



Edic Baghdasarian

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**THE ARMENIAN QUESTION
MANIFESTO**

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Toronto - Canada

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Table of Contents

PREFACE.....	55
THE EASTERN QUESTION	88
THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE ARMENIAN QUESTION DURING HISTORY	1415
THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT AND THE ARMENIAN QUESTION.....	2020
A CHRONICLE SUMMARY OF THE LIBERATION STRUGGLES OF THE ARMENIAN PEOPLE	2525
EASTERN QUESTION AND A BRIEF CLASSIFICATION OF GREAT POWERS	3636
THE EASTERN QUESTION AND THE MOST IMPORTANT INTERNATIONAL TREATIES	3838
THE EXISTING PROBLEMS OF THE ARMENIAN QUESTION	4848
THE MANIFESTO OF THE ARMENIAN QUESTION SOLUTION.....	5151
THE REPUBLICS OF ARMENIA AND ARTSAKH	5454
A-PEOPLE	5454
B. GOVERNMENT	5656
B-1- INTERNAL POLICY.....	5656
B-2- FOREIGN POLICY.....	6162
ARMENIANS LIVING ON THE TERRITORIES	6767
SEPERATED FROM ARMENIA	6767
ARMENIAN DIASPORA	6969
INDEX.....	73

PREFACE

After publishing my book “History of the Armenian State”¹, my old time plan and wish to write a book about the Eastern Question was triggered by several requests from friends and my followers, so I published “The Armenian Question”². Afterwards, there was a discussion about what actions were needed to resolve the question. So, I was morally obliged to put my thoughts and suggestions on paper. As a consequence, the work on “The Armenian Question Manifesto”³ was conducted. Later on, I received suggestions for the English version of this book, which I am happy to announce the fulfillment of my promise., for which I need to thank Armineh Ghazarian, who volunteered the initial translation of the text from Armenian into English.

By authoring this and my other books I would like to pay off my dues to my motherland Armenia and its beloved people.

During centuries of history, the Armenian nation has passed through a very rough route and has endured many agonies. The Armenians struggled immensely simply for their existence, social and national freedom; the greatest and the most tragic of which was during the severe years of the First World imperialistic War when the nation was massacred.

¹ - Dr. Edic Baghdasarian, “History of the Armenian State, Glorious and gloomy days of Armenia”, in 7 volumes and Armenian language, Toronto, 2013.

² - Dr. Edic Baghdasarian, “The Armenian Question”, in 2 volumes and Armenian language, Toronto, 2014.

³ - Dr. Edic Baghdasarian, “The Armenian Question Manifesto”, in Armenian language, Toronto, 2014.

The horrible event was the result of Armenia's continuous political weakening, different foreign expeditions, deserting of the motherland, internal and external socio-political and economic competitions, lack of compliance in the country and the most important of all, the political conflicts between the Eastern and Western powers.

According to encyclopedias "East is traditionally described as the part of the world which in regard to Europe expands on the eastern side of it. Actually, the description is used for the Asian part of the world. On the other hand, the concept of East is divided according to regions such as Far East, Near East and Middle East. Armenia is considered to be in the Middle East. It should be added that the meaning of East includes not only the geographical but also the cultural concept."¹

However, later on, some countries of Northern Africa such as Egypt, Libya and etc. have been added to the Eastern territories.

The West which was in opposition to the East had traditionally been Europe and later the Northern America, which joined after the first and mainly the second World War.

In recent years, Near East has been one of the most problematic points of the international politics and is named "Global Balkans" by Zbignev Bjezinski. The main "Great Near East" plan was introduced by James Baker with the participation of Public Political Institute. The plan foresees the creation of a new geopolitical region on the basis of Near and Middle East which includes the Central Asia, Southern Caucasus, the Arabian Countries of Near East, Israel, Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Northern Africa. According to this plan, USA constructs an "Independent Freeway" from China to Balkans where no country or regime will exist

1 - Wikipedia free encyclopedia, Armenian version.

against the interests of the USA. That will be a territory for USA which will have an important role to influence the international economical systems. The essential reservoirs of oil and gas are exploited in this region and the economics of USA depends on it too¹.

As a result of the conflict between East and West, the “Eastern Question” has been born and the “Armenian Question” is an inseparable part of it. In the following pages we will try to present these two “Questions”, the most fundamental and historically evidenced records of them, the most important existing views, the reasons and the motives, and the achievements of the claimant parties. As a consequence of our discussion of the “Armenian Question”, we will also discuss the “Eastern Question”, those that it mostly effected, with in-depth investigation of the Armenian nation and their challenges and losses from the ancient times to the present days.

Dr. Edic Baghdasarian
Armenian Research Center
Toronto
July, 2016

¹ - “Lusansk” No. 31, 2008

THE EASTERN QUESTION

According to traditional historical views and beliefs:

“The Eastern Question was an ensemble of basic problems relevant to the Ottoman Empire and the subordinate nations, their liberation struggles, historical destiny and also colonial policy of Great Powers.

The concept of the Eastern Question was first used in Holy Alliance¹ (Russia, Austria, Prussia, France and etc.) in the Congress of Verona in 1822 while Greece was fighting against Turkey for her independence.

The beginning of the Eastern Question was at the end of 18th century and it ended with the first World War (1914-1918) when the Ottoman Empire collapsed. The World War had become the clash point of the interests of the Great Powers and the problems of the Eastern Question were the main axis of international relationships during the 18th and 19th centuries.

In international diplomacy the concept of the “Armenian Question” was first mentioned in the documents related to the Treaty of San Stefano at the end of the Russian-Turkish war during the years 1877-1878 and later in the documents relevant to the Treaty of Berlin (1878) and became a component of the Eastern Question.

¹ - A loose alliance of European powers pledged to uphold the principles of the Christian religion. It was proclaimed at the Congress of Vienna (1814–15) by the emperors of Austria and Russia and the king of Prussia and was joined by most other European monarchs.

At the end of the First World War and Turkey's defeat, many national territories were separated from the Ottoman Empire. Later by the Peace Treaty of Sevres (1920) Independent and United Armenia was recognized. But by spreading of the nationalistic movement in Turkey and the active relations between Kemalist Turkey and the Soviet Russia prohibited the fulfillment of the Treaty. Western Armenia and Cilicia remained under the domination of Turkey.

In 1922-23, at the Conference of Lausanne, the new borders of Turkey were recognized. The Ottoman Empire did not exist any more and the concept of the Eastern Question was excluded from the arena. The Eastern Question was solved, but the Armenian Question remained unsolved.”¹

The definition of the “Eastern Question” is the same in different encyclopedias such as the Armenian Soviet Encyclopedia², Britanica³, the Armenian concise Encyclopedia⁴, Wikipedia the free Encyclopedia⁵, Academician Gevorg Gharibjanian⁶, etc.

R. Sahakian and K. Khudaverdian have described the “Eastern Question” as the following:

“The Eastern Question is the conventional nomination in diplomatic and historical literature of the international contradictions relevant to the conflicts of Great Powers over division of the territories of Ottoman Empire and national liberation movements of Empire's subject people

¹ - Armenian Encyclopedia, <http://www.encyclopedia.am/pages.php?bid=13hld=984>

² - Armenian Soviet Encyclopedia, 2nd vol. Yerevan 1976, p.35.

³ - Britanica Encyclopedia, Vol. 7 USA 1970, pp. 869-876

⁴ - Armenian Concise Encyclopedia, Vol.1, Yerevan 1990, p.361

⁵ - http://hy.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eastern_Question

⁶ - Gharibjanian, The History of Eastern Question, Irannameh.22-23, Yerevan 1996-97, pp.3-6

such as Armenians. The term of Eastern Question is first used in Holy Treaty (Russia, Austria, Prussia, France and etc.,) in the Congress of Verona (1822) when Greece fought against Turkey for Her independence. During the Conference of Lausanne (1922-23) and after the peace treaty was signed, the term has not been used anymore.

The history of Eastern Question is conditionally divided in three phases.-

The first phase covers the period between the second half of 18th century up to the war of Crimea dated 1853-56, when, as a result of the victories in wars, the Russian influence was empowered in East. She has conquered Crimea, Bessarabia, and a part of Caucasus. The mentioned successes of Russia was confronted with the resistance of France, Austria and England.

The second phase covers up the second half of 19th century when Great Britain and France aimed to weaken the position of Russia in Balkans and Middle East with a pretext of saving the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. Instead, they tried to expand their own influence instead, in Turkey. This act has been promoted by the defeat of Russia in the war of Crimea. Even after the victory of Russians in 1877-78 in the Russian-Turkish war, the European governments did not let Russia to get any benefit of Her success. After the war, in international diplomacy, in the Treaty of San Stefano (1878) and later in the documents relevant to the Congress of Berlin (1878) the Armenian Question which was a component part of the Eastern Question was mentioned for the first time. In the second phase of the Eastern Question the national-liberation movements of subject nations of Ottoman Empire such as Armenians, Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbians have risen up. After the Congress of Berlin (which didn't fulfill the hopes of Armenians) the idea of armed struggle for the

freedom and independence of Western Armenia from Turkish yoke has developed in the Armenian social-political circles.

The third phase of the Eastern Question covered the period between the end of 19th century up to 1923. During this era the influence of Germany has been stronger in Ottoman Empire and between the two Countries an alliance was concluded. The national movements of Armenians, Arabs and etc., have progressed which made a proper opportunity for Great Powers to interfere in the internal affairs of Ottoman Empire. They urged the performance of the reform program which should be obtained in Western Armenia (referred to the “Reforms of May” 1895, Armenian Reforms 1912-1914). Instead, the Turkish government not only didn’t perform the reforms but planned the annihilation of the Armenian people too, since the Turks were well acknowledged of the conflicts of Great Powers (massacre of Armenians 1894-96, massacre in Adana 1909, Genocide of Armenians in 1915):

At the end of the First World War (1914-1918) so many territories relevant to subject nations were separated from defeated Ottoman Empire. In 1920, when the Sevre Peace Treaty was signed the independent and united (Eastern and Western) Armenia was recognized. But by development of fascistic movement in Turkey (Kemalist Movement), the cooperation of Kemalist Turkey and Soviet Russia prohibited the fulfillment of the Treaty of Sevres and Western Armenia and Cilicia remained under Turkey’s domination.

In the Conference of Lausanne the new borders of Turkey were recognized. The Empire stopped to exist. The Eastern Question got its solution but the Armenian Question remained unsolved”¹.

