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Secret Armies and Revolutionary Federations: The Rise and Fall of Armenian Political Violence, 1973-1993

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FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

SECRET ARMIES AND REVOLUTIONARY FEDERATIONS: THE RISE AND FALL OF
ARMENIAN POLITICAL VIOLENCE, 1973-1993

By

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A Dissertation submitted to the
Department of History
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Degree Awarded:
Summer Semester, 2014

Christopher Gunn defended this dissertation on July 8, 2014.

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To Felix and Maxim

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Over the last eight years, I have become indebted to a number of individuals and organizations that helped, assisted, and encouraged me as I pursued my doctorate in history and this research project in particular. Without them, I would never have completed this journey. I owe a special thanks to the late Daniel Walbolt, and his spouse, Sylvia, who have generously supported the Department of History at Florida State University, and who provided the means for my fellowship at the University. I am extremely grateful for the patience and guidance of my advisor, Dr. Jonathan Grant, who, among countless other attributes, had the patience to bear with me as my research topics changed over the years. My entire committee: Dr. Michael Creswell, Dr. Edward Wynot, Dr. Michael Souva, and Dr. Will Hanley, provided me with invaluable insights, suggestions, comments and, most precious, their time, during my years at FSU, and for that I am very appreciative. I would also like to thank Dr. Norman Zucker for first encouraging me to continue with graduate school and pursue a doctoral degree, and Dr. Elna Green for her time and assistance as I transitioned disciplines. My colleague, Hendry Miller also deserves special thanks. While I was away from Tallahassee the last four years, Mr. Miller never failed to answer my emails, even though it usually meant an administrative task or a library trip that took time away from his own work and research.

Additionally, I want to thank those who lent their assistance to this research project. The U.S. Department of State's amazing Critical Language Scholarship Program provided me with a foundation in Turkish language and culture unlike any other. The International Dissertation Research Fellowship from the Graduate School at Florida State University enabled me to live in Turkey for an academic year while conducting research. Finally, the Department of History at Florida State University provided funding for two important research trips to archives in California. Many individuals also lent their time and assistance to me over the last four years. I would like to thank Dr. Umut Uzer for introducing me to the academic community in Ankara; Dr. Hakan Yavuz and the University of Utah for providing opportunities to present my research; Dr. Ilhan Uzgel, Dr. Bestami Bilgiç and Dr. Kemal Çiçek for their feedback, suggestions, time, and hospitality; Dr. Türkkaya Ataöv for an account of his own personal experiences; Dr. Levon

Avdoyan, at the African & Middle Eastern Reading Room at the Library of Congress in Washington, DC, who assisted me with the Spurk archive; Aslan Yavuz Şir, for tirelessly searching out and connecting me with the retired Turkish Foreign Ministry personnel who worked and lived through this period of violence and who were gracious enough to recount their experiences for me; Ambassador (ret.) Sina Baydur; Ambassador (ret.) Ömer Engin Lütem, Ambassador (ret.) Bilal Şimşir, and Ambassador (ret.) Nuri Yildirim. Ambassador Yildirim's office was a treasure trove of newspaper clippings, primary documents and other material, many of which produced more questions than answers.

Finally, on a more personal level, I would like to thank my family. First my parents, James and Susan Gunn, who have unfailingly supported and encouraged my education and academics, even as the second decade slipped into the third and fourth, and when it meant traveling to Ankara and Antalya to spend time with their grandchildren. My sons, Felix and Maxim, who did the best they could to understand what, exactly, their father does for a living, and why it involves so many books and trips to far away places. The greatest thanks and appreciation, however, goes to my wife, Anett. Without her sacrifices, support, patience, and, most importantly, tolerance, this journey would have ended much differently.

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ABSTRACT

Between 1973 and 1988, ASALA and the ARF waged a campaign of violence against Turkey and its citizens. These terrorist organizations killed approximately 90 individuals and wounded hundreds more through a combination of attacks that spanned North America, Europe, the Middle East and the south Pacific and targeted ethnic Turks, assets of the Turkish government, and Turkish business interests. By the early 1980s, these two organizations earned reputations as the most dangerous, savage and mysterious terrorist group in existence. Armenian terrorism, however had virtually no chance of reaching its publicly stated goals. ASALA and the ARF demanded acknowledgement of the Armenian genocide; reparations for the families of the victims; and possession of eastern Anatolia. Contrary to their aims, the Turkish government was not going to revise their history, and the prospect of violating the territorial sovereignty of the Turkish Republic inconceivable. Yet, Armenian terrorism thrived for over a decade before abruptly fading away in the second half of the 1980s. Making use of the primary documents now available, this work will analyze the reasons why ASALA and the ARF took up arms in 1975, how they sustained themselves, and why they suddenly disappeared. It will argue that Armenian terrorism was the end result of a policy of aggressive nationalism based on anti-Turkishness that was introduced in 1959 used for short-term and local political gains. Recognizing the success of this new policy, the ARF continued to promote anti-Turkishness throughout 1960s and early 1970s. After witnessing the positive response to the increasing violence and the emergence of favorable international conditions, the ARF embraced violence as means to obtain their ultimate political goal: eastern Anatolia. At the very same time, three Armenian intellectuals and a young Armenian terrorist with experience in various Palestinian organizations were creating a new terrorist organization of their own, ASALA. ASALA and the ARF/JCAG operated for over a decade, and were able to sustain themselves because of the steadfast support of the Armenian diaspora for a terrorist campaign that killed Turks. The campaigns finally ended after the violence not only became an end in itself, but had turned the two groups against each other in an inter-group struggle that decimated their ranks.

CHAPTER 1

ARMENIAN POLITICAL VIOLENCE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Between 1973 and 1988, the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA) and the armed wing of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF), first as the Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide (JCAG) and later as the Armenian Revolutionary Army (ARA) led one of the most unique terrorist movements to emerge out of the eastern Mediterranean and Europe during the early 1970s. These terrorists killed approximately 90 individuals and wounded hundreds more through a combination of assassinations, bombing campaigns and violent assaults that spanned North America, Europe, the Middle East and the south Pacific and targeted ethnic Turks, assets of the Turkish government, and Turkish business interests.

Before fading in the late 1980s, ASALA and the JCAG/ARA were linked to various militant Palestinian factions, as well as other international terrorist organizations, international narcotic trafficking, international extortion rings and even to the USSR, Libya, Syria, Greece and Cyprus.¹ In a geographical and temporal environment where the Armenian organizations had to compete with such groups as the Italian Red Brigades, the German Red Army Faction, the Irish Republican Army, the Basque ETA, and the PLO for media exposure and government attention, the Armenians managed extremely well. In the early 1980s, various U.S. government officials described Armenian terrorists as the most dangerous, savage and mysterious group in

¹ For just a sampling see Andrew Corsun, "Armenian Terrorism: A Profile," in *Department of State Bulletin* Vol. 82, No. 2065 (August 1982), 35; Michael Gunter, *"Pursuing the Just Cause of their People": A Study of Contemporary Armenian Terrorism* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1986); Anat Kurz and Ariel Merari, *ASALA—Irrational Terror or Political Tool* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1985), 39-52; Paul Henze, *GOAL: Destabilization: Soviet Agitational Propaganda, Instability and Terrorism in NATO South* (Marina del Rey, CA: European Institute for Security Research, 1981), 36; Andrew Mango, *Turkey and the War on Terror: For Forty Years We Fought Alone* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 12; Marvin Howe, "Turks Blame Cypriots for Attacks in Name of Armenians," *New York Times*, February 28, 1980; E.J. Dionne, Jr., "Armenian Terror: Tangle of Motives," *New York Times*, August 1, 1983; and *Armenian Terrorism, Its Supporters, the Narcotic Connection, the Distortion of History* (Ankara, Turkey: Ankara University, 1984).

existence, and in 1981 they actually accounted for the highest number of documented international terrorist attacks in the world.²

The groups' most ignominious acts were the murders of Turkish diplomats and their immediate family members, which took 31 lives between 1973 and 1984,³ and included the 1980 assassination of the Turkish administrative attaché to Greece and his 14-year old daughter by Monte Melkonian, a native Californian and an honors graduate of the University of California, Berkeley.⁴ What made the Armenian terrorist campaign unique, however, was neither the diversity or barbarity of its ideologues, nor the sudden and violent reemergence of the Armenian Question five decades after it had been settled by the international community with the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923, but that it had virtually no chance of reaching its publicly stated goals.

ASALA and the ARF wanted first, to force the Turkish government to acknowledge that the ethnic conflict in eastern Anatolia in 1915 was an Ottoman-sponsored and directed genocide against the Armenians; second, to pay reparations to the families of these victims; and third, to return the provinces of eastern Anatolia to the Armenians. Contrary to the aims and aspirations of the terrorists, however, Turkey's government was not going to revise their country's history to adopt the Armenian version of 1915. By extension, therefore, discussions over reparations were meaningless. Finally, the prospect of violating the territorial sovereignty of the Turkish Republic, especially along the longest NATO border with the USSR during the height of the Cold War, was quixotic at best. Yet, Armenian terrorism not only continued, it thrived for over a decade before abruptly fading away in the second half of the 1980s, despite an upsurge in terrorism at the exact same time.⁵

Historiography

The literature and historiography of the broader fields which this study is tangential: the Armenian diaspora; the Armenian Question; terrorism and the more familiar terrorist

² "Armenian Terrorists," January 10, 1983, CIA, CIA-RDP88-01070R000100520004-4; "Patterns of International Terrorism: 1981," in *Department of State Bulletin* Vol. 82, No. 2065 (August 1982): 16; and Gunter, "*Pursuing the Just Cause of their People*", 1.

³ Bilal N. Şimşir, *Şehit Diplomatlarımız (1973-1994)*, Vol. 2, (Ankara, Turkey: Bilgi Yayınevi, 2000), 967-968.

⁴ Markar Melkonian, *My Brother's Road: An American's Fateful Journey to Armenia*, (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2007), 84.

⁵ "Terrorism Review," CIA, Dec. 14 1989, CIA Doc No/ESDN: 0000258747, CREST.

organizations of the late 20th century: the IRA, PLO, ETA, and the Red Brigades; détente; and Turkish political history; are more mature and developed than the historiography on Armenian political violence. Additionally, much of the literature in this category is concerned with the glorification and analysis of Operation Nemesis. This operation was designed to facilitate the assassination of a number of prominent members of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), the last political organization to hold real power in the Ottoman Empire, and who were held responsible for the Armenian massacres of 1915 and beyond.⁶

The literature in English on the organizations this research will analyze, the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA) and the armed wing of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF), alternatively named the Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide (JCAG) and the Armenian Revolutionary Army (ARA), and their violent campaign against Turkey to achieve the recognition of the Armenian genocide, the lands of eastern Anatolia/western Armenia, and reparations for the massacres of 1915, is comprised of essentially two books, “Pursuing the Just Cause of their People”: A Study of Contemporary Armenia by Michael Gunter and ASALA—Irrational Terror or Political Tool by Anat Kurz and Ariel Merari.⁷ Both of these books were written in the mid-1980s, before it was clear that their campaigns had essentially run their course, and were primarily concerned with the origins of the groups. This material, by necessity, relied heavily on an account published by a former ASALA operative, Monte Melkonian, who broke with ASALA’s leader and attempted to create his own faction. While the information it does provide important insight, its content was obviously slanted to his version of events. Over the past two and a half decades, these have been supplemented only by a handful of Turkish government publications, a conference publication, a few scholarly articles, many by Michael Gunter, a picture book to accompany a documentary, and a dissertation.⁸ Research that intersects, or overlaps, this period of Armenian political

⁶ Edward Alexander, *A Crime of Vengeance: An Armenian Struggle for Justice* (New York: Free Press, 1991); Lindy V. Avakian, *Cross and the Crescent* (Phoenix, AZ: USC Press, 1989); Jacques Derogy, *Resistance and Revenge: The Armenian Assassination of the Turkish Leaders Responsible for the 1915 Massacres and Deportations* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1990); Arshavir Shiragian, *The Legacy: Memoirs of an Armenian Patriot* (Boston: Hairenik Press, 1976); Vartkes Yeghiayan, *The Case of Soghomon Tehlirian*, 2nd Edition (Glendale, CA: Center for Armenian Remembrance, 2006); and *The Case of Misak Torlakian* (Glendale, CA: Center for Armenian Remembrance, 2006).

⁷ Gunter, “Pursuing the Just Cause,”; and Kurz and Merari, *ASALA*.

⁸ *Armenian Atrocities and Terrorism: Testimonies of Witnesses* (Washington, DC: Assembly of Turkish American Associations, 1997); Ankara University, *Armenian Terrorism*; Laura Dugan, et. al., “Sudden Desistance from Terrorism: The Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia and the Justice Commandos of the Armenian

violence in broader studies, either devotes minimal attention to the topic, replete with careless or intentional misinformation, or, more commonly, outright ignores it.⁹ The two most recent contributions are a biography of one of the key members of ASALA, Monte Melkonian, written by his brother, and an article exploring the reasons why Armenian terrorism faded away after 1985.¹⁰ It should be acknowledged, however that additional scholarship on ASALA and the JCAG/ARA in the twenty-five years since the organizations have ceased operations have most likely been impeded by four factors.

First, unlike, for example, the Red Brigades and the Red Army Faction, none of the Armenian operatives from either organization who were ever captured or detained were part of the leadership group. Furthermore, the ASALA and JCAG/ARA members who were caught refused to cooperate publicly with the arresting authorities, and so provided very little insight or information into the organizations, gave no interviews after they were released, and none have published memoirs in the intervening years. Second, the headquarters of both ASALA and the JCAG/ARA were located in Beirut from 1975 until, at least in the case of ASALA, the Israeli invasion in 1982. Even if ASALA maintained their own records, which is doubtful, it is unlikely that they survived the chaos of civil war and their subsequent relocation to Damascus, and then Athens, after the Israeli invasion.

While the ARF does maintain the organization's archive in Boston, MA, it is rarely opened for researchers. The third factor is that most of primary material of these organizations would be in Armenian, and scholars with Armenian language skills have avoided the topic. This is the case with the Spurk archive at the U.S. Library of Congress. Spurk was an Armenian newspaper published in Beirut, whose owners and editors were two of the four founding members of ASALA. Undoubtedly rich in primary source material, over 80 percent of the

Genocide," in *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict* Vol. 1, No. 3 (November 2008): 231-249; Erich Feigl, *A Myth of Terror Exposed: Armenian Extremism, its Causes and its Historical Context* (Freilassing, AT: Edition Zeitgeschichte, 1987); Michael M. Gunter, "Armenian Terrorism: A Reappraisal," in *The Journal of Conflict Studies* Vol. XXVII, No. 2 (Winter 2007): 109 – 128; "Transnational Armenian Activism," in *Beyond the Soviet Union: the Fragmentation of Power*, edited by Max Beloff (Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1997), 23-57; "Contemporary Armenian Terrorism," in *Terrorism: An International Journal* Vol. 8, No. 3 (1986): 213-252; "Transnational Sources of Support for Armenian Terrorism," in *The Journal of Conflict Studies* Vol. V, No. 4 (Fall 1985): 31-52; and Michael J. Kelly, "The Media and Terrorism: An Examination of News Coverage of Armenian Terrorism in Canada," PhD Diss., Carleton University, 1987.

⁹ Michael Bobelian, *Children of Armenia: A Forgotten Genocide and the Century-Long Struggle for Justice* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2009), 158-160; and Razmik Panossian, *The Armenians: From Kings and Priests to Merchants and Commissars* (London: Hurst & Company, 2006), 310-311.

¹⁰ Melkonian, *My Brother's Road*; and Dugan, et. al., "Sudden Desistance from Terrorism," 231-249.

archive is in Armenian. Finally, Turkish government documents on Armenian terrorism remain inaccessible to researchers, and only very recently have U.S. government documents on ASALA and the JCAG/ARA become available. Of those, the U.S. State Department and the Federal Bureau of Investigation have released considerably more than the Central Intelligence Agency.

The current narrative explaining the violent re-emergence of the “Armenian question” in 1975 cites three specific events that occurred during the late 1960s and early 1970s that galvanized and strengthened Armenian public opinion, and triggered their decision to act on their grievances against the Turkish government. The first event was the organized commemorations and anti-Turkish demonstrations held to mark the 50th anniversary of the events of 1915 on April 24, 1965 in both Beirut, Lebanon and Yerevan, Soviet Armenia.¹¹ The demonstrations in Lebanon are attributed with establishing April 24 as the official day of commemoration of the Armenian Massacres,¹² while the latter, which developed into a boisterous demonstration that was eventually suppressed by the Soviet authorities, extracted concessions from the Soviet government allowing for the annual commemoration of April 24th with public demonstrations and permission to construct a memorial to the victims and territories lost to Turkey in 1915 in Yerevan.¹³

Second, in January 1973, a 78-year old ethnic Armenian invited the Consul General and Consul of the Turkish Consulate in Los Angeles to lunch at a Santa Barbara hotel under the pretense of returning a painting which had been stolen from the Ottoman Sultan’s residence. Instead, after lunch, both the Consul General and Consul were shot and killed at point-blank range. During the ensuing trial, the defendant attempted to turn his murder trial into an indictment of the Turkish government for the events of 1915. The trial, some argue, stimulated not only the Armenian communities of California, but the international diaspora as well. Although most claim that this individual had been working alone, many view his act as the model and inspiration for the assassination of Turkish diplomats over the ensuing decade.¹⁴

Finally, in 1974 a paragraph specifically labeling the events of 1915 as the “first case of genocide in the twentieth century” was deleted from a report on the prevention of genocide that

¹¹ Gunter, *Pursuing the Just Cause*, 31-32.

¹² *Ibid.*, 31.

¹³ Bobelian, *Children of Armenia*, 5.

¹⁴ Gunter, *Pursuing the Just Cause*, 36-37; Kurz and Merari, 3; and Bobelian, 148-158.

was submitted to the UN Commission on Human Rights.¹⁵ Perhaps on its own, this deletion would have gone unnoticed, or at least, uncontested, but in conjunction with the rising assertiveness of the various Armenian diasporas since 1965, and the relatively well publicized murders of the Turkish diplomats in 1973, the deletion caused indignation and exasperation on the part of Armenians worldwide. By 1975, these factors led to the emergence of two groups based in a hostile, violent and politically deteriorating Beirut: ASALA and the JCAG. Both groups began to assassinate Turkish diplomats and bomb Turkish government installations, initially in Europe, and then spreading to the Middle East and North America before they moved on to more sophisticated attacks, including hijacking and hostage-taking, later in the decade. The specifics of ASALA's origins are largely unknown in the literature, but it is recognized as the original group and it is credited, by ASALA's own admission, with starting the terrorist campaign on January 20, 1975 with the bombing of the World Council of Churches' office in Beirut.¹⁶ The JCAG, on the other hand, is an offshoot of one of the original and most powerful modern era Armenian political parties, the Dashnaks, or the ARF, whose origins date to 1890.¹⁷ Afraid that the more youthful, aggressive, militant and, potentially, more popular ASALA would be more attractive than the ARF, the story is that its leadership created the Justice Commandos Against the Armenian Genocide to maintain its membership ranks and compete with ASALA for new recruits.¹⁸

Although ASALA was a Marxist organization, and the JCAG leaned to the right, they were nearly unanimous in the goals they sought to achieve through their violent attacks. Frustrated by the inability and indifference of the established Armenian political organizations and leaders to achieve the goals of the diaspora over the 60 years between 1915 and 1975, the two groups eventually arrived independently at three essential aims to their struggle: first, to force the Turkish government to recognize and admit that the forced relocations and Armenian deaths in eastern Anatolia in 1915 constituted an act of genocide; second, to force the Turkish

¹⁵ Gunter, *Pursuing the Just Cause*, 36-37; and Kurz and Merari, 62.

¹⁶ Corsun, *Armenian Terrorism*, 31, 34; Popular Movement for the ASALA, *ASALA Interviews* (Great Britain, April 1982), 9; Gunter, *Pursuing the Just Cause*, 33; and Kurz and Merari, 21. Melkonian provides one of the more accurate descriptions of ASALA's creation, but does not relate the entire story.

¹⁷ Corsun, 33; Gunter, *Pursuing the Just Cause*, 55; Kurz and Merari, 17; and "Terrorism Review, CIA, July 29, 1985, CREST.

¹⁸ Corsun, 32; Gunter, *Pursuing the Just Cause*, 55-56; and "Terrorism Review," CIA, July 29, 1985, 15.

government to make financial reparations to the survivors and, if necessary, their descendants, of 1915; and third, to liberate the Armenian provinces of eastern Turkey.

The two groups differed, however, was over what the third aim actually entailed. The JCAG, and its successor, the ARA, appear to have envisioned a relatively ambiguous, independent Armenia carved out of eastern Turkey.¹⁹ ASALA sought an independent Armenia that encompassed all of the historic lands of the ancient kingdom, which inevitably meant some form of either collaboration, or conflict, with the Soviet Union and Soviet Armenia.²⁰ Due to their Marxist ideology, most observers believed that ASALA aimed at unifying Turkey's eastern provinces with Soviet Armenia.²¹ Agreements or disagreements over the details of their specific aims, though, turned out to be a relatively moot point. Not only did they ultimately fail to achieve their goals, but even contemporary observers, during the height of the campaign, saw virtually no chance for the Armenian terrorists to force recognition, financial compensation or territory from the Turkish government.²² Furthermore, in a recent study on the history of terrorism, the author admits that the Armenian terrorist groups of the 1970s and 1980s defy normal categorization, simply because these movements had "no hope of success."²³ Other motivations have been suggested, including the desire to raise global awareness to the events of 1915, to "re-awaken" the dormant, or sleeping Armenian nationalism of the diaspora or even more simply, that the Armenian groups just wanted to murder Turks, and felt justified in doing so, in revenge for the massacres of 1915.²⁴ The JCAG, however, came out on at least one occasion to publicly to dispel this notion.²⁵

Finally, one of the more recent contributions analyzed the reasons for collapse of the ASALA and JCAG/ARA campaign, argues that the end of Armenian terrorism can be traced back directly to the ASALA attack on the Orly Airport in Paris, France on July 15, 1983.²⁶ The ramifications of the Orly attack, for both ASALA and the Justice Commandos, caused by this

¹⁹ Corsun, 33.

²⁰ *ASALA Interviews*, 31; Kurz and Merari, 1.

²¹ Metin Tamkoç, "International Terrorism: The Russian Connection," in *Armenian Terrorism, Its Supporters, the Narcotic Connection, the Distortion of History* (Ankara, Turkey: Ankara University, 1984), 64.

²² Gunter, *Pursuing the Just Cause*, 36; *Terrorism Review*, 16; and Kurz and Merari, 19.

²³ Gerard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin, eds., *The History of Terrorism from Antiquity to Al Qaeda*, Kindle Edition (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 2007), location 3046.

²⁴ Gunter, *Pursuing the Just Cause*, 36; Kurz and Merari, 3; and Mango, *Turkey and the War on Terror*, 11.

²⁵ Corsun, 34.

²⁶ Dugan, "Sudden Desistance."

attack have already been noted by other scholars and authors.²⁷ Furthermore, it is known that ASALA's attack on Orly ended the secret agreement, or truce, between Armenian terrorists and the French government, and within days of the attack the French police and intelligence services arrested scores of Armenians and confiscated weapons and equipment.²⁸ This research, however, contends dissatisfaction with ASALA's activities had slowly been surfacing and the indiscriminate and bloody attack at the Orly airport was that catalyst that "effectively undermined the group's legitimacy in the eyes of both the diaspora and the West," and caused the withdrawal of Armenian diaspora's support: moral, financial and logistical, from Armenian terrorism.²⁹ This loss of support is what facilitated the demise of ASALA and the Justice Commandos: "when the diaspora turned against them, ASALA was lost, and lost quickly."³⁰

Most scholars who have researched ASALA and the JCAG/ARA have acknowledged some more general factors, even if these factors remain unexplored, that contributed to the origins of Armenian violence in the mid-1970s. The first is the collapse of the Lebanese state, and what the violence and chaos surrounding the outbreak of civil war may have meant to the large, and one of the most concentrated, Armenian diaspora in Beirut.³¹ The second, and also within the context of Lebanon, are conjectures on the potential political and social impact that the rise of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, due to the proximity of the Palestinian cause, had on the Armenians living in Lebanon.³² The third is the increasing global attention paid to international human rights during this period, which started with the civil rights movements of the 1960s and culminated in the Helsinki Accords, which the Armenians attempted to use to their advantage.

Additionally, the first five years that ASALA and the JCAG were in operation was a period of rising tension between Turkey and the West and a general decrease in European and North American public attitudes and approval towards Turkey. The Turkish intervention on Cyprus in 1974, the subsequent partitioning of that island, the U.S. arms embargo imposed on Turkey in wake of the intervention, the territorial dispute over rights in the Aegean Sea between

²⁷ Gunter, "Armenian Terrorism," 119; Bobelian, *Children of Armenia*, 162; and Melkonian, *My Brother's Road*, 118, 159.

²⁸ "French Detain 51 in Orly Terrorism," *New York Times*, July 19, 1983.

²⁹ Dugan, 243.

³⁰ Dugan, 246.

³¹ Gunter, *Pursing the Just Cause*, 33-35; Kurz and Merari, 16-17; and Mango, 11-12.

³² *Ibid.*

Greece and Turkey, which percolated throughout this period, and, finally, alleged human rights violations in wake of the Turkish military's takeover of the government in September of 1980, all contributed to the deterioration of the Western publics' opinion of Turkey.³³

While the story will not be truly complete until all the relevant Turkish, Armenian, French, Cypriot and Greek documents are available to scholars, the voluminous amount of material declassified and released by the U.S. Department of State, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Central Intelligence Agency, the Jimmy Carter Presidential Library, the Ronald Reagan Library, and the Spurr archive at the U.S. Library of Congress, have shed a tremendous amount of light on the campaign of Armenian political violence between 1973 and 1988. Although the broad strokes provided by Gunter, Kurz, Merari and other early analysts are still largely valid, the new material provides an opportunity to fill in the many gaps that exist on the emergence of Armenian political violence in 1975, and, just as important, the reasons for its sudden disappearance in the mid-1980s.

This research will argue that Armenian terrorism was the end result of an attempt by the ARF and the Armenian SSR to provoke Armenian nationalism for short-term and local political gains through a policy of anti-Turkishness that was introduced into the diaspora beginning in 1959. The large demonstrations in Yerevan and Beirut to commemorate the 50th Anniversary of 1915 in April 1965 were the culmination of those efforts. Recognizing the success of this new policy, the ARF continued to promote anti-Turkishness throughout 1960s and early 1970s. After witnessing the positive response to the Yanikian murders in 1973 within the diaspora, and enjoying unprecedented political power in the United States after a deterioration in U.S.-Turkish relations over opium and the Turkish intervention in Cyprus in July 1974, the ARF decided to embrace violence as means to push their advantage and try to obtain their ultimate political goal: eastern Anatolia. At the very same time, three Armenian intellectuals and a young Armenian terrorist with experience in various Palestinian organizations were creating a new terrorist organization of their own, ASALA.

The terrorist organizations were not created because Armenian groups had run out of options, but rather because their leaders preferred violence. ASALA and the ARF/JCAG operated for over a decade, and were able to sustain themselves because of the steadfast support of the Armenian diaspora for a terrorist campaign that killed Turks. Even after the

³³ Mango, 20.

indiscriminate and brutal violence lost the sympathy the organization had enjoyed in the non-Armenian publics, the diaspora continued to defend ASALA and the JCAG/ARA. The campaigns finally ended, after the violence had not only become an end in itself, but had turned the two groups against each other in an inter-group struggle that decimated their ranks, and the international political climate had turned against international terrorism in general.

Chapter two challenges the current narrative and analyzes the politicization of the Armenian question between 1945 and 1965, and the radicalization of Armenian nationalism beginning in 1959. The ‘re-awakening’ of the Armenian people in 1965 was not a spontaneous event, but rather the culmination of a deliberate attempt by the ARF and elements within the Armenian SSR to separate the massacres and deportations of Armenians by the Ottoman Empire from the broader “Armenian Question” in order to implement an aggressive policy of anti-Turkishness throughout the Armenian diaspora and the Armenian SSR. One of the most tragic components of this period, and one which would have severe ramifications for the period of Armenian political violence, was the successful transfer of responsibility for the crimes of 1915 to the entire, collective population of modern Turkey. For many Armenians, the ‘Turks’ of 1915 were no different from the modern citizens of the Turkish Republic: guilty, and worthy of whatever punishment came their way. The plan to instigate tension and encourage animosity between Armenians and Turks, however, was simply carried out in order to achieve political gains inside the Armenian diaspora. The ARF, the Armenian SSR, and the Soviet Union never had any intention of following through with the demands being made by Armenians around the world with anything other than empty promises.

Chapter three evaluates the effects of this policy for the remainder of the 1960s and early 1970s. The ARF implored Armenians everywhere to help publicize the details of the Armenian Cause and the crimes of the Turkish government. Many in the diaspora heeded the call, and devoted their time and energy to publications, erecting monuments, organizing community events, and demonstrating, protesting and advocating for the Armenian Cause. Protests and demonstrations against the Turkish government became increasingly more aggressive in nature and acts of violence against Turkish government facilities occurred. The radicalization of Armenian youth did not go unnoticed by Turkey’s apprehensive diplomatic staff posted, but local authorities disregarded their concerns. Tragically, their worst fears were

realized in January 1973, when Gourgen Yanikian shot and killed Mehmet Baydar, and Bahadır Demir in Santa Barbara, CA.

Chapter four analyzes the significance of the political gains made by Armenians in the United States over the course of 1974, the origins of the Armenian terrorism, and the first four years of attacks. While their efforts to have the events of 1915 labeled as “the first genocide of the twentieth century” languished in the UN, the Turkish government’s decision to lift the ban on domestic poppy production in mid-1974, and the Turkish intervention on Cyprus in July 1974, caused a deterioration in U.S.-Turkish relations. These events provided Armenians with an unexpected political boost, as they found no shortage of U.S. Congressmen who were willing to both propagate their anti-Turkish rhetoric and promote the Armenia Cause. An alliance with the much more powerful and established Greek lobby, which was also virulently anti-Turkish, especially during the Cyprus dispute, also greatly enhanced their political power and influence in Washington. Despite the political progress being made by Armenians through non-violent and political efforts, in early 1975 two groups within the Armenia diaspora decided to pick up arms and embrace terrorism to advocate their demands for justice. Unlike most terrorist organizations, the ARF did not turn to violence because of political weakness or a lack of viable non-violent or traditional methods. Instead, when the ARF deployed terror as means for a political end it attacked from a position of strength and deliberate choice.

Chapter five assesses the most violence period of Armenian terrorism, the fall of 1979 to through summer 1983. During that period, assassinations, armed assaults and bomb attacks killed 19 Turkish officials, dependents and employees, other foreign nationals. There was no dialogue or negotiations between the Armenian militant groups and the Turkish government during this period, only death, destruction and Turkish incredulity at the world’s indifference to international terrorism. As the violence continued, however, sympathy for the Armenian Cause waned while concern for the Turkish victims increased. Despite these attacks, the Armenian diaspora continued to support the violent campaign against Turkey until the very end, even after it become increasingly apparent that the violence was not the means through which to achieve the realization of the Armenian cause, but rather an end in and of itself.

Chapter explores the demise of Armenian terrorism, which was never the same after Orly. The United States, Canada and Turkey began to cooperate closely on counterterrorist measures, countries that were previously reluctant to condemn Armenian terrorism and go after

ASALA and the ARF, like France and the Soviet Union, changed their policies, and those countries which did not speak out, or who maintained connections with ASALA and/or the ARF were put on warning. The Armenian diaspora, though, never wavered in their commitment to terror, and continued to defend, glorify and honor political violence. This support enabled ASALA and the ARF continue their campaign of violence for two more years. Their ability to induce fear in Turkey, Western Europe and North America lingered on much longer and was a testament to the notoriety built up during the previous phase. But ASALA and the ARF descended into war and neither group truly recovered. When the leader of ASALA, Haroutiun Takoushian, was assassinated in Athens in April 1988, Armenian terrorism had already run its course. Luckily for many of the veterans of ASALA and the ARF, the collapse of the Soviet Union, the independence of Armenian and the dispute with Azerbaijan over Nagorno-Karabakh, provided them with an opportunity to continue their work, albeit in the context of slightly more respectable militia units.

CHAPTER 2

THE ARMENIAN QUESTION, 1945-1965

On April 24th and 25th, 1965, Armenians around the world held memorial services to commemorate the 50th Anniversary of the massacre and deportations of hundreds of thousands of Armenians living in eastern Anatolia.¹ At the same time, many Armenians also demonstrated against Turks and the Turkish government it held responsible for these events. The largest gatherings were in Yerevan and Beirut, but significant numbers turned out in Paris, New York and in other areas with large Armenian communities. The demonstrations were, and still are, portrayed as spontaneous and uncoordinated outpourings of grief. A condition triggered by the symbolic milestone 1965 represented and the outrage over five decades of Western apathy and cynical self-interest that enabled Turkey and the Turks to escape from justice.² In particular, the demonstrations inside the Soviet Union are used to show that the trauma and disappointment of the Armenians were so great that forty-five years of Communism, Soviet oppression, and the police on the ground in April 1965 could not silence them.³ April 24th and 25th, 1965, was, in other words, a turning point in modern Armenian history: the day Armenians “woke up.”

Although these physical manifestations of Armenian frustrations were indeed a watershed in the development of modern Armenian nationalism and correctly identified as the catalyst for an Armenian campaign seeking genocide recognition, reparations, land, and punishment from the Turks and Turkey (see Chapter 3),⁴ the gatherings and protests in 1965

¹ Estimates on the number of Armenians who died during this period can vary greatly (between 200,000 and 2,000,000). The historian Erik J. Zürcher estimates between 600,000 and 800,000. See Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History* (New York: I.B. Tauris & Co., 1993), 120.

² Michael Bobelian, *Children of Armenia: A Forgotten Genocide and the Century-Long Struggle for Justice* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2009): 121-125; Panossian, *The Armenians: From Kings and Priests to Merchants and Commissars* (London: Hurst & Company, 2006), 320; Lorne Shiranian, *Quest for Closure: The Armenian Genocide and the Search for Justice in Canada* (Kingston, Ontario: Blue Heron Press, 1999): 108; Ronald Grigor Suny, *Looking Toward Ararat: Armenia in Modern History* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1993), 228; and Haig Sarkissian, “50th Anniversary of the Turkish Genocide as Observed in Erevan,” *Armenian Review*, Vol. 19, No. 4 (Winter 1966): 23-28.

³ In addition to Yerevan, there was also, allegedly, a small demonstration by Armenians in Moscow.

⁴ Michael Bobelian’s chapter covering the demonstrations is entitled “Resurrection.” See Bobelian, *Children of Armenia*, 121-139; and Panossian, *The Armenians*, 320.

appear neither spontaneous nor uncoordinated. In fact, it seems the events of April 24th and 25th, 1965, were the culmination of a deliberate attempt by the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF), elements within the Armenian SSR and, perhaps, the Soviet Union to separate the massacres and deportations of Armenians by the Ottoman Empire from the much more convoluted “Armenian Question,” and World War I, of which it had merely been a part of, in order to implement an aggressive policy of anti-Turkishness throughout the Armenian diaspora and the Armenian SSR.

Between the early 1920s and 1945, the Armenian Question generally referred to the dashed hopes and misfortunes of the Armenians living in the Ottoman Empire, the Caucasus and, more recently, the Soviet Union, beginning in the mid- to late-19th century. In the post-World War II era, the Armenian Question came to signify, in particular, the betrayal and misery of the Armenians between the end of World War I and the Sovietization of the short-lived independent Armenian Republic in 1920. While other aspects of the nearly century-old Armenian Question periodically surfaced before 1965, any mention, let alone sustained attention or analysis, of the massacres and forced migrations of 1915 as a distinct event or separate phenomenon, in either Armenian or non-Armenian newspapers, journals, or monographs was relatively rare. A sample review of the accessible sources in English does not suggest that the diaspora, or at least its most powerful political organization, the ARF, was overly concerned with the events of 1915 in eastern Anatolia prior to late 1959. Outrage and awareness of the 1915 massacres and deportations, therefore, were introduced to both the Armenian and non-Armenian publics on April 24th and 25th, 1965.

The successful reduction of the entire Armenian Question into one event (1915) and one enemy (Turkey, Turks and all things Turkish, or, simply, the Turk) enabled Armenian political organizations, in turn, to tap into the inherent, but somewhat latent, anti-Turkishness of the Armenia nation, the foundations of which can be found in the pervasive Turkish stereotypes developed in the West. This shift from multiple potential adversaries to only one, the Turk, came at a time when competition for the hearts and minds of the Armenian nation between the right-wing ARF and the Armenian SSR and its leftist allies in the Armenian diaspora, the Hnchaks and Ramgavars, was particularly violent and brutal. By the early 1960s, anti-Turkishness not only remedied what ailed the Armenian nation, but their joint resentment, hate and opposition to the Turk actually unified the three main diaspora political organizations.

Cooperation and interaction between the ARF, Hnchaks and Ramgavars, virtually unheard of during the previous decades, became the norm, particularly in Beirut, the center of Armenian political, cultural and, for some Armenians, religious power. Even more remarkable was the truce brokered between the seemingly irreconcilable ARF and Soviet Armenia which, to some extent, normalized relations between the two most powerful sources of Armenian nationalism and allowed for some cooperation and coordination in policy, particularly with regards to anti-Turkish propaganda. It is within this context, along with changes in international politics that were both timely and favorable to Armenian efforts against Turkey, that the well-planned and coordinated demonstrations of 1965 should be viewed. There is no doubt that the demonstrations were solemn occasions used to commemorate a great tragedy in the modern history of the Armenian nation, but they were also part of a planned and coordinated effort to instigate tension and encourage animosity between Armenians and the Turk for political gains inside the Armenian diaspora. Neither the ARF, nor the Armenian SSR, and by extension, the Soviet Union, appear to ever had any real intention of following through with the demands being made on the streets of Yerevan, Beirut or New York with anything other than words. The ultimate result of the violent nationalism these political organizations unleashed in the early 1960s, however, would not be fully evident until January 1973.

The Armenian Question & the Early Cold War

After lingering discussions of Armenians and the Armenian Question from World War I died out in the U.S. Congress in early 1923,⁵ their mention either in Congress or publications accessible to the general public on the Armenian Question essentially ceased until 1943. In that year, Simon Vratzian, the former Prime Minister of the short-lived independent Armenian Republic, published a book on the Armenian Question through the Hairenik Press in Boston. It is noteworthy that Vratzian, a contemporary of the events of 1915, devoted only six pages (out of his 107) to the massacres of 1915.⁶ Additionally, the conditions of Armenians in Turkey were

⁵ “Mustapha Kemal-- Conditions in the Near East,” *Congressional Record*, Jan. 26, 1923, 2487-2498.

⁶ Simon Vratzian, *Armenia and the Armenian Question* (Boston, MA: Hairenik, 1943). The Hairenik Press is owned and operated by the ARF.

a brief subject of interest in the U.S. Congress, where it criticized the Turkish government's decision to impose a wealth tax on its Armenian and other non-Muslim citizens.⁷

The first sustained discussion of the Armenian Question, however, appeared in April of 1945 and was in the context of the Soviet Union's campaign of pressure on Turkey to submit to Stalin's demands as World War II drew to a close. First, the Soviets wanted Turkey to cede the eastern provinces of Kars and Ardahan to the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR) and parts of the Black Sea coast to the Georgian SSR. Second, they wanted permission from Turkey to build naval installations along the Turkish Straits and establish a permanent Soviet military presence. Finally, the Soviets wanted Turkey to agree to a revision of the Montreaux Convention, the agreement that had regulated control of the Turkish Straits since 1936. The Soviet campaign ultimately failed, and the crisis it provoked culminated in the Truman Doctrine, which was put before the U.S. Congress by President Truman on March 12, 1947.⁸

Soviet preparations to reopen the Armenian Question and use it to attract attention and western public support to help advance their territorial and other claims against Turkey began at least as early as March or April 1944, when Moscow enlisted the aid of the Diaspora Armenians.⁹ This was a full year before the Soviets formally renounced the 1925 Pact of

⁷ "Persecution of the Armenians," *CR*, Nov. 11, 1943, 9665; and "Persecution of the Armenians," *CR*, Nov. 29, 1943, 10053.

⁸ The Truman Doctrine provided unprecedented guarantees for U.S. support and assistance to Turkey and Greece in the fight against Communism. For a full description of the events as they unfolded see "Soviet Note Lists Demands on Turks," *New York Times*, June 26, 1945; Sam Pope Brewer, "Turks View Allies as Curb on Soviet," *NYT*, Aug. 2, 1945; C.L. Sulzberger, "Russo-Turkish Straits Talk Halted as Ankara Rejects Three Demands," *NYT*, Aug. 4, 1945; Sam Pope Brewer, "Turks Talk War if Russia Presses; Prefer Vain Battle to Surrender," *NYT*, Aug. 7, 1945; "Soviet Oil Aim Tied to Move on Turks," *NYT*, Dec. 21, 1945; "Russians Demand Area of Turkey Along Black Sea," *NYT*, Dec. 21, 1945; C.L. Sulzberger, "Turks' Refusal to Cede Land Affirmed by Foreign Chief," *NYT*, Dec. 22, 1945; Herbert L. Matthews, "Middle East Remains Big Unsolved Problem. Lack of Decision by Foreign Ministers on Iran and Turkey Limits Gains," *NYT*, Dec. 30, 1945; A.C. Sedgwick, "Turkey Sees Security Threatened," *NYT*, Jan. 13, 1946; "Soviet Radio Renews Kars, Ardahan Claims," *NYT*, Feb. 23, 1946; James B. Reston, "U.S., Britain Told by Soviet of Demand for Turkish Area," *NYT*, March 8, 1946; Herbert L. Matthews, "U.S. View on Turkey Awaited in Britain," *NYT*, March 9, 1946; Anne O'Hare McCormick, "In Peace as in War Turkey is at Crossroads," *NYT*, March 9, 1946; A.C. Sedgwick, "Future Status of Straits is Turkey's Chief Concern," *NYT*, April 7, 1946; "'Greater Armenia' Maps Include Sixth of Turkey," *NYT*, Aug. 29, 1946; "Soviet Pressure on Turkey," *CR*, March 26, 1947, 358-359; "Turkish-Armenian Hostility," *CR*, March 26, 1947, 376-377; Rep. Wat Arnold (MO), "Palestine Policy," *CR*, March 15, 1948, A1584-A1585. See also Baskin Oran, ed., *Turkish Foreign Policy, 1919-2006* (Salt Lake City, UT: The University of Utah Press, 2010): 276-281, 298-303; Bobelian, *Children of Armenia*, 86-106; Eduard Mark, "The War Scare of 1946 and Its Consequences," *Diplomatic History*, Vol. 21, No. 3 (Sum. 1997): 383-415; S. Torissian, and "Soviet Policy in the Armenian Question," *Armenian Review*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (Sum. 1958): 27-38.

⁹ The Armenian National Council of America, one of the participants in this campaign, was established in March 1944. See "Statement of the Armenian National Council of America, in Favor of the Ratification of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide, Submitted by Rev. Charles A. Vertanes, Executive Director,"

Friendship and Non-aggression between the Soviet Union and Turkey. Initiated, encouraged and supported by the Soviet Union, the corresponding Armenian campaign began in earnest in April 1945 when the Armenian National Committee submitted their *A Memorandum Relating to the Armenia Question* to the United Nations (U.N.) in San Francisco.¹⁰ Aided by various other organizations,¹¹ individual Armenian-Americans, including such distinguished figures as Leon Surmelian and Aram Saroyan,¹² members of the U.S. House of Representatives, particularly Rep. Bertrand W. Gearhart (CA), and others sympathetic to their endeavors, the diaspora Armenians involved attempted to “do all within our power to enlighten the American public opinion, and yes, also our Government in Washington, on the merits of the Armenian Cause.”¹³ Their goal was to elicit support from both the U.S. Government and the American public for the first of the Soviet Union’s three aims: the annexation of the Kars and Ardahan provinces in eastern Turkey to the Armenian SSR; and their efforts lasted through early 1948. The tone of their campaign was, naturally, pro-Soviet, and while certainly anti-Turkish, the initial rhetoric was mild in comparison to what would emerge in after the Truman Doctrine was announced in 1947.

In order to convince Congress and the U.S. public that the Armenians’ claim to regions of eastern Anatolia were justified, the Armenian interest groups had to first reintroduce Americans to the Armenian Question. To do this, the groups largely relied on a narrative of recent Armenian history introduced in the Armenian National Committee’s memorandum to the

Genocide Convention, Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, Eighty-First Congress, Second Session on Executive O, The International Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, January 23,24,25, and February 9, 1950, 548; “Soviet-Lebanon Tie Via Armenia is Seen,” *NYT*, April 28, 1944; and R. H. Dekmejian, “Soviet-Turkish Relations and Politics in the Armenian SSR,” *Soviet Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 4 (April 1968): 511.

¹⁰ Armenian National Committee, *A Memorandum Relating to the Armenian Question*, April 1945; and James G. Mandalian, “The Armenian Case,” *Armenian Review*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Win. 1948): 55.

¹¹ In addition to the Armenian National Committee, the Armenian National Council of America, the Armenian-American Citizens Club, the American Committee for Justice to the Armenians and the American Committee for Armenian Rights advocated for the awarding of the Turkish provinces of Kars and Ardahan to the Armenian SSR during this period. It is also widely acknowledged that the campaign had the backing and support of the *Hnchak* and *Ramgavar* parties who would remain close allies to the Armenian SSR and the Soviet Union. The ARF made a similar case, but advocated for this enlarged Armenia to be free and independent of the Soviet Union as well. See Mandalian, “The Armenian Case.”

¹² Leon Surmelian was an Armenian-American writer and author of *I Ask You, Ladies and Gentlemen* (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1945). Aram Saroyan was the uncle of another well-known Armenian-American writer, William Saroyan. Coincidentally, Aram Saroyan also served as the court interpreter for Gourgen Yanikian during the latter’s murder trial in 1973.

¹³ Rep. Bertrand W. Gearhart (CA), “A Historic Responsibility of Armenian-Americans— An Address by Mr. Leon Surmelian,” *CR*, July 26, 1946, A4569-A4571.

U.N. in April 1945. The narrative emphasized the suffering and inexplicable perseverance of the Armenian nation, and put forward five reasons why the Armenians were entitled to Turkey's eastern provinces. First, the Christian Armenians had suffered both persecution and oppression in their "intolerable state of life" within the Islamic Ottoman Empire that denied them the "basic rights of citizenship."¹⁴ These conditions, in turn, led to the slaughter of innocent Armenians during the late 19th and early 20th centuries and, ultimately, to the "deportations and massacres" of 1915 that were "well laid plans" for a "program of extermination."¹⁵

Second, the Armenian nation made tremendous, and grossly disproportionate, contributions and sacrifices for the Allied cause during the First World War.¹⁶ The ANC's memorandum alleged that no one less than General Ludendorff attributed the collapse of the German Army on the Western front to the Armenian remnants of the Russian Army who prevented the oil fields of Baku from falling to the Ottoman army until September 18, 1918, thereby cutting the Germans off from a crucial fuel supply.¹⁷ Third, Armenia was betrayed by the Allied powers at the end of World War I. Despite promises of support from Great Britain, France and the United States, the free and independent Armenia envisioned within the Treaty of Sevres never materialized, and the much smaller and maligned independent Armenia that came into existence on May 28, 1918 was left to its fate. The first independent Armenia state in centuries, the Armenian Republic fell to the resurgent forces of Kemalist Turkey and Bolshevik Russia on December 2, 1920, and the revised peace treaty between the Allied governments and Turkey, the Treaty of Lausanne, signed on July 23, 1924, did not even mention the Armenians.¹⁸

Fourth, the Armenian contribution during World War II was also significant. According to the Armenian National Committee's statistics, over 300,000 Soviet Armenians fought in the war, close to 25,000 of which were decorated for their service, and 50 generals. Another 10,000 French Armenians fought on the Allied side, along with approximately 10% of Armenian-Americans.¹⁹ Finally, by the end of World War II approximately 1,000,000 Armenian refugees existed around the world who were either eager, or desperate, to return to their historic

¹⁴ Armenian National Committee, *A Memorandum*, 3.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁶ One can assume that the exceptions to this, of course, were the Ottoman Armenians who remained loyal to their own Empire and supported its war efforts.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 6-7.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 7-11.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 11.

homeland, now represented by the dynamic and prosperous Armenian SSR. Unfortunately, the Armenian SSR was simply too small to accommodate all those Armenians who wished to come home, and they need to expand. The Armenians, therefore, by virtue of their sufferings, abandonment, betrayal, and significant contributions to West's war efforts in both of the World Wars, were owed. The simple solution to resolve to historic injustices to the Armenian people, to solve, once and for all, the Armenian Question and the more immediate and pressing Armenian refugee problem and to ensure a just, humane and durable peace settlement was to return the "unproductive and desolate" area of Armenia currently "in the hands of the Turks," to its rightful owner, the Armenian SSR.²⁰

The campaign peaked in the spring of 1946,²¹ but by the late fall of that year it was clear that the Soviets and Armenians would not succeed in their efforts, either through Western public opinion, the United Nations or through the threat of force.²² After the announcement of the Truman doctrine in early 1947, any notions of annexing eastern Anatolia by any means other than war disappeared completely. Despite this, however, Armenian organizations

²⁰ Ibid., 12.

²¹ Leon Surmelian, "Armenian Claims Territory: Return of Kars-Ardahan Area by the Turks Is Demanded," *New York Times*, July 11, 1945; "Armenians in U.S. Appeal. National Council Asks Return of Areas in Turkey to Soviet," *NYT*, Sept. 22, 1945; "Armenians Present Case. Ask Truman to Aid in Solution of Their Country's Problems," *NYT*, Sept. 23, 1945; "Armenians' Return Aided," *NYT*, Dec. 3, 1945; A.C. Sedgwick, "Bid to Armenians Criticized," *NYT*, Dec. 22, 1945; "Seeks to Aid Armenians," *NYT*, Dec. 22, 1945; "Armenian 'National Council' Asks Turks to 'Return' Land to Russia," *NYT*, Dec. 24, 1945; Vahan Kalenderian and James Mitchell, "Claims of Armenia Advanced," *NYT*, Dec. 24, 1945; A.C. Sedgwick, "New Armenia Bid by Soviet is Seen," *NYT*, Jan. 2, 1946; Leo Gananian, "Armenia Has Claims," *NYT*, Jan. 5, 1946; "Armenians to Migrate," *NYT*, Feb. 14, 1946; "U.N. is Urged to Act on Armenian Issue," *NYT*, April 29, 1946; Rep. Bertrand W. Gearhart (CA), "The Case of 1,500,000 Armenians," *CR*, April 30, 1946, A2376-A2377; Rep. Bertrand W. Gearhart (CA), "Justice to Armenia and Greece," *CR*, April 30, 1946, A2391-A2392; Edwin Smith, "Armenian Question Discussed," *NYT*, May 4, 1946; Rep. Charles R. Savage (WA), "Treatment of Armenia," *CR*, May 9, 1946, A2573-A2574; Rep. Thomas J. Lane (MA), "Resolution Adopted by Committee for Armenian Rights and the Armenian National Council of America at Hotel Edison, Lynn, Mass.," *CR*, May 24, 1946, A2964; Rep. Thomas J. Lane (MA), "America's Responsibility Toward Armenia," *CR*, May 24, 1946, A2975; "Closer Soviet Ties Urged Upon Nation," *NYT*, June 17, 1946; "2300 Armenians Leave Syria," *NYT*, July 15, 1946; Rep. Bertrand W. Gearhart (CA), "Justice to Armenia," *CR*, July 29, 1946, A4567-A4568; Rep. Bertrand W. Gearhart (CA), "A Historic Responsibility of Armenian-Americans— An Address by Mr. Leon Surmelian," *CR*, July 29, 1946, A4569-A4571; Rep. Bertrand W. Gearhart (CA), "Armenia's Plea for Justice," July 29, 1946, *CR*, A4575-A4576; Vahan Kalenderian, "Armenian State Urged," *NYT*, July 29, 1946; M.H. Exerjian, "Viewing Turkey's Elections," *NYT*, Aug. 5, 1946; "Armenians Leave Greece," *NYT*, Aug. 15, 1946; "Armenian Migration Reported," *NYT*, Aug. 25, 1946; "Influx to Soviet Armenia from Balkans, Near East," *NYT*, Oct. 19, 1946; "Armenians May Quit Palestine," *NYT*, Oct. 22, 1946; "Armenians Ask Return," *NYT*, Nov. 21, 1946; and Leon Surmelian, "An Enlarged Armenia: People Said to Look to Section Under Turkish Rule," *NYT*, Nov. 24, 1946.

²² Mark, "The War Scare of 1946," 414.

continued their efforts throughout 1947,²³ even though the campaign largely digressed into an anti-Turkish smear campaign aimed at preventing Turkey from receiving the military and economic aid proposed by President Truman.²⁴ The *New York Times* continued to show an interest in the plight of Armenians returning to the Armenian SSR, in particular the approximately 300 who emigrated from the United States, but by early 1948 even this had run its course.²⁵ In May 1948, even the Armenians' strongest supporter in the U.S. Congress conceded defeat.²⁶

Ironically, it was at this point that the ARF became involved the discussion over the reopening of the Armenian Question. Through articles in the *Armenian Review*, an official journal of the ARF, the organization endorsed the claims being made by other Armenian groups on eastern Anatolia, but also attempted to dispel the notion that all Armenians, including Armenian-Americans, were pro-Soviet.²⁷ As the post-war honeymoon between the United States and the Soviet Union quickly transitioned into the start of the Cold War, these Armenian special

²³ S. Kent Costikyan, "Letters to the Times: Steps for Peace," *New York Times*, May 3, 1947; "Survival of Armenian Laid to Christianity," *NYT*, May 3, 1947; "Armenian Claims on Turkey Pushed," *NYT*, May 5, 1947; H.M. Dadourian, "The Armenian Question," *NYT*, May 25, 1947; "U.N. Gets Armenian Plea," *NYT*, June 6, 1947; ²⁴ "Armenians Fight Aid to Turkey," *New York Times*, March 27, 1947; "Armenians Oppose U.S. Aid to Turkey," *NYT*, March 31, 1947; Rep. Bertrand W. Gearhart (CA), "Armenia and the Turkish Loan," *CR*, April 3, 1947, A1486; Rep. Bertrand W. Gearhart (CA), "The Proposed Turkish Loan," *CR*, April 3, 1947, A1495; "Turkish Aid Opposed by Armenian Council," *NYT*, April 7, 1947; Rep. Edwin C. Johnson (CO), "Aid to Greece and Turkey," *CR*, April 22, 1947, A1811; Rep. Daniel A. Reed (NY), "The Foreign Policy of the United States," *CR*, April 28, 1947, A1951; Rep. Bertrand W. Gearhart (CA), "'We Believe America can Enhance her Prestige and Win the Admiration and Respect of People Everywhere Only by Championing the Cause of Justice and Decency, Rather than by an Unholy Alliance with the 'Unspeakable' Turk.'— Armenian National Council of America," *CR*, May 7, 1947, A2155; Rep. Lawrence H. Smith (WI), "Greek-Turkish Aid," *CR*, May 7, 1947, A2171-A2172; "Turkish Loan," *CR*, May 13, 1947, 5185; "Armenian Group Fights Aid," *NYT*, May 13, 1947; "Armenians Fight Turkish Aid," *NYT*, May 13, 1947; John Roy Carlson (Arthur Derounian), "News Story Protested," *NYT*, May 17, 1947; A. Alichanian, "The Armenian Massacres," *NYT*, Sept. 27, 1947; and Henry Tanner, "American-Armenians Who Left U.S. for Soviet Yearn to Return," *NYT*, March 18, 1964.

²⁵ "Armenians to Quit Greece," *New York Times*, June 11, 1947; "Armenian Mistreatment Alleged," *NYT*, September 12, 1947; "Armenians Leaving Palestine," *NYT*, Oct. 20, 1947; "Soviet Inducing Armenians in U.S. to Drop Citizenship, Return to Industrialize Republic," *NYT*, Oct. 21, 1947; "1,000 Armenians Would Leave U.S.," *NYT*, Oct. 31, 1947; "150 Armenians Sail Back to Homeland," *NYT*, Nov. 2, 1947; Armen Alichanian, "Repatriation of Armenians," *NYT*, Nov. 22, 1947; C.L. Sulzberger, "Armenians Find Native Land a Disappointment on Return," *NYT*, March 14, 1948; *The New York Times* would also cover the return of some of these Armenian Americans to the United States in 1964. See Henry Tanner, "American-Armenians Who Left U.S. for Soviet Yearn to Return," *NYT*, March 18, 1964; Martin Gansberg, "American-Armenians Glad to Be Back from Soviet," *NYT*, March 22, 1964; and "Russians Dispute Armenia Article," *NYT*, April 1, 1964.

