuni, the first Premier of Armenia, in his maiden speech before the Parliament, described the sitution in the following words:


As soon as the war ended, Armenia commenced her rapid regeneration. The Turkish troops vacated their occupied positions and the boundaries of Armenia were enlarged somewhat. In June 1919, elections were held in Armenia. Six political parties participated and eighty members of parliament were elected, 72 of them were ARF (Dashnak) candidates.

The Armenian Republic organized a central government with an army police force, judicial system and school. It creared an

Armenian Red Cross and established diplomatic relationships with other countries.

On January 19, 1920, the Allied Supreme Council recognized Armenia's independence and her de facto government. The Armenian Republic was recognized by the United States Government in a communication addressed by the secretary of State, Bainbridge Colby, to the Armenian Minister Plenipotentiary in Washington, Dr Armen Garo Pasdermadjian, April 23, 1920.(58)

In April 1920, the san Remo conference proposed that the United States accept an Armenian mandate, and that, whatever the United States decision, President Wilson define the frontiers of the Armenian State and that the treaty with Turkey should designate him as a referee in the question of the Turkish Armenian frontiers.(59) Meanwhile, on April 23, Mustafa Kamal Ataturk established his rebel "Provisional Government" in Ankara in defence of the Western Powers, and, in Cilicia, Kemalists massacred more than 30,000 Armenians.

The peace treaty with Turkey, delayed for sixteen months, was finally signed at Severs on August 10, 1920. It was during this interval of sixteen months that the nationalist movement of Mustafa Kamal, actively supported by France, Italy, and the Soviet Russia, became a power to contend with. The Republic of Armenia was represented at Sevres conference and was a signatory of the treaty through its delegation, headed by Avedis Aharonian. This treaty granted international recognition to Armenian independence, albeit it was devoid of any parctical significance. The Kemalist movement, vitalized by the mutual rivalries of the powers and with the active Soviet Support, not only killed it, but Frustrated all the Allied plans concerning the near East.

On September 22, 1920, Turkish regular troops attacked the Republic of Armenia from the south and the south-west, while the Bolshevic Russians threatened it from the north-east. After
several weeks of fighting, the Armenians succumbed and funally were defeated. However, when. on November 20, 1920, President Wilson officially set forth the territorial limits of the new Armenian State, the collapse of the Republic was only a few days off. The Vilayets of Kars and Ardahan were retaken by Tyrkey (treaty of Alexandropol) and what remained of Armenia (approximately $30,000 \mathrm{sq} \mathrm{Km}$ ) became Soviet on December 2, 1920.

On February 18, 1921, the ARF; in reprisal, incited a spontaneous revolt which drove the Red Army out of Armenia. However, by July 21, the Soviet Red Army had staged a comeback and reconquered Armenia. Consequently, the ARF was outlawed and its leadership left to assume from the direction of the fight for freedom. The February 18 Armenian Revolt was the last military act of the second phase of the Age of Armenaian Revolution.

The European powers and the United States of America turned away from the miserable Armenians and the Armenians and the Armenian question. They forgot what American Major General James G Harbord, after his return from the Armenian provinces in 1919, had called the "most crime of all the ages", and bowed to political, economic and military expediency in the "Black Treaty of Lausanne" in 1923, in which Armenia or the Armenians were no longer mentioned.(60)

It is worth mentioning, that the Delegations of the Armenian Republic which had been exluded from the Lausanne Conference on this occasion lodged the following protest:


The Treaty of Lausanne was perceived by many European high ranking officials and diplomats, as an outright betrayal of the Armenian cause. To may of them, this treaty had relegated the Armenian Question to the category of ubsolved matters. However, leading comments on the Treaty of Lausanne were made by David Lloyed George in a speech in London, July 25, 1923, reproduced in this book entitled "Is it Peace?" The following is a small part of his speech:
".ith No one claims that this treaty is peace
with honour It is not even peace. If one were
dealing whith re renerated Turk, then there
might heoper but the burning of Shyrna, and
the cold-blooded murders of tens of thousands
of Young Greeks in the interior, prove that the
Turk is still unchaged. . .
James W Gerard, former Americam Ambassador to Germany, in an articale antitled "The Senate and the Lausanne Treaty", quoted in The New Armenia, September-October 1923, writes in part:


Moreover, the Democratic National Platform, June 24, 1924, stated the following in its address:
> "We condemn the Lausanne Treaty. It barters legitimate American rights and betrays Armenia for the Chester oil concession. We favor the protection of American rights in Turkey and the fulfillment of President Wilson's arbitral award respecting Armenia.

Winston Churchill wrote, "History will vainly seek the name of Armenia in the Treaty of Lausanne".(62) It was said that England again sold Armenia for the sake of Mossul. "Oil weighed thicker than Armenian blood," said Lord Gurzon.

In spite of the betrayal of the Armenian Question by the States at Lausanne, in spite of the fact that efforts at positive intervention in the League of Nations by friendly countries like Greece and Rumania remained futile (64), it is an irrefutable fact that the Armenian Question exists, has remained unsolved, and therefore it awaits a solution.

## VIII. THE SOVIET REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA

As we mentioned earlier, the Armenians had been able to establish a truncated republic in 1918-1920, in part of what was formerly Russian Armenia situated in the Southwestern Caucasus. It was governed by a coalition of Armenian Nationalist parties led by the Dashnaks (The Armenian Revolutionary Federation). The internal situation in the new republic was precarious at best. An area that had imported one-third of its food before the war was now supporting a 50 percent increase in population, mostly made up of Armenian refugees from Turkey. Only the American Relief Mission between 1919 and 1920 prevented a major famine.

The Sovietization of parts of Armenia was brought about predominantly as a result of external forces and circumstances. However, it would be an inadmissible error to disregard the role played by the local Armenian communists, though these comunists were limited in number. The events leading to the establishment of Soviet Armenia began in the summer of 1919. The Bolsheviks were then diligently organizing communist cells and making declarations and statements in the press and through the distribution of leaflets exhorting the people to rally around communism and fight the Dashnaks. Soviet assistance to local communists was important because if the Armenian communists were left to their own resources they would not have been able to overthrow the government of the republic. When the Armenian communists established themselves in "Erevan", they imprisoned
and shot many Dashnak leaders. As mentioned earlier, on February 18, 1921, the Dashnaks organized a rebellion which successfully overthrew the Soviet regime in "Erevan", the Red Army cruelly suppressed it. Ever since that time the Dashnaks have remained the center of Armenian opposition to the Soviet regime, especially among the Armenians of the Diaspora.

The territory which went under Soviet communist control was even smaller than the tiny state of the Armenian Republic of 1918-1920, and extended only to one-tenth of historical "Great Armenia". Kars, Ardahan and Igdir were, by 1921, already firmly in Turkish hands.

Initially, Stalin merged the Armenian territory under Soviet control with Georgia and Azerbaijan to form a single Transcausasian federation. This he did to wipe out local opposition and the arrangement continued until the local leadership had been thoroughly urged by the firing squad and deportations to Siberia.

An important element in the resurgence of Armenian culture and identity under Soviet rule is the fact that Armenian is the first official language of the republic, along with Russian. The only region of the world where official business is primarily conducted in the Armenian vernacular is Soviet Armenia. In addition, it has a first-rate public education system. In 1935, an Armenian branch of the Soviet Academy of Sciences was founded, and promoted to the status of an independent academy in 1943.

The cultural and economic resurgence of Soviet Armenia provoked sharp dissensions among the Armenians of the diaspora, particularly between World War I and World War II. Old Dashnaks regarded the Soviet Union as the arch-enemy, surpassed in wickedness only by the Turks. Many others came to see Soviet Armenia as the only remaining ingredient of genuine nationality and the only hope for the survival of Armenian identity and its national ethos. The diaspora, they believed, was vulnerable to
alien influences and therefore could not ultimately preserve the pure essence of Armenian culture, identity, and nationality.

In a sense politics in Soviet Armenia is a reflection of the dialectics of nationalism in the Soviet Union. Basically, Soviet Armenians have historical claim to two pieces of territory now part of the Azerbaijan SSR - the Karabagh Autonomous Oblast and the Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet-Socialist Republic. The Armenians' claim to Karabagh in which they contribute 85 percent of its population and to Nakhichevan is based on legal formulations including a series of solemn promises and declarations made during the years 1920 and 1921 by leading official Bolshevik personalities.(67) The initial pronouncement was made on December lst 1920 by N N Narimanov, who, on behalf of the Azerbaijan SSR, officially yielded these territories to "the brotherly Soviet Armenian Republic".(68) However, in less than three months, the Soviet Union concluded the Moscow Treaty with Kemalist Turkey according to which Nakhichevan was made an autonomous territory within the Azerbaijan SSR. Today, Armenians, particularly those in the Armenian SSR, still contest the decision and occasionally Armenians insistence upon the territory's return to their control, causes vibrations in Soviet-Armenian and Azerbaijani-Armenian relations.

However, Soviet policy has always opposed political dissension and expressions of nationalist priorities. Often the measures taken against such tendencies were harsh and excessive. Even Armenian dislike of the Turks could not be allowed to disrupt Soviet-Turkish relations, especially when these relations were deliberately arranged to be friendly and cordial. Thus, as recently as 1965, when Armenians demonstrated against what they considered to be the usurpation of their territorial rights by Turkey (particularly the six vilayets) the Soviet Union quelled the ensuing unrest and proceeded to oust $Y$ Zarobian, the Secretary-General of the Armenian Communist Party (ACP). They replaced him with A Kochinyan. Armenian resentment spread to affect the nonpolitical elements of Armenian society.

For instance, the Fifth Writers' Congress of November 1966 demanded from the government:

1) Official recognition of 24 April as a day of National mourning to be observed every year;
2) The return of the Moscow Armenian cultural building which had been confiscted by Beria and permission to re-open it as a cultural center for Armenians living in the Soviet capital;
3) The proper observation and celebration of anniversaries of certain "national figures" who had contributed to Armenian literature and culture early in the nation's history.(69)

Despite these occasional grievances, the Armenians know that they depend politically and economically on Moscow and their underlying loyalty towards the Soviet Union is beyond doubt. However, the recent upheavals in the "Nagorno Karabagh" region have stirred the nationality problem in the Soviet Union and have put Gorbachev's "Perestroika" and "Glasnost" policies to the fore of Soviet politics.

To understand the current conflict over the "Karabagh" enclave, it is important to trace its historic roots in the light of Leninist-Stalinist Soviet Nationality policy. The "Karabagh Question", however, continues to exacerbate the relations of Soviet Armenia and Soviet Azerbaijan and poses the problem of nationlist claims over disputed territories to the Soviet government.

Despite the negative decision made recently by the Politbureau and endorsed by the Secretary-General of the Communist party Mr Michail Gorbachev, in regard to the retaining of the "Karabagh" enclave under the Azerbaijan jurisdiction, the Armenians in the Soviet Union and the Diaspora are still fighting to reverse the decision.