¹ - ”The Armenian Question” Encyclopedia, Yerevan, 1996, p.57



The Ottoman Empire in 1441

In Wikipedia, Free Encyclopedia, the Eastern Question is described as follows:

“The Eastern Question in European history encompasses the diplomatic and political problems which were the result of the fall of the Ottoman Empire. The expression does not apply to any particular problem, but instead includes a variety of issues raised during 18th and 19th centuries, including the instability of European territories reigned by Ottoman Empire.

The Eastern Question is usually dated to 1774, when the Russo-Turkish war (1768-1774, ended with the defeat of Ottomans. Since the dissolution of Ottoman Empire seemed to be imminent, the European

powers got engaged in a struggle to safeguard their own military, strategic and commercial interests in the Ottoman domains. On one side the Tsarist Russia and on the other hand Austria-Hungary and United Kingdom tried to preserve the best of their interests. The Eastern Question retired after the First World War, when the Ottoman Empire collapsed”¹.

Thus, it is necessary to notify that the mentioned data about the “Eastern Question” is the same as the occurred historical events, with no doubt about their accuracy, however, through the whole history, such description of the Eastern Question reflects only the Question partially and not thoroughly.

In our opinion, the concept of the Eastern Question should also include the rights and demands of the Eastern people among international political circles. The “Eastern Question” was conditioned with the maturity of struggles of the Eastern people, during a mentioned certain historical era for freedom and independence, and on the other hand, the role allocated to the Eastern Question by the Great Powers to possess domination and sovereignty through their diplomatic acts.

Now can anyone explain that the rights of the Eastern people for a free and independent life, their undertaken struggles and craving for gaining their rights had happened only during the 18th-20th centuries? Have the conflicts between West and East taken place only during the mentioned historical era? Haven’t there been any Eastern people who had been the victims of the conflicts or had fought for their existence and freedom, before the mentioned period of time? Has the international diplomacy begun in 18th century or much earlier?

¹ - http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eastern_Question.

It is doubtless and certain that the “Eastern Question” cannot be restricted only to the 18th-20th centuries, but can be considered as one of the inseparable parts of the Eastern Question since the Question has passed a very long historical path and unfortunately it still continues its route towards the future.

The “Armenian Question” is an inseparable part of the Eastern Question.

According to our characterization of the contents of the Eastern Question, it is created in two general circles of classifications.

1- The Eastern Question emerged because of the existing conflicts between Eastern great or small powers for the purpose of expansionism or military and financial profits. This classification can be named internal Eastern conflicts.

2- The Eastern Question emerged because of the conflicts between Eastern and European sovereign powers which had taken place in East to seize sovereignty. This classification can be named West-Eastern conflicts.

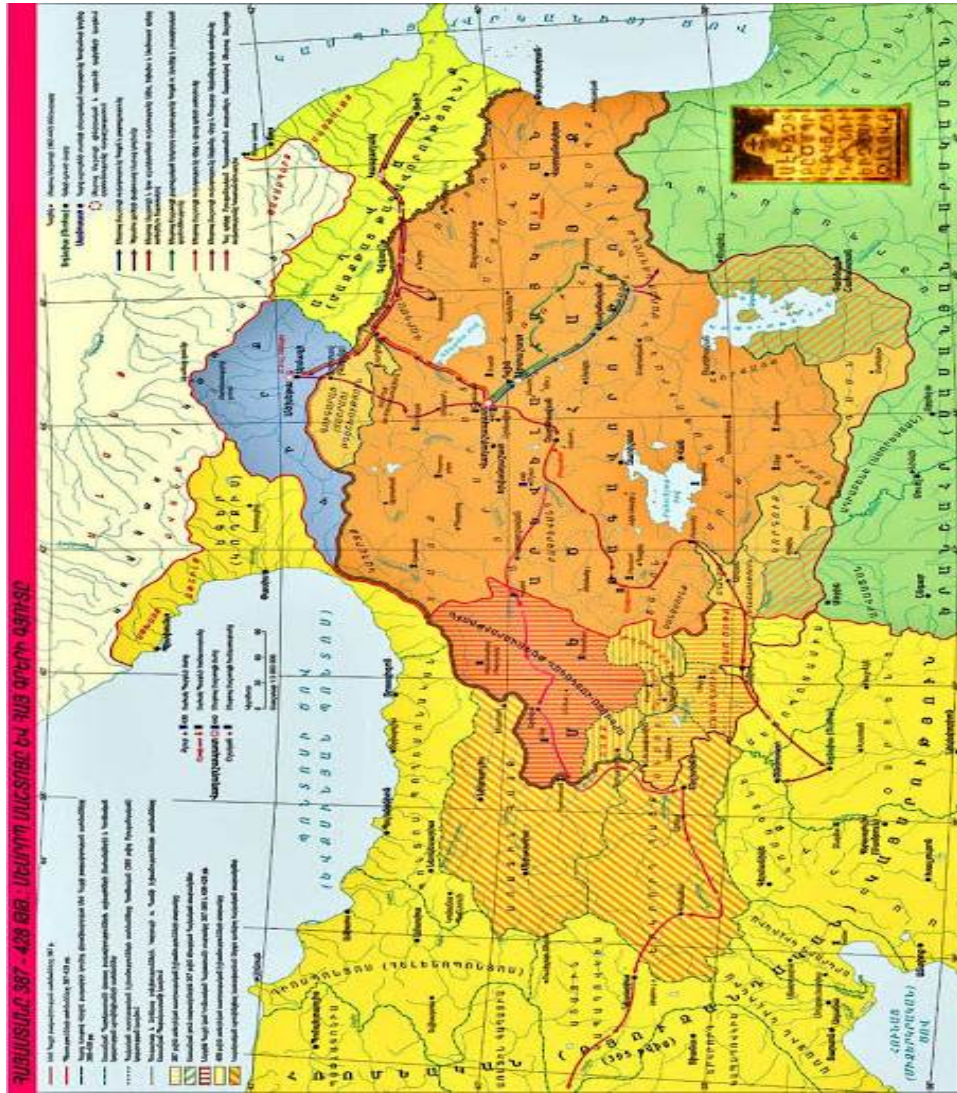
THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE ARMENIAN QUESTION DURING HISTORY

It is already mentioned that the “Eastern Question” includes also the rights and demands of the Eastern people in the circles of international politics. The concept of the “Eastern Question” was both related to the uprising struggles of the Eastern people for their freedom during a specific period of time and the role which the great powers assigned to “Eastern Question” for seizing sovereignty in East by their diplomacy. The “Armenian Question” being an inseparable part of the “Eastern Question” is described as the effort for restoring once lost national statehood, moreover as the reuniting and integrity of national territories and finally the international recognition and compensation for the atrocities done against the Armenian people, the horrible massacres and the Genocide of the Armenians.

In the Armenian history the most important event which, in our opinion caused the emerging of the “Armenian Question”, was the first division of Armenia between Sassanid dynasty of Persia and Roman Empire. As we acknowledge, since the reign of Varazdat, 375-76 and later during 383-384, the Persian-Roman diplomacy found out a new way to solve the problem of Armenia, the division of the Country between two powers. Theodosius I¹ the new Emperor and Shahpur III² King of Persia agreed on the issue in 387.

¹ - Theodosius I, also known as Theodosius the Great, was Roman Emperor from AD 379 to AD 395. Theodosius was the last emperor to rule over both the eastern and the western halves of the Roman Empire.

² - Was the twelfth king of the Sasanid Empire from 383 to 388. He was the son of Shapur II (r. 309–379) and had succeeded his uncle Ardashir II (r. 379–383).^[2] Shapur's cousin Zruanduxt married the King Khosrov IV of Armenia.



Armenia 387-428

Armenia was divided into two non-equal parts. The Western region portion covered Karin, Yekeghik, Derjan, Mananaghi, Daranaghi,

Edic Baghdasarian

The Armenian Question Manifesto

Khorzdian, Mzur and other regions were under the Roman domination and the remaining parts of the Country, three forth of Great Haiyk was ruled by Persia.

King Arshak the 3rd was transferred to the Roman part and reigned for two more years.

In the Persian part Khosrov the 4th , from Arshakunian dynasty, was ordained as the new King. After the death of King Arshak the 3rd, no new king was ordained by the Romans and the region became one of the Roman provinces and was ruled by a governor.

As a result, two out of three elements of the Armenian Question, the territorial integrity, national statehood and the massacres happened to be real. Armenia lost her territorial integrity and united statehood as a result of East-West conflicts which we consider one of the most important historical parts of the Eastern Question too.

In 428 the national statehood of Eastern Armenia was abolished and this is considered as the second phase of the Armenian Question. The Armenian nation not only lost the territorial integrity but the statehood of Eastern Armenia too, for which she was forced to fight for centuries to restore back.

The Armenian Question was more emphasized later in 591 when Armenia was divided for the second time as a result of Persian-Byzantium Peace Treaty.

The struggles of the Armenians to regain the two elements of the Armenian Question, their national statehood and territorial integrity reached its positive result during the second half of 9th century when Bagratunian Dynasty was established. Later as a result of Byzantium-

Arabian-Seljuk-Turks wars and conflicts, the Armenian statehood was destroyed in 1045 and the Armenian Question was considered as the debate of the day which found no solution for centuries, actually up to the beginning of the 20th century .

Although outside of the historical homeland, in 1080, the Armenian kingdom was established in Cilicia but it didn't solve the entire elements of the Armenian Question.

The Armenian Question was more complicated in 1424 when the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicea was abolished and the motherland Armenia was again divided in 1555 between Safavid Dynasty of Persia and Ottoman Turkey. On May 26, 1555, the Peace Treaty of Amasia was signed by which Armenia's division of 1514 was reconfirmed (After the battle of Chaldran). The Western Armenia including Bagrevand and Vaspurakan remained under the Ottoman domination and the Eastern Armenia was reigned by Persia.

Moreover, Turkey dominated the Western Georgia, Iraq including Baghdad, Eastern Georgia & the Eastern part of Caucasus were dominated by Persia. The region of Kars was announced as "neutral zone" and the fortress was ruined.

In 1639 the Treaty of Ghasr-e-Shirin with partial changes reconfirmed the borders mentioned in the Treaty of Amasia of 1555. Armenia was divided between two powers again. The borderline started from the Mountains of Javakhk (Georgia) towards the River of Akhurian and reached Araks (Araz) River, turned to west then passed through the dividing line of the Armenian mountains range towards the peak of Masis mountains and continued to the mountains of Vaspurakan and passed from the Zagros mountain range, reached Turkish-Persian present borderline.