²⁶ Rep. Bertrand W. Gearhart (CA), "The Armenian General Benevolent Union and the Armenian Refugee Problem," *CR*, May 25, 1948, A3725-A3726.

²⁷ The *ARF* would later change its mind and claim that the real goal of the entire Armenian Campaign between 1945 and 1947 was not to take back Armenian territory from Turkey, but simply to discredit the *ARF*. See Reuben Darbinian, "In Retrospect: A Glance at the Past Thirty Years," *Armenian Review*, Vol. 6, No. 3 (Aut. 1953): 53.

interest groups were left in an awkward position. Their image was also not helped by the national attention surrounding the Armenian-Americans who were willing to renounce their U.S. citizenship and emigrate to the Armenian SSR. The ARF, already trying to repair a reputation tarnished by the organization's association with the Nazis during World War II, was eager to correct this perception of Armenian-Americans and prove their anti-communist credentials.²⁸

Although discussion over the massacres and deportations of 1915 made a brief appearance in Congress during the debates over the Genocide Convention,²⁹ the Armenian narrative and the interpretation of the Armenian Question changed dramatically by the early 1950s. While Armenians and the Armenian SSR had only recently been hailed as the recipients and beneficiaries of Soviet largesse, they were now the victims of Soviet tyranny oppression. While obviously a product of the deterioration in relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, the change was also due to the dissatisfaction and resentment in Armenian diaspora towards the actions of Kevork VI, the head of the Armenian Church and based in Echmiadzin in the Armenian SSR, the historical center of the Armenian Church. Installed by the Soviets in 1945, Kevork VI gave his support and influence to the repatriation campaign of 1947-1949, which left him exposed when the political winds changed in late 1946. Kevork VI also drew the ire of certain elements in the Armenian-American diaspora, particularly the ARF, by ordering Armenians abroad to annually celebrate the Soviet-friendly "Armenian Liberation Day" on November 29, while forbidding the commemoration of more nationalistic, and pro-ARF, "Armenian Independence Day" on May 28.³⁰ The chimera of a vibrant, dynamic and advanced Soviet Armenia, which wanted to spread its prosperity to the eastern provinces of

²⁸ James G. Mandalian, "The Armenian Case," *Armenian Review* Vol. 1, No. 1 (Win. 1948): 49-56; Arkady Stepanian, "The Armenian Case and the Conflicting World Forces," *AR* Vol. 1, No. 2 (Spr. 1948): 75-78; Rep. Frank E. Hook (MI), "John R. Flynn and the Dashnags," *CR*, May 4, 1945, A2074-A2076; Rep. Emanuel Celler (NY), "Document Reveals Dashnag Collaboration with Nazis," *CR*, Nov. 1, 1945, A4840-A4841; and Arkady Stepanian, "The Armenian Case and the Conflicting World Forces," *AR* Vol. 1, No. 2 (Spr. 1948): 75-78.

²⁹ United States Senate, 81st Congress, 2nd Session, Genocide Convention, Legislative History of Committee on Foreign Relations United States Senate, 1950, 26-27; and "Statement of the Armenian National Council of America," United States Senate, 81st Congress, 2nd Session, United States Senate, Eighty-First Congress, 1950, 548-550.

³⁰ Nov. 29, 1920 was the day the Bolsheviks took control of the Armenian Republic, which had declared its independence on May 28, 1918. See "Harry Schwartz, "Many Armenians in U.S. Defy Leader," *New York Times*, Nov. 23, 1951; and "Justice Douglas Spurs Armenians," *NYT*, Nov. 26, 1951.

Turkey, was now replaced by the nightmare that was the Armenian SSR: “a godless Soviet satellite” suffering from thirty years of “exploitation and oppression.”³¹

While the plight of the oppressed and exploited Armenians trapped in the Soviet Union did not receive sustained attention in the national media, it was a topic of intermittent discussion in the U.S. Congress for the next decade, particularly among congressmen representing communities with significant numbers of Armenian-American. Statements of concern and observations varied in intensity and frequency during the 1950s and early 1960s, but typically centered on May 28th, Armenian Independence Day, and February 18th, the day the Armenians revolted and temporarily forced the Soviets out of the Armenian SSR.³² The commemorative holidays provided an opportunity to retell the tragic narrative of the Armenians and, in particular, emphasize, criticize and lament the unlawful Sovietization of the Armenian Republic. The Armenian SSR also enjoyed a prominent place on the list of countries that Rep. Daniel Flood’s (PA) proposed *Captive Nations* legislation was designed to assist and were the subject of a House Special Committee.³³

³¹ “Justice Douglas Spurs Armenians,” *New York Times*, Nov. 26, 1951; and “Soviet Armenia,” *NYT*, Dec. 1, 1951.

³² Rep. Thomas J. Lane (MA), “Thirty-Fourth Armenian Independence Anniversary,” *CR*, May 21, 1952, A3273-A3274; “Armenians Get Praise,” *New York Times*, May 26, 1952; Rep. John W. McCormack (MA), “Address of Mr. J. Missakian on the Thirty-fourth Anniversary of the Independence of Armenia,” *CR*, June 17, 1952, A3784-A3785; Rep. John W. McCormack (MA), “Anniversary of Armenian Independence,” *CR*, June 17, 1952, A3793; “Uprising of the Armenian People Against the Soviet Union,” *CR*, Feb. 18, 1953, 1157-1158; “Armenian Independence,” *CR*, Feb. 18, 1953, 1193; Rep. Everett M. Dirksen (IL), “The Struggle for Armenian Independence,” *CR*, February 20, 1953, A783; Rep. Emanuel Celler (NY), “Independence for Armenia,” *CR*, April 28, 1953, A2898-A2899; Rep. Thomas J. Dodd (CT), “Armenian Independence Day,” *CR*, May 27, 1953, A3010-A3011; Rep. Edward P. Boland (MA), “Armenian Independence Day,” *CR*, May 28, 1953, A3035-A3036; “Armenian Independence Day,” *CR*, May 28, 1953, 5756; “Armenian Independence Day,” *CR*, May 28, 1953, 5787-5788; “Armenian Independence Day— Statement by Senator Humphrey,” *CR*, June 1, 1953, 5832-5833; Sen. Theodore F. Green (RI), “Armenian Independence Day Address by Hon. Theodore F. Green, of Rhode Island,” *CR*, June 4, 1953, A3184-A3185; Rep. Lawrence H. Smith (WI), “Anniversary of Armenian Revolt Against Soviet Tyranny,” *CR*, Feb. 8, 1954, A1172-A1173; Rep. Philip J. Philbin (MA), “Armenia,” *CR*, Feb. 16, 1954, 1871; Rep. Philip J. Philbin (MA), “Armenian Independence,” *CR*, May 26, 1954, A3879; *Communist Takeover and Occupation of Armenia Special Report No. 5 of the Select Committee on Communist Aggression*, House of Representatives, 83rd Congress, 2nd Session, Under Authority of H. Res. 346 and H. Res 438 (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, Dec. 31, 1954); Rep. Edward P. Boland (PA), “Armenian Independence,” *CR*, May 28, 1957, 7919-7920; Rep. Edwin H. May, Jr. (CT), “Armenian Independence Day,” *CR*, June 4, 1957, 8329; “Armenian Independence Day,” *CR*, June 6, 1957, 8460; “Thirty-Seventh Anniversary of Armenia’s Successful Revolt Against Soviet Communism,” *CR*, February 18, 1958, 2317-2318; “Forty-Third Anniversary of Establishment of Independent Republic of Armenia,” *CR*, May 26, 1961, 9093; “Armenian Independence Day,” *CR*, May 26, 1961, 9113; “Armenian Independence Day,” *CR*, May 28, 1963, 9609-9613; “The 45th Anniversary of Armenian Independence Day,” *CR*, May 28, 1963, 9627; Rep. Samuel S. Stratton (NY), “Armenian Independence Day,” *CR*, June 6, 1963, A3671-A3672; and Rep. Glenard P. Lipscomb (CA), “The 1963 Freedom Award to Congressman Derwinski,” *CR*, June 11, 1963, A3790-A3791.

³³ Rep. Daniel J. Flood (PA), “House Resolution 14: Special Committee on Captive Nations,” *CR*, May 21, 1953, A3191; Rep. Daniel J. Flood (PA), “House Resolution 14: Special Committee on Captive Nations,” *CR*, June 6,

The Massacres and Deportations of 1915

The first instance in which the massacres and deportations of Armenians by the Ottomans in 1915 were the main topic of discussion in a public forum appears to be in a letter written to the *New York Times* from the chairman of the Armenian National Committee in response to comments made by an U.S. Army officer blaming the Armenians for the massacres of 1915.³⁴ The second was a two-page eyewitness account of the massacres in 1915 published in the third issue of the *Armenian Review* that described atrocities “far more heinous and reprehensible” than those carried out by the Nazis in World War II.³⁵ The term genocide, since its conception, has been associated with the Armenians and, in some cases, partially defined by the Armenian massacres and deportations of 1915, and a discussion of these events periodically surfaced during the Genocide Convention debates of 1950.³⁶ Curiously, however, between 1946 and

1963, A3659; Rep. Daniel J. Flood (PA), “House Resolution 14: Special Committee on Captive Nations,” *CR*, June 12, 1963, A3766; Rep. Daniel J. Flood (PA), “House Resolution 14: Special Committee on Captive Nations,” *CR*, June 18, 1963, A3869; Rep. Daniel J. Flood (PA), “A Special Committee on Captive Nations and the Fifth Captive Nations Week Observance,” *CR*, June 20, 1963, A4005-A4007; Rep. Daniel J. Flood (PA), “House Resolution 14: Special Committee on Captive Nations,” *CR*, June 24, 1963, A3988; Rep. Daniel J. Flood (PA), “House Resolution 14: Special Committee on Captive Nations,” *CR*, June 27, 1963, A4590-A4591; Rep. Daniel J. Flood (PA), “House Resolution 14: Special Committee on Captive Nations,” *CR*, July 1, 1963, 12038-12039; Rep. Daniel J. Flood (PA), “House Resolution 14: Special Committee on Captive Nations,” *CR*, July 1, 1963, 12759; Rep. Daniel J. Flood (PA), “House Resolution 14: Special Committee on Captive Nations,” *CR*, July 1, 1963, A4490; “USSR Nationalities in Danger of Extinction,” *CR*, July 23, 1963, 13138; Rep. Daniel J. Flood (PA), “House Resolution 14: Special Committee on Captive Nations,” *CR*, July 23, 1963, A4602-A4603; and Rep. Daniel J. Flood (PA), “House Resolution 14: Special Committee on Captive Nations,” *CR*, July 30, 1963, A4833-A4834.

³⁴ A. Alichanian, “Letters to the Times: The Armenian Massacres,” *New York Times*, Sept. 27, 1947.

³⁵ H. Saro, “Terrors from the Crime of 1915,” *Armenian Review*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (Sum. 1948): 105-106. One of the first academic analyses of Armenians and the events leading up to the events of 1915, but not the massacres and deportations themselves, was also published in 1948. See Roderic Davison, “The Armenian Crisis, 1912-1914,” *American Historical Review*, Vol. 53, No. 3 (April 1948): 481-505.

³⁶ The term “genocide” appears to have been introduced to the public for the first time in late Aug. 1946. See “Genocide,” *New York Times*, Aug. 26, 1946. For formal discussions see “Genocide Convention,” 81st Congress, 2nd Session, Legislative History of Committee on Foreign Relations United States Senate, 1950, 26-27; *Genocide Convention*, Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, Eighty-First Congress, Second Session on Executive O, The International Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, Jan. 23, 24, 25, and February 9, 1950; “Raphael Lemkin Letters to Senator Brien McMahon (April 3, 1950) and Dr. Kalijarvi,” United States Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations, Subcommittee on Genocide Convention, April 12, 1950. For an early example of a detailed comparison between the Armenian Massacres of 1915 and the definition of genocide, see “Statement of the Armenian National Council of America,” United States Senate, 81st Congress, 2nd Session, United States Senate, Eighty-First Congress, 1950, 548-550. For unsophisticated early associations see “Armenians Oppose U.S. Aid to Turkey,” *NYT*, March 31, 1947; John Roy Carlson (Arthur Derounian), “News Story Protested,” *NYT*, May 17, 1947; H.M. Dadourian, “The Armenian Question,” *New York Times*, May 25, 1947; A. Alichanian, “The Armenian Massacres,” *NYT*, Sept. 27, 1947; H. Saro, “Terrors from the Crime of 1915,” *Armenian Review*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (Sum. 1948): 105-106; “Remnants of the Turkish Genocide,” *AR*, Vol. 2, No. 4 (Win. 1949): 49-53; Rep. Thomas J. Lane (MA), “Thirty-Fourth Armenian Independence Anniversary,” *CR*, May 21, 1952, A3273-A3274; “Independence for Armenia,”

1959, there was not a single call to hold the contemporary Turkish Republic responsible for the massacres of 1915, and only one instance expressing concern that those responsible for the atrocities had not been brought to justice.³⁷ In fact, of the four instances described above when the subject of formally recognizing April 24 as Armenian Martyrs' Day came up in the U.S. Congress between 1953 and 1956, the Ottoman Empire was only mentioned once and Turkey not at all.³⁸

1959, then, was a watershed in terms of the evolution of the Armenian question and, in particular, the notion that the Turkish Republic and its citizens were collectively responsible for the events of 1915 and owed a debt to the Armenian nation. The *Armenian Review* is a quarterly journal published by the ARF's Hairenik Press and which, by their own editorial board's admission, was the "official organ of an Armenian national-political party."³⁹ Beginning in its 1959 Spring and Summer issues, the *Armenian Review* published three articles, two of them in serial format: "Under the Shadow Death" by Garabed Aaronian; "An Inquiry into the Turkish Massacres of 1894-1897" by Gregory Arabian; and a reprint of Arnold Toynbee's "A Summary of Armenian History up to and Including the Year 1915."⁴⁰ After ten years of publication, this was the first time, since the "eyewitness" account in the third issue, that the massacres and deportations of 1915 warranted their own dedicated and detailed attention in the ARF's journal. Prior to 1959, articles dealing with the Ottoman component of the Armenian Question in the Review focused on the 19th century, or earlier, pre-World War I, post-World

Rep. Emanuel Celler (NY), *CR*, April 28, 1953, A2898-A2899; and "Armenian Independence Day— Statement by Senator Humphrey," *CR*, June 1, 1953, 5832-5833.

³⁷ "Statement of the Armenian National Council of America, in Favor of the Ratification of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide, Submitted by Rev. Charles A. Vertanes, Executive Director," *Genocide Convention*, Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, Eighty-First Congress, Second Session on Executive O, The International Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, Jan. 23,24,25, and Feb. 9, 1950, 548-550.

³⁸ For the reference to "persecution in the Ottoman Empire," see "Memorial Day Commemorating Armenian Martyrs in World War I," *CR*, April 27, 1953, 3923; For the other references see "Armenian Martyrs," *CR*, April 23, 1954, 5416; Rep. F.D. Roosevelt, JR. (NY), "Anniversary of the 1915 Armenian Massacre," *CR*, April 26, 1954, 5538; "Anniversary of Massacre of Armenians," *CR*, April 24, 1956, 6837.

³⁹ "An Exchange of Letters with the Turkish Ambassador," *Armenian Review* Vol. 13, No. 3 (Aut. 1960): 3.

⁴⁰ Garabed H. Aaronian, "Under the Shadow of Death," *Armenian Review* Vol. 12, No. 1 (Spr. 1959): 69-76; Gregory Arabian, "An Inquiry into the Turkish Massacres of 1894-1897," *AR* Vol. 12, No. 1 (Spr. 1959): 84-96; Arabian, "An Inquiry into the Turkish Massacres of 1894-1897 II," *AR* Vol. 12, No. 2 (Sum. 1959): 132-140; Arabian, "An Inquiry into the Turkish Massacres of 1894-1897 III," *AR* Vol. 12, No. 3 (Aut. 1959): 127-133; Arnold Toynbee, "A Summary of Armenian History Up to and Including 1915," *AR* Vol. 12, No. 2 (Sum. 1959): 78-97; Toynbee, "A Summary of Armenian History Up to and Including 1915 II," *AR* Vol. 12, No. 3 (Aut. 1959): 59-74; Toynbee, and "A Summary of Armenian History Up to and Including the Year 1915 III," *AR* Vol. 13, No. 2 (Win. 1960): 137-150.

War I negotiations and peace treaties, or the state of Armenian minorities in the contemporary Turkish Republic.⁴¹ The events of 1915, and even World War I, are conspicuously absent.

In addition to the change content beginning in 1959, there is also an unmistakable change in the tone of the *Armenian Review*. Aaronian addresses a number of themes within the context of the war and massacres, including conversion to Islam, Great Power betrayal, the abduction, the abduction of Armenian women, and the Armenian desire for revenge. Arabian's three-part article was technically concerned about the Hamidian Massacres of 1894 - 1897, but it is clear by the article's editorial introduction that the board believed it encompassed much more:

The wonder of the century is that, despite the monumental evidence adduced by the best historians of the world in regard to the heinous enormity of the Turkish crime, to this date, after a lapse of fully sixty-one years, there has not been one Turkish statesmen, not one civic leader, not one soldier, or a poet or a peasant who has had the decency of admitting that, in massacring the Armenians, their nation did a great wrong. It is this absolute absence of any trace of remorse or regret that is appalling in the Turkish character.⁴²

In a similar vein, the introduction to the Toynbee reprint stated that while “the Armenian case has been completely forgotten” by the world, Armenians would “bring their case to world attention when the proper time arrives.”⁴³ Given that the Armenian Question received fairly consistent attention since at least 1945, and given the *Armenian Review*'s own lack of emphasis, coverage or analyses of the events of 1915, it is unclear why the ARF was suddenly concerned with world indifference and acting with a certain sense of urgency to heighten and broaden awareness of the 1915 Armenian massacres. It is also puzzling why, less than a year later, the editors of the *Armenian Review* contradicted themselves by writing: “The whole world knows why the attitude of the Armenians toward the Turks is not, and cannot be friendly, no matter

⁴¹ Vardges Aharonian, “The Armenian Emancipatory Struggle I,” *Armenian Review* Vol. 6, No. 4 (Win. 1953): 3-21; Aharonian, “The Armenian Emancipatory Struggle III,” *AR* Vol. 7, No. 2 (Sum. 1954): 64-69; James G. Mandalian, “Figures from the Armenian Revolution,” *AR* Vol. 9, No. 4 (Win. 1956): 26-33; Meroojan Ozanian, “Vramian on the Value of Diplomacy and Propaganda,” *AR* Vol. 11, No. 3 (Aut. 1958): 61-70; Rita Jerrehian, “Effect of World War I on the Armenian Question,” *AR* Vol. 8, No. 4 (Win. 1955): 102-110; Stephen Bonsal, “Armenian Disaster,” *AR* Vol. 3, No. 2 (Sum. 1950): 43-52; Jerrehian, “From the Armistice to the Treaty of Sevres I,” *AR* Vol. 9, No. 2 (Sum. 1956): 123-142; Jerrehian, “Abandonment of the Armenian Question as an International Issue,” *AR* Vol. 9, No. 4 (Win. 1956): 113-122; Dr. Vahe Sarafian, “World War I American Relief for Armenians II,” *AR* Vol. 10, No. 3 (Aut. 1957): 133-145; “Remnants of the Turkish Genocide,” *AR* Vol. 2, No. 4 (Win. 1949): 49-53; and B. Kushikian, “One Month in Turkey,” *AR* Vol. 6, No. 2 (Sum. 1953): 115-125.

⁴² Arabian, “An Inquiry, Part I,” *Armenian Review*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (Spr. 1959): 84.

⁴³ Toynbee, “A Summary,” *Armenian Review*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (Sum. 1959): 78.

how desirable that may be. Unfortunately, it is only the Turks who do not know, or refuse to realize this fact.”⁴⁴

This change in tone did not go unnoticed. On December 7, 1959, the Turkish Ambassador to the United States, Ali S. H. Ürgüplü, sent a letter to the editor of the *Armenian Review*, Reuben Darbinian, in which Ürgüplü objects to, among other things, “the fact that most articles in the *Armenian Review* reflect a mentality which is both ridiculously and dangerously chauvinistic, and disgracefully prejudiced, which deliberately misrepresents the facts by showing one side of the picture, and which has for its sole object the sowing of seeds of hate.”⁴⁵ The Ambassador requested that any articles submitted to the journal “containing a hate-Turkey theme” be rejected for publication.⁴⁶ It is interesting that while Darbinian replied to Ürgüplü a week later, on December 15, 1959, the journal waited nearly a year before both letters were published.⁴⁷ Judging by Darbinian’s response: “if the Armenian people are filled with hatred toward the Turks,” it is because “in 1915 the Turkish Government, through mass deportations and massacre, consummated the Armenian Genocide in its attempt to make an end of the Armenian Question,” and “the authors of the Armenian genocide, neither the Turkish Government, nor any organization nor individual, despite the fact that forty-four years have passed since that tragic episode, have expressed at any time any regret or remorse over the crime they committed, nor have they shown any disposition to make any moral, economic, or political restitution to the surviving Armenians....” and considering the subsequent articles published in the *Armenian Review*, Darbinian and the rest of the editorial board rejected the Turkish Ambassador’s request.⁴⁸

In the six years between the sudden interest by the ARF and the demonstrations in Beirut and Yerevan to mark the 50th anniversary in April 1965, publications on the events of 1915 steadily increased in their journal. In addition Arabian and Toynbee installments, the *Armenian Review* published a four-part hagiography of Soghomon Tehlirian (aka, Saro Melikian), the ARF agent who assassinated the alleged architect of the Armenian massacres,

⁴⁴ “An Exchange of Letters with the Turkish Ambassador,” *Armenian Review*, Vol. 13, No. 3 (Aut. 1960): 3.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ These eleven months were, coincidentally, a particularly troubling period of time for Turkey, that covered President Eisenhower’s state visit to Turkey in Dec. 1959, through the coup of May 1960 and the three years of military rule that followed.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 5-6.

and former Prime Minister of the Ottoman Empire, Talaat Pasha.⁴⁹ While undoubtedly influenced by Tehlirian's death in May 1960, the glorification of his life, the assassination and, particularly, his acquittal for the crime, fit the new direction of the *Armenian Review*.⁵⁰ While the old, familiar topics of the Armenian Question remained popular,⁵¹ by 1964 they had largely been replaced by stories and articles on the Armenian massacres and deportations of 1915.⁵²

Three themes emerged out of this short period of renewed interest in 1915. First, the suffering, anguish and pain of the victims of the Armenian massacres were aggravated further by the Turkish Republic and/or its citizens' refusal to admit, apologize or atone for their crimes, and, in fact, Turkey's denial and counter-accusations regarding the events of 1915 perpetuated the crimes. Second, the Armenians believed that they were denied justice in the immediate post-war period, or, conversely, the Turks escaped from justice,⁵³ and they wanted this outrage rectified. The final theme was that all Turks, past, present and future, were guilty for the crimes of 1915.

The first of these new themes to emerge in the *Armenian Review* was the anger over the lack of a formal or informal apology from the Turkish government or its citizens. It started with

⁴⁹ Sarkis Atamian, "Soghomon Tehlirian I," *Armenian Review* Vol. 13, No. 3 (Aut. 1960): 40-51; Atamian, "Soghomon Tehlirian II," *AR* Vol. 14, No. 1 (Win. 1961): 10-21; Atamian, "Soghomon Tehlirian III," *AR* Vol. 14, No. 2 (Spr. 1961): 16-36; and Atamian, "Soghomon Tehlirian IV," *AR* Vol. 14, No. 3 (Sum. 1961): 44-49. Another homage to Tehlirian was published the following year, see Setrak Pakhtikian, "I knew Soghomon Tehlirian," *AR* Vol. 15, No. 2 (Sum. 1962): 16-23.

⁵⁰ "Saro Melikian, Armenian Hero," *New York Times*, May 26, 1960.

⁵¹ Vahan Papazian, "Situation in the Caucasus Between 1910-1920," *Armenian Review* Vol. 12, No. 3 (Aut. 1959): 76-86; Papazian, "Armenian Delegations to the Paris Peace Conference," *AR* Vol. 13, No. 2 (Sum. 1960): 49-60; Papazian, "The Armenian National Congress in Paris," *AR* Vol. 13, No. 2 (Win. 1960): 56-65; Alexander Khatissian, "The Lausanne Conference and the Two Armenian Delegations III," *AR* Vol. 15, No. 1 (Spr. 1962): 55-64; James H. Tashjian, "The Armenian Tragedy," *AR* Vol. 15, No. 2 (Sum. 1962): 30-40; Khatissian, "The Lausanne Conference and the Two Armenian Delegations IV," *AR* Vol. 15, No. 2 (Sum. 1962): 53-62; Avetis Aharonian, "From Sardarapat to Sevres and Lausanne I," *AR* Vol. 15, No. 3 (Aut. 1962): 3-13; K. Guzaljian, "The Origin of the Armenian Question as Appraised by the Armenians," *AR* Vol. 16, No. 2 (Sum. 1963): 69-80; and Garo Pasdermajian, "Armenia: A Leading Factor in the Winning of World War I," *AR* Vol. 17, No. 1 (Spr. 1964): 24-45.

⁵² Kevork, "To Aram on April 24," *Armenian Review* Vol. 15, No. 3 (Aut. 1962): 60-62; Arsen Yergath, "The Turk," *AR* Vol. 15, No. 4 (Win. 1962): 43-45; William Cowper, "On the Turks," *AR* Vol. 16, No. 1 (Spr. 1963): 8; Haigazn K. Kazarian, "The 'Forty Days of Musa Dagh' and Its English Translation," *AR* Vol. 16, No. 3 (Aut. 1963): 18-22; "The Murderous Tyranny of the Turks by Arnold J. Toynbee," *AR* Vol. 16, No. 4 (Win. 1963): 17-29; "UNESCO and the Kemal Ataturk Anniversary," *AR* Vol. 17, No. 2 (Sum. 1964): 3-4; Hrand Pasdermajian, "A History of Armenia: The First World War," *AR* Vol. 17, No. 4 (Win. 1964): 56-62; Yervand Khatanasian, "Genocide and the Armenian Case," *AR* Vol. 17, No. 4 (Win. 1964): 3-7; and Kazarian, "The Turkish Genocide on the Church Front," *AR* Vol. 18, No. 1 (Spr. 1965): 3-9.

⁵³ There seems to be no explanation as to why the satisfaction of successfully assassinating most of the Ottoman leaders the Armenians held responsible for the events of 1915 in the early 1920s (see next chapter), gave way to this sense of the "Turks" escaping justice.

the introduction to the Arabian article in the Spring 1959 issue, was followed by Darbinian's comments to the Turkish Ambassador in December and continued with such statements as: "there was not one soul among the criminal race who would raise his voice to condemn his grandfathers whose ashes are still wet with the torrents of blood which were shed."⁵⁴ The attention brought to this issue intensified in 1964 with the publication of an editorial on UNESCO's honoring the 25th anniversary of Ataturk's death:

"there has not been a *single* Turkish leader or common individual who has had the decency to express one iota of regret for their monstrous crime, or even to make a simple admission of it, to say nothing of the fact that neither a single individual nor an organization has felt bound to make any moral or material reparation to the surviving Armenians," and "a nation which to this day has not shown a single token of compunction for the monstrous crime which it committed against a helpless nation," in comparison to the Germans "who expressed both sorrow and regret for the enormous crimes of their own Nazis and did their utmost to indemnify the Jewish people both morally and materially..."⁵⁵

This coincided with an editorial by Vahakn Dadrian in the *New York Times* that reproduced, nearly verbatim, the same statement: "Unlike the multitudes of Germans who with feelings of shame and compunction endeavor to atone for Nazi crimes and offer just compensation to Jews, there has yet to emerge a single prominent or humble Turk to publicly admit the massacres."⁵⁶ Another comparison of the Germans and Turks put it even more bluntly: The Turk "is so insolent that not only [sic] he has not uttered a single word of remorse or condemnation to this day."⁵⁷

The second theme, the argument that justice had been denied to the Armenians in the wake of World War I was not entirely a new concept. Previously, however, and certainly within the context of the late 1940s campaign to annex Kars and Ardahan, the denial of justice referred to the fact that Armenia had not been freed from the Turks. Armenians had not taken possession of the territory awarded to it by the Treaty of Sèvres (Wilson's Armenia); the land owed to it by the Great Powers for both centuries of endured suffering and for their invaluable contributions

⁵⁴ Arsen Yergath, "The Turk," *Armenian Review* Vol. 15, No. 4 (Winter 1962): 43-45. Sarkis Atamian also briefly notes the lack of an apology in his 1955 research. See Sarkis Atamian, *The Armenian Community: The Historical Development of a Social and Ideological Conflict* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1955), 454.

⁵⁵ "UNESCO and the Kemal Ataturk Anniversary," *Armenian Review* Vol. 17, No. 2 (Sum. 1964): 3-4.

⁵⁶ V.N. Dadrian, "Massacre of Armenians," *New York Times*, May 30, 1964.

⁵⁷ Yervand Khatanasian, "Genocide and the Armenian Case," *Armenian Review* Vol. 17, No. 4 (Win. 1964): 3-7.

to both World Wars.⁵⁸ In the word of Leon Surmelian, the entire Armenian Question as a political-cultural issue, prior to 1959 at least, could be summed up in one word: “soil.”⁵⁹

While the subject of Turkey paying for confiscated property during World War I had already been broached,⁶⁰ equating justice with the punishment of the contemporary Turkish Republic and its citizens, specifically for the crimes of 1915, was a new development amongst Armenians. They had, of course, expressed anger and resentment over the Allies failure to keep their promise to hold the government of the Ottoman Empire responsible for the events in eastern Anatolia after the war. Armenian discontent, however, was already addressed by the ARF, who hunted down and assassinated the Ottoman officials they believed to be responsible for the Armenian massacres.⁶¹ This new feeling of having been cheated, or that the Ottoman Empire, Turkey and Turkish citizens had escaped from justice, was mentioned during the debates over the Genocide Convention in 1950,⁶² briefly resurfaced in the introduction to the Toynbee reprint: “the Armenians...have no intention of letting the murderer of their race go scot free,”⁶³ and reappeared in the scathing editorial in the *Armenian Review* in 1964.⁶⁴ Apparently insulted by the prospect of UNESCO honoring the father of modern Turkey, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, on the 25th anniversary of his death, and influenced by the continued efforts of West Germany to bring Nazi war criminals to justice, the *Armenian Review* lamented the fact that no Turkish leaders were ever tried in court and “not a single Turk has been punished for having organized or participated in the Genocide of the Armenians.”⁶⁵

In his editorials to the *New York Times*, Dadrian carried this further by arguing that the Armenians were “denied the privilege of a Nuremberg trial or even lesser trials where they

⁵⁸ James G. Mandalian, “The Armenian Case,” *Armenian Review* Vol. 1, No. 1 (Win. 1948): 49-56.

⁵⁹ Rep. Bertrand W. Gearhart (CA), “A Historic Responsibility of Armenian-Americans— An Address by Mr. Leon Surmelian,” *CR*, July 29, 1946, A4569-A4571.

⁶⁰ “Armenians Present Case,” *New York Times*, Sept. 23, 1945.

⁶¹ “Allies to Punish Turks Who Murder,” *New York Times*, May 24, 1915; “Talaat Pasha Slain in Berlin Suburb,” *NYT*, March 16, 1921; “Talaat Pasha Murdered. Armenia’s Vengeance,” *The Times*, March 16, 1921; “Ex-Grand Vizier Murdered. Prince Said Halim’s Career,” *The Times*, Dec. 7, 1921; “Two Young Turks Murdered in Berlin,” *NYT*, April 19, 1922; “Jemal Pasha Dead. Shot in Tiflis. Tyrant of Syria,” *The Times*, July 26, 1922; “Djemal Pasha, Fugitive, Assassinated in Tiflis; Condemned as Author of Armenian Massacres,” *NYT*, July 26, 1922; and “One After Another,” *NYT*, July 27, 1922. See also Simon Vratzian, *Armenia and the Armenian Question* (Boston, MA: Hairenik, 1943), 30-31. See also *Genocide Convention*, 1950, 96.

⁶² “Statement of the Armenian National Council of America,” 1950, 548-550.

⁶³ Toynbee, “A Summary of Armenian History Up to and Including 1915,” *Armenian Review*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (Sum. 1959): 78.

⁶⁴ “UNESCO and the Kemal Ataturk Anniversary,” *Armenian Review* Vol. 17, No. 2 (Sum. 1964): 3-4.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

could have confronted their assassins,” because after the war “the victorious Allies expediently refrained from taking the defeated Turks to task,” and that “above all, the Turks committed and escaped retribution for what has been called ‘deeds surpassing in magnitude and vileness the most imaginative pictures of hell ever conceived.’”⁶⁶ An article in the *Armenian Review* in December 1964 was even less kind, laying the blame for the Jewish Holocaust on the Allied governments which had, by failing to bring Turkish war criminals to justice after World War I, “tore justice into a thousand shreds and by their act encouraged the genocide.”⁶⁷ It was this author, who perhaps summed up the sentiments of the Armenian diaspora perfectly, as the 50th Anniversary approached: “The Armenian must recover his ancestral territories” and “The Turk must give an account for his crime,” because “No law, and no resolution can create cooperation and love among the nations as long as the assassin of mankind goes scot free.”⁶⁸

The suggestion that the Turks, collectively, and not the Ottoman central government a handful of others, were responsible for the massacres and deportations of 1915 was also new. Even the oft cited and recycled historian Toynbee went no further than the Central Government, and perhaps some local civil administrators, when allocating guilt: “In one way or another, the Central Government enforced and controlled the execution of the scheme, as it alone had originated the conception of it; and the Young Turkish Ministers and their associates at Constantinople are directly and personally responsible, from beginning to end, for the gigantic crime that devastated the Near East in 1915.”⁶⁹ Yet, in the 1959 exchange of letters with the Turkish Ambassador, the ARF makes it clear that there is some ambiguity in the allocation of guilt: “Unfortunately, you, that is the Turkish Government, does nothing to make the Armenians forget the crimes which the *Turks* [emphasis mine] have committed against them.”⁷⁰ Likewise, Hrand Pasdermajian writes: “In this work of extermination of a whole people the Turkish leaders found many accomplices among a population which was steeped in ignorance and blind fanaticism.”⁷¹ By 1964, that ambiguity is gone: “The Turkish people, as a nation, supported that

⁶⁶ V.N. Dadrian, “Letters to the Times: Massacre of Armenians,” *New York Times*, May 30, 1964.

⁶⁷ Khatanasian, “Genocide and the Armenian Case,” *Armenian Review*, Vol. 17, No. 4 (Win. 1964): 6.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁶⁹ Arnold Toynbee, “A Summary of Armenian History Up to and Including the Year 1915 III,” *Armenian Review* Vol. 13, No. 2 (Win. 1960): 150.

⁷⁰ “An Exchange of Letters with the Turkish Ambassador,” *Armenian Review*, Vol. 13, No. 3 (Aut. 1960): 6.

⁷¹ Hrand Pasdermajian, “A History of Armenia: The First World War,” *Armenian Review* Vol. 17, No. 4 (Win. 1964): 58.

crime and was a direct participant in that same crime,”⁷² or, “The Turkish people with all classes of society, the religious sects and the fanatical rabble, solidly in unison, dedicated itself to the cowardly task of exterminating the Armenian race,”⁷³ or, perhaps even more to the point, “It is an insult to the truth to insist that the culprit was the Turkish government and never the Turkish people.”⁷⁴ To underscore Turkish collective guilt, this was again contrasted with the Jewish Holocaust which “was not the doing of the German people,” but rather the “malicious act of a few tens of thousands of lunatics,” and it would be the equivalent of “insolently spitting in the face of justice” for the Turkish people to “be exonerated and only the government be called to account before a people rolling in excruciating pain such as the Armenians.”⁷⁵

The task of convincing diaspora Armenians in the early 1960s to move from holding the Ottoman Government accountable for the massacres and deportations carried out in eastern Anatolia in 1915 to holding the entire Turkish nation responsible was undoubtedly a Herculean exercise for Armenian leaders. Particularly after the ARF spent the previous 45 years proudly claiming to have avenged the Armenian people for the events of 1915 by assassinating those Ottoman (and Azerbaijani) officials it deemed responsible. Blaming an ethnic Turk in Marmaris, even if one could be found who self-identified as such, for events in Erzincan, Van or Trabzon was as nonsensical as holding a Greek in Edirne, a Palestinian in Konya, or a Jew in Istanbul responsible. Accusing a citizen of the Turkish Republic of being personally responsible for the crimes of 1915, regardless of his ethnic background or the distance of 50 years, is even more unimaginable. That Armenian political leaders, publishers, editorialists, and academics, were able to accomplish such a task, however, speaks to the tremendous power, influence and effectiveness of decades, if not centuries, of brutal anti-Turkish rhetoric and propaganda, in both Europe and the United States.

⁷² “UNESCO and the Kemal Ataturk Anniversary,” *Armenian Review*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (Sum. 1964): 3.

⁷³ Khatanasian, “Genocide and the Armenian Case.” *Armenian Review* Vol. 17, No. 4 (Win. 1964): 4.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

The Dehumanization of the Turk

The history and perpetuation of anti-Turkishness in the West dates back to the fall of Constantinople in 1453, if not earlier, and has attracted its own scholarship and analyses.⁷⁶ The presence of an inherent prejudice against, or a fundamental misunderstanding of, the “Turk” and his empire in the United States was largely a product of the “Missionary establishment” which produced most of the written work on Islam, Turks, and the Ottoman Empire during the 19th and early 20th centuries.⁷⁷ This prejudice was exacerbated by the frequent use of racial and religious slurs coupled with dubious press coverage and reporting in the 19th century during the Greek War of Independence, the Serbian and Bulgarian revolts in 1875-1876 and the Russo-Turkish War of 1876-1878. Negative caricatures of the Turk and Islam intensified during the 1890s and hit the high-water mark during World War I and the post-war settlements of the early 1920s primarily due to the covert propaganda efforts of the British government’s Foreign Office and overt efforts of the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief (ACASR) and its successor, the Near East Relief organization.⁷⁸ The British Foreign Office controlled most of the information on the Ottoman Empire and the Armenians that was disseminated to the American public during the war, and used willing academics, such as Arnold Toynbee, politicians and other figures to get the desired message across.⁷⁹ Likewise, the ACASR/Near East Relief spearheaded a fundraising campaign that emphasized the victimization of the good Armenian by the evil Turk through newspaper articles, advertisements, public meetings, school and church programs, publications, and even film.⁸⁰

One result of this broad endeavor was the widely read memoirs of the former U.S. Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, Henry Morgenthau, first published in 1918.⁸¹ While the

⁷⁶ For two recent studies see Justin McCarthy, *The Turk in America: The Creation of an Enduring Prejudice* (Salt Lake City, UT: University of Utah Press, 2010) and Kamil Aydın, *Images of Turkey in Western Literature* (Cambridgeshire, UK: Eothen Press, 1999).

⁷⁷ Justin McCarthy, *Turk in America*, 2010.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 165-248. See also Robert L. Daniel, “The Armenian Question and American-Turkish Relations, 1914-1927,” *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. 46, No. 2 (Sep., 1959): 253-254.

⁷⁹ McCarthy, 208-248.

⁸⁰ McCarthy, 165-202; and Daniel, “The Armenian Question.”

⁸¹ Morgenthau was the U.S. Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire from November 1913 until February 1916. For one of the more recent editions, see Henry Morgenthau, *Ambassador Morgenthau’s Story: A Personal Account of the Armenian Genocide* (New York: Cosmo Classics, 2008). The subtitle of this edition is misleading, however, as only a small portion of the book deals exclusively with the massacre and deportation of Armenians in 1915.

memoirs' value as a historical document has been challenged elsewhere,⁸² it is still useful as an example of the rhetoric used during this period. An alleged authority on the Ottoman Empire and Turks after two and a half years in Constantinople, the text is replete with racist commentary, base generalizations, and historical inaccuracies describing the Ottoman Empire and its Turkish inhabitants.⁸³ For Morgenthau, the “savage bloodthirsty Turk” was a “psychologically primitive” “bully and coward” with a “traditional aversion to the Christians” and a “natural instinct to maltreat those who are helplessly placed in their power,” who, “like most primitive peoples, wear their emotions on the surface...”⁸⁴

To understand the Turks, Morgenthau advised, “we must realize that the basic fact underlying the Turkish mentality is its utter contempt for all other races. A fairly insane pride is the element that largely explains this strange human species,” which possesses “a total disregard for human life and an intense delight in inflicting physical human suffering which are not unusually the qualities of primitive peoples.”⁸⁵ To underscore the ‘primitiveness’ of the Turks, and proving either his disregard or ignorance of Ottoman history and culture, Morgenthau endeavored to cast them into a cultureless society devoid of any creativity and without the capacity to create (i.e., Turks could only destroy):

They were lacking in what we may call the fundamentals of a civilized community. They had no alphabet and no art of writing; no books, no poets, no art, and no architecture; they built no cities and they established no lasting state... They knew no law except the rule of might, and they had practically no agriculture and no industrial organization. They were simply wild and marauding horsemen, whose one conception of tribal success was to pounce upon people who were more civilized than themselves and plunder them.⁸⁶

After reading this passage, even one of his contemporaries warned readers “the account given of the early Ottoman history (pp. 276-281) contains some statements which can be characterized

⁸² The criticism of Morgenthau’s memoirs primarily involves questions of authorship, intentions, and the veracity of its content. See McCarthy, *Turk in America*, 192-197; and Heath W. Lowry, *The Story Behind Ambassador Morgenthau’s Story* (Istanbul, Turkey: Isis Press, 1990). For an early acknowledgement of “collaboration” on the memoirs, see Albert Howe Lybyer’s review: “Ambassador Morgenthau’s Story by Henry Morgenthau,” *American Historical Review* Vol. 25, No. 2 (Jan. 1920): 287-288.

⁸³ Robert Daniel argues that it was Ambassador Morgenthau who “helped to set the pattern in name calling.” See Daniel, 254.

⁸⁴ Morgenthau, *Ambassador Morgenthau’s Story*, 91, 135, 164, 174, 191; See also Daniel, 254.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 191, 194.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 192.

only as fantastic.”⁸⁷ Perhaps most indicative of the image Morgenthau wanted to spread was his contention that the existence of anything admirable in the context of the Ottoman Empire and its Turks, in their entire five hundred years of existence, “have practically all been taken from the subject peoples whom he so greatly despises,” and that Turks are “parasites upon these overburdened and industrious people.”⁸⁸ For proof, he argued, one needed only look at the “wonderful improvements” in the new states of Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria and Rumania since the overthrow of the “Turkish yoke.”⁸⁹

The efforts of the British Foreign Office and the ASACR/Near East Relief organization to project, at best, a negative and incomplete caricature of the Turk, or, at worst, an image of the Turk as a primitive subspecies that subsisted on the intelligence, labor, and industriousness of the superior races, was made easier by a general aversion to Islam and decades of intense anti-Turkish rhetoric and racial stereotyping. The individual American was already predisposed to unquestionably believe what they saw and read about Turks. By enlisting and accepting the aid of respected academics, politicians and civil servants like Arnold Toynbee and Henry Morgenthau, these groups merely ensured the campaign’s resounding success. Irrespective of facts, and despite the presence of Turks in the region for over 800 years, the Turks were marked as a terrible tribe of sub-humans who had never made a positive contribution to civilization, illegitimately occupied land in Europe, Anatolia and the Caucasus, were guilty of crimes dating back centuries and were to be shown no mercy. This vilification of ethnic Turks in the United States was so successful that formal diplomatic relations between the U.S. and the new Republic of Turkey did not resume until February 17, 1927. Even then, it was not completely unopposed.⁹⁰

For the next twenty years, however, open and blatant anti-Turkish sentiment and rhetoric largely disappeared from the public sphere. When it resurfaced in 1947, the same familiar racist and dehumanizing clichés: “a race of cruel barbarians,” “the unspeakable Turk,” “the ignorant Turk,” “Turkish diabolism,” and “assassin Turk,” crept back into the New York Times and the

⁸⁷ Lybyer, “Ambassador Morgenthau’s Story.”

⁸⁸ Morgenthau, 193-194.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 194.

⁹⁰ Daniel, “The Armenian Question,” 273-275.

deliberations of the U.S. Congress.⁹¹ This time, however, it was neither driven by the British Foreign Office, nor the missionary establishment of the United States, but rather by the Armenian advocate groups which had formed in the waning months of World War II. It started with the Armenian National Council of America's public opposition to any financial assistance for "barbaric" Turkey and the "unspeakable Turk" in April 1947.⁹² In a letter to the *New York Times* the following month, Arthur Derounian, writing as John Roy Carlson and claiming to be in a "better position to know the Turkish character than most of my well-intentioned American friends," opposed sending U.S. aid to the "Nazis of the Near East."⁹³ The truly vitriolic attacks, however, took place in the United States Congress.

While Rep. Daniel Reed (NY), who used the "terrible Turks" to question the American public's tolerance for having "their pockets picked by nations located in an area where blood, pillage, and rape have been their chief contribution to world affairs for thousands of years,"⁹⁴ provides at least one example of a non-Armenian resuscitating the hate-speech of the earlier period, the others are embedded in correspondence from Armenian-Americans to Congress. In a letter to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in March 1947, Arshag Mahdesian, allegedly "one of the greatest living experts on Near East problems" and the editor of the magazine *New Armenia*, recalled statements made by former U.S. politicians during and after the World War I about the Turks.⁹⁵ Woodrow Wilson equated them to nothing less than "Apaches." Henry Cabot Lodge described the Turks as a "scourge to Europe and Christendom," the "pest and curse of Europe" which, "wherever they have trodden trade, industry, commerce, the arts and civilization have withered away." Senator William E. Borah believed Turkey to be "the persecutor of Christians, the foe of civilization, the incarnation of massacres, and the enemy of every principle of humanity," undeserving of the title 'nation', Turks were rather part of a

⁹¹ Rep. Bertrand W. Gearhart (CA), "The Proposed Turkish Loan," *CR*, April 3, 1947, A1495; "Turkish Aid Opposed by Armenian Council," *New York Times*, April 7, 1947; "Aid to Greece and Turkey," Sen. Edwin C. Johnson (CO), *CR*, April 22, 1947, A1811; Rep. Daniel A. Reed (NY), "The Foreign Policy of the United States," *CR*, April 28, 1947, A1951; Rep. Bertrand W. Gearhart (CA), "We Believe America can Enhance her Prestige and Win the Admiration and Respect of People Everywhere Only by Championing the Cause of Justice and Decency, Rather than by an Unholy Alliance with the 'Unspeakable' Turk."— Armenian National Council of America," *CR*, May 7, 1947, A2155; Rep. Lawrence H. Smith (WI), "Greek-Turkish Aid," *CR*, May 7, 1947, A2171-A2172; and H. Saro, "Terrors from the Crime of 1915," *Armenian Review*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (Summer 1948): 105-106.

⁹² "Turkish Aid Opposed by Armenian Council," *NYT*, April 7, 1947.

⁹³ John Roy Carlson (Arthur Derounian), "News Story Protested," *New York Times*, May 17, 1947.

⁹⁴ Rep. Daniel A. Reed (NY), "The Foreign Policy of the United States," *CR*, April 28, 1947, A1951.

⁹⁵ Rep. Bertrand W. Gearhart (CA), "The Proposed Turkish Loan," *CR*, April 3, 1947, A1495.

“conglomerate mass of incarnate fiends.” Mahdesian, in an apparent attempt to appear unbiased, also included the opinion of Ibn-Saud, the first monarch of Saudi Arabia, who believed that “the Turks, since time immemorial until the present, have been race of cruel barbarians,” who “have no civilization,” and “create nothing,” because they are “too lazy for work.” They are “like a parasite” living solely of the “production of his subjects.” As far as he was concerned, it was “a disgrace that the Turkish domination was not destroyed at the end of World War” and that “a new lease on life” had been granted to the “Turkish barbarians,” who “under the leadership of a few half-civilized atheists” are “today a worse menace than they were formerly.” After giving his analysis of Turkish foreign policy during World War II, Mahdesian concluded his letter by asking: “How often must the United States Government be deceived by the wily Turk?”

Captain Nishan der Hagopian, introduced as a “reputable and popular lecturer on Near East questions,” tried to explain the “international gangsters” (Turks) to the Senate by asking them to “analyze racial differences between the Turks and Armenians.” In comparison to the thousands of Armenian-Americans thriving in academia, arts, business, and the military, der Hagopian asked, “how many Turks have you in this country that have accomplished anything to compare with this?” “What,” he demanded, “makes the American love for [sic] the Turks?”⁹⁶ The Armenian National Council of America argued “she [Turkey] has always been a destructive force, and has not contributed a single iota to the progress of civilization,” and, therefore, “the security of the United States cannot be based upon the protection of a barbaric state like Turkey.” The Council also accused the U.S. government’s policy “to perpetuate a barbaric government like Turkey” was un-American and this “unholy alliance with the unspeakable Turk” would “arouse a righteous indignation in the hears of all justice-and peace-loving people throughout the world.”⁹⁷

In a letter to Rep. Lawrence H. Smith (WI), John G. Moskoffian of Jackson, Mississippi, an alleged college and university history instructor and author on the history of Turkey,⁹⁸ claimed that the “wily,” “dishonest” and “criminal” Turks were natural “international intriguers and bandits,” who possessed “nefarious designs and insidious intriguers” that “aimed to instigate

⁹⁶ Sen. Edwin C. Johnson (CO), April 22, 1947, A1811.

⁹⁷ Rep. Bertrand W. Gearhart (CA), May 7, 1947, A2155.

⁹⁸ While no book on the history of Turkey was located in Worldcat’s database, it does appear that Moskoffian published a 30 –page pamphlet in 1919 entitled *Independence for Armenia: An Appeal to the Congress and the People of the United States*. At that time, he was an instructor in the Modern Language Department at Defiance College in Defiance, OH.

a war between the United States and Russia.” He also believed that the “ignorant Turk does not even know what communism is.” In his professional, and one can only assume objective, opinion as an academic and historian, Moskoffian provided the House of Representatives with his advice on Near East politics: “Turkey is a cancer on the body-politic of the world. Only amputation—that is, division of Turkey in three distinct parts—will remove the cancer of the world.” Moskoffian concluded by applauding the Houses’ crusade against the “intrigues and machinations of the Turks.”⁹⁹

While at least one objection to these attacks was put forward by Senator Tom Stewart (TN) who submitted an editorial from the Chattanooga News-Free Press which criticized Armenian-American groups for putting the “bitter hatreds and other prejudices that they and their forebears brought with them from the Old World ahead of the welfare of the United States,”¹⁰⁰ the anti-Turkish rhetoric was largely taken in stride by U.S. Congressmen. While there is no evidence of a backlash, self-censure or any semblance of defense put forward on Turkey’s behalf by any Congressman for such blatantly racist assaults on a new and extremely important ally in the region and the world, U.S. financial assistance to Turkey was still approved.

In the *Armenian Review*, the only instance of grossly anti-Turkish sentiment at this time was in H. Saro’s account of “Turkish diabolism” which the “world forgot” while “millions of American dollars” were being spent courting the friendship of “the assassin Turk.” In describing the fate of an Armenian village priest during World War I, Saro wrote “One was involuntarily forced to ponder that only the Ottoman Turk is capable of such a monstrosity, and only he can take satanic delight in such barbarism.”¹⁰¹ Almost as quickly as it appeared, however, the racist and prejudiced anti-Turkish rhetoric disappeared until it returned to the *Review*’s pages in early 1959. The issue of Armenian hate towards Turks, Turkey and all things Turkish, was addressed in a book published in 1955 by Sarkis Atamian, a life-long member of the ARF and a future Central Executive member in California.¹⁰² In an effort to explain their intense hatred for Turks,

⁹⁹ Rep. Lawrence H. Smith (WI), “Greek-Turkish Aid,” *CR*, May 7, 1947, A2171-A2172.

¹⁰⁰ Sen. Tom Stewart (TN), “Divided Loyalties,” *CR*, April 21, 1947, A1797-A1798.

¹⁰¹ H. Saro, “Terrors from the Crime of 1915,” *Armenian Review*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (Summer 1948): 105-106. The *Armenian Review* began publication in 1948.

¹⁰² “Long Time Activist Sarkis Atamian Passes Away,” *Asbarez*, January 6, 2007. Atamian was also the author of the four-part hagiography on Soghomon Tehlirian published over the course of 1960 and 1961 in the *Armenian Review*.

Atamian wrote that trauma, frustration and anxiety experienced by the survivors of the 1915 massacres had left them with a “hatred for anything to do with the Turk.”¹⁰³ More importantly, however, Atamian argued that while “most Armenians probably understand that only a handful of fanatics gave the orders for what happened,” in the end “emotions are bound to hold sway and the Turk and all that is Turkish is repugnant and hateful.”¹⁰⁴ In his comprehensive analysis of modern Armenian history, Razmik Panossian agreed, arguing that after 1915 the Turks “came to embody evil” and this notion was “perpetuated in popular Armenian culture.” In fact, “Turkishness was considered immoral, unclean and violent” and “anti-Turkishness was therefore accepted as a ‘natural’ and inherently good attitude.”¹⁰⁵ As early as the 1920s, Panossian argues, “a strong element of anti-Turkishness” was one of eight key components of an Armenian identity that transcended ideology.¹⁰⁶

Garabed H. Aaronian’s piece in the Spring issue of the *Armenian Review* in 1959 also explicitly detailed Armenian hate for the Turk, but in the context of a story about an Armenian woman who married into a Turkish family during the course of World War I. According to him Aaronian, Armenian hate for the Turk predated the events of 1915 by centuries, and was used as evidence to prove that a “poor little Armenian girl” would not have entered into a Turkish family willingly:

In normal times, for six hundred years, no Armenian girl had married a Turk of her own free will. Never! Turks were Taboo ofr [sic] Armenian girls. They hated them and ran away from them as a leper or a beast. For any Armenian girl, a Turk was a beast, cruel, inhuman and base, and most of all, he was a Mohammedan. For an Armenian girl to marry a Turk meant renouncing her Christianity, her Armenian heritage, and to become a Mohammedan, a Turk. In normal times this was impossible. The **hate** in her heart, accumulated during the centuries of Turkish oppression, her deeply-rooted Christian faith would not permit an Armenian girl to ever marry a Turk of her own free will.¹⁰⁷

In the specific case he described, he was doubly sure, because he had known the girl, Veronica, before the war: “she was a beautiful, modest and pure Armenian girl. She hated the Turks as much as any other Armenian girl.” But as he alluded to in the passage above, these were not

¹⁰³ Sarkis Atamian, *The Armenian Community: The Historical Development of a Social and Ideological Conflict* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1955): 195.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Panossian, *The Armenians*, 240.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 300-301.

¹⁰⁷ Garabed H. Aaronian, “Under the Shadow of Death,” *Armenian Review* Vol. 12, No. 1 (Spr. 1959): 74.

'normal times,' and these "helpless, godforsaken, poor little" Armenian girls, Veronica included, had been "taken into a Harem, to live with a beast, God knows how filthy and repulsive." In a letter to Veronica's Turkish father-in-law, the author wrote "you, as the ruling nation, mistreated us and we hated you." It was "now too late to reason, and useless to talk about these things. The harm has been done and the hate is there."¹⁰⁸

The next article to address Armenian hate was "The Turk," a short memoir that appeared in the 1962. The author described the emotions and thoughts experienced by an Armenian whose tranquil stay in a hotel in rural Lebanon in the early 1950s was shattered by the arrival of an elderly Turkish doctor: "from the first moment I was filled with a deep feeling of hatred toward him." The Armenian was forced to leave the hotel because "it seemed I was breathing now in a poisonous atmosphere. I could not stand the presence of this man." When he returned to the hotel the following July, the Turkish physician was still there and "he approached me and greeted me with a smile, as if we had been old friends. My hateful eyes met his, suddenly assuming an imploring look." After the narrator discovers that the Turk had been a military doctor in eastern Anatolia during World War I and, theoretically, could have taken part in the massacres, "the fire of hatred was intensified in my soul."¹⁰⁹

The narrator believed that the Turkish physician understood his presence in the company of Armenians "aroused only revulsion and hatred in Armenia hearts," and may have been "afraid of the haunting of the horrible past which the presence of an Armenian brought to him." After awhile, however, the hate began to subside inside the narrator and "for the first time I pitied this man in whom I saw a heinous criminal," and even opened to the idea that "perhaps he is innocent." This led to a phase in which the narrator's hate "became extinguished and remorse gave way to a brotherly feeling," and he asked "why? I asked myself, should I have the right to hate this man trying to see in him the revulsive image of his criminal race?"¹¹⁰ After a period of time, however, the narrator became indifferent to the Turk who had taken up residence in his hotel, and he "sometimes regretted that the fire of hatred no longer inflamed my soul." When he reflected on the fact that "not one soul among the criminal race" had yet to apologize for the massacres of 1915, however, the hate returned and he blamed himself "for having

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 75.