## IX. THE NATIONALITY PROBLEM IN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE QUESTION OF "NAGORNO KARABAGH"

The one hundred and thirty-one nations and nationalities of the Soviet Union are officially assured that the "national problem", ie the inequality problem in the socio-economic and political spheres inherited from the Tsarist Empire, has been solved by the application of the Leninist "nationality policy".(70) Lenin viewed "Nationalism as a by-product of the capitalist mode of production doomed to disappear with the introduction of socialism".(71) Being aware of the explosive force of nationalism, prompted Lenin to formulate a radical programmatic solution while living in Austria at the brink of World War I. However, this solution was "political self-determination, defined to mean that every national minority had the right to separate and form an independent state; if it did not wish to avail itself of this right, it had to acquiesce to assimilation".(72)

It is important to note, that since its inception the Soviet Union has been a strictly centralized state ruled by the Communist party. Despite its own centralization, the party recognizes constitutionally the Union Republics, which in theory are able to separate and form independent, sovereign states.(73) However, in reality the Soviet Union is unitary, and in form federal.(74)

Lenin and other leaders of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, believed that nationalism is a part of the "social superstructure at the capitalist stage of historical development", would be replaced by a new "inter-nationalist proletarian consciousness" free of nationalist elements once socialism is accomplished. Consequently, the formula which called for a political system "national in form and socialist in content", became the cornerstone of the Soviet nationality policy. In fact, the above mentioned formula meant that each "national group is granted the right to its own 'national form' (autonomous units constitutionally, language and media of expression culturally), but only
on condition that it be filled with a uniform 'socialist content' determined by the CPSU".(75) In form, the nationality policy is designed to allow the Soviet nationalities a harmless outlet for their national aspirations, however, in essence it preserves the locus of power for the central organs of the party and the government.(76)

The Soviet Union is a multi-ethnic society, with the Russians constituting a ruling majority. Ethnicity, which is the major dynamic force of change, is fully incorporated into the federal state structure along the postulates of class-based "Internationalism".(77) Ethnic conflict and antagonisms are not new phenomena in Soviet culture, they have always been present since Russia's colonial past; however, growing ethnic self-assertion by non-Russian minorities became more visible and vociferous under "the impact of modernization and the development of ethaic cultures".(78)
"Perestroika" and "Glasnost", two key concepts, had been dynamic in initiating social and eocnomic changes within the substructure and superstructure of Soviet society. These concepts had always been present in the dictionary of Russian development and modernization, however, in recent years they have been greatly emphasized to rebuild the new Soviet man and society. In particular, the purpose of "Perestroika", as has been described by Michail Gorbachev at the jubilee meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR to mark the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, on November 2, 1987, stated the following:

success of perestroika
socialism in general. $(79)$
From the above statement, one can infer, that in order for "Perestroika" to succeed, two key problems should be fully addressed. These are the democratisation of all social life and a radical economic reform, which would prompt the Soviet people for genuine involvement in the decision-making process and in public matters. However, social transformation along the lines of social flexibility and tolerance of ethnic divergence, could sift the cognitions and perceptions of the multi-ethnic society towards the acceptance of new modes of political culture based on social democracy and the decentralization of power.

The preservation of language and culture by the various national minorities in the Soviet Union, has exacerbated ethnic strife, that occasionally poses serious threats to the central government in Moscow. It is evident that recently "Glasnost" and "Perestroika" have been instrumental in paving the way for national minorities to press for socio-economic and geopolitical reforms, and the "Karabagh" claim by the Armenians has set a good precedent in that direction.

It is not the aim of this study to analyze the dialectics of nationalism in the USSR, however, the main emphasis will be on the "Armeno-Azerbaijani" conflict that manifested itself in violent forms. Yet, it would be an admissible error, if one overlooks the current impact of ongoing change on the dual "national in form socialist in content" framework of the Soviet state, that has been incrementally "losing its functionality in the area it was meant to revolve, namely, that of ethnic relations."(80) According to Teresa Rakowski Harmstone, a leading authority on ethnicity in the Soviet Union, ". . . Instead of an expected union-wide intergration it has stimulated the forces of ethnicity, the containment of which is proving increasingly difficult."(81) In fact, there is no ethnic warfare or open separatism except for the recent "Armeno-Azerbaijani" clashes. Basically, "ethnic forces press for an evolution toward greater autonomy, but if it is
denied, there may be a real explosion,"(82) and the conflict over the "Nagorno Karabagh" enclave is a stepping stone in that direction.

## X. THE ORIGINS OF THE BOUNDARY FEUDS

To understand the origin of the boundary feuds, it is important to briefly describe the Transcaucasian Armenian Irredenta to which the Armenians lay ethnographic, geographic and economic claim. These are the districts of:
a) "Nakhitchevan": a protectorate of Azerbaijan,
b) "Karabagh": an autonomous district under the protectorate of Azerbaijan, and
c) "Akhalkalak": a protectorate of Georgia.

The total area of the Transcaucasian Armenian Irredenta would be 7,220 square miles.(83)

On the other hand, the Turkish Irredenta contiguous with Armenia but with an entirely different status from the Turkish Armenian provinces, includes the following districts: a) Kars, b) Kaghzvan (Kagisman), c) Surmalu (Igdir), d) Ardahan, and e) Olti, with a total area of 8,044 square miles.(84)

However, the "Wilsonian boundary" gave to Armenia the following provinces: a) Van, b) Bitlis, c) Erzeroum, and d) Trebizond, with a total area of 34,750 square miles.(85)

It is important to note, that the "Wilsonian Award" and the Turkish Irredenta were cancelled in culmination to several treaties: Brest-Litovsk, Moscow, Kars and finally, the Treaty of Lausanne 1923.

In the light of the recent "Armeno-Azerbaijani" conflict the question of mountainous "Karabagh" deserves special attention, simply because it revived the national minorities issue in the Soviet Union, that has been dormant for several decades. In fact, it brought to the fore of Russian politics, conflicting territorial claims in the Transcaucasian republics of Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan that could not be solved by negotiation or compromise. Besides, the recent upsurge of Armenian
nationalism is enhancing other republics, like Lithuania and Estonia, to press for more political and economic reforms from the Soviet Union.

Definitely, this wave of nationalism is poising great threats to Gorbachev's "Perestroika" and "Glasnost" policies, that could be well manipulated by Gorbachev's political opposition within the CPSU. However, the handling of this delicate situation by Gorbachev will be the real test of his power, yet to be perceived.

The historic background to the "Nagorno Karabagh" conflict, goes back to the spring of 1918, when the Transcaucasian federation (Seym) was dissolved and the three constituent nations - the Armenians, Georgians and Azerbaijanis proclaimed their independence at a time when the Caucasus was geopolitically in shambles. According to James G Mandalian, a noted Armenian historian, who described best the political stituation in that region:


Consequently, endless insurrections, local fights, Allied interventions, open wars and finally, international negotiating conferences culminated in the despoliation of Armenia among the Turks, the Soviets and their Caucasian neighbors. "Akalkalak", with a population of 80,000 Armenians, was officially annexed to Georgia, while "Nakhitchevan", "Karabagh" and "Zangezur" were given the status of autonomous districts under the protectorate of Azerbaijan. However, the story of "Nagorno Karabagh" goes deeper than this.

## XI. THE ISSUE OF "NAGORNO KARABAGH": SOME HISTORICAL NOTES

The district of "Nagorno Karabagh" situated to the north-east of Armenia, with its geographic location, natural assets, and ethnographic preponderance, constitutes the immediate continuation of the Armenian plateau. The mountainous, "Karabagh" is comprised of several regions:
a) Shoushi, b) Chivanshir, c) Chiprail-Kachen, d) Varanda, e) Dizak, and f) Chaberd, that are predominantly Armenian is population.(87)

According to Artin H Arslanian, an Armenian historian,


However, when British military troops occupied strategic points in Transcaucasia, the Armenians were enthusiastic and happy in the beginning. Yet, after a brief period General Thomson - the leading British commander in the Caucasus - and especially his successor Colonel Digby Inglis Shuttleworth, favoured Azerbaijan's claims to the districts of "Karabagh" and "Zangezur" and requested that the majority of Armenian inhabitants accept the provisional jurisdiction of Fathali Kham Khoiskii's government.(89) The rationale behind this British policy lay in the fact that, as "rulers of an extensive colonial empire that included millions of Muslim subjects, the British stood to gain widespread good will for supporting the first Muslim republic in modern history."(90) Adding insult to the shattered hopes of Armenians, Thomson furthermore, approved the Azerbaijani government's choice of Doctor Khosrov Bek Sultanov, a notorious Armenophobe, as the governor general of the two reigons, "Karabagh" and "Zangezur".(91) This pro-Azerbaijan British policy, shocked the Armenians, who considered themselves
the "Little Ally". Consequently,
". 0 inted as proof to this claim they (Armenians) pointed to their resistance against the Turks during the World War and to numerous Allied wartime pledges on their behalf. Thus, they expected the British forces to assist them in incorporating into the Armenian republic the territories disputed with Azerbaijan whose government had (92) co-operated with the Turks

The Armenians contested the British decision on the basis of the principle of the self-determination of nationalities, as well as on economic, geographic and historical considerations. British response fell on deaf ears, and as a result, Azerbaijani troops, in cooperation with the Kurdish irregulars, entered Shushi in early June, 1919. Hundreds of Armenians were massacred and many of their villages were looted and destroyed.

Several critics of British policies in the Caucasus singled out economic exploitation - the reserve oil at Baku - as the prime determinant in British policy, not to mention, "access to this wealth would naturally be facilitated through the cooperation of an appreciative, indebted local government . ."(93) "Whether or not 'oil imperialism' dictated British policy in the Caucasus, economic factors could not have been ignored".(94) At the time, British policy toward "Karabagh" aroused great indignation in the Republic of Armenia. According to Lieutenant-Colonel John $C$ Plowden, the British mlitary representative in Erevan, reported at the end of August 1919:
> "The handing over of Karabagh to Azerbaijan was, I think, the bitterest blow of all. Karabagh means more to the Armenians than their religion even, being the cradle of their race, and their traditional last sanctuary when their country has been invaded. It is Armenian in every particular and the strongest part of Armenia, both financially, militarily and socially . . .'(95)

The Armenians realized that their cause had been betrayed by the British, whom at the beginning, were perceived as a natural ally. Armenian petitions to the Foreign Office in London and to the British Peace Delegation in Paris proved to be
unproductive. Moreover, it so happened that both Kemalist Turkey and Soviet Russia, from different motives, were waging war against the British who withdrew the bulk of their troops from Transcaucasia in the summer of 1919. This convergence of mutual interest incidentally benefited the Azerbaijani cause.(96) According to Arslanian,
> "The struggle for Karabagh, however, did not end with the Sovietization of Armenia and Azerbaijan in 1920. Mountainous Karabagh remained an autonomous region in Soviet Azerbaijan contrary to declarations by Stalin and the Soviet government of Azerbaijan in Pecember 1920 that it would be ceded to Armenia. (97)

It was the Treaty of Moscow, March 16, 1921, between the Soviets and Kemalist Turkey which formalized the latter's seizure of the districts of Kars, Ardahan, Surmalu and Olti, along with the cession of Karabagh and Nakhitchevan to Azerbaijan and the remainder of the Western Strip was labelled "Soviet Armenia", which was taken over by the Soviets of Russia. Henceforth, mountainous "Karabagh", which has no connection with Azerbaijan, was forcibly taken from Armenia by the Soviets, and was turned over to Azerbaijan, for a rapprochement with Turkey.

## XII. THE RECENT REVIVAL OF THE "KARABAGH" ISSUE

Armenians in Soviet Armenia, never gave up on their territorial claims to the enclaves of "Karabagh", "Nakhitchevan" and "Zangezur". In recent years the Karabagh Armenians have been vociferous in their demands, and in letters to the Central Committee of the Communist party, as well as to Khruschev, Brezhnev and Gorbachev, they have demanded the incorporation of "Karabagh" into Armenia. The contents of these letters reiterated the accusation of the Azerbaijani authorities in pursuing cultural and economic repression towards "Karabagh" Armenians. Moreover, emphasis was made on Azerbaijani control over "Karabagh" which contradicts the spirit of Lenin's policy on nationalities.(98)

There has been an upsurge in nationalist tendencies during the three years since Gorbachev came to power and launched his liberalization campaign. However, the recent Armenian protests in Soviet Armenia, (February, 1988) faced Gorbachev with one of his most serious challenges since taking office. General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev managed to damp down an outburst of Armenian nationalists in February 1988, by agreeing to conduct a top level review of local grievances, however, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet passed a resolution favouring the "status quo". Armenian activists responded by threatening to call a general strike. According to the Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadi Gerasimov:


In tacit recognition to the validity of the Armenian grievances, the Presidium recommended an eight year program of cultural and economic development for"Nagorno-Karabagh". The plan emphasized the construction of schools, hospitals and infrastructure projects. On the issue of the "Nagorno- Karabagh" nationalist campaign, however, the Presidium was adamant to a firm "Nyet", because any concession to the Armenians might prompt similar demands from others among the Soviet Union's 100 nationality groups.(-100)

In response to the Presidium's decision, the Armenian Supreme Soviet, or Parliament, voted in mid June 1988, in "favour of annexing 'Nagorno-Karabagh', thus contradicting the position taken in March 1988, by Moscow party leaders". The vote also put the Armenian leaders in conflict with Azerbaijan's authorities, which had decided not to relinquish control of "Nagorno-Karabagh".(101) Giving in to the Armenian demands by redrawing internal boundaries would set a potentially
troublesome precedent for the Kremlin's dealings with other nationalities.(102)

Albeit, the upheaval is neither anti-Soviet nor anti-Communist, it could pose a threat to Gorbachev's position if it remains unsolved. According to an article published in the Komsomolskaya Pravda, "what is happening around NagornoKarabagh is a blow to Perestroika, possibly the most serious blow in recent times . . . this is a challenge to the ideals of glasnost, a chance for conservatives to strengthen their point of view".(103)