The mentioned border has remained almost unchanged till 1828 when, according to the Treaty of Turkmenchay the Eastern Armenia was annexed to Russia. During eighty peaceful years after the mentioned Treaty the economics of Eastern Armenia has lived some developments but the degradation has continued in Western Armenia.

THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT AND THE ARMENIAN QUESTION

Armenian nation is the owner of one of the oldest civilizations of Asia and the absolute guarantee of her existence is her sole struggle for liberation. For centuries, the struggles for liberation have been the vital reason for the survival of the nation and have been expressed in her different aspects of life such as social, political, cultural and military.

Actually, the Armenian nation has passed through struggles against Roman Legions (1st century B.C.), Persians (6th century B.C., 5th century AD), Arabs (7-9 centuries). The nation has shown decisive resistance against pursuing policy of Byzantium Dynasty because of which the Armenian kingdoms of Taron, Tayk, Vaspurakan, Ani and Kars were abolished in 11th century. The successes of the invasions of the Seljuk Turks and their settlement in Asia Minor should be defined as a consequence of the Byzantium anti-Armenian policy. In this period of time the movement of Armenians toward Cilicia got stronger which ended with the establishment of Rubinian principedom in 1080. During the first half of 12th century, the kingdom became much stronger and during the reign of Levon II it reached the peak of its strength.

In 13th century the invasion of Tatar-Mongols caused a thorough destruction of Armenia. In 1236 the dynasty of Zakarians was dissolved. In 1424 Cilicia had the same destiny of Armenia. The Egyptian Mamluks seized Sis, the capital of Cilicia and demolished Armenian dynasty. The ancestors of the Turks, with their tribe Chief named Toghril moved from Middle Asia toward Anatolia in the 13th century. After Toghril's death, his son Osman established his state, the Ottoman Empire. His successor,

Orkhan established an organized army and started to conquest and devastate the territories with bloodshed. He announced Brusa which was already occupied, the capital of the government and started his invasion toward Byzantium which was living its downfall. During the reign of Sultan Murad, the Turks scattered over the Balkans and later, Bayazid, his son, continued the expansion of the borders of Ottoman Empire..

In 1387, Armenia was conquered by Tamerlane. In 1402, Tamerlane captured Bayazid near Ankara which temporarily caused the delay of Ottoman Empire's future expansion. But later, on 29th of May, 1453 Sultan Mahmud occupied Constantinople "The second Rome". Byzantium Empire stopped existing.

In Asia Minor and Balkans the existence of Ottoman Empire was a disaster for the subject people. Moreover, in Caucasus, the conflicts between Aq-Qoyunlu and Qar-Qoyunlu tribes caused a lot of destruction. The conflicts were finally ended with the triumph of Ozun Hasan the chief of Aq-Qoyunlu tribe. Armenia was also seized by him.

Sultan Salim recaptured Armenia. In 1517, he invaded Cilicia first and later Syria and Egypt too. Later, during the reign of his son, Sultan Suleiman, the strength of Ottoman Empire reached its acme. The territories of his Empire extended from Poland, Ukraine and Northern Caucasus toward Indian Ocean, Mountains of Zagros to Atlantic Ocean¹.

To invade Vienna and own all over Europe, a new raid was planned in 1683. This was the last try. Austrians, Polish and other people united together and destroyed the strong army of Qara Mustafa Pasha. There

¹ - Aghayan, "Liberation Movement of Armenian People", Yerevan, 1976, pp.21-22.

were five thousands Armenians of Poland among the army of Polish people.

Armenia became the stage of horrible wars of Persian-Ottoman army for two hundred years (1473-1746). The Country was destructed thoroughly and most of its inhabitants were annihilated, leaving the Motherland a new disaster. Besides the forced moving of the people done by Shah Abbas and other tyrants, the people who could not endure the annihilation referred to displacement. In this way the Armenian regions were settled with the Turks and other tribes. After all, the Armenians still kept the majority of the inhabitants. The European traveler Tavernier, who has visited Near East six times during the years 1632-1668, writes in his memories that passing from Tokat toward Tabriz which was formerly called as Armenian territory, in each city or village, there had been one Turk only against fifty Armenians¹.

From the beginning, the Turkish government pursued the policy of merging the people with different religions under its rule in its own people. It is known in history, that some Sultans had decided to massacre the Christians. This was the main reason to establish the troops of “Yenichery”. These groups were created from Christian hostages who have forcefully been converted to Islam. Capitation was another reason for converting from one’s original religion. The cruel and harsh ways to grasp different taxes made so many people to convert from their religion to be free of increasing oppression and massacres.

In the Ottoman Empire even to own any property or to have the permission for any religious ceremonies was up to the mercy of Sultans which was gained only with paying bribes or any contrivances. The words

¹ - Les six Voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier en Turquie et Perse et aux Indes, Paris, 1713,v.I, p. 48.

of the Christians “giavours” had no value and even their testimony was not accepted. This meant that the Christians had no guarantee to defend their rights. The governors could even kill their Christian subjects and confiscate their properties and not be punished. In a Country where starting from the low ranking officers to the highest including the Sultan could do anything with the necessary amount of bribe there could be no word about the rightful acts. In fact, “Ottoman Empire was a kingdom of infinite violations, even the ministers were not safe to be alive the next day. In a situation like this how could a “raya” be safe towards whom no violence and injustice was prohibited?”¹.

Armenian nation continued to live in such a villainous conditions and was searching for her freedom and seeking liberty from Ottoman barbaric yoke.

The only way to be free from the created situation was the liberation movements of Armenians for independence, but what were the resources? Was it possible for Armenian people to reach the goal on their own. The liberation of the people such as Arabs, Greeks, Armenians, Kurds and different people living in Balkan peninsula was possible only by their unity. But the feudalistic separations, economical and political illiberalities, national and religion contradictions plus the maceration of European powers prohibited the creation of a united national front of the suppressed nations.

In such a situation some of the Armenian social-political activists believed that for the liberation of Armenian people should be referred to European powers since any struggle under the Ottoman military tyranny

¹ - Arshak Alboyanian, History of Armenian Malatia, Beirut, 1961, p.823

ended with bloody massacres. There were clashes of opinions that who should patronize the liberation of Armenia, the Western powers or Russia.

It is obvious that the interests of each one of the great powers were taken into consideration. On the other hand, the great powers acted according to their colonial plans and tried to benefit any moment to interfere in Turkey's affairs and seize a proper position in the Near East¹.

Armenian freedom aspired activists were encouraged with the crusaders of middle ages and especially the continuous wars, quarter of century, between Turkey and Italy in the Isle of Crete (Republic of Venice) during the years 1645-1669. The Republic of Venice which had an important role in international trade of the time had planned to seize the Mediterranean eastern coasts. France had got the same interests and the Pope of Rome wished to change the war into a new crusade.

The situation aspired a new hope for freedom in the Christians living under the despotism of Turkey: the Greeks, Armenians, Assyrians and the Slavic nations of Balkans.

¹ - Aghaian, The history of Armenian Liberation Movement, Yerevan, 1976, p. 24.

A CHRONICLE SUMMARY OF THE LIBERATION STRUGGLES OF THE ARMENIAN PEOPLE

Before Christ

13TH century - Urartu mentioned for the first time, with the form of Uruatri.

13th-11th centuries-Nairi tribal unity existence.

870-590 - Araratian (Urartu) Kingdom.

570-560 - King Yervand Sakavakiants.

560-535 - Tigran Yervandian.

522 - Dec.31, May 20, 21, 31 and June 12 - The revolt of the Armenians
against Achaemenian Darius of Persia.

404-360 - Yervand, The Governor of Armenia.

360-337 - Kodomanus, The Governor of Armenia.

330-300 - Yervand, The king of Armenia.

220-201 - Yervand the last, The king of Armenia.

189-160 - King Artashes the First, Establishment of Artashesian Dynasty.

95-55 - King Tigran the Great.

Anno Domini (AD)

1 - The fall of Artashesian Dynasty.

2-62 - Foreign Kings in Armenia.

63-428 - Armenian Arshakuniants Dynasty.

164 - The great rebellion in Armenia against the Roman Tyrants.

311-312 - Armenian-Roman military conflicts.

364-367/8 - Patriotic war of Armenian nation against the Invasion of Sasanids with leadership of Vasak Mamikonian.

428 - The fall of Armenian Arshakuniants Dynasty and Ancient Armenian state.

428-484 - Provincial Armenia.

451 - 26th of May (Sat.) The Great Revolt of Armenian nation against the yoke of Sasanid Dynasty with Vardan Mamikonian's leadership (The battle of Avarayr).

481-484 - 2nd national rebellion against Sasanids headed by Sahak Bagratuni and Vahan Mamikonian.

485 (after) - Armenia as a Country of proprietorship.

492 - The revolt of Armenians against Sasanids pander.

536 - Rebellion against Byzantium Empire in Armenia.

571-572 - Revolt of Armenians against Sasanid Dynasty, with Vartan Mamikonian's (Red Vartan) leadership.

595 - Revolt against Byzantium & Persian domination in Armenia.

774-775 - Rebellion of Armenians against Arabs.

862- Ashot Bagratuni as Prince of princes.

874/75 - Expel of Arab militant from Armenia.

884/85 - Reestablishment of Armenian Statehood. Ashot Bagratuni the King of Armenia.

886-1045 - The kingdom of Bagratunians (Central Armenian)

908-1021 - The emergence of kingdom of Vaspurakan (Gagik Artsruni).

963-1065 - The kingdom of Kars.

972-1113 - The kingdom of Tashir-Dzoraget (Kyurikian).

987-1170 - The kingdom of Syunik.

1080-1375 - The State of Armenian Cilicia.

1124, 1174 - The revolt of the inhabitants of Ani against foreign invaders.

End of 12thcent.- Middle of 14th cent. - The principality of Zakarians in Armenia.

1249 and 1259-61 - Armenian-Georgian revolt against Mongols.

1376-1424 - Armenian Kostandin principal govern the mountaineous Cilicia.

1254-1427 - The Armenian principality of Maku (Artaz).

1549 - For the freedom of Armenian nation His Holiness Stepanos Salmastetsi had been in Rome.