¹⁰⁹ Arsen Yergath, "The Turk," *Armenian Review* Vol. 15, No. 4 (Win. 1962): 43.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 44.

weakened in my anger of the first days.” In his final analysis the narrator believed that “no matter how unjust to condemn the guilty with the dubious innocents, it is the irrefutable right of the Armenian, at least for our generation, to keep alive the fire of hatred...”¹¹¹

In 1963, Anti-Turkishness in the *Armenian Review* took the form of reproductions or discussions of previously published material rather than any new articles. The first was a reprint of a letter from 1787 sent from British writer William Cowper to his cousin in which he concludes that “there has never been a throne so execrably tyrannical as theirs [the Turks’],” for whom so many innocents have lost their lives to “gratify the humour or caprice of their tyrants.”¹¹² In the autumn issue an article appeared criticizing the German to English translation of *The Forty Days of Musa Dagh*, a fictionalized account of Armenian resistance during World War I by the Austrian novelist Franz Werfel, first published in 1933. The author of the article, which itself was a reprint and translation of a 1951 Armenian language article in the *Hairenik* monthly, not only questions the translator’s motives, but is particularly upset with his decision to delete certain passages in the original concerned with Armenian cultural and martial achievements, negative descriptions of the Turks and their actions and the premeditated, organized and horrific nature of the deportations, as well as toning down the offensive language in the German original. The author detailed the translator’s omissions and changes line by line, throughout the nearly 900 page novel, which, in his opinion, worked to “diminish or alter its [the original’s] meaning.” The article ended with the revelation that the current president of Turkey’s parliament had organized multiple massacres in 1915-1916 and had apparently escaped detection because of Werfel’s erroneous spelling of his name.¹¹³

Finally, the *Armenian Review* reprinted one of the British Foreign Office’s publications written by Arnold Toynbee and an introduction by Viscount Bryce from 1917 in the last issue of 1963, entitled “The Murderous Tyranny of the Turks.” The reproduction introduced a new generation of Armenian Americans to Bryce’s opinions on the Turk:

The Turk has never been of any use except for fighting. He cannot administer, though in his earlier days he had the sense to employ intelligent Christian administrators. He cannot secure justice. As a governing power, he has always shown himself incapable, corrupt and cruel. He has always destroyed; he has never created. Those whom we call the Turks are not a nation at all in the proper

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 45.

¹¹² William Cowper, “On the Turks,” *Armenian Review* Vol. 16, No. 1 (Spr. 1963): 8.

¹¹³ Kazarian, “The ‘Forty Days of Musa Dagh’,” *Armenian Review* Vol. 16, No. 3 (Aut. 1963): 18-22.

sense of the word... As a famous English historian wrote, the Turks are nothing but a robber band, encamped in the countries they have desolated. As Edmund Burke wrote, the Turks are savages, with whom no civilized Christian nation ought to form any alliance.¹¹⁴

The last example of a publication designed to dehumanize and vilify the Turks, was slightly more sophisticated than the previous instances. The author argued that in order to truly understand a nation, one need only to look at the person that nation worship's as its national hero. In the case of the Turk, that person was none other than Talaat Pasha, "a human monster and the executioner of the Armenian people." Allegedly the subject of poetic eulogies and historical praise within Turkey, the author argued that an entire generation of Turks have been "inoculated with the idea that, only through the path mapped out by Talaat, can the Turkish youth attain to his ideal, to become a hero of his people," and this new generation has been "bending over backwards to justify the [Armenian] genocide."¹¹⁵ The author then follows with a long list of the cultural and economical contributions the Armenians made to the Ottoman Empire:

to prove that it was the Armenian who spread the light of the east and west upon a Turkish world which was steeped in darkness. And this Turk, this ingrate, instead of appreciating and encouraging this voluntary service and this devotion of the Armenian people to his race, had the temerity of signing the doom of that people. Believe it, the snake which hisses in the desert is more merciful toward a fallen man than this Turk who wear [sic] the purple of civilization.¹¹⁶

In other words, according to the author, today's Turks are just as evil as their forefathers. For while not actually carrying out the physical destruction of the Armenians, through their national adulation of Talaat Pasha, justifying the massacres of 1915, and for still not acknowledging that all that was positive about the Ottoman Empire was the product of Armenian contributions, they were all guilty. The citizens of the Republic of Turkey were guilty for both the deportations and massacres of 1915, and of being inferior, in every way possible, to the Armenians.

While this study did not involve a comprehensive analyses of all the Armenian American periodicals published during this period, it should be clear from the evidence above

¹¹⁴ Arnold J. Toynbee, "The Murderous Tyranny of the Turks," *Armenian Review* Vol. 16, No. 4 (Win. 1963): 17.

¹¹⁵ Yervand Khatanasian, "Genocide and the Armenian Case," *Armenian Review* Vol. 17, No. 4 (Win. 1964): 4.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 4-5.

that from the late 1950s onwards at least one of the main Armenian diaspora political parties, the ARF, was promoting a violently anti-Turkish line for the first time in decades. The sudden appearance of anti-Turkish articles on the pages of the ARF's Armenian Review, the vitriolic language used against Turks and Turkey, and the frequency and intensity with which they appeared between 1959 and 1964, however, is puzzling. While circulation numbers for the Armenian Review are not available, we can assume that majority of its readers were Armenian-Americans. The target of the ARF's campaign, then, was the English-speaking Armenian diaspora. Why, if Atamian was correct in his analysis that the Armenia diaspora in 1955 already possessed an emotional hatred for Turks and Turkey, and already held the Turkish nation collectively responsible for the events of 1915, did the ARF suddenly get into the anti-Turkish propaganda game and begin preaching to the proverbial choir?

The Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF)

The Armenian Revolutionary Federation (*ARF*), also known as the *Hai Heghapokhakan Dashnaksutiun*, or *Dashnaks* for short, was founded in 1890 in what is now Tbilisi, Georgia.¹¹⁷ The Federation was, first and foremost, a nationalist organization aimed at “liberating” the eastern Anatolian provinces of the Ottoman Empire for the Armenians by “sparking mass rebellion and European assistance” through their publications and deeds.¹¹⁸ At the time, this meant a form of protected autonomy and self-government rather than out right independence.¹¹⁹ Within a few short years, the *ARF* was the most powerful political parties among ethnic Armenians in the Russian and Ottoman Empires and the wider diaspora, and its members dominated the government in the first Republic of Armenia (1918-1920).¹²⁰ The *ARF* was very adept at propagating its political line through a variety of in-house publications and benefitted from exceptional leadership and rank and file who were willing to die for the cause.¹²¹ It was these “daring acts of bravery”: the assassination of Ottoman officials, the execution of Armenian informants and collaborators, defense Armenian villages, assaults on Kurdish

¹¹⁷ For their first year, the organization was known as the Federation of Armenian Revolutionaries.

¹¹⁸ Panossian, 205-206, 217.

¹¹⁹ The *ARF* did not equate liberation with independence until 1919. See Panossian, 252.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 208.

¹²¹ The *ARF* published over 150 titles between 1890 and 1925 in the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey. See Panossian, 214.

tribesmen and other “various terrorist acts,” that endeared them to their Armenian constituency.¹²²

The two most notorious attacks by the *ARF* during their first two decades were undoubtedly the Ottoman Bank job and the assassination attempt on Sultan Abdul Hamid II. The former occurred on August 26, 1896, when the Ottoman Empire’s central bank, the European-run Ottoman Bank, was taken over by 26 *ARF* operatives who held the bank, its staff and its wealth hostage. The assailants then threatened to blow up the bank if their demands for political concessions in the eastern provinces were not met in 48 hours.¹²³ Although the Ottoman government refused to yield, the crisis was resolved when the nine surviving *ARF* members were allowed safe passage out of the Empire to France in a deal brokered by the European powers.¹²⁴

A bomb attack on the Sultan took place nine years later, on July 21, 1905, as Abdul Hamid II’s procession left the mosque after his customary weekly presence at Friday prayer. Abdul Hamid II survived the attack unscathed, but at least 24 individuals were killed, including the royal tutor to the Sultan’s sons and the *ARF* assassin, 57 wounded and an additional 55 horses slain in the bombing.¹²⁵ Although it is unclear when and how the *ARF* was implicated in the attack, the operation was allegedly planned by Armenian agents working out of Bulgaria, where at least one high-ranking *ARF* officer was killed while preparing the explosives for the attack.¹²⁶

Through a combination of propaganda, violence, intimidation, protection and kindness the *ARF*, and other Armenian revolutionary groups were perceived as “freedom fighters or fedayees who were to be respected and feared” by the Armenian communities on whose behalf they struggled.¹²⁷ Additionally, while the *ARF* never succeeded in its goal of “liberating” eastern Anatolia, the violent acts of the *ARF* and others were viewed as “instances of heroic rebellion, moral victory and great national achievement,” some of which are still celebrated today. For the

¹²² “The Armenian Revolutionary Federation, Popularly Known as Tashnags,” *Military Intelligence Service*, United States Army Forces in the Middle East, March 17, 1943, Declassified Document Reference System (DDRS); Panossian, 209-210.

¹²³ Panossian, 216; Suny, *Looking Toward Ararat*, 85.

¹²⁴ Panossian, 216-217; “Rioting in Constantinople,” *New York Times*, Aug. 28, 1896; “Mobs Killed More than 3,000,” *NYT*, Aug. 29, 1896; “Ottoman Bank Raiders Escape,” *NYT*, Aug. 29, 1896.

¹²⁵ “Bomb Misses Sultan; 40 Persons Killed,” *New York Times*, July 22, 1905; “The Sultan as a Hero,” *NYT*, July 23, 1905; “Beha Bey Killed,” *NYT*, July 24, 1905.

¹²⁶ Panossian, 217.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 217-223.

Armenian nation, violence was politics.¹²⁸ The power, influence and prestige of the ARF peaked during its stewardship of the independent Armenian Republic, and after the Republic's collapse in December 1920 the *ARF* remained the most dominant of the three main political parties in the diaspora: the ARF, *Hnchaks*¹²⁹ and *Ramgavars*,¹³⁰ through at least most of the interwar period.¹³¹ In fact, because the *ARF* was forcibly removed from power by the Soviets, and returned to power after a momentarily successful counter-revolution between February and April 1921, the *ARF* saw themselves as the legitimate political representatives of the Armenian Nation (broadly defined) and the Armenian party in exile.¹³²

One contributing factor for their continued popularity was the success of Operation Nemesis, the assassination of former leaders and prominent officials in the Ottoman and Azerbaijani governments deemed guilty of crimes against Armenians. This list included the alleged mastermind of the deportations and massacres, Talaat Pasha, and Cemal Pasha, who, along with Talaat and Enver, made up the governing triumvirate that led the Ottoman Empire during the First World War. Nemesis agents also assassinated Armenians accused of treason and/or collaboration with the *ARF*'s enemies. Organized and planned by the *ARF* headquarters in Boston, Massachusetts, and carried out by agents in Europe and the Caucasus, Nemesis lasted from March 1921 until April 1922, and murdered at least ten individuals: seven Turks, one Azeri and two Armenians. While the *ARF* attempted to keep its participation in the assassinations secret while the operation was ongoing, their involvement was at least suspected by Turkey and other western governments at the time,¹³³ and appeared to be common knowledge within the diaspora.¹³⁴

¹²⁸ Ibid., 226-227.

¹²⁹ The *Hnchaks* were a socialist revolutionary party established in Geneva Switzerland in 1887. See Panossian, 202.

¹³⁰ The modern *Ramgavar* (*Ramkavar Azatakan Kusaktsutiun*, or the Democratic Liberal Party) was founded in 1921 (formed around a former incarnation that had been established in 1908 in Egypt) in Istanbul. See Ibid.

¹³¹ Panossian, 206, 251-253, 295; Suny, *Looking Toward Ararat*, 126-127.

¹³² Panossian 258-260; Nikola Schahgaldian, "The Political Integration of an Immigrant Community into a Composite Society: The Armenians in Lebanon, 1920-1974," PhD Diss., Columbia University, 1979, 94-95.

¹³³ "Assassin Boasts of Talaat's Death," *New York Times*, March 17, 1921; "Talaat is Mourned as Germany's Friend," *NYT*, March 18, 1921; "Turks Enraged," *The Times*, November 11, 1921; "Ex-Grand Vizier Murdered," *The Times*, December 7, 1921; "Two Young Turks Murdered in Berlin," *NYT*, April 19, 1922; "One After Another," *NYT*, July 27, 1922; "Jemal Pasha's Murder. Kemalists Threats," *The Times*, Aug. 29, 1922; and Vartkes Yeghiayan, *The Case of Soghomon Tehlirian* (Glendale, CA: Center for Armenian Remembrance, 2006).

¹³⁴ Avakian, *Cross and the Crescent*; and Arshavir Shiragian, *The Legacy: Memoirs of an Armenian Patriot* (Boston: Hairenik Press, 1976).

The image of the *ARF* declined, however, when it ordered the assassination of the Archbishop of the Armenian Church in New York, Ghevond Turian (Tourian), in December 1933 for being too pro-Soviet, anti-*ARF*, or a combination of both.¹³⁵ The assassination was planned over the course of six months and triggered by the Archbishop's refusal to speak at an Armenian event in Chicago until the Armenian Tricolor (the flag of the 1918-1920 Republic and, subsequently, the flag of the *ARF*) was removed. Archbishop Turian was stabbed to death during Christmas Eve Mass in front of hundreds of parishioners and nine members of the *ARF* were eventually convicted for the crime.¹³⁶ The murder of the Archbishop effectively split the Armenian American diaspora into two opposing camps.¹³⁷ The prestige of the *ARF* declined even further during World War II, when rival Armenian groups capitalized on the *ARF*'s collaboration with Nazi Germany for their own propaganda purposes.¹³⁸

Although the *ARF* was naturally sympathetic to the cause, they did not actively participate in the Armenian campaign after World War II to annex the Turkish provinces of Kars and Ardahan to the Armenian SSR. While this may have been because the Soviet Ambassador to the United States, Maxim Litinov, rebuffed the *ARF*'s efforts at cooperation with the Soviets,¹³⁹ it proved advantageous in the short-term. Once it became clear that the World War II alliances were breaking down and a Cold War was emerging between the United States and the Soviet Union, the *ARF* was able to capitalize on the very same staunch anti-Communist, anti-Soviet ideology that had left it on the wrong side of the alliances during the war and marginalized immediately afterwards.

One of the major areas of friction between the *ARF* and the Soviets was the Armenian Apostolic Church, a powerful political, social and cultural force for many Armenians. The traditional spiritual and administrative center of the Church was situated inside the Armenian SSR at the Mother See of Holy Echmiadzin, and many alleged that the Church had been coopted by the Soviet Union.¹⁴⁰ At the forefront of this criticism was *ARF*, who challenged the authority, leadership and political messages emanating from Catholicos in Echmiadzin. Also

¹³⁵ *Military Intelligence Service*, "The Armenian Revolutionary Federation, Popularly Known as Tashnags," United States Army Forces in the Middle East, March 17, 1943, DDRS.

¹³⁶ "Slain in 187th St. Church," *New York Times*, Dec. 25, 1933; "Nine Found Guilty in Church Murder," *NYT*, July 14, 1934; Panossian, 354; Suny, 223.

¹³⁷ Panossian, 354; and Suny, 223.

¹³⁸ Suny, 224; See also *Military Intelligence Service*, "The Armenian Revolutionary Federation," March 17, 1943.

¹³⁹ *Military Intelligence Service*, "The Armenian Revolutionary Federation," March 17, 1943.

¹⁴⁰ This was the argument used by the Armenians who assassinated Bishop Tourian in 1993.

important, but slightly lower in rank, prestige and authority within the Armenian Church was the Holy See of Cilicia which was relocated from Kozan, Turkey to northern Beirut in 1930. In 1956, the *ARF* was able to outmaneuver Echmiadzin's (read Soviet) candidate for the Catholicos of Cilicia and put their own man in place. This not only limited Soviet influence over the Church and diaspora, but vastly increased their own. The fallout from the tactics and methods used in the effort to rig the election in the *ARF*'s favor, however, was substantial. The Mother See did not recognize the legitimacy of the Cilician election and the rift in the diaspora increased between *ARF* and the non-*ARF* factions, which included both the Hunchak and Ramgavar parties.¹⁴¹ Each faction had its own Church, cultural foundations, schools, organizations, clubs and media/propaganda outlets, and social exchanges, friendships, marriages, etc. between factions "were rare or non-existent."¹⁴²

There was also a major crisis within the *ARF* itself. Between 1947 and 1961, a violent intra-party struggle for control of the *ARF* unfolded between the established leadership and a more conservative, anti-Turkish, anti-communist, youthful and aggressive faction, dubbed the "neo-Dashnaks."¹⁴³ In the first year alone, intra-Armenian and intra-*ARF* violence took the lives of approximately 24 neo-Dashnaks and rival Hunchaks in Beirut, Lebanon.¹⁴⁴ Interestingly, this violence occurred at approximately the same time that the Soviets established training centers for Armenian (and Kurdish) "commando armies" to be comprised of both Soviet Armenians and Armenians from the diaspora communities throughout the Middle East.¹⁴⁵ What role these units and training centers played in the intra-Armenian violence in Lebanon in the 1950s, or the later Armenian (and Kurdish) terrorist organizations, however, remains unclear.

By 1955, the neo-Dashnaks emerged victorious.¹⁴⁶ It was during this time that the *ARF*'s center of power shifted to Beirut, where the neo-Dashnaks now reigned supreme. *ARF* members who disagreed with the party's new line started to defect from the party in 1953, and at least one hundred more either left or were purged from the *ARF* between 1954 and 1957. By 1957, it is estimated that approximately 30% of *ARF* veterans, including many former leaders, either

¹⁴¹ Panossian, 355.

¹⁴² Panossian, 355; and Shahgaldian, "The Political Integration," 221-22.

¹⁴³ Shahgaldian, 107-108. For an ideological analysis of the *ARF*'s internal dispute see Atamian, *The Armenian Community*, 454-458.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 199-200.

¹⁴⁵ "Kurdish and Armenian Commando Armies," CIA, July 5, 1951, CIA-RDP8200457R007600040006-2.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 208-210.

abandoned the party or were dismissed.¹⁴⁷ The *ARF*'s tactics in the Catholicos election of 1956 also provoked round of intra-Armenian violence that killed dozens of neo-Dashnaks, Hunchaks, Ramgavars and others in Beirut.¹⁴⁸ The violence continued throughout 1957 and 1958, as the intra-Armenian merged into Lebanon's first civil war and the three Armenian groups opposite factions. In fact, *ARF* and *Hunchak/Ramgavar* violence outlasted the civil war, and took an additional 60 Armenian lives after the Lebanese conflict ended.¹⁴⁹

The violent divide between the *ARF*, *Hunchaks*, *Ramgavars*, the Armenian SSR and the Soviet Union was not the only challenge facing diaspora political organizations. By the early 1950s, the traditional Armenian parties no longer captivated the imagination, interest, or the loyalty of the new generation of diaspora youth.¹⁵⁰ In particular, the *ARF* had squandered its support, prestige and wealth and stood accused of morphing from the socialist, revolutionary and nationalist party of legends to a "socially conservative, Western oriented, and pro status quo political party."¹⁵¹ Armenian nationalism had given way to anti-Communism. While this satisfied the United States and other Western host governments, disaffected diaspora Armenians were becoming increasingly apathetic to the Armenian "cause." Taking advantage of this malaise in the diaspora, the Armenian SSR and the Soviet Union initiated a new and aggressive campaign to win the hearts and minds of the Armenian diaspora.

The Struggle over the Armenian Diaspora

At the center of the divide between the two main Armenian diaspora factions in the mid-20th century were crucial questions of legitimacy, control and influence; who was the rightful representative and leader of the globally dispersed Armenian nation?¹⁵² On one side there was the Armenian SSR, which while certainly not free and independent, was at least a delineated geographical reality. On the other side was the *ARF*, the party and organization democratically elected to govern the first independent Armenia in over 500 years, but overthrown, persecuted, imprisoned and forced into exile by the Bolsheviks and their Armenian sympathizers.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 213-214.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 215.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 220-221.

¹⁵⁰ Panossian, 302-303.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 302; and Schahgaldian, 222.

¹⁵² Panossian, 367.

Armenian nationalism resurfaced during the political thaw after Stalin's death in 1953, when previously banned Armenian writers were published for the first time.¹⁵³ Anti-Turkishness also seems to have surfaced around the same time. In 1953, the Soviet Foreign Minister, V.M. Molotov, sent a note to the Turkish government declaring that the Soviet Union, or more specifically, the Armenian and Georgian SSRs, had renounced their territorial claims against Turkey, an important point emphasized again in 1954 to the Turkish Ambassador in Moscow, and Khrushchev publicly talked about the importance for more cordial relations with Turkey in 1955.¹⁵⁴ Soviet Armenians were not pleased by these peaceful overtures, and from that point forward anti-Turkishness and demands for territorial redress rose in proportion to the warming of relations between the Soviet Union and Turkey.¹⁵⁵

After their defeat over the election of the Catholicos of Cilicia, the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party recognized that more subtle tactics would be necessary to successfully challenge the *ARF* for influence in the diaspora.¹⁵⁶ Instead of the more obvious methods of the past, the Armenian SSR increased its emphasis on cultural and educational links with the diaspora.¹⁵⁷ This was made easier by the easing of travel restrictions into Soviet Armenia in 1957, which produced a steady two-way flow of prominent Armenian intellectuals, clergy, politicians, students and tourists.¹⁵⁸ The goal of this effort was to establish the Armenian SSR as the true representative of the Armenian nation, or “the homeland, . . . where the nation was being conserved and advanced,” and plant the notion that Armenia(n SSR) had much more to offer the diaspora than the diaspora could ever offer to it.¹⁵⁹ This was dramatically different from the conception of the Armenian SSR in the late 1940s, which needed help, support and Armenians from the diaspora to help it rebuild after World War II. Now, the Armenian Soviet Republic was there to help the diaspora by providing “cultural nourishment” to the Armenians losing their ‘Armenianess’ in the diaspora.¹⁶⁰ These efforts by the Soviet Armenians culminated in the establishment of the Committee for Cultural Ties with Diaspora Armenians, or the SMKK (Spiurkahayutian Het Mshakutayin Kapi Komite), the organization that effectively

¹⁵³ Dekmejian, “Soviet-Turkish Relations,” 512.

¹⁵⁴ Oran, 304-306; Hale, 88-89; and Dekmejian, 512.

¹⁵⁵ Dekmejian, 513, 514, 517, 520.

¹⁵⁶ Panossian, 368-369.

¹⁵⁷ For an examples of the Armenian SSR's more overt methods in the past, see Schahgaldian, 201-202.

¹⁵⁸ Panossian, 368-369, 376; and Schahgaldian, 109-110.

¹⁵⁹ Panossian, 369-370; and Dekmejian, “Soviet-Turkish Relations,” 521.

¹⁶⁰ Panossian, 370-371.

governed all contact with the diaspora groups.¹⁶¹ The increase in contact also had the unintended effect of further nationalizing the Armenians within the SSR.¹⁶²

The *Hunchaks* and the *Ramgavars* supported Soviet Armenia in the struggle, and had at least two reasons for doing so.¹⁶³ First, the organizations had developed a good working relationship with the leadership of the Armenian SSR and the Soviet Union during the joint effort of the late 1940s to annex Kars and Ardahan and promote repatriation. Second, while the popularity and influence of these two political organizations had always been less the *ARF*'s, the disparities became even more pronounced after the start of the Cold War. Tainted, in the United States at least, by their association with the Soviet Union and communism, the Hnchaks and Ramgavars had little choice but to hope that the Armenian SSR emerged as a viable counterweight to the power and influence of the *ARF*. By the mid-1950s, this strategy proved successful. Capitalizing on deteriorating support for the *ARF*, the *Hunchaks* and *Ramgavars* organized and transformed their respective political organizations into attractive alternatives for the Armenian diaspora. The Hnchaks represented the “socialist and liberal Armenian elements in Lebanon,” while the Ramgavars were no longer viewed as simply an “unorganized coalition of apolitical and cosmopolitan merchants.”¹⁶⁴ The changes allowed them to mount a challenge, albeit unsuccessfully, to the *ARF*'s apparent monopoly on representing diaspora Armenians.

For a while, the Hnchaks and Ramgavars were assisted by the *ARF*'s continued instability caused by the unpopular policies of the neo-Dashnaks. The neo-Dashnaks, however, had backed wrong side during the Lebanese civil war in 1958, however, and soon after its conclusion the *ARF* moderates returned to power.¹⁶⁵ After their removal, the violence that had plagued Lebanon's Armenian community subsided, and joint cultural and education activity between the three Armenian political organizations resumed. Paying more attention to sentiments within its core constituency, the moderates toned down the neo-Dashnaks fierce anti-communist rhetoric and focused more attention on local concerns. By 1960, the new leadership was reaping the benefits of the new policies. The *ARF* was again in control of Armenian

¹⁶¹ Panossian, 368-369.

¹⁶² Dekmejian, 513.

¹⁶³ Schahgaldian, 95-6.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 223.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 238.

political power in Lebanon, and enjoyed a majority of support among Lebanon's Apostolic, Catholic and Protestant communities.¹⁶⁶

The *ARF*, understandably, had a grudge against the Soviet Union and the Armenian SSR. The wounds of 1920 and 1921 were still fresh in the minds of the political leadership and the party faithful, and the *ARF* had gained considerable political capital and support, particularly in the U.S., during the early years of the Cold War for its fierce anti-Communist position.¹⁶⁷ For the *ARF* to change this position now made very little political sense, especially since Soviet Armenia was its only real political competitor for the allegiance of the diaspora Armenians. The benefits of keeping the *ARF*'s anti-Communist allies in the U.S. Congress satisfied far outweighed any potential concessions an official rapprochement with the Soviets would bring, even if it had diluted some of the rhetoric inside the Armenian communities in Lebanon and the rest of the Middle East for local reasons.

After Cilicia, the *ARF* also went on the offensive, but its campaign lacked the subtlety employed by the Soviet Armenians. As mentioned above, in addition to the challenge being mounted by the Armenian SSR and its Hunchak and Ramgavar allies, the *ARF* first had to overcome its own disaffected rank and file and the apathy to the Armenian cause prevalent in the generation of diaspora Armenians coming of age.¹⁶⁸ Coincidentally, the *ARF* addressed these issues at a time when its leadership "equated patriotism with anti-Turkishness."¹⁶⁹ This put the *ARF* in a rather awkward position both in the context of Cold War and in terms of their conception of the Armenian Cause. Turkey, their historic enemy, not only had the backing of the United States, arguably the *ARF*'s greatest patron and a source of considerable income for the organization, but was a member in the alliance of Western nations opposing the *ARF*'s greater and more immediate threat, the Soviet Union. While opinion on how to deal with this issue appears to have been split within the *ARF*, until 1959 it was accepted that the struggle against the Soviet Union was the higher priority.¹⁷⁰ In accordance with this, the *ARF* stayed away from "vilifying the Turk" during the first decade of the Cold War, ostensibly to avoid

¹⁶⁶ Schahgaldian, 243, 245-246; and "The Political Structure of the Armenian Community in Lebanon," BEIRUT A628, January 20, 1967, NARA, RG59 Box 3081.

¹⁶⁷ Panossian, 366-367; and "The Political Structure of the Armenian Community." See also the "Captive Nations" campaign above.

¹⁶⁸ Schahgaldian, 228.

¹⁶⁹ Panossian, 302.

¹⁷⁰ Atamian, 455-457.

upsetting the United States, and refrained from any “political or diplomatic agitation” in regards to eastern Anatolia.¹⁷¹

This changed, however, with the ousting of the anti-Communist neo-Dashnaks in the late 1950s and early 1960s. In order to distance themselves from the previous, and largely discredited, leadership, and to address the challenges facing the *ARF*, the moderates turned to the one thing guaranteed to transcend all internal problems within the Armenian diaspora: anti-Turkishness. Its sudden emergence on the pages of the *Armenian Review* beginning in the late 1950s, was a means for the *ARF* to stir up some excitement within the diaspora, particularly among the youth, and, most importantly reassert its “revolutionary” credentials by reigniting the conflict with the Turk, the traditional, and reviled, other. In addition to tapping into the nation’s hatred of the Turks, however, the *ARF* had to maintain some of their anti-Communist and anti-Soviet rhetoric, or risk conceding at least some measure of legitimacy to the Armenian SSR.

The *ARF*, at least in the United States, however, was in a dilemma. Having positioned themselves as staunch anti-communists,¹⁷² it was difficult to criticize any NATO ally of the United States, let alone one as strategically important as Turkey. In order to get around this conundrum, the *ARF* developed a position of the Soviets first, and then Turkey:

No matter how great is the Armenian people’s score with the Turk, no matter how important it is to settle that score, no matter how important it is to keep that score alive both in their minds and in the minds of the outsider nations, to be able to settle that score some day, the Armenians must concentrate their effort today on the struggle which is being waged against the Soviet tyranny, the enemy which threatens the existence of the free world.¹⁷³

But while the *Armenian Review* continued to attack the Soviet Union and its Armenian allies, the Armenian SSR continued to gain ground and a truce was being brokered between the *ARF* and Armenian SSR in their struggle for control of the Armenian diaspora.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷¹ Atamian, 457.

¹⁷² Rep. Harold D. Donohue (MA), “Resolution Adopted at the 62nd Annual Convention Banquet of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation,” *CR*, July 19, 1955, A5447; Rep. Michael A. Feighan (OH), “Armenian Revolutionary Federation Holds 62nd Annual Convention,” *CR*, July 27, 1955, A5587-A5589; Rep. Patrick J. Hillings (CA), “Resolution Adopted by the Los Angeles Interexecutive Committee of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation,” *CR*, Jan. 8, 1958, A1691; and Rep. Barratt O’Hara (IL), “Armenian Revolutionary Federation Credo,” *CR*, Feb. 7, 1964, A655-A656.

¹⁷³ Reuben Darbinian, “The Armenian Case,” *Armenian Review*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (Sum. 1963): 9.

¹⁷⁴ Reuben Darbinian, “The Immediate Past in Light of the Present,” *Armenian Review* Vol. 11, No. 2 (Sum. 1958): 3-14; Artaches Tchillingarian (Reuben Darbinian), “On Whose Side are the Armenian People,” *AR* Vol. 11, No. 2 (Sum. 1958): 59-68; S. Torissian, “Soviet Policy in the Armenian Question,” *AR* Vol. 11, No. 2 (Sum. 1958): 27-

Soviet Armenia's initiative to increase its relevancy in the Armenian diaspora proved to be a success on a cultural, if not political level.¹⁷⁵ While support for the Soviet Republic ranged from "benign acknowledgement to active support," the diaspora proved willing to at least view the Armenian SSR as the "bastion of Armenianness," which could support its "culturally 'poor' brothers in exile" since they did not have a nation-state of their own.¹⁷⁶ To a certain extent, Soviet Armenia even won over the *ARF*, which "accepted that the Armenian SSR was a—if not the—homeland, albeit imperfect and territorially incomplete."¹⁷⁷ Anti-Soviet rhetoric and clamoring for freedom and independence for the 'captive nation' were toned down starting in 1963.¹⁷⁸ After allegations that this change in policy was caused by the KGB's penetration of the *ARF*,¹⁷⁹ Hrair Maroukhian, the leader of the *ARF*, claimed that while this allegation was untrue, the ARF had maintained contact with officials of the Armenian SSR since 1963.¹⁸⁰ Among the important topics discussed between the *ARF* and Armenian Soviets were "attitudes toward Turkey" and the *ARF*'s desire for the Armenian SSR "to be more national."¹⁸¹ An attempt was made in 1963 to reconcile the divisions in the Armenian Church, but while the Catholicos of Echmiadzin and the Catholicos of Antelias met in Jerusalem to mediate the dispute, no agreement was reached.¹⁸²

The increased activity, exchange and contact with the diaspora, including both tourists and the *ARF* leadership, had a visible effect on nationalism in the Armenian SSR. At the same time *ARF* and Soviet Armenian representatives were beginning to cooperate, nationalism within

38; James G. Mandalian, "Ten Big Lies," *AR* Vol. 11, No. 3 (Aut. 1958): 23-31; Yervand Khatanasian, "The Mission of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation," *AR* Vol. 13, No. 3 (Aut. 1960): 7-17; James H. Tashjian, "The Armenian Tragedy," *AR* Vol. 15, No. 2 (Sum. 1962): 30-40; Darbinian, "The Armenian Case," *AR* Vol. 16, No. 2 (Sum. 1963): 3-15; and Darbinian, "The Extremists and the Armenian Extremists," *AR* Vol. 17, No. 1 (Spr. 1964): 17-21.

¹⁷⁵ "The Political Structure of the Armenian Community," Jan. 20, 1967.

¹⁷⁶ Panossian, 371-372. See also Schahgaldian, 111-112.

¹⁷⁷ Panossian, 371-372.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 372.

¹⁷⁹ When President Levon Ter Petrosian expelled the *ARF* leader, Hrair Maroukhian, from Armenia in July 1992, among the various accusations he leveled against the Dashnak leader was the 'fact' that the latter had collaborated with the KGB in the past." See Panossian 373-4 and "The A.R.F. vs The Armenian Republic," *Armenian Reporter*, July 18, 1992.

¹⁸⁰ The Bureau's headquarters were in Beirut and the Maroukhian Foundation's website claims he moved to Beirut shortly after he was elected to the Bureau in 1964. See <http://www.maroukhianfoundation.org/english/about-us/hrayr-maroukhian-a-visionary-leader>; The State Department's analysis of the Armenian community in Lebanon in 1967, however, failed to mention Maroukhian as one of the seven members of the ARF's Bureau. See "The Political Structure of the Armenian Community," Jan. 20, 1967.

¹⁸¹ Panossian, 374.

¹⁸² "The Political Structure of the Armenian Community," Jan. 20, 1967.

the Armenian SSR also began to rise.¹⁸³ At some point in 1962-1963, a group of Armenian intellectuals discussed a number of Armenian nationalist issues, including the ‘reunification’ of the Armenian SSR with the lost provinces of ‘historical’ Armenia, spread out over Turkey, the Azerbaijani SSR (Nagorno-Karabakh and Nakhchivan), and the Georgian SSR (Javakheti); the recognition of the massacres and deportations in eastern Anatolia during World War I as genocide; the threat of Russification within the Armenian SSR; and, finally, the need to revive Armenian nationalism. Before they proceeded very far into their program, however, seven members of the group were arrested but, allegedly due to the intervention of a high-ranking Armenian Communist official, the individuals involved received relatively light sentences.¹⁸⁴

Recognizing that the rising nationalism and renewed interest in Armenian culture and history could not be stopped, the leadership of Soviet Armenia tried control and direct it as much as they could. While anti-Soviet or anti-Russian writings, slogans or sentiment was off limits, anti-Turkishness was not only acceptable, but in fact encouraged, by the Soviet leadership.¹⁸⁵ Much like their diaspora counterparts, it is unclear to what extent this latent anti-Turkishness existed among the Armenians residing inside the Armenian SSR prior to the early 1960s, but clearly by this time they too were introduced to the western diaspora’s increasingly hostile and racist descriptions of Turks and Turkey. It was therefore relatively easy for Soviet Armenia to follow the diaspora’s lead in this regard. Not only was pressure directed at one of NATO’s most important partners, but also any aggression arising from Armenian nationalism could easily be deflected away from the Soviet Union and the Armenian SSR.¹⁸⁶

Despite the apparent confluence of interests between the *ARF* and the Armenian SSR to downplay their mutual hostilities and encourage and promote anti-Turkishness throughout the diaspora and within the Armenian SSR, there still remained one significant problem for the *ARF*. While the leadership and center of the *ARF* was located in Beirut, Lebanon, much of the power, prestige, income and influence of the *ARF* came from the efforts of Armenians living in the United States and in other western Countries allied against the Soviet Union and international communism. To suddenly change its rhetoric and become, an even neutral,

¹⁸³ Dekmejian, 513.

¹⁸⁴ Panossian, 324.

¹⁸⁵ Panossian, 321, 371.

¹⁸⁶ Armenian analysts have also contended that anti-Turkishness was introduced into the Armenian SSR by Moscow for strategic purposes. See footnote 5, Panossian, 322.

supporter of the Soviet Union, while at the same time being fiercely critical and hostile to a NATO ally of the United States, especially one as important as Turkey was no simple task. Fortuitous for the *ARF*, the Armenian SSR and the Soviet Union, however, the time of their truce and the rise of anti-Turkishness occurred at the most opportune time in over a decade.

U.S. – Turkish – Soviet Relations in the Early 1960s

After a decade of strong bilateral ties under the leadership of Adnan Menderes and the Democratic Party, relations between the United States and Turkey started to suffer slightly in the late 1950s. First, public demonstrations and increasing unrest inside Turkey triggered by Menderes regime's poor economic, social and political policies caused grave concern among the U.S. and other western countries. Menderes' wasteful use of western aid and financial assistance also further alienated his former supporters abroad. On May 27, 1960, the Turkish military carried out a successful coup d'état against the Menderes regime and while this alleviated some of the political problems inside Turkey, it did not help the country's deteriorating fiscal condition. To make matters worse, in the fall of 1962, only a year after the government had returned to civilian control, Turkey was unwittingly drawn into the Cuban Missile Crisis.

Although kept from the public at the time, Turkey's recently installed, but largely outdated and obsolete, Jupiter missiles from Turkey proved to be the key element in negotiating a peaceful outcome to this confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union. In return for the removing the Jupiter missiles from Turkey, a major concern for Khrushchev since 1959, the Soviet leader agreed to remove the missiles from Cuba. The possession of Jupiters was a source of pride for the Turkish military and political elite and while their removal did not cause an open dispute between Turkey and the United States, it did cause Turkey's leaders to reevaluate and reflect on their relationship with the U.S. and their position in the Cold War. In the opinion of the Turkish elite, the United States had bargained away Turkey's security to protect their own interests, and had undermined, if only slightly, Turkey's faith in the U.S. commitment to its alliance partners.¹⁸⁷ Two years later, Turkish confidence in the United States faced an even greater challenge.

¹⁸⁷ William Hale, *Turkish Foreign Policy Since 1774*, Third Edition (New York: Routledge, 2013), 98-101; and Oran, *Turkish Foreign Policy*, 410-412.

In late 1963, the President of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios III disrupted the precarious ethnic balance between Greeks and Turks on the island by advancing constitutional amendments that would have significantly reduced the rights of the Turkish minority. Concerned by the outbreak of violence between the two groups, the Turkish government sought to exercise its rights provided for by Article 4 of the 1960 Treaty of Guarantee signed between the United Kingdom, Greece, Turkey and Cyprus to come to the aid of the Turkish minority. The threat of Turkish military intervention on the island, however, prompted a stern message from U.S. President Lyndon Johnson to İsmet İnönü, the Turkish Prime Minister. Fearful that Turkish military intervention in Cyprus might provoke retaliation from the Soviet Union, which enjoyed close relations with President Makarios, the now infamous “Johnson Letter” warned İnönü that Turkey’s NATO allies were not sure whether or not they were obligated to come to Turkey’s aid, and Turkey was not to use any U.S. supplied weaponry for military operations on the Cyprus. Turkey backed down, and, with the exception of airstrikes, did not intervene on the island, but Johnson’s letter was interpreted by most Turks as evidence that the President and the United States sided with the Greeks on the dispute and for the first time anti-U.S. protests surfaced in Turkey.¹⁸⁸

This weakening in U.S.-Turkish relations was mirrored by the first thaw between Turkey and the Soviet Union in over three decades. Since the death of Stalin in 1953, the Soviets had made overtures to bury any ill-will left over from the confrontation of the late 1940s. While the planned visit of Menderes to the Soviet Union in July 1960 did not take place because of the coup d’état, the Turkish Foreign Minister, Selim Sarper, met with Khrushchev in New York in October 1960, the first high-level between Turkey and the Soviet Union since the late 1930s.¹⁸⁹ While not much came of these talks, the ice was broken and by 1963 Turkey was receptive to rapprochement with the Soviets. In late spring of that year, a parliamentary delegation from Turkey visited to the Soviet Union, followed by the Turkish Foreign Minister in the fall of 1964 and reciprocated in January 1965 by a delegation from the Supreme Soviet. By March 1967, Turkey was on its way to being the largest recipient of Soviet financial assistance in the developing world by the end of the 1970s.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁸ Hale, *Turkish Foreign Policy*, 106-109; and Oran, *Turkish Foreign Policy*, 412-416.

¹⁸⁹ Oran, 466. The first ministerial visit to the Soviet Union, undertaken by the Turkish Minister of Health, Lütfi Kırdar, had taken place ten months prior, in December 1959. See Oran, 309.

¹⁹⁰ Hale, 108; and Oran, 466-468.

Given these developments in Turkish-Soviet relations, it is curious that the Soviet Union would have engaged, encouraged or, even tacitly supported the emergence of an Armenian nationalism grounded in anti-Turkishness at a time when relations between the Soviet Union and Turkey were finally improving. Anti-Turkish Armenian nationalism, however, served two purposes for the Soviet Union. First, nationalism needs an “other” and, as mentioned above, it was much safer, and prudent, to channel Armenian nationalist activity at Turkey and the Turks, rather than risk it turning against the Soviet Union or Russians. The Soviets were well aware of the fact the warming of relations between the USSR and Turkey had provoked hostility among Soviet Armenians, and was one of the main reasons Moscow allowed the commemoration in Yerevan to take place on April 24, 1965.¹⁹¹ Furthermore, the Soviets could easily deny any involvement or role in the promotion of anti-Turkishness among its Armenians. As far as they were concerned, Armenians and Turks had been enemies for nearly a thousand years. Second, anti-Turkish Armenian nationalism was a useful means for the Soviet Union to put pressure on or extract concessions from Turkey. The Soviet Union could either offer to contain or threaten to unleash Armenian nationalism, depending on its aims. It should be noted, however, that the threats were perceived as being territorial in nature, i.e. eastern Anatolia, and not, as they are today, of foreign legislatures labeling the events of 1915 in one manner or another.

As the 50th Commemoration of the events of 1915 approached in April 1965, therefore, the promotion of anti-Turkishness benefitted both of the main formulators of Armenian nationalist policy, the Armenian SSR and the *ARF*, was acceptable to, if not encouraged, by the Soviet Union, and was initiated at a time when U.S.-Turkish relations were at their lowest point in decades. The Armenian SSR and the *ARF* had recognized the energizing and unifying effects anti-Turkish propaganda had on diaspora Armenians, and sought to use it to achieve their political goals within the diaspora. The Soviet Union, for its part, saw only an upside to the cultivation and encouragement of an anti-Turkish Armenian nationalism, assuming that it never turned on its patron (a mistake it would realize in 1988). The large and boisterous demonstrations in Beirut and Yerevan on April 24, 1965, were launched under these conditions.

¹⁹¹ Dekmejian, 517.

April 24, 1965

On April 24 & 25, 1965, Armenians around the world commemorated the 50th anniversary of the tragedy of the Armenian deportations and massacres of 1915.¹⁹² In some locations Armenians demonstrated against Turks and the Turkish government. It was no accident that the two largest demonstrations, by hundreds of thousands of participants, were in Yerevan and Beirut. These cities represented the two opposing poles, the two most powerful forces, and the two religious centers of the Armenian nation, and were already in competition for the loyalty and support of Armenians everywhere. Yerevan represented the Armenian SSR and the Holy See of Echmiadzin, while Beirut symbolized the *ARF* and the Holy See of Cilicia. The demonstrations Yerevan and Beirut were well-planned and organized, and, given the Armenian SSR and *ARF*'s recent cooperation, it is unlikely that these events were not coordinated.

Of the two major demonstrations, the events in Yerevan have received considerably more attention in the literature. The preparations, or instigation, for the demonstrations in Yerevan date to at least before March 16, 1965, the date when Soviet Armenian leaders announced a monument would be built to honor the martyrs of 1915.¹⁹³ The leaders of the Armenian SSR also wanted to commemorate the 50th anniversary in a “grand manner,” and had asked Moscow for permission. When Moscow gave its consent, the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party proceeded with its plans.¹⁹⁴ As described by a witness, tens of thousands of workers, students and professors began to spontaneously gather on the streets of Yerevan on April 24th, shouting for the return of “Our lands, our lands” in anticipation of an official commemoration ceremony to be held at the Armenian State Academy Theater. The senior leadership of the Armenian SSR and the Catholicos of Echmiadzin attended the official ceremony, but halfway through, the throng of demonstrators surged past the police and barricades into the Theater, disrupted the gathering and began to admonish the Catholicos for not standing with the demonstrators on the question of Armenian nationalist territorial demands.

¹⁹⁵ Final estimates placed the size of the crowd at approximately 100,000 demonstrators.¹⁹⁶ It is

¹⁹² Bobelian, 125.

¹⁹³ “The History of the Memorial Dedicated to the Victims of the Armenian Genocide,” *Armenian Reporter*, April 26, 2008.

¹⁹⁴ Dekmejian, 513, 516.

¹⁹⁵ Haig Sarkissian, “50th Anniversary of the Turkish Genocide as Observed in Erevan,” *Armenian Review* Vol. 19, No. 4 (Win. 1966): 23-28. See also James H. Tashjian, “Turkey Returns to the East II,” *AR* Vol. 20, No. 2 (Sum. 1967): 56; Panossian, 320-323; and Dekmejian, 513-514.

noteworthy that this account, published in an *ARF* journal in the United States, attributed this “explosion” to “grievances and discontent against the Soviet regime.” While it was doubtful that evening unfolded entirely according to script, the publication of a newspaper article in the Soviet press accusing Turkey of genocide and Moscow’s lack of interest in arrests and retaliation for an event that brought over 100,000 on to the streets of Yerevan, tends to undermine the contention that the Soviet Union was taken by complete surprise.¹⁹⁷ In fact, while there were some purging and punishment of some Soviet Armenian leaders, this was carried out only after Turkey had put pressure on the Soviet Union.¹⁹⁸

Vahakn Dadrian conducted a much more detailed analysis of the strength of Armenian nationalism in the context of April 1965 in the Soviet Union. In his account of the minor Armenian demonstration in Moscow,¹⁹⁹ Dadrian experienced “pure admiration” for the “few hundred bold and patriotic young men,” from the “new generation... imbued with the dogmas of communism” no less, who “had succeed in imposing their will” on the Soviets.²⁰⁰ According to Dadrian, an Armenian graduate student conceived of the Moscow demonstrations after witnessing anti-American demonstrations by North Vietnamese and Chinese students in the Soviet capital. His plan was to gather like-minded Armenians and march on the Turkish embassy after a scheduled church service to commemorate 1915. When the church service was postponed for four hours a crowd of about 250, proceeded to the Turkish embassy to express “the anger and deep sorrow of our [the Armenian] nation.” While the Soviet police blocked the demonstrators from reaching the Turkish Embassy, the authorities did assist the demonstrators in their demand that the Turkish Embassy lower its flag in deference to April 24th. The demonstrators even returned later in the evening to verify that the flag was still lowered and through their actions “Armenia and Diaspora were intertwined and spiritually fused.”²⁰¹

The demonstrations in Beirut, while barely mentioned in the contemporary *ARF* press or in the historiography, were comparable in size and magnitude to demonstrations in Yerevan.

¹⁹⁶ Dekmejian, 514; Hedrick Smith, “Moscow Deftly Allows Armenia Its Nationalism,” *New York Times*, Dec. 20, 1971. Panossian claims as many as 200,00 may have participated. See Panossian, 320.

¹⁹⁷ “Soviet Article Accuses Turks,” *New York Times*, April 25, 1965.

¹⁹⁸ Dekmejian, 516.

¹⁹⁹ “Soviet Article Accuses Turks,” *New York Times*, April 25, 1965.

²⁰⁰ Vahakn Dadrian, “The Events of April 24 in Moscow—How They Happened and Under What Circumstances,” *Armenian Review* Vol. 20, No. 2 (Sum. 1967): 10. See also Tashjian, “Turkey Returns to the East II,” 55-56.

²⁰¹ Dadrian, “The Events of April 24 in Moscow,” 26; and “Soviet Article Accuses Turks,” *New York Times*, April 25, 1965.

The Turkish government was aware of preparations for demonstrations as early as December 1964, and the press began reporting the Armenian community in Beirut was planning a large demonstration against the Turkish government for the events of 1915 and to seek compensation for the losses in life and property by late March 1965.²⁰² By April 2, the U.S. Embassy in Beirut was also aware of plans for a major demonstration in the city scheduled for April 25.²⁰³ While the Lebanese government approved the gathering and ceremony, they did not approve the Armenians request to hold a march through the city.²⁰⁴ Anywhere between 20,000 and 85,000 thousand people attended the four-hour service at the City's Cite Sportive Stadium.²⁰⁵

The most detailed example of the degree to which the commemorations, demonstrations and public statements events of April 1965 were planned and organized well in advance are the events and actions in the U.S. The *ARF* Bureau submitted a memorandum detailing their claims against Turkey to a number of U.N. Delegations in New York.²⁰⁶ The *ARF*, assisted by both private and public sources, sent out form letters to state Governors, mayors and other local politicians to read into the public record and formally commemorate and recognize Armenian Martyrs' Day. U.S. Congressmen were sent different letters, asking them to recognize the Armenian massacres and Armenian Martyrs' Day on the floors of the Senate and the House. To assist them, the *ARF* provided the congressmen with five different prepared statements to

²⁰² "Bazı Yabancı Memleketlerde Müfrit Ermeni Teşekkülleri Tarafından Tertiplenen Kampanya [Campaign Organized by Extremist Armenian Organizations in Some Foreign Countries]," 28 April 1965, Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü Cumhuriyet Arşivi, 03001643959; "Ermeni Olayı," Dışişleri Belleteni, No. 6, March 1965, 38; "Yunanistan, Ermenileri siyasi emellerine alet etmek istiyor," Dışişleri Belleteni, No. 6, March 1965, 64; "Ermeniler, Türkiye aleyhinde büyük bir gösteri hazırlıyor," Milliyet, March 30, 1965; "Ermeniler asıllı Türkler ve ötesi," Haber, April 1, 1965; and "Lübnanlı Ermeniler dünya çapında bir gösteri yapacaklar," Yeni Gazete, April 1, 1965.

²⁰³ "Joint Weeka No. 13," BEIRUT A819, April 2, 1965, NARA, RG59, CFPPF, 1964-1966, POL & DEF, Box 2432, POL 2-1 LEB. See also "Religious Minorities: Armenians and the Armenian Community at Kayseri," ANKARA A921, April 20, 1965, NARA, RG59, CFPPF, 1964-66, Box 2755, POL 13-3 TUR.

²⁰⁴ "Joint Weeka No. 16," BEIRUT A882, April 23, 1965, NARA, RG59, NARA, RG 59, CFPPF, 1964-1966, POL & DEF, Box 2432, POL 2-1 LEB. Vahakn Dadrian alleges that the Lebanese government's refusal to allow the march to take place was due to joint pressure from the Turkish and Soviet Ambassadors in Beirut. See Dadrian, "The Events of April 24 in Moscow," 9-26.

²⁰⁵ "Joint Weeka No. 17," BEIRUT A899, April 30, 1965, NARA, RG59, Box 2432, POL 2-1 LEB; Cahit Güçbilmez, "Beyrutta yapılan Ermeni Mitingi fiyasko ile sonuçlandı," *Cumhuriyet*, April 26, 1965; "Ermeni mitingine 20 bin kişi katıldı," *Akşam*, April 26, 1965; "Doğusunda Ermenistan Kuracaklarmış," *Hurriyet*, April 26, 1965; "Ermeniler, Beyrut ve Pariste gösteri yaptı," *Milliyet*, April 26, 1965; "Beyrut Ermeni toplantısına 20 bin kişi katıldı," *Ulus*, April 26, 1965; "Massacre of Armenians by Turks Commemorated," *New York Times*, April 25, 1965. The U.S. State Department estimate was 85,000, the Turkish press reported 20,000, and the *NYT* estimated 50,000.

²⁰⁶ Ara Caprielian, "Some Aspects of the Armenian Question and the Armenian Revolutionary Federation," *Armenian Review* Vol. 29, No. 4 (Win. 1976): 386.

choose from, some even including “personal” anecdotes through which to introduce the topic of the Armenian massacres.²⁰⁷ The tactic proved extremely successful. Between April 4 and May 6, over 40 U.S. Congressmen brought attention to the events of 1915 in the Senate and House.²⁰⁸ Pamphlets and booklets were written and documentaries filmed to educate the both the Armenian diaspora and the public at large, and a Memorandum detailing Armenian grievances and demands was distributed to United Nations missions in New York City.²⁰⁹ Finally, various cities throughout the United States held commemoration church ceremonies and anti-Turkish demonstrations.²¹⁰ The largest appears to have been in New York City, where the *ARF*'s youth organization, the Armenian Youth Federation (*AYF*), organized anywhere between 2,000 and 3,000 Armenians organized to demonstrate in front of the Turkish Consulate, the Turkish Mission to the United Nations and the Turkish Information Office, holding signs such as: “Turkey: Author of Genocide;” “1915 Turkish Genocide of Armenians Still Unpunished;” and “A Nuremberg for the Turks;” and Justice for Armenia.”²¹¹

While there is no doubt that the worldwide commemorations in April 1965 to mark the massacres and deportations of Armenians in 1915 were solemn and sincere occasions used to honor the victims of a great tragedy in the modern history of the Armenian nation, the handful

²⁰⁷ Ibid., 385-387; Ara Caprielian, “The Armenian Revolutionary Federation: The Politics of a Party in Exile,” PhD. Diss., New York University, 1975, 311-314.

²⁰⁸ Rep. William L. St. Onge (CT), “Armenian Martyrs Day,” *CR*, April 5, 1965, 7043; Rep. Edward J. Derwinski (IL), “Polish American Newspaperman John Switalski Recalls Turkish Atrocities,” *CR*, April 6, 1965, A1690; “The 50th Anniversary of the Armenian Massacre,” *CR*, April 22, 1965, 8224; “The 50th Anniversary of Massacre of Armenians by Turks,” *CR*, April 22, 1965, 8261; “Armenian Memorial Day,” *CR*, April 23, 1965, 8347; “Fiftieth Anniversary of Turkish Genocide of Armenians,” *CR*, April 23, 1965, 8348; “Armenian Memorial Day,” *CR*, April 23, 1965, 8353-8354; “The 50th Anniversary of the Armenian Massacre,” *CR*, April 26, 1965, 8386-8389; “Armenian Massacres in 1915,” *CR*, April 26, 1965, 8390-8391; “The 50th Anniversary of the Armenian Massacre,” *CR*, April 26, 1965, 8420; “The Armenian Massacres in Turkey in 1915,” *CR*, April 26, 1965, 8503; “Armenian Memorial Day,” *CR*, April 26, 1965, 8503-8504; “Anniversary of Armenian Massacre,” *CR*, April 29, 1965, 8885; “Observance of 50th Anniversary of Massacre of Armenians by the Turks,” *CR*, April 29, 1965, 8888-8898; Rep. William G. Bray (IN), “Anniversary of Armenian Massacre,” *CR*, April 29, 1965, A2077; “Armenian Massacre,” *CR*, May 3, 1965, 9180; “Armenia Must Be Free,” *CR*, May 3, 1965, 9195-9196; “The 50th Anniversary of the Armenian Massacre,” *CR*, May 3, 1965, 9232; “The Armenian Tragedy in Turkey in 1915,” *CR*, May 4, 1965, 9427-9428; Rep. Richard L. Roudebush (IN), “Observance of the 50th Anniversary of Massacre of Armenians,” *CR*, May 6, 1965 (April 29), A2229-A2230; and Rep. Edward R. Roybal (CA), “In Commemoration of the 50th Anniversary of the Armenian Massacre,” *CR*, May 6, 1965, A2233-A2235.

²⁰⁹ Caprielian, “Some Aspects of the Armenian Question,” 385-386; and Caprielian, “The Armenian Revolutionary Federation,” 240-242.

²¹⁰ “Rites Will Memorialize Massacre of Armenians,” *Los Angeles Times*, April 24, 1965; “Armenians Mark a Tragic 1915 Day,” *New York Times*, April 25, 1965; and “Miting, Türkiye için çok kötü bir propaganda oldu,” *Hurriyet*, April 26, 1965.