Gorbachev demonstrated less patience with the problem of nationalist unrest, ie the "Armeno-Azerbaijani" conflict. While praising the "growth of ethnic self-awareness" he cautioned that "any obsession with national isolation can only lead to economic and cultural impoverishment. Nationalist "collisions", he said, must be settled "within the existing state structure of our Union", a reference to the roiling secessionist movement in the autonomous region of Nagorno Karabagh, an area that is geographically part of Azerbaijan but ethnically 75\% Armenian".(104)

Gorbachev's approach to the "Armeno-Azerbaijani" conflict was characterized with prudence and cautiousness, for it was described by one speaker at the latest Supreme Soviet meeting, "a landmine under Perestroika". Moreover, Mr Gorbachev added, "we must not allow one nation to feel insulted. We must not allow any increase of tensions between them, or let it go to extremes."(105) Western experts on the Soviet Union generally agree that Gorbachev's policies of economic restructuring and political openness are feeding the centrifugal forces of nationalism. For Gorbachev the Armenian crisis has revealed how shallow party control can be once people's passions are aroused. In fact, it is puzzling why the Soviet leadership worries about a regional crisis, since the Armenians want "Nagorno Karabagh's" indpendence from Azerbaijan, and not from the Soviet Union. Besides, Armenians never manifested anti-Russian or anti-Soviet feelings, they simply raised a slogan for change to join Armenia proper. This simple Armenian feeling has transcended to a
national issue that has given it a certain legitimacy.
Given the socio-political and economic realities in the Soviet Union, Western experts anticipate continued growth of national awareness among the Soviet minorities that would pose geater challenges to the ruling elite in Moscow. However, the "Armeno-Azerbaijani" conflict portrayed increasing disruptiveness, but not necessarily destructiveness of the existing political system. Moreover, given the regional and geopolitical boundaries of the various 131 nationalities in the Soviet Union, the chances of the Armenians to regain control over "Karabagh" is grim. One might argue that the violent demonstrations went beyond the expectations of the party leaders in Armenia and Moscow respectively. Furthermore, they represented to Moscow an alarming manifestation of the kind of nationalist fervor that could easily develop anti-Russian overtones, if the minorities issue is not settled.

## XIII. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Most Armenians refer to the Treaty of Sevres of 10 August, 1920, as a ground for territorial claims, because Armenia in (Article 88) was recognized as a free and independent State. This treaty made the Armenian claim historically valid, with an international juridical credit. Unfortunately, the Treaty of Sevres was never implemented, and as a matter of fact, Kemalist Turkey soon repudiated it, and the Allied nations were impotent in having it respected.

Another territorial claim by Armenians are the provinces of Kars, Ardahan and Olti, along with Akhalkalak which was ceded to Georgia. This are encompasses about 60,000 square kilometers, which would represent the inner heart of an Armenian homeland.

Another manifestation of the Armenian's claim for justice has to do with Soviet Armenia itself. There is the immediate concern of the return to Soviet Armenia of the Armenian provinces of "Lori" and "Akhalkalak" which are today under Georgian administration. These territories had always been
densely populated by Armenians' and as mentioned earlier, they were separated from Soviet Armenia in culmination to two Turkish-Russian agreements, namely the Treaty of Moscow (March 1921) and the Kars Conference (October 1921).

Above all, the Armenians demand that Turkish crimes of genocide committed against the Armenian people be condemned by the international community, perhaps through the United Nations or some other body. The Armenians also demand from Turkey to confess its crimes of the past and make restitutions retroactively.(106)

There must be a recognition of the fact that Turkish genocide is continuing as long as the Armenians are not permitted to return to their homeland and are continuously losing their identity in foreign lands. Moreover, Turkey must stop its destruction of Armenian monuments and traces of the Armenian past, since these and others are vital to the preservation of Armenian heritage and so essential to the Armenian identity of today and tomorrow.(107)

To bring an end to injustice, the larger part of the Armenian homeland, which have been almost emptied of their native Armenian population and are curently under Turkish rule, should be restored to its rightful owners, the Armenian people.(108)

The above claims are considered essential to Armenian nationhood and future well being, without which the future of the Armenian people will have no connection with its past even in Soviet Armenia which has been undergoing changes contradictory with its rich heritage.(109)

As far as the issue of "Nagorno Karabagh" is concerned, national frustration and animosities are becoming more acute to deal with by the Soviet authorities, because nationalism of the minority peoples of the USSR have grown and intensified in recent years. The "Karabagh" issue has portrayed a great deal of nationalist frustration in the Soviet Union, which is emerging to be a policy dilemma for the Soviet leadership. Forces for ethnic change are pushing for the evolution of the system, however, the current leadership is vehemently resisting it, which might
eventually lead to an open confrontation and explosion. What is requested from the Soviet leadership is the implementation of the process of decentralization as espoused in Gorbachev's "Perestroika and Glasnost" policies. However, Armenians in Soviet Armenia and in the Diaspora still wait for a favourable decision from the Soviet Presidium in regard to their just demands. Moreover, the Armenains all over the world, convinced of the justice of their cause, continue to believe in the international conscience as well as in the ideals of democracy the essence of Liberty, Equality and Justice - despite the apathy of nations, they still insist on a just solution.

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## ARMENIAN SOCIAL STATISTICS

## Population of Soviet Armenia

| 1940 | $1,320,000$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| 1959 | $1,763,000$ |
| 1966 | $2,239,000$ |
| 1970 | $2,492,000$ |
| 1975 | $2,790,000$ |

## Population of Erevan

| 1917 | 34,000 |
| :--- | :---: |
| 1926 | 65,000 |
| 1939 | 204,000 |
| 1970 | 767,000 |
| 1975 | 899,000 |

In addition, there is a substantial Armenian population living outside $A S S R$ but within the Soviet Union:

| Azerbaijian SSR | 560,000 |
| :--- | :---: |
| Georgian SSR | 550,000 |
| Russian SFSr | 330,000 |
| Others | 60,000 |
|  | $\cdots \cdots \cdots$ |
| Total | $\mathbf{1 , 5 0 0 , 0 0 0}$ |

Outside the Soviet Union, the estimates are as follows:

| USA and Canada | 450,000 |
| :--- | :---: |
| Turkey | 250,000 |
| Iran | 200,000 |
| France | 200,000 |
| Lebanon | 180,000 |
| Syria | 150,000 |
| Others | 570,000 |
|  | $\ldots \ldots \cdots \cdots$ |
| Total | $2,000,000$ |





President Wilsoris Avard, I tovembe: 1920

The Eaucasus in the Earm Nimeteenth Centur


تعتبر المطالب الانفة الذكر اساسية للحفاظ على قومية الارمن ورغاههم هستقبلا، وبدون ذلك فان مستقبل الشعب الارمني لن تكون له صلة بماضيه حتى في ارمينية السوفياتية التي
 وبقدر ها يتعلق الاهر بقضية "ناجورنو كارباخ"، فان الاحباط القومي ومشاعر الحقد تزدياد

 "كاراباخ" قدرا كبيرا من الاعباط القومي في الاتحاد السوفيتي، وهو الأمر الذي يشكل معضلة سياسية للزعامة السوفياتية. وتكافح القوى المؤيدة اللتغير العرقي من اجل الان تطوير النظام، غير ان الزعامة الحالية تقاوم ذلك بشدة، ولذا فان هذا قد يؤدي في نهاية الامر الى وقوع انفجار ومجابهة علنية. ان الهطلوب من الزعامة السوفيانياتية هو تطبيق عملية اللامركزية كما وردت في سياسة غورباتشوف "بيريسترويكا" و "جلاسنوست". وها وارا زالل الارمن في الرمينية السوفياتية وفي اراضي الشتات ينتظرون

 -وهي جوهر الحرية والمساواة والعدالة- ورغم الغتور الذي تبديه الامم تجاه قضيتهم فانهم با زالوا يصرون على ايجاد حل عادل لها.

الاقليات حلا لها.

## (Ir) ملاحظات ختاميـة

 لمطالبهم الاقليمية، لأنها اعترفت بارمينية (المادة A^) دولة حرة مستقلة. وقد جعلت هذه المعاهدة ادعاء الارمن صحيحا من ناحية تاريخية، ويتمتع بثقة قضائية دولية. لانية السوء الحظ لم تطبق معاهدة سيفر ابدا، وواقع الامر ان الكماليين في تركيا لم يلبثوا رفضها، وكان الحلفاء عاجزين عن رفض احترامنها وهناك ادعاء اقليمي أخر للارهن فيّ كارسس واردهان واولتي اللى جانب اخالكلاك التي تم التنازل عنها لجورجيا، وتضم هذه المنطقة • 7 الف كيلومتر مربع، تشكل القلب للوطن

اما المظهر الآخر لمطالبة الارمن بتطبيق العدالة، غيتعلق بارمينية السوفياتية ذاتها، فهناك





 الاتراك ضد الشعب الارمني، وربـا جاء ذلاء الك التنديد عن طريق الاهم المتحدة الاو او اية هيئة
 عنها بأثر رجعي. (1-7 الا
لا بد من الاعتراف بـحقيقة ان عمليات الابادة التركية ستظل مستمرة طالما لا يسمح للارمن
 فان على تركيا ان تكف عن تدميرها للنصب التذكارية الارمنية وآثار الماضي الاروهي الارمني، لأن هذه النصب والاثار وغيرها حيوية في المحافظة على التراث الارمني الارمني وهو ضرورية جدا
 ولوضع حد لهذا الجور، فان الكبرى من الوطن الارمني، التي تم اخلائها تقريبا هن سكانها الارمن الاصليين والتي تقع الآن تحت الحكم التركيه، يجب ان تعاد الى الصحابها الشر عيين،
وهم الشعب الارمني.(1 • 1 )

كومسومولكايا برافدا قولها: "ان ما يحدث بشأن "ناجورنو كارباخ" يعتبر ضربة لبيريسترويكا، وربما كانت هذه اشد فربة توجه اليها فيا في الآونة الأخيرة....تحد لمثل سياسة الانفتاح، وهي فرصة تتاح للمحافظين لتقوية وجهة نظر مـ". فاق غورباتشوف نرعا بمشكلة الاضطرابات القومية..اي بالمراع "الار الارمني - الانربيجاني"، ففي حين كان يمتدح "نمو الوعي الذاتي العرقي"، حذر من ان "الانغماس في العيّ العزلة القومية يمكن ان تؤدي فقط الى فعغ اقتصادي وثقافي. وقال بان "الصدمات" القومية يجب ان تتم تسويتها "ضمن الطار بنية الدولة القائمة لاتحادنا"، وكان يشير بذلك الى الحركة الانغصالية المقلقة في اقليم "نانجورنو كارباخ" ذو الحكم الذاتي، وهي منطقة تعتبر
 وتد تميز نهج غورباتشوف ازاء الصراع الارمني - الالذربيجاني بالحكمة والحذر، حيث وصفه احد المتحدثين في اجتماع مجلس السرونيات الاعلى الأخيرة بأنه "لغم ارضي تحت بيريسترويكا". وعلاوة على ذلك، اضاف غورباتشوف قوله: "يجب ان لا نسمح بأن تشعر امة
 بالتطرف".(0 - ) ويتفق الخبراء الغربيون في شؤون الاتحاد السوفياتي عموما بأن سياسة

 ما ثارت عواطف شعب من الشعوب. والواقع، ان ما يبعث على الحير الحيرة هو سبب قلق الزعامة السوفياتية من ازمة اقليمية، ان ان الارمن يطالبون باستقلال "ناجورنو كارباخ" عن
 للروس او للسوفيات، بل رفعوا فقط شعارا للتغير والانضصام اللى ارمينية ذاتها وارتقى هذا

الاحساس الارمني البسيط الى قضية قومية اضفت عليه شر عية معينة. وعلى ضوء الواقع الاقتصادي والاجتماعي السياسي في الاتحاد السوفياتي، يتوقع الخبراء الغربيون اطراد نمو الوعي القومي بين الاتليات السوفياتية، وذلك سيشكل تحديات اكبر للطبقة الحاكمة في موسكو. وعلى اية حال، فقد ابرز المراع الاع الارمني - الاذربيجاني تمزقا
 الاقليمية والسياسية الجغرافية للقوميات المختلفة التي يبلغ عددها السوفياتي، فان فرص استعادة الارمن لسيطرتهم على "كاراباخ" تبدو قاتمة. وقد إتي يقول قائل بأن المظاهرات العنيفة تجاوزت توقعات زمعاء الحزب في كل من ارميارينية وميا وموسكو
 الحماس القومي الذي يمكن ان يتطور بسهولة الى نغمة معادية للروس، اذا لم تجد مسألّة