1555 - The division of Armenia between Turkey & Persia.

1562 - The secret meeting invited by His Holiness Michael Sebastatsi for the freedom of Armenia.

1575 - His Holiness Tadeos's departure for Lvov, Venice, Rome With the question of liberation of Armenia.

1667 - Hakob Jughayetsi invited a secret meeting in Echmiasin For the liberation of Armenia. Israel Ori travelled to Moscow with the same question in 1701.

1722-1730 - Struggles for freedom in Syunik, with the leadership of Davit Beg and Mekhitar the Commander. Liberation Movement in Artsakh.

1725-1727 - Defeat of Turkey's army in Artsakh.

1727 - The patriotic battle of Halidzor against the Turks. Armenian-Persian alliance against Turkish invaders. Shah Tahmasp recognizes the principality of Davit Beg in Ghapan.

1759 - Hovsep Emin's arrival in Armenia to organize the liberation movement.

1766 - Aug.1, His Holiness Simon Yerevantsi sends a encyclical to Ekaterina II to help Armenian people.

1769 – July 8, The liberation program of Armenia compiled by Movses Sarafian presented to board of foreign affairs of Russia.

1780 - Jan, The negotiations of H. Arghutian & Hov. Lazarian with General Sovorov and Prince Potyomkin about liberation of Armenia.

1827 - May 17, The first Armenian volunteer battalion departs for baattlefield from Tbilisi.

1830-1838 - Armenian Major General B. Behbutov, the Chief of Armenian state administration.

1832 - Dec.21,The Turkish army headed by Suleiman Pasha invaded Zeytun but was destroyed by mountain people in the field of Jermuk.

1833 - Feb. 21, Approval of the emblem of Armenian region by Nicola I.

1841 - Dec. 12, The Turkish army which invaded Zeytun was dispersed from highland region.

1844 - Nov, Foreign experts passed census for the first time in Turkey According to which western Armenians living in Turkey were counted 2,4 million.

1849 - April 27,The western Armenian students living in Paris organized The Araratian Corporation.

1862 - Armed act of Van against the Government of Turkey.

1862 - Aug. 2, The patriotic revolt of Zeytun.

1863- Armed act of Mush against Kurdish Derebeys.

1866 - May 7, The establishment of Franc Mason secret organization in Constantinople.

1872 - March 3, Establishment of the secret "Unity for Freedom" organization in Van.

1874 - June 20, Establishment of "Hayrenik Siro" organization in Gharakilisa.

1875 - Oct., The rebellion in Zeytun.

1876 - Establishment of 'Araratian' and 'Arevelian' Corporations in Constantinople.

1877 - Russian army with the leadership of Armenian Generals, Ter Ghukasov, Loris Melikov and Lazarev seized Bayazed city, Ardahan and Kars. They destroyed the army of Mukhtar pasha.

1878 - March 8, The Armenian delegation departed from Constantinople to Europe to represent the Armenian Question to European governments first and then to participate in the Congress of Berlin.

1878 - Aug., The revolt of Zeytun started.

1878 Oct.1, Establishment of "Sev Khach" secret organization in Van.

1879 - April 11, Establishment of "Hayuhac" patriotic corporation in Constantinople.

1879 - Spring, Beginning of discourses against the government in Karin and Arabkir.

1880 - The group of Grigor Artsruni started its activities for the liberation of the people of western Armenia in Tbilisi.

1881 - May, Establishment of “Pashtpan Hayrenyats” secret organization in Karin with the efforts of Khachatur Kerektsian.

1881 - Nov., With the efforts of the Armenian students in Moscow the secret group of “Hayrenaserneri Association” was organized.

1881-82 - Secret group “Hayrenaser-azgaser” started its activities in Yerevan.

1884 - June, Revolt against Turkish taxation reforms in Zeytun with the leadership of Municipal Papik.

1885 - Dec., Mekrtich Portugalian organized the “Hayots Hayrenasirakan” association in Marseille which was the basis of the “Armenakan” party in the future.

1887 - With the efforts of K. Hakobian one of the Armenians of England the “Haykakan Hayrenasirakan Organization” was established.

1887 - Establishment of “Hunchakian” Party in Geneva.

1890 Jun 18-20, Conflict between the army of government and the unarmed Armenian people of Karin.

1890 - July 15, ”Hunchak” Party organized the demonstration of Gum Gapu.

1890 - Summer, ”Hay Heghapokhakanneri Dashnaktsutyun” Party was Organized in Tbilisi. This party was called “Hay Heghapokhakan Dashnaktsutyun” or ARF (Armenian Revolutionary Federation) later.

1890 - Sept. 24, The group of Sarkis Kukunian passed the Turkish Borders.

1894 - Aug. 1, The self defense patriotic battle of Sasun.

1895 - May 11, The ambassadors of England, France and Russia transferred a spacious memorandum and a project about Armenian reforms to Constantinople.

1895 - Oct.5-Nov.1, The massacre of Armenians in Western Armenia and Anatolia by Turkish government.

1895 - Oct.12, Rebellion in Zeytun.

1896- June 3, The self defending patriotic battle started in Van.

1896 - Aug.14, The seizure of Ottoman Bank in Constantinople with the leadership of Babken Syuni (Hunchak and Dashnak).

1896 - Massacre of Armenians in Constantinople and Akn.

1897 - Aug., Khanasor Battle (Dashnak).

1898 - Fighting of Babshen- Turkish soldiers and Serob Aghbyur.

1901 - Battle of Arakelots Monastery (revolutionaries headed by Andranik).

1902 July 4-7, International Conference in Brussels for solving the Armenian Question.

1904 - Feb., The patriotic fighting in Sasun started.

1904 - The fighting of Aghtamar and Shamiram against Turkish army with the leadership of Andranik.

1905 - July 21, Assassination attempt of Abdul Hamid.

1906 - Unrest in Armenians of Erzurum (Karin)

1909 - Massacre of the Armenians of Adana.

1914 - Sept., Armenian volunteer troops are organized.

1915 - April 24 to 25, The beginning of Armenian Genocide.

1915 - June 12 to July 3, The heroic defence fighting of Shapin Garahisar.

1915 - The heroic defence fighting of Urfa

1915 - June 15, The Turkish government killed 21 members of “Hunchak” party on gallows.

1915 - Jul. 13, The heroic defence fighting of Musa Ler.

1915 - The war of Mush.

1917 - March 16, Establishment of “Armenian People” Organization in Tbilisi.

1917 - May 2, General Andranik headed the first congress of Western Armenians of Yerevan.

1917 - Dec. 29, Soviet Russia accepted a Decree about Turkish Armenians.

1918 - March 12-15, Turkish army seized Erzurum and Alexandropol.

1918 - April 22, Caucasus is announced independent.

1918 - May 21-26, The patriotic war of Sardarapat.

1918 - May 25-28, The patriotic war of Gharakilisa.

1918 - May 23-29, The patriotic war of Bash-Aparan.

1918 - May 26, The Seim was dissolved.

1918 - May 28, The first Republic of Armenia was established.

1919 - Aug.1, The first Parliament of Armenia in Yerevan.

1920 - Aug.10, The Treaty of Sevre.

1920 - Nov. 29, Ijevan - The Revolutionary Committee of Armenia announced Armenia as Socialistic Soviet Republic (the 2nd Republic).

1920 - Dec.2, The Treaty of Alexandrapol between Turkey and Republic of Armenia.

1920 - The patriotic battle of Hajen against Turkish army.

1920-21- Defending battle of the Armenians of Ayntap.

1921- April 22, The liberation of Alexandrapol from Turkish invaders.

1921- Oct.13, The Treaty of Kars.

1921- Dec., The return of the Armenians from Diaspora to their Soviet Motherland.

1921- Establishment of “Ramkavar” party - (Constantinople)

1947- Establishment of International Congress of Armenians (New York)

1975- "Armenian Secret Army for Liberation of Armenia" and "Armenian Genocide Justice Commandos" founded. The "Armenian People Movement" was formed although it has started from mid 1970's.

1983-88 - "Armenian Revolutionary Army" was formed.

1991 – Sep. 2 Declaration of Nagorno Karabakh republic.

1991- Sept. 21, The 3rd Republic of Armenia was declared.

EASTERN QUESTION AND A BRIEF CLASSIFICATION OF GREAT POWERS

28-26 centuries BC	- Aratta - Shumerian
25 c BC	- Armenian - Babelonian
24-23 cc BC	- Akkad - Armanian
22-18cc BC	- Babelonian - hettite -Casitian - Mittani -Assiryan
19-7cc BC	-Assyrian - Araratian, the kingdom of Van- Media
6-4cc BC	-Achaemenian - Ludinian - Greek
3-2cc BC	-Partian - Greek - Bactrinian - Roman
2-1cc BC	-Partian - Armenian - Roman
1-3cc AD	-Partian - Roman
3-7cc AD	-Sasanid - Roman - Byzantine
7-9cc AD	-Arabian - Byzantine
9-11cc AD	-Arabian - Armenian - Byzantine
11-15 cc AD	-Byzantine - Turkish
16-19 cc AD	-Persian - Turkish
18-19 cc AD	-Russian - English - French - German

20-21cc AD

-English - Russian - American

21c AD

-American-Europe-Russian-Chinese

THE EASTERN QUESTION AND THE MOST IMPORTANT INTERNATIONAL TREATIES

188 BC - Treaty of Apamia, The vast programs of Seleucus to invade Asia Minor thoroughly. Roman Republic had got the same pretension about the region. Actually Rome had planned to destroy the Soluks and expand its sovereignty over the whole Mediteranian region. The armed conflict between the fronts was inevitable. The decisive battle took place in 190 BC near the city of Magnesia of Lidia in the valley of Hermos stream. Romans won a victory against the huge army of Antiox III the king of Soluks. The battle of Magnesia and two years later the Apamia peace treaty signed between two powers, 188 BC, changed the ratio of the powers in the East completely and made a vertiginous in the World history.

183 BC - The treaty of Parnak of Pontus with Mihrdat, the Governor of Small Hayk.

179 BC - The participation of Artashes the First in peace treaty of five governments of Asia.

93 BC - The treaty of Armenians - Pontus. Tigran the Great and Mihrdat VI the king of Pontus. The articles of the Treaty were: 1. Armenia could invade in three directions North, South and East. 2. Ponteos could only invade on one dirction, West. 3. Tigran the Great should marry Cleopatra, the daughter of Mihrdat.