²¹¹ “New York’taki Ermeni Mitingi,” *Hurriyet*, April 26, 1965; and Ara Caprielian, “Some Aspects of the Armenian Question, 385.

of aggressive anti-Turkish demonstrations were something else entirely. Given the detailed evidence of the *ARF*'s coordination and planning for the events in the United States, the anti-Turkish rhetoric in its publications since 1959 and the recent cooperation between the *ARF* and the leadership of the Armenian SSR, it is clear that the demonstrations in Yerevan, Moscow, Beirut, New York and elsewhere were part of a planned and coordinated effort to instigate tension and encourage animosity between Armenians, Turkey and Turks for political gains inside the Armenian diaspora and the Armenian SSR.

Conclusion

Between 1945 and 1959, the massacres and deportations of the Armenians in eastern Anatolia by the Ottoman Turks in 1915 were neither a singular topic of discussion or analysis, nor even what the Armenians specifically sought justice for.²¹² Instead, the tragedy was part of a larger, and longer, narrative filled with numerous instances of violence and perceived injustice by Muslims, Ottomans, Russians, Kurds, Turks and others. In terms of the 1945-1948 campaign described above, the justification for seeking the Turkish provinces of Kars and Ardahan was not based on the events of 1915, but rather on a list of subjective reasons meant to explain why Armenia deserved it more than Turkey, or, to prove, like Rep. Charles Savage (WI) believed: the Turks “did not originally belong there.”²¹³ For reasons of their unbroken tenure of habitation, racial and religious superiority, sufferings and persecutions, dedication to the Allied cause, promises from the Allied governments during and immediately after World War I, betrayal by those same Allied powers, contributions to the Allied cause in World War II, and, finally, in order to accommodate over one million Armenian refugees who wished to repatriate to the Armenian SSR, the Armenians deserved to be awarded eastern Anatolia and in fact were owed eastern Anatolia. When that failed, the discussion turned to reasons why Turkey was unworthy of Western assistance at the beginning of the Cold War. Even then, however, the

²¹² There are two minor exceptions: a letter in the *New York Times* and two pages in the *Armenian Review*. See A. Alichanian, “The Armenian Massacres,” *New York Times*, September 27, 1947; H. Saro, “Terrors from the Crime of 1915,” *Armenian Review*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (Sum. 1948): 105-106. For what appears to be one of the first truly academic analyses of the events leading up to the massacres and deportations of 1915, see: Roderic Davison, “The Armenian Crisis, 1912-1914,” *American Historical Review*, Vol. 53, No. 3 (April 1948): 481-505.

²¹³ Rep. Charles R. Savage (WA), “Treatment of Armenia,” *CR*, May 9, 1946, A2573-A2574. That Turks had inhabited the area for nearly a thousand years, or the fact that by the turn of the 20th century Armenians were neither a majority in any province of eastern Anatolia, nor had had any political control over the territory in over 500 years, appears to have escaped many of the U.S. Congressmen, and others, who participated in this campaign.

massacres and deportations of Armenians/Christians in 1915, was not the only, or even primary, reason being cited.

Once the realities of the Cold War settled in, however, the emphasis during the 1950s was on the illegal, undemocratic, and brutal Sovietization of the Armenian Republic, the tyranny and oppression suffered by the Armenian people, and on freeing the Armenia SSR from the Soviet Union. The main proponent and beneficiary of this change in focus was the *ARF*. While still quixotic, after the unrest in Berlin, Poland and Hungary caused by de-Stalinization, the decoupling of the Armenian SSR from the Soviet Union seemed more probable than Turkey, the United States and their NATO allies willingly handing over eastern Anatolia. If 1915 was mentioned in this period, it was to engender concern for the plight of the contemporary Armenians of the Armenian SSR, not to elicit sympathy for the former inhabitants of eastern Anatolia, and certainly not to create ill-will towards Turkey, one of NATO's newest and strategically significant members.

In 1959, for a number of reasons discussed above, the *ARF* changed course and promoted anti-Turkishness over anti-communism. Anti-Turkishness had a long history in both Western and Armenian culture, and this change served to reduce tension within both within the diaspora and between the *ARF* and the Armenian SSR, the two main sources of political, cultural and spiritual power in the Armenian nation. It is within this context, along with changes in international politics that were both timely and favorable to Armenian efforts against Turkey, that the well-planned and coordinated demonstrations of 1965 should be viewed. There is no doubt that the demonstrations were solemn occasions used to commemorate a great tragedy in the modern history of the Armenian nation, but there were also part of a planned and coordinated effort to instigate tension and encourage animosity between Armenians and the Turk for political gains inside the Armenian diaspora. The decision to draw attention to the massacres and deportations of 1915 was not to achieve international recognition, to have the events redefined, extract an apology and reparations from Turkey, or to achieve any other form of 'justice.' The demonstrations were instead used excite and energize the Armenian diaspora with the one emotion known to work: anti-Turkishness. For the Soviet Union and the Armenian SSR, the demonstrations also provided a necessary distraction from potential anti-Soviet and anti-Russian sentiment. Unfortunately, the violent nationalism unleashed by the April 1965

demonstrations would have ramifications far beyond the limited confines of the Armenian diaspora.

CHAPTER 3

THE RADICALIZATION OF THE ARMENIAN CAUSE, 1965-1973

After April 24, 1965, the *ARF* continued its policies of anti-Turkishness as a means to obtain support and sympathy from non-Armenian communities to give the appearance at least, that it was working towards a solution to the Armenian Cause. The previous fifty years of silence were criticized, and the *ARF* called upon Armenians everywhere to do their part in publicizing the Armenian Cause or the world would be “tempted to forget the still unpunished genocide of 1915, and the rights of the Armenians which that genocide sought to obliterate.”¹ As far as the *ARF* was concerned, “the Turkish genocide of Armenians must be presented clearly and factually, followed by an insistent demand for the reactivation of the Treaty of Sèvres.”² In order to accomplish these goals, both politicians and the general public had to be informed on Armenian version of the events of 1915, influenced and swayed into supporting the Armenians over the Turks, and, when necessary, protected from narratives that diverged from the Armenian one.

While the *ARF* led the way in efforts to educate Armenians and non-Armenians alike on the events of 1915, the wider diaspora quickly followed, devoting their time and energy to publications, erecting monuments, organizing community events, and demonstrating, protesting and advocating for the Armenian Cause. The anti-Turkishness promoted by the *ARF* and the Armenian SSR, and tolerated by the Soviet Union, along with the truncation of the Armenian Question to simply the massacres and relocations of 1915, was embraced by the Armenian diaspora. This was particularly true with Armenian youths in the United States, where student activism was hitting its stride in the context of the Civil Rights Movement and, later, anti-Vietnam war activity.

As the protests and demonstrations against the Turkish government became increasingly larger and more aggressive in nature, intermittent acts of violence against Turkish government

¹ Ara Caprielian, “The Armenian Revolutionary Federation: The Politics of a Party in Exile,” (PhD. Diss., New York University, 1975), 230-231.

² Ibid.

facilities, including the breach of the Los Angeles Consulate, began to occur. Despite their attempts to elevate concern within the U.S. State Department and local police, the Turkish government remained largely dissatisfied with the efforts of the U.S. government to maintain adequate protection for Turkish officials in the United States. Tragically, their apprehension and fears proved correct. On January 27, 1973, a retired Armenian-American shot and killed the Turkish Consul General of Los Angeles, Mehmet Baydar, and his assistant Consul, Bahadır Demir, and called on Armenians around the world to take up arms against the Turkish government and its representatives.

Although his call was only half-heartedly embraced in 1973, by early 1975 Gourgen Yanikian had ushered a decade of Armenian violence against Turkish diplomats, their families and others, which would claim the lives of over 70 innocent people. The actions of Gourgen Yanikian were far from unique, however, and to understand Yanikian's ability to energize the Armenian diaspora through his double homicide, it is important analyze the legacy of another twentieth century Armenian assassin, Soghomon Tehlirian. Through his act, Yanikian became a critical link between the violence of Tehlirian and the other *ARF* agents who participated in an operation to murder former high-ranking members of the Ottoman government, and the terrorists of *ASALA* and the *ARF* during the 1970s and 1980s.

The use of anti-Turkishness and the events of 1915 for inter-Armenian and domestic political goals by the *ARF* and other organizations competing for Armenian loyalty went far beyond its original intent to promote peace and cohesiveness. Instead, these policies conditioned Armenian communities to not only accept, but, in many cases, to rejoice in the execution of Turkish government officials for the events of 1915. Yanikian proved that the diaspora would support the assassination of any Turkish government official, and for those who carried the executions, adulation and glory waited. In only a few short years after the Yanikian murders, these death sentences came to be expected, and would extend even to the spouses and children of Turkish civil servants.

The Events of 1915 in the Literature, 1965-1972

The 50th anniversary of the deportations and massacres of 1915, and the global demonstrations it triggered, received fair, if fleeting, coverage in the United States, including eight articles in

the New York Times and Los Angeles Times between April 24 and April 26, 1965.³ Shortly thereafter, a small, but contentious, exchange unfolded in the New York Times between Altemur Kiliç, the Information Counselor at the Turkish Embassy in Washington, and an Armenian-American reader.⁴ By comparison, the extensive coverage given to the Armenian diaspora and their demonstrations by the Turkish press is surprising, given both the accusations of their alleged denial of the massacres and suppression of the topic and their own self-proclaimed ignorance to the problem prior to 1973. Between March 30 and June 7, 1965 there were well over one hundred articles and editorials, many written by prominent columnists and at least one politician, in Turkish newspapers, and nearly half of these appeared in the country's three major dailies: Cumhuriyet, Hürriyet and Milliyet.⁵ While this sudden and unprecedented attention to Armenians by the Turkish media did not go unnoticed by Armenians and other observers at the time, it is largely overlooked by more recent scholarship.⁶

The most noticeable impact of the 50th anniversary of 1915, however, was on the resources and material being produced by the Armenian diaspora itself. Publications concerned

³ "Rites will Memorialize Massacre of Armenians," *Los Angeles Times*, April 24, 1965; "Armenia Remembers," *New York Times*, April 24, 1965; "Armenians Haunted by Massacre 50 Years Ago," *LAT*, April 25, 1965; "Soviet Article Accuses Turks," *NYT*, April 25, 1965; "Armenians Mark a Tragic 1915 Day," *NYT*, April 25, 1965; "Massacre of Armenians by Turks Commemorated," *NYT*, April 25, 1965; and "Concert Honors Armenians Massacred by Turks," *NYT*, April 26, 1965.

⁴ Deran Hanesian, "Letter to the Editor," *New York Times*, May 1, 1965; Altemur Kiliç, "Letter to the Editor: Turkish Citizens All," *NYT*, May 4, 1965; and Grace Nigosian, "Letter to the Editor: Slaughter of Armenians," *NYT*, May 13, 1965.

⁵ For a sample see "Ermeniler, Türkiye aleyhinde büyük bir gösteri hazırlıyor," *Milliyet*, March 30, 1965; Cüneyt Arcayürek, "Rumların tahrikiyle Ermeniler, katliamın 50nci yılını anacak," *Hürriyet*, April 8, 1965; "Vatanımız Türkiye Sancağımız da Türk bayrağıdır," *Hür.*, April 9, 1965; "Ermenileri Tahrik Başladı!...", *Mil.*, April 9, 1965; "Ermeni Patrikliği memleket menfaatine aykırı bir hareketi tasvip etmiyor," *Hür.*, April 10, 1965; Ecevet Güresin, "Ermeni mitingi," *Cum.*, April 10, 1965; Cahit Güçbilmez, "Lübnan Emniyet Konseyi Gösteriye izin vermedi," *Cum.*, April 10, 1965; Refi Cevat Ulunay, "Biz ve Ermeniler," *Mil.*, April 10, 1965; Antuvan Doğanalp, "Ermeni Meselesi," *Cum.*, April 11, 1965; Bülent Ecevit, "Ermeni," *Mil.*, April 12, 1965; Güçbilmez, "Lübnanlı Ermeniler işi azıtmaya başladılar," *Cum.*, April 17, 1965; Burhan Felek, "Ermeni Meselesi," *Cum.*, April 17, 1965; Güçbilmez, "Ermeniler gösteri için ısrar ediyor," *Cum.*, April 18, 1965; Doğan Uluç, "Londra'da doğan 2 Ermeni çocuk Türkçe dersi alıyor," *Hür.*, April 22, 1965; Güçbilmez, "Lübnan Hukümeti Beyrut Ermeni Mitingine izin Verdi," *Cum.*, April 23, 1965; D. Baran Sarol, "Ermeni yurttaşlar anıta çelenk koyacaklar," *Mil.*, April 23, 1965; Güçbilmez, "Beyrutta Türk aleyhtarı afişler," *Cum.*, April 24, 1965; Sadık Atak, "Ermenilerin Huzursuzluğu," *Cum.*, April 24, 1965; Güçbilmez, "Ermeni Mitingi Bugün Yapılacak," *Cum.*, April 25, 1965; Berç Turan, "Türk-Ermeni Münasebetleri," *Cum.*, April 25, 1965; Güçbilmez, "Beyrutta yapılan Ermeni Mitingi fiyasko ile sonuçlandı," *Cum.*, April 26, 1965; Cihat Baban, "Ermeni meselesi ve bir uyarma," *Mil.*, May 2, 1965; Prof. Dr. İsmet Giritli, "Yunan propagandası ve Ermeni gösterileri," *Cum.*, May 12, 1965; and Haydar Aryal, "Ermeni Davası Diye Bir Şey Yoktur," *Cum.*, June 5, 1965; "Haçlı Savaşı," *Mil.*, June 7, 1965. See also *Akşam*, *Dünya*, *Haber*, *Son Havadis*, *Tercüman*, *Ulus*, *Yeni Asır*, *Yeni Gazete* during the same period.

⁶ "Religious Minorities: Armenians and the Armenian Community at Kayseri," ANKARA A921, April 20, 1965, NARA, RG59, CFPF, 1964-66, Box 2755, POL 13-3 TUR; and Marjorie Housepian, "The Unremembered Genocide," *Commentary* 42, No. 3 (Sept. 1966): 61.

specifically with the deportation and massacres of 1915, Turkish culpability for those pogroms, and the general wickedness of the Turks increased exponentially in the wake of the 1965 commemorations and demonstrations. For its part, the *ARF* increased the vitriolic attacks on Turkey and Turks by filling its journal with content that detailed the “savagery and barbarism of the Turks” and called for Armenians to “zealously” pursue their rights.⁷ In commemoration of the 50th anniversary, the summer 1965 issue was devoted entirely to the massacres and deportations of the Armenians in 1915 and the inherently inferior and evil “predatory Asiatic tribe” that perpetrated this act.⁸ The return of eastern Anatolia and financial restitution from Turkey to the Armenian diaspora, even to the point of driving that country to national bankruptcy, were put forward as a means for the Turk, “the ugly rodent of society,” to make amends for the crimes of 1915 because, even though “the fez and the veil may have been banished,” the “soul of the Turk remains evil and unrepentant.”⁹

Subsequent issues that year repeated and expanded on these themes and included a number of articles which made disturbing and provocative observations, such as the claim that the genocidal policies of the Ottoman government were supported by an “atavistically savage people of Mongolian descent with a tradition of countless centuries of wholesale butchery, rapine and plunder.”¹⁰ Along with the standard narrative (the West’s betrayal of Armenia, the timeless validity of Sèvres, etc.), the *ARF* continued their efforts to prove the genocidal intentions of the Ottoman/Turkish government, the collective guilt of the Turkish people, the need to punish both, and to speculate on what was owed to the descendants of the Armenians deported from eastern Anatolia. This was done through repeated references to, and reproductions of, Morgenthau’s spurious account, graphic descriptions of the massacres and

⁷ Haigaz Kazarian, “The Turkish Genocide on the Church Front,” *Armenian Review* Vol. 18, No. 1 (Spr. 1965): 3-9.

⁸ “Lest We Forget,” *Armenian Review*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (Sum. 1965): 3-4. See also Henry Morgenthau, “Ambassador Morgenthau’s Story,” *AR* Vol. 18, No. 2 (Sum. 1965): 5-31; Asen Yergath, “Day of the Martyrs,” *AR* Vol. 18, No. 2 (Sum. 1965): 32-33; James Tashjian, “Turkey: Author of Genocide,” *AR* Vol. 18, No. 2 (Sum. 1965): 34-61; James G. Mandalian, “My Sister Saw the Horrors of the Turkish Deportations,” *AR* Vol. 18, No. 2 (Sum. 1965): 62-69; P.K. Thomajan, “The Blight of Asia,” *AR* Vol. 18, No. 2 (Sum. 1965): 70; and Diana Der Hovanessian, “April 24 at a Foreign Student Center,” *AR* Vol. 18, No. 2 (Sum. 1965): 73.

⁹ P.K. Thomajan, “The Blight of Asia,” *Armenian Review*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (Sum. 1965): 70.

¹⁰ Harry Boyajian, “Murder Will Out,” *Armenian Review* Vol. 18, No. 3 (Aut. 1965): 3. See also Haigaz Kazarian, “Minutes of Secret Meetings Organizing the Turkish Genocide of Armenians,” *AR* Vol. 18, No. 3 (Aut. 1965): 18-39; Haigaz Kazarian, “How Turkey Prepared the Ground for Massacre,” *AR* Vol. 18, No. 4 (Win. 1965): 30-33; Aram Haigaz, “Tolls of the Massacres,” *AR* Vol. 18, No. 4 (Win. 1965): 40-42; and W.W. Howard, “Horrors of Armenia: The Massacres of 1895-96,” *AR* Vol. 18, No. 4 (Win. 1965): 56-77.

deportations, tales of U.S. and European treachery and unwarranted accommodation and acquiescence to the Turks, and attempts to estimate financial losses.¹¹ The anti-Turkey and anti-Turkish rhetoric in the *Armenian Review* ranged from merely incendiary and degrading orientalism to appalling examples of hate speech. Scholars who disagreed with any aspect of the *ARF*'s new line regarding 1915 were duly criticized and dismissed.¹²

The *ARF* also called for Armenians to act and, in particular, to increase propaganda and diplomatic efforts to prosecute the Armenian Cause. While previously this included the

¹¹ Haigaz Kazarian, "The Genocide of Kharpert's Armenians," *Armenian Review*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (Spr. 1966): 16-22; Krikor Asadourian, "Meet the Turk," *AR* Vol. 19, No. 1 (Spr. 1966): 50-51; "The Frontier Between Armenia and Turkey as Decided by President Woodrow Wilson," *AR* Vol. 19, No. 2 (Sum. 1966): 3-16; Haigaz Kazarian, "The Turco-Soviet Conspiracy to Overthrow the Independent Republic of Armenia," *AR* Vol. 19, No. 2 (Sum. 1966): 17-47; "Memorandum on the Armenian Questions of the Delegation of the Armenian Republic," *AR* Vol. 19, No. 3 (Aut. 1966): 3-16; James Gidney, "The Armenian Mandate in the United States," *AR* Vol. 19, No. 4 (Win. 1966): 9-22; Harold Kachigian, "An Importunity: Lest We Forget," *AR* Vol. 19, No. 4 (Win. 1966): 29-34; James Tashjian, "Turkey Returns to the East (Part I)," *AR* Vol. 20, No. 1 (Spr. 1967): 3-40; "Contemporary Documents and Reports," *AR* Vol. 20, No. 1 (Spr. 1967): 41-45; James Tashjian, "Turkey Returns to the East (Part II)," *AR* Vol. 20, No. 2 (Sum. 1967): 53-67; Jean Bloch-Michel, "Turkey: Democracy on a Tightrope," *AR* Vol. 20, No. 2 (Sum. 1967): 69-76; Eunice Chooljian Chacker, "A New Look at the Armenian Question," *AR* Vol. 20, No. 4 (Win. 1967): 3-17; Vahakn Dadrian, "The Britannica on the Armenian Atrocities: An Open Letter," *AR* Vol. 21, No. 2 (Sum. 1968): 57-64; Thomas Bryson, "Woodrow Wilson and the Armenian Mandate," *AR* Vol. 21, No. 3 (Aut. 1968): 10-28; Thomas Bryson, "Mark Bristol: His Influences on the Armenian Mandate," *AR* Vol. 21, No. 4 (Win. 1968): 3-22; "In Darkest Turkey: Reprint from the 'Missionary Herald'," *AR* Vol. 22, No. 1 (Spr. 1969): 49-50; Richard Hovannisian, "The Allies and Armenia, 1915-1918," *AR* Vol. 22, No. 2 (Sum. 1969): 20-40; Vahan Cardashian, "The Case of Armenia: Nature and Extent of Her Claims," *AR* Vol. 22, No. 3 (Aut. 1969): 43-47; Carl Bazarian, "Political Reasons Behind the Turkish Genocide in Solution of the Armenian Question," *AR* Vol. 22, No. 3 (Aut. 1969): 52-68; Richard Hovannisian, "Simon Vratzian and Armenian Nationalism," *AR* Vol. 23, No. 1 (Spr. 1970): 3-35; K. Yazejian, "Marshal Von Moltke, the Armenians and Turkey," *AR* Vol. 23, No. 1 (Spr. 1970): 54-60; Abraham Sachar, "The Armenian Genocide," *AR* Vol. 23, No. 2 (Sum. 1970): 66-69; "Ottoman Domination," *AR* Vol. 23, No. 2 (Sum. 1970): 70-78; "Statement on the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Treaty of Sevres by The Bureau of the ARF," *AR* Vol. 23, No. 3 (Aut. 1970): 3-5; "Statement on the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Treaty of Sevres by The Central Committee of the ARF of America," *AR* Vol. 23, No. 3 (Aut. 1970): 6-7; "The Treaty of Sevres: An Analysis," *AR* Vol. 23, No. 3 (Aut. 1970): 8-26; "Decision of President Wilson Respecting the Frontier Between Turkey and Armenia- Text of a Document," *AR* Vol. 23, No. 3 (Aut. 1970): 27-41; James Tashjian, "The Sevres Story: How and Why it Happened," *AR* Vol. 23, No. 3 (Aut. 1970): 42-47; Vahan Cardashian, "Who Speaks in the Name of Armenia," *AR* Vol. 23, No. 3 (Aut. 1970): 48-58; D.D. Jones, "The Crucifixion of Armenia," *AR* Vol. 23, No. 4 (Win. 1970): 38-42; Henry Morgenthau, "The Tragedy of Armenia: Greatest Horror in History," *AR* Vol. 24, No. 1 (Spr. 1971): 35-41; Haigazn Kazarian, "Opening of the Turkish Genocide of 1915-1918: Arrest and Murder of the Armenian Intellectuals," *AR* Vol. 24, No. 3 (Aut. 1971): 17-25; Haigazn Kazarian, "Turkey Tries its Chief Criminals; Indictments and Sentence Passed Down by Military Court of 1919 (Part I)," *AR* Vol. 24, No. 4 (Win. 1971): 3-26; Haigazn Kazarian, "Turkish Military Court Tries Genocidists of Yozgat," *AR* Vol. 25, No. 2 (Sum. 1972): 34-39; Haigazn Kazarian, "The Massacres and Deportations at Papert," *AR* Vol. 25, No. 3 (Aut. 1972): 59-67; Vahan Cardashian, "April 24: An Admonishment," *AR* Vol. 25, No. 3 (Aut. 1972): 77-79; and MD. Karajian, "An Inquiry into the Statistics of the Turkish Genocide of the Armenians," *AR* Vol. 25, No. 4 (Win. 1972): 3-44.

¹² James Tashjian, "The Truth About the Turkish Acts of Genocide," *Armenian Review*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (Aut. 1965): 40-50; James Mandalian, "An Exposure of Turkish Falsifications," *AR*, Vol. 18, No. 4 (Win. 1965): 12-23; and S.J. Karayan, "Open Letter to 'Middle East Journal' on a Critique of Prof. Trumpener's Work," *Armenian Review* Vol. 22, No. 3 (Aut. 1969): 69-78.

liberation of Soviet Armenia, the new “call” focused almost exclusively on retribution and justice for the events of 1915.¹³ In their opinion, the “totally ignorant” West needed to be educated on “the wrongs which the Armenians have suffered” through more non-Armenian language publications, and even the Armenian’s own “young generation” needed to be elucidated “on the merits of the Armenian Case.”¹⁴ A similar call was made nearly four years later, by the independent Armenian-American weekly, the *Armenian Reporter*, after material published in the Reader’s Digest benefitted Turkish efforts “to distort or cover historical facts and thus emerge as a truly civilized nation,” and drew the wrath and indignation of the paper’s editor.¹⁵

In a relatively short period of time, however, the calls became increasingly more violent in nature, and there was an increase in the publication of accounts recollecting historical instances of Armenian martial prowess, resilience and defiance, particularly that of the *ARF*.¹⁶ These consisted of “stimulating, exciting and verily fascinating” tales of vengeance where “the victory of right over evil” prevailed and “heinous Turkish criminals” were “struck down by the “avenging hand of the Armenian revolutionaries” and “the heroic sons of Armenia,” which

¹³ Haigaz K. Kazarian, “The Turkish Genocide on the Church Front,” *Armenian Review* Vol. 18, No. 1 (Spr. 1965): 9; Kachigian, “An Importunity: Lest We Forget,” 33-34; Haig Sarkissian, “50th Anniversary of the Turkish Genocide as Observed in Erivan,” *AR* Vol. 19, No. 4 (Win. 1966): 23-28; Vahakn Dadrian, “The Events of April 24 in Moscow— How They Happened and Under What Circumstances,” *AR* Vol. 20, No. 2 (Sum. 1967): 9-26; “Statement on the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Treaty of Sevres by The Bureau of the ARF,” 3-5; and “Statement on the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Treaty of Sevres by The Central Committee of the ARF of America,” 6-7.

¹⁴ Reuben Darbinian, “Two Studies: “New” Solutions to Old Problems and Thoughts on the Prosecution of the Armenian Case,” *Armenian Review* Vol. 19, No. 1 (Spr. 1966): 9-10.

¹⁵ “A Need for Scholarly Research,” *Armenian Reporter*, May 15, 1969.

¹⁶ Gabriel Gorganian, “Armenian Participation in World War I on the Caucasian Front,” *Armenian Review* Vol. 20, No. 3 (Aut. 1967): 3-21; Gorganian, “Armenian Participation in World War I on the Caucasian Front II,” *AR* Vol. 20, No. 4 (Win. 1967): 66-80; Gorganian, “Armenian Participation in World War I on the Caucasian Front,” *AR* Vol. 21, No. 2 (Sum. 1968): 66-80; Simon Vratzian, “Dro: Born of the Hurricane,” *AR* Vol. 21, No. 3 (Aut. 1968): 30-49; “Armenian Participation in World War I on the Caucasian Front (Continued),” *AR* Vol. 21, No. 4 (Win. 1968): 69-74; James Tashjian, “The Armenian “Dashnag” Party,” *AR* Vol. 21, No. 4 (Win. 1968): 49-57; Vratzian, “Dro: Born of the Hurricane II,” *AR* Vol. 22, No. 2 (Sum. 1969): 68-74; Gorganian, “Armenian Participation in World War I on the Caucasian Front,” *AR* Vol. 23, No. 1 (Spr. 1970): 72-79; Michael Varandian, “On the 80th Anniversary of the Federation: A History of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation I,” *AR* Vol. 23, No. 2 (Sum. 1970): 1-21; Gorganian, “Armenian Participation in World War I on the Caucasian Front,” *AR* Vol. 23, No. 2 (Sum. 1970): 45-65; Varandian, “On the 80th Anniversary of the Federation: A History of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation II,” *AR* Vol. 23, No. 3 (Aut. 1970): 65-79; Varandian, “On the 80th Anniversary of the Federation: A History of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation III,” *AR* Vol. 23, No. 4 (Win. 1970): 63-70; Varandian, “A History of the ARF IV,” *AR* Vol. 24, No. 1 (Spr. 1971): 63-73; Varandian, “A History of the ARF V,” *AR* Vol. 25, No. 2 (Sum. 1972): 76-80; Varandian, “A History of the ARF VI,” *AR* Vol. 25, No. 4 (Win. 1972): 70-78; and “Defictionalizing ‘The Forty Days of Musa Dagh’,” *AR* Vol. 26, No. 1 (Spr. 1973): 3-59.

“completely satisfies the soul of the reader.”¹⁷ In the words of one *ARF* agent who carried out an assassination against a Turkish victim: “the Armenian who had been regarded as the eternal slave had sent his sons who meted out the just punishment to those blood-thirsty beasts.”¹⁸ The purpose of these tales was underscored by the posthumous publication of an article written by a former Armenian politician who declared Armenians had a “constant duty to fight the Turk on all fronts,” and that “terrorism against individual Turks or Bolsheviks who murder helpless and innocent people is legitimate and effective.”¹⁹

In addition to their own rank and file, many within the wider Armenian diaspora answered the *ARF*'s call. Publications in English increased substantially after 1965. In the decade prior to the 50th anniversary, approximately thirteen publications were released or re-released in English on some aspect of the broader Armenian question, including Werfel's novel, one dissertation and three theses, and one monograph published by an academic press.²⁰ In 1965 alone, 25 new items were published. By the end of 1972, that figure had reached close to 70, not including reprints of Ambassador Morgenthau's *Story* and *The Forty Days of Musa Dagh*.²¹ Some of the more notable and durable publications in the period included Marjorie Housepian's *The Smyrna Affair*, which attributed blame for the destruction of Smyrna, and its Greek and Armenian inhabitants, squarely on the Turks, albeit with U.S. Admiral Mark Bristol a willing accomplice; and the memoirs of Abraham H. Hartunian, entitled *Neither to Laugh Nor to Weep*:

¹⁷ Arshavir Shiragian, “An Act of Justice: The Assassination of Dr. Behaeddin Shakir,” *Armenian Review*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (Aut. 1966): 17. See also Kachigian, “An Imporunity: Lest We Forget,” 32.

¹⁸ Shiragian, “An Act of Justice,” 30.

¹⁹ Vahan Cardashian, “Force and Diplomacy,” *Armenian Review*, Vol. 22, No. 1 (Spr. 1969): 10-11.

²⁰ Nancy Judges, “The British Attitude towards the Armenian Question, 1878-1908” (PhD diss., McGill University, 1955); Harry Toomajian, *Exit from Inferno: The Odyssey of an Armenian American* (Trustees of the H.J. Toomajian Estate: Waukegan, IL, 1955); Hovhannes Katchaznouni, *The Armenian Revolutionary Federation Has Nothing to Do Anymore*, trans. By Matthew A. Callender (New York: Armenian Information Service, 1955); Ralph Elliot Cook, “The United States and the Armenian Question, 1894-1924” (MA Thesis, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, 1957); George A. Paboojian, “A History of Missionary Activity Among Armenians in the Near East Since 1819” (MA Thesis, Biblical Seminary in New York, 1957); Asdghig Avakian, *Stranger Among Friends: An Armenian Nurse from Lebanon Tells Her Story* (Beirut: Unknown, 1960); Enver Ziya Karal, *Question Armenian (1878-1923)* (publisher and location unknown, 1960); Edward Minasian, “They Came from Ararat: The Exodus of the Armenian People to the United States” (MA Thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1961); Franz Werfel, *The Forty Days of Musa Dagh* (New York: Carroll Graf, 1962); Bohdan Gebarski, *A Letter to My Turkish Friend* (Boston: Baikar Press, 1963); Louise Nalbandian, *The Armenian Revolutionary Movement: The Development of Armenian Political Parties through the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1963); *Armenian Memorial Day: April 24, 1915* (Los Angeles: Armenian Committee for the Independence of Armenia (ARF), 1964); and Naim Bey, *The Memoirs of Naim Bey: Turkish Official Documents Relating to the Deportations and Massacres of Armenians* (Newton Square, PA: Armenian Historical Research Association, 1964).

²¹ Source for publications: worldcat.org. *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story* was first reprinted in 1970 and *The Forty Days of Musa Dagh* was reprinted in 1967 and 1969.

A Memoir of the Armenian Genocide, which were translated and published decades after his death.²²

Housepian, a literature professor turned amateur historian at Columbia University, also contributed letters and articles to the *New York Times*, *Armenian Review* and *Commentary*, a periodical of the American Jewish Committee, on the massacre and deportations of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire and other aspects of late Ottoman and early Turkish history.²³ A sample of the publications in this period reveals many of the themes mirrored in the *Armenian Review*, including the racist and dehumanizing description of Turks. For example, one author provided a blueprint for others to follow: “we should organize through universities, newspapers, television and whatever other means, a vigorous campaign against the barbarous Turks until they acknowledge their genocidal deed,”²⁴ while another, the soon to famous Armenian-American attorney, Dickran Boyajian, declared that while “there are some who claim that the basic character of the Turk has changed for the better. There is evidence to refute that contention and to show that the Turk of today is no different from the Turk of 1915.”²⁵ Not all of the efforts of the Armenian diaspora, however, were confined to the pages of pamphlets, books, dissertations, theses, editorials and letters to the editors. The *ARF* and other Armenian groups entered political arena, hoping to influence domestic and international politics at the highest levels. Many others, particularly the Armenian-American youth who read and discussed the new literature, whether at home, school, university or church, took their anger, anti-Turkishness, indignation and a peculiar sense of Armenian entitlement engendered by the recent narrative, to the streets to support the political efforts of their community leaders and promote the cause and agenda.

²² Marjorie Housepian, *The Smyrna Affair* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1966) and Abraham H. Hartunian, *Neither to Laugh Nor to Weep: A Memoir of the Armenian Genocide* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968). See also A. O. Sarkissian, “Neither to Laugh Nor to Weep: A Memoir of the Armenian Genocide,” *American Historical Review*, Vol. 74, No. 5 (June 1969): 1677; and (James) George Gidney, “A Review of Marjorie Housepian: The Smyrna Affair,” *Armenian Review*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (Spr. 1972): 75-80.

²³ Marjorie (Housepian) Dobkin, “Letter to the Editor,” *New York Times*, April 25, 1965; Marjorie Housepian, “The Unremembered Genocide,” *Commentary* 42, No. 3 (Sept. 1966): 55-61; and Marjorie Housepian, “The Smyrna Affair,” *Armenian Review*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (Spr. 1972): 75-80.

²⁴ James Nazer, *The First Genocide of the 20th Century: The Story of the Armenian Massacres in Text and Pictures* (New York: T & T Publishing, 1968), 8.

²⁵ Dickran H. Boyajian, *Armenia: The Case for a Forgotten Genocide* (Westwood, NJ: Educational Book Crafters, 1972), xi. See also the epilogue.

Armenian Nationalism, Political Activism & Violence, 1965-1972

The recent peace between the *ARF*, *Hunchaks*, *Ramgavars* and the Armenian SSR, and the contentious relations between Turkey and the West produced ideal conditions for the Armenian diaspora to build on the momentum created in the wake of the 1965 and to press forward with an aggressive and coordinated political and public relations campaign against Turkey.²⁶

Although there were still unresolved issues among the competing parties in the diaspora, there was also an incentive to hold truce and progress towards a full reconciliation continued.²⁷ The focus on extracting justice from the Turkish enemy, however unrealistic of a goal, instead of intra-Armenian disputed, helped fuel the process of reconciliation. So too did keeping Armenians busy by encouraging the diaspora to actively support and assist the campaign against Turkey where ever and when ever they could, and Armenians took the streets almost immediately.

In the Soviet Union, approximately 5,000 Armenians carried out another demonstration on April 24, 1966.²⁸ While this second demonstration appears to have incurred some displeasure, Moscow did very little to contain rising Armenian nationalism in the Armenian SSR and construction continued on the Armenian Genocide Memorial (Tsitsernakaberd) outside

²⁶ Despite the thaw in relations between the *ARF* and the Soviet Union/Armenian SSR, not all of the *ARF*'s leadership had been reconciled. The editor of the *Armenian Review* at this time, Reuben Darbinian, was a staunch anti-communist and continued to rail against the Soviets and their Armenian allies, until shortly before his death in 1968. By 1967, however, the *ARF* had removed those opposed to the new policies from leadership positions. See Nikola Schahgaldian, "The Political Integration of an Immigrant Community into a Composite Society: The Armenians in Lebanon, 1920-1974," (PhD Diss., Columbia University, 1979), 111; 94-95; Reuben Darbinian, "New Soviet Tactics Among Armenians," *Armenian Review* Vol. 18, No. 4 (Win. 1965): 3-11; Reuben Darbinian, "'New' Solutions to Old Problems," *AR* Vol. 19, No. 1 (Spr. 1966): 3-7; and Michael Bobelian, *Children of Armenia: A Forgotten Genocide and the Century-Long Struggle for Justice* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2009), 117 & 138. For other examples of lingering resistance to the new line during this period, see James Tashjian, "Turkey Returns to the East I," *AR* Vol. 20, No. 1 (Spr. 1967): 3-40; Tashjian, "Turkey Returns to the East II," *AR* Vol. 20, No. 2 (Sum. 1967): 53-67; Dr. P. Papazian, "On Distorting History," *AR* Vol. 22, No. 2 (Sum. 1969): 3-19; Papazian, "On Distorting History II," *AR* Vol. 22, No. 3 (Aut. 1969): 3-17; and Papazian, "On Distorting History III," *AR* Vol. 22, No. 34 (Win. 1969): 3-14. For the political use of anti-Turkishness by Armenians in Lebanon see "Transfer to Rome of Ismail Erez," BEIRUT, November 3, 1970, RG59, SNF, 1970-73, POL & DEF, Box 2639, POL 17 TUR.

²⁷ James Etmekjian, "The Armenian-American Community: Personal Reflections," *Armenian Reporter*, Oct. 24, 1968; Etmekjian, "The Armenian-American Community: Personal Reflections," *AR*, Nov. 21, 1968; "ARF Slate for Lebanese Parliamentary Elections Includes Neutral Leaders," *AR*, March 30, 1972; "New Developments in Church Affairs Brighten Prospects for Armenian Church Unification in U.S.," *AR*, Nov. 23, 1972; "Armenian Historian Calls for End to 'Frustrating Barriers & Prejudices,'" *AR*, Dec. 21, 1972; and "Churches, Parties and Reporting," *AR*, Dec. 21, 1972. See also Schahgaldian, "The Political Integration of an Immigrant Community," 113-114.

²⁸ Tashjian, "Turkey Returns to the East II," 58; and R. H. Dekmejian, "Soviet-Turkish Relations and Politics in the Armenian SSR," *Soviet Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 4 (April 1968): 523.

of Yerevan. The completion of the memorial was even timed to coincide with the 47th anniversary of the Sovietization of Armenia in November 1967.²⁹ A second major monument, this one honoring the Battle of Sardarabad between the Armenian and Ottoman armies in May 1918, was finished in May 1968.³⁰ In the United States, the ARF's external political relations body, the Armenian National Committee of America, continued their efforts to seek sympathetic politicians in Congress, and more than a handful of Congressmen obliged. Joint House Resolution 1151 was introduced by Rep. Arnold Olsen (MT) and Rep. Dominick Daniels (NJ) to formally recognize April 24 as Armenian Martyrs' Day,³¹ and others provided the ARF with a legitimate and distinguished forum in which to publicize their narrative, give their opinion of the "Turk," and seek the compensation owed to them.³² Attention to the Armenian Cause, however, and particularly the Armenian grievances towards Turkey, dropped off precipitously after 1968.

In March 1966, the *ARF* submitted a document, A Memorandum on the Armenian Question by a Delegation of the Armenian Republic, to the U.S. State Department, the Secretariat-General of the United Nations, and other governments, outlining Armenian claims

²⁹ Armen Hakobyan, "The history of the memorial dedicated to the victims of the Armenian Genocide," *Armenian Reporter*, April 26, 2006. See also Hedrick Smith, "Moscow Deftly Allows Armenia Its Nationalism," *New York Times*, Dec. 20, 1971.

³⁰ Schahgaldian, "The Political Integration of an Immigrant Community," 110.

³¹ The Resolution was not passed. See "Steps to Emphasize US interest in, and Friendship for, Turkey," Memorandum from Secretary of State Rogers to President Nixon, FRUS, 1969-1976, Volume XXIX, Eastern Europe, Eastern Mediterranean, 1969-1972, Document 419.

³² Rep. Frank Annunzio (IL), "Armenian Memorial Day," *CR*, April 21, 1966, 8781; Rep. Charles S. Joelson (NJ), "Armenian Massacres in Turkey in 1915," *CR*, April 24, 1966, 8810; Rep. Edward Derwinski (IL), "Turkish Massacre of the Armenian Population," *CR*, April 25, 1966, 8842; Rep. Robert Griffin (MI), "Armenian Martyrs' Day— 1915," *CR*, April 25, 1966, 8913; Rep. Lausche, "Armenian Martyrs' Day," *CR*, May 3, 1966, 9548; Rep. Robert Nix (PA), "Sad Anniversary for Americans of Armenian Descent," *CR*, April 20, 1967, 10449; Rep. Charles Joelson (NJ), "Armenian Massacres of 1915," *CR*, April 24, 1967, 10545-10546; Rep. William L. St. Onge (CT), "Armenian Sacrifice— A Lesson for Today," *CR*, April 24, 1967, A2000; Rep. Frank Annunzio (IL), "Armenian Memorial Day," *CR*, April 24, 1967, A1987-A1988; Sen. William Proxmire (WI), "Anniversary of Massacre of Armenian People Grim Reminder of Senate Failure to Ratify Genocide Convention," *CR*, April 26, 1967, 10905; Rep. Edward Derwinski (IL), "Genocide, The United Nations and the Armenians," August 24, 1967, *CR*, 24044-24048; Rep. Arnold Olsen, "Armenian Martyrs' Day," *CR*, April 24, 1968, 10463-10464; Rep. Charles S. Joelson (NJ), "Armenian Massacres of 1915," *CR*, May 1, 1968, 11374-11375; "Rep. Olsen talks on Armenian Martyrs' Day in the House," *Armenian Reporter*, May 23, 1968; Rep. Edward Derwinski (IL), "Armenian Independence Day," *CR*, May 27, 1968, 15066; Rep. Edward Derwinski (IL), "The 48th Anniversary of the Armenian Revolt Against the Soviets," *CR*, February 21, 1969, 4154; Sen. William Proxmire (WI), "The Armenian Genocide: "Neither to Laugh Nor to Weep," *CR*, April 2, 1970, 10097; Rep. Silvio O. Conte (MA), "Genocide by Turkey," *CR*, May 11, 1971, 14537-14539; Sen. William Proxmire (WI), "The Armenian Genocide," *CR*, July 23, 1971, 26945; Sen. William Proxmire (WI), and "The Armenian Genocide in the Congressional Record," *CR*, September 20, 1972, 31498-31500.

and demands.³³ In January 1967, the *ARF* turned in another memorandum to the United Nations, this time in support of efforts to establish an international tribunal with the authority to investigate and punish instances of genocide.³⁴ That same year, at least two prominent and wealthy Armenian-Americans, Leon Sahagian of the Polo Ground Furniture Company and Dadour Dadourian of the Royal Metal Corporation, had the temerity to write, respectively, to the Vice President of the United States Hubert Humphrey and Secretary of State Dean Rusk to ask that the scheduled visit of the Turkish President Cevdet Sunay in April 1967 be postponed. In their opinion, it was an insult to all Armenian-Americans for the Turkish head of state to visit during their month of mourning.³⁵ When this failed, the *ARF* took out a full page advertisement in the *New York Times* during President Sunay's visit which implored the president to put a solution to the just cause of the "Armenian Case" on the agenda of the United Nations in order for Turkey to "erase the image of the 'barbarous Turk,' documented by history."³⁶ After Sunay returned to Turkey, a second advertisement with a similar message appeared, this time signed by "those remnants who managed to escape the Turkish sword."³⁷

At the grassroots level, the *ARF*, its supporters and other Armenian-Americans took their efforts to the streets in order to answer the call to 'educate' the ignorant West in order to shape political and public opinion and influence the foreign policy of the United States and other countries. High on that agenda was the installation of permanent reminders, and the Armenian diaspora worked to construct a number of monuments designed to commemorate the events of 1915 and honor those who died. In May 1965, what appears to be the first public monument to the 'Armenian Martyrs,' was erected outside of an Armenian retirement facility in

³³ "Memorandum on the Armenian Questions of the Delegation of the Armenian Republic," *Armenian Review*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (Aut. 1966): 3-16; and Rep. Edward Derwinski (IL), "Genocide, The United Nations and the Armenians," August 24, 1967, *CR*, 24048.

³⁴ "Contemporary Documents and Reports," *Armenian Review*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (Spring 1967): 41-45; and Derwinski, "Genocide, The United Nations and the Armenians," 24048.

³⁵ "Letter to the President from Mr. Leon Sahagian regarding the visit of President Sunay of Turkey to the United States," Memorandum for Mr. John E. Reilly, Office of the Vice President, May 5, 1967, RG59, CFPF, 1967-1969, POL & DEF, Box 2548, POL 7; and "Letter from D. Dadourian to Dean Rusk, Sec State," February 23, 1967, RG59, CFPF, 1967-1969, POL & DEF, Box 2552, POL 17 TUR-US. For biographical information see "Dadour Dadourian is Dead at 84; Exporter Helped Armenian Causes," *New York Times*, July 21, 1990.

³⁶ "Letter from the Armenian National Committee of America to Cevdet Sunay, President of Turkey," *New York Times*, April 2, 1967.

³⁷ "An Open Letter and a Plea from Armenian-Americans to His Excellency President Cevdet Sunay of Turkey on the Occasion of His April 1967 Visit to the United States," *New York Times*, April 14, 1967.

Emerson, NJ that explicitly names the ‘Turks’ as the perpetrators.³⁸ A much higher profile victory occurred two and a half years later, in November 1967, when Armenian groups in California won the right to begin construction of an Armenian Genocide Memorial in Montebello, CA, despite considerable opposition. While the monument was allowed, the city council denied Armenian-Americans permission to inscribe the memorial identifying “Turks as being responsible for the massacres of millions of Armenians.”³⁹ The monument was completed in 1968, but would remain controversial for the next few years.⁴⁰ In February 1973, the unveiling of a monument to the Armenian victims of the Turkish massacres of 1915 in Marseilles, and attended by relatively high-ranking French government officials, sparked a diplomatic row and the recall to Ankara of the Turkish Ambassador to France.⁴¹

In order to assist, supplement, compliment and support the *ARF*'s education drive, new Armenian activist groups were formed, including the non-partisan Armenian Assembly, which attempted to find innovative ways to spread Armenian, and Turkish, history. The organization of community lectures, television programs, advanced notice of planned demonstrations, progress reports on the status of the Armenian Cause, and other activities were now evident through their regular coverage in the Armenian-American newspapers.⁴² There were even unsuccessful efforts by Armenian-Americans in California to adapt Werfel's *Forty Days of*

³⁸ “Anti-Turkish Activities by Armenian Americans,” Department of State, Memorandum of Conversation, February 23, 1967, RG59, CFPE, 1967-1969, POL & DEF, Box 2552, POL 17 TUR-US. The Memorial reads: “In Memory of the 2 Million Christian Armenians Massacred by the Turks 1915-1918.”

³⁹ “Construction Begins on Montebello's New Armenian Memorial Monument,” *Armenian Reporter*, November 2, 1967. For a detailed account of the monument's approval see Bobelian, *Children of Armenia*, 128-134.

⁴⁰ “California Martyrs Monument Unveiled,” *Armenian Reporter*, May 9, 1968.

⁴¹ “Turkish Ambassador to France Returns to Ankara Following Unveiling of Armenian Monument in Marseille,” ANKARA 1096, Feb. 13, 1973, NARA, RG 59, SNF, 1970-73, POL & DEF, Box 2639, POL 17 TUR; “Turk FONMIN Addresses Parliament on Recall of Turkish Ambassador to France,” ANKARA 1170, Feb. 15, 1973, NARA, RG 59, SNF, 1970-73, POL & DEF, Box 2639, POL 17 TUR; and “ARMUR— Daily Summary,” Feb. 14, 1973, FBI, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Sec. 1 (725904).

⁴² “Palestinian Discussion Touches on Armenian Question,” *Armenian Reporter*, June 4, 1970; “Pastor Discusses Armenian Genocide,” *AR*, June 4, 1970; “Springfield, Mass. Community Hears Keshishian Discuss the Armenian Question,” *AR*, Dec. 17, 1970; “Picketing in Many Cities Planned for Anniversary of the Massacres: Demonstrations Against Turkish Consulate, Mission Planned in N.Y.C.,” *AR*, April 8, 1971; “Who Now Remembers the Armenians?,” *Armenian Mirror Spectator*, April 17, 1971; “TV Martyrs Panel,” *AMS*, April 24, 1971; “Garden State Will Remember Martyrs,” *AMS*, April 24, 1971; “Panel of Boston Armenian Clergymen Discuss Martyrs, Urge Genocide Bill,” *AMS*, May 1, 1971; “Turkish Student Reacts to Hartunian's Book ‘Neither to Laugh, Nor to Weep,’” *AR*, November 11, 1971; “Martyrs Day Commemorations Slated Throughout the State and the US,” *Armenian Observer*, April 19, 1972; “To Picket LA Turkish Consulate,” *AO*, April 19, 1972; “Meaning and Respect for Martyr's Day Fading?,” *AO*, April 19, 1972; “The Atrocities of 1915,” *AO*, April 26, 1972; “The Pain and the Memory,” *AMS*, April 29, 1972; “Armenian Genocide Discussed at Armenian Historical Research Assn.,” *AR*, March 9, 1972; and “Armenian Assembly Announces 10-point List of Priorities,” *AR*, Dec. 21, 1972.

Musa Dagh into a feature-length film, and thereby bringing one of the most heroic episodes of recent Armenian history to an even broader section of the non-Armenian public.⁴³ Like the ARF, the wider Armenian community also countered any Turkish claims to the contrary and challenged any other accounts differing from the Armenian narrative.⁴⁴ Unfortunately, the education, or re-education, of Armenian-Americans, did not merely ‘inform’ the younger generation, but also served to ‘inflare.’ Very few articles, however, sought to temper the rising nationalist fervor and anti-Turkishness, or advocate a peaceful solution to the Armenian Cause.⁴⁵

In addition to erecting monuments and finding new ways to reach and educate Armenians and non-Armenians alike, the *ARF* and other Armenian organizations used street protests and demonstrations to support their political efforts. Shortly after the submission of the ARF’s second memorandum to the United Nations in January 1967, Armenians demanding the creation of an international tribunal to adjudicate cases of genocide demonstrated in front of the UN’s headquarters in New York. In April, they demonstrated again, this time demanding swift completion of the UN’s efforts to produce an official definition of the term aggression, the lack of which was inhibiting the creation of a genocide tribunal.⁴⁶ Three years later, Armenians returned to New York and marked the 50th anniversary of the Treaty of Sevres with a demonstration in front of the United Nations.⁴⁷ In Beirut in 1970, 20,000 Armenians allegedly protested in front of the courts to voice their anger at the Lebanese government’s decision to sue two Armenian newspapers, *Zartonk* and *Aztag*, for publishing articles accusing the Turkish government of genocide and slandering the Turkish president. The charges were eventually dismissed and representatives of the newspapers hailed as heroes.⁴⁸ April 1971 saw demonstrations of varying size and intensity throughout the Armenian diaspora to

⁴³ “Anti-Turkish Activities in the United States,” Memorandum of Conversation, Jan. 5, 1967, RG59, CFPF, 1967-1969, POL & DEF, Box 2552, POL 17 TUR-US; and “Armenian Question,” Memorandum of Conversation, Jan. 27, 1967, RG59, CFPF, 1967-1969, POL & DEF, Box 2552, POL 17 TUR-US. In 1972, however, a successful stage adaptation was scheduled to take place in Los Angeles after a number of setbacks. See “The Woes of Musa Dagh,” *Armenian Observer*, June 7, 1972.

⁴⁴ “A Need for Scholarly Research,” *Armenian Reporter*, May 15, 1969.

⁴⁵ “56 Years Later,” *Armenian Reporter*, April 22, 1971; “Neither to Laugh Nor to Weep,” *AR*, November 18, 1971; and E. Artin, “Who, What, to Whom,” *Armenian Observer*, April 26, 1972.

⁴⁶ Derwinski, “Genocide, The United Nations and the Armenians,” 24048.

⁴⁷ “50th Anniversary of the Treaty of Sevres,” *Armenian Reporter*, November 12, 1970.

⁴⁸ “Sue Beirut Papers as 20,000 Protest,” *Armenian Mirror Spectator*, May 30, 1970; “Beirut Community Rises in Support of Armenian Dailies, *Zartonk*, *Aztag*,” *AMS*, June 6, 1970; and “Charges Against Two Armenian Dailies Dismissed in Beirut,” *AMS*, July 25, 1970.

commemorate the anniversary of the tragedy: in Yerevan, “hundreds of thousands” made their way to the recently opened Genocide Memorial to pay their respects; schools and shops were closed in Beirut while some 25,000 Armenians participated in a silent march and vandalized the Turkish Tourist Center with graffiti reading “Murderer Turkey;” 1,500 Armenians demonstrated in front of the Turkish Embassy in Ottawa, Canada; 1,500 picketed the Turkish consulate in Los Angeles; over 300 marched in front of the Turkish Embassy in Washington, DC with signs reading “I am an Armenian;” and 100 students carried out a “sit-in” in front of the Turkish Embassy in London.⁴⁹ In 1972, there were demonstrations at the Turkish Embassy in Washington, DC and the Turkish Consulate in Los Angeles, events that had become an anticipated annual event.

At times, however, Armenian political activism strayed from non-violent demonstrations, peaceful protests, civil disobedience and occasional vandalism. While President Sunay’s visit went ahead according to schedule in April 1967, despite the opposition of Armenian-Americans, it was not without incident. In what most likely was the first instance of Armenian violence towards the Turkish Foreign Ministry in over four decades, on April 2, 1967 a bomb exploded near the Turkish Embassy in Washington just prior to the Turkish President’s arrival. While no one was arrested for the attack, primary suspicion fell on the Armenians. The attack received minimal coverage in the U.S., but was widely covered in Turkey and prompted a statement from the Patriarch of the Armenian Church in Istanbul.⁵⁰ Violence erupted again in April 1968, when another bomb was set off next to the Turkish Embassy, followed by telephone threats to the Embassy, and two months later, in June, the Ambassador’s car was covered in a flammable liquid and set on fire. While the Turkish government suspected the involvement of Armenian extremists, the incidents were downplayed in the interests of U.S.-Turkish relations, and were not covered in the press.⁵¹

⁴⁹ “Armenians Here and Abroad Commemorate Martyrs,” *Armenian Mirror Spectator*, May 8, 1971; and Paul Hodge, “Turks Here Picketed by Armenians,” *Washington Post*, April 24, 1971.

⁵⁰ Alfred E. Lewis, “Homemade Bomb is Exploded Behind Turkish Embassy in NW,” *Washington Post*, April 4, 1967; “Turkish President Greeted at White House by Johnson,” *NYT*, April 4, 1967. “Joint WEEKA NO. 14,” ANKARA A628, April 7, 1967, RG59, CFPF, 1967-1969, POL & DEF, Box 2547, POL 2-1; and “Tekin Erer Says Armenians in Turkey are “Good Turks,”” ISTANBUL A108, April 17, 1967, RG59, CFPF, 1967-1969, POL & DEF, Box 2552, POL 17 TUR-US.

⁵¹ “Damage to Turk Ambassador’s Car in Washington,” STATE 14304, Jan. 29, 1969, RG59, CFPF, 1967-1969, POL & DEF, Box 2552, POL 17 TUR-US.

Violence also occurred in broad daylight. During demonstrations in Los Angeles on April 24, 1972, a fight broke out inside the Turkish Consulate General in Los Angeles between Turkish officials and Armenian student activists. After calling in a bomb threat to the Consulate, five to six Armenian activists, including Vartkes Yeghiayan and Gerard Libaridian, managed to push their way through the Los Angeles Police Officers called to the scene and enter the Turkish facility.⁵² Once inside, they confronted the Turkish Consul General Mehmet Baydar with a list of demands while filming the incident, and a physical altercation ensued between the Consul General and the intruders.⁵³ Out on the street, the demonstrators who had not entered the building burned a Turkish figure in effigy.⁵⁴ In October, Armenian-Americans threatened the Mevlana Dance troupe on from Turkey while on a U.S. tour, and disrupted their performances in Los Angeles and Boston.⁵⁵ Finally, on November 4, 1972, over 50 Armenian youths were arrested after they disrupted and harassed the guests at a Turkish-American Society function at a Beverly Hills Hotel to celebrate Turkish National Day.⁵⁶ The demonstration was organized and sponsored by the ARF's Armenian Youth Federation (*AYF*) and many of the organization's members were part of the group arrested.⁵⁷

The increased activity and aggression prompted a rare editorial in one of the leading Armenian-American newspapers in California, which admonished the current Armenian-American leadership for instigating the increasingly tense atmosphere between Armenians and Turks. The author lamented that “generation after generation of the Armenians tell their young people to hate the Turks,” and argued that it was time for the “holy-war-attitude” and the “diabolic game that our [Armenian] dilettante intellectuals and naïve editors have been playing

⁵² Bobelian, 138.