تناقض روح سياسة لينين بشأن القوميات.(91) طرأ ازدياد على الاتجاهات القومية خلال السنوات الثلاث الماضية منذ تولى غورباتشاتشون مقاليد السلطة وشن حملته التحريرية؛ لكن احتجاجات الارمن الأخيرة فيه ارمينية السوفياتية (شباط 19^1) جابهت غورباتشوف بأخطر تحد له منذ توليه السلطة؛ ونجر
 وذلك بموافقة اجراء دراسة على مستوى رفيع للشكاوى المحلية، غير ان مجلس الرئنئاسة السوفياتي الاعلى اتخذ قرارا يؤيد فيه "الوضع القائم". رد نشيطو الارمن على ذللك بالتهديد بالدعوى الى اضراب عام. وطبقا لما صرح به الناطلق بلسان الخارجية السوفياتية جنادي جراسيمون:

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { "...كان الجو مشحونا بالتوتر في "نارجو كارباخ"، نتد ظل القوميون الارمن منذ عام }
\end{aligned}
$$

الانربيجانيون التخلي عن المنطتة وعبروا عن سخطهم في شهر فبراير -شباط- وذكرت التقارير ان عدة حوادث اغتصـاب تد وتعت.."(99)

وفي اعتراف مبطن بصحة المظالم الارمنية، اوضحت اللجنة التنفيذية بتطبيق برنامج من ثماني سنوات لتطوير "ثاجورنو كارباخ" ثقافيا واتتصاديا، واكدت الخطة على بناء المدارس والمستشفيات ومشاريع البنية التحتيه الاساسية؛ لكن اللجنة التنفيذية اصرت على الرينى بالنسبة لقضية حملة "ناجورنو كارباخ" القومية، لأن اي تنازل للارمن من شأنه ان يثير هطالب هماثلة بين الجماعات القومية الأخرى البالغ عددها مئة جماعة في الاعي الاتحاد السوفياتي.( ردا على قرار اللجنة التنفيذية، صوت البرلمان في ارمينية السوفياتية في اواسط شهر يونيو -حزيران- 19^A، اللى "صالح ضم ناجورنو كارباخ" وبذا فانه ناقض بذلك الموقف الذي


 كان من شأن الاستجابة لمطالب الارمن في اعادة في تعامل الكرملين مع القوميات الأخرى. (1 با وعلى الرغم من ان الاضطرابات ليست مناوئة للسوفيات او للشيوعية، الا انها يمكن ان تور الان للخطر مركز غورباتشوف اذا بقيت دون حل. فقد جاء في مقالة نشرتها صحيفة

تعني بالنسبة للارمن اكثر حتى من دينهم، لأنها هي مهد عنمريم وملاذهم التقليدي الأخير عندما تعرفت بلادهم للفزو. وتعتبر كارباخ ارمينية في كل دقي


والاجتماعية...-"
ادرك الارهن انهم كانوا ضحية غدر البريطانيين، الذين رأى فيهم الارمن، بادىء الاء الامر حلغاء

 السوفياتية قد شنتا، بدوافع مختلفة، حربا ضد البريطانيين الذين سحبوا الجزء الاكبر هن الان قواتهم من عبر القوقاز في صيث عام 9 19 9 ؛ وافادت القضية الانربيجانية هن الالتقاء العرضي للمصالح المتبادلة. ووفقا لما يرويه ارسلانيان:
"لم ينته الكفأح من اجل كارباخ باضفاء المبغة السونياتية على ارمينية واذربيجان
 ونلل خلافا لـا اعلنه ستالين والحكومة اللوونياتية عن انربيجان في في شهر ديسمبر

 تركيا هي التي اضفت الصبغة الرسمية على استيلاء تركيا على كارسس و اردهان و سرمانيالو و و الو اولتي، الى جانب التخلي عن كارباخ وناكتشيفان الى الربيجان، وسمي ما تبقى من القطاع الغربي "ارمينية السوفياتية" التي استولت عليها روسيا السوفياتية. ومنـي انسلخت "كارباخ" الجبلية، التي لا تربطها اية صلة باذربيجان، بالقوة عن ارمينية وسلمها السوفيات الى اذربيجان سعيا للوفاق مع تركيا,

## (IV)

 "وناكتشيفان" و "زانجزور"؛ وقد ازدادت في السنوات الأخيرة مطالب اهالي "كارباخ" الارمن حدة، ففي رسائل بعثوا بها الى اللجنة المركزية للحزب الشيوعي والى كلى من وبريجينيف وغوربتشوف طلالبوا بدمع "كارباخ" في الرمينية؛ وكان فـيوى تلك الرسائل
 في "كارباخ"، وعلاوة على ذلك اكدت تلك الرسائل بأن سيطرة اذربيجان على "كارباخ"

عندها احتلت القوات البريطانية نقاطا استراتيجية عبر القوقاز، الظهر الارمن حماسا لذلك وسعدوا به بادىء الامر، لكن بعد فترة قصيرة أيد الجنرال طومبن الالقائد البريطاني

 كام خويسكي.
 المسلمين، فانهم سيكسبون قدرا واسعا من حسن النية نتيجة تأيأييدهم اول جمهورية الارية اسلامية



 الصغير". وتبعا لذلك "...وكبر هان على ادعائهم هذا اشار الارمن اله الى مقاومتهم للاتراك الك اثناء




 القوات الانربيجانية، تعاونها قوات كردية غير نظامية، شوشي
 افرد عدد هن منتقدي السياسة البريطانية في القوقاز هوضوع الاستغلال الارل الاقتصادي
 عن ان "الوصول اللى هذه الثورة سيكون اسهل عن طريق تعاون حكومة محلية تشعر بأنها

 الاقتصادية".( 9 ) وقد اثارت السياسة البريطانية تجاه "كارباخ"، في ذلك الوقت، حنتا في جمهورية ارمينية. وقد كتب الكولونيل جون سي. بلاودن، الممثل العسكري البريطاني في
 "ان تسليم كارباخ الم انربيجان، كان في رأي اكثر الفْربات مرارة، اذ ان كارباخ

من الـؤكد ان هوجة القومية تششكل خطرا كبيرا علمى سياسة غرباتشو ف في "بيريستروكيا" و "وجلاسنوست"، كما يمكن ان تستغـلها المعارضة السياسية لغورباتشوف داخل CPSU. وعلى اية حال فان بععالجة هذا الوضع الدقيق ستكون بـمثابـة اختبار حقيقي لسلطة غورباتشوفن، وهو ها سوفـ نراه فيـما بـعـد
 تم حل اتحاد عبر القوقاز واعلنتت الدول الثلاث المكورنه له - الارمنيـة، والجورجية والاذر بيجلانية - الستقلالها في وقت كانت فيـه القو قاز في حالة خراب جغثر افي سياسي. وقـ
 "بعـد الحمالات الفادحة والحملات المضادة، لا تزال القوات التركيـة تحت اقاليـم معينة كان يـجب الجلاء عنها بمو جب نصو هـ المعاهدات. فـالجلاء عنها وانسحاب الجيوش الروسية بـأمر من اللسوغيات خلق فراغا اثار فورا تدافع عاها بين الدول القوقازية الثللث لملىيء الفراغ. وتركزت هذه الصراعات حول المناطق المـنتلطة السكان وفي بـعض الحالات هـناطلق يهيهن فيها العنصر الارمني مثل لوري وبورشالو واخالكلاك وناكتشفيان وزانجزور وجاندزاك
وكارباخ".(A7)

نتيجة لنلك نشبت حركات تـرد لا حد لها، واعمال قتال محلية، وتدخل من جانب الحلفاء، وحروب علنية واخيرا موّتمرات مفاوضات لولية بلغـت او جها في تصزيق ارهينية بين الاتراك والسوفيات وجيرانهم القوقاز. "فاخالكلاك" بسكانها الارمن البالغ عددهم م A الف نسمة، ضمت رسهيا الى جورجيا؛ بينما منحت "ناكتشيغان" و "كارابـان" و ";انتجزور" وضع ذات حكـم ذاتي تحت حـمايـة اذربيجان. لكن قصـة "ناجورنو كاراباخ" فتمتد الى اعمق هن زلك. (1(1) ملاحظات تاريخية: مسالة "ناجورنو كارياخ"

تقع مقاطعة "ناجورنو كارباخ" شمال شرق ارهينية، وتشكل بـموقعها الجغرافي، وكنوزها الطبيعية وكثرتها الاثنوغرأية امتدادا هـباشرا للهضبـة الارهنية، وتتألف "كارباخ" الجببلية
 وكلها يـغلب على سكانها العنـمر الار مني.(AV) وطبقا لما ذكره ارتيـن هــ ارسلانيان، وهو هؤرخ ارمني، فان...
"...بريطانيا التى احتلت عبر القوتالز بعد الحرب العالمية الاولم، لعبت دورا تياديا في
 اليها في ثيف عام 1919 على حالها دون تغييرا اساسي بعد ان تولم الجيش الاحمر

الصدهمات "الارمنية - الانربيجانية" الأخيرة. فمن ناحية اساسية "تسعى القوى العرقية الى
 الصراع حول "ناجورنو كاراباخ" نقطلة انطلاق في ذلك الاتجاه.

## جذور العداء على الحدود

لكي يسهل فهم اساس النزاعات الحدودية، نجد ان من الضروري ان نصف بايجاز المقاطعة الارمنية عبر القوقاز التي يدعي بها الارمن على اساس اثنو جرافيّي وجغرافي والمي واقتصادي، وهذه المناطق هي:-
ب- " "كاراباخ"

 ومن جهة اخرى، فان المقاطعة التركية المحاذية لارمينية والتي تتمتع بوضع مختلف تماما



وعلى اية حال فان "الحدود التي عينها مبدأ ويلسن" اعطلا
 مربعا.( 10 )
وتجدر ملاحظة ان ها "حكم به ويلسن" وكذلك المقاطعة التركية قد الغيت جميعها تتويجا
 وعلى ضوء الصراع "الارمني - الاذربيجاني" الأخير، فان مسالة "كاراباخ" الجبلية تستحق ان الان
 السوفياتي، وهي قضية ظلت ساكنة ظوال بضعة عقود. والحقيقة انها وضعـت في مقدمة السياسة الروسية ادعاءات اقليمية متناقضة في جمهوريات عبر القوقاز، ارمينية وجورجيا وانربيجان، وهي ادعاءات لا يمكن حلها بالتفاوض او الحلول الوسطـ والى جانب ذلك، فان ظظهور حركة القومية الارمنية تعزز تلك الحركة فـ جـ جمهوريات اخرى مثل ليتوانيا واستونيا، وتدفعها للى مطالبة الاتحاد السوغياتي بادخال المزيد من الاصلاحات السياسية

والاقتصادية.