66 BC - The Treaty of Artashat. Signed between Tigran the Great and Pompus the Roman General. 1. Armenia resigned from any outdoor

invasions such as Syria (Asorik), Cilicia, Lebanon and Palestine. 2. Only the Northern Mesopotamia will remain for Armenia. 3. For the regions of Tsovk and Korduk the united king will be the son of Tigran the Great, Tigran. 4. Armenia will pay 6000 silver to Rome. According to this peace and friendship Treaty, 1. Tigran the Great the second, surrendered all of the Armenian territories back to Rome except for the Motherland the Great Armenia. 2. Roman Empire recognized Independent Great Armenia and its integrity. 3. Gugark state and the special border region of Goderdzakan were included in Great Armenia's government. In 66 BC, the Great Armenia which was recognized as a self governing, independent government according to the International Rights had an area of 316.895 sq. km.

84 BC - The oral treaty of Dardanus. The first battle took place between Rome and Mihrdat Yevpator the king of Pontus, in first phase of which Mihrdat succeeded to invade Asia Minor completely and continued towards Balkanian peninsula. Later in 87 Roman Sulla succeeded to destroy the army of Pontus in two battles of Kerona and Orkomen. The treaty of Dardanus made Mihrdat to resign from foreign invasions.

37 BC - Peace discussions between Rome and Partia. Armenia lost the territories.

20 BC - Roman-Partian treaty by which the conflict ended between the two Governments.

63 BC - The battle of Hrandia between Roman and Armenian-Partian armies which ended with the victory of the last. The treaty of Hrandia was signed by which Tirdat of Arshakunian Dynasty was recognized as the king of Great Hayk (63-88 AD) by Roman Empire.

194 - Peace Treaty between Septimius Severus the Empire and Vagharsh IV the king.

199 - Peace Treaty between Severus the Empire and Vagharsh IV King of the kings of Partia.

217 - Makrinus the Empire (217-218) signed a peace treaty with Ardavan V the last king of Partian Arshakian (209-224).

244 - Arabian Pilippus signed a peace treaty with Persians.

298 - Forty year old Persian-Roman peace treaty of Nisibin, according to which the mentioned powers, would have no wars for forty years. Tirdat III became the King of Armenia.

363- Hovianus the new king of Roman Empire and Shapuh the Persian king signed a peace treaty, there would be no wars between the two government till 30 years up to 393. Any war would be “shameful”. According to this treaty five Regions of southern Major Hayk with 15 fortresses and cities, some areas of Northern Mesopotamia the largest of which was Nisibin were annexed to Persia. In another article of the treaty, the Emperor was forced not to aid Armenia if any conflicts happened with Persia. In the East, this treaty which shows the policy of Rome in that era was named as “shameful treaty” by Ammianus Markellinus, the Roman historian of IV centurey.

387 - Division of the territories of the Kingdom of Major Hayk between Sasanid Persia and the Empire of Byzantium.

422 - Peace treaty for fifty years till 472 between Byzantium Empire and Sasanid Persia.

484 - Peace Treaty of Nevarsak.

506 - Peace Treaty between Byzantium Empire and Sasanid Persia.

532 - The Persian-Byzantium “Eternal” peace treaty.

545 - The ambassadors of Byzantium signed the ceasefire in Taysafun for five years.

552 - A new ceasefire for five years between Byzantium and Persia.

570 Sept. 1 - The treaty between Armenia and Byzantium.

575-578 - Ceasefire for three years between Sasanid Persia and Byzantium.

591 - Peace treaty of Persia-Byzantium. The second division of Armenia.

652 - Arabian Moavia and Armenian Teodoros Reshtuni signed a treaty.

658-659 - Peace between Moavia and Emperor Kostand II.

687 - Agreement between Caliphates and Byzantium.

1253-1256 - Hetum I leaves for karakor and Armenian-Mongolian agreement was concluded.

1268 - End of Antioch’s government. Peace treaty between Egypt and Cilicia.

1555 - May 26 - Peace Treaty of Amasia which reconfirmed the division of Armenia in 1514 (after the battle of Chaldran). Western Armenia including Bagrevand and Vaspurakan remained under Turkish and Eastern Armenia under Persian sovereignty. Turkey has got Western Georgia,

Iraq including Baghdad, Eastern Georgia, and the eastern part of Ayser Caucasus annexed to Persia. The region of Kars was announced as “neutral zone” and the fortress was destroyed.

1590 - March 21 - According to the peace treaty of Constantinople, the Eastern Armenia, Georgia, the eastern part of Caucasus, Kurdistan and Lorestan (Western Persia) were under domination of Turkey.

1612 - During the years 1603 to 1607, Shah Abbas I invaded Eastern Armenia, Eastern Georgia, the southern part of Kurdistan and Lorestan. The conquests were reconfirmed on November 20, 1612 by the treaty of Constantinople.

1619 - According to the treaty of September 29, the borders of the treaty of 1612 were reconfirmed.

1639 - By the Treaty of Ghasr-e-Shirin the borders mentioned in the Treaty of Amasia of 1555 were reconfirmed with some partial changes. Armenia was again divided between two sovereigns with the following borderline: From the mountains of Javakhk through the river of Akhourian reaches Araks river and then turns to west and by the borderline of Armenian mountains, by the summit of Masis reaches the mountains of Vaspurakan and through the mountains of Zagros has passed through the present borderline of Turkey-Persia. The mentioned borderline has remained nearly unchanged till 1828 when by the treaty of Turkmanchay the Eastern Armenia was annexed to Russia. During the next eighty years of peace, the economy of Armenia had somehow progressed but in Western Armenia destruction continued.

1667 - Commercial treaty between Russia and the Armenian trade corporation of Isfahan.

1724 - The danger of Russian-Turkish war had been prevented by the treaty of 13th of June, 1724.

1727 - 4th of October - The peace treaty of Hamadan, by which Ashraf the sovereign of Persia and Sultan of Turkey had recognized the rights of each other on their invaded territories.

1732 - The peace treaty of Turkey and Persia by which Turkey succeeded to maintain Caucasian territories from Araks river to north.

1736 - By the treaty of Erzerum (Karin) Turkey had recognized the sovereignty of Persia in Eastern Armenia and Eastern Georgia.

1746 -Sept. 4 - The peace treaty between Turkey and Persia confirmed the articles of the treaty of 1639.

1800 Jan. 12 - Treaty between Turkey and France by which Egypt was returned to Turkey.

1800 - The treaty between England and Turkey which announced the closure of Black Sea and the Channels.

1801 -Jan. - English-Persian treaty against France and Russia.

1801 - Sept. 12 - The manifesto of Alexander the first: the Eastern Georgia and some of the regions of northern-eastern Armenia such as Lori, Pambak, Ghazakh, Borchalu were annexed to Russia.

1807 - May 4 - The treaty of Finkenshtein between France and Persia against Russia and England.

1807 - July 8 - Tilcīt peace treaty between France and Russia

1809 - Jan. 17, England - Turkey treaty signed in Dardanel. The war between two Countries, 1807-1809 ended.

1812 - May 16 - The peace treaty of Bucharest between Russia and Turkey. Besarabia was annexed to Russia.

1813 - Oct. 12 - The peace treaty between Russia and Persia in fortress of Gulestan in Kharabakh, according to which Persia recognized the annexation of Kharabakh, Ganja, Shaki, Shirvan, Baku, Derbend, Ghuba, Talish khanates and the regions of Lori, Pambak, Shamshadin, Zangezur and Shoragial to Russia.

1814 - Nov. 25 - Treaty signed between England and Persia in Tehran according to which Tehran promised to reconsider the treaty of Gulestan.

1823 - Turkish-Persian peace treaty of Karin by which the city of Bayazid is rejoined to Turkey.

1828 - Feb. 10 - Peace treaty between Russia and Persia in Turkmenchay, according to which the khanates of Yerevan and Nakhijevan and the territory of Ordubad rejoined to Russia.

1829 - Sept. 2 - Peace treaty between Russia and Turkey in Adrianapole. Akhalkalak, Akhaltskha the eastern coast of Black Sea and the ports of Anapa and Poti were annexed to Russia.

1830 - Jan. 22 - The independence of Greece was recognized by the treaty of London.

1833 - June 26 - Treaty of Hunkiar-Iskelesi signed between Russia and Turkey.

1856 - March 18 - The peace treaty of Paris which put an end to the war of Crimea and on July 28 Kars was annexed back to Turkey.

1856 - Sultan Abdul Majid announced the edict of “Khat-e-Homayuni” reforms and the second act of “Tanzimat”.

1877 - April 12 (24) - Alexander II signed the manifest of war announcement against Turkey.

1878 - Jan. 19 - Ceasefire concluded between Russia and Turkey in Adrianopolis.

1878 - Feb. 19 (March 3) - The Treaty of San-Stefano between Tsarist government of Russia and Turkey.

1878 - May 23 (June 4) - Anglo-Turkish agreement by which England seized Cyprus from Turkey.

1878 - June 1 (13) - The Congress of Berlin opened and continued its activities till July 1 (13).

1896 - Jan. 30 - after the rebellion of Zeytun the peace treaty signed between the rebellions, the government of Turkey and the representatives of six Powers of the time.

1914 - Jan. 26 - the agreement between Russia and Turkey in Constantinople according to which reforms should be done in Western Armenia which did not take place.

1914 - July 20 - The secret treaty between Germany and Turkey concluded in Constantinople.

1918 - March 3 - The treaty of Brest.

1920 - Aug. 10 - In the city of Sevres (near Paris) a treaty was signed between the Allies and the government of Sultan, the 88-91 articles of which are related to Armenia.

1920 - Aug.10 - The representative of Soviet Russia, B. Legran and the government of Armenia meet.

1920 - The treaty of the government of Armenia with Turkey in Alexandrapole. On the same day in Yerevan an agreement signed with Russia to hand over the government of Armenia to Communists.

1921 - Feb. - March - The Conference of London was held between Germany and Turkey and the governments of allied Countries. France and Italy proposed the revision of the treaty of Sevres.

1921 - March 16 - Treaty signed between Soviets and Turkey in Moscow.

1921 - Oct.13 - Treaty of Kars, concluded between Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan on one side and Turkey on the other.

1923 - July23 - The Peace treaty of Lozanne.

1997 - Aug. 29 - Treaty of Moscow between Russian and Armenian presidents, B. Yelcin and L. Ter Petrossian: "Russian Federation and Republic of Armenia should cooperate with and help each other".