⁵³ “Demonstrations by Armenian-American Groups,” Memorandum of Conversation, April 25, 1972, RG59, SNF, 1970-73, POL & DEF, Box 2639, POL 17 TUR.

⁵⁴ “Turkish Consulate Demonstration,” *Armenian Observer*, April 26, 1972.

⁵⁵ “Conversation with Foreign Minister Bayulken RE Murder of Turkish Diplomats in Santa Barbara,” ANKARA 646, Jan. 28, 1973, NARA, RG 59, SNF, 1970-73, POL & DEF, Box 2639, POL 17 TUR; and “Murder of Turk Consular Officers,” STATE 16576, Jan. 29, 1973, NARA, RG 59, SNF, 1970-73, POL & DEF, Box 2639, POL 17 TUR.

⁵⁶ “Murder of Turk Consular Officers,” STATE 16576, Jan. 29, 1973, NARA, RG 59, SNF, 1970-73, POL & DEF, Box 2639, POL 17 TUR.

⁵⁷ “Gourgen Mkrtich Yanikian,” FBI, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Section 3 (725906), 537, 559, 561-562, 574, 582, 587; “Gourgen Mkrtich Yanikian,” March 1, 1973, FBI, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Section 5 (725908).

for decades” to stop.⁵⁸ It appears, however, that few in the Armenian community listened. Not only was there a scathing rebuttal in the paper two weeks later, but, according to the Turkish Embassy in Washington, Armenian activists were already planning to disrupt an Eid-el-Fitr gathering of the Turkish-American Club at the Encino Hilton Hotel in Los Angeles on the evening of January 27, 1973.⁵⁹ Unfortunately, they were not aware of the activities of a deranged and delusional Armenian-American senior citizen who was carrying out extensive planning and preparations for a far more sinister event for the same day: the murder of the Turkish Consul General in Santa Barbara, California.

The tremendous upsurge in academic, literary, political, and grassroots activism on behalf of the Armenian Cause did not translate into much publicity at the national level, however, at least in the United States. Articles in *The New York Times*, the *Los Angeles Times* and the *Washington Post* were few and far between after the initial interest brought on by the 50th anniversary. Between 1965 and 1969, there were only two articles in *The New York Times* even tangentially concerned with the Armenian Question, both of which dealt only with the plight of Armenians in Soviet Armenia, although one of the two did offer a sentence about the massacres of 1915.⁶⁰ The Armenians would not make the pages of *The New York Times* again, however, until November 1970, when an article prompted by the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic detailed the fate of Armenians since the late 19th century.⁶¹ The article drew three letters to the editors, one of which from Vahakn Dadrian who, while somewhat satisfied by the article, took offense to the author’s use of the word “deportation” to describe an event which clearly Lepsius and Morgenthau believed to be genocide. A letter promptly followed from a Turkish reader who criticized, among other points

⁵⁸ William K. Yakoubian, “Armenian-Turkish Rapprochement,” *Armenian Observer*, Jan. 10, 1973. For anti-Turkishness among Californian Armenian-Americans see also: “Gourgen Mkrtych Yanikian,” FBI, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Section 3 (725906), 539.

⁵⁹ Garbis Balekjian, “Letters to the Editor: Comments on Yakoubian’s Article,” *Armenian Observer*, Jan. 31, 1973; and “Memorandum,” Embassy of the Republic of Turkey, Jan. 19, 1973, NARA, RG 59, SNF, 1970-73, POL & DEF, Box 2639, POL 17 TUR.

⁶⁰ “A Queens Family Happy in Armenia,” *New York Times*, April 6, 1969; and Henry Kamm, “Church Focal Point of Dispersed Armenians,” *NYT*, April 7, 1969.

⁶¹ C.L. Sulzberger, “The People God Forgot,” *New York Times*, Nov. 29, 1970.

in the general narrative, the author's "almost Victorian emphasis on Christianity (with a hint of superiority)" and his "equally old-fashioned Turcophobia."⁶²

In 1971, the *Washington Post* reported on Armenian preparations to protest the Turkish Embassy, with a brief explanation as to their reasons, and an article on rising nationalism in Soviet Armenia,⁶³ while 1972 saw the publication of one letter to the editor in the *Los Angeles Times* from George, Dean & Doug Dulgarian, who detailed the horrors of 1915 for the newspaper's readers.⁶⁴ In sum, seven years of political and grassroots activism on the part of the ARF and Armenians in the United States garnered five minor articles in the national press, and four letters to the editors, one of which was written by a major participant and contributor to the Armenian nationalist movement. Outside of the United States Congress then, efforts to educate the 'ignorant' West, at least through 1972, can be categorized as an abject failure. It was clear that a new approach, or strategy, was necessary to bring awareness and sympathy for the Armenian Cause to non-Armenians.

The Turkish Reaction

While rising Armenian nationalism and aggression fell on deaf ears in the West, the Turkish government paid very close attention. Ironically, the widely held belief in Turkey, particularly in the recollection of the government officials who were directly impacted by Armenian political violence during this period, or who were tasked with countering the attacks, is that before 1973 very little was known about the history of Armenians inside Turkey, or the political grievances of the Armenian diaspora. Many, in fact, had grown up with Armenian childhood friends during the first three decades of the Turkish Republic, and claim they were completely shocked by the Armenian violence and assassinations that targeted themselves, their families, friends, and colleagues. While they believe this to be true, the fact is that the Turkish government was keenly aware of a potential conflict brewing with elements within the Armenian diaspora in the latter half of the 1960s and early 1970s.

⁶² Vahagn Dadrian, "The People Mankind Forgot," *New York Times*, Dec. 27, 1970; and Metin Ibrahim Kunt, "Turcophobia: Tool of Imperialism," *NYT*, Jan. 18, 1971. See also Knarig K. Meyer, "Letter to the Editor: Bloody History of Armenia," *NYT*, Dec. 9, 1970.

⁶³ Paul Hodge, "Turks Here Picketed by Armenians," *Washington Post*, April 24, 1971; and Hedrick Smith, "Moscow Deftly Allows Armenia Its Nationalism," *New York Times*, Dec. 20, 1971.

⁶⁴ George, Dean and Doug Dulgarian, "Letter to the Editor: Remembering the Armenian Massacre," *Los Angeles Times*, April 22, 1972.

Turkey and its citizens noticed the growing animosity within the Armenian diaspora by late March 1965, when the Turkish press provided extensive coverage to the Armenian Question both before and after the 50th Anniversary demonstrations. There is evidence, however, that the Turkish government noticed even earlier. Reports to Ankara on Armenian efforts to organize a major demonstration in April 1965 go back as far as December 1964, and the looming anti-Turkish demonstrations were even mentioned by the Greek Cypriot representative to the United Nations in January 1965.⁶⁵ Nearly a month before the events in Beirut, the Turkish government allegedly contacted the Lebanese government to protest the planned demonstrations, but was rebuffed by the Lebanese Foreign Minister.⁶⁶ On April 28, 1965, just a few days after the demonstrations, a memorandum was sent from the Turkish Prime Minister's Office to the Foreign Ministry's posts abroad with instructions to be on the alert for Armenian activity in their respective countries, even though it was believed that unnamed foreign powers were stoking Armenian resentment and nationalism for their own aims.⁶⁷

The following year, on April 13, 1966, the Foreign and Interior Ministries requested a presidential decree to ban three books and two brochures written by Armenians on the events of 1915, even though four of the publications were not written in Turkish. The decree was issued less than a month later, on May 3, 1966.⁶⁸ The Turkish Foreign Ministry also closely watched the ARF's efforts in the United Nations in January 1967, Armenian-American efforts to obtain permission for a memorial monument in Montebello, California, efforts to bring *The Forty Days of Musa Dagh* to the screen, Armenian provocations during President Sunay's visit in April 1967, and the increasingly larger anti-Turkish demonstrations taking place in front of Turkish facilities and elsewhere.⁶⁹ On at least one occasion, the Turkish Ambassador to the United

⁶⁵ "Bazı Yabancı Memleketlerde Müfrit Ermeni Teşekkülleri Tarafından Tertiplenen Kampanya [Campaign Organized by Extremist Armenian Organizations in Some Foreign Countries]," April 28, 1965, Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü Cumhuriyet Arşivi, 03001643959.

⁶⁶ "Joint Weeka No. 13," BEIRUT A819, April 2, 1965, NARA, RG 59, CFPF, 1964-1966, POL & DEF, Box 2432, POL 2-1 LEB.

⁶⁷ "Bazı Yabancı Memleketlerde Müfrit Ermeni Teşekkülleri Tarafından Tertiplenen Kampanya," April 28, 1965, Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü Cumhuriyet Arşivi, 03001643959.

⁶⁸ "Karaname," May 3, 1966, T.C. Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi, 050180102155327. Four of the five publications banned were written in Arabic, Armenian, Greek, English, and French.

⁶⁹ "Anti-Turkish Activities in the United States," Memorandum of Conversation, January 5, 1967, NARA, RG 59, CFPF, 1967-1969, POL & DEF, Box, 2552, POL 17 TUR-US; "Proposed Armenian Monument at Montebello," Memorandum of Conversation, January 19, 1967, NARA, RG 59, CFPF, 1967-1969, POL & DEF, Box, 2552, POL 17 TUR-US; "Armenian Question," January 27, 1967, NARA, RG 59, CFPF, 1967-1969, POL & DEF, Box, 2552, POL 17 TUR-US; B.M. Azınlıklar Alt Komitesinde <<Ermenistan Halkı>> Adına Yapılan İddialar [Claims

States, Melih Esenbel, expressed his “great concern and deep regret” that “Armenian-Americans were in recent years conducting a systematic campaign against Turkey,” in addition to his dissatisfaction with the public statements of certain elected officials in the United States.⁷⁰

The Turkish government and public were also understandably concerned over the bombing incident at the Turkish Embassy in Washington in April 1967 and the attacks and threats in April and June 1968 in which they believed an “Armenian extremist element” was involved.⁷¹ In 1969, Ankara also made clear its concern over the resolution introduced in Congress to recognize April 24 as “Armenian Martyrs Day” to U.S. Secretary of State William P. Rogers.⁷² Likewise, the Turkish government monitored the case against the Armenian newspapers *Zartonk* and *Aztag* in Lebanon.⁷³ In 1971, Armenian agitation had reached the point where the Turkish Foreign Ministry felt it necessary to invite a guest speaker to Ankara to give a lecture on the Armenian Question in English and published an internal document laying out the history of the Armenian Question in order to educate and inform its diplomatic corps.⁷⁴

made on Behalf of the “Armenian People” to the UN Subcommittee on Minorities], *Dişışleri Bakanlığı Belleteni*, Sayı 28, (31 Ocak 1967): 22-23; Ermeni Asıllı Amerikalıların Montebello’da Dikmek İstedikleri Abide [Armenian Americans want a monument in Montebello], *Dişışleri Bakanlığı Belleteni*, Sayı 28, (31 Ocak 1967): 46-47; “Türkiye Ermeniler Patriği’nin Beyanâtı [Declaration of the Armenian Patriarch in Turkey],” *Dişışleri Bakanlığı Belleteni*, Sayı 29, (Şubat 1967): 14-15; Türkiye Ermenileri Patriğinin Demeci [Statement of the Armenian Patriarch in Turkey], *Dişışleri Bakanlığı Belleteni*, Sayı 31, (Nisan 1967): 18; “Marine Band Participation in Armenian Commemorative Service,” Memorandum of Conversation, April 20, 1971, RG59, SNF, 1970-73, POL & DEF, Box 2639, POL 17 TUR; “Pressure Forces Cancellation of Participation of Marine Corp Unit in Calif. Commemorative Program,” *Armenian Reporter*, May 6, 1971; and “Communication to Governor Whitcomb Concerning an Indiana Proclamation on Armenian Independence Day,” Memorandum for Brig. Gen. John M. Dunn, Office of the Vice President, Nov. 1, 1972, RG59, SNF, 1970-73, CUL & INF, Box 378, CUL-TUR.
⁷⁰ “Anti-Turkish Activities by Armenian Americans,” Memorandum of Conversation, February 23, 1967, NARA, RG 59, CFPF, 1967-1969, POL & DEF, Box, 2552, POL 17 TUR-US; Ambassador Esenbel also, however, expressed his personal opinion that the Greeks were behind the rise of Armenian nationalism and their anti-Turkish behavior.

⁷¹ “Joint WEEKA NO. 14,” ANKARA A628, April 7, 1967, NARA, RG 59, CFPF, 1967-1969, POL & DEF, Box, 2547, POL 2-1;; “Tekin Erer Says Armenians in Turkey are “Good Turks”,” ISTANBUL A108, April 17, 1967, NARA, RG 59, CFPF, 1967-1969, POL & DEF, Box, 2552, POL 17 TUR-US; and “Damage to Turk Ambassador’s Car in Washington,” STATE 14304, January 29, 1969, NARA, RG 59, CFPF, 1967-1969, POL & DEF, Box, 2552, POL 17 TUR-US.

⁷² “Steps to Emphasize US interest in, and Friendship for, Turkey,” Memorandum from Secretary of State Rogers to President Nixon, *FRUS*, 1969-1976, Volume XXIX, Eastern Europe, Eastern Mediterranean, 1969-1972, Document 419.

⁷³ Beirut’teki İki Ermeni Gazetesi Aleyhine Açılan Dava [Lawsuit filed against two Armenian newspapers in Beirut], *Dişışleri Bakanlığı Belleteni*, Sayı 68-69 (Mayıs-Haziran 1970): 26; and Beirut’teki Basın Davasının Sonucu [Result of Beirut Media Case], *Dişışleri Bakanlığı Belleteni*, Sayı 70-71 (Temmuz-Ağustos 1970): 16.

⁷⁴ “Where is the Truth?: Text of a Lecture Delivered at the Diplomatic Academy in Ankara in January 1971 on the Subject of Armenian Demonstrations Throughout the World,” publisher unknown, date unknown; and Enver Ziya Karal, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Ermeni Meselesi [The Armenian Question in the Ottoman Empire],” *Dişışleri Akademisi Yayınları*: Sayı 15. Ankara, 1971. These documents were retrieved from a private collection of Turkish Foreign Ministry papers.

In wake of the physical altercation involving Armenian activists, the Turkish Consul General of Los Angeles, Mehmet Baydar, and the Los Angeles Police Department, Ankara officially raised concerns over the lack of protection from Armenian extremists provided by the U.S. Government, particularly concerned that Armenians had been able to force their way into the Consulate with local police on hand.⁷⁵ Unsurprisingly, the Turkish Consul General in Chicago sought permission to arm himself and two staff members, albeit under the pretext of threats from Turkish terrorists. Mr. Rodger P. Davies, the Deputy Assistant Secretary for the Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs was against allowing Turkish diplomats to arm themselves, arguing that Turkish terrorists posed little danger to Turkish diplomats in the United States, and the potential clash of Armenian activists and armed Turkish diplomats “might lead to disastrous consequences.”⁷⁶ Mr. Davies, however, was only partially correct in his assessment. While a clash between an Armenian activist and Turkish diplomats did indeed lead to disastrous consequences, it is now clear that Armenian activists cared very little about whether or not their targets were men, women or children, let alone whether or not possessed the capacity to defend themselves.

Gourgen Yanikian and the Legacy of Soghomon Tehlirian

On January 27, 1973, the Armenian cause took a turn to violence that would persist for over two decades. On that day, Mehmet Baydar, the Turkish General Consul of Los Angeles, and Bahadır Demir, the Vice Consul, were murdered in a hotel cottage in Santa Barbara, California by a 73-year old retired Armenian named Gourgen Yanikian who shot and killed them both at point-blank range. Depressed, despondent, bankrupt and with nothing lose, Yanikian had first contemplated suicide, before devising an elaborate plan involving the promise of a painting stolen from the Ottoman palace and a bank note featuring the signatures of prominent Turkish political figures and revolutionaries, to lure Baydar and Demir to the hotel room where they

⁷⁵ “Demonstrations by Armenian-American Groups,” Memorandum of Conversation, April 25, 1972, RG59, SNF, 1970-73, POL & DEF, Box 2639, POL 17 TUR; “Renewed Demarche on Demonstrations by Armenian-American Groups,” Memorandum of Conversation, May 2, 1972, RG59, SNF, 1970-73, POL & DEF, Box 2639, POL 17 TUR; and “Denouement of April 24 Incident in Los Angeles,” Memorandum of Conversation, June 6, 1972, RG59, SNF, 1970-73, POL & DEF, Box 2639, POL 17 TUR.

⁷⁶ “Weapons Licenses Sought by Turkish Consular Personnel,” Memorandum of Conversation, June 6, 1972, RG59, SNF, 1970-73, POL & DEF, Box 2639, POL 17 TUR.

were assassinated.⁷⁷ He then called the police, reported the murders, and sat down calmly to wait for the police to arrive. Yanikian had every intention of being caught and to make an attempt to turn his legal proceedings into a means through which to both publicize the Armenian version of the events in eastern Anatolia in 1915 and to indict the Turkish government for these crimes.⁷⁸ Yanikian plead “not guilty” to murder, and argued that he did not kill two men, but rather “destroyed two evils,” and exhibited no remorse for the taking of these innocent lives.⁷⁹ In fact, he declared: “they [Turks] are for me not—like human;” and described them as the “murderous monsters on the Bosphorous.”⁸⁰

To make sure that both he and the incident received the attention he believed it deserved, Yanikian mailed a 120-page manifesto to numerous politicians, leaders, and news agencies, including President Nixon, and mailed out over 400 letters to Armenians around the world.⁸¹ In these documents, Yanikian called on Armenians to wage war on Turkey and all civil servants of the Turkish government: “All the representatives of the so-called Turkish government should be eliminated from this earth where ever they appear to represent their government. We should not have any relations with the Turkish race. We hate them...”⁸² Yanikian’s actions, however, were far from unique. In fact, his murder of the Turkish diplomats, submission to the police and attempt to put the Turkish government on trial was nearly a flawless reenactment of the most famous ARF assassination of the twentieth century carried out by the Armenian hero, Soghomon Tehlirian in 1921.⁸³ Additionally, Yanikian’s actions underscored the tremendous

⁷⁷ Mehmet Baydar to Yanikian, Library of Congress, African & Middle Eastern Reading Room, Spurk Archive, Folder 13; “Conversation with Foreign Minister Bayulken RE Murder of Turkish Diplomats in Santa Barbara,” ANKARA 646, January 28, 1973, NARA, RG 59, SNF, 1970-73, POL & DEF, Box 2639, POL 17 TUR; and Bobelian, 143, 147-148.

⁷⁸ Bobelian, 148-149; “Armenian Denies Killing 2,” *New York Times*, January 31, 1973; and “Yanikian Held in Two Turkish Consulate Officials Slayings in Santa Barbara,” *Armenian Observer*, January 31, 1973.

⁷⁹ “Gourgen Myrtich Yanikian,” FBI, January 28, 1973, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Section 1 (725904); YT, 621; “Armenian Denies Killing 2,” *New York Times*, January 31, 1973; “Yanikian Held in Two Turkish Consulate Officials Slayings in Santa Barbara,” *Armenian Observer*, January 31, 1973; and “Gourgen Yanikian Trial Winding Up,” *AO*, June 27, 1973; and Bobelian, 160.

⁸⁰ YT, 622; and “Gourgen Mkrtych Yanikian,” August 7, 1973, FBI, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Section 8 (725911);

⁸¹ “Gourgen Myrtich “Yanikian;” FBI, Jan. 28, 1973, FBI, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Section 1 (725904); and “ARMUR,” May 27, 1973, FBI, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Section 8 (725911).

⁸² “Yanikian Declares War, Asks Others to Follow on Eve of Double Slaying,” *California Courier*, February 1, 1973; and “ARMUR,” May 25, 1973, FBI, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Section 8 (725911).

⁸³ Bobelian, 153.

success of the diaspora's anti-Turkish campaign and the darker side of a culture that venerated and honored historical acts of violence against Turks.⁸⁴

On March 15, 1921, Tehlirian shot and killed Talaat Pasha, the man most Armenians believed authored the massacres and relocation policies of 1915, in broad daylight on a busy street in Berlin. Tehlirian was promptly subdued by a crowd of onlookers and subsequently arrested and imprisoned. Planned and coordinated by the *ARF* in Boston, Talaat's assassination was, however, only the first of many in an operation known as Nemesis. Through April 1922, Armenians operating in Istanbul, Berlin, Rome, and Tiflis assassinated a number of other prominent former Ottoman officials, including Cemal Pasha, along with Armenians branded as traitors and collaborators. The success of Operation Nemesis became legendary within the Armenian diaspora but, primarily because of his target and eventual acquittal and release for the crime, however, Tehlirian remains the most famous of these *ARF* assassins. While most of the *ARF* agents involved in the Nemesis have been recognized in various laudatory statements, articles, biographies or court transcripts,⁸⁵ it is the story of Soghomon Tehlirian that truly captivated, and continues to fascinate, the Armenian diaspora.⁸⁶ In English alone, Tehlirian is the subject of at least three books, one film, one Master's thesis and numerous articles, many of which were published prior to the Yanikian murders.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ Panossian, 226-228.

⁸⁵ "Shiragian, 73, Dies; An Armenian Hero," *New York Times*, April 16, 1973; "Avenger's Day Set for this Saturday," *Armenian Observer*, March 20, 1974; "Acts of Justice: Bringing the Turk Massacrist to Bay," *Armenian Weekly*, April 17, 1975; "How Arshavir Shiragian and Aram Yerganian Disposed of Behaeddin Shakir, Djemal Azmi," *AW*, April 17, April 24, May 1, May 8, May 15, 1975; "Acts of Justice: Bringing Turk Massacrist to Bay," *AW*, May 22, 1975; "Nemesis Series: Shiragian Smites Said Halim," *AW*, May 29, 1975; "The 'Forgotten Assassination' of Djemal Pasha; Who Did it, How, Where it Happened," *AW*, June 6, 1975; "Was Enver Pasha Killed by an Armenian? The Suggestion is There," *AW*, July 10, 1975; *Shiragian, The Legacy*; "The Avenging Fists," *AW*, April 26, 1980; "Missak Torlakian Memorial Tombstone Revealed," *AW*, Sept. 27, 1980; "Justice to the People of Ararat," *Armenian Reporter*, April 8, 1982; and Vartkes Yeghiayan and Ara Arabyan, *The Case of Misak Torlakian* (Glendale, CA: Center for Armenian Remembrance, 2006).

⁸⁶ "Eric Bogosian Discusses Career, Tehlirian Project," *Asbarez*, March 14, 2012.

⁸⁷ "Saro Melikian, Armenian Hero," *New York Times*, May 26, 1960; Sarkis Atamian, "Soghomon Tehlirian (Part I)," *Armenian Review*, Vol. 13, No. 3 (Aut. 1960): 40-51; Atamian, "Soghomon Tehlirian II," *AR* Vol. 14, No. 1 (Win. 1961): 10-21; Atamian, "Soghomon Tehlirian III," *AR* Vol. 14, No. 2 (Spr. 1961): 16-36; Atamian, "Soghomon Tehlirian IV," *AR* Vol. 14, No. 3 (Sum. 1961): 44-49; Setrak Pakhtikian, "I knew Soghomon Tehlirian," *AR* Vol. 15, No. 2 (Sum. 1962): 16-23; Lindy V. Avakian, *The Cross and the Crescent* (Phoenix, AZ: UCS Press, 1989) [Originally published: Los Angeles, CA: De Vorss, 1965]; Edward Alexander, *A Crime of Vengeance: An Armenian Struggle for Justice* (New York: The Free Press, 1991); Vartkes Yeghiayan, *The Case of Soghomon Tehlirian* (Glendale, CA: Center for Armenian Remembrance, 2006); *Assignment Berlin*, directed by Hrayr Toukhanian, 1982; and Sarah Vartabedian, "Commemoration of an Assassin: Representing the Armenian Genocide," (MA, Thesis, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, 2007).

Although Tehlirian may have published his memoirs in Armenian in approximately 1958,⁸⁸ his reappearance in English sources occurred at the time of his death in California in May 1960. Under the name of Saro Melikian, his obituary appeared in both the *New York Times* and *The Times* of London, and both articles reaffirmed his heroic status as the avenger of the Armenian people for the crimes of 1915.⁸⁹ Shortly thereafter, a multi-part series on the life of Soghomon Tehlirian appeared in the *Armenian Review*, and was followed by another article in the same journal in 1962.⁹⁰ The first book detailing and glorifying Tehlirian's role in the assassination of Talaat, and the righteousness of his cause, coincided with the 50th anniversary of 1915 and was published in 1965 by Lindy Avakian, an Armenian-American in California, who had known Tehlirian personally.⁹¹ In 1969 a monument was erected in a Fresno, California cemetery to commemorate Tehlirian's life and the contributions and sacrifices he made to the Armenian nation.

More important than the actual assassination of Talaat and the realization of Armenian vengeance, however, was Tehlirian's acquittal by the Berlin court and, by extension, the court's sanctioning of the murder. His trial began on June 2, 1921 and lasted only two days. He admitted openly that he shot and killed Talaat and never showed any remorse for the crime: "It is not I who am the murderer. It is he [Talaat],"⁹² and maintained that his "conscience was clean."⁹³ In fact, in one of his earliest statements, he declared "it fills me with happiness to know that when my compatriots hear of his death they will be proud of the deed of their fellow-countryman."⁹⁴ The key to his defense was that he had been compelled to murder Talaat, whom he had only accidentally discovered in Berlin, by an apparition of his murdered mother.⁹⁵ In this vision, his mother's corpse rose up from the ground and stated: "You know that Talaat Pasha is

⁸⁸ Yeghiayan, *The Case of Soghomon Tehlirian*, xviii.

⁸⁹ "Saro Melikian, Armenian Hero. Assassin of Ex-Grand Vizier of Turkey in 1921 Dies—Avenged Massacres," *New York Times*, May 26, 1960; and "Saro Melikian," *The Times*, May 27, 1960.

⁹⁰ Sarkis Atamian, "Soghomon Tehlirian: A Portrait of Immortality I," *Armenian Review* Vol. 13, No. 3 (1960): 40-51; Atamian, "Soghomon Tehlirian: A Portrait of Immortality II," *AR* Vol. 13, No. 4 (1961): 15-20; Atamian, "Soghomon Tehlirian: A Portrait of Immortality III," *AR* Vol. 14, No. 1 (1961); and Setrak Pakhitikian, "I Knew Soghomon Tehlirian," *AR* Vol. 15 No. 2 (1962): 24-29.

⁹¹ Avakian, *The Cross and the Crescent*.

⁹² "Assassin Boasts of Talaat's death: 'It is Not I Who Am the Murderer It is He,' Says Young Armenian," *New York Times*, March 17, 1921.

⁹³ "Says Mother's Ghost Ordered Him to Kill," *New York Times*, June 3, 1921.

⁹⁴ "Assassin Boasts of Talaat's death," *New York Times*, March 17, 1921.

⁹⁵ "Says Mother's Ghost Ordered Him to Kill," *New York Times*, June 3, 1921.

here. You are utterly indifferent. You are therefore not my son.”⁹⁶ He claimed it was only after this scolding from his mother’s ghost that he undertook the preparations necessary to murder Talaat.

Critical to convincing the court and the jury that Tehlirian could not resist the commands of his mother, and therefore suffered from a form of temporary insanity, was the trauma he suffered from personally witnessing the massacre of his entire family and village in Erzincan in 1915. The narration of his unspeakable and horrific experience captivated the courtroom and the press and was the critical turning point in the trial.⁹⁷ With extreme difficulty, Tehlirian described the fateful day in June 1915 when he and his family were deported from their homes in Erzincan. Only a short while after they started out, Ottoman gendarmes attacked the refugee column. He saw his sister pulled away and raped, his mother shot and killed, his brother’s head split open with an axe, and lost sight of his father. He himself was wounded and knocked unconscious and when he awoke, two days later, he was underneath a pile of corpses, including that of his brother. Whenever he recalled this terrible experience later in life, the smell of the corpses returned and induced dizzy spells. As far as he could tell, he was the only survivor of the attack.⁹⁸ Two of the medical experts called in testify on Tehlirian’s physical and mental condition agreed that a trauma of this magnitude left him in a state where he was not in complete control of his actions.⁹⁹

In order to support Tehlirian’s account, a story about which even his defense attorney “had doubts as to whether or not the gentlemen of the jury would believe the defendant’s testimony,” a number of acquaintances, other survivors and eyewitnesses, including Johannes Lepsius, were called to court to testify. Tehlirian’s acquaintances described a depressed, melancholy, haunted young man who suffered from physical torment, including seizures and fainting spells, caused by the events he had experienced. The survivors, eyewitnesses and

⁹⁶ Ibid. See also *The Trial of Soghomon Tehlirian* at http://cilicia.com/armo_tehlirian.html; “The Avenger of Blood. Why Talaat Pasha was Shot,” *The Times*, June 3, 1921; and “Armenian Acquitted for Killing Talaat: Defense Introduces Accounts of Grand Vizier’s Brutality in Conducting Massacres,” *New York Times*, June 4, 1921; Derogy, *Resistance*, xxiii-xxiv; and Sarah Vartabedian, “Commemoration of an Assassin: Representing the Armenian Genocide,” 2.

⁹⁷ Bobelian, *Children*, 63; and Derogy, *Resistance*, 87.

⁹⁸ *The Trial of Soghomon Tehlirian*; “The Avenger of Blood. Why Talaat Pasha was Shot,” *The Times*, June 3, 1921; “Says Mother’s Ghost Ordered Him to Kill,” *New York Times*, June 3, 1921; Alexander, *Crime*, 69-70; Balakian, *Burning Tigris*, location 5963; Vartabedian, “Commemoration,” 2; and Power, *Problem from Hell*, 3-4.

⁹⁹ Alexander, *Crime*, 185; Vartkes Yeghiayan, *The Case of Soghomon Tehlirian*, xxix; and “The Ghost Real in Its Way,” *New York Times*, June 4, 1921.

Lepsius corroborated Tehlirian's description of the massacres by relating their own accounts of the events in eastern Anatolia. Furthermore, Talaat's responsibility for the massacres was addressed throughout the trial and it was clear that the Armenian community held him personally accountable for the events. The trial of Soghomon Tehlirian for the assassination of Talaat quickly turned into the trial of Talaat for the events of 1915.¹⁰⁰

In the closing arguments, familiar racist generalizations about Turks were heard: "It is well known that wherever the Turks have set foot, they have carried a bloody flag with them." References were made to the death sentence handed down to Talaat by the Ottoman court-martial in attempt to validate Tehlirian's act, and he was presented to the jury as "the avenger of his people, of the one million Armenians who were killed. He is the one man who is standing up to the author of those massacres; he is facing the man responsible for the annihilation of his people." In fact, the defense attorneys advised the jury to consider Tehlirian as simply an executioner who carried out a sanctioned death sentence.¹⁰¹ In the end, Tehlirian's personal tragedy, the testimony of the minority of the medical experts, the tales of other atrocities, and the defense teams' persuasive arguments convinced the jury. After only a few hours of deliberation, they returned a verdict of "Not Guilty."¹⁰²

The response to the Berlin's court decision among the Armenian observers in the courtroom and within the wider diaspora was one of euphoria, satisfaction and gratification.¹⁰³ The Armenians had struck back, and the justice promised to them by the Allies in May 1915, but initially denied, had been carried out. Tehlirian instantly became a national hero and a revered figure within the Armenian diaspora, and was their honored guest throughout the world in 1922.¹⁰⁴ The Armenian authors Vartkes Yeghiayan and Edward Alexander both describe scenes of awe when their respective fathers met Soghomon Tehlirian in person for the first time, and in Donald Miller's oral history of the Armenian survivors he quotes one interviewee who points to a picture of Tehlirian and exclaims: "I would have done it myself, believe me... I look

¹⁰⁰ *The Case of Soghomon Tehlirian*; "Says Mother's Ghost Ordered Him to Kill," *New York Times*, June 3, 1921; "Armenian Acquitted for Killing Talaat," *NYT*, June 4, 1921; Avakian, *Cross*, 160-204; Bobelian, *Children*, 63; and Chaliand, *Armenians*, 93-94

¹⁰¹ Yeghiayan, *The Case of Soghomon Tehlirian*, 153-154.

¹⁰² "Armenian Acquitted for Killing Talaat," *New York Times*, June 4, 1921; and "Talaat's Assailant Acquitted. Armenians' Sufferings," *The Times*, June 4, 1921.

¹⁰³ "Talaat's Assailant Acquitted. Armenians' Sufferings," *The Times*, June 4, 1921; Alexander, *Crime*, 187; and Derogy, *Resistance*, xxiv

¹⁰⁴ Avakian, 246; Derogy, 103; and Vartabedian, 7.

at this picture each and every day for inspiration.”¹⁰⁵ The court’s decision validated and justified murder as an acceptable means for the Armenian community to seek justice and revenge.

After the successful assassination of Talaat, Tehlirian’s acquittal, and the apparent backing of the international community that the verdict symbolized, the ARF proceeded with their violent campaign against the former members of the CUP: Behbud Khan Cevahir, Said Halim, Bahattin Şakir, Cemal Azmi, Cemal Pasha, Nusret and Sureyya were all murdered by various agents of the Nemesis operation.¹⁰⁶ Only one other member of Nemesis, Missak Torlakian, was arrested and brought to trial. After relating his own tale of tragedy and trauma, he too was acquitted on grounds of temporary insanity for the murder of Behbud Khan Cevahir, primarily on the opinions of Greek, Armenian and British doctors.¹⁰⁷ All of the agents who participated in the assassinations were lionized as great Armenians.

For a man like Gourgen Yanikian, therefore, the path to the adulation he craved was clear. In fact, Yanikian not only read Avakian’s book on Tehlirian, but he had contacted the author to laud the quality of the content in 1967, met with him on at least one occasion in 1968, and possessed an autographed copy of the book.¹⁰⁸ The connection between the Tehlirian story and the Yanikian murders was brought to the attention of the FBI by the Santa Barbara District Attorney’s Office, which had been provided a copy of the book by Yanikian’s defense attorney. The FBI’s efforts to interview Avakian proved unproductive, however, when the author refused to cooperate in the investigation, but he placed Yanikian in the same category as the Nemesis operatives in a full page editorial he wrote just prior to the start of Yanikian’s trial.¹⁰⁹ Interestingly, Yanikian himself was evasive when cross-examined about his knowledge of Tehlirian during his trial, but in an interview three years after the attack Yanikian admitted his

¹⁰⁵ Yeghiayan, xix-xx; Alexander, 205-206; and Donald Miller and Lorna Touryan Miller, *Survivors: An Oral History of the Armenian Genocide* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993): 166.

¹⁰⁶ “Turks Enraged. British Court-Martial Acquits Armenian,” *The Times*, November 11, 1921; “Ex-Grand Vizier Murdered. Prince Said Halim’s Career,” *The Times*, December 7, 1921; “Two Young Turks Murdered in Berlin,” *New York Times*, April 19, 1922; “Jemal Pasha Dead. Shot in Tiflis. Tyrant of Syria,” *The Times*, July 26, 1922; “Djemal Pasha, Fugitive, Assassinated in Tiflis; Condemned as Author of Armenian Massacres,” *NYT*, July 26, 1922; “One After Another,” *NYT*, July 27, 1922; Ömer Engin Lütem, *Armenian Terror*, 14; and Alexander, *Crime*, 199.

¹⁰⁷ “Turks Enraged. British Court-Martial Acquits Armenian,” *The Times*, November 11, 1921.

¹⁰⁸ YT, 690; and Lindy Avakian, “A Time for Soul Searching,” *Armenian Observer*, May 30, 1973.

¹⁰⁹ “ARMUR,” FBI, February 12, 1973, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Section 1 (725904); “ARMUR,” FBI, February 24, 1973, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Section 1 (725904); “Gourgen Mkrtich Yanikian,” May 2, 1973, FBI, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Section 7 (725910), 48-49; and Avakian, “A Time for Soul Searching,” *Armenian Observer*, May 30, 1973.

intimate knowledge of the Nemesis operation, and even appeared to have believed he also would be acquitted: “Never, never did I suspect that I would receive a maximum sentence for this act. With at least two previous similar assaults, the murderers of other leaders of the Ottoman Turks, the ones responsible for the massacre of Armenians, were found “not guilty” by the European courts and eventually set free.”¹¹⁰

Like Tehlirian, Yanikian’s personal narrative was established solely through his own court testimony in June 1973 and followed the former closely. Yanikian claimed he was tormented by memories of an early twentieth century childhood in Eastern Anatolia and had been obsessed with seeking retribution for decades.¹¹¹ Born mere miles apart from Tehlirian in Erzurum in 1895, his family barely escaped the massacres of Abdul Hamid II by fleeing to Kars.¹¹² Eight years later, he allegedly witnessed his twenty year-old brother murdered by two Turkish soldiers while on a trip back to Erzurum to retrieve family records and gold; a trip made only by himself, mother and older brother.¹¹³ As soon as the First World War broke out, Yanikian quit his university studies in Moscow and left to join the Armenian irregulars fighting against the Ottoman Empire.¹¹⁴ During his service with the Armenian Volunteers under General Dro’s command, Yanikian claimed to have personally witnessed thousands of victims of Turkish atrocities, including some of his own family members.¹¹⁵

Finally, he alleged that he was visited by apparitions of his murdered brother nine months before the double homicide, and swore an oath to his brother’s ghost that he would take vengeance for his death. The specter returned to him moments after he murdered the Baydar and Demir.¹¹⁶ Similar to Tehlirian’s defense, the strategy employed by his lawyers endeavored to show that the horrific scenes that Yanikian had witnessed as a child had caused “lasting trauma,” which, when combined with the pain caused by Turkey’s continued denial of the atrocities, and his ire over Turkey’s role in the opium and drug trade, left him mentally

¹¹⁰ YT, 688; and “Gourgen Yanikian: A Lonely Old Man Forgotten by His People. An Exclusive Interview with the Killer of Two Turkish Diplomats,” *Armenian Reporter*, October 28, 1976.

¹¹¹ Yanikian Trial, 439-441, 564; and Bobelian, 142.

¹¹² YT, 1, 429, 431, 582.

¹¹³ YT, 431-433, 616-618.

¹¹⁴ YT, 434.

¹¹⁵ YT, 434-435; 538-556; 688; “Gourgen Yanikian Trial Winding Up,” *Armenian Observer*, June 27, 1973; “Yanikian Pronounced Guilty,” *AO*, July 4, 1973; and Bobelian, 156. Soghomon Tehlirian also allegedly served in the Armenian Volunteer Units, but under General Andranik.

¹¹⁶ YT, 148-149, 609, 618; and Bobelian, 144, 148.

impaired.¹¹⁷ The whole act was carefully constructed so Yanikian could portray himself as yet another victim, turned war hero, turned Armenian Avenger, like Soghomon Tehlirian, and reap the eventual rewards from the diaspora, and the similarities were even addressed during Yanikian's trial.¹¹⁸

There were, however, two Gourgen Yanikians. The first, based on his own uncorroborated accounts and the Armenian-American press, was one of the most unique and fascinating individuals of the twentieth century: survivor, linguist, decorated war hero, brilliant engineer, world traveller, inventor, businessman, psychologist, anti-communist, developer, writer, thinker, playwright, scriptwriter, and aspiring film/TV producer. A man who had personally known such icons as Joseph Stalin, Nikita Khrushchev and Reza Shah, and who felt comfortable writing letters to J. Edgar Hoover and President Nixon.¹¹⁹ The other Yanikian, based on the FBI investigation and the court transcripts, had local police and FBI records dating back to the early 1950s, and was a delusional, rambling, sexually deranged, broke, and humiliated narcissist; a life-long con-artist desperately looking for redemption and fame at the end of his life.¹²⁰

Almost every aspect of Yanikian's autobiography was either refuted, or at least made questionable, by the FBI investigation. There is no proof that he was born Erzurum, or even visited Kars, and, in fact, on all official documents, and at various times verbally, he claimed to have been born in Tabriz, Iran, and was in Moscow for the duration of the war.¹²¹ The story about his brother is also inconsistent.¹²² While some of these, like the inconsistencies regarding such basic information as Yanikian's date and place of birth, might be explained by the social and political era in which he was born, others, like his concern over the events of 1915, his

¹¹⁷ YT, 439-441, 577-579, 664; and Bobelian, 153.

¹¹⁸ YT, 691-692. This opinion was also expressed by members of the Armenian community in Santa Barbara at the time of the murders. See "Gourgen Mkrtych Yanikian," March 1, 1973, FBI, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Sec. 5 (725908), 123, 126, 129.

¹¹⁹ "Gourgen Mkrtych Yanikian," FBI, Feb. 9, 1973, 1038453-000, HQ 105-18332, Sec. 1 (725912).

¹²⁰ "Gourgen Mkrtych Yanikian," February 7, 1973, FBI, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Section 2 (725905); and "Gourgen Mkrtych Yanikian," FBI, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Section 3 (725906).

¹²¹ "Gourgen Myrtych Yanikian;" FBI, Jan. 28, 1973, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Sec. 1 (725904); "Memorandum," FBI, Jan. 29, 1973, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Sec. 1 (725904); "ARMUR," FBI, Jan. 30, 1973, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Sec. 1 (725904); "ARMUR," FBI, Jan. 31, 1973, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Sec. 1 (725904); and "ARMUR," Feb. 2, 1973, FBI, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Sec. 1 (725904). The explanation Yanikian gave for the inconsistency in birth records was that his birth was registered as Tabriz, instead of Erzurum, in Kars months after his birth and as a favor to his family from the Persian Consul. See YT, 431.

¹²² YT, 684, 687.

participation with the Armenian irregulars, the total number of family members lost, to which conflict, and the perpetrators of those massacres, cannot. Unfortunately, or fortuitously, Yanikian's wife, the only person who could have corroborated his claims, was in a vegetative state at a local convalescent home.

Despite his apparent obsession with enacting vengeance on Turkey and its representatives, including his unsubstantiated claim to the FBI that he had written seven books, articles and lectured for years about the "killing of two million Armenians" and Turkey's confiscation of 6 billion dollars worth of "Armenian property," there is absolutely no evidence that Yanikian was even remotely concerned with the Armenian question before 1965. There is absolutely no mention of these grievances in his publications, in the many short biographies that he had written to accompany the books and stories he published, including one in the *Armenian Review*, and the various newspaper articles about Yanikian and his life.¹²³ Yanikian referenced family members lost in ambiguous "European uprisings" and "at the hands of Communists and Turks," but mention of the deportations and massacres of 1915 are conspicuously absent, despite his ample opportunities.¹²⁴ If he harbored those sentiments, he kept them very close.

Among Yanikian's personal contacts, only a handful mentioned any existence of anti-Turkish sentiment, and those appear to have all been recent acquaintances.¹²⁵ The others all claimed that Yanikian had not shown any interest in Armenian politics, and some even came out publicly to refute the claim that Yanikian had lost family members or that the crime was motivated by vengeance.¹²⁶ Based on the documentation available, his interest in the Armenian-Turkish dispute had developed only recently and was most likely brought on by the renewed attention to the Armenian Cause and, perhaps, a letter allegedly written by an ethnic Turk from

¹²³ "Yanikian Trial," STATE 118342, June 18, 1973, NARA, Access to Archival Database (AAD).

¹²⁴ "Gourgen Myrtich Yanikian," FBI, Jan. 28, 1973, FBI, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Sec. 1 (725904); "Memorandum," Jan. 29, 1973, FBI, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Sec. 1 (725904); "Prevent Tragedies: Beverly Hills Man Tells of Invention," *Beverly Hills Citizen*, April 29, 1949; "His Device Would Effect Rescue in Kathy Case," *Daily News* (LA), June 4, 1949; "Yaniscoppe Inventor Man of Contrast," *Los Angeles Independent*, July 25, 1949; Gourgen Yanikian, "An Unforgettable Night," *Armenian Review* Vol. 2, No. 3 (Aut. 1949): 72-75; Felicia Mahood, "Happy's Landing," *The Independent* (Westwood, CA), Nov. 11, 1950; Gourgen Yanikian, *The Voice of an American* (Santa Barbara, CA: Rood Associates, 1960); Arlen Collier, "Yanikian's 'Voice' Provocative Book," *El Guacho*, April 28, 1960; and "Local Man Wrote 'Triumph of Judas'," April 10, 1961, Library of Congress, African & Middle Eastern Reading Room, Spurk Archive, Folder 13.

¹²⁵ "Gourgen Mkrtych Yanikian," FBI, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Sec. 3 (725906), 327, 344, 363, 367, 470; and "Gourgen Mkrtych Yanikian," March 1, 1973, FBI, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Sec. 5 (725908), 49, 53, 126.

¹²⁶ "ARMUR," Feb. 6, 1973, FBI, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Sec. 1 (725904); "Yanikian was Known as a Man Who Took Risks," *Armenian Reporter*, Feb. 1, 1973; and B. Ishkanian, "Letter to the Editor: Yanikian: A Different Point of View," *Armenian Observer*, July 11, 1973.

New York in 1965 in which the author declared: “Armenians, we are once and for all going to wipe you from the face of the earth. This is a legacy left to us by our Holy Prophets.”¹²⁷

Despite over 200 hundred interviews with acquaintances, the only mention of his service in the Armenian Volunteer units was in a biographical paragraph he wrote himself, and it was dropped in all accounts of his life in subsequent reporting during the 1970s and early 1980s, save one.¹²⁸ Even if Yanikian was a veteran of General Dro’s Armenian irregular units, he saw very little action in combat. In one of his initial interviews with the FBI, Yanikian admitted that this was the first time he had ever taken a life and that “it was not easy.”¹²⁹ More numerous were rumors that he had fought in the Russian White Army and/or that he had been part of the Cheka, the Soviet Union’s early internal police and security force.¹³⁰ Further underscoring Yanikian’s duplicitous nature is the evidence he associated with Soviet sympathizers and communists in Paris, while portraying himself as a staunch anti-communist.¹³¹

There is also no consistency in his accounts regarding the number of family members killed, or even whether or not Turks or Russians were responsible for their deaths. In fact, when pressed by the District Attorney prosecuting the case on both points, how many family members had been killed and who was responsible, Yanikian was deliberately evasive.¹³² When discussing his past in interviews years after the trial, his narrative changed again.¹³³ At best, it appears that Yanikian was unclear of the specifics surrounding his family in eastern Anatolia and the Caucasus, and simply attributed their deaths to whomever he believed would elicit a more sympathetic response (i.e., Russians when playing up to anti-Communists or Turks when playing to Armenian diaspora). At worst, the entire story was fabricated. Having studied the

¹²⁷ YT, 441.

¹²⁸ Yanikian, “An Unforgettable Night,” 72; and Anahid Jafargian, “An Unforgettable Visit with Gourgen Yanikian,” *Armenian Reporter*, Sept. 4, 1980.

¹²⁹ “Gourgen Mkrtych Yanikian,” Feb. 7, 1973, FBI, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Sec. 2 (725905).

¹³⁰ Gourgen Yanikian, “An Unforgettable Night,” 72-75; “Gourgen Myrtych Yanikian,” FBI, Jan. 28, 1973, FBI, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Sec. 1 (725904); “Gourgen Mkrtych Yanikian,” Feb. 9, 1973, FBI, 1038453-000, HQ 105-18332, Sec. 1 (725912); “Gourgen Mkrtych Yanikian,” FBI, 1038453-000, HQ 105-18332, Sec. 1 (725912); “Gourgen Mkrtych Yanikian,” May 2, 1973, FBI, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Sec. 7 (725910); “Gourgen Mkrtych Yanikian,” Feb. 9, 1973, FBI, 1038453-000, HQ 105-18332, Sec. 1 (725912); and “Gourgen Mkrtych Yanikian,” May 2, 1973, FBI, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Sec. 7 (725910). Yanikian denied being a member of the Cheka.

¹³¹ Anti-Communist: “Gourgen Yanikian to J. Edgar Hoover, FBI, April 8, 1954, File 10518332; and “Gourgen Mkrtych Yanikian,” FBI, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Sec. 3 (725906), 352. Communist: “ARMUR,” FBI, May 3, 1973, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Section 6 (725909). Cheka: “Gourgen Myrtych Yanikian,” FBI, January 28, 1973, FBI, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Section 1 (725904).

¹³² The number ranged from six to 26. See YT, 378, 393, 396, 405, 559, 659-663,

¹³³ “Turkish Reporter Interviews Gourgen Yanikian,” *Armenian Observer*, March 31, 1976.

Tehlirian case closely, however, Yanikian was aware that, as far as the Armenian diaspora was concerned, the devil was most assuredly not in the details of his tale. He knew that his story and his justification for the murders would be unquestionably accepted by the diaspora because the problems, inconsistencies and fabrications in Tehlirian's case were also omitted, overlooked, and ignored for decades.

The greatest long-term legacy of Soghomon Tehlirian was not the assassination of Talaat in March 1921, but his acquittal in June of that same year. In order to secure that acquittal, however, three issues, or points, were deliberately withheld the court that would have swayed the jury's decision towards a guilty verdict. The first was the fact that after he escaped the massacres in Erzincan, and made his way to Tiflis, Tehlirian joined the irregular Armenian volunteer units that fought with the Russian army against Turkey.¹³⁴ The second was Tehlirian's assassination of the Armenian collaborator and informer, Harootiun Mugerditchian, in Istanbul in March 1919.¹³⁵ The third was Tehlirian's denial that he was working for, or was part of, a larger network or organization, in this case the ARF, that assisted and planned the assassination.¹³⁶

It is unclear how much of an impact the knowledge of Tehlirian's participation in the Armenian irregular units might have had on the decision of the jury, especially if he joined only after witnessing the slaughter of his family. Certainly the sequence of events between 1915 and March 1921 given by Tehlirian to the court would have been challenged, but it is unlikely, given the jury's acceptance of revenge as a justifiable motive given Tehlirian's experiences, that it would have changed the outcome of the trial. The other two points, however, are more problematic. The knowledge that Tehlirian previously murdered an Armenian suspected of collaboration with the Turkish authorities, and proof that he was an agent of a coordinated global ARF operation to assassinate the former leaders of the Ottoman empire, which the authorities suspected, but either could not prove or did not investigate, would undoubtedly have changed things.¹³⁷ The story of a young man, mentally and physically traumatized from witnessing the massacre of his entire family, wandering aimlessly around Europe until he

¹³⁴ Alexander, 40-41, 74.

¹³⁵ Alexander, 43-44; Avakian, 60; Bobelian, 68; and Derogy, 68.

¹³⁶ Alexander, 199; Şeref Ünal, *Trial of Salomon Teilirian: Assassination of Talat Pasha, Berlin 2-3, June 1921* (New York: Okey, 2007): 10-11.

¹³⁷ "Assassin Boasts of Talaat's Death," *New York Times*, March 17, 1921.

accidentally discovered Talaat in Berlin and murdered him only after he had been chastised by a vision of his mother's corpse would not have been as effective in securing a "not guilty" verdict if the jury had known he was a veteran assassin and part of an organization that had been tracking and preparing for Talaat's assassination for years.

Just as important and problematic as the information kept out of the trial, however, was what was entered into testimony. As mentioned above, his acquittal was primarily due to his personal account of having witnessed the rape of his sisters, the massacre of his entire family, and his return to consciousness wounded and in a pile of corpses; the sole survivor of the entire refugee column he had been traveling in. This story moved the jury, and undoubtedly supplied them with enough evidence, reason, or sympathy to conclude that his assassination of Talaat was justified. Trying to imagine this horrific experience and the trauma it must have caused made it much easier to believe that he was under mental duress when he committed the crime. The other testimony, which attested to his mental and physical condition, corroborated the atrocities he had seen and placed the blame for these acts on his victim, making it that much easier to question his guilt. The problem, however, is the evidence, located quite openly in the primary and secondary materials available to scholars, that the entire personal account Tehlirian gave to the court in Berlin, arguably one of the most famous eyewitness reports on the Armenian massacres of 1915, was completely fabricated.

Contrary to his statements in court, Tehlirian was not in Erzincan in 1915 and could not have witnessed a massacre there. In 1913, Tehlirian left eastern Anatolia to join his father and brother in Belgrade to pursue his engineering studies. As soon as the First World War broke out, Tehlirian left Belgrade for Tiflis to join the Armenian irregulars. He did not return to Erzincan until July 1916, when the Armenian irregulars and the Russian army captured the city from the Ottomans. All news of what had happened in Erzincan came from secondhand sources, and furthermore, his father appears never to have left Belgrade. These details of Soghomon Tehlirian's trajectory from eastern Anatolia during the war to Berlin in 1921 that contradicted his sworn testimony came out in 1960, and continued thereafter, even in the ARF newspapers.¹³⁸

¹³⁸ Sarkis Atamian, "Soghomon Tehlirian: A Portrait of Immortality I," *Armenian Review* Vol. 13, No. 3 (1960): 40-51; Atamian, "Soghomon Tehlirian: A Portrait of Immortality II," *AR* Vol. 13, No. 4 (1961): 15-20; and Atamian, "Soghomon Tehlirian: A Portrait of Immortality III," *AR* Vol. 14, No. 1 (1961). See also Avakian, 16, 34, 41-43; "How Tehlirian Tracked Down and Disposed of the Beast, Part I," *Armenian Weekly*, June 1975; and "Soghomon Tehlirian: A Biographical Note," *AW*, March 14, 1981. For further analysis, see Jacques Derogy,

Despite this, however, the 2006 reprint of the translated court transcripts, *The Case of Soghomon Tehlirian*, presents this document, and Tehlirian's testimony, as a valid primary source with no disclaimer about its inaccuracies, and at least four publications on the Armenian massacres have treated his testimony as such.¹³⁹

There was, therefore, ample evidence for Yanikian to believe that his target audience would challenge neither the veracity of his narrative, nor his motivations, and would instead focus on his act of retribution against "two evils." In fact, a laudatory obituary of yet another Nemesis veteran, Arshavir Shiragian, in *The New York Times* shortly after the murders and two months before the start of his own trial, undoubtedly strengthened his hopes.¹⁴⁰ For the most part, the Armenian diaspora did not disappoint, and they rallied in support of Yanikian and raised funds for his legal defense.¹⁴¹ In contrast to the Tehlirian case, however, the Santa Barbara court refused to allow the court proceedings to digress into a forum for historical debate, a platform for Yanikian to voice his opinion that "Turks are barbarian savages,"¹⁴² or an indictment of the Turkish government for events fifty years in the past; and unlike the Armenian diaspora, the jury in California was either not convinced by Yanikian's story, or felt that events at the turn of the century had no bearing on a double homicide in 1973. The court refused to believe that Yanikian was operating under diminished capacity, and he was found guilty of two counts of First Degree Murder on July 2, 1973 and received two life sentences.¹⁴³

Resistance and Revenge: The Armenian Assassination of the Turkish Leaders Responsible for the 1915 Massacres and Deportations (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1990 [French Edition, 1986]). Derogy is one of only a handful of scholars who have had access to the *ARF*'s archives in Boston, MA, and also argued that the entire defense strategy, including the retraction of earlier statements made to the Berlin police, the gruesome details of his family's destruction, and the command from his mother's ghost, were all coached and financed by the *ARF*. See pp. xxiii-xxiv & 105.¹³⁸

¹³⁹ Yeghiayan, *The Case of Soghomon Tehlirian*; Alexander, *Crimes*, 40, 69-70; Samantha Power, *Problem from Hell*, 3; Balakian, loc. 5958; and Vartabedian, "Commemoration," 2. Samantha Power cites Edward Alexander, who in turn makes no citation regarding Tehlirian's testimony, Balakian cites Yeghiayan's publication of the transcripts, Vartabedian cites the online version of the transcripts: http://cilicia.com/armo_tehlirian.html.

¹⁴⁰ "Shiragian, 73, Dies; An Armenian Hero," *New York Times*, April 16, 1973.

¹⁴¹ "A Call to Action," *Armenian Observer*, March 21, 1973; "Armenian Nuremburg," *AO*, April 25, 1973; "World Responds to Gourgen Yanikian Trial," *AO*, May 16, 1973; and Bobelian, 148-149.

¹⁴² "ARMUR— Daily Summary," June 21, 1973, FBI, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Sec. 8 (725911).