التأكيد عليها مؤخرا بشكل كبير من اجل اعادة بناء المجتمع والانسان السوفياتي الجديد. ووصف ميخائيل غورباتشوف هدف "بيريسترويكا"، بوجه خامي، في الاجتماع اليوبيلي للجنة المركزية للحزب الشيوعي السوفياتي، ومجلس السوفيات الاعلى، ومجلس السوفيات الاعلى للجههورية الروسية الاشتراكية الاتحادية الاشتراكية السوفياتية للاحتفال بالديا بالذكرى السبعين لثورة اكتوبر الاشتراكية الكبرى يوم 「 نوفمبر -تشرين ثاني- IqAV، وصفها بما يلي:
"."...ان هدف اعادة البناه هو اعادة التأسيس النظري والعملي الكامل لتمور لينين للاشتراكية، حيث تعطى الاولوية دون مناذع للانسان العامل بمثله ومصـالحه، وللقيم الانسانية في الاقتمـاد، وفي العلاقات السياسية والاجتماعية وني الثقافة....أن صبغ المجتمع بالمبغة الديمقراطية هو جوهر اعادة البناء -بيريسترويكا- ويعتد نجاع

اعادة البناء على تقدمها وعلى مستقبل الاشتراكية عموما".(V9)
هما تقدم، يمكن الاستنتاج، بان نجاح "بيريسترويكا" يقتضي معالجة مشكلتين رئيسيتين، وهها اضفاء الديمقراطية على الحياة الاجتماعية والاصلاع الاقتصادي الجذري، الذي من شأنه الن يشغز الشعب السوغياتي على الاشتراك الفعلي في عملية صنع القرار وفي الشؤون العامة الامة غير ان التحول تمشيا هع خطوط المرونة الاجتماعية والتساهع في امر الاختلان العرقيّ يمكنه ان يحول ادراكات وتصورات المجتمع المتعدد العرقيات نحو قبول الانماط الجديدة للثقافة السياسية القائمـة على الديمقراطية الاجتـا كان لمحافظة الاقليات العرقية المختلفة في الاتحاد السوفياتي على لغاتها وثقافاتها اثر كبير في زيادة حدة النزاع العرقي الذي يشكل احيانا تهديدات خطيرة على الـي الحكومة

 اقتصادية وسياسية جغرافية، وشكلت مطالبة الارمن "بكاراباخ" سابقة جديدة في هذا الاتجاه لا تهدن هذه الدراسة الى تحليل منطق القومية في جمهوريات الاتحاد السوفياتي، لكنها
 ومع ذلك فان من الخطأ الجائز اذا تغاضى المرء عن الانـئ الأثر الدارج للتغير الجاري على الاططار

 هارمستون، وهي حجة في الشؤون المتعلقة بالعرقية في الاتحاد السوفيا دمه اتحادي واسع كما كان متوقعا، اثارت قوى العرقية التي ثبت ان ال احتواءها امر صعب".(Al) والواقع انه لا توجد هناك حرب عرقية او حركة انفمطل علني باستثناء

القومية" اللينينيه.(•) فقد اعتبر لينين ان "القومية حميلة ثانوية لنمط الانتاج الرأسمالي وهي آيلة للزوال مع ادخال الاشتراكية".(V) (V) ولما كان لينين يدرك القوة
 النمسا قبيل نشوب الحرب العالمية الاولى. وكان ذلك الحل هو "حق تقرير المير الممير السياسي، الاني يعني ان لكل اقلية قومية الحق في الانفصال وتشكيل دولة مستقلة؛ واذاذ لم ترغ الاقلية في انتهاز هذا الحق فان عليها ان تذعن للذوبان".(Vr)
 الشيوعي، وعلى الرغم من مركزيته، يعترف الحزب دستوريا بـريا بجمهوريات الاتحاد التي
 السوفياتي في الواقع وحدوي، لكنه اتحادي شكلا.(V ) (V) كان لينين وغيره من قادة الثورة البلشيفية عام IG1V اوئمنون بان القومية جزء من "بنية عليا اجتماعية في المرحلة الرأسمالية من التطور التاريخي"، وانها ستستبدل "بوعيا بروليتاري دولي" جديد خال من العنامر القومية عندما يتم تطبيق الاشتراكية. وبناء على
 حجر الزاوية في السياسة القومية السوفياتية. والواقع ان الصيغة الآنفة الذكر كانت تعني ان لكل "مجهوعة تومية الحق في "شكلها القومي" الخاص بها (وحدات ذات هكر هكم ذاتي دستوريا، والتعبير اللغوي والاعلامي ثقافيا)، لكن شريطة ان تملأكّ "بمضمون اشتراكي" Vo)."موحد يحدده الحزب الشيوعي السوفياتيا اما من حيث الشكل، فقد صممت السياسة القومية بحيث تسمح للقوميات السوفياتية بالتعبير غير الضار عن امانيها القومية، لكن من حيث الجوهر فانها تحتفظ بمركز السلطة في الاجهزة المركزية للحزب والحكومة.(V7) ان الاتحاد السوفياتي مجتمع متعدد العرقيات، يشكل فيه الروس اغلبية حاكمة فالعرقية، وهي القوة المحركة الرئيسية التغير، مندمجة تماما في بنية الدولة الفيدراليدالية،الى جانب هسلمات "الاحميه" التي تتخذ من الطبقة قاعدة لها. (VV) ليست الخصومات والصراع العرقي ظاهرة جديدة في الثقافة السوفياتية، فهي قائمة منذ الماضه الاستعـاري لروسيا؛ غير ان تأكيد الذات العرقية المتزايد من قبل اقليات غير روسية امبح اكثر بروزا وعنفوانا في ظل "وقع التحديث وتطور الثقافات العرقية"."(VA) كانت "بيريسترويكا" و "جلاسنوست"، وهما تصوران رئيسيان، كانتا فعالتين في احداث تغيرات اجتماعية واقتصادية في البنية الاساسية والبنية القومية للمجتمع السوفياتي. وقد كانت هذه التصورات موجودة دائما في قاموس التحديث والتطوير الروسي، غير انه تم

1970، ضل ما اعتبروه اغتصابا لحقوقهم الاقليمية من قبل تركيا (خاصة الولايات الستر اخمد الاتحاد السوفياتي الاضطرابات التي نجهت وهضى اللى عزل يـ، زاروبيان، سكرتير عام الحزب الشيوعي الارمني، واستبدلوه بكوشنيان. عمت النقيمة الارمنية حتي غير السياسية في المجتمع الارمني، خمثلا طلب موتتمر الكتاب الخامسس المنعقد في شهر

$$
\text { نوفمبر -تشرين ثاني- } 7 \text { 197، من الحكومة: }
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { اعادة المبنى الثقاني الارمني في موسكو والذي مالياره بيريان، والسماع باعادة }
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{align*}
& \text { الار مني ني اوائل تاريخ الشعب الار مني.. } 19 \text { (19) } \tag{r}
\end{align*}
$$

على الرغم من هذه الشكاوى التي كانتت تظهر بين الحينـ والآخز، يدرك الإي من انهم يعتمدون
 الشك، غير ان القلاقل الأخيرة في اقليم "ناجورنو كارابابخ" اثارت مشكنلة القومية في الاتحاد السوفياتي ووهع لعت سياسة غورباتشوف "ببر سترويكا" و "جلاسنوست" (اي اعادة البناء والانفتاح) فيه مقدمة السياسات السوفياتية. ان هحاولة فهم الصراع الحالي على اقليـم "كاراباخ"، يحتم اقتفٔاء أثر الجذور التاريخية لذلك
 تزال تزيد من تفاقم العلاقات الارمئيية النسوفياتية، والسوفياتية الاذربيجانية وتطرِ مشكلة الاندعاءات القومية حول المناطق المتذازع عليها السام الحكومة السوغياتية. وعلى الرغم من القرار السلبي الذي اتخذه المكتب السياسي للحزبه الشيوعي (البوليتبرو) واقره السكرتير العام للحزب الشيوعيه السيد ميخائيل غورباتشوف، بالنسبة لابقاء اقليم كاراباخ تحت السيطرة الانربيجانية، فان الارمن في الاتحاد السوفياتي وفي ارض الشتات ما زالوا يكافنحون لنقض ذلل القرار.

## المشكلة القومية في الاتحاد السوفياتيي <br> ومسألة "نارجورنو كاراباخ"

يجري طمأنة المئة وواحدة وثلاثين أمة وقومية في الاتحاد السوفياتي بشكل رسهي بأن "مشكلة القومية"، اي مشكلة عدم المساواة في المجالات الاجتماعية والاقتصطادية والسياسية الته ورثها الاتحاد السوفياتي من الامبراطورية القيصرية، قد تم حلها بتطبيق "سياسة

حقيقة ان اللغة الارمنية ظلت اللغة الرسمية الاولى للجمهورية، اللى جانب اللغة الروسية. والمنطقة الوحيدة في الععالم التي تدار فيها الاعمال الرسمية باللغة الارمنية الارية هي الارمية الارينية السو فياتية؛ وفضلا عن ذلك، يوجد فيها نظام عام من اللدرجة الاولى. في العام تأسيس غُرع ارمني لاكاديمية العلوم السوفياتية، وارتقى الفرع الى مرتبة اكاديمية مستقلة عام اثارت اعادة البعث الثقافي والاقتصادي لارمينية اللسوفياتية انشقاقات حادة بين الارمن في ارض الشتات، خاصة في الفترة الواقعة بين الحر بين العالمتين الارين الاولى والثانية؛ واعتبر قدامي
 ورأى البعض الآخر هنهم ان ارمينية السوفياتية هي العنصر الوحيد المتيبي هـي هن القومية
 ارض الشتات عرضة لمؤثرات غريبة ولذا لا يمكنها في نهاية الامر حفظ الجوهر الصافي للقومية والهوية والثقافة الارسنية. كانت السياسة في ارمينية السوفياتية، في بعض نواريا الاتحاد السوفياتي؛ اذ يدعي الارمن السوفيات، الساسا، بحق تاريخي في منطقتيين تشكانلان

 هجموع سكانها، وبناكيشفان، الى صيغ قانونية تشمل سلسلة من الوعود والاعلانانات التي

 تنازل رسميا، نيابة عن جمهورية اذربيجان السوفياتية الاتية، عن هذه الاراضمي الى "الجمهورية الارمنية السوفياتية الشقيقة".(7^) لكن بعد اقل من ثلاثة اشهر ابرم الاتحاد السوفياتي

 في جمهورية ارمينية السوفياتيه، يطعنون في ذلك القرار، ويسبب اصرار الارمن الارين الاريانا على اعادة المنطقة الى سيطرتهم اهتزاز العلاقات السوفياتية الارمنية والعلاقات الاذربيجانية الارمنية.
وعلى اية حال فان السياسة السوفياتية ظلت تعارض دائـما الانشقاق السياسي والتعبير عن اولويات قومية، وتميزت الاجراءات التي كانت تتحن ضد اند ميول كهذه بالقسوة والانرانراط، ولم يسمح حتى لكراهية الارمن للاترال بتعكير صفو العلاقات السوفياتية - التركية، خاصة عندما تكون تلك العلاقات ودية وحميمة. وهكذا فانه عندما تظاهر الارمن حديثا اي في عام

## (^) جمهوريـة ارمينيا السوفياتيـة

 مما كان سابقا ارمينية الروسية الواقعة في القوقاز الجنوبي الغربي. حكم هـه الار الجمهورية اينتلاف من الاحزاب القومية الارهنيـة بـزعامة الطشناق (الاتحاد الثوري الارمني)؛ وكان الوضع الداخلي في الجمهوريـة الجديـدة غير هستقر في افضل الحالات، فـالمنطقة التي كانت تستورد ثـلث احتيـاجاتها الغذائية قبل الحرب وجدت نفسها الآن تعيل سكانا ازداد عددهم بـنسبة م الانـي بالمئة، معظههم من اللاجئين الارمن الذين قدموا هن تركيا. وكان لبعثـة الاغاثة الامريـيـية
 تـمت صبغة اجزاء من ارمينية بالصبغة السوفياتيـة نتيجة لظروف وقوى خارجيه؛ غير ان هن الخطاء الذي لا يـجوز التغاضي عن الدور الذي لعبه الشيوعيون الارمن المحليون مع ان عددهم كان محدودا. بـدأت الاحداث التي ادت الى تيام ارهينية السوفياتيـة في صيف عام ع 919 الصحافة وعن طريق توزيع منشورات تحث الناس على هؤازرة الشيو عية ومحاربـة الطشناق.وكانت المساعدة السوفيـاتية للشيوعيـن المحليـين ذات الهمية لأنه لو تور الشيوعيون الارمن الاعتماد على مواردهم الخاصة، لما استطاعوا الاطاحة بـحكومة الجمهوريـة. وعندما رسخ الشيو عيون الارهن اقدامهم في "اريفان" زجوا بـالسجن وقتلوا عددا من قادة
 بالاطاحة بالنظام السوفياتي في اريفان، غير ان الجيش الاحمر اخمدها بقسوة. ورمنذ ذلك
 الشتات.
كانت الاراضي التي خفعتت للسيطرة الشيوعية السوفياتيـة اصغر من دويلة الجمهوريـة

 وتعت في قبضة الاتراك.
قام ستالين، بـادىء الاهر، بـدمج الاراضي الارمينية الواقعة تحت السيطرة السوفـياتيـة، مع جورجيا واذربيجان لتشكل كلها اتحاد عبر القوقاز. وقد فـعـل ستا ستالين ذلك لمحو المعـارضة المحلية وظل هذا الترتيـب معـمولا بـه الى ان تـم تطهير الز عامة المحليـة تماما عن طريق فرض الاعدام والتر حيل الى سيبريـا. ان احد العناصر المههة في احيـياء الهويـة والثقانة الارمنية في ظل الحكم السوفياتي هو

المسألة الارمنية المى فئة المسائل التي لم تحل. وقد مصدرت تعليقات كبرى على معاهورة لوزان من ديفيد لويد جورج فيه خطاب القاه في لندن يوم طباعته في كتاب له بعـنوان "هل هي سلام؟" فيما يلي مو جز من الخطاب:
"ما من احد يدعي ان هذه المعاهدة سلام بشرف، وهي ليست حتى سلاما، ولو كان
 عشرات الأكف من اليونان الشباب بدم بارد في الداخل، يثبت ان التركي لم يتغير".