THE EXISTING PROBLEMS OF THE ARMENIAN QUESTION

The essence of the Armenian Question, both in the past and present times has been the same. It is the establishment of political and territorial conditions for the Armenian people which will enable them to live in their Motherland in Armenian Highland freely and independently. There is only one solution for the Armenian Question which is to restore the complete Armenian statehood on a sensible territorial space where the secure existence of the ancient Armenian civilization will be guaranteed.

In other words, the Armenian Question is the question of the security of the Armenian people which demands to ensure the security of two conditions. First, the establishment of a strong Armenia and second, fixing the needed territorial guarantee for the security and vitality of the created statehood. Actually, the existence of one condition without the other is impossible. Moreover, neither the Armenian Government is able to survive on the former Soviet and Socialist Republic with 29,800 sq.km (vulnerable and defenseless for the “aggression zooming” borders), nor the Armenian people can exist in the absence of Armenian government generally.

The survival of the Armenian nation and her civilization has been endangered in the past and present times, since the territorial problem is still unsolved. After the Soviet era, Armenia was again confronted with the same situation of “to be or not to be”. Simultaneously, with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the obvious expansionist aspirations of Turkey and her younger ally, “Azerbaijan” with their ferocious acts have endangered the physical existence of Armenia once again. During the last

twenty years of the experience of independence, Armenia did prove that she had managed to survive on a 42000 sq. Km. of natural and definite borders only because of the existence of inspection on the mentioned territory, in spite of the added emancipated lands of the Republics of Armenia and Artsakh. This is the minimum piece of land which provides the security of Armenia, without which the statehood may not be able to survive at all.

To emphasize, this is the minimum land piece which provides the security of Armenia against regional and international powers and their political, martial, psychological and geopolitical clashes of interests and interactions. At the same time, it should not be excluded that the danger of the aggressive policy of Turkey and “Azerbaijan” and unleashing danger of the possible war by “Azerbaijan” will force Armenians to expand the Armenian martial-political statehood on the occupied territories of the Motherland right up to the point when the enemy will stop threatening and will reconcile with the fact that Armenians should construct their statehood on their homeland¹.

So to solve the Armenian Question and guarantee the security of Armenians, it is necessary to discuss and solve the following thesis:

- A. - The territorial integrity of Armenian historical homeland:
 - The Republic of Armenia
 - The Republic of Artsakh (mountainous and fields)
 - Nakhijevan

¹ - “Apaga” monthly, no. 33, June 2008.

- Akhalkalak

- The Western Armenia (according to the Treaty of Sevres)

B. - Establishment of Armenian national united statehood, the axis of which is the Republic of Armenia.

C. - Recognition of Armenian Genocide by Turkey and the issue of compensation.

D. - Recognition of the human rights of the hidden (disguised) Armenians living in Western Armenia and Anatolia.

E. - The return of Armenians of Diaspora to the Motherland.

F. - The handing over of the remaining of cultural heritage belonging to the Armenians, existing on Armenian territories outside of the Republic to the real owners and protection of them.

THE MANIFESTO OF THE ARMENIAN QUESTION SOLUTION

2015 was the 100th anniversary of Armenian Genocide, which both Armenia & Armenian Diaspora commemorated it.

During the past hundred years what have the Armenians done to evaluate their human, social, political, cultural and economical losses, to demand for the restoration and compensation? To be able to evaluate, it is necessary to pay attention to the past history, to reevaluate the positive and negative attempts, to learn from minor and major mistakes, then with the facts in mind, start analyzing the present situation with all the challenges, plan the future steps and obligations and divide the work to be done among the responsible persons and parties properly.

No matter how much resources will require to actualize or perform the plan, which chronological priorities will be included, how long it will take to accomplish each phase or how much each will cost, the fact is that in such projects the main topic should be the Armenian Nationwide Strategic Plan, which is essential for the present and future generations of Armenia. This plan will be the base and initiator for all the socio-political, socio-economical and socio-cultural projects and will enable the fulfillment of all the phases under different conditions and timings. On the contrary, what will be the expectations in the absence of such plan? Actually the answer is clear. It is the present situation of the Armenian nation and specially the status of Armenian Genocide.

Already, one hundred years have passed away but Armenians have done nearly nothing. Now, at Genocide's centenary too, the fulfillment of

the planned programs won't make much difference from the idleness of the century passed.

Up until now, the governments during the First Republic of Armenia, later the Soviet Armenia and now the third Republic and all the traditional parties, federations and modern organizations in Diaspora have not taken any productive steps for a thorough and complete solution of the Armenian Question. There has been lack of precise and gainful program, specially when the mistakes of the past are continued. Moreover, there are groups who by exploiting the Armenian Question try to stabilize their existence or gain profits on behalf of national empathy of the Armenian people.

To solve the Armenian Question the following thesis are needed:

- 1- Strong national army
- 2- Strong national economics (industrial and agricultural)
- 3- Population growth of Armenians on their Motherland
- 4- Active scientific potential
- 5- Development of the national socio-political, socio-cultural, socio-patriotic-psychological level
- 6- Vitalizing of international political & juridical activities

To discuss the above mentioned thesis, it is necessary to discuss the following points:

- a. The necessary steps to be taken by both the governments of Armenia and Artsakh.
- b. The obligations of the Armenians living in the Armenian territories seperated from Armenia.
- c. The obligations of Armenian Diaspora.

THE REPUBLICS OF ARMENIA AND ARTSAKH

Republics of Armenia and Artsakh are both the most important basis and axis for solving the Armenian Question, so the governments and the people of both states carry on the real responsibility.

A-PEOPLE

1. The peoples of the Republics of Armenia and Artsakh are obliged to ensure the security of National Motherland Authority. The people should prove that they belong to the same nation and are willing to have a proper and honorable place among the international history. To reach this goal the Armenian nation should struggle steadily both on inward and outward arenas. The nation should struggle against all conspiracies, anti-Armenian, anti-national elements and actions, and must prove to be a united nation and has got a strong will to establish a homeland with a democratic government, national economics, strong national army, national science and culture and fully aware and responsible society.

2. To reach to such goals, a patriotic Armenian is obliged to stay in his homeland and continue to neutralize all of the obstacles. The native Armenian who seeks his future on foreign lands, will not be able to create and keep his homeland and cannot have his proper place in international history.

3. Make changes in cultural-psychological aspects to save the native communities from negative and not virtuous life.

4. The Armenians living on Motherland should accept all of the Armenians of Diaspora without any mania of the afterward profits, just to organize a united cooperation and carry on a life of positive neighborhood and friendship.

5. Organize communal and social supporting institutions or companies which will be ensured by the native authorities with simple and transparent programmings and economical projects.

6. Plan nationwide programs to save the national nature on all of the territories of the Motherland.

7. Organize and distribute volunteering movement infrastructures both on the Republics of Armenia and Artsakh which will spread their activities all over Armenia, Artsakh, Western Armenia, Akhalkalak and Diaspora's different regions.

8. X projects.

B. GOVERNMENT

B-1- INTERNAL POLICY

1. Announce emergency state
2. Revise the Constitutional Law, the basis of which should be democratic-socialistic regime. This fact has got its justified reasons.
3. To apply the basic changes, there will be a need for referandum which will be inspected by international trustworthy organizations. The best European experiences should be used.
4. Justify the “Government for people - people for government” motto and implement it in all aspects.
5. Change the national hymn and return back to the Soviet Armenian one composed by the legendary compser Aram Khachaturian, customizing it with the present regime of Armenian Republic and cut the hymn down equal to thirty seconds which will make it much inspiring than the present one.
6. Make the National Army the most important institution of the country.
7. Reveal and neutralize all secret societies such as the Masonic lodges, Rotarian clubs and all of the centers and individuals relevant to the committee of 300 completely. Anybody or any center relevant to those systems should be considered as traitors.
8. Prohibit the activities of “National traditional parties” in

Motherland as long as they have parties with the same names out of the borders of the Country. After the acceptance of the mentioned condition, such organizations should be handed over to justice for the past ruining activities such as the Treaty of Alexandrapol, assigning the Promete Treaty and cooperation with Fascist Germany, acts against the immigration of Armenians to their Motherland, terror of tens of Armenian youth in Iran, USA, Lebanon, etc., and cooperating organizations with foreign Intelligence Agencies, some of which are still continuing their services.

9. The priority of national industrial income should be assigned for arming, development and feeding with new technologies of the national army.

10. Arrange national-regional industrial economical projects (Projective Approach), the priority should be given to provide modern arms, to develop agricultural, industrial, and mechanical robot manufacturing.

11. Adjust all of the programs of the educational institutes with the political-economical, industrial and agricultural progress goals of the country.

12. Try to move the National Academy of Sciences out of inactivity and idleness and motivate its different institutes to get mingled with any useful matter for the country.

13. Develop the internet and informatic technologies.

14. Establish a Pan-Armenian bank, the working system will be based on internet and all the Armenians around the world will have the opportunity to participate, the outcome of which will be have a more

transparent, greater financial potential aimed for the prosperity and progress of Armenia.

15. Create a governmental informational site (radio, television, publications) which will help the Armenians of the world to be acquainted with all the news of diaspora and homeland.

16. Establish Pan-Armenian national parliament, the physical existence of which being in the Armenian Capital. The sessions will be held once per month with the most modern virtual technologies. The annual general assembly will be held in Armenian Republic. The transportation and accommodation expenses should be undertaken by the communities and individual representatives. The election of representatives will be performed online with the help of modern technologies. The main function of the parliament will be to organize the performance of the parliamentary constitution, financing and applying of the Pan-Armenian programs. Pan-Armenian Bank will be one its major institutions.

17. Create a National Strategic Organization supervised by the Prime Minister which should arrange programs with long, mid-range and short terms for the development of the national economy.

18. Organize monthly meetings of the Armenians with the President who will report about the military, security and foreign affairs and will inform about all the international and Pan-Armenian meetings taken place during the specific month.

19. The Prime Minister should also present a monthly report about all the steps taken for different activities and the final progress status of each part.

20. The Parliament should prepare an anticorruption plan and the relevant laws, the performance of which should be the responsibility of national security, juridical and police organizations.

21. Monitor the wealth of each president, prime minister, ministers and all of the high rank governmental officials before and after taking the positions until the end of their service.