¹⁴³ "ARMUR— Daily Summary," June 22, 1973, FBI, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Sec. 8 (725911); "ARMUR— Daily Summary," June 26, 1973, FBI, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Sec. 8 (725911); "ARMUR— Daily Summary," June 26, 1973, FBI, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Section 8 (725911); "Armenian Guilty of Killing Turks," *New York Times*, July 3, 1973; "Gourgen Mkrtych Yanikian," FBI, Aug. 7, 1973, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Section 8 (725911); "Yanikian Trial," STATE 129422, July 2, 1973, NARA, AAD, 1973; "The Closing Arguments of the Yanikian Trial," *Armenian Observer*, July 4, 1973; "Yanikian Pronounced Guilty," *AO*, July 4, 1973; "Santa Barbara Court Finds Yanikian Guilty," *Armenian Reporter*, July 5, 1973; and "Assassin of CONGEN," STATE 143929, July 21, 1973, NARA, AAD.

The Reaction and Response to the Santa Barbara Murders

The murders of Mehmet Baydar and Bahadır Demir brought the Armenian Cause briefly back into the national spotlight. Yanikian's alleged loss of 26 family members killed "in Turkey and the Soviet Union," were included as motive in most accounts and one even claimed "26 members of his Armenian family were killed by Turks in 1915."¹⁴⁴ Once Yanikian's manifesto was translated into English, word of his intention to spark an ethnic conflict between Armenians and Turkish government disseminated into the national papers, and triggered at least one condemnation of his act.¹⁴⁵ While some Armenian groups in the United States believed that the murders created a "resurgence of interest... in Turkish atrocities against Armenians," in actuality this assessment was an exaggeration.¹⁴⁶ In fact, the national media's interest in the Armenian Cause and the murdered Turkish diplomats quickly waned until Yanikian was found guilty and sentenced.¹⁴⁷

The murders, investigation, the Turkish media reaction and the subsequent trial were, however, covered extensively in the Armenian-American press, as was the letter Yanikian mailed out calling for violence against Turkish representatives.¹⁴⁸ The editorials and articles in the Armenian-American press were sympathetic, even if some conditioned that support with

¹⁴⁴ "Two Turkish Officials Slain; Coast Police Hold Suspect," *New York Times*, Jan. 28, 1973; "Armenian Held in Coast Slaying of Turks," *NYT*, Jan. 29, 1973; "Writer Accused of Killing Turkish Consuls," *London Times*, Jan. 29, 1973; "Turkish Consul Worker, Slain," *Washington Post*, January 28, 1973; "2 Consuls Slain," *WP*, Jan. 29, 1973; "Turkish Envoys Slain, Rich Armenian Held," *Evening Star*, Jan. 29, 1973.

¹⁴⁵ "Armenian Held in Two Slayings Urged 'War' on Turk Diplomats," *Los Angeles Times*, January 30, 1973; "Vengeance Against Turks Believed Motive in Killings," *Washington Post*, February 11, 1973; and "...Mindless Killing," *New York Times*, February 3, 1973.

¹⁴⁶ "Accepting Responsibilities," *Armenian Reporter*, February 22, 1973.

¹⁴⁷ "Armenian Guilty of Killing Turks," *New York Times*, July 3, 1973; and "Slayer of Turkish Envoys Gets Life Term on Coast," *NYT*, July 21, 1973.

¹⁴⁸ "Yanikian Declares War, Asks Others to Follow on Eve of Double Slaying," *California Courier*, Feb. 1, 1973; "News-Press Gets Yanikian Message," *Armenian Observer*, Feb. 7, 1973; "FBI Investigation Continues," *Asbarez*, March 13, 1973; "Gourgen Yanikian Trial Set for April 9. FBI Ordered to Produce Records within Two Weeks," *Armenian Observer*, March 14, 1973; "Turkish Prof., In TV Program, Denies Armenian Massacres," *Armenian Reporter*, March 15, 1973; "FBI Discloses Possible Other Murder Suspect," *AO*, March 21, 1973; "Turkish-Armenian Relations," *AR*, March 22, 1973; "G. Yanikian Trial Set for April 9; Documents of Massacres are Not Relevant to Case," *AR*, March 22, 1973; "FBI Pleads for More Time in Santa Barbara to Return Papers," *AO*, March 28, 1973; "Gourgen Yanikian Trial Starts Without Atty. Percy Foreman," *AO*, May 30, 1973; "Yanikian Trial Jury Selected; Case to Last Six to Eight Weeks," *AO*, June 6, 1973; "Aram Saroyan is the Court-Appointed Interpreter for Yanikian," *AO*, June 6, 1973; "Turkish Government Orders Yanikian Trial Transcript," *AO*, June 13, 1973; "Yanikian Called to the Stand," *AO*, June 20, 1973; "Gourgen Yanikian Trial Winding Up," *AO*, June 27, 1973; and "Gourgen M. Yanikian Appeals Life Sentence," *AR*, Aug. 2, 1973

condemnation of violence.¹⁴⁹ Only a handful of articles condemned the act outright without any reservation, making it clear that for many Armenians, Yanikian's actions were heroic; and even if there were instances of condemnation or an attempt to distance the Armenian community from the act, these were overshadowed by the tremendous amount of sympathy and understanding his act provoked.

Furthermore, most criticism of his act appears to have been triggered out of concern for reprisal attacks against the Armenian community in Istanbul, rather than any aversion to the horrific specifics of the crime.¹⁵⁰ Within hours of the murders, Yanikian's eventual defense attorney, Vasken Minasian, an Armenian-American attorney representing many of the AYF's members who had been arrested during the November 4, 1972 incident in Bel-Air, telephoned a meeting of the AYF in Fresno, CA to jokingly ask: "All right, which one of you did it?" The FBI informant who was at that AYF meeting in question described the group's mood as "jubilant," once Minasian relayed the details of the Yanikian murders to those present at the meeting.¹⁵¹ They were, however, concerned that Yanikian's actions would hurt their own court case.¹⁵²

Birthday cakes and cards were sent to the prison on Yanikian's 78th birthday.¹⁵³ Buses were chartered to carry Armenians living outside of Santa Barbara to the court proceedings, where they could lend their support in person, and at the start of the trial, the unruly behavior of some Armenians in attendance drew the ire of the judge.¹⁵⁴ In response to a New York Times editorial calling the act of holding two Turkish officials responsible for the events of 1915 as "an act of insanity," the Armenian Assembly issued an official statement declaring that "while deploring a recent isolated act of personal violence in California, the National Steering Committee of the

¹⁴⁹ "Yanikiyan Case: Sisco-Esenbel May 25 Conversation," STATE 102631, May 29, 1973, NARA, RG 59, SNF, 1970-73, POL & DEF, Box 2639, POL 17 TUR.

¹⁵⁰ "Yanikian Held in Two Turkish Consulate Official Slayings in Santa Barbara," *Armenian Observer*, January 31, 1973; "A Condemnable Act," *Armenian Reporter*, Feb. 1, 1973; "Gourgen Mkrtich Yanikian," FBI, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Sec. 3 (725906), 571; "Aftermath of the Murders," *AR*, Feb. 15, 1973; "An Incident in Santa Barbara," *AO*, Feb. 28, 1973; "Against Violence," *AO*, Feb. 28, 1973; and "Turkish Prof., In TV Program, Denies Armenian Massacres," *AR*, March 15, 1973.

¹⁵¹ "Gourgen Mkrtich Yanikian," FBI, March 2, 1973, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Sec. 6 (725909).

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

¹⁵³ "Yanikian Receives Birthday Cakes, Cards," *Armenian Observer*, March 28, 1973. It is unclear how the Armenian community was able to ascertain his actual birth date.

¹⁵⁴ "Yanikian Trial," STATE 115559, June 13, 1973, NARA, RG 59, SNF, 1970-73, POL & DEF, Box 2639, POL 17 TUR; "ARMUR— Daily Summary," FBI, June 19, 1973, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Sec. 8 (725911); "ARMUR— Daily Summary," FBI, June 21, 1973, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Sec. 8 (725911); and "Yanikian Trial," June 27, 1973, NARA, AAD.

Armenian Assembly nonetheless deems it an obligation to bring to public attention factors that may bear on the issue.”¹⁵⁵ Those factors were a description of the Armenian massacres and the injustices carried out against Armenians by both Turkey and the Great Powers. It was, therefore, much less than an unequivocal denunciation of violence.

This sentiment was also reflected among the Armenian-Americans interviewed by the FBI.¹⁵⁶ Some commentary that made its way to print was even worse, claiming that while no one can sanction the murdering of innocent persons, “Turk or otherwise,” it was also true that Yanikian was “himself the victim of Turkish violence,” and that the “wonder of it all is that this has not occurred before (except in the cases of Talatt, Enver, Said Halim, etc., who were executed right after the massacre)—a tribute to the restraint of the Armenian and his Christian beliefs.”¹⁵⁷ Apparently, the message to Turks was that they should be thankful that Armenian avengers had not gotten to more of them. Despite the handful of editorials and articles condemning, or at least questioning the efficacy of violence, there was no change in the tone or message of the majority of articles in the Armenian-American newspapers. If anything, the Yanikian murders emboldened the publications to be even more aggressive.¹⁵⁸

Approximately 50,000 dollars was collected for Yanikian’s defense, and the organization in charge of the collection, the American Friends of Armenian Martyrs, attempted to cast him as the “latest victim” of the Armenian Genocide and to assist Yanikian to use his act of violence as a means to publicize the events of 1915.¹⁵⁹ The American Friends of Armenian Martyrs believed that Yanikian’s trial would “put Turkey on the spot. But will also test our patriotism as Americans and as Armenians. It will say to us in effect, put up or shut up,” and

¹⁵⁵ “The Statement of the Armenian Assembly in Reference to the Slaying of the Two Turkish Consular Officials in Santa Barbara,” *Armenian Observer*, Feb. 14, 1973.

¹⁵⁶ “Gourgen Mkrtich Yanikian,” FBI, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Sec. 3 (725906), 538, 569; and “Gourgen Mkrtich Yanikian,” FBI, March 1, 1973, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Sec. 5 (725908), 117, 120.

¹⁵⁷ “Violence of Turkish Genocide of Armenians Bred Violence in Santa Barbara,” *Armenian Observer*, March 7, 1973. For more on Yanikian as the victim, see: “A Call to Action,” *AO*, March 21, 1973.

¹⁵⁸ “The 58th Anniversary of Martyrs Day,” *Armenian Reporter*, April 26, 1973; Haig Baronian, “Time is On Our Side,” *Armenian Observer*, May 9, 1973; “Review of the Turkish Press,” *AR*, May 10, 1973; “Protests Mount Over TV’s Decision to Cancel Armenian Program,” *AR*, May 24, 1973; “California TV Station Gives in to Demand to Air Program on Martyrs,” *AR*, June 7, 1973; “ARF Asks for Assurance to Air Views Via the Media,” *AO*, July 18, 1973; and “A.R.F. Asks Nixon for Assurance Against Turkish Interference with the Rights of Armenian-Americans,” *AR*, July 26, 1973;

¹⁵⁹ “A Call to Action,” *Armenian Observer*, March 21, 1973; “Armenian Nuremburg,” *AO*, April 25, 1973; “ARMUR— Daily Summary,” FBI, June 19, 1973, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Sec. 8 (725911).

asked Armenians if the “were ready to fight the good fight?”¹⁶⁰ Donations poured in from Argentina, Beirut, Iran, and Canada and throughout the United States, and there even reports of school children sacrificing dessert at lunch in order to contribute their share to Yanikian’s defense.¹⁶¹ Their efforts came to an embarrassing end, however, when the 50,000 dollars collected on his behalf was allegedly returned to donors after a falling out between Yanikian and the organization.¹⁶² Yanikian would later claim that the organization succumbed to U.S. government pressure to abandon him on the eve of his trial, all part of an even larger conspiracy against him involving the Turkish government, the FBI, the CIA and even his defense attorneys.¹⁶³

The Turkish government closely followed the court proceedings and was given regular updates on the case by the State Department. The Turkish Foreign Ministry did not shy away from recalling past instances of Armenian aggression against Turkey in the United States and criticized the lack of response on the part of U.S. officials. Fearing for the safety of their personnel, the Turkish Government repeatedly asked for an increase in protection for their citizens, diplomats and facilities.¹⁶⁴ The State Department took steps to decrease the threat of further attacks by raising the awareness of U.S. politicians in areas with high concentrations of Armenians and by reaching out to Armenian leaders in California. In fact, the hostile actions of certain Armenian groups after the murders, including threatening phone calls to the Turkish Embassy and consulates in the United States, prompted an unprecedented decision on the part of the State Department’s head of the Near East Division’s Turkish Desk, Robert S. Dillon, to

¹⁶⁰ “Armenian Nuremberg,” *Armenian Observer*, April 25, 1973.

¹⁶¹ “World Responds to Gourgen Yanikian Trial,” *Armenian Observer*, May 16, 1973.

¹⁶² “Yanikian Established a New Defense Trust Fund in His Name,” *Armenian Observer*, June 20, 1973; “Yanikian Forms Fund for His Defense After Dismissing Financing Committee,” *Armenian Reporter*, June 21, 1973; and “Gourgen Yanikian Talks to Press About His Case,” *AO*, Aug. 1, 1973.

¹⁶³ “Gourgen Yanikian: A Lonely Old Man Forgotten by His People. An Exclusive Interview with the Killer of Two Turkish Diplomats,” *Armenian Reporter*, Oct. 28, 1976.

¹⁶⁴ “Conversation with Foreign Minister Bayulken RE Murder of Turkish Diplomats in Santa Barbara,” ANKARA 646, Jan. 28, 1973, NARA, RG 59, SNF, 1970-73, POL & DEF, Box 2639, POL 17 TUR; “Death of Turk CONGEN Officers- Los Angeles,” ANKARA 647, Jan. 28, 1973, NARA, RG 59, SNF, 1970-73, POL & DEF, Box 2639, POL 17 TUR; “Murder of Turk Consular Officers,” STATE 16576, Jan. 29, 1973, NARA, RG 59, SNF, 1970-73, POL & DEF, Box 2639, POL 17 TUR; “Assassination of Turk Officials: Ambassador Esenbel Call on Secretary Sisco,” STATE 17122, Jan. 29, 1973, NARA, RG 59, SNF, 1970-73, POL & DEF, Box 2639, POL 17 TUR; “Letter from Turkish Embassy,” NARA, RG 59, SNF, 1970-73, POL & DEF, Box 2639, POL 17 TUR; “Memorandum,” Embassy of the Republic of Turkey, Jan. 30, 1973, NARA, RG 59, SNF, 1970-73, POL & DEF, Box 2639, POL 17 TUR; “Murder of Turk Consular Officers; Return of Remains,” ANKARA 740, Jan. 31, 1973, NARA, RG 59, SNF, 1970-73, POL & DEF, Box 2639, POL 17 TUR; and “Ambassador Esenbel’s February 13 Call on Assistant Secretary Sisco to Discuss Murder of Turk Diplomats,” STATE 28699, Feb. 15, 1973, NARA, RG 59, SNF, 1970-73, POL & DEF, Box 2639, POL 17 TUR.

travel to California to meet with representatives of the Armenian community, including the leadership of the ARF in February 1973, albeit unofficially and confidentially.¹⁶⁵

One of the repeated concerns of the Turkish government was their belief that Yanikian could not possibly have carried out the attack on his own, and that he represented the start of a larger, perhaps global, conspiracy to attack Turkish personnel and installations.¹⁶⁶ Turkey's sensitivity to these issues in the wake of the Yanikian murders were quickly made apparent in diplomatic row with France over a monument unveiled in Marseilles dedicated to the Armenian victims of 1915.¹⁶⁷ While it is clear that the State Department dismissed these concerns from the outset,¹⁶⁸ and the FBI never uncovered any evidence of a conspiracy,¹⁶⁹ there are a number of

¹⁶⁵ "ARMUR," FBI, Feb. 6, 1973, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Sec. 1 (725904); "Gourgen Mkrtych Yanikian," FBI, Feb. 7, 1973, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Sec. 2 (725905); "Gourgen Mkrtych Yanikian," FBI, Feb. 7, 1973, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Sec. 3 (725906); "Gourgen Mkrtych Yanikian," FBI, March 1, 1973, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Sec. 5 (725908); "Gourgen Myrtych Yanikian," FBI, March 5, 1973, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Sec. 6 (725909); "Various," Memorandum, March 6, 1973, NARA, RG 59, SNF, 1970-73, POL & DEF, Box 2639, POL 17 TUR; Correspondence, Secretary of State Rogers to Governor CA (Ronald Reagan), March 7, 1973, NARA, RG 59, SNF, 1970-73, POL & DEF, Box 2639, POL 17 TUR; Correspondence, Secretary of State Rogers to Mayor, Chicago, March 7, 1973, NARA, RG 59, SNF, 1970-73, POL & DEF, Box 2639, POL 17 TUR; Correspondence, Secretary of State Rogers to Mayor, NYC, March 7, 1973, NARA, RG 59, SNF, 1970-73, POL & DEF, Box 2639, POL 17 TUR; "Murder of Turk Diplomats: Ambassador's March 10 Call on Bayulken," STATE 43506, March 9, 1973, NARA, RG 59, SNF, 1970-73, POL & DEF, Box 2727; "Murder of Turk Diplomats: Discussion with Bayulken," ANKARA 1836, March 13, 1973, NARA, RG 59, SNF, 1970-73, POL & DEF, Box 2639, POL 17 TUR; and Memorandum, April 23, 1973, NARA, RG 59, SNF, 1970-73, POL & DEF, Box 2639, POL 17 TUR.

¹⁶⁶ "Gourgen Myrtych Yanikian," FBI, Jan. 28, 1973, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Sec. 1 (725904); "ARMUR," FBI, Jan. 31, 1973, FBI, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Sec. 1 (725904); "Gourgen Mkrtych Yanikian," FBI, Feb. 1, 1973, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Sec. 1 (725904); "ARMUR," FBI, Feb. 2, 1973, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Sec. 1 (725904); "ARMUR," FBI, February 8, 1973, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Sec. 1 (725904); "Ambassador Esenbel's February 13 call on Assistant Secretary Sisco to Discuss Murder of Turk Diplomats," STATE 28699, Feb. 14, 1973, NARA, RG 59, SNF, 1970-73, POL & DEF, Box 2639, POL 17 TUR; "Murder Turk Diplomats," ANKARA 1171, Feb. 15, 1973, NARA, RG 59, SNF, 1970-73, POL & DEF, Box 2639, POL 17 TUR; "ARMUR," FBI, March 23, 1973, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Sec. 6 (725909); "Various," Memorandum, March 6, 1973, NARA, RG 59, SNF, 1970-73, POL & DEF, Box 2639, POL 17 TUR; and "Armenians: Conversation with Counselor of French Embassy," STATE 79478, April 27, 1973, NARA, AAD.

¹⁶⁷ "Turkish Ambassador to France Returns to Ankara Following Unveiling of Armenian Monument in Marseille," ANKARA 1096, Feb. 13, 1973, NARA, RG 59, SNF, 1970-73, POL & DEF, Box 2639, POL 17 TUR; "Turk FONMIN Addresses Parliament on Recall of Turkish Ambassador to France," ANKARA 1170, Feb. 15, 1973, NARA, RG 59, SNF, 1970-73, POL & DEF, Box 2639, POL 17 TUR; and "ARMUR— Daily Summary," FBI, Feb. 14, 1973, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Sec. 1 (725904).

¹⁶⁸ "Murder of Turk Consular Officers," STATE 16410, Jan. 27, 1973, NARA, RG 59, SNF, 1970-73, POL & DEF, Box 2639, POL 17 TUR; "Assassination Turkish Officials: AMB Esenbel Call on Asst Secy Sisco," STATE 16444, Jan. 28, 1973, NARA, RG 59, SNF, 1970-73, POL & DEF, Box 2639, POL 17 TUR; "Ambassador Esenbel's February 13 call on Assistant Secretary Sisco to Discuss Murder of Turk Diplomats," STATE 28699, Feb. 14, 1973, NARA, RG 59, SNF, 1970-73, POL & DEF, Box 2639, POL 17 TUR; "Murder of Turk Diplomats," STATE 30142, Feb. 16, 1973, NARA, RG 59, SNF, 1970-73, POL & DEF, Box 2639, POL 17 TUR; "ARMUR," Memorandum, FBI, Feb. 2, 1973, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Sec. 1 (725904); "Turks Recall Envoy to France in Protest," *London Times*, Feb. 14, 1973; "Turkey Recalls Envoy to France in a Protest," *New York Times*, Feb. 18, 1973; "Turkey 'Reproves' France for Monument," *Armenian Mirror Spectator*, February 24, 1973; "12

unresolved issues in the Yanikian case, including Yanikian's unexplained 24-48 hours in Beirut and a stop he made in Istanbul to meet with "a secret society," seemingly involved with the opium trade, on his way from Los Angeles to Yerevan and back again.¹⁷⁰ Whether or not Yanikian was part of a larger conspiracy is ultimately, however, a moot point as a small number of Armenians heeded his call to violence immediately. In Paris, on April 4, 1973, tear gas bombs were thrown into the Turkish Consulate General by three Armenian terrorists, and animal blood smeared on the Turkish Airlines office by a group calling itself "Armenian Liberation."¹⁷¹

Fearing an increase in attacks, and with April 24 looming, the Turkish government again asked the State Department for an increase in protection for its personnel, citizens and facilities in the United States. Very soon thereafter, there were apparent break-ins, or attempted break-ins, at the Turkish Consulate General in Los Angeles and Chicago, and even the State Department noted the escalating problem of Armenian nationalism.¹⁷² Attempts were made to disrupt the meetings of Turkish-American groups in Maryland, and rumors began to circulate in

Şubat: Paris Büyükelçimizin istişare için Ankara'ya gelmesi," *Dışişleri Bakanlığı Belleteni*, Sayı 28, (28 Şubat 1973): 57; "14 Şubat: Dışişleri Bakanının Marsilya'da Dikilen Ermeni Anıtı Hakkında meclisteki konuşması," *Dışişleri Bakanlığı Belleteni*, Sayı 28, (28 Şubat 1973): 57-58; and "Belge 3: Dışişleri Bakanının Marsilya'daki abide ile ilgili olarak millet meclisinde yaptığı konuşma," *Dışişleri Bakanlığı Belleteni*, Sayı 28, (28 Şubat 1973): 80-105.

¹⁶⁹ "ARMUR," FBI, Feb. 2, 1973, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Sec. 1 (725904); "ARMUR," FBI, Feb. 5, 1973, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Sec. 1 (725904); "ARMUR," FBI, Feb. 6, 1973, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Sec. 1 (725904); "Gourgen Mkrtych Yanikian," FBI, Feb. 9, 1973, 1038453-000, HQ 105-18332, Sec. 1 (725912); "ARMUR— Daily Summary," FBI, Feb. 10, 1973, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Sec. 1 (725904); "ARMUR— INTERNAL SECURITY—RUSSIA," FBI, April 3, 1973, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Sec. 6 (725909); and "Security for Turkish Diplomats," STATE 251402, Dec. 28, 1973, NARA, AAD.

¹⁷⁰ "ARMUR," FBI, February 2, 1973, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Sec. 1 (725904); "ARMUR," FBI, Feb. 12, 1973, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Sec. 1 (725904); "Gourgen Mkrtych Yanikian," FBI, March 2, 1973, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Sec. 6 (725909); and YT, 503, 665.

¹⁷¹ "Armenian Incidents in Turkish Offices in Paris," ANKARA 2616, April 5, 1973, NARA, RG 59, SNF, 1970-73, POL & DEF, Box 2639, POL 17 TUR; and "ARMUR," FBI, April 6, 1973, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Sec. 6 (725909).

¹⁷² "Protection of Turkish Officials and Students," Memorandum, April 6, 1973, NARA, RG 59, SNF, 1970-73, POL & DEF, Box 2639, POL 17 TUR; Aide Memoire, Embassy of the Republic of Turkey, April 10, 1973, NARA, RG 59, SNF, 1970-73, POL & DEF, Box 2639, POL 17 TUR; "ARMUR," FBI, April 10, 1973, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Sec. 6 (725909); "Incidents at Turk CONGENS in Los Angeles and Chicago," ANKARA 2819, April 12, 1973, NARA, RG 59, SNF, 1970-73, POL & DEF, Box 2639, POL 17 TUR; "Incidents at Turk CONGENS LA and Chicago," STATE 69053, April 13, 1973, NARA, AAD; Memorandum, April 23, 1973, NARA, RG 59, SNF, 1970-73, POL & DEF, Box 2639, POL 17 TUR; "GOT Apprehensive over April 24 Armenian Commemorative Ceremonies," STATE 76266, NARA, AAD, 1973; and "Protection of Turkish Diplomats in the U.S.," STATE 78620, April 26, 1973, NARA, AAD.

the Turkish press about Armenian guerrilla training camps.¹⁷³ Undeterred by either the Yanikian murders, or their arrests of November 1972, the AYF organized demonstrations in front of the Turkish Consulate General in Los Angeles and the Turkish Government Tourism and Information Office in New York on April 24, 1973, though they were largely uneventful.¹⁷⁴ In October however, the New York police department notified the FBI that the UPI offices in New York had received a phone call from someone representing the Yanikian Commandos who stated that at noon on October 27, bombs would be placed at the Turkish Embassy in Washington and all Consulates in the United States and that Turkish officials would be assassinated.¹⁷⁵ The threat was carried out in New York where a letter bomb addressed as a “Declaration of War,” was sent by the Yanikian Commandos, Avengers of April 24, 1915, exploded inside the Turkish Information Office.¹⁷⁶ A similar letter, without a bomb, was sent to the Turkish Mission at the United Nations.¹⁷⁷ The next day the Turkish Educational Attaché also received a bomb threat by telephone, but when searched by the NYPD, no bomb was found.¹⁷⁸

The timing of the attack was apparently triggered by the impending 50th Anniversary of the establishment of the Turkish Republic on October 29, and, in response to Turkish requests for increased protection for its officials in the United States, the State Department promised police protection at Turkish facilities in Washington, DC, New York and possibly Chicago and Los Angeles, and a four man police escort for the Turkish Ambassador to the United States, Melih Esenbel, and the Turkish Permanent Representative to the United Nations.¹⁷⁹ The Turkish government made it clear to the FBI in early November that they believed the *ARF*, and its youth organization, the *AYF*, were behind the continued provocations and aggression, were taking their orders from *ARF* headquarters in Beirut, and that a secret cell had been organized to

¹⁷³ “Embassy of Turkey, PFO,” FBI, Nov. 6, 1973; and “Armenian April 24 Demonstrations: Turkish Press Coverage,” ANKARA 3178, April 25, 1973, NARA, RG 59, SNF, 1970-73, POL & DEF, Box 2639, POL 17 TUR.

¹⁷⁴ “Demo at Turkish Govt Tourism and Information Office,” USUN 1542, April 25, 1973, NARA, AAD; “Armenian Demonstrations: April 24,” STATE 78914, April 26, 1973, NARA, AAD; “Armenian April 24 Demonstrations: Turk FONMIN Statement,” ANKARA 3247, April 27, 1973, NARA, RG 59, SNF, 1970-73, POL & DEF, Box 2639, POL 17 TUR.

¹⁷⁵ “Unsub (Male) AKA Yanikian Commandos,” FBI, Oct. 27, 1973.

¹⁷⁶ “Letter Bomb Incident in New York,” STATE 212031, Oct. 26, 1973, NARA, AAD; and “Incident at Turkish Tourism and Information Office, New York,” STATE 213784, Oct. 30, 1973, NARA, AAD.

¹⁷⁷ “Unsub; Male, AKA The Yanikian Commandos,” FBI, Oct. 31, 1973.

¹⁷⁸ “Yanikian Commandos,” Memorandum, Department of State, Oct. 30, 1973.

¹⁷⁹ “Bayulken’s Concerns as Relayed by Ambassador Esenbel,” STATE 212574, Oct. 27, 1973, NARA, AAD; and “Security: Turkish Ambassador,” STATE 212624, October 28, 1973, NARA, AAD.

plan and coordinate the attacks.¹⁸⁰ The FBI, however, declined to divulge any intelligence they may have collected regarding an armed cell within the ARF, and suggested that Turkish representatives approach the State Department for any further information.¹⁸¹ On November 2, 1973 the Los Angeles Police Department received a call from a member of the Gourgen Yanikian Guerrillas who claimed to have placed a bomb in an auditorium scheduled to host the annual Turkish-American Club's banquet. After searching the premises, however, no bomb was found.¹⁸² Providing adequate protection for Turkish officials continued to be a topic of concern throughout the year and into 1974 for both the State Department and, undoubtedly, the Turkish government.¹⁸³

Conclusion

Through his assassination of two unarmed and unsuspecting diplomats, Gourgen Yanikian became the Armenian legend he so desired to become: "a hero to a young generation of radical Armenians who followed his example and began a series of assassinations of Turkish diplomats around the world."¹⁸⁴ Periodically covered in the Armenian-American press, his martyrdom was immediate and continued throughout the remainder of his life. In January 1974, an article in the ARF newspaper *Asbarez* called on its readers to "put aside the possible [emphasis mine] irrationality behind the act or the fruitlessness of his efforts" and take a moment to reflect on the great sacrifice Yanikian had made for the Armenian Cause, and the hero who now sits alone in his cell.¹⁸⁵ Similar articles followed, admonishing those in the Armenian community that had had the audacity to criticize his act in 1973.¹⁸⁶ Public interest in his life remained high, and the owner and editor of one of the major Armenian-American newspapers did not conceal his

¹⁸⁰ "Embassy of Turkey, PFO," FBI, November 6, 1973.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸² "Yanikian Commandos," FBI, Dec. 12, 1973.

¹⁸³ "Security Protection for Turkish Officials in the U.S.," Memorandum, Nov. 11, 1973, NARA, RG 59, SNF, 1970-73, POL & DEF, Box 2636, POL 7 TUR; and "Security for Turkish Diplomats," STATE 251402, Dec. 28, 1973, NARA, AAD.

¹⁸⁴ "Gourgen Yanikian, 88, Dies Soon After His Release From Prison," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, March 10, 1984.

¹⁸⁵ "An AYP Column: A Moment Please for Yanikian," *Asbarez*, Jan. 18, 1974.

¹⁸⁶ Percy Sarkisian, "Let's Not Forget Gourgen Yanikian," *Armenian Weekly*, May 1, 1975.

pleasure that Yanikian was incarcerated in a minimum-security facility that seemed more like a “retirement center” without any “visible security features.”¹⁸⁷

In his attempt to appeal his conviction to the U.S. Supreme Court, Yanikian was assisted by the U.S. based ASALA leader, Levon Yergatian, and financial contributions to his case continued.¹⁸⁸ Yanikian believed that “his own people placed him high on the pedestal reserved for heroes,” and claimed that Armenians of all ages came to visit him in prison to shake the hand of “a man with such heroic courage” and men even kissed his hand “that fired the shots.”¹⁸⁹ In the same interview, however, he laments that three years after the act, very few people come to visit him. In the parting words of the interviewer: “Perhaps the least we, as a people can do, is visit him occasionally to relieve his suffering and make his last days more bearable.”¹⁹⁰ By the end of 1977, Armenians were putting pressure on the Governor of California, Edmund G. Brown, Jr., to release Yanikian on humanitarian grounds due to his age and health, but within a few months Yanikian was complaining that “Certain fellow Armenians and Armenian organizations have striven and still would like to see me die in prison so that the so-called ‘Yanikian Case’ can be forgotten once and for all.”¹⁹¹

As Armenian terrorism increased towards the end of the decade, Yanikian was gratefully acknowledged as the source that ignited the violence perpetrated by Armenians around the globe and given them purpose.¹⁹² Despite his, and the Armenian community’s, hope that Yanikian would be released from prison early, his appeal for early release was denied and he was still in a minimum security prison seven years after the attack, allegedly due to pressure

¹⁸⁷ “New Trial Set for Next Month as Yanikian Case is Reopened,” *Armenian Reporter*, March 18, 1976; “Turkish Reporter Interviews Gourgen Yanikian,” *Armenian Observer*, March 31, 1976; Edward K. Boghosian, “Gourgen Yanikian: A Lonely Old Man Forgotten by His People,” *AR*, Oct. 28, 1976; “13,000 Donated to Yanikian,” *AO*, April 6, 1977; “G. Yanikian Expected to be Set Free on Parole Next Year,” *AR*, March 30, 1978; and “Gourgen Yanikian and the Resurgence of the Armenian Revolutionary Movement,” *AR*, Aug. 23, 1979.

¹⁸⁸ “New Trial Set for Next Month as Yanikian Case is Reopened,” *Armenian Reporter*, March 18, 1976; Edward K. Boghosian, “Gourgen Yanikian: A Lonely Old Man Forgotten by His People,” *AR*, Oct. 28, 1976; and “\$13,000 Donated to Yanikian,” *Armenian Observer*, April 6, 1977.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁹¹ “Release of G. Yanikian is Sought by Armenians of California,” *Armenian Reporter*, Dec. 15, 1977; and “G. Yanikian Expected to be Set Free on Parole Next Year,” *AR*, March 30, 1978

¹⁹² “Gourgen Yanikian and the Resurgence of the Armenian Revolutionary Movement,” *Armenian Reporter*, Aug. 23, 1979; “Gourgen Mkrtych Yanikian,” FBI, February 7, 1973, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Sec. 2 (725905), 239.

from the Turkish government.¹⁹³ By then, his narrative had changed yet again and he now claimed to have lost his “whole family to the Turkish Genocide of Armenians,” including his father, who previously was reported as having died from heart failure,¹⁹⁴ and he was disappointed that his actions had not been understood by the Armenian community.¹⁹⁵ Increased attention to his failure to obtain release prompted the creation of the Free Yanikian Committee, by the ASALA leader Levon Yergatian mentioned above, which urged Armenian-Americans to contact local and state politicians to grant Yanikian parole and stated that

As fervent believers in human and civil rights the Armenian community of Southern California and Armenian communities throughout the United States deplore the attempt of the Turkish government to exert pressure and influence the decision making process of a local, state and federal institution in our democratic society with regards to the fate of an American.¹⁹⁶

One young Armenian was so touched by his visit with Yanikian in prison that before leaving he declared to Yanikian “I worship you,” and then “kissed his right hand again and his beautiful cheek.”¹⁹⁷ Some, however, while arguing that Yanikian’s hatred and rage “can easily be explained” in a man “ensnared and then inextricably bound by a genocide he had no part in,” and a victim haunted by “world indifference, Turkish deceit and Western duplicity,” maintained that although Yanikian “warrants compassion and tears,” Armenians should not grant him “praise and admiration.”¹⁹⁸

The prospects of Yanikian’s release improved in early 1981, at the peak of ASALA and the ARF’s terrorist campaign, and a number of Armenians stepped forward to offer care and assistance to the now 84-year old.¹⁹⁹ The fact that the California Parole Board hearing his case received a letter from ASALA threatening retaliation against them if Yanikian was not immediately released undoubtedly had a positive effect on Yanikian’s chances.²⁰⁰ Public

¹⁹³ “Kourken Yanikian Reported to be in Failing Health,” *Armenian Reporter*, February 14, 1980; “Kourken Yanikian Remains in Prison,” *AR*, June 19, 1980; “Turks Interfere with Gourgen Yanikian Parole Hearing,” *Armenian Observer*, July 23, 1980; “Turkish Embassy Opposes Early Release of G. Yanikian,” *AR*, July 24, 1980.

¹⁹⁴ Anahid Jafargian, “An Unforgettable Visit with Gourgen Yanikian,” *Armenian Reporter*, September 4, 1980.

¹⁹⁵ Barlow Der Mugerdechian, “Yanikian Awaits Day of Freedom,” *Armenian-Mirror-Spectator*, Aug. 9, 1980; and Barlow Der Mugerdechian, “Yanikian Awaits Day of Freedom,” *Armenian Reporter*, Aug. 14, 1980.

¹⁹⁶ “Free Yanikian Committee Actively Seeking Parole for Gourgen Yanikian,” *Armenian Reporter*, Aug. 28, 1980; and “Committee Petitions for Prison Release of 86-year old Yanikian,” *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Aug. 30, 1980.

¹⁹⁷ Jafargian, “An Unforgettable Visit,” *Armenian Reporter*, Sept. 4, 1980.

¹⁹⁸ Mark Malkasian, “Gourgen Yanikian: A Prisoner of Hate,” *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Dec. 13, 1980.

¹⁹⁹ “Chances for Parole of Kourken Yanikian Improving,” *Armenian Reporter*, March 5, 1981.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

displays of support for Yanikian's release continued throughout the first half of the year.²⁰¹ In August, the efforts of local Armenians and ASALA proved successful and, in what was described as "a precedent-setting move that counters the objections of the U.S. State Department and the Turkish Government," Yanikian was released from prison on July 28, 1981, having only served 8-years of two consecutive life sentences, to a medical facility.²⁰² Inexplicably, California State Assemblyman Matthew Martinez, who supported Yanikian's release, went on record to state that Yanikian "impressed me with his appreciation for justice, whatever the situation, whoever it involved."²⁰³ A letter of thanks from Yanikian to all of his supporters in December 1981 was carried by all of the Armenian-American Newspapers.²⁰⁴

After his release, coverage of Yanikian was limited to updates on his health and his successful bid to receive full parole, which he was finally granted on January 31, 1984.²⁰⁵ He died three weeks later on February 27, 1984, having survived just long enough to witness firsthand the violence and murder he had helped unleash eleven years prior.²⁰⁶ Approximately 350 to 500 mourners attended a memorial service for Yanikian in Los Angeles, much fewer than expected, to pay their respects to the 89-year old who "had made history" by carrying out "the unspeakable but not the unthinkable." Those in attendance praise his act, and expressed their belief that "in our heart of hearts, we know he had not committed an act of murder, he had

²⁰¹ "Free Yanikian Committee Reports," *Armenian Observer*, March 25, 1981; "Hearing on Yanikian This Weekend," *Armenian Reporter*, March 26, 1981; "New Appeal Made for Release of 87-Year Old Gourgen Yanikian," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, June 27, 1981; and "Yanikian Court Hearing Hopeful," *Armenian Weekly*, June 27, 1981.

²⁰² "Yanikian Released," *Armenian Weekly*, Aug. 1, 1981; "Gourgen Yanikian Released from Jail. He will Stay in a Medical Facility," *Armenian Observer*, Aug. 5, 1981; "G. Yanikian, In Precedent Setting Move, Is Released From Prison For Medical Reasons," *Armenian Reporter*, Aug. 6, 1981; "Yanikian Released to Custody of LA Area Armenian," *AR*, Aug. 6, 1981; and "87-Year Old Gourgen Yanikian Freed: Shot 2 Turkish Diplomats in LA in 1973," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Aug. 8, 1981.

²⁰³ "Gourgen Yanikian, Health Improved, Sees Member of Ca. State Assembly," *Armenian Reporter*, Sept. 17, 1981.

²⁰⁴ "Yanikian Sends Letter," *Armenian Weekly*, Dec. 5, 1981; "Yanikian Writes Letter," *Armenian Observer*, Dec. 9, 1981; "Gourgen Yanikian Addresses Armenian People," *Armenian Reporter*, Dec. 17, 1981; and "Gourgen Yanikian Expresses Gratitude After Years of Imprisonment in California," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Dec. 19, 1981.

²⁰⁵ "Yanikian Undergoes Operation," *Armenian Observer*, May 26, 1982; "Yanikian has operation," *Armenian Weekly*, May 29, 1982; "Yanikian Undergoes Surgery," *Armenian Reporter*, June 3, 1982; "Gourgen Yanikian Recovering from Abdominal Surgery," *AR*, June 24, 1982; "Yanikian Recuperates," *AW*, July 3, 1982; "Yanikian, 87, Seeks Parole After Serving 10 Years for Turkish Consuls' Death," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Oct. 29, 1983; "Yanikian receives earlier parole date," *AW*, Oct. 29, 1983; "State of California Grants Parole to 88-Year Old Gourgen Yanikian After 10 Years," *AR*, Nov. 3, 1983; "Yanikian Wins Early Parole," *AMS*, Nov. 12, 1983; and "Gourgen Yanikian, 88, Dies Soon After His Release From Prison," *AMS*, March 10, 1984.

²⁰⁶ "Gourgen Yanikian, 88, Dies Soon After His Release From Prison," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, March 10, 1984.

committed an act of justice.”²⁰⁷ The ceremony was presided over by a local *ARF* leader, who had allegedly attempted to persuade Yanikian to allow the *ARF* to take credit for the murders.²⁰⁸

Less than a week after the murders, an article in the *New York Times* stated that it would be “an act of insanity” for Yanikian to hold Mr. Baydar or Bahadır Demir responsible for any alleged crimes that occurred in 1915. Tragically, what the author of that article did not know was that the situation was much worse. In reality, thousands of Armenians had been conditioned to hold *all* Turks responsible for the alleged crimes of 1915, and many would soon follow Yanikian in his “act of insanity. Gourgen Yanikian was much more than simply the first assassin of many during the 1970s and 1980s, or the inspiration for modern Armenian terrorism. He was a vital link between the *ARF*’s assassins of the early 20th century and the generation of Armenian terrorists that emerged in 1975. Whereas Tehlirian and his associates within Nemesis had gained the adulation of the Armenian diaspora through the assassination of men who, at least in their own minds, had been responsible for the massacres of 1915, Yanikian proved that 60 years removed from the events of 1915, the diaspora would now support the assassination of any Turk and that carrying out these death sentences made one an instant hero, whether or not the victim was a diplomat, spouse or even a child. This was the end result of fourteen years of revisions to the Armenian narrative, anti-Turkish rhetoric, and the explosion of publications, political lobbying and community outreach efforts to educate the Armenians since 1965 and a cult of violence both nourished and encouraged within the Armenian communities around the world. This was underscored by both *ASALA* and the *ARF*’s subsequent attempts to incorporate Yanikian’s legacy into their own revolutionary narratives.

²⁰⁷ “Armenians Mourn Man Who Killed Two Turks,” *Los Angeles Times*, March 11, 1984; and “Few People Attend Gourgen Yanikian's Funeral,” *Armenian Reporter*, March 22, 1984.

²⁰⁸ “Few People Attend Gourgen Yanikian's Funeral,” *Armenian Reporter*, March 22, 1984.

CHAPTER 4

THE RISE OF ARMENIAN POLITICAL VIOLENCE, 1974 – 1979

Introduction

In contrast to the flurry of activity at the end of 1973, however, 1974 was relatively uneventful except for unsubstantiated rumors that Armenian terrorists were involved in the crash of a Turkish Airlines jet in March and an “occupation” and demonstrations in the offices of three sympathetic California Congressmen by Armenian demonstrators in April to protest the treatment of Armenians in Turkey.¹ Instead, 1974 was an important year for political developments and activity among Armenians worldwide, and in particular Armenian-Americans. The year was dominated by the debates and controversy over paragraph 30, a paragraph in a U.N. Report that specifically linked Armenians to the “first genocide of the twentieth century,” and a slight amount of attention paid to the plight of Armenians still living in Turkey.

As U.S-Turkish relations continued to suffer during the early 1970s, Armenians had no trouble finding allies within the U.S. Congress to promote the Armenian Cause and anti-Turkish rhetoric. Their efforts received an unexpected boost when the Turkish government lifted the ban on domestic poppy production in mid-1974 and again with the Turkish intervention on Cyprus in July. Armenians joined the increasingly hostile Congressional and public debate over the Turkish government’s decision to lift the ban on the production of poppies. In July, Armenian-Americans joined with Greek-Americans and Congressional allies to criticize the Turkish military intervention on Cyprus and were among the most vocal advocates for the imposition of sanctions on the Turkish government for its military activity on the island.

By 1975, these factors led to the emergence of two groups based in a violent and politically deteriorating Beirut: ASALA and the ARF’s Justice Commandos. Both groups began

¹ “Armenian Patriarch Responds to Allegations on THY’s DC-10 Crash,” ISTANBUL 0610, March 8, 1974, NARA, AAD; “Press Reaction on Armenian Protest,” ANKARA 02994, April 19, 1974, NARA, AAD; “Armenian Protest,” STATE 081824, April 22, 1974, NARA, AAD; “Armenian Youth “Occupy” Congressmen’s Office as a Sign of Protest,” *Armenian Observer*, April 24, 1974; “Armenian Groups Occupy L.A. Offices of Congressmen Danielson, Holifield, Roybal on Issue of Turk Harassments,” *Armenian Weekly*, May 9, 1974.

to assassinate Turkish diplomats and bomb Turkish government installations, initially in Europe, and then spreading to the Middle East and North America before they moved on to more sophisticated attacks, including hijacking and hostage-taking, later in the decade. They represented similar aims, but different ideologies, and competed viciously for the financial and moral support of the Armenian diaspora. ASALA is recognized as the original group and is credited, by their own admission, with starting the Armenian terrorist campaign on January 20, 1975 with the bombing of the World Council of Churches' office in Beirut.²

Paragraph 30

In June of 1973, a progress report was submitted by the Special Rapporteur for the U.N.'s Commission on Human Rights' Sub-commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, tasked with studying the prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide, which contained a sentence that referred to the Armenians:

Passing to the modern era, one may note the existence of relatively full documentation dealing with the massacres of Armenians, which have been described as 'the first case of genocide in the twentieth century.'³

The Rwandan Special Rapporteur, Nicodeme Ruhashyankiko, used three sources for his passage on the Armenians, one of which was an influential, but controversial, book written by Dickran Boyajian, and it represented the first time the massacres and deportations of 1915 were mentioned in any official document of the United Nations.⁴ Since Armenian claims against

² Andrew Corsun, "Armenian Terrorism: A Profile," in *Department of State Bulletin* Vol. 82, No. 2065 (August 1982), 31, 34; Popular Movement for the ASALA, *ASALA Interviews* (Great Britain, April 1982), 9; Michael Gunter, *"Pursuing the Just Cause of their People": A Study of Contemporary Armenian Terrorism* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1986), 33; Anat Kurz and Ariel Merari, *ASALA—Irrational Terror or Political Tool* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1985), 21.

³ Levon Keshishian, "United Nations Study Cites Armenian Massacre," *Armenian Observer*, Aug. 22, 1973.

⁴ The three sources were: Victor Gardon, "Le Premier Genocide du XXeme Siecle," *Etudes Internationales de Psycho-Sociologie criminelle*, No. 14-15, 1968, 57-65; Prof. G. Nersisian, ed., *Genotsid armyan v osmanskoy imperii: Sbornik dokumentov i materialov*, Izdatelstvo AN Armianskoy SSR, Yerevan, 1966; and Dickran H. Boyajian, *Armenia: The Case for a Forgotten Genocide* (Educational Book Crafters, Westwood, New Jersey, 1972). For a positive review of Boyajian's book by an Armenian scholar see Richard H. Dekmejian, "Review of The Case for a Forgotten Genocide by Dickran Boyajian," *American Historical Review*, Vol. 81, No. 4 (Oct. 1976): 916-917. For Boyajian's influence see Michael J. Arlen, *Passage to Ararat* (New York: Farrar, Straust and Giroux, 1975), 28.

Turkey would be bolstered by an official recognition of the massacres and relocations of 1915 as genocide, paragraph 30 became a focal point of the Armenian diaspora's attention.⁵

In March 1974, Osman Olcay, the Turkish Permanent Representative to the United Nations argued that the paragraph "not only distorts historical facts, but conveys the impression that it was inspired by a biased propaganda, with no foundation, carried out always by certain activists imbued with racial and religious hatred," and asked for paragraph 30 be deleted from the U.N. progress report.⁶ Turkey's opposition to the report was known well in advance, and eleven countries, including the United States, supported the Turkish delegate's request on the grounds that the paragraph was based on questionable research used in the three sources the Rapporteur used for his report, and that the events of 1915 were taken out of context.⁷

The Yanikian murders, as well as the opium issue, also influenced the U.S. government's approach to the issue.⁸ Rather than out of concern for objectivity, fairness, respect and national security interests, however, Armenian critics, including Vahakn Dadrian, believed these delegates yielded to "covert and manifold Turkish pressures."⁹ Phillip E. Hoffman, the U.S. Permanent Representative at the United Nations, was subjected to intense personal criticism from Armenians and their Congressional allies, including from Boyajian, an attorney, the chairman of the Committee for the Restoration of Armenian Rights, and the author of one of

⁵ Levon Keshishian, "UN Body Adopts Genocide Study," *Armenian Observer*, Oct. 3, 1973; Levon Keshishian, "UN Sub-Commission to Meet in August to Examine Genocide Reference to Armenians," *AO*, June 12, 1974; Vazken L. Parseghian, "The Genocide Issue: What Comes Next?," *AO*, June 12, 1974; Levon Keshishian, "The Genocide of the Armenians and the Sessions of the UN Commission on Human Rights," *AO*, June 26, 1974 (weekly serial thereafter, through October 2, 1974); "Fate of Paragraph 30 of the United Nations Genocide Report," *AO*, July 17, 1974; "UN CHR's Official Report Touches Off Another "Paragraph" Tiff, Says "All Speakers" Backed Deletion of Paragraph 30," *Armenian Weekly*, Aug. 1, 1974; Levon Keshishian, "UN Sub-Commission to Discuss Genocide Issue August 20," *AO*, Aug. 21, 1974; "Special Rapporteur on Genocide Sounds Out Others on Problem of Paragraph 30," *AW*, Aug. 22, 1974; "Genocide Report Examination Postponed," *AO*, Aug. 28, 1974; "A 'Look Back' on How the World Today Views the Turkish Genocide of 1915...", *AW*, Aug. 29, 1974; "One Hundred Attend Reception of World Council of Churches Observer to CHR," *AW*, Sept. 5, 1974; and Anne Atanosian, "Prof. Shavarsh Toriguan: Championing the Armenian Case," *AW*, Oct. 3, 1974. See also Ara Caprielian, "Some Aspects of the Armenian Question and the Armenian Revolutionary Federation," *Armenian Review* Vol. 29, No. 4 (Winter 1976): 392.

⁶ "Human Rights Commission (HRC)— Item 14, Turkish Objection to Report on Genocide," USUN 0794, March 7, 1974, NARA, AAD; and Caprielian, "Some Aspects," 393.

⁷ "Human Rights Commission-Turkish Objection to Genocide Report," USUN 0738, March 4, 1974, NARA, AAD; "Human Rights Commission-Turkish Objection to Genocide Report," STATE 43578, March 5, 1974, NARA, AAD; "Human Rights Commission (HRC)— Item 14, Turkish Objection to Report on Genocide," USUN 794, March 7, 1974, NARA, AAD; "Turkey Supported at UN," *Armenian Observer*, March 27, 1974.

⁸ "Human Rights Commission-Turkish Objection to Genocide Report," ANKARA 1624, March 5, 1974, NARA, AAD.

⁹ Vahakn N. Dadrian, "Letters to the Editor: U.N. on Genocide: The Deleted Armenian Example," *New York Times*, March 30, 1974.

the questionable sources used for the preparation of the report. Hoffman was accused, along with the U.S. State Department, of encouraging “future Hitlers by conspiring to erase the first genocide of this century from the record.”¹⁰

The Armenian diaspora went on the offensive to oppose the Turkish objection, and Armenian-Americans were particularly incensed by the United States’ support for Turkey in this debate.¹¹ The ARF believed that the U.S. State Department, and in particular the Turkish Desk of the Near Eastern Affairs Department, was working hand in hand with Turkey to thwart their efforts to bring justice to the Armenian Cause.¹² A meeting with the State Department in July, and subsequent reflection, only reinforced such paranoia.¹³ The ARF responded immediately to the possibility of the deletion of paragraph 30 by bringing to bear every source of pressure and influence it had at its disposal to change the minds of the eleven countries opposed to its inclusion, and to strengthen the resolve of those countries in favor. This included letters and telegrams to President Nixon and the Secretary General of the United Nations, Kurt Waldheim, and other politicians, commentary, editorials, protests and demonstrations by the Armenian diaspora, and calls to do even more.¹⁴

¹⁰ Caprielian, 394-396; Dickran H. Boyajian, “An Open Letter to the Hon. Philip E. Hoffman,” *Armenian Observer*, May 1, 1974. See also “Armenian Rights Movement Calls for Concerted Action on Istanbul Crisis,” *AO*, May 15, 1974; “Keshishian Replies to Hoffman’s Letter,” *AO*, May 15, 1974; “Asadourian Writes a Letter to Mr. Hoffman of US Mission to UN, Chides US on ‘Paragraph 30’ Affair,” *Armenian Weekly*, May 23, 1974; and “Hoffman Replies to K. Asdourian,” *AO*, June 5, 1974.

¹¹ Levon Keshishian, “Turkey Wants No Mention of Genocide of Armenians in United Nations Study,” *Armenian Observer*, March 13, 1974; Levon Keshishian, “Turkey Demands Deletion of Any Reference to Armenians in U.N. Report on Genocide,” *Armenian Weekly*, March 28, 1974; “The ‘Paragraph 30’ Madness,” *AW*, April 4, 1974; “For Shame America,” *AW*, May 16, 1974; and “For Shame America,” *AO*, May 29, 1974.

¹² “No Surprise that U.S. Opted to Stand with Turkey in U.N. on Paragraph 30,” *Armenian Weekly*, April 11, 1974.

¹³ “State Dept. Briefing of ARF Convention Delegation Stressed ‘Non-Interference,’” *Armenian Weekly*, Aug. 8, 1974; “What Price ‘Foreign Policy?’,” *Armenian Weekly*, Aug. 15, 1974; “The A.R.F. Visits the State Dept.: The Rhetoric of ‘Non-Interference,’” *AW*, Aug. 15, 1974; and “Double Standard,” *Armenian Observer*, Oct. 16, 1974.

¹⁴ “‘Paragraph 30’ Telegrams,” *Armenian Weekly*, April 4, 1974; “Significant Memorial Services in Fresno,” *Armenian Observer*, May 1, 1974; “Members of the Senate, House Sent Letter Protesting Position of the United States on ‘Paragraph 30’ of U.N. Report,” *AW*, May 2, 1974; “A Letter of Protest,” *AO*, May 15, 1974; “Columnist Greenberg Cites ‘Paragraph 30’ Incident in Genocide Discussion,” *AW*, May 16, 1974; “On the United Nations Affair and Our Response,” *AW*, May 16, 1974; “Ever the Respondent,” *AO*, May 22, 1974; “‘Aztag Weekly and ‘Paragraph 30’,” *AW*, June 6, 1974; “Under-Secretary Responds to Telegram,” *AO*, June 12, 1974; “A Telegram of Protest,” *AO*, June 19, 1974; “The Genocide Issue: What Comes Next?,” *AO*, June 19, 1974; “Two Thoughts Plus One on the ANC Visit to UN Delegations,” *AW*, June 20, 1974; “AYF Convention Delegation in Demonstration,” *AW*, July 4, 1974; “Department of State Promises to Clarify U.S. Stand on the UN Genocide Issue,” *AO*, July 17, 1974; Michael Minasian, “A Brief Outline on National Activities,” *Armenian Observer*, July 24, 1974; “New England Armenian Assembly Discusses Genocide Issue and Civil Rights of Armenians Living in Turkey,” *AO*, August 7, 1974; “N.E. Assembly Ponders Problems of Turkey, U.N., Activism,” *AW*, August 15, 1974; “National Armenian Assembly Plans Airlie Convocation for Sept. 27-29,” *AO*, August 21, 1974; “Third National Convocation of Armenian Assembly, Due Sept. 27-29, Will Discuss Principally Turk Pressures on Armenians,”

In an argument nearly identical to the one put forth by the Turkish government, the ARF argued that Turkey was putting forth a “myth” and had “presented a one-sided view of the genocide,” in its objections to paragraph 30.¹⁵ Additionally, the ARF sent an official delegation from its lobby organization, the Armenian National Congress, to the United Nations on multiple occasions; a delegation that included Dr. Kevork Donabedian, Secretary of the ARF Central Committee of the United States, and Mourad Topalian, a member and, an alleged future leader of the ARF’s terrorist wing in the United States who was indicted by the U.S Government in 1999.¹⁶ The ARF was also increasingly frustrated by any questioning of the Armenian narrative as it was laid out in the World War I propaganda literature: “The genocide which claimed the lives of 1^{1/2} - 2^{1/2} million Armenian population of Turkey is a historic fact which is proven and described in detail by such prominent historians as Arnold Toynbee and James Bryce.”¹⁷

Despite their efforts, however, in May 1974 the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, the body overseeing the work of the Commission of Human Rights, adopted a resolution containing a recommendation to delete paragraph 30 from the final report.¹⁸ This caused an intensification of the ANC’s efforts, and the organization used its influence in Congress, particularly the House of Representatives, to both criticize and try to sway the U.S. government’s position on paragraph 30. The ARF found Congress much more accommodating, due to its frequent elections, to the Armenian Cause than the U.S. State Department: “Congress has the need and ability to serve our interests, and the desire, if we inform them properly of our concern... In this way, the Armenians can begin to obtain political influence in the affairs of

AW, August 29, 1974; “Notice Must Be Paid!,” *AO*, September 4, 1974; and “Mid-Atlantic Armenian Assembly Discusses UN Subcommittee’s,” *AO*, September 25, 1974. See also Caprielian, 395.