وكتب جيمسل و. جيرارد، السفير الامريكي السابق الى المانيا، مقالة بعنوان "مجلس الشيوخ ومعاهدة لوزان" واقتبست اجزاء كنها مجلة "ارمينية الجديدة" الصادرة في سبتمبر/اكتوبر :I9ry

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { "بالتوقيع على معاهدة لوزان، تخلينا عن المركز الاخلاتي الرفيع الذي كنا نتبوأه. }
\end{aligned}
$$

اركان الدنيا الاربعة كدعاة للانكار والمثل الآمريكية؛ لتد كذبنا ما نجاهـاهر به من ايمان
بالنزاهة والايثار في تعاملنا مع الامم التي تركن الينا".

ثم ان البرنامس القومي الديمقر اطلي، بتاريخ ع ع يونيو -حزيران-
"انـنا نشُجب معاهدة لوزان، فهي تقايض الحقوق الامريكية المشروعة وتخون ارمينية
عز اجل امتياز تشستر للنظط. اننا نوئيد حماية الحقوق الامريكية في تركيا، والوفاء
بـلـّحكم التحكيمي للر يُيس ولسن بخصوص ارمينية".
 وقيل بان انجلترا باعت ارهينية هرة اخرى هـ هن اجل الموصل "فقد كان النفط اثقل وزنا من دم الارمن"،(7 7 ) كها قال اللورد كرزون.
 محاولات التدخل الايجابي في عصبة الامم هن جانب دول دلا صديقة مثل اليونان ورومانيانيا ذهبت هباء (؟ آ) فان الحقيقة التي لا سبيل الم دحضها هي ان المسألة الارمنية لا تزال قائمة، وقد ثلاءت بدون حل حتى الآن، ولذا فانها تنتظر الحل.

بين الدول الكبرى، وبدعم فعال من اللسوفيات، قامت ليس فقط بالقضاء عليها، بل انها احبطت كذلك خطط الحلفاء بشأن الشرق الادنى.
 ارمينية من الجنوب والجنوب الغربي، في حين هددها الروس البلاشفة من الشمال الشرقي.





 طردت الجيش الاحهر من ارمينية. غير انه بحلول يوليو الاريو -تموز- كان الجيش السوفاتهو

 -شباط- الارمنية هي آخر عمل عسكري في الور المر حلة الثانية من عمر الثوري الثارة الارمنية. تنكرت الدول الاوروبية والولايات المتحدة الامريكية للارهن المنكوبين وللمسالوألة الارمنية؛ نسيت تلك الدول با اسماه الميجور جنرال الالا الامريكي جيمس جي. هاربورد بعد عور عودته من المناطق الارمنية عام 1919 19 "اضخم جريمة عرفتها جميع العصور"، وانحنت للنفعية
 ذكر ارمينية او الشعب الارهيني.( 7 (7) ومما يجدر ذكره ان وفود الجمهورية الارمينية التي استبعدت من مؤتمر لوزان سجلت بهذه المناسبة الاحتجاج التالي:

> "ان الوفد الذي وتع معاهدة سيفر نيابة عن ارمينية يحتظظ بـ ويصر على جميع الحقوق التي اعترنت بها الدول الكبرى، إبان الحرب ومنذ نشوبها، وهي حقوت تجسدت في حينه في هباهدة سيغر، ثم اعيد تجسيدها وتأكيدها بترارات ات مؤتمرات لاحتة. ومهما كانت الطريقة التي سيلقاها هذا الاحتجاج "لجدي الآن، فان الوندا الستنادا الم التفويض اللذي وكله اليه الشعب الارمني، يجد نفسه مضطرا، بدافع الاحساس الجلي بالئواجب، اللى التنديد باحترام بمعاهدة لوزان. ويترك الوفد للتاريخ امصار حكمه".)

كانت معاهدة لوزان في نظر العديد من الدبلوماسيين والموظفين الاوروبيين من ذوي المناصب الرفيعة خيانة صارخة للقضية الارمنية؛ ورأى كثيرون هنهم ان المعاهدة الحالت

ومعا يجلر ذكره ان الارمن لم يرثوا شيئا من الامبراطورية الروسية، فلم يكن لديهم جهاز

 البرلمان، وصف الوضع كها يلي:-

> "لم تكن لدى الحكومة اية صلة تربطها بالعاضي، نهي لم تخلف حكومة سابقة لتكمل ما بدأته تلل الحكومة، ولم ترث جهازا الداريا. ولذا فان عليها ان تبدأ من المعر،

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { (ov).البلاد في وضع يمكن وصنه بكلمة واحدة - ناجع }
\end{aligned}
$$

لما وضعت الحرب اوزارها بدأت الرمينية اعادة بعثها السريع، واخلت القوات التركية مواقعها
 انتخابات في ارمينية، اشتركت فيها ستة احزاب وتم انتخاب ثمانين الوانين عضوا للبرلمان بينهم اثنان وسبعون عضوا من مرشحي الاتحاد الثوري الارمني (المطناق) ورية) شكلت الجمهورية الارمينية حكوهة مركزية لها جيش وقوة شرطة ونظام قضا وانشات هيئة صليب احصر ار منية كما اقامت علاقات دبلوماسية مع الدول الاول الأخرى. يوم 19 يناير -كانون اول- - الاو العترن مجلس الحلفاء الاعلى باستقلال ارمينية



 الرمينية وانه مهها كان قرار الولايات المتحدة فان الرئيس الامريكي ويلسن هو الاني


 الكهاليون اكثر من • r الف ارمني عزل من السلام
 بعد مداطلا3 دأمت ستة عشر شهرال اصبحت خلام
 ارمينية هيمنالal في هؤتمر سيفر ووقعت على المعاهدة عن طريق وفد برئاسة افيديس اهرونيان. ‘عطلت هذه المعاهدة اعترافا دوليا بالاستقلال الارمني، وان كان ذللك الاعتراف الـ خلوا هن اي اهمية بملية. اذ قامت الحركة الكمالية، مستمدة حيويتها من التنافس المتبادل
 المذابع وعمليات الترحيل كانت جزءا من خطة كبرى كان شدئها لا يتل عن ابادة الارمن في الرمينية التي تتحتله تركيا وفي كل مكان آلخر يتع فمن حدود الامبراطورية العثمانية ومن ثم التخلص نهائيا من المشكلة الإرمنية"..

وكانت النتيجة لن اكثر هن هليون وتصن الهليون اربني ماتوا، ميتة عنيغة، بلغت ذروتها بالمذابح والتر هيل والتعذيب والتجويع، وطبقا لما يرويه هوارد م. ساخارغان:
"هذا، وبكل المقاييس، كان بالتأكيد اكبر عملية ابادة عنصرية لم يسبق لها مثيل، والواتع لا يمكن تصورها، حتمذلل الحين، في التاريخ المعامر. وعلى الرغم من من ذلل
 اللحضارة، ظلوا ينظرون الى التر حيل على انه ليس اكثر من دبلوماسية ناجعة، وانه تحتيت لنميحة عبد الحميد بأن انضل سيليل لانهاء المسألة الارمنية هو القفاء على (or):"الارمن"

وعلاوة على ذلك فان الملاك الارهن، المنقولة وغير المنقولة، الخاصة والعامـة، تعرضت للاستيلاء غير المشروع عليها.

## (V) قيام وسقوط جمهورية ارمينية

كانت أعهال الترحيل والمذابح سببا في تحصول الارصن بسرعة ضد الدولة التركية التي كانوا اوفياء لها هنذ بداية الحرب. حارب الارهن الى جانب الحلفاء على امل ان يفي هؤلاء بوعودهم الذي قطععوه على انغسهم بـخلق ارهينية المستقلة الموحدة بعـل الا هزيـة
تركيا".( \&

يوم 10 نوفمبر -تشرين ثاني- 191 اعلن الاتحال السوفيـاتي، في مرسو تقرير المصير كـحق لجميع الشعوب، وني الثلاثين هن الشهر ذاته، اعلن لينين وستالين الاعتراف بـرستقلال ارمينية الغربية هن النير التركي واقترحا تشكيل حكوهة ديـو قراطية الرصنية. وغي الثامن هن يناير -كانون ثاني- 19 | 1 الصدر الرئيس الامريكي ويدرو ويلسن

 الارمنية الاتراك فـه ثلاث هواجهات كبرى في سردارابات، بـاش الباران وكر اكيلسه، فـاضطرت
 ارهينية هستقاة فمى القوقاز اي في ارمينية الروسية سابقا.

الحميد بانتصار الثورة؛ واحتل المسؤولون الاتراك الشباب قمر السلطان".(ז \&) بهذه الطريقة تحولت الامبراطورية العثمانية اللى دستورية فيها حقوق الانسان والغرد معترف بها

ومضمونة.
قام الارمن بزعامة الاتحاد الثوري الارمنيّ بدور فعال فيه ثورة تركيا الفتاة، يحدوهم الأمل في ان يمنحهم الاتحاديون حقوقا متساوية مع بقية الاترالاك...وكبادرة حسن نية الاورية الاريز حزب الاتحاد الثوري الارمني بوقف جميع النشاطات الثورية الارمنية في الولايات الشرقية وهي
 تبددت لان التعاون ظل الى حد كبير كلاما اجوف، واخفقت الاحتجاجات الثورية ضد انعدام المساواة في ايجاد تجاوب بين العثمانيين الاتراك، في حين اخفقت الاهملاحات

الثورية في نظام الحكم في الحصول على تأييد السلطان عبد الحميد نغسه".( 1 ع في ابريل -نيسان- عام 19 19 حاول عبد الحميد بمساعدة القوات الرجعية القيام بانقلاب
 المناسبة، كان الارمن من اقوى المؤيدين اللنظام الجديد..وعلى الرغم حتى من من مذابع اضنـ التي قتل فيها اكثر من ثلاثين الف ارمني، وامل الاتحاد الثوري الارمني التعاون بولاء مع سلطات تركيا الفتاة.(؟ ع ) ومسا يبهث على الأسف ان العناصر ذات الثقافة الغربية في لجنة الاتحاد والترقه فقدت نفوذها لمبالح المتعصبيـن امثال الور وطلعت اللنان قدر لهما ان يمبـا عنصري. وقد عملت القومية التركية والعنصرية الى جانب العداء التدريجي نحو العناصر غير "التركية في الامبراطورية، على تحييد او حتى محو الاحساس بالانتماء العثماني، وانجب مذه الاتجاه سياسة التتريك بالقوة وهذه بدور العا وها ولدت عدة ثورات قام بها الدروز
 وقد وجهت سياسة التتريك مذه ضد العرب كها وجهت ضد الارمن بطريقة اشد لأن ولاياتهم كانت تحوال من ناحية جغرافية ضد تحقيق الحلم الطوراني.(0 ع ع) اضرت الغلسغة الطورانية هذه بالارمن النين راودهم الأمل وكافيورا من اجل تحقيق الحكم


 لجنة الاتحاد والترقي قد وضعت خططا في اجتماع سري عقدته في سالونيك، لابادة الشعب الارهني
ازداد وفيٍ الازمز خطورة عام 191 عندما تولى الثلاثي انور وطلعت وجمال زعامة جمعية

في املاح النظام، اسهم في ظهور هذه التنظيمات السرية.
 بالنظم والآراء والعادات الغربية ويدعو الى فكرة حب الوطن والحرية والحكومة الدستورية،
 امبراطوري يضم سكانا متعددي الديانات والاجناس. وفي الوقت ذاته كانـا الناجمة عن الخلافات العرقية والقومية تعصف بالامبراطورية العثمانية، وكانت الفكرة حركة عثمانية، تنبأ نامق كمال بأنها ستخلف هوية وطنية جدية الا به عن نظام "الملة" القديم. وكان الهأ الهدف الاساسي هو حشد جميع سكان الامبراطورية الصتعددي الاجناس حول الدولة في ولاء مشترك يقوم على هوية غير عرقية وغير عنير عنصرية

 الذين يقطنون خارج اراضي الامبراطورية. كانت احدى مجموعات الاحرار التي يتزعمها الامير صباح الدين تحبذ قدرا هن اللامركزية
 بزعامة احمد رضا، وكانت تحبذ اقامة نظام مركزي تحت السيطرة التركية. وكانت الانت هذه المجموعة تعرف باسم لجنة الاتحاد والترقي.(FA) تعاطف الامير صباح الدين مع قضية



 الالنظام الغدرالي للوطنيين الارمن اللذين آمنوا بان الحكم الذاتي حل يمكن بلوغه للمشكلة الارمنية.
ولسوء الحظ، كانت الفئة الوطنية في حركة تركيا الفتاة هي ذات اليد العليا. تشكلت تنظيمات سرية بين صفوف القوات المسلحة، خاصة بين الضباط الشباب في مقر قيادة الجيش في سالونيك واصبع هؤلاء الضباط جزءءا من لجنة الاتحاد والترقي، ومعننى ذلك ان

 ضباط الجيش من نظام عبد الحميد قويا ومتزايدا. يوم
 بيترز، كان من المسلم به ان تمنح الحريات لمواطنهِ الدولة: "بعد ان تلاشت اشباع عهد عبد

عيد الميلاد، المى الكنيسة فتم احراقهم احياء. وهكذا تم تدمير • Y Y مدينة وقرية كـا تم تخريب مئات الكنائس والاديرة وهلك اكثر هن • 10 الف ارمني. (ro) وعندما بانت فظاعة الحدث، قدمت السلطات العثمانية تفسيرا لذلك؛ بالقول بأنها كانت تخمد انتظاضـة واسعة.