22. The relevant ministries should prepare the reports based on the facts about the responsibilities accomplished and should present them to people of every level.

23. Arrange an internet base which will include all the information about the necessary aspects in any domain and facilitate the nationwide cooperation potential to solve the problems and the needs.

24. The Armenian Pan-Armenian Fund should undergo a full inspection and examination by the Government in accordance with the relevant rules. Long term supporting program of the Armenian army should be the main part of the program and should have an account in Pan-Armenian bank.

25. Alter the taxation rules. All small or large businesses should be demanded to digitize their registration, the ones which are against the rules should be punished with heavy penalties or long term imprisonment.

26. The oligarchy should be considered national traitors and should be punished according to the law. The ones who have abused the nation economically should have heavy punishments (imprisonment and penalties).

27. Arrange wide patriotic propaganda to keep the feelings and beliefs of the nation on high level and develop them.

28. The Ministry of Diaspora should involve all the Armenians living in Diaspora in the activities of the Ministry. It should be as a bridge between the Armenians living in the Motherland and diaspora without any consideration of different groups. It should feed the Diaspora with cultural, literal programs and help to keep national identity or any other expedient programs. It always should organize back to home immigration.

29. The Ministry of Culture should help the development of the cultural centers of the country, organize monthly programs outside Armenia (with the help of the Diaspora Ministry) the main part of the income of which should be used for the development of the National Army and scientific centers and to carry on the strategic programs.

30. Put limits for using foreign names and titles for economical, scientific, educational and other organizations to encourage people to prefer the national. Create and produce only for the progress of national economy. Choose golden Armenian words, and names for their productions or services.

31. Launch Armenian nationwide struggles (as permitted by law) against any foreign negative influences which are in contradiction with the pure Armenian culture and Armenian socio-political infrastructure. Encourage the native Armenian manners, way of living, religious and secular culture and etc.

32. Plan and fulfill a new method of awards distribution. The persons or centers appreciated are the ones who have real devotion to the

Armenian culture, science, industry, economy and military arenas. The fact concerns to the Armenians living in diaspora first and foreigners, next. Everything pertaining to special families, parties, sects should be neglected and only the national approaches should be taken into consideration.

33. With the support of Armenian Republic, Diaspora Ministry, social organizations and benefactors the “Pan-Armenian Publications” should be financed to help native and Diaspora writers, poets, artists and researchers to publish their works (editing, printing, digitizing, etc.).

34. To enable the minorities such as yezidis, assyrians and zazas living in Armenia to transfer their relatives of abroad to the country.

35. Project X.

36. Other projects

B-2- FOREIGN POLICY

1. Clarify the unveiled policies of foreign powers about the Armenian Question especially after the 17th century up to now. As a result, the enemies and friends of Armenian people and Armenia will be recognized and the ones among these two borders will be clear.
2. Put limits on diplomatic and other relations with the enemy and unfriendly governments and on the contrary improve relations with friendly powers.
3. According to the old and modern historical facts and the general course, the USA, Great Britain, France and Germany are not considered as Armenia's friends, unless they can prove it practically.
4. According to historical facts Russia, Iran, China, Japan, Italy, Greece, Canada, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, India, Korea, some of the Arab governments and Latin America can be considered as the friends of Armenia unless they act differently.
5. Create committee of diplomats and attorneys specialized in the international law in the Foreign Affairs Ministry of the Republic of Armenia.
6. The mentioned committee should officially urge for a trial both for the governments of Turkey and Germany as the responsables of Armenian Genocide.
7. The mentioned committee should officially refer to international juridical courts including the court of Hague and condemn the government of Turkey for destroying the cultural and economical heritage of the Armenian people of Western Armenia and Cilicia,

The committee should demand the territories grasped and the spiritual

heritage and financial compensation according to -

- the Treaty of Sevres (10.08.1920),
- the verdict of Woodrow Wilson the 28th President of USA (22.11.1920),
- the Declaration of independence of Cilicia (04.08.1920),
- the Human Rights Declaration of UN and
- the relevant treaties and documents.

8. Juridical-diplomatic Committee should officially refer to the Human Rights Committee of UN adverting the Declaration of the rights of native peoples demanding that the Armenians of Western Armenia should have the right of free-will for their own national, religious and civic identity.

9. The Juridical-Diplomatic Committee should officially refer to international Courts including the Court of Hague and urge for the trial the government of “Azerbaijan”, the responsible for the genocide of the Armenians from 1918 up to 1988 and the military actions against Armenians later on.

10. To solve the question of Artsakh internationally, the above mentioned Committee should refer to international courts including the Court of Hague, nullifying the forced decision of annexing Mountainous Karabakh to “Azerbaijan Republic” by the Communist party of Soviet Union.

11. The Foreign Affairs Minister of Republic of Armenia should officially nullify the Treaties of Alexandrapol and Kars and refer to

international Courts, the General Assembly of UN, the Security Council and demand to reestablish the rights of Armenian people which had been grasped forcefully.

12. Establish Diplomatic Investigation Committee beside the Supreme Security Council of the Republic of Armenia which should thoroughly examine and follow the Diplomatic Representatives and ambassadors of the Republic of Armenia and also the activities of all the members of the Government. The guilty ones should be punished roughly.

13. The Foreign Affairs Ministry of the Republic of Armenia should hold seminars for updating the diplomatic, political, economical, social and cultural affairs scientifically and practically.

14. Diplomatic Representatives of the Republic of Armenia should present monthly updated reports about the facilities of their serving countries in cooperation with Armenia. The reports should be placed in diplomatic internet system as a source for establishing and planning new cooperations in the future.

15. Diplomatic Representatives should present monthly updated reports about the needs of the Armenian communities of each country which will be placed in the internet system of the Diaspora's Ministry as a source for the Armenian communities of foreign countries for establishing and planning new cooperations in the future.

16. Arrange fundamental strategy to cooperate with the Eastern partners for solving the Eastern Question. Taking into consideration the historical-political and diplomatic dynamics, there is a need to update the strategy for the supreme rights and benefit of the Armenian

people. At present it is essential to have strategical active contracts with Russia, Iran, China, Greece, Cyprus, Syria and India.

17. Adjust the level of activities between Armenia and foreign countries based on mutual cooperation potential and future aiming for an optimum activity and financial launching and optimizing the expenses as much as possible.

18. By forming a Pan-Armenian General Database, it is necessary for all the diplomatic representatives to cooperate for updating the database, especially there will be a need for links between the Armenians of Diaspora and international socio-cultural organizations on one side and the support of individuals, communities and organizations in the Republic of Armenia which can show any help, on the other.

19. Beside the diplomatic representatives of Armenia, touristic agencies should start activities to promote and create facilities for foreign companies to organize tourism and traveling to Armenia and Artsakh.

20. Beside the diplomatic representatives of Armenia, a trading-economical office should be created which will promote and give facilities to foreign companies to organize economical programs in Armenia and Artsakh.

21. The diplomatic representatives of Armenia should research the social-economical and cultural developments taking place in their countries and represent them in Armenia and cooperate with the specific country when needed to develop similar programs in Armenia.

22. Other programs.

ARMENIANS LIVING ON THE TERRITORIES SEPERATED FROM ARMENIA

1. Establish native socio-cultural and communal organizations.
2. Take necessary steps to regain the heritage of ancestors with the help of native Pan-Armenian organizations and authorities.
3. Use the internet and the programs of radio-television stations of the Republic of Armenia to regain the national and cultural identity.
4. Participate in tourism programs and visit more often both Armenia and the communities of Diaspora to be acquainted and/or make permanent relations with them.
5. Based on the verdict of the Congress of USA, based on that the government of Turkey should return the cultural heritage to their real owners (i.e. the churches) and by using the facilities of international different organizations of human rights, they should stand up for the values created by their ancestors.
6. Create relations with Armenian communities of Diaspora, benevolent and humanitarian organizations and plea for their cooperation for restoring the cultural and spiritual values.
7. Organize the participation of the youth in different activities programmed by the Ministry of Diaspora which will enable them to be acquainted both with Armenia and Artsakh and through them will be more in touch with the communities of Diaspora.

8. Make opportunities for free education in universities for the youth.
9. Participate actively in socio-political, socio-cultural programs such as rural city and state elections.
10. Responsible activists are urged to research in their regions and find their fellow countrymen and help them to restore their national identity without any anti-governmental or adventurous actions.
11. With the cooperation of the educated individuals and activists, Armenian schools should be established and teaching sessions be organized in different regions and volunteers should also expand educational activities over there (Hidden Armenians).
12. Native Armenian activists should publish native Armenian (Armenian and Latin) press, internet and/or pages on Facebook and other social networks.
13. Create close relationship with the Armenians of Constantinople and carry on united cultural and social programs.
14. Strengthen normal neighborly relations with other native people. Take into consideration that the destiny of the Western Armenians is connected with the future of native Kurdish and other local people.
15. Today with the national awakening of the Western Armenians only, creating a new future will be possible.
16. Other programs.

ARMENIAN DIASPORA

1. The largest national debt of Armenians of Diaspora is “Protection of Armenians from assimilation”.
2. A “Nation” can only construct its future when is living in the Motherland and on its territory.
3. A “Nation” without native language, national heritage and motherland cannot survive.
4. The national school and the church should be protected.
5. Struggle against the sectarianism and non native sects.
6. The only spiritual center is Saint Echmiadsin Holy See, it is essential to gather around it and unite spiritually.
7. Joining of all Diaspora Dioceses to Saint Echmiadsin Holy See.
8. In Armenian schools, to use the new Armenian orthography, which being easier should help the new generation to learn the Armenian language without much obstacles.
9. Cooperate with the Ministry of Diaspora to have regular periodic sessions of cultural training and rehearsals in Armenia and Artsakh.
10. Stop the development of new centers for parties and devote the financial sources to carry on the cultural, social and economical programs in Armenia.
11. Using the data of the Pan-Armenian General database, protect the

individuals, families and specially the children living in the motherland who are in need by every Armenian family living abroad.

12. Organize tourism programs to Armenia for both Armenians and foreigners.

13. Organize economic programs for both Armenians and foreigners to transfer their financial facilities to Armenia.

14. Publish any historical, cultural, informational and touristic publications and press about Armenian nation in Armenia in English and other languages by which both Armenians living abroad or different nations will be acquainted with the history and culture of the Armenian nation.

15. Organize Pan-Armenian Distance Learning courses on different levels of elementary, vocational and higher education of universities with Armenian and international adequate degree evaluations.