¹⁵ “Members of the Senate, House Sent Letter Protesting Position of the United States on ‘Paragraph 30’ of U.N. Report,” *Armenian Weekly*, May 2, 1974.

¹⁶ “Armenian National Committee Representatives in Visits to 12 U.N. Delegations; Hand Over Memorandum on Genocide,” *Armenian Weekly*, June 6, 1974; “Armenian National Council Presents Memorandum to UN Representatives,” *Armenian Observer*, June 12, 1974; and “A.N.C. Delegation Visits Greece, Cyprus and Soviet United Nations Missions,” *AW*, August 15, 1974. See also *United States of America v. Mourad Topalian, aka “Moose,”* United States District Court for the Northern District of Ohio, Eastern Division, Cr. No. 358.

¹⁷ Caprielian, 395.

¹⁸ “Mother Body of U.N. Commission on Human Rights ‘Takes Note of’— Endorses— Report Bearing Deletion of Paragraph 30,” *Armenian Weekly*, June 6, 1974; Gunter, *Pursuing the Just Cause*, 36-37; and Kurz and Merari, *ASALA*, 62.

this country.”¹⁹ In August, the ARF also organized demonstrations in front of the United Nations that drew between 300-700 participants.²⁰

Their renewed efforts, however, were also unsuccessful. While a final decision was postponed to mid-1975 after the Special Rapporteur failed to arrive for a session to discuss the report in August 1974, the Armenians conceded defeat in the contest over paragraph 30.²¹ The long, hard, but unsuccessful struggle to secure the first official acknowledgement of the Armenian relocations and massacres as genocide, caused indignation and exasperation on the part of Armenians worldwide. Largely seen as a Turkish conspiracy, an ARF newspaper declared that “Armenians must determine—insist—that our abiding commitment to disallow further conscious efforts by the Turks to undermine our efforts to recognize a just solution to the Armenian Question be not sabotaged.”²² While the fight raged for another four years, the paragraph was ultimately deleted from the report.²³

Armenians in Turkey

Of only slightly less concern to the Armenian diaspora during this period was the plight of Armenians still residing in Turkey, and shortly after the Yanikian murders Armenians turned their political weight and influence to this matter. The issue first surfaced during the FBI’s investigation of the Armenian community in California, and continued throughout the following years.²⁴ While there were no instances of violence or reprisals against Armenians in Turkey, the Armenian diaspora believed that the Turkish government was purposefully restricting their cultural heritage and attempting to destroy the ethnic identity of Armenians by implementing

¹⁹ “State Department Comments on April 24 Coalition Protest,” *Armenian Observer*, June 5, 1974; “Cong. O’Neill Says He’ll Discuss Paragraph 30 with Pres. Nixon, Kissinger,” *Armenian Weekly*, Aug. 1, 1974; Leon Sarkisian, “The A.R.F. Visits the State Dept.: The Rhetoric of ‘Non-Interference’,” *AW*, Aug. 15, 1974; and “Editems,” *AW*, Sept. 12, 1974. See also Caprielian, 396.

²⁰ “Turks’ Action on U.N. Report Brings Armenian Protests,” *New York Times*, Aug. 13, 1974; “Armenian Demonstration at UN Demands Retention of Paragraph 30 in U.N. Document,” *Armenian Weekly*, Aug. 22, 1974.

²¹ “Absence of Special Rapporteur Leads U.N. Subcommittee to Defer Deliberations on Subject of ‘Paragraph 30’ Reference to ‘Turkish Massacres of Armenians,’” *Armenian Weekly*, Sept. 5, 1974; Levon Keshishian, “UN Genocide [sic] Report Postponed,” *Armenian Observer*, Sept. 11, 1974; and “What Went on at Latest U.N. Session on ‘Paragraph 30,’” *Armenian Weekly*, September 19, 1974.

²² Anne Atanosian, “Prof. Shavarsh Toriguan: Championing the Armenian Case,” *Armenian Weekly*, Oct. 3, 1974.

²³ “Paragraph 30 Succumbs to Turkish Pressure; It is Removed from Special UN Study,” *Armenian Reporter*, Aug. 10, 1978.

²⁴ “Gourgen Mkrtich Yanikian,” FBI, 1038453-000, HQ 185-50, Section 3 (725906), 539-540.

restrictions on real estate transactions, charitable endowments and education.²⁵ In order to alleviate fears, both the ARF and the recently established Armenian Assembly, a non-partisan advocacy group and lobby, urged the U.S. Government to “prevent the more than 100,000 Armenians in Turkey from being pushed down the road of cultural and ethical banishment,” and to “take immediate and decisive steps to stop the Turkish government from committing [sic] a new wave of genocide from sweeping Turkey.”²⁶

The perceived lack of interest on the part of the United States and the United Nations, and the State Department’s contention that it found no evidence of “recent persecution of Armenians in Turkey, nor for that matter, of any other minority groups,” caused resentment and disappointment among the diaspora’s political leadership, who resolved to increase their efforts to “help” Armenians in Turkey.²⁷ Despite their failures to influence the debate over paragraph 30 and to generate enough governmental interest in the Armenians in Turkey, however, the Armenian diaspora and its political leadership were the beneficiaries of two international events that greatly improved their situation in the public relations battle to demonize the Turkish Republic. The first was the United States’ efforts to combat the flow of heroin in the country, and the second was the Greco-Turkish dispute over Cyprus during the summer of 1974.

The Opium Issue

During the 1968 presidential race, Richard Nixon promised a solution to the escalating problem of drug addiction in the United States. In 1969, Turkey, since it was allegedly the originating source for 80% of the opium being refined into the heroin distributed in the United States, took

²⁵ Caprielian, 387-391; “National Steering Committee of the Armenian Assembly: A State of Concern,” *Armenian Observer*, Jan. 30, 1974; and “Blackmail: A Turkish Art,” *Armenian Weekly*, March 14, 1974.

²⁶ “Rep. Lawrence Williams (PA) to Sec. State Kissinger,” March 23, 1974, DDRS.

²⁷ “Armenian National Committee Statement Expresses General Disappointment at U.S., U.N. Responses to Turkish Harassments,” *Armenian Weekly*, April 11, 1974; “Armenian Assembly Discusses Difficulties Faced by Armenians in Turkey,” *Armenian Observer*, May 1, 1974; “Armenian Rights Movement Calls for Concerted Action on Istanbul Crisis,” *AO*, May 15, 1974; “Assembly Meeting Discusses Issue of Turk Harassments,” *AW*, May 16, 1974; “Ever the Respondent,” *AO*, May 22, 1974; “State Department Comments on April 24 Coalition Protest,” *AO*, June 5, 1974; “New England Armenian Assembly Discusses Genocide Issue and Civil Rights of Armenians Living in Turkey,” *AO*, Aug. 7, 1974; “N.E. Assembly Ponders Problems of Turkey, U.N., Activism,” *AW*, Aug. 15, 1974; “National Armenian Assembly Plans Airlie Convocation for Sept. 27-29,” *AO*, Aug. 21, 1974; and “Third National Convocation of Armenian Assembly, Due Sept. 27-29, Will Discuss Principally Turk Pressures on Armenians,” *AW*, Aug. 29, 1974.

the full brunt of Nixon's anti-drug campaign.²⁸ Negative attacks and anti-Turkish rhetoric increased substantially during this period, once Turkey was rather dubiously identified as the primary culprit facilitating the degeneration of American youth.²⁹ Targeted both because of its susceptibility to U.S. pressure and because the real culprits, the governments and/or guerrillas of Thailand, Burma and Laos were much more difficult to reach, Turkey curtailed the areas where poppy cultivation was allowed and eventually implemented a complete ban on domestic poppy production in the summer of 1971, to take effect the following year.³⁰

In order to relieve economic consequences of this ban, and because it was one of the UN approved producers of poppies, the U.S. government promised approximately 35 million U.S. dollars in subsidies to compensate effected Turkish farmers, promote substitute crops and strengthen measures to counter the opium trade on the black market.³¹ For a variety of reasons, including the fact that very little of that assistance made it to the farmers; domestic political concerns; disagreement, even among U.S. officials, over the efficacy of the ban; Turkey's loss of the legal trade in pharmaceutical grade opium; the average Turk's lack of sympathy for American misuse of their traditional agricultural product; and, simply, because the Turks did not appreciate being told what they could or could not grow, the ban was doomed from the start.³²

By February 1974, the U.S. government was notified that Turkey was reevaluating the ban, and on July 1, Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit formally removed the ban on poppy

²⁸ "Antiheroin Drive by U.S. is Disclosed," *New York Times*, August 5, 1969; and Richard L. Madden, "4 Urge U.S. to Push Narcotics Fight," *NYT*, Sept. 18, 1969. See also Baskin Oran, ed., *Turkish Foreign Policy, 1919-2006: Facts and Analyses with Documents* (Salt Lake City, UT: The University of Utah Press, 2010): 422-423.

²⁹ "Antiheroin Drive by U.S. is Disclosed," *New York Times*, August 5, 1969.

³⁰ "U.S. Presses Pacts with 3 Countries in Fight on Heroin," *New York Times*, Jan. 7, 1970; "Narcotics Meeting is Set For Ankara," *NYT*, Jan. 18, 1970; "Turkey Agrees at Meeting to Tighten Curbs on Opium," *NYT*, Jan. 23, 1970; "Antiheroin Pacts Announced by U.S.," *NYT*, March 6, 1970; "Turkish Program Curbing Opium Poppy," *NYT*, June 11, 1970; "U.S. Loan to Turkey Dismays Narcotics Officials," *NYT*, June 14, 1970; "Turkey Rebuffs U.S. on Opium Poppy Ban," *NYT*, Sept. 11, 1970; "Opium Traffic Seems Unaffected by Turkish Drive," *NYT*, Jan. 17, 1971; "Turkish Premier Vows to Halt Illicit Opium Traffic," *NYT*, May 2, 1971; John Herbers, "Nixon Says Turks Agree to Ban the Opium Poppy," *NYT*, July 1, 1971; and "Turkey's Poppy Curb is Assessed," *NYT*, July 2, 1971. See also Oran, *Turkish Foreign Policy*, 422-423.

³¹ Dana Adams Schmidt, "Poppy-Ban Cost to U.S. Disclosed," *New York Times*, Nov. 21, 1971.

³² "Turkey: A Crop of Problems," *New York Times*, Jan. 21, 1972; James M. Markham, "Curb on Poppies Held Unrealistic," *NYT*, Feb. 24, 1972; "Turkish Premier Says Ban on Poppies Hurts Economy," *NYT*, Feb. 27, 1972; Kathleen Teltsch, "Asian Area is Aim of Drive on Opium," *NYT*, March 13, 1972; Hans J. Spielman, "The Southeast Asian Connection," *NYT*, May 17, 1972; Henry Kamm, "Turkish Farmers See Poverty in Ban on the Poppy," *NYT*, Oct. 3, 1972; and Kamm, "Turkish Ban on Poppy: Delayed Impact Seen," *NYT*, Oct. 10, 1972.

production on July 1, 1974, just a few years after it was originally implemented.³³ Whereas the reaction of the U.S. government and the press was fairly neutral, the recalling of the U.S. Ambassador to Turkey, William Macomber aside, Armenian-Americans and members of the U.S. Congress were livid.³⁴ Even prior to the announcement of the Turkish Government's decision to rescind the ban, certain members of Congress called for a freeze on all loans and the suspension of economic and military aid to Turkey.³⁵ Much like Armenian anger over paragraph 30, Congress began to accuse the State Department of interference on behalf of the Turkish government to "impede Congressional efforts to cut off aid to Turkey if she goes ahead with her decision to resume cultivation of opium poppies."³⁶ Armenian-Americans lent their full support to these Congressional efforts to punish Turkey, and used the tense conditions between the United States and Turkey as another opportunity to report and editorialize on the inherently ungrateful, malignant and destructive nature of the Turk, Turkey's ill intentions towards the youth (i.e. drug addicts and potential addicts) of America, and U.S.-Turkish relations.³⁷

³³ "Turkey Tells U.S. She Will Resume Opium Cultivation," *New York Times*, Feb. 15, 1974; "Turkey Asks U.S. for Restudy of Ban on Cultivation of Opium," *NYT*, Feb. 21, 1974; "Turk is Bringing Opium Message," *NYT*, March 13, 1973; "Conversation with MFA SECGEN; Opium Poppy Ban," ANKARA 3507, May 9, 1974, NARA, AAD; and "Turks Lift Ban on Poppy Culture Imposed in 1971 at U.S. Request," *NYT*, July 2, 1971.

³⁴ "Local Congressmen Take Opium Protest to Turkey," *New York Times*, March 14, 1974; "2 From U.S. Appeal to Turkey on Opium," *NYT*, March 15, 1974; Steven Roberts, "Opium Again Hurts U.S.-Turkish Links," *NYT*, May 8, 1974; "The Poppies of Anatolia," *NYT*, May 27, 1974; "New Influx of Drugs Seen as Turkey Drops Its Ban," *NYT*, July 4, 1974; Bernard Gwertzman, "U.S. Calls Back Its Envoy in Turkish Opium Dispute," *NYT*, July 6, 1974; "Turkey Asks U.S. Ideas on Opium Curbs," *NYT*, July 8, 1974; "Envoy to Turkey Consults in U.S.," *NYT*, July 9, 1974; Gwertzman, "U.S. Tries to Avoid Showdown With Turks on Poppies," *NYT*, July 10, 1974; Roberts, "Turks See No Major Rift with U.S. Over Poppies," *NYT*, July 11, 1974; "The Poppy Problem," *NYT*, July 13, 1974; C.L. Sulzberger, "The Opium of the People," *NYT*, Aug. 24, 1974; and David Holden, "Letter from Turkey," *NYT*, Oct. 27, 1974.

³⁵ "O'Hara Ties U.S. Aid to Turk Opium," *Armenian Observer*, June 5, 1974; "Pending Congressional Resolution Urges Pres. Enforce Laws Against "Drug" Nations," *Armenian Weekly*, June 6, 1974; "Joint Congressional Resolution Demands an End to Aid to Turkey; President Urged to Act on Law," *AW*, June 6, 1974; "Senate Votes to End Aid to Nations Selling Illicit Opium," *New York Times*, July 12, 1974; "House Panel Votes to Bar Eximbank Loans to Turks," *NYT*, Aug. 1, 1974; and "House Votes to Ban U.S. Aid if Turks Don't Curb Opium," *NYT*, Aug. 6, 1974.

³⁶ "U.S. Aides Criticized on Aid to Turkey," *New York Times*, Sept. 14, 1974.

³⁷ "Blackmail: A Turkish Art," *Armenian Weekly*, March 14, 1974; "Letters to the Editor: Outraged by Turkish Opium Move," *AW*, March 14, 1974; James Tashjian, "Letters: Reacts to Turkish Opium Growing," *Armenian Observer*, March 27, 1974; "LA Examiner' Writes Editorial on Poppy Growing in Turkey," *AO*, March 27, 1974; "Armenian Youth "Occupy" Congressmen's Office as a Sign of Protest," *AO*, April 24, 1974; "226 Men and Women-- and a "Holy Cow" Policy," *AW*, July 4, 1974; "Representative Wolff Stresses Bi-partisan Support of HJR 507 on Opium," *AW*, July 4, 1974; "Cong. Cronin in House Address on Turk Genocide," *AW*, July 4, 1974; "United States Recalls Envoy as Turkey Lifts Ban on Opium Poppy Crop," *AO*, July 10, 1974; "Turkey Stands Firm on Opium Poppy Crop," *AO*, July 17, 1974; Pierre Papazian, "Turkey's 'Easy Way Out'," *NYT*, July 18, 1974; Aram Saroyan, "Europe's Sick Man Growing Poppies," *AO*, July 31, 1974; "United States Ambassador to Turkey Recalled as Turkish Government Lifts Ban on Mass Opium Growing," *AW*, Aug. 1, 1974; "Two Editorial Commentaries on the U.S. and Turkish Drug Problem," *AW*, Aug. 8, 1974; "Demonstration at United Nations

Cyprus

The suspension of the poppy ban occurred a mere two weeks before a coup by Greek nationalists in Cyprus, sponsored by the military government of Greece, prompted a Turkish military intervention on the island to secure the safety of the island's Turkish inhabitants.³⁸ The initial coverage of the Cyprus crisis in the national press tended towards an unbiased and objective appraisal of the events before, during, and after Turkish intervention in July and August, despite letters and advertisements from Greek-Americans and Greek-American organizations attempting to influence public opinion.³⁹ It is noteworthy that the first reports of alleged atrocities and unprovoked violence against civilians by neutral advisors emphasized primarily Greek on Turkish attacks, and the handling of Turkish prisoners and hostages by the Greek-Cypriot National Guard, although by the end of the conflict there were recriminations on both sides.⁴⁰ In mid-August, however, when the Turkish military moved to occupy one-third of the island after negotiations with Greece and Greek Cypriot leaders broke down, the mood

Headquarters," USUN 2813, Aug. 14, 1974, NARA, AAD; "Senate O.K.'s Mondale Measure to Cut Off Aid to Turkey on Dope," *AW*, Aug. 15, 1974; "The House Adopts Danielson Resolution Calling for an End to US Aid to Turkey," *AO*, Aug. 21, 1974; "Rep. Danielson Resolution on Aid to Turks Adopted," *AW*, Aug. 29, 1974; "House Resolves Foreign Aid to Turkey Be Cut if No Opium Safeguards," *AW*, Sept. 5, 1974; Pete Hamill, "Act of War," *AW*, Sept. 5, 1974; "Wants World Bank Cut Off Turks," *AW*, Sept. 5, 1974; "Nearly Unnoticed, New Opium Crop Planted in Turkey," *AW*, Nov. 7, 1974; and "Opium Regrowing by Turks May Spark New Drug Crisis," *AW*, Dec. 19, 1974.

³⁸ "Turks Land Troops in Cyprus, Intervene After Military Coup," *New York Times*, July 20, 1974. See also Oran, 446-452.

³⁹ "U.S. Apparently Misread Turks' Sense of Urgency," *New York Times*, July 21, 1974; "Roots of Conflict in 1960 Accord," *NYT*, July 22, 1974; Alvin Shuster, "Why Such Concern Over Little Cyprus," *NYT*, July 28, 1974; "Bitter Cyprus," *NYT*, July 28, 1974; Robert Kleiman, "NATO's Cyprus Score," *NYT*, July 30, 1974; Terence Smith, "Reporter's Notebook: Politeness and Violence Mix in Cyprus," *NYT*, July 30, 1974; Juan de Onis, "Cypriote Village a Battle Scene," *NYT*, July 31, 1974; Marios L. Evriviades, "Of Greece, Turkey and Cypriot Suffering," *NYT*, July 31, 1974; Thomas Spelios, "The Smyrna Parallel," *NYT*, July 31, 1974; George Dimitracopoulos, "The Greek's Due," *NYT*, Aug. 3, 1974; Bilge Bester, "Of Turkey, Greece and the Cyprus Question," *NYT*, Aug. 10, 1974; Henry Giniger, "Troops Enter Famagusta and Push to Split Island," *NYT*, Aug. 16, 1974; Giniger, "Drive Completed," *NYT*, Aug. 17, 1974; C.L. Sulzberger, "The Mad Honey of Pontus," *NYT*, Aug. 18, 1974; William V. Shannon, "Whose Crisis?," *NYT*, Aug. 20, 1974; American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association, "In the Name of Humanity: Let's Stop the Killing in Cyprus," *NYT*, Aug. 22, 1974; Lawrence Durrell, "Must the Lemons Remain Bitter?," *NYT*, Aug. 23, 1974; and David Holden, "Letter from Turkey," *NYT*, Oct. 27, 1974.

⁴⁰ "Evacuees Tell Grim Tales of Shootings," *New York Times*, July 22, 1974; "Security Council to Meet on Atrocity Issue Today," *NYT*, July 22, 1974; "Civilian Casualties Mount in Nicosia as Turkish Planes Bomb and Strafe the City," *NYT*, July 22, 1974; Terence Smith, "Release Tied to Negotiations," *NYT*, July 26, 1974; Terence Smith, "A Mass Killing in Cyprus: Two Versions of Its Cause," *NYT*, July 29, 1974; Juan de Onis, "Troops Arrest Ethnic Greek Men—Oust Women and Children from Havens," *NYT*, Aug. 5, 1974; "Villagers Driven From Cyprus Homes Charge Murder and Rape by Turks," *NYT*, Aug. 6, 1974; "Needed: A U.N. Probe," *NYT*, Sept. 5, 1974; "Greek Cypriotes Counter Turks with Charge of Mass Murder," *NYT*, Sept. 6, 1974; James F. Clarity, "The Hatred in Cyprus: Not Part of the Negotiations," *NYT*, Sept. 8, 1974; and "In Turkey, an Exodus of Greeks," *NYT*, Sept. 11, 1974.

began to change in the United States, even though the U.S. Ambassador to Cyprus, Rodger P. Davies, was assassinated by Greek-Cypriot forces.⁴¹

By the fall, Turkey was portrayed as the aggressor in influential circles and the side, rather counter-intuitively because of its perceived military advantage, which should give up ground.⁴² The original crisis which had prompted the Turkish intervention gave way to accusations of Turkey engaging in a “massive military offensive on Cyprus, which killed thousands of innocent civilians and left a quarter of a million people homeless” and calls for Turkey, the victor, to “make meaningful concessions, such as territorial and troop withdrawals and permission for displaced Greek Cypriotes to return to their homes in the northern part of the island.”⁴³ Although Cyprus served to divert the attention of an already anti-Turkish U.S. Congress away from the issue of poppies and the poisoning of America, the solution was the same: to punish Turkey through a suspension of all U.S. aid to Turkey.⁴⁴

Armenians, Greeks and the U.S. Congress

By late 1974, and in time for elections, the interests of Congress, Armenian-Americans and Greek-Americans merged. These groups were speaking the same language, and had the same enemy: the State Department and White House.⁴⁵ The two ethnic lobbies even began to jointly endorse candidates for Congressional elections.⁴⁶ While the Executive Branch believed excessive pressure on Turkey would ultimately be detrimental to peace negotiations, and despite winning the first round, President Ford and Secretary of State Kissinger ultimately lost the test of wills when Congress imposed an arms embargo

⁴¹ “To Restrain Turkey,” *New York Times*, Aug. 13, 1974; “Cyprus Fighting Resumes as Peace Talks Collapse,” *NYT*, Aug. 14, 1974; “Intolerable Conquest,” *NYT*, Aug. 17, 1974; and Juan de Onis, “Ankara Says Tragedy Echoes Ordeals of Turks on Cyprus,” *NYT*, Aug. 19, 1974.

⁴² “Crucial Turkish Pledge,” *New York Times*, Aug. 20, 1974; “Turkey is Ineligible,” *NYT*, Sept. 14, 1974; and “Toward Cyprus Peace,” *NYT*, Sept. 26, 1974.

⁴³ “Persuading the Turks,” *New York Times*, Oct. 19, 1974.

⁴⁴ “Turkey is Ineligible,” *New York Times*, Sept. 14, 1974; Bernard Gwertzman, “Senators Seeking to Bar Turkey Aid,” *NYT*, Sept. 18, 1974; “House Approves Measure to Halt Arms Aid to Turks,” *NYT*, Sept. 25, 1974; Richard L. Madden, “House Again Acts to Ban Deliveries of Arms to Turks,” *NYT*, Oct. 8, 1974; Madden, “House Blocks Bid to Delay Cutoff of U.S. Aid to Turks,” *NYT*, Oct. 12, 1974; and Oran, 422-426.

⁴⁵ “The ‘Inexcusable Tolerance’ of the Department of State,” *Armenian Weekly*, August 29, 1974; “‘Liberation vs. ‘Detente’,” *AW*, Oct. 3, 1974; “California ANC in Statement on Cyprus Crisis,” *AW*, November 21, 1974; “Sen. Kennedy Blasts State Department on Cyprus, Says Turkish Aid Went Up,” *AW*, Dec. 12, 1974; and “The Eighth of the World,” *AW*, Dec. 12, 1974.

⁴⁶ “Armenian-Greek Coalition Announces Support of Congressional Candidates for Next Week,” *Armenian Observer*, Oct. 30, 1974.

against Turkey in February 1975, and pushed the United States into openly pro-Greek position.⁴⁷ Armenian-American interest groups and the Armenian-American press were able to capitalize on both the Opium and Cyprus crises in U.S.-Turkish relations to join with Greek special interest groups and U.S. Congressmen to further their own cause, and to promote anti-Turkishness beyond Armenian and Greek communities to the larger public. In an official statement, the *ANC* declared:

there is no question as to where the Armenian National Committee and its affiliated organizations stand on the Cyprus issue. We stand with our Hellenic brothers against the barbarous Turkish invasion of the Republic of Cyprus, and we have an obligation to expose and bring to an end U.S. support of an ‘ally’ which defiantly and illegally uses arms supplied by U.S. taxpayers only for defense in an act of unprovoked aggression, which has resumed opium cultivation after receiving millions in U.S. ‘subsidies’ and billions in U.S. aid and which blackmails the U.S. into the untenable position taken by the U.S. Representative in the Human Rights Commission on March 5 on the matter of ‘Paragraph 30’⁴⁸

The *ARF* and Armenian-Americans voiced their support of Congressional efforts to suspend aid to Turkey, and stood proudly behind the members of Congress who were willing to stand up to the Turks in defiance of the Ford Administration, Kissinger’s State Department, and centuries of misguided U.S. foreign policy toward Turkey:

Congress today is fighting an American foreign policy relating to Turkey which has been sacrosanct of all intelligence and imagination since its pronouncement. It is to the credit of those members of Congress who are insisting that Turkey be isolated from American assistance that they are demonstrating an exciting new maturity in our approach to a malefactor nation which has continued to take from

⁴⁷ “Senate Votes to Cut Off Military Aid to Turkey as Unlawful, But Secretary Kissinger Urges Assistance be Continued,” *Armenian Weekly*, Sept. 26, 1974; “Military Aid to Turkey Would be Cut Off by House,” *AW*, Oct. 3, 1974; “Foreign Aid Bill Shelved,” *AW*, Oct. 3, 1974; “The Story and the Fury: Congress Moves to Cut Off Military Aid to Turkey (Well, Almost!),” *AW*, Oct. 10, 1974; Leslie H. Gelb, “The Foreign-Aid Fight,” *NYT*, Oct. 12, 1974; “Turkey: Still Ineligible,” *NYT*, Oct. 13, 1974; Leslie H. Gelb, “Senate Unit Charges U.S. With Using Cyprus Relief to Help Turkey,” *NYT*, Oct. 14, 1974; Marjorie Hunter, “Ford Vetoes Spending Bill that Halts Aid to Turkey,” *NYT*, Oct. 15, 1974; Richard L. Madden, “House Lets Stand Veto of a Cutoff of Aid to Turkey,” *NYT*, Oct. 16, 1974; “Congress Bucks Threat of Presidential Veto, Votes Cutoff of Turks, Then Senate Defers,” *AW*, Oct. 17, 1974; Richard L. Madden, “President Agrees on Aid for Turkey,” *NYT*, Oct. 18, 1974; “Persuading the Turks,” *NYT*, Oct. 19, 1974; “Senate Foreign Aid Authorization Bill Carries No Restrictions on Turkish Arms,” *AW*, Dec. 5, 1974; “Senate Version of Foreign Aid Bill Asks Turk Cutoff in 3 Mo’s. If No Compliance with U.S. Law,” *AW*, Dec. 12, 1974; “Sen. Kennedy Blasts State Department on Cyprus, Says Turkish Aid Went Up,” *AW*, Dec. 12, 1974; “Overwhelming House Vote to Continue Turkish Aid Cutoff,” *AW*, Dec. 19, 1974; “Cutoff of Aid to Turkey Now Reset for February 5,” *AW*, Dec. 26, 1974; Bernard Gwertzman, “Kissinger Fails to Achieve Delay in Turkey Aid Cutoff,” *NYT*, Feb. 2, 1975; Bernard Gwertzman, “Ford Tells Congress that Turkey Aid Cutoff Imperils Security,” *NYT*, Feb. 6, 1975; C.L. Sulzberger, “When the Farce Comes First,” *NYT*, Feb. 8, 1975.

⁴⁸ “The Cyprus Crisis: A Position Statement of the Armenian National Committee of America,” *Armenian Weekly*, Sept. 19, 1974.

us and give us very little, which has scorned us and embarrassed us, and whose loyalty to America is, and has been, of doubtful quality throughout the various eras...Our faith in America has been reaffirmed.⁴⁹

They also made clear their disapproval of President Ford's attempt to circumvent Congress:

It seems to us that the President was the victim of the same dangerously tiresome State Department overthink and misjudgment which continues to portray Turkey as an 'important and contributing ally' even after a span of 15 years during which that 'important ally' has practically kicked the American defense establishment out of Turkey...a period during which Turkey has insulted, scorned, condemned and caricatured the U.S. and its generosity, burned down American information offices and stoned its Embassy and other American installations...⁵⁰

The Armenian-American press began to report on Turkish intervention and the alleged destruction of Armenian property on Cyprus, and the result was yet another narrative and example of the unchanging brutality, disloyalty and rapacious violence of the Turk and where "plunder is a spiritual necessity for the Turk."⁵¹ The success of this campaign on their own

⁴⁹ "Is America Coming of Age?," *Armenian Weekly*, Oct. 17, 1974. See also "ANC Wires Urge Ban on Aid," *Armenian Weekly*, Oct. 31, 1974; "Mass. Congressmen Cronin, Moakley Blast Turks," *AW*, Aug. 22, 1974; "ANC Wire to President, Kissinger Asks US Withdraw Aid to Turkey," *AW*, Sept. 5, 1974; "Derwinski Bill Would Scrub Aid," *AW*, Sept. 5, 1974; "Eagleton Resolution on Cyprus," *AW*, Sept. 26, 1974; "Prelate Urges No Turk Aid," *AW*, Oct. 10, 1974; "Turkey Still Ineligible," *AW*, Oct. 24, 1974; and "Legislators Respond to Appeal for Cut-off of Military Aid to Turkey," *AW*, Nov. 7, 1974.

⁵⁰ "The Presidential Vetoes," *Armenian Weekly*, Oct. 24, 1974. See also "The Eighth of the World," *AW*, Dec. 12, 1974.

⁵¹ "Cyprus Supports the Armenian Case," *Armenian Observer*, July 3, 1974; "Melkonian School Destroyed as Turks Invade Cyprus," *AW*, Aug. 8, 1974; "A.N.C. Delegation Visits Greece, Cyprus and Soviet United Nations Missions," *AW*, Aug. 15, 1974; "Cyprus Representative Tells United Nations Turks Synonymous with Massacre; Melkonian Destruction Cited," *AW*, Aug. 15, 1974; "The Turkish Invasion of Cyprus: A Commentary and Analysis," *AW*, Aug. 15, 1974; "Greek Demonstration at State Dept. Protests Turkish Cyprus Invasion," *AW*, Aug. 15, 1974; "Stop the Turks on Cyprus!," *AW*, Aug. 22, 1974; Mary Najarian, "Letters to the Editor," *AO*, Aug. 28, 1974; "Armenians Join Greeks in Washington, Cleveland Protests," *AW*, Aug. 29, 1974; "AHEPA Convenes, Hears Attacks on U.S. Cyprus Policy," *AW*, Aug. 29, 1974; "Sen. Deukmejian Denounces Persistent Turkish Violations of Cyprus Cease-Fire," *AO*, Sept. 4, 1974; "Greek-Armenian Joint Demonstration Planned in Los Angeles This Friday," *AO*, Sept. 4, 1974; "Despite Cyprus 'Successes' Turkey Festers with Internal Accord," *AW*, Sept. 5, 1974; Sonya F. Gray, "Armenians, Greeks Mass in Providence Cyprus Protest," *AW*, Sept. 5, 1974; "Catholicos Khoren Urges Helping Hand to Aid Cyprus Armenian War Victims," *AO*, Sept. 11, 1974; "Armenians Gather With Connecticut Greeks to Protest Turkish Invasion," *AW*, Sept. 12, 1974; "Armenian Vicar-General of Cyprus Deposits Statement with Official Agencies on Plight of Community," *AW*, Sept. 19, 1974; "Greek Minister Lauds Support of Cypriot Cause by U.S. Armenians," *AW*, Sept. 19, 1974; "U.S. Prelate Reveals Appeal of Catholicos Khoren for Funds to Aid Afflicted Brothers of Cyprus," *Armenian Weekly*, September 19, 1974; "Report 20,000 Greeks 'Leaving' Homes in Turkey," *AW*, September 19, 1974; "Greek-Armenian Demonstration in Washington Draws Enormous Crowd," *AW*, September 19, 1974; Joseph Dadigian, "An Open Letter to President Ford," *AW*, Sept. 26, 1974; "The Cyprus Coverup," *AW*, Sept. 26, 1974; "Cleveland's Mayor Ralph Perk Blasts Turkey for 'Naked Invasion' of Cyprus as Ethnic Convention Demands End to Aid," *AW*, Sept. 26, 1974; "Three-Day Armenian Assembly Conclave Mulls Projects of Community Interest," *AW*, Oct. 10, 1974; "Cyprus

cause, recognition of the Armenian genocide and reparations, was also evident in the proceedings of the U.S Congress.

After a very limited presence in Congress during 1973, perhaps out of respect for the two murdered Turkish diplomats, the Armenian Question returned to Capitol Hill in 1974 when Representative George Danielson of California submitted a list of grievances presented to him by the Armenian activists who had occupied his offices the week before. Married to an Armenian, and self-identifying as “the only Armenian Congressman there is,” Danielson proved to be a staunch, faithful and solid ally of Armenian nationalists. The “occupation” of his office was a staged and rather hospitable affair, possibly even suggested by Danielson himself.⁵² The activists protested against the U.S. government’s subsidization of Turkish farmers in lieu of poppy harvesting, their tax dollars making their way to Turkey in the form of U.S. aid programs, and the U.S. Representative to the UN’s role in the ‘Paragraph 30’ controversy.⁵³ On their behalf, Rep. Danielson offered the book jacket accompanying Dickran Boyajian’s questionable *Armenia: The Case of a Forgotten Genocide* and a passage by Arnold Toynbee to justify their claims. Danielson also demanded that Secretary of State Kissinger personally respond to the questions posed by the Chairman of the ANC, Albert Bagian.⁵⁴

A petition from Armenians in New York protesting that “callous indifference of the United States to the Genocide evil that has struck the Armenians and others in the past...” and calling for recognition of April 24 as “A National Day of Reminder of Man’s Inhumanity to Man” was also submitted.⁵⁵ Further attention to the events of 1915, as well as additional criticism of the State Department’s position on ‘Paragraph 30’, was heard from Congressmen

Relief Committee in Urgent Meeting,” *AW*, Oct. 10, 1974; “Cyprus Discussed as Greek Foreign Minister Meets with National Comm.,” *AW*, Nov. 14, 1974; “California ANC in Statement on Cyprus Crisis,” *AW*, Nov. 21, 1974; “Eyeless in Gaza,” *AW*, Nov. 21, 1974; S. Dardouni, “The Cyprus Question and the Armenians,” *AW*, Nov. 21, 1974; Dardouni, “The Cyprus Question and the Armenians, II,” *AW*, Nov. 28, 1974; Dardouni, “The Cyprus Question and the Armenians III,” *AW*, Dec. 5, 1974; Dardouni, “Cyprus Question and Armenians,” *AW*, Dec. 12, 1974; and Leon A. Chorbajian, “Letters to the Editor: Atrocities Recalled,” *New York Times*, Nov. 17, 1974.

⁵² Anne Atanosian, “Congressman George Danielson Among the Armenians,” *Armenian Weekly*, Oct. 24, 1974.

⁵³ Rep. Joshua Eilberg (PA), “Armenian Martyrs Week,” *CR*, May 1, 1973, 13878; and Rep. George Danielson (CA), “The Armenian Massacres, the First Genocide of the 20th Century,” *CR*, April 24, 1974, 11741-11742. See also “Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide, Bombing of Music City Tours,” FBI, 1075807-000, HQ 174-8799, Section 2 (796760), s-t.

⁵⁴ “Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide, Bombing of Music City Tours,” FBI, 1075807-000, HQ 174-8799, Section 2 (796760).

⁵⁵ Rep. Edward I. Koch (NY), “The Tragedy of Armenia,” *CR*, April 24, 1974, 11752-11753.

being supplied material from Armenian sources.⁵⁶ The apex of Armenian efforts, however, occurred on June 7, 1974, when Rep. Henry Helstoski, a man who applauded Boyajian's book as an excellent historical account, introduced H.J. Res. 1048, a resolution he co-sponsored, to formally recognize April 24th each year as the "National Day of Reminder of Man's Inhumanity to Man," a day of remembrance for all the victims, but especially those of Armenian ancestry, of the genocide perpetrated in 1915 in Turkey.⁵⁷

By the fall, the details of 1974 Cyprus and 1915 eastern Anatolia were merging in Congressional discussions and, again, statements such as "the 'infallible' Mr. Henry Kissinger has unleashed the barbarous Turk not against the Russian but against the friend and hospitable Greek Cypriot," and of a race whose "cruelty and barbarism will always remain unexcelled" were again being heard.⁵⁸ One Greek-American constituent of Rep. Mario Biaggi (NY) lamented the "'heroic' exploits of the Turkish paratroopers, who upon landing in Cyprus opened their automatic weapons upon helpless women and children, or the 'regular' Turkish infantry that landed in the beaches of Kyrenia, unopposed and carried out a thorough and systematic job of looting, rape, and killing of able bodied men," and declared to President Ford: "Yes, Mr. President, in 1974 the Turkish piracy and bestiality, reinforced with American supplied Napalm bombs are re-enacting the nightmare of the Armenian massacres."⁵⁹

While acknowledging Armenian frustrations over the deletion of paragraph 30 and the failure to produce interest in, or evidence of, the mistreatment of Armenians in Turkey, 1974

⁵⁶ Rep. Paul W. Cronin (MA), "The Armenian Genocide, 1915-1918," *CR*, April 25, 1974, 11941; Sen. James L. Buckley (NY), "Armenian Americans," *CR*, April 30, 1974, 12306-12307; Rep. Mario Biaggi (NY), "Tragic Commemoration of Armenian Massacre," *CR*, April 30, 1974, 12462; "Members of the Senate, House Sent Letter Protesting Position of the United States on 'Paragraph 30' of U.N. Report," *Armenian Weekly*, May 2, 1974; "Congressmen Danielson, Koch Remind Colleagues of Turkish Genocide," *AW*, May 23, 1974; "Cong. Cronin in House Address on Turk Genocide," *AW*, July 4, 1974; "Cong. Hugh Carey Cites Armenian Quest for Freedom," *AW*, July 4, 1974; Rep. Joe Moakley (MA), "Armenian Genocide," *CR*, July 10, 1974, 22726-22727; "Cong. B.F. Sisk Joins Colleagues to Honor April 24 Armenian Martyrs," *Armenian Observer*, August 21, 1974; and "Mass. Congressmen Cronin, Moakley Blast Turks," *AW*, August 22, 1974.

⁵⁷ Rep. Henry Helstoski (NJ), "The Armenian Genocide," *CR*, June 7, 1974, 18353-18354; "Historic Helstoski Resolution Would Designate April 24 as National Day of Remembrance; Calls for Pres. Proclamation," *Armenian Weekly*, June 27, 1974; "Rep. Helstoski Says He'll Reintroduce Resolution Next Year If Not Acted Upon," *AW*, July 11, 1974; "Armenian Assembly Urges Support for the Helstoski Resolution in Congress," *Armenian Observer*, Nov. 6, 1974; "Assembly Calls for Support of Helstoski Bill," *AW*, Nov. 14, 1974; and Iris Papazian, "Rep. Helstoski Sees 'Good Possibility' for Passage of His Resolution," *AW*, Dec. 26, 1974. Coincidentally, Rep. Helstoski would be indicted two years later on charges of taking bribes from illegal Argentinian and Chilean immigrants to introduce immigration bills on their behalf. See Ronald Sullivan, "Helstoski indicted in Extortion Cases on Alien Admissions," *New York Times*, June 3, 1976.

⁵⁸ Rep. Mario Biaggi (NY), "One Man's View of the Cyprus Crisis," *CR*, October 1, 1974, 34273-34274.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

ended with the Armenians in a very advantageous position in which to continue their political efforts to advance the Armenian Cause, despite the Yanikian murders and other forms of political violence during the previous year. Although the Armenians were not receiving the attention they felt they deserved from the national media, that was changing in 1974, when even the Encyclopedia Britannica modified its entry on the ‘Armenian Massacres’ to mirror more closely the Armenian narrative.⁶⁰ Armenians were also pleasantly surprised to find out that President Ford had previously come out very forcefully in 1965 on the Armenian Genocide while he was a Congressman.⁶¹ It is precisely their political success in 1974, however, that makes the opening of the terrorist campaign in January 1975 so curious.

The Armenian Secret Army for Liberation of Armenia (ASALA)

On January 20, 1975, a bomb was placed outside of the offices of the World Council of Churches (WCC) in Beirut, Lebanon; the initial act in a campaign of violence carried out by ethnic Armenians around the world that would last over a decade and take the lives of approximately 90 individuals, and the first attack by the *Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA)*. Where the idea and inspiration originated for a new and independent Armenian organization that would reject the conventional methods of the Armenian diaspora’s established political parties, and openly embrace and advocate violence and terror to achieve its goals, is unclear. There are two competing narratives, one emphasizing the indigenous Armenian origins of the movement and the other the external, or non-Armenian elements.

The indigenous story, which surfaced only in the last decade, claims that *ASALA* was created during late 1960s and early 1970s at the urging of Simon Simonian, who brought together two other Armenian intellectuals, Kevork Ajemian and James Kanusian, and a half-Armenian mercenary named Haroution Takoushian (aka Hagop Hagopian), a veteran of Wadi Haddad’s faction within the Palestinian Front for the Liberation of Palestine- External (PFLP).⁶²

⁶⁰ “The ‘Britannica’ Revises Story of Armenian Massacres; They Were ‘A Final Solution that Hitler Was to Emulate,’” *Armenian Weekly*, June 6, 1974.

⁶¹ “President Gerald R. Ford Spoke on the 50th Anniversary of Armenian Massacres as Congressman,” *Armenian Observer*, Aug. 14, 1974; “Records Reveal Ford Condemned Turkey for Massacres, Genocide,” *AO*, Dec. 25, 1974; and “Associated Press Carries Story,” *AO*, Dec. 25, 1974.

⁶² “Rev. James Karnusian, Retired Pastor and One of Three Persons to Establish ASALA, Dies in Switzerland,” *Armenian Reporter*, April 18, 1998; “Kevork Ajemian, Prominent Contemporary Writer and Surviving Member of

The external story, on the other hand, argues that it was Fatah's Abu Iyad (Salah Khalaf) who, after hearing of the Yanikian murders in Santa Barbara, suggested to Takoushian that an Armenian terror cell should be developed along the lines of Black September, and it was Takoushian who then sought out and enlisted the aid of sympathetic Armenian intellectual(s).⁶³

According to the most recent narrative, Simonian, a renown Lebanese-Armenian intellectual, linguist and publisher of the Beirut Armenian weekly *Spurk* [Diaspora],⁶⁴ urged his brother-in-law, Kevork Ajemian, another burgeoning Armenian intellectual; and a Protestant Armenian minister based in Switzerland, James Karnusian, to formulate and conceptualize plans for an Armenian "liberation movement."⁶⁵ Simonian envisioned a movement that would "give a new breadth and dimension to the Armenian cause and rescue it from oblivion;" and those dimensions "would be drastically different from those offered by traditional Armenian Political parties."⁶⁶ At some point during this period, Simonian became acquainted with Takoushian, and when he introduced this veteran terrorist to Ajemian and Karnusian, the movement acquired the means through which to move from conceptualization to violent implementation.

Simon Simonian was born on March 11, 1914 in Gaziantep (Antep), Turkey, and seven years later moved to Aleppo when the French evacuated the area in 1921. Around 1930, Simonian left Aleppo to attend the new Armenian seminary school just outside of Beirut, in Antelias, Lebanon, where he was a classmate of the future Catholicos of the See of Cilicia, His Holiness Zareh I (1956-1963). He turned down a career in the Church to become an educator, although he worked and taught in the Church system until 1955. At that point, Simonian opened

Triumvirate Which Founded ASALA, Dies in Beirut, Lebanon," *AR*, January 2, 1999; Edward Alexander, "Diplomacy and the Armenian Factor— Part II," *AR*, July 9, 2005; "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia IT-ASALA," FBI, January 20, 1987; and Markar Melkonian, *My Brother's Road: An American's Fateful Journey to Armenia* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2007): 76.

⁶³ Robert I. Friedman, "Spanish Journalist, Victim of ASALA Bombing, Becomes Expert on Armenian Cause," *Armenian Reporter*, November 15, 1984; and Melkonian, *My Brother's Road*, 77. Melkonian only acknowledges Kevork Ajemian's role in the formation of *ASALA*.

⁶⁴ "Rev. James Karnusian," *Armenian Reporter*.

⁶⁵ These three individuals are undoubtedly the "intellectuals" alluded to in Monte Melkonian's history of *ASALA* published in 1985, although it is unclear whether or not he knew their specific identities. See Monte Melkonian, "The Reality," in "Booklet Giving History of ASALA's Existence Gives New Insight Into the Revolutionary Movement," *The Armenian Reporter*, 10 January 1985. While not credited at the time, it is now known that Monte Melkonian wrote the booklet reproduced in the *Armenian Reporter*. They are also most likely the "elders" described in the article entitled "Terrorism: Transnational Networks Originating in the Middle East. An Essay to Rationalize what is Claimed to be 'Irrational'," in *Paris Le Debat*, March-May 1986, contained in "Worldwide Report—Terrorism," FBI, June 25, 1986.

⁶⁶ "Rev. James Karnusian," *Armenian Reporter*.

a successful publishing house in West Beirut, and in 1959 he began publishing *Spurk*, an independent Armenian weekly newspaper. By the time Simonian sold *Spurk* to his brother-in-law, Kevork Ajemian, the paper had developed a reputation for being critical of local Armenian organizations, Simonian was recognized as an expert and leading international authority on the Armenian language, and his office a meeting point for intellectuals and other prominent Armenians of a certain ideological persuasion in Beirut.⁶⁷ Within a few years, Simonian would be the inspiration and guiding hand, and, perhaps, the founder and leader of one of the deadliest terrorist organizations of the 1970s and 1980s.⁶⁸

Kevork Ajemian, the brother of Simon Simonian's wife, was born near Aleppo in 1932 and eventually made his way to the American University of Beirut, where he graduated in 1958. Ajemian was a prolific writer in both Armenian and English, owned a bookshop in Beirut close the American University, and taught Armenian, English and Literature in Syria, Lebanon and Cyprus. He also worked on the editorial staff of Lebanon's English-language newspaper, *The Daily Star*, as well as *Spurk*, Simonian's Armenian-language weekly. Described as a "strident nationalist," Ajemian purchased *Spurk* from Simonian in 1970, taking over complete control of the paper around the same time that *ASALA* was allegedly created.⁶⁹

If his novel, which purports to be his own account of his involvement with the terrorist organization, is any indication of his true sentiments, then Ajemian believed he was the movement's moral and ethical compass; an erudite elder to whom the younger militants could come to with problems, guidance, support and reassurance that the historical wrongs committed against the Armenians was adequate justification for indiscriminate violence against Turks, non-Armenians, and even Armenians who, for one reason or another, were in the way.⁷⁰ Although he was identified by the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) as the co-founder and co-director of *ASALA* as early as 1985, it is unclear why the FBI made no move to arrest him while

⁶⁷ "Simon Simonian, Veteran Educator & Prolific Writer, Dies in Beirut," *Armenian Reporter*, April 3, 1986.

⁶⁸ See footnote 52 in Michael M. Gunter, "Armenian Terrorism: A Reappraisal," *The Journal of Conflict Studies* Vol. XXVII, No. 2 (Winter 2007): 109 – 128.

⁶⁹ Melkonian, *My Brother's*, 77; and "Kevork Ajemian, Prominent Contemporary Writer and Surviving Member of Triumvirate Which Founded ASALA, Dies in Beirut, Lebanon," *Armenian Reporter*, January 2, 1999.

⁷⁰ Kevork Ajemian, *A Time for Terror* (Dulles, VA: Books International, 1997).

he was in the U.S. on a book signing tour in 1997 and, ironically, to lecture on terrorism in the Middle East.⁷¹

Reverend James Karnusian, a self-proclaimed “man of vision” and the “political affairs” specialist for *ASALA*, would become well known in the Armenian diaspora, and to some non-Armenians, for his political efforts on behalf of the Armenian cause, but very little is available on his early life.⁷² He was born in Beirut, Lebanon, either 1925 or 1926, studied in Greece, and then moved to Switzerland around 1950, where he would spend the rest of his life.⁷³ He became a Protestant minister in 1960, remaining at the same church in Gstaad, Switzerland for nearly 40 years, and in 1965, Karnusian published a book entitled *Volk ohne Land: eine kurze Zusammenfassung der Geschichte Armeniens zum 50. Gedenkjahr seiner grossen Tragödie* [People without a Land: A Short Summary of the History of Armenians for the 50th Anniversary of their Great Tragedy]. Although obviously occupied, to some degree, with the Armenian question, there is nothing in the record to explain how, why or when, this Protestant Armenian minister from a small village in Switzerland became acquainted with Simonian, Ajemian, and Takoushian, or made the decision to endorse and encourage terrorism to advance the Armenian cause. Although most of FBI file remains redacted, Karnusian’s connection to *ASALA* was

⁷¹ “Kevork Ajamian, AKA Kevork Ajemian, Kevork Adjemian, Abou Georges Harout; IT-ASALA,” Sept. 11, 1985, FBI, 1212897-1, 199HQ13998, Section 1; and “Beirut Author to Speak at NAASR About Terrorism in Middle East,” *Armenian Reporter*, Nov. 1, 1997.

⁷² Edward K. Boghosian, “Rev. Karnusian: His Dedication Is Unsurpassed,” *Armenian Reporter*, August 16, 1979; “New Congress Expected to Revitalize Arm. Politics,” *AR*, June 14, 1979; James Karnusian, “Need of Power,” *AR*, July 5, 1979; Ted Tornasian, “Misunderstanding of the American System,” *AR*, July 26, 1979; Edward K. Boghosian, “Rev. Karnusian: His Dedication is Unsurpassed,” *AR*, August 16, 1979; “World Armenian Congress Anticipates Record Attendance,” *AR*, August 23, 1979; “Rev. James Karnusian and the Armenian Cause,” *AR*, August 30, 1979; Edward K. Boghosian, “Armenian Congress, Meeting in Paris, Reevaluates Goals and Aspirations of the Armenians in Diaspora Emphasizes Need for Turning Dispersion into a Vital Force,” *AR*, September 13, 1979; Anne Avakian-Bishop, “Spotlight on California Armenians,” *AR*, October 4, 1979; “Rev. James Karnusian Visits Los Angeles,” *AR*, September 11, 1980; “Return to the Ararat Plateau by J. Karnusian, Review by A. Baliozian,” *World Literature Today* Vol. 54, No. 3 (Summer 1980): 483; “Armenian leaders said today they feared...,” *United Press International*, July 18, 1983; “A man suspected of heading Armenian terrorist operations...,” *AR*, July 20, 1983; “Orly Blast Claims Seventh Victim, New Threats,” *Associated Press*, July 21, 1983; “The dream and the terror,” *The Economist*, July 23, 1983; “Armenians Establish Council,” *Washington Post*, July 25, 1983; “The Armenians’ gory dream,” *Globe and Mail*, July 30, 1983; “Our young people have given up hope,” *United Press International*, July 30, 1983; “Armenian Reporter Forum Series has First Lecture: Rev. Karnusian Discusses the Future of the Armenian Diaspora,” *AR*, January 9, 1986; Haro Chakmakjian, “Armenians in Lebanon: Fate of a Forgotten People,” *AR*, January 8, 1987; “First Martyrs Memorial on German Soil Erected in Stuttgart,” *AR*, June 25, 1987; and “Rev. James,” *AR*, April 18, 1998. Karnusian’s activity was well covered by the *Armenian Reporter*, whose owner and editor, Edward K. Boghosian, appears to have developed a particularly close bond to Karnusian, and published his 1979 pamphlet, *Return to the Ararat Plateau*. For information on the pamphlet see worldcat.org.

⁷³ Boghosian, “Rev. Karnusian,” *Armenian Reporter*, August 16, 1979; and “Rev. James Karnusian,” *AR*, April 18, 1998.

identified as early as 1981, and in 1983 he was believed to be the possible source of *ASALA*'s funding in 1983.⁷⁴

Haroutian Takoushian, the final founding member of *ASALA*, is still erroneously considered to be the sole founder and the undisputed leader of the terrorist organization until the group split into different factions in the summer of 1983.⁷⁵ This is largely because Simonian, Ajemian and Karnusian remained successfully in the shadows, or at least above suspicion until very late in the campaign, while Takoushian, under his nom de guerre, Hagop Hagopian, was the public face of *ASALA*, its primary spokesperson and, until the early 1990s, its most infamous terrorist.⁷⁶ Takoushian himself was always hooded during press conferences and managed to keep knowledge of his true identity and physical appearance limited until close to the very end. In fact, it appears that his real name did not leak until his after his death and even then it took the FBI another two months to confirm this revelation.⁷⁷ He even, if only for a few months, managed to successfully fake his own death in June 1982 until rumors of his escape were confirmed by French agents in February 1983.⁷⁸

Tragically, there seems to have been a missed opportunity right at the beginning of *ASALA*'s campaign, which could have saved numerous lives, when Takoushian sought out Edward Alexander, an Armenian-American U.S. diplomat, in Athens, Greece prior to the first attack to inquire about the potential U.S. reaction to Armenians "displaying their anger" over the events of 1915.⁷⁹ It is unclear when, exactly, Alexander realized that he had met the leader of *ASALA* in his *office at the U.S. Embassy*, but there is nothing in the available record that

⁷⁴ "James Karnouzian; Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia. FCI-Lebanon-Terrorism," FBI, May 1, 1981, 1213163-1-199-HQ-4358, Section 1, Serial 1; and "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA); FCI-ASALA-TE," FBI, Sept. 29, 1983, 1213163-1-199B-NY-2884, Section 1, Serial 1.

⁷⁵ Laura Dugan, et. al., "Sudden Desistance from Terrorism: The Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia and the Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide," in *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict* Vol. 1, No. 3 (November 2008): 231-249; and Gunter, "Armenian Terrorism: A Reappraisal," 117. The exception being the publicity that Monte Melkonian received for his involvement in *ASALA* prior to reappearing in the Caucasus. His image today, however, is primarily associated with his exploits in Nagorno-Karabakh and not his time as a terrorist and assassin working under Takoushian.

⁷⁶ "Armenian Secret Army' Spokesmen Hold First Press Conference," *Armenian Weekly*, November 18, 1978; "Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia Holds Press Conference," *Armenian Reporter*, November 23, 1978; and "Joint A.S.A.L.A-Kurdish Workers Party Press Conference," in *ASALA Interview* (Britain: Popular Movement for the ASALA, April 1982), 15-16.

⁷⁷ "ASALA Leader Hagop Hagopian's Assassination Still Unclaimed," *Armenian Reporter*, May 12, 1988; "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia IT-ASALA," FBI, May 18, 1988; and "Terrorist Photograph Album (TPA); FCI-IT-ASALA- Terrorism," FBI, July 27, 1988.

⁷⁸ "Armenian Secret Army," FBI, January 20, 1987.

⁷⁹ Alexander, "Diplomacy," *Armenian Reporter*, July 9, 2005.

suggests Alexander ever reported this encounter to the FBI, or provided a physical description to the authorities.