الدول الاوروبية، وفي الوقت ذاته تشجيع التحول الديموغرافي لصالح السكان الاتراكي. (r7) كانت اسباب المذابح الجديدة التي وقعتت بين عامي ظلت قائمة طوال سنوات. فقد كان هنأك الولا احساس تقليدي بالعداء باء بين العثمانيين الاتران الهجاورين للارممز بان لهم الحق في نهب بيان بيوت المسيحيين؛ ثانيا، كانت مهارة الارمن في التجارة، وتدرتهم على الاتتصصاد والابداع سببا في عدم المساواة الاقتصادية التيا







الاغاثة.)
وهع انقضاء الشتاء ففي جميع الولابات إلازهنية كاء؛ الناجز
 يضمحل ولم تكن منا.يـ عا:

## 


 شارك الارمن في كـراهيتهم؛ لعبد الحهيد قوميات اخرى عديدة رأت في السلطان الحاكم مصدرا كبيرا اللبلاء.
تم في الستينات والسبعينارت من القرذ التـاسِع عشر تشكيل، عدد هن التنظليمات السريـة، كان






 واغتصاب جوليزار وهي فتاة ارمنية من هوش. وفي ذات الوي الوقت تقريبا، ادت مظاهرات

 روسيا وجورجيا) الذين كانوا يطنمحون الى الى الاطلاحة بالنظام القيصري....واعتبر الطلاب


 اللاحقة التي قدر لها ان تقوم بدور الاحزاب السياسية، وفي السنوات الار الاولم من المن نموها كان واضيا ان اهل الفكر من القوقاز والارمن قد لعبوا دور الار الار بارزا في تكوين الحركة الثورية الارهنية في كل من روسيا وتركيا؛ فقد كان المثقفون الروس هم الارين النين كونوا حزبي الهنشاق والطشناق، كما ان الطبقية الايديولوجية لهذين الحزبين الارين الارمنيين وغيرهما قد تأثرت بالتيارات الايديولوحية التي قسمت الحركة الثورية الثورية الروسية. وقد أثر عاملان رئيسيان في الحركة الثورية الارمنية، وهما علاقية الاقتها مع الشعوب الأخرى في الامبراطورية الروسية وخاصة الحركة الثورية الثورية الروسية؛ ثم هسألة ملاءمة الارشتراكية كبرنامج وهدف للاحزاب السياسية الارهنية. وكان ورية مذان العادلان مصدرا دائما للتوتر داخل الحركة الثورية الارمنية، وحالا دون قيام وحدة فعالة بين فصائلها ونا المختلفـلفة.



 الولايات الارمنية، ولما كان يخشى من الجرأة المتزايدة للقوميات المكبوتة في الامبراطيراطورية،

 حوالي مئة الف ارمني في القسطنطينية، وطرابيزون وارزروم ومرش وسا وسباستيا وفان ودياربكر وغيرها من المدن.(r (r) وفي اورغا (اديسا قديما) لجأ ثلاثة الآف ارمني، عشية

تلبية المطالب الارهنية في الحكم الذاتي، وطبقا لما يقوله ريتشارد جي هوفانسيان، فان الولايات الشرقية لم تعد تعرف بـاسم "ارهينية" بعد موْتمر برلين، كما الصبحت الاصلاحات
 أن اوروبا "الهسيحية" و "الهتحضرة" قد تخلت عن الارمن وتركتهم لمواردهم الخالصة التي كانت شحيحة ولا تذكر، وحولت المادة 7 هـن معاهدة برلين المسألة الارهنية الى قضية دولية، غير ان الارهن لم يـجنوا ايـة فائدة من ذلك الو الو فنع. ان الخفاق اللول الاروبية في اهلاع الاخطاء العنيمانية وكذلك عجز الارهن البين، اضطرهم اللى
 عشر، بوادر مقاوهة وتمرد صريع بين صفون الارهن، وهكذا فانه بـهلول العقد الاُخير بن
 هـجموعات الدفاع المحلية الاولى، ولم يـضع زعماء هذه التنظيـمات الاستقلال الوطني هدفا لهمه بل كانت الحرية الثقافية والحكم الذاتي الاقليمي هي الاهـداف المع المعلنة لهؤلاء الثوريين الارهن؛ وتأثرت التنظيـمات الجديدة بافغكار اليقظة الارمنية التي وعلت آثذاك الى هر شلة النضنع وكانـت عاملا حيويا غي صيـاغة عقول الو
 الثاثي (السلطان الاحمر) الاكراد بالاسلحة وشجعهم على مهاجمة الارهن وبـث الدمار في الو لايات الشرقية، وخامة تلل المقاطعات التي انسحب شنها الجيش الروسي مؤخرا. وفي عام 1A91 الزدادت حدة العمال الارهاب بتشكيل "الفرسان الحصيدية". فبدأ عندئذ ان زمام الامر قـد اخذ يفلت واصبحت الثورة الارمنية في العقد الأخير من القرن التاسع في او جها.و قوبل الاضمهاد العثـهاني بمقاومة ارمنية مسلحة مـاثلة.

## (ع) الحركة الثوريـة الارمنيـة

كعا اسلفناء كان الارمن يأسلون في تتدخل الدول الاوروبية لدى السلطان لادخال الصلاحات

 قاسيا وعنيفا، وبالتالي اتخذ القمع الاجتماعيه والقوهي للارمن ابشع الاشكال واكثرها خزيا، ولم تعرف اعتداءات السلطان الجامحة حدا لها، فعاش الارمن بـاستمرار تحت خطر المذابع (rv).والقتل
جاءت اولى الدعوات اللى المقاورة من العتاب والمثقفين الارمن الذين عنو| بـهـنة الفلاحين

اثناء الحرب لعقوبات شديدة على ايدي جنود اكراد غير نظاميين يتلقون رواتبهم من الحكومة التركية، ولحقت بالارمن خسائر فادحة في الاروراع والمر المستلكات، ونتيجة لذلك،




 والتي لا يمكن تحقيقها دون حكم ذاتي.( لكن لم يبد الروس، للأسف، اهتماها بهذه المطالب الارمنية المتطرفة، ولذا فشلت مهـهة البطريرك. وكان من احد اسباب مذا الموقف الروسي هو بريطانيا التي لم تكن لتسمع لروسيا ببسط نفوذها وراء حدود معينة، وهكذا نجد ان معاهدة سان ستيفان الونو، التي وقعت في شهر مارس -آذار- عام IAVA قد تـد تجاملت مطالب الارمن هن الحكم الذاتي، حيث نصت المادة السادسة عشرة من تلك المعاهدة على با يلي:

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { "يتعهد الباب العالي بان يجري بدون تأخير اكهر من نلك، ني الولايات التي يقطنها }
\end{aligned}
$$

(r)..بتأينهم من اعتداءات الاكراد والشراكسبا

وهكذا اخرج الارمن من معامدة سان ستيفانو وقد تبددت آمالهم، لكن، ولاسباب مختلفة
 لمعاهدة سان ستيفانو، ولما لم تكن روسيا راغبة في مجابهة عسكرية الما برية مع بريطانيا فانها

 (IAVA قبرص.(Tr) وقد توصلوا الى اتفاق مع الاترال لتحقيق كلا الهدفين، أي ان معاهدة برلين


 الاراضي التركية ضد التوسع الروسي. وفي مقابل ذلل وعدت تركيا بادخال اصلا اصلاحات "تتفّق
 السيادة التركية. وهكذا نجد انه لا معاهدة سان ستيفانو ولا معاهدة برلين قد اقتربت من

سيزيل الجور ويدر عائدات اكبر على الحكومة.(1 (1) وفي المجال الثاني من "تجاوزات الحكومة"، او تجاوزاتي المات الموظفين المحلينين، اوصى التقرير



 الصادرة عن الباب العالي على الملأ حتى يتسنى للناس معرفة حقوقه والانتهاكات التي يرتكبها الموظفون المحليون. واخيرال، اوصى التقرير باتخان اجراءاءات
 ولما استمرت الاتجاهات السابقة من التجاوزات وممارسة الضغط من اجل الاصلاع، اتخذت






 لتقويض هركزهم في المؤتمر.(1A) وكان السبب الذي دعاهم الى الاجتماع هو القيام

 لمالع المسيحيين غي البلقان، وفضلوا ان تتم اصلاحات داخلية تطبق على جهيع انحاء الامبرامورية على السواء.
 الملقاة على عاتق المسيحيين بوجه عان عام والارمن بصفة خاصة، لكن استبدل ذللك الدستور، لسوء الحظ، بحكم مطلق من السلطان بعد ثلاثة اشهر غقط من نفاذه. ولم الاري يلمرأ تحسن على نصيب الارمن الاتراك، وفي اوائل عام IAVV عندها نشبت الاعمال العدائية بين روسيا وتركيا، اصبح الوضع يبعتث على اليأس. غزت روسيا، ني هذه الحرب، اجزاء كبيره من شرق تركيا حيث يتركز قسم كبير من الارين الارمن وشمل هذا الغزو بايزيد، وادي الاشيكرت، كارين كارص، سريكاميش، اولتي، ارتفين وباطوم.(19) كان الارمن في اوائل الحرب موالين للباب العالي التركي، غير انهـم تعرضوا

عدد كبير من الارمن الدين الاسلامي، تجنبا لدفع تللك الضريبة عن موتاهم واتاربهم الغائبين. وثانيا، ان ضريبتي الاملالاك والدخل كانتا مالانـا مبالغا فيهها لدرجة تفوق كثيرا
 الضرائب التي كانتت تجبى من المزارعين المستأجرين كانت باهـا التقديرات المبالغ فيها لقيمة المحاصيل. وعلاوة على ذلك، كان على المستألجرين الارين الارمن ان الم
 مستحقات اخرى، لم يستطيعوا تسديد تلك الضرائب. واخيرا، كان على الارمن ان يسهونوا في صندوق احتياط اقيم لمساعدة الفلاحين الفقراء الذين يجدون صعوبة في شراء الاء البذور او ابتياع حاجياتهم الاساسية؛ ومع ان فكرة صندوق الاحتياط كانت فكرة جيدة، الا ان الارمن وجدوا انفسهم يسههون فيه هون ان يستفيدوا هنه شيئا. وفي مجال التجاوزات الحكومية، اورد تقرير الجمعية، بعض الشكاوى الأخطر من غيرها.(T) فاشار الم حالات كان فيها الموظفون الاتراك المحليون يفرضون صنون صعوبات