16. Eliminate the old party/sect mentalities, learn from the mistakes of the past, revise and be guided with new programs.

17. Put an end to destroying the nation physically, spiritually and ideologically.

18. Cooperate with native repatriation programs.

19. Cooperate with native juridical-diplomatic committee in international courts at the trial against Germany and Turkey.

20. Abstain from wasting the national financial and historical opportunities of the western countries relevant to the Eastern Question and the recognition of the Armenian Genocide since they won't

recognize the Armenian Genocide because of their imperialistic profits and in case they do, they will never take any practical steps to recover the rights of Armenians or Genocide's compensation. It will be wiser to spend the same expenses for development programs taking place in Armenia.

21. The activities implemented for condemnation of the Armenian Genocide and the relevant compensation should be taken place in international courts including the court of Hague.

22. Apply judicial direction which includes the protection of Armenian historical-cultural and civilization values in UN, European Human Rights and appropriate boards.

23. Development of the national identity and self-consciousness with sensible and not adventurist programs.

24. Organize permanent cultural, spiritual and national contacts with the Armenians of Western Armenia.

25. Organize permanent touristic programs to visit Western Armenia, Republics of Armenia and Artsakh.

26. Promote the youth to develop their knowledge about their Motherland and learn to speak in Armenian.

27. Promote to use of Armenian language with Armenian writing on the internet.

28. Make the parish tribute as a national regular tribute and pay it via Pan-Armenian Bank.

29. Organize native and regional telethons and fundraising with the

assistance and cooperation of different responsible organizations, the profit of which will be transferred for strengthening of the Army and development of economical and industrial programs.

30. Organize visits of Armenian scientists living abroad to Armenia, make contacts with native scientists, organize seminars and meetings both physically or on the WEB.

31. Other programs.

INDEX

Abdol Majid	45	50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 58, 60,
Abdul Hamid	33	61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 67, 69, 70,
<i>Adana</i>	11, 33	71, 72
Adrianapole	44	Armenian Arshakunians 26
Afghanistan	6	Armenian concise Encyclopedia 9
Aghayan	21	Armenian kingdoms 20
Akhalkalak	44, 50, 55	Armenian Question 5, 7, 8, 9,
Akhaltskha	44	10, 12, 14, 15, 17, 18, 30, 32,
Alexander	43, 45	48, 49, 52, 54, 62
Alexandropol	34, 57, 64	<i>Armenian Reforms</i> 11
Amasia	18, 41, 42	<i>Armenian Research Center</i> 7
Ammianos Markellinos	40	Armenian Revolutionary Army 35
Anatolia	21, 32, 50	Armenian Soviet Encyclopedia 9
Andranik	32, 33	<i>Armenians</i> 5, 10, 11, 15, 18, 20,
Anglo-Turkish agreement	45	22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 31,
Ani	20, 27	32, 33, 34, 35, 38, 49, 50, 51,
Apamia	38	52, 53, 55, 57, 58, 60, 61, 63,
Aq-Qoyunlu	21	65, 68, 69, 70, 71
Arabian Countries	6	Armineh Ghazarian 5
Arabs	11, 20, 23, 27	Arshak 17, 23
Arakelots Monastery	32	Arshakunian Dynasty 39
Aratta - Shumerian	36	Artashat 38
ARF	32	Artashes 25, 38
Armenakan	31	Artashesian Dynasty 26
<i>Armenia</i>	5, 6, 9, 11, 15, 16, 17,	Artaz 28
	18, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27,	Ashot Bagratuni 27
	28, 29, 31, 32, 34, 35, 38, 39,	
	40, 41, 42, 43, 46, 47, 48, 49,	

Asia Minor	20, 21, 38, 39	Daranaghi	17
Assyrian	36	Dardanos	39
Atlantic Ocean	21	Davit Beg	28
<i>Austria</i>	8, 10, 13	Derbend	44
Austrians	22	Derjan	17
Ayntap	34	Eastern Question	5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 65, 70
Babelonian	36	EASTERN QUESTION	3, 8, 36, 38
Babken Syuni	32	Edic Baghdasarian	1, 5, 7
Babshen	32	Egypt	6, 21, 41, 43
Baghdad	18, 42	Egyptian	20
Baku	44	England	10, 31, 32, 43, 44, 45
Balkans	7, 10, 21, 24	Erzrum	33, 34
Bayazid	21, 44	Eternal	41
Behbutov	29	<i>France</i>	8, 10, 24, 32, 43, 44, 46, 62
<i>Berlin</i>	9, 10, 30, 45	Ganja	44
Besarabia	44	Geneva	31
Black Sea	43, 44	<i>Genocide</i>	11, 15, 33, 35, 50, 51, 52, 62, 71
Borchalu	43	Georgia	18, 42, 43, 46
Brusa	21	Germany	11, 46, 57, 62, 70
Bucharest	44	Gevorg Gharibjanian	9
<i>Bulgarians</i>	11	Gharakilisa	30, 34
Byzantium	17, 18, 20, 21, 27, 40, 41	Ghasr-e-Shirin	18, 42
Caucasus	6, 10, 18, 21, 34, 42	Ghazakh	43
Central Asia	6	Ghuba	44
China	7, 62, 65	giavours	23
Christians	22, 23, 24	Global Balkans	6
<i>Cilicia</i>	9, 11, 18, 20, 21, 41, 63	Great Haiyk	17
Cleopatra	38	Great Near East	6
Constantinople	21, 30, 32, 35, 42, 46, 68		
<i>Crimea</i>	10		

<i>Great Powers</i>	8, 10, 11, 13	Khanasor	32
<i>Greece</i>	8, 10, 45, 62, 65	Khetian	36
<i>Greeks</i>	11, 23, 24	Khorzdian	17
Grigor Artsruni	31	Khosrov	16, 17
Gulestan	44	Kodomanus	25
Gum Gapu	31	Korduk	39
H. Arghutian	29	Kurdistan	42
Hamadan	43	<i>Lausanne</i>	9, 10, 12
Hayots Hayrenasirakan	31	Lebanon	39, 57
Hayrenaser-azgaser	31	Legran	46
Hetum	41	Levon	20
History of the Armenian State	5	Libya	6
<i>Holy Alliance</i>	8	Lori	43, 44
Hov. Lazarian	29	Magnesia	38
Hovsep Emin	28	Maku	28
Hrandia	39	Mamluks	20
Human Rights Committee	63	Mananaghi,	17
Hunchak	33	Mekhitar	28
Hunchakian	31	Mekrtich Portugalian	31
Iran	6, 57, 62, 65	Mesopotamia	39, 40
Iraq	18, 42	Michael Sebastatsi	28
Isfahan	43	Middle East	6, 10
Israel	6, 28	Mihrdat	38, 39
James Baker	6	Moscow	28, 31, 46, 47
Javakhk	18, 42	Mzur	17
Justice Commandos	35	Nakhijevan	44, 50
K. Khudaverdian	9	Near East	6, 22, 24
Karin	17, 30, 31, 33, 43, 44	Nevarsak	41
Kars	18, 20, 27, 30, 34, 42, 45, 46, 64	Nicola	29
<i>Kemalist Turkey</i>	9, 11	Northern Africa	6
Khachatur Kereksian	31	Ori	28
		Orkhan	21

Osman	21	<i>Russia</i>	8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 19, 24, 29, 32, 33, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 62, 65
Ottoman	8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 18, 21, 22, 23, 24, 32	Sahak Bagratuni	26
<i>Ottoman Empire</i>	8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 21, 23	Sasanids	26
Ozun Hasan	21	Sassanid	15
Pakistan	6	Secret Army	35
Palestine	39	Seim	34
Pambak	43, 44	Seleucus	38
Paris	22, 29, 45, 46	Seljuk	18, 20
Parnak	38	Septimios Severos	40
Pashtpan Hayrenyats	31	<i>Serbians</i>	11
Persia	15, 17, 18, 25, 28, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44	Serob Aghbyur	32
Polish	22	Sev Khach	30
Pompilius	38	Sevre	11, 34
Pontak	38	Sevres	9, 11, 46, 50, 63
Pontus	38, 39	Shah Abbas	22, 42
Poti	44	Shahpur III	15
Potyomkin	29	Shaki	44
PREFACE	5	Shamshadin	44
<i>Prussia</i>	8, 10	Shapin Garahisar	33
Qara Mustafa Pasha	22	Shirvan	44
Qar-Qoyunlu	21	Shoragial	44
R. Sahakian	9	Simon Yerevantsi	29
Ramkavar	35	Sovorov	29
Red Vartan	27	Stepanos Salmastetsi	28
<i>Reforms</i>	11	Suleiman	21
Roman	15, 17, 20, 26, 36, 38, 39, 40	Suleiman Pasha	29
Rome	21, 24, 28, 38, 39, 40	Syria	21, 39, 65
Rubinian principedom	20	Syunik	27, 28
		Tadeos	28
		Talish	44

Tanzimat	45	<i>Turks</i>	11, 18, 20, 21, 22, 28
Taron	20	UN	63, 64, 71
Tashir-Dzoraget	27	<i>United Kingdom</i>	13
Tatar-Mongols	20	Urartu	25
Tayk	20	USA	6, 9, 57, 62, 63, 67
Tbilisi	29, 31, 32, 33	Vahan Mamikonian	26
Ter Ghukasov	30	Vartan Mamikonian	27
The Armenian Question	5, 12, 17, 18	Vasak Mamikonian	26
Theodosius	15	Vaspurakan	18, 19, 20, 27, 41, 42
Tigran the Great	25, 38	Venice	24, 28
Tigran Yervandian	25	<i>Verona</i>	8, 10
Toghril	21	Wikipedia	6, 9, 12
Treaty	8, 9, 10, 11, 17, 18, 34, 38, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 50, 57, 63	<i>World War</i>	6, 8, 9, 11, 13
Tsovk	39	Yekeghik	17
Turkey	6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 18, 24, 28, 29, 34, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 48, 49, 50, 62, 67, 70	Yerevan	9, 12, 21, 24, 31, 34, 44, 46
<i>Turkish government</i>	11, 22, 32, 33	Yervand	25
Turkmenchay	19, 44	Yervand Sakavakiants	25
		Zagros	19, 21, 42
		Zakarians	20, 27
		Zangezur	44
		Zbigneu Bjezinski	6
		Zeytun	29, 30, 31, 32, 45

The End