 وهنها الاحتفالات بالاعياد وطقوس الجنائز، وعلاوة على ذلك، كانت هنا

 لاملاكهم من اجل بناء القصور ونقل القوات التركية العـرا او لاسباب اخرى لا يقرها القا القانون. هذال وعرض تقرير الجمعية توصيات محددة لحل شكاوي معينة، ففي مجال فـر فـر فـ الضرائب، اوصى التقرير بتجنيد الارمن في القوات المسلحة على قدم المساواة مع غيرهم مـ من العثمانيين فجاء في التقرير: "فليعلم الباب العالي، اننا نحن الارين الارمن، مستعدون للخدمة العسكرية وبدل دمائنا في سبيل وطنـنا اللى جانب زملائنا المسلمين".
 الخدمة العسكرية. واوصى التقرير لمعالجة مشكلة التضخم الضريبي "اعلان قوانم تقدير عامة" تشهل تقديرات المالك المسلمين وغير المسلمين؛ اعتقادأ بان هذا الاجراء العلني سيساعد على ازالة الممارسة غير العادلة، وهي المبالغة في تقدير قيمة الاملانلاك الارمنية، وذلك بادراجها الى جانب تقديرات املاك العثمانيين. واخيرا، اوصى التقرير باستبدال نظام الضرائب التائم، الذي كان يشغل جباة يعرفون باسم "مزارعو الضرائب"، بنظام جباية مباشر. وكان يسمح "لمزارعي الضرائب" هؤلاء بفرض الون اية مبالغ ضريبية يشاونون طالما كانوا يدفعون للحكومة المبالغ المطلوبة منهم. وآمن التقرير بان النظام الجديد

## () جذور المسألة الارمينية:

لكي نتمكن من فهم وضع الارمن غي تركيا، علينا ان نتتبع التطور التاريخي لكفاحهم من
 تعريغ السلمات التركية بمحنته، ومن خلال هال هذه الجمعية، اوضع الارمن في الولايات
 وخاصة سوء المعاملة التي يلقونها على ايدي الاتراك والاككراد والشركس.(1) واري وامبحت الجمعية هي الناطق بلسانهم، وما ان حل عام للشعب الارمني، تعرض مطر مطالبهم باستمرار على الحكومة التركية لتحسين ظروف الارهن.
 اقتراح حل واقعي ثانيا. وبعد أشهر، دار نقاش طويل عام •IAV •، وعلى الثره تم انتخاب لجنة منتقاة تتألف من عشرة اشخاص، تقوم بالتحقيق ودراسة المشاكل الاقل الاقليمية، ثم تقديم

 باعتبار انهم مواطنون في الامبراطورية العثمانية.(9) ولم يغب هذا التعليق بشأن الجمعية عن انتباه الاترال المتحررين، الذين نقل ا. اربياريان في صحيفة "نور جيانك" (الحياة الجديدة) عن احدهم قوله:
> "لو ان التوصيات التي تقدم بهالارمن ني العترة بين عامي . موضع التنفيذ، لا في الاناضول فحسب بل وفي الروملي ايضا، لما مررنا با بوتي رهي كهذا. اذ لم يكن في التوصيات ما يضر المصالح التركية الذاتية، ولم تتضمن التوصيات شيئا ينتقص من سلطات السلطان، ولم تكن فيها دعوة اللتدخل

> الاوروبي."(i•)

وتتضع هذه النقطة اكثر فأكثر اذا نظرنا الى تقرير الجمعية، ودرسنا بعض، لا جميع، امهم
 الارهن في تركيا ويعطينا كذلك وجهة النظر الارمنية بالنسبة للمسألة الارمنية التى قدر لها ان تصبح بعد وقت قصير ذات الهتمام دوليه.
 من الضرائب.(1) هي اولا، ان ضريبة الاعفاء من الخدمة العسكرية، وهي ضريبة يدفعبا غيير المسلمين بدل الخدمة العسكرية، كانت تفرض مفروضة على اناس متوفين واناس هاجروا من البلاد، رنتيجه لذلك، كـا قال التقرير، اعتنق
"بالمسألة الارمنية".(0)
 بدوره، الطريق امام روسيا والدول الغربية للاعتداء على سيادة الامبراطورية الاطرية العثهانية، باتامة مناطق نفوذ لهم في المنطقة.(7) وهكذا فان المشكلة المركزية التي كانت توانياجه
 كالعرب والسلافيين والرمانيين والارمن واليونان والاكراد. فلجأ الاتراك العثمانيون الى
 نبذوا افكار المساواة بين العناصر، والحقوق السياسية الانسانية الكونية لشعوب الامبراطورية. حافظ الاترال العثمانيون، في الحقيقة، طوال ثلاثة قرون تقريبا، من القرن السادس عشر وخلال القرن التاسع عشر، حافظوا على البنيات الادارية والاجتماعية ذاتها، وهمي بنيات



 المجيد ميثاق اصلاحات باسم خط "شريغ كاخانة"، لكن لم يكن لهذه الاصلاحات اثر يذكر



 تلك التعهدات كانت دون جدوى؛ اذ تم مثلا تجاهل البند المتعلق بـرية الديانة المنصوص


 ترددوا في اجراء املاحات حقيقية تتبع المجازغة بفقدان سلطتهم؛ وهكنا فان الاصلا الاحات الات التي تشدقت بها الحكورة العثيانية خلال القرن التاسع عشر، لم تكن تهدف الا الى تجنب تدخل الدول الاوروبية وروسيا التي كانت تبرر تدخلها في السياسات الداخلية للامبراطورية بحجة حماية المصالح المسيحية في العالم الاسلامي، لكن جميع الجهود لتنفيذ الاصملاحات زادت فقط من عداء العثمانيين للاقليات بوجه عام والارمن بشكل خاص.

باتـامها باللجوء الىى الاضطهال ونزع الشرعية، والاجراءات الاداريـة الصارمة. وعلى ايـة حال، فـا زال الارهن اليوم يعانون هن انواع الظلم التي شاقـت بهم في اللـاضي، وسيكون صن الصعبـ عليهـ جدا الفصل بيين الحاضر والهاضسي في سبيل تحسينات مستقبلية.
 في تقديم العون لهم. فدامت الجمهوريـة الارمنية عامين، ثـم الختفت وسط المناورات التركية والروسية السياسية عندها كانت الدولتان تتسابقان لكسب النفوذ الاقليمي والسياسي في المنطقة.

لم تستطع الجمهورية الارمنية الصبود اهام اجهادات الحرب، علاوة على مجاعة مدمرة واقتصال فعينف. وبالتاله ثقد سهل على الشيوعيين الارهن ازالتها بـمساعدة رفاقهم الروس. وظلت ارمينية هنذئذ بـون استقلال وقسمت اراضيها مرة اخرى بين دوسيا وتركيا. في الصفحات التالية سأعرض هوضوع التاريخ الارصني، لاعطاء تفاصيل اكثر للنقاط التي

 انني ساُتناول بالبحث، نشأة صراع ناجورنو كاراباخ، وهي مسألة ظلت ساكنة منذ عالا |l 9 Y 7 المجاورة لارمينيـة السوفياتية. لكن التاريخ يـيمتل الى ما هو أبعـد هن ذلك.

## (r) التطور التاريخي للهسألة الارهنيـة

كانت ارهينية -وهي بلم يربط آسيا الوسطى بالاناضول التركية- هوضوع نزاع اقليمي عبر تاريـخها كله.(r) وقد حافـا الارمن، الذين جمعتهم ديانة ولغة هشتركة، على استقلالهم خلال تقلبات سياسية متعاقبة فهي المنطقة عن طريق الجـع بين القوة المسلحة والتحالفات
 ونتيجة للحروب التركية الفارسية، والروسية التركية التي وقعت في القرون التي اعقبت ذلك التاريتن، قسمت ارمينية الى ما اصبح يعرف بـارمينية التركية وارمينية الروسية، وكان الجزء الاكبر من نصيـب تركيا.
وفي حين كان الارهن يعيشون في ظل ظلروف هتسامهـة نسبيا في القطاع الروسي، الا انه لم يكن في وسعهم الاستهتاع بظروف حياتية ششابهة في القطاع العثماني شيث تعر فـر فـت ثقاغتهم للقمع وجرى الحد هن حريتهه باساليب متعـددة هن التعصب العثـهاني والاضطهاد المنظم.(ع) وكان وضعهم العـام في القطلع التركي هو جوهر ها اصبح يعر فـ في التاريخ

## مقدمة (1)

يشكل العام 19^^1 الذكرى الثالثة والسبعين لمذبحة الشعب الارمني التي لقي فيها اكثر هن مليون ونصف المليون ارمني حتفهم فيما وصف بأنه "اول مذبحة شعب في القرن العشرين." وغالبا ها كان الارمن، بوصفهم اقلية مسيحية في الامبراطورية العثمانية، يصبحون عبيدا اللسلطان الجائر وموظانفيه الغاسدين. فقد حرم الارهـ الارهن، وبشكل هنظم، من


 في سبيل الاحتفاظ بديانتهم ولغتهم وثقافتهم واحساسهم بالهوية؛ لكن لـا كان الارمن ضحية صدمة قومية، فانهم لن يكفوا عن تذكر ما حدث لهم حتى تأخذ العدالة مجراها.

ان الابادة الجماعية، مظهر مؤسغ من مظاهر التاريخ الحديث، وهي اكثر الجرائم الدولية بشاعه، وقد ظلت هذه الظاهرة ترتكب عبر العمور وتهز ضمير البرير البشرية. وتكفي نظرة عابرة عبر صفحات التاريخ لكي تكشف عن دليل كاف على ان الابادة الجهاعية

 قاله حيمس هــ طاشجيان، وهو هؤرخ ارمني بارز، فأن:
"الابادة الجماعية، وهي جريعة دولية، تعبير جديد تمت مياغته فم الآونة الاخيرة ثتط ليدل علم التدمير، الكلي او الجزئني، لطوائف قومية أو عرقية او الو عنصرية الو الوا دينية، وهي جريـة قديمة تدم الانسان ذاته، لكن معا يبعث على الأسى ان الحيلولة

دونها او العقاب عليها قد اصبع في يومنا هذا نقط هو هدف شعوب العالم"(1)
واخيرا، تم في اثناء الحرب العالمية الأولى، ايجاد حل للصراع التركي الارمني، الذي تخلالته

 السورية. وكانت الصورة الشاملة التي رسمها اعضاء السلك العا الدبلا اعراض متزامنة لعملية ترحيل وتدمير تجر في اعقابها "قتل امة". وقد تناقض عدل الاول الارمن في تركيا الآن الى خمسين الف شخص يقطن هعظلهم فهي استنبول كجالية آخذة في التآكل المستمر. وهذه هي ذروة سياسـة التتريك التي طبقتها الانظمة السابقة ويقوم النظام الحالي

المـحتويـات
(1) مقدمة
(「) التطور التاريخي للمسألة الارمنية
جذ (r)
(ع) الحركة الثورية الارمنية
(0) (0) القوميون الارمن وجمعية "تركيا الغتاة"
(7) ابادة الشعب الارمني وترحيله

قيام وسقوط جمهورية أرمينية (V)
جمهورية ارمينيا السوفياتية
(^)
المشكلة القومية في الاتحاد السوفياتي
ومسألة ناجورنو كاراباخ
(1• جذور العداء على الحدود
(II)
(1ヶ) (1 (احياء مسألة "كاراباخ" في الاونة الاخيرة
(Ir) ملاحظات ختامية

الجمعية الفلسطينية الاكاديمية للشوّون الدولية، هؤسسة فلسطينية مستقلة لا تسعى للربح او التجارة وغير مرتبطة بأية جهة حكومية أو حزبية أو تنظيمية وتهدف اجراء دراسات وبهوث متخصصة في المسألة الفلسطينية وعلاقاتها الاقليمية والدولية.

ان ما ورد في هذه الورتة من آراء وافكار تعبر عن وجهة نظر المحاضر الشخصية ولا تعكس أو تمثل بالضرورة موتف أو رأي الجمعية الفلسطينية الاكاديمية للشؤون الدوراية الونية، وقد

 التعددية الفكرية غي منهاج البحوث في الطار من الحريـة الاكاديمية.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { حقوق النشر محفوظة }
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { القدس الشريغ }
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { المراسلات } \\
& \text { ص. } 190 \text { ع. } \\
& \text { هاتف (r) ratala } \\
& \text { حي واد الجوز - القدس }
\end{aligned}
$$

## د. مغاويل حساسيان

## التطور التاريخيللمسألة الارمينية والصراع حول:"ناجورنو كاراباخ" "آرستاخ"



الجمعية الفلسطينية الاكاديمية للشوون الدولية ـالقدس


[^0]:    ":The Sublime Porte engages to carry into effect, without further delay, the improvements and provinces inhabited by Armenians and to guarantee them security from kurds and