Like other details surrounding ASALA, some aspects of Takoushian's story are incomplete and speculative. He was born in 1945 in Mosul, Iraq to an Armenian (and *ARF* member) father and an Arab-Iraqi mother (albeit, interestingly, with an Armenian name), Macardic and Siranoush Takoushian.⁸⁰ At some point in his mid-teens, Takoushian left Mosul and soon became acquainted Palestinian revolutionaries. Although there is some disagreement on where this meeting took place, Jordan or Lebanon, and whether or not Takoushian volunteered or was recruited, there is agreement that he soon found himself under the tutelage of Wadi Haddad, the Palestinian Christian militant who founded the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine/External Operations (PFLP/EO) within George Habash's Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP).⁸¹

By 1970, Takoushian was in Beirut, where Haddad and most of the other prominent Palestinian leaders had relocated to after their expulsion from Jordan, and Takoushian remained active in the Palestinian groups at least through 1974. In total, Takoushian spent approximately twelve years engaged in attacks, hijackings and other missions with one of the more violent Palestinian factions, while working his way up to become one of Haddad's most trusted lieutenants.⁸² Takoushian, therefore, was relatively close to Haddad both before and after the latter's recruitment by the KGB, which proved to be a major strategic and intelligence coup for the Soviets, and one which they believed gave them considerable influence over the international operations of the PLFP.⁸³

One of the more fantastic claims about this period of Takoushian's life is that he participated in the Black September attack on Israeli athletes at the Munich Summer Olympics in 1972.⁸⁴ All eleven of the Israeli athletes and five of the eight terrorists lost their lives by the

⁸⁰ "Rev. James Karnusian," *Armenian Reporter*; "Armenian Secret Army," FBI, January 20, 1987; "Armenian rebel chief killed," *Herald*, April 29, 1988; "Body of Slain ASALA Leader Flown to Iraq for Burial," AP, Athens, May 9, 1988; and "Terrorist Photograph Album (TPA); FCI-IT-ASALA- Terrorism," FBI, July 27, 1988.

⁸¹ "Armenian Secret Army," January 20, 1987; and Melkonian, "The Reality."

⁸² Melkonian, *My Brother's Road*, 76.

⁸³ Timothy Naftali, *Blind Spot: The Secret History of American Counterterrorism* (New York: Basic Books, 2005), 124.

⁸⁴ "Armenian Secret Army," FBI, January 20, 1987; and "Hagop Hagopian Said to Have Been Part of 1972 Terror Attack at Munich Olympic Games," *Armenian Review*, February 7, 1985.

time the ordeal concluded at the Fürstenfeldbruck airfield.⁸⁵ If this were true, it would mean that Takoushian was one of the three terrorists, Adnan Al-Jishey, Jamal Al-Jishey, or Mohammed Safady, to survive the attack.⁸⁶ Although no evidence supports this tale, it does appear that Takoushian was on familiar terms with Abu Iyad, who allegedly played a major role in planning and organizing the attack in Munich, and Wadi Haddad is attributed with the planning of the Lufthansa hijacking that resulted in the release of the Al-Jisheys and Safady from prison.⁸⁷

Regardless, it seems that both widening fissures in internal Palestinian politics and the split between Habash and Haddad over terror tactics, forced the still relatively young Takoushian to look for work. According to the external origin narrative of *ASALA*, this is when Takoushian was encouraged by Abu Iyad to form an Armenian terrorist organization. Apparently, the high-ranking Fatah officer not only wanted allies he could trust in Lebanon, but also had a personal affinity for Armenians because their plight, Ottoman suppression and dispossession, were similar to that of the Palestinians.⁸⁸ Takoushian first broached the subject with the *ARF*, but was rebuffed. He eventually made the acquaintance of *Spurk's* owner and editor, Kevork Ajemian, who proved much more accommodating. Together with Ajemian, whom Takoushian believed “craved recognition,” they were able to solicit “start-up” funds from sympathetic local Armenian businessmen. Ajemian also introduced Takoushian to the Armenian youth of West Beirut from which would come the first volunteers of the *Armenian Secret Army of the Liberation of Armenia*.⁸⁹

This narrative came out first in 1984, at a time when elements within *ASALA* were rebelling against Takoushian’s leadership, the organization was splitting into at least two factions, and public sympathy for the Armenian cause among non-Armenians hit a nadir, particularly in the United States. Perhaps this is why the narrative emphasized Takoushian’s less than pure Armenian ethnicity, his connections to non-Armenian terrorist organizations, and the *ARF*. Ironically, if this version of events is true, then Abu Iyad was not only responsible for the

⁸⁵ Michael Burleigh, *Blood and Rage: A Cultural History of Terrorism* (New York: HarperCollins, 2009), 164-166.

⁸⁶ Aaron J. Klein, *Striking Back: The 1972 Munich Olympics Massacre and Israel's Deadly Response* (New York: Random House, 2007), 76.

⁸⁷ Friedman, “Spanish Journalist,”; Melkonian, *My Brother's Road*, 76-77; Gunter, *Pursuing the Just Cause*, 34; Burleigh, *Blood and Rage*, 162; and Klein, *Striking Back*, 34, 128.

⁸⁸ Melkonian, *My Brother's Road*, 77.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, See also “Booklet Giving History of *ASALA's* Existence Gives New Insight into the Revolutionary Movement,” *Armenian Reporter*, Jan. 10, 1985. For a slightly different version, see Francis P. Hyland, *Armenian Terrorism: The Past, The Present, The Prospects* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1991), 26.

creation of *ASALA*, but he also contributed to its ultimate demise. In December 1982, when Takoushian was believed to be dead, Abu Iyad sold out his former protégé to the French intelligence services by providing information that enabled them to identify, track and photograph Takoushian during his inspection of *ASALA* facilities in France in February 1983.⁹⁰

In hindsight, it is surprising that Simonian, and, to a lesser extent, Karnusian and Ajemian managed to keep knowledge of their involvement in Armenian terrorism a secret until the deaths of Karnusian and Ajemian in 1998 and 1999 respectively.⁹¹ The three men traveled widely, including to France and the United States, throughout *ASALA*'s campaign.⁹² As mentioned above, Karnusian became a public figure of some stature during the peak of *ASALA*'s violence between 1979 and 1983 and, ironically, Ajemian became a "powerful intellectual voice with regard to the issues of genocide and terrorism," within the Armenian community.⁹³ His role as owner and editor of the Lebanese-Armenian weekly *Spurk* kept him prominently in the public eye, and it is certainly no coincidence that the *ASALA* Papers collection recently acquired by the U.S. Library of Congress was purchased from the current owners of *Spurk*'s assets.

However, except for questions posed to the Patriarch of Istanbul about Simonian during the military court trial of Father Manuel Yergatian for anti-Turkish activities, Simonian seems to have avoided suspicion, as only Karnusian and Ajemian are mentioned in the declassified documents now available.⁹⁴ While they were alive, nothing in the press even remotely hint that they were leaders of a terrorist organization or even remotely connected to Armenian terrorism. This is despite the fact that Simonian began to openly, and brazenly, assist *ASALA* in the editing of their official propaganda magazine, *Armenia*, allowed himself to be photographed with Takoushian, and the French intelligence services photographed Karnusian, Ajemian and

⁹⁰ "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA)," FBI, June 25, 1986, 1073740-002, 299-343, Section 26 (819642).

⁹¹ Karnusian's obituary revealed that he had admitted his role in *ASALA* to the founder, owner and editor of *The Armenian Reporter*, Edward K. Boghosian, in an interview in Greece during the summer of 1987 (see "Rev. James Karnusian," *Armenian Reporter*). See also "Kevork Ajemian," *AR*, January 2, 1999.

⁹² "Simon Simonian, Veteran Beirut Editor, to be Honored in L.A.," *AR*, February 24, 1983; "Beirut Author to Speak at NAASR About Terrorism in Middle East," *AR*, November 1, 1997; "Rev. James Karnusian Visits Los Angeles," *AR*, September 11, 1980; and "ARMENIAN REPORTER FORUM SERIES HAS FIRST LECTURE: Rev. Karnusian Discusses the Future of the Armenian Diaspora," *AR*, January 9, 1986.

⁹³ "Beirut Author to Speak at NAASR About Terrorism in Middle East," *Armenian Reporter*, November 1, 1997.

⁹⁴ "Istanbul Armenian Patriarch Testifies in Trial of Very Rev. Manuel Yergatian," *Armenian Reporter*, September 9, 1982.

Takoushian meeting at various locations, including Karnusian's home.⁹⁵ Instead, *ASALA* was, and still is, synonymous with Takoushian (as Hagop Hagopian), and Takoushian alone.

Regardless, however, of who inspired *ASALA* and the specifics of how it came together, by late 1974, at the latest, the Central Committee of the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia, the existence of which the U.S. State Department and Central Intelligence Agency suspected, but apparently could never prove, was complete, with Simon Simonian, Kevork Ajemian, James Karnusian providing political, ideological and financial advice and support to the commander in the field, Haroutian Takoushian.⁹⁶ Ostensibly, these four individuals: two intellectuals, a protestant minister, and a veteran mercenary-revolutionary, joined forces to bring attention, justice and, most importantly, recognition of the Armenian genocide to the victims of 1915 and their descendants.⁹⁷ In 1978, in what appears to be Takoushian's first interview, he attributed the creation of *ASALA* to the decades-long failure to advance the Armenian Cause because of the "errors and bankruptcy of the conventional Armenian political parties," and the "intransigence of our enemy [Turkey] and support that it receives from... reactionary powers."⁹⁸

It is apparent, however, in *ASALA*'s early actions and the writings of its founding fathers that, at least initially, land, and more precisely, taking "back" and "liberating" eastern Turkey, was their primary concern. In fact, the primacy of this goal was reflected in the very name of the organization: the Armenian Secret Army for the *Liberation* of Armenia.⁹⁹ The priority of the land question over recognition and reparations helps explain why *ASALA*'s founding members rejected the established policies of the *ARF*, *Hunchaks* and *Ramgavars* who had, rhetoric aside, largely accepted the demographic and Cold War political realities of eastern Anatolia and Soviet

⁹⁵ Gunter, "Armenian Terrorism: A Reappraisal," 127 (see note 52); "Rev. James Karnusian," *Armenian Reporter*; and "The Two Prominent Men of the Armenian Diaspora," Library of Congress, Spurk Archive, Folder 10.

⁹⁶ Andrew Corsun, "Armenian Terrorism: 1975-1980," Department of State Publication Series 9281, December 1981, 19, *Paul Henze Papers*, Box 64, Hoover Institute; "The Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia: A Continuing International Threat," CIA, January 1984, CIA-RDP85T00283R000400030009-2. It seems that the existence of 4 to 5 founding members of *ASALA* was first introduced to the public by Monte Melkonian in 1985. See the reprint of portions of Melkonian's *ASALA* history in "Booklet Giving History of *ASALA*'s Existence Gives New Insight into the Revolutionary Movement," *Armenian Reporter*, Jan. 10, 1985.

⁹⁷ "Rev. James Karnusian," *Armenian Reporter*.

⁹⁸ "First Press Interview, July 10, 1978," in *ASALA Interviews*, Popular Movement for the *ASALA*, Britain, April 1982.

⁹⁹ "Return to the Ararat Plateau by J. Karnusian, Review by A. Baliozian," *World Literature Today* Vol. 54, No. 3 (Summer 1980): 483; and "Rev. Karnusian," *Armenian Reporter*. Markar Melkonian describes Ajemian's role in the (re) naming of the organization. See Melkonian, *My Brother's Road*, 78.

Armenia, and initiated their own campaign. Their decision to package their campaign in Marxist-Leninist rhetoric also appealed to the non-conformist youths in the Western diaspora and served to strengthen their revolutionary credentials.¹⁰⁰

For Karnusian, the goal was “to direct all our efforts toward liberating Armenian territories and eventually directing Armenians in the diaspora to return to that historical land where the history of our people began.”¹⁰¹ Furthermore, Ajemian’s novel/memoir is concerned with questions of identity, displacement and nationalism, not victimhood and revenge, and in the climatic scene of the novel, when the Professor (i.e., Ajemian) admits his involvement in the Secret Army, he declares that its members were “not interested in reparations and don’t care whether Turkey acknowledges the Armenian genocide or not,” and that “Turkey will ultimately realize it has to submit to the will of a people determined to fight for their country’s liberation.”¹⁰² In the first interview granted by Takoushian, he described *ASALA* as “an expression of revolt against the forces of occupation and tyranny,” and the justification for the violence was “no people whatsoever can abandon and give up its land and country, no matter how long its occupation lasts and in spite of the strong means at the disposal of the oppressive enemy [Turkey]” and that Armenians are “a people in exile, a people thirsty for its land.”¹⁰³

As late as 1978, the events of 1915 were portrayed by *ASALA* as an illegal land grab by the Turkish government, not as state-sponsored and directed genocide.¹⁰⁴ The efforts to bring attention to the events of 1915 and to compel Turkey, and the international community, to recognize these events as genocide were never an end, in and of itself, of *ASALA*’s original campaign. Rather it evolved as a means through which they believed Armenian claims on eastern Turkey could be morally, legally, historically, and, most importantly, publicly, supported. The efforts at genocide recognition were what electrified the Armenian diaspora and garnered the group some sympathy in the international community, not the prospect of Armenian resettlement in eastern Anatolia. It was also the only one of the three stated goals that *ASALA* had any success towards, and therefore seems to have taken precedence in the current revisionist narrative.

¹⁰⁰ “The Armenian Question: Its Definition,” Azad Hay Collective, June 11, 1976, FBI, 1149368-000, 199B-NY-776, Section 4 (944548).

¹⁰¹ “Rev. James Karnusian,” *Armenian Reporter*.

¹⁰² “Kevork Ajemian,” *Armenian Reporter*; and Ajemian, *A Time for Terror*, 172-173.

¹⁰³ *ASALA Interviews*, 2, 10.

¹⁰⁴ *ASALA Interviews*, 2-14.

The priority of the land issue is clearly evident in *ASALA*'s decision to make the WCC in Beirut their first target on January 20, 1975; while at the same time it underscored their relatively weak operational capacity during the initial years of the organization's existence. This international, multi-denominational organization's office in Beirut, primarily staffed with Armenians, was assisting Armenians wishing to emigrate from the Soviet Union, and to escape the rapidly deteriorating conditions in Lebanon, to relocate to the West. This presented a major problem to *ASALA*'s leadership: If the Armenians in the Soviet Union, Lebanon, and the wider region, all emigrated to France and the United States, who would be left to repopulate ancient Armenia once it was liberated?

Although there is some discrepancy as to whether or not the bomb placed at the WCC facility actually detonated, and although there were no casualties, the message was clear: anyone facilitating the emigration of Armenians, and Armenians wishing to leave the region, would be open to retaliation from *ASALA*.¹⁰⁵ In fact, it appears that Takoushian believed that the WCC's operations were carried out in conjunction with the CIA and Turkey, and were specifically designed to remove Armenians from the Middle East.¹⁰⁶ The attack received virtually no press coverage, and it appears the organization had yet to decide on a formal name for their terrorist organization; Takoushian used the name Prisoner Karekin Yanikian Group to claim responsibility.¹⁰⁷ In subsequent *ASALA* communiqués, the issue of land took precedence over demands for genocide recognition: "Our people is a people in exile, a people thirsty for its land... We are a national liberation movement struggling for occupied lands... Through incessant struggle we have moved our operations into Turkey and unto our occupied lands."¹⁰⁸

Compounding the problem, or question, of stability within the Armenian community of Beirut, was the sudden and sharp increase of Soviet Armenians being granted exited visas from

¹⁰⁵ While Takoushian implies the attack on the WCC was successfully carried out, the U.S. State Department reported that the 800-gram bomb did not actually detonate. See *ASALA Interviews*, 2, 9; and "Attempted Bombing of WCC Office in Beirut," BEIRUT 1278, Jan. 28, 1975, NARA, AAD. See also Melkonian, *My Brother's Road*, 78; and "Booklet Giving History of ASALA's Existence Gives New Insight Into the Revolutionary Movement," *Armenian Reporter*, Jan. 10, 1985.

¹⁰⁶ *ASALA Interviews*, 9; and "Attempted Bombing of WCC Office in Beirut," BEIRUT 1278, Jan. 28, 1975, NARA, AAD.

¹⁰⁷ "Attempted Bombing of WCC Office in Beirut," BEIRUT 1278, Jan. 28, 1975, NARA, AAD; Melkonian, *My Brother's Road*, 78.

¹⁰⁸ "Press Conference of Nov. 9, 1978," in *ASALA Interviews*, Popular Movement for the ASALA, Britain, April 1982, 10.

the USSR, first noticed by the U.S. State Department in June 1975.¹⁰⁹ 59 percent more Soviet Armenians had applied for emigration to the United States by the end of April 1976, than had for the entire 1975 calendar year.¹¹⁰ This wave of Armenian emigration peaked in 1980, when approximately 1,000 Armenians were leaving the USSR per month.¹¹¹ The majority of these individuals would ultimately end up in the United States, but many of them were initially granted permission only to go to Lebanon, where they continued their emigration process through the United States Embassy and with the help of the very same WCC office bombed in January 1975.

The Armenian émigrés who ended up in Lebanon were subjected to a less than ideal environment as they waited up to two years for a visa to continue to the United States, as the State Department tried to cope with the sudden surge in applications. Not only did they arrive in the midst of ongoing civil war, but they were also subjected to an “intense hostile attitude from the local Armenians.”¹¹² Perhaps in response to this hostility, although a lack of sufficient funds was officially cited, the World Council of Churches temporarily suspended applications for resettlement assistance in May 1976, complicating the already precarious position of the Armenian refugees.¹¹³ They were not the only ones subjected to fear and intimidation, however. It appears that *ASALA* also threatened any Armenians in Beirut who did not join in their campaign with no less than “punishment by death” to those who did not abandon their “fascist organizations [*ARF*]” and “rejoin the Armenian ranks” through *ASALA*.¹¹⁴

At the time of the WCC attack, *ASALA* allegedly consisted of approximately seven individuals: the four founders; Takoushian’s handpicked lieutenant, a sixteen-year old named Hagop Darakjian; and two other unnamed individuals.¹¹⁵ The organization’s next attack was precisely one month later, on February 20, 1975, when *ASALA* set off a bomb at the Turkish Airlines office in Beirut. Much like their first attack, the bombing resulted in no casualties, and

¹⁰⁹ “Armenian Refugees Ex-USSR,” GENEVA 4171, June 4, 1975, NARA, AAD. See also “More Quit Armenia Than Arrive,” *New York Times*, June 26, 1978.

¹¹⁰ “Soviet Emigration to the US- The Armenian Avalanche,” MOSCOW 7704, May 15, 1975, NARA, AAD.

¹¹¹ “More Quit Armenia than Arrive,” *New York Times*, June 26, 1978; “Armenians Leaving Soviet for the US,” *NYT*, May 25, 1980; Michael Binyon, “Armenians Kiss Russia Goodbye in Hordes,” *Globe and Mail*, May 26, 1980; and Barbara Slavin, “Soviet Union is Letting its Armenian People Go,” *NYT*, July 6, 1980.

¹¹² “Refugees in Beirut,” GENEVA 6267, Aug. 11, 1975, NARA, AAD.

¹¹³ “Soviet Emigration to the US- The Armenian Avalanche,” MOSCOW 7704, May 15, 1975, NARA, AAD.

¹¹⁴ *ASALA Interviews*, 12. See also “Refugees in Beirut,” GENEVA 6267, Aug. 11, 1975, NARA, AAD.

¹¹⁵ “Booklet Giving History of *ASALA*’s Existence,” *Armenian Reporter*, Jan. 10, 1985; Melkonian, *My Brother’s Road*, 77.

it received very little publicity beyond the Turkish press.¹¹⁶ The third attack was apparently a bombing of a Turkish diplomat's car in Beirut on August 7, 1975.¹¹⁷ By the time of their fourth attack, however, a rocket launched at the Turkish Embassy in Beirut on December 28, 1975, the ARF had already upstaged ASALA's terrorist campaign.

The ARF's Justice Commandos for the Armenian Genocide

On October 22, 1975 the *Justice Commandos for the Armenian Genocide* (JCAG), an armed wing of the ARF, assassinated the Turkish Ambassador to Austria, Daniş Tunalıgil, in Vienna. Two days later, on October 24, 1975, the *JCAG* assassinated the Turkish Ambassador to France, Ismail Erez, in Paris. Why, and when, the *ARF* decided to activate a paramilitary organization to conduct terrorist attacks against Turkish citizens and interests around the world remains unclear. Particularly given the organization's political gains and the momentum for a non-violent solution mentioned above.

The most widely cited reason for the decision, is that the *ARF* was concerned that the youthful, aggressive, militant and, potentially, more popular *ASALA* would be more attractive than the *ARF*; and its leadership created the *JCAG* to maintain its membership ranks and compete with *ASALA* for new recruits.¹¹⁸ This argument, however, falters under the evidence now available. *ASALA*'s activity between January and September 1975 was largely ignored outside of Lebanon and Turkey, including in the Armenian-American press.¹¹⁹ Even if the coverage and propaganda efforts were considerable in Lebanon, given the scope and international breadth of the *ARF* it would appear extremely unlikely that their leadership position in the Armenian diaspora would be undermined by the action of a mere seven individuals unreported elsewhere. At worst, *ARF* claims to represent the vanguard party in the struggle for Armenian rights rang hollow amongst the Armenian youth in Beirut who were aware of the existence of an alternative movement.¹²⁰

¹¹⁶ See *Cumhuriyet, Hurriyet, Milliyet, Tercüman, Dünya, Orta Doğu, Son Havadis, Barış, Bugün, and Günaydın*, February 22, 1975.

¹¹⁷ The only mention of this attack is in Melkonian, *My Brother's Road*, 78.

¹¹⁸ Corsun, 32; Gunter, *Pursing the Just Cause*, 55-56; and "Terrorism Review," CIA, July 29, 1985, 15; and Melkonian, *My Brother's Road*, 78.

¹¹⁹ The one exception being an article in the *Armenian Weekly*. See "Commandos' Say They Hit Turkish Airline Office," *AW*, April 3, 1975.

¹²⁰ Schahgaldian, "Integration," 253-254.

Instead it seems much more likely that, prior to *ASALA*'s activity, the *ARF* already intended to return to its historical roots and engage in a terrorist campaign against the Turkish government and Turkish citizens during the year of the 60th anniversary of the massacres and relocations. The organization spent the previous 16 years inciting the Armenian diaspora with anti-Turkish rhetoric, and many were beginning to expect more than just talk; paramilitarism in the *ARF* underwent a revival, particularly in Beirut, so the foundations for a terrorist organization were already present;¹²¹ the *ARF* was encouraging its youth organization, the *AYF*, to engage in increasingly aggressive, confrontational and violent demonstrations; as evidenced by the diaspora's positive response to the Yanikian murders, the *ARF* was certain to strengthen its position, and legacy, among Armenians worldwide by answering Yanikian's call to arms; and, finally, given the international context of détente and the deterioration of Turkey's relations with the United States and other members of the NATO alliance, the potential political costs to a recognized political organization to engage in terrorism against the Turkish government were minimal. There was, in other words, no downside to the *ARF*'s embrace of terrorism. So, despite the considerable political progress made towards furthering their cause and capturing the attention of the U.S. and Turkish governments, the Turkish public, and increasing their international exposure, the *ARF* decided to press their advantage with violence.¹²² This was evident in the *ARF*'s decision to move directly to the assassination of

¹²¹ Schahgaldian, "Integration," 204, 222.

¹²² Rep. Robert F. Drinan (MA), "Armenian History and Culture," *CR*, March 6, 1975, 5591; Rep. Herman Badillo (NY), "The 154th Anniversary of Greek Independence," *CR*, March 26, 1975, 9022; "National Day of Remembrance of Man's Inhumanity to Man," *CR*, April 8, 1975, 9244-9251; Rep. Anthony Toby Moffett (CT), "Genocide Against the Armenian People," *CR*, April 16, 1975, 10422; Rep. B.F. Sisk (CA), "Fresno Calif. Resolution on Armenian Genocide," *CR*, April 16, 1975, 10439; Sen. Birch Bayh (IN), "A National Day of Remembrance," *CR*, April 24, 1975, 11709; Sen. Henry Jackson (WA), "The Armenian Struggle for Human Freedom," *CR*, April 24, 1975, 11719-11721; Rep. Herman Badillo (NY), "The 60th Anniversary of the Turkish Genocide of the Armenians," *CR*, April 24, 1975, 11815-11816; Rep. Dominick V. Daniels (NJ), "Day of Remembrance for Man's Inhumanity to Man," *CR*, April 24, 1975, 11832-11833; Rep. J. Herbert Burke (FL), "National Day of Remembrance of Man's Inhumanity to Man," *CR*, April 24, 1975, 11854; Rep. Edward P. Boland (MA), "The Armenian Genocide Must Never Be Forgotten," *CR*, April 24, 1975, 11876; Rep. James J. Blanchard (MI), "In Remembrance of Man's Inhumanity to Man," *CR*, April 24, 1975, 11876-11877; Sen. Ted Kennedy (MA), "A Day of Remembrance for Armenia," *CR*, 11898; Rep. Edward J. Derwinski (IL), "Commemoration of the First Genocide Against the Armenian People," *CR*, April 25, 1975, 11980; Rep. Robert A. Roe (NJ), "In Commemoration of Armenian Martyr Day as a National Day of Remembrance of Man's Inhumanity to Man," *CR*, April 25, 1975, 11981; Rep. Glenn M. Anderson (CA), "Man's Inhumanity to Man," *CR*, April 25, 1975, 11987; Sen. James Buckley, "Armenian Americans," *CR*, April 28, 1975, 11999-12000; Rep. Jim Lloyd (CA), "Tribute to Armenian People," *CR*, 12091-12092; Rep. Henry Helstoski (NJ), "The 1915 Genocide of the Armenians," July 22, 1975, *CR*, 24174-24175; "Armenian Remembrance Day Resolution," STATE 075891, April 3, 1975, NARA, AAD; "Evening Reading-April 4," STATE 077222, April 4, 1975, NARA, AAD; "Helstoski Resolution," STATE 081547, April 10, 1975, NARA, AAD; "Helstoski Resolution," ANKARA 2922, April 12, 1975, NARA, AAD;

Turkish diplomats, as opposed to other, less lethal attacks, that would have given further exposure to their cause. It is also possible that the United States' decision to partially lift the arms embargo on Turkey less than three weeks prior to the ARF's first terrorist attack was not a coincidence.¹²³

Throughout 1974 and 1975, ARF publications increasingly called for more action and sacrifice to prosecute the Armenian Cause and to confront Turkey, the "the ancient enemy of the Armenian nation," which had, apparently, "once again declared active war on the Armenians, wherever they may be congregated."¹²⁴ Foreshadowing the events to come, a New Year's editorial in the *Armenian Weekly* stated:

...we won't consider the new year of any Armenian on the face of this earth truly happy unless in 1975 we get that soulless, murdering Turk to start paying for the murder of every [Armenian]. Turkey must no longer be allowed to squat on the

"Requests for EPS Coverage," USUN 1211, April 15, 1975, NARA, AAD; "Turkish Press Reaction to Helstoski Resolution and Greek-Turkish Relations," ANKARA 3013, April 16, 1975, NARA, AAD; "Further Reaction to Helstoski Resolution," ANKARA 3037, April 17, 1975, NARA, AAD; "Turkish Reaction to the Armenian Issue Continues," ANKARA 3098, April 18, 1975, NARA, AAD; "Greek Observance of Armenian 'Massacre' Anniversary," ATHENS 3071, April 21, 1975, NARA, AAD; "Further Turkish Reaction to the Armenian Issue," ANKARA 3134, April 22, 1975, NARA, AAD; "Armenian Resolution," STATE 091712, April 22, 1975, NARA, AAD; "Armenian Resolution," STATE 092860, April 22, 1975, NARA, AAD; "Armenian Resolution," STATE 094179, April 23, 1975, NARA, AAD; "Continued Turkish Press Reaction to the Armenian Issue," ANKARA 3207, April 24, 1975, NARA, AAD; "Armenian Resolution," ANKARA 3268, April 25, 1975, NARA, AAD; "Editorial Commentary on Armenian Issue," ANKARA 3207, April 25, 1975, NARA, AAD; "Demonstration: Armenian National Committee," USUN 1419, April 29, 1975, NARA, AAD; "UN Convention on Genocide," ISTANBUL 1709, June 5, 1975, NARA, AAD; "Incident Involving Congressman Beard," NICOSIA 2125, July 6, 1975, NARA, AAD; "Genocide Report of Sub-Commission on Minorities," STATE 199560, Aug. 21, 1975, NARA, AAD; "Greek Cypriot Effort to Raise Refugee Issue at Human Rights Sub-Commission Meeting," STATE 201928, Aug. 25, 1975, NARA, AAD; "Message for Congressman Sikes," ANKARA 6825, Sept. 5, 1975, NARA, AAD; "Sub-Commission on Discrimination and Minorities," GENEVA 6953, NARA, AAD; Christopher J. Walker, "The passion of a broken race who still wait for justice," *Times*, April 19, 1975; Avedis K. Sanjian, "Armenia: the Bitter Memories of Genocide," *Los Angeles Times*, April 24, 1974; Richard F. Shepard, "1915 Genocide is Still Vivid to Armenians Here," *New York Times*, April 24, 1975; Paul Martin, "Armenian Campaign on Turkish Massacres," *Times*, April 25, 1975; Arthur Darounian (John Roy Carlson), "April, 1975: In Gratitude... and In Memoriam," *NYT*, April 30, 1975; and Federation of Turkish American Societies, "Let Us Speak of Truth," *NYT*, May 18, 1975. For the Turkish press coverage of Armenian political gains see *Cumhuriyet* and *Milliyet*, April 16-26, 1975.

¹²³ "Turkey Gets US Planes," *Armenian Observer*, Nov. 12, 1975.

¹²⁴ "Aztag Writer Says Basic Goal of All Armenians Must be Free, United State," *Armenian Weekly*, April 25, 1974; "A Broadside for our Neighbors," *AW*, May 9, 1974; "The Triad Convenes," *AW*, June 27, 1974; "We're Burningly Happy to be Back," *AW*, Aug. 1, 1974; "Stop the Turks on Cyprus!," *AW*, August 22, 1974; "An Appeal to All Armenians," *AW*, September 26, 1974; "An Appeal of the Three Armenian Political Parties," *AW*, Dec. 12, 1974; "Some (Delayed) New Year's Resolutions," Jan. 9, 1975; "The Unity of the Commemorative Year," *AW*, Jan. 30, 1975; "On the Threshold of April," *AW*, March 27, 1975; "Facts on the Massacres," *AW*, March 27, 1975; and "We Dissent on the Turks," *AW*, April 3, 1975. See also "Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide, Bombing of Music City Tours," FBI, 1075807-000, HQ 174-8799, Section 2 (796760).

land of our forefathers, whom the Turk slew so that he might continue to squat on those lands. 1975 will be that sort of year. We've got a job to do...¹²⁵

Additionally, it seems that in order to prepare its constituents for the coming violence, the *ARF* turned again to its most successful and popular legacy, the glorification of the violence carried out against Turks by its agents, by setting aside a special day, "Avenger's Day," to celebrate the exploits of the *ARF* operatives who assassinated Turkish leaders during Operation Nemesis, and producing live re-enactments of Talaat Pasha's assassination and Tehlirian's subsequent trial in Armenian communities in the United States.¹²⁶

Particularly interesting is a series of articles the *ARF* ran from April 1975 until July 1975. This series, "Acts of Justice: Bringing the Turkish Massacrists to Bay," explained Operation Nemesis in detail and retold the tale how the Armenians had taken matters into their own hands, once justice had been denied to them by the western powers and the new government in Istanbul, and tracked down and murdered those responsible for the events of 1915.¹²⁷ The extended coverage of the exploits of the *ARF*'s Nemesis group concluded mere weeks before the *ARF*'s assassinations of the Turkish Ambassadors to Austria and France, and ended with a poignant message: "...all honor to the Armenian Revolutionary Federation which vindicated the Armenian dead by liquidating practically all the principal authors of the Armenian massacres..."¹²⁸

¹²⁵ "On the New Year of 1975," *Armenian Weekly*, December 26, 1974.

¹²⁶ "Avenger's Day Set for This Saturday," *Armenian Observer*, March 20, 1974; "Reenact Trial of Tehlirian in Syracuse," *Armenian Weekly*, May 23, 1974; "Freedom Fight in New Movie," *AW*, October 17, 1974; "What Every Dashnaksakan Should Know...", Jan. 9, 1975; "'Sons of Sassoun' Benefit Premiere Set for April," *AW*, March 13, 1975; "What Every Young Dashnaksakan Should Know," *AW*, March 27, 1975; and "AYF Present 'Death of Talaat Pasha' Nov. 9," *AO*, Nov. 5, 1975.

¹²⁷ "Acts of Justice: Bringing the Turk Massacrists to Bay," *Armenian Weekly*, April 17, 1975; "How Arshavir Shiragian and Aram Yerganian Disposed of Behaeddin Shakir, Djemal Azmi," *AW*, April 17, April 24, May 1, May 8, May 15, 1975; "Acts of Justice: Bringing Turk Massacrists to Bay," *AW*, May 22, 1975; "Nemesis Series: Shiragian Smites Said Halim," *AW*, May 29, 1975; "The 'Forgotten Assassination' of Djemal Pasha; Who Did it, How, Where it Happened," *AW*, June 6, 1975; "How Tehlirian Tracked Down and Disposed of the Beast. Part I," *AW*, June 19, 1975; "Berlin Court Tries Tehlirian for the Talaat Assassination: the Verdict...", *AW*, June 26, 1975; "Tehlirian Counsel Says Talaat, not Soghomon, on Trial, Court Acquits...", *AW*, July 3, 1975; and "Was Enver Pasha Killed by an Armenian? The Suggestion is There," *AW*, July 10, 1975.

¹²⁸ "Why There Was NO Nuremberg for Armenians...", *AW*, Sept. 11, 1975

Organization and Structure of the ARF and its Armed Wing

The leadership and organizational structure of the ARF resembled a pyramid, designed to maintain strict control over every aspect of the organization and its individual members. At the very top, sat the ARF World Congress. This congress met every four years, usually at an undisclosed location for security purposes, to evaluate the current international and diaspora political situation and set the goals for the next four years. The Congress also selected five to nine individuals from throughout the Armenian diaspora to comprise the ARF Bureau. This body, which sat below the ARF World Congress, was the executive branch charged with implementing the policies set forth by the ARF World Congress. Between Congresses, the Bureau was the supreme governing authority of the ARF and wielded complete control over all of its activities, including lobbying, public relations, education and media. The identities of the Bureau members, and much of its activities, were kept hidden from the majority of ARF party members. Underneath the ARF Bureau, were the Central Committees of each country or region containing enough ARF members to warrant a Central Committee; for example, the United States possessed both a Central Committee of the Eastern United States and a Central Committee of the Western United States, both of which were extremely influential within the broader context of ARF. The Central Committees' leadership identities were also kept secret.

When possible, the ARF Central Committees held annual conventions in their respective territories to review policy and activities, ensure that its members conformed to the platform set forth by the World Congress and Bureau, and to elect the Central Committee's leadership. Underneath the Central Committees, existed the local ARF chapters. A local committee was permitted in locations where at least five potential members existed, and once the Central Committee approved its creation.¹²⁹ Each local committee would send its representatives to the Central Committee's annual conference. In sum, the local committees would elect the representatives who formed the regional Central Committees, who in turn would send their delegates to the ARF World Congress every four years to, among other things, elect the ARF Bureau. The ARF World Congress would set the organization's political platform and goals, which were interpreted and enforced by the Bureau, which relied on the various Central Committees to ensure each local chapter held the line. Given the scope of the terrorist wing's

¹²⁹ For a description of the ARF's organizational structure see Caprielian, 163-172; and "Global Terrorism: The Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide," CIA, Sept. 1984, CIA-RDP85S00315R000200060002-3.

operations, the highly centralized nature of the ARF, and the evidence currently available, it appears that, at a minimum, the ARF Bureau was fully aware of the terrorist organization's activities, and may have been involved in its organization, planning and, by 1982, directly controlling terrorist operations.¹³⁰ It is still unknown, however, the extent to which each regional Central Committee was involved.

During the span of the ARF's terrorist campaign, the ARF Bureau was headquartered in Beirut and was chaired by a man named Hrair (Hrayar) Maroukhian. Born in Iran in 1928, Maroukhian moved to Beirut in 1964 after he was first elected to the Bureau. In 1971, he assumed the chairmanship of the Bureau and, by at least one account, "ran the party with an iron hand" and "crushed any opposition to his rule and eliminated dissenters."¹³¹ Ironically, Maroukhian was accused of cooperating with Soviet intelligence, the KGB, shortly after his election to Chairman of the ARF Bureau, and was denied entry into both Great Britain and Canada because of his links to the international terrorism.¹³² Other ARF Bureau members during this period of violence included: Sarkis Zeitlian, the number two man in the Bureau, the party's chief ideologue, and head of the ARF's media network; Hratch Dasnabedian, a high school principal in Beirut who was denied entry into Canada in December 1994 because of his links to international terrorism; Hratch Abrahamian, a naturalized citizen of the United States based in Washington, DC, who also served as the ARF's Armenian National Committee of America (ANCA) chairman and a member of the ARF's Eastern United States Central Committee; Sarkis Sarkissian, of Beirut, was, conveniently, the Bureau member charged with overseeing the ARF's youth groups, and who seems to have had "operational control" of the terrorist group until his death in a California hospital in November 1984; and another Armenian-American, and

¹³⁰ "Disappearance and Assassination of ARF Leaders in Lebanon; ARF Revolutionary Movement Claims Responsibility," *Armenian Reporter*, Oct. 31, 1985.

¹³¹ At least one account dates his promotion to Chairman to 1976. "ARF: Absolute Rule Forever," *Armenian Reporter*, Sept. 26, 1992; "Hrair Maroukhian, Deposed Leader of ARF, Dies After Years in Come," *AR*, Dec. 26, 1998; and "Hrair Maroukhian Laid to Rest in Armenia Thousands Pay Last Respects," *Asbarez*, Dec. 28, 1998. See also <http://www.maroukhianfoundation.org/english/about-us/hrayr-maroukhian-a-visionary-leader>.

¹³² "Top Dashnag Leader Refused Entry into Britain," *Armenian Reporter*, Nov. 29, 1984; "Reaction to Levon Der Bedroisan's Ouster of A.R.F. Leader Appears Mixed; War of Words, Documents Further Complicate Situation," *AR*, July 18, 1992; "The Recent Policies of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation: A Dangerous New Course," *AR*, Jan. 23, 1993; "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia; IT-ASALA; Armenian Revolutionary Federation; IT-Armenia," FBI, March 31, 1993, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 53 (819685); "Major Gen. Oleg Kalugin, Former Chief of Counterintelligence of KGB, Confirms that the ARF was Infiltrated by the Soviet Intelligence Agency," *AR*, Nov. 5, 1994; and "Garo Armenian, ARF Bureau Member, Denied Entry into Canada," *AR*, Nov. 30, 1996.

ANCA chairman, Garo Armenian. Although the dates of his tenure on the Bureau remain unclear, Armenian was denied entry into Canada in November 1996 for the same reasons as Maroukhian and Dasnabedian mentioned above.¹³³

The first leader of the ARF's terrorist wing, and also the ARF's militia (security forces) in Beirut, was a Lebanese-Armenian and ARF Lebanon Central Committee member named Apraham "Apo" Ashjian. It has also been suggested, however, that Ashjian was merely one of five men selected by the ARF to oversee the JCAG's global operations.¹³⁴ After his assassination in late December 1982, he was replaced by Sarkis Aznavourian, about whom very little is known, and the organization changed its name from the *JCAG* to the *Armenian Revolutionary Army (ARA)*. Aznavourian, however, would last only a little over two years in his new position as leader of the *ARF*'s terrorist cell. In April 1985, he too was assassinated.¹³⁵ Another prominent American *ARF* party member, and eventual chairman of the Armenian National Committee of America (*ANCA*), Mourad Topalian, was indicted by the U.S. Government in 1999 for providing logistics, weapons, explosives and training for terrorist operations, along with organizing and planning, for the *ARF* since at least 1976. Topalian was eventually indicted on these charges in 1999, but was allowed to plead guilty to lesser charges.

¹³³ "Armenian Revolutionary Army (ARA)," FBI, Feb. 21, 1985, 1075087-000, HQ199-9742, Section 1 (796809); "Armenian Revolutionary Army (ARA)," FBI, April 12, 1985, 1075087-000, HQ199-9742, Section 1 (796809); "Disappearance and Assassination of ARF Leaders in Lebanon: ARF Revolutionary Movement Claims Responsibility," *Armenian Reporter*, Oct. 31, 1985; "Second Installment of 'Confessions' Attributed to Abducted A.R.F. Leader, Sarkis Zeitlian," *AR*, March 6, 1986; "A.R.F.-R.M. Announces Execution of Sarkis Zeitlian, Abducted Leader," *AR*, Oct. 30, 1986; <http://www.hszpub.com/sarkis-1.html>; "Tragedy in Beirut Evidence of Lack of Leadership," *AR*, Oct. 19, 1978; "Accusations Denied by Secret Army," *AR*, Sept. 13, 1979; "Armenian Revolutionary Federation," FBI, Sept. 29, 1986, 1149368-000, 199B-CG-625, Section 3 (944528); "IT-Armenia," FBI, Jan. 22, 1987, 1149368-000, 199B-CG-625, Section 3 (944528); "Hratch Dasnabedian Laid to Rest at ARF Pantheon," *Asbarez*, March 22, 2001; "Armenians Invited to Reception Honoring President of Cyprus," *AR*, June 15, 1978; "Pres. Carter Honors Set Momjian at White House; Reiterates Administration Commitment to Arm. People," *AR*, June 7, 1979; "From 1918 to 1979: The Dream Remains," *AR*, June 21, 1979; "The First Armeno-Turkish Dialogue," *AR*, Sept. 22, 2001; "ANC Representatives Question on Turkey Asked at State Dept. Conference of Ethnic Groups Brings on 'Evasive and Superficial' Response," *AW*, March 18, 1976; "ARF Leader Dr. Hratch Abrahamian Passes Away," *Asbarez*, April 1, 2013; "The A.R.F. Marks 72nd Anniversary of the Genocide with March and Rally in New York City," *AR*, May 7, 1987; "Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF); IT-JCAG," FBI, Jan. 8, 1987, 1149368-000, 199B-CG-625, Section 3 (944528); and "Garo Armenian, ARF Bureau Member, Denied Entry into Canada," *AR*, Nov. 30, 1996.

¹³⁴ "Bombing of Residence of Stanford Shaw, 12227 Tweed Lane, West Los Angeles, California, October 3, 1977," FBI, Nov. 15, 1983, 1211499-0-174-HQ-7826, Section 1, Serial 1.

¹³⁵ "New Light Shed on Kidnapping of ARF Leader in December of 1982," *AR*, Jan. 26, 1984; "Cypriot Paper Implies Apo Ashjian has been Killed by Other A.R.F. Leaders," *AR*, June 7, 1984; "Who Tipped Off the FBI?," *AR*, May 8, 1986; "ASALA Publication 'Armenia,' Focuses on Dashnag Crisis," *AR*, May 8, 1986; "Apo Ashdjian," *Moush*, June-July 1986, No-9/10, 5; and "Mercenaries Carry Out Acts Against A.R.F.," *Asbarez*, July 19, 1986.

Most of the training appears to have taken place in Franklin, MA, at an *ARF*-owned facility called Camp Hayastan.¹³⁶

In order to select and recruit potential agents and operatives, the *ARF* turned to its extensive youth and athletic organizations. In a procedure described by an FBI informant, the most promising Armenian male prospects were identified as early as the age of 17, and selected for advanced training. The most talented from these elite groups were then organized into cells containing between 8-10 operatives, led by a “captain” in his late 20s. When the cell was activated for an attack, the individual(s) tasked with carrying out the operation were selected through a secret lottery system, with only the cell’s leader aware of the individual(s)’s identity. Those selected received then received meticulous and well-planned instructions from the cell’s leader, and once the operation was carried out, they were removed permanently from the pool of potential agents. This process ensured their anonymity, protected others within the group, and decreased the likelihood of their capture. In the rare instances where there were eyewitnesses to the attacks, the assailants were described as youths in their early 20s. As described in a late FBI report:

The Armenian Revolutionary Federation has been identified as the parent organization for a terrorist group, the Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide (JCAG) also known as the Armenian Revolutionary Army (ARA)...The Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide (JCAG) has recruited terrorists from the Armenian Youth Federation (AYF) the youth arm of the Armenian Revolutionary Army [sic] (ARF). A Striking characteristic of the Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide (JCAG) is reliance upon long-term friendships and family relationships for a code of silence for mutual protection.¹³⁷

In order to finance these attacks, the ARF appears to have relied on party dues, public fundraising, and illicit narcotics sales to finance its terrorist operations, and, according to the CIA, benefitted from the support of at least a segment of the global Armenian diaspora. This support ranged from a failure to cooperate with local and national investigative efforts and moral and

¹³⁶ *United States of America v. Mourad Topalian, aka “Moose,”* United States District Court for the Northern District of Ohio, Eastern Division, Cr. No. 358; *United States of America v. Mourad Topalian*, “Government’s Memorandum in Aid of Sentencing,” United States District Court for the Northern District of Ohio, Eastern Division, Case No. 1: 99CR358; “Activist Charged in Bombings,” *Lodi News-Sentinel*, Oct. 16, 1999; and “Following Terror’s Forgotten Trail,” *U.S. News & World Report*, Feb. 5, 2001.

¹³⁷ “Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide/Armenian Revolutionary Army) International Terrorism,” FBI, July 28, 1986, 1149376-000, 199-MM-410, Section 1 (944933).

financial support from ARF agents captured or detained, to “preoperational casing, weapons procurement, escape arrangements, and propaganda distribution.”¹³⁸

Tunalıgil, Erez, & Yener—Vienna, Austria & Paris, France, October 22-24, 1975

The first victim of the ARF’s terrorist wing was Daniş Tunalıgil, the 60-year old Turkish Ambassador to Austria. Married, and with a 15-year old daughter, Tunalıgil was a 36-year veteran of the Turkish Foreign Ministry and had previously served as the Turkish Ambassador to Italy, Jordan, Yugoslavia and the Hague, was the charge d’affaires in Moscow, and served in various posts inside the ministry in Ankara. In broad daylight, on October 22, 1975, three armed men, speaking fluent English, forced their way into the Turkish Embassy in Vienna, assassinated the Ambassador, and managed to escape without incident.¹³⁹

Two days later, on October 24, 1974, the Turkish Ambassador to France, Ismail Erez, was shot to death in his car, along with his 23-year old driver, Talip Yener. Erez, a 53-year old father of two, was murdered by two to three operatives, using similar weapons to those employed in the assassination of Tunalıgil, while returning to the Embassy from lunch. Prior to his posting in France, Ambassador Erez served as the Turkish Ambassador to Czechoslovakia, Lebanon and Italy, in addition to spending eleven years as a diplomat in the United States. Ironically, while serving in Lebanon Ambassador Erez experienced firsthand the rising animosity and anti-Turkishness of the Armenian diaspora.¹⁴⁰ The agents involved in the Erez and Yener assassinations also managed to make a clean escape, despite the fact that the attack was carried out in the middle of the afternoon on a busy Parisian street. Following the assassination, the Turkish Embassy received threats of additional violence toward its facility.¹⁴¹

¹³⁸ “KAPIKILL,” FBI, July 9, 1982, 1075807-000, HQ 185-1651, Section 3 (796783), Part 1; “Global Terrorism: The Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide,” CIA, Sept. 1984, CIA-RDP85S00315R000200060002-3; and “Arrest of ARF Members in 1993 in Lebanon on Drug-Trafficking Charges Now Linked to Activities of “Dro” Group,” *Armenian Reporter*, January 21, 1995.

¹³⁹ ““Envoy of Turkey in Vienna Slain,” *New York Times*, Oct. 23, 1975; “Turkish Ambassador to Austria Assassinated-Report No. 1,” VIENNA 08968, Oct. 22, 1975, NARA, AAD.

¹⁴⁰ “Transfer to Rome of Ismail Erez,” BEIRUT A426, Nov. 3, 1970, RG59, SNF, 1970-73, POL & DEF, Box 2639, POL 17 TUR.

¹⁴¹ “Assassination of Turkish Ambassador in Paris,” PARIS 27678, Oct. 24, 1975, NARA, AAD; “Assassination of Turkish Ambassador in Paris,” PARIS 27713, Oct. 24, 1975; “Turks’ Ambassador Murdered in Paris; 2d Slain in 2 Days,” *New York Times*, Oct. 25, 1975; “Assassination of Turkish Ambassador in Paris,” PARIS 27829, Oct. 25, 1975.

Initial speculation on the identity of the assailants fell on Greek, Greek-Cypriot or Armenian nationals due to the ongoing conflict over Cyprus and recent Armenian anti-Turkish violence, although right and left-wing Turkish groups, Palestinians, drug smugglers and, naturally, the CIA of the United States, were also mentioned as possible perpetrators. This was despite the fact that immediately after the assassinations, groups named the Armenian Liberation Organization, the Kourken Yanikian Group, the Armenian Secret Army, and the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia, all claimed responsibility for the attack.¹⁴² Additionally, on October 23, 1975, in what appears to be the ARF terrorists' first official communication, the U.S. Embassy in London, along with other Embassies in the United Kingdom, received a note from the Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide claiming responsibility and declaring "Our action against the political representative of Turkey will remind all the great and small states of the world that the forgotten genocide of the Armenians remains unpunished."¹⁴³

¹⁴² "Assassination of Turkish Ambassador-Report No. 2," VIENNA 08982, Oct. 22, 1975; "Envoy of Turkey in Vienna Slain," *New York Times*, Oct. 23, 1975; "Assassination of Turkish Ambassador-Report No. 3," VIENNA 9008, Oct. 23, 1975, NARA, AAD; "Protection of Turkish Ambassador," USUN 5269, Oct. 23, 1975, NARA, AAD; "Turkish Press Coverage for Oct. 23," ANKARA 7949, Oct. 23, 1975, NARA, AAD; "Assassination of Turkish Ambassador in Paris," PARIS 27713, Oct. 24, 1975; "Assassination of Turkish Ambassador, Vienna—Report 3," VIENNA 9075, Oct. 25, 1975, NARA, AAD; "Assassination of Turkish Ambassador in Paris," PARIS 27829, Oct. 25, 1975; "Turks' Ambassador Murdered in Paris; 2d Slain in 2 Days," *New York Times*, Oct. 25, 1975; Charles Hargrove, "Second Turkish envoy murdered," *The Times*, Oct. 25, 1975; "4,000 March in Istanbul, Blaming Greeks for Role in Envoy's Deaths," *NYT*, Oct. 26, 1975; "Protection of Turkish Establishments and Personnel in New York City," USUN 5399, Oct. 28, 1975, NARA, AAD; "Assassination of Turkish Ambassador, Vienna-Report No. 4," VIENNA 6997, Oct. 28, 1975, NARA, AAD; "Turkish Press on Defense Cooperation Negotiations, Ambassadors' Assassination, Reported Helicopter Acquisition," ANKARA 8046, Oct. 29, 1975, NARA, AAD; "Greek Cypriot Press Review," NICOSIA 3122, Oct. 30, 1975, NARA, AAD; "Sauvagnargues' Visit to Ankara," STATE 257807, Oct. 30, 1975, NARA, AAD; Robert Fisk, "Turkish extremists may have killed envoys," *The Times*, Oct. 27, 1975; "Turks give state funeral to murdered envoys," *The Times*, Oct. 28, 1975; "Armenian Liberation Movement Mentioned in Slaying of Two Turk Envoys," *Armenian Observer*, Oct. 29, 1975; "ALA' Formation Announced," *Armenian Weekly*, Nov. 6, 1975; "Austria Chided by Greek Officials," *AW*, Nov. 6, 1975; and "Istanbul Press Lists Suspects," *AW*, Nov. 6, 1975. In all likelihood, the *Armenian Liberation Organization*, the *Armenian Liberation Army*, the *Armenian Secret Army*, were all names being used by the Simonian/Ajemian/Karnusian/Takoushian group, which had yet to formally settle on the *Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia* as the name of their organization, and which desperately sought to co-opt credit for the ARF's attack. See "ALA' Formation Announced," *AW*, Nov. 6, 1975; and "Agence France Presse' Items," *AW*, Nov. 13, 1975;

¹⁴³ "Assassination of Turkish Ambassador to Austria," ANKARA 7985, Oct. 24, 1975, NARA, AAD; "Assassination of Turkish Ambassador in Paris," PARIS 27713, Oct. 24, 1975; "Death of Turkish Ambassador to France: Department Reaction," STATE 254675, Oct. 25, 1975, NARA, AAD; "Turks' Ambassador Murdered in Paris; 2d Slain in 2 Days," *New York Times*, Oct. 25, 1975; "Protection of Turkish Establishments and Personnel in New York City," USUN 5399, Oct. 28, 1975, NARA, AAD; "Assassination of Turkish Ambassadors," LONDON 16507, Oct. 29, 1975, NARA, AAD.

After laying out the organization's grievances against both Turkey and the "Imperialist Powers," the communiqué stated that:

we will lay down our arms only when the Turkish Government official denounces the Genocide perpetrated by Turkey in 1915 against the Armenian people and agrees to negotiate with Armenian Representatives in order to reinstate Justice.¹⁴⁴

On November 6, 1975, the U.S. Embassy in Paris received a similar document from the JCAG, mailed on October 24, and at some point copies were also received at the Australian and Greek Embassies in West Germany, as well as other Embassies and the offices of German publication, *Die Welt*.¹⁴⁵ Largely due to the failure of the police in Austria and France to produce any suspects or substantial leads, however, and the apparent lack of communication between the U.S. Embassy in London, Paris and Washington DC, and western intelligence agencies, or simply a lack of interest, international suspicion and conjecture remained broad.¹⁴⁶

From the very beginning, the French appear to have been convinced that the assassinations were the work of an Armenian terror organization, arresting 14 Armenians, searching the homes of another 20, and labeling the attacks as 'revenge' killings. Despite their intuition, however, French authorities were unable to gather any credible evidence.¹⁴⁷ Likewise, the Armenians were the only group mentioned in the CIA's report on the incident, albeit with a

¹⁴⁴ A complete copy of the JCAG's first communiqué was published in December 1975 by the *Armenian Weekly*. See "Justice Commandos' Address Communication to 'All Peoples and Governments'," *Armenian Weekly*, Dec. 4, 1975.

¹⁴⁵ "Armenian Group Claims Responsibility for Assassination of Turkish Ambassador," PARIS 29018, Nov. 6, 1975; "Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide (JCAG)," BONN 18331, Nov. 8, 1975, NARA, AAD; "Judiciaries' Issue Tract," *Armenian Weekly*, Nov. 13, 1975; "Greek Authorities Clear Suspects of Assassinations," *AW*, Nov. 20, 1975.

¹⁴⁶ "Assassination of Turkish Ambassador, Vienna-Report No. 5," VIENNA 9236, Oct. 31, 1975; "Turkish Terrorist Threat Assessment," LISBON 6566, Nov. 6, 1975, NARA, AAD; "Turkey; Terrorism anonymous," *The Economist*, Nov. 1, 1975; "Turks Challenge 'ALA' Complicity," *Armenian Weekly*, Nov. 6, 1975; and "Turk Organ Opines Turks Responsible," *AW*, Nov. 6, 1975. The U.S. Embassy in Paris was not aware of the JCAG communication received nearly a week prior by the U.S. Embassy in London, or the Australian and Greek Embassies in West Germany. See "Armenian Group Claims Responsibility for Assassination of Turkish Ambassador," LONDON 17161, Nov. 7, 1975, NARA, AAD; "Press Reverberations on Assassinations of Turk Ambassadors," *AW*, Nov. 13, 1975; "Austria Police on Possibles," *AW*, Nov. 13, 1975; "Greeks Holding Passports Sought," *AW*, Nov. 13, 1975; and "No Clue to Motives, Killers," *AW*, Nov. 13, 1975.

¹⁴⁷ "4,000 March in Istanbul, Blaming Greeks for Role in Envoy's Deaths," *New York Times*, Oct. 26, 1975; "French Free 14 Armenians in Slaying of Turkish Envoy," *NYT*, Oct. 27, 1975; "Paris Paper Cites 'Armenian Revenge'," *Armenian Weekly*, Nov. 6, 1975; "Press Reverberations on Assassinations of Turk Ambassadors," *AW*, Nov. 13, 1975; "Turks Point at Greeks, Armenians," *AW*, Nov. 13, 1975; and "Paris Police in Raids on Homes," *AW*, Nov. 13, 1975.

disclaimer that Armenian involvement was not “considered certain.”¹⁴⁸ By December, reports were surfacing that U.S. intelligence agencies also believed that Armenians were behind the attacks.¹⁴⁹

In the United States, the assassinations prompted an increase in security measures to protect Turkish installations and personnel, including in some areas 24-hour uniformed police protection for Turkish facilities, personnel, and dependents, and a stern denouncement and an offer of assistance to the Turkish Foreign Ministry from U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. The Turkish Embassy in Portugal took up this offer, and requested U.S. assistance in persuading the Portuguese government to add similar measures to protect Turkish facilities there.¹⁵⁰ The attacks also elicited a request from the U.S. Embassy in France for funds to armor their own vehicles, and there were fears the Palestinian Front for the Liberation of Palestine were preparing to carry out their own assassinations against either U.S. or Egyptian diplomats in the style of Vienna and Paris.¹⁵¹ The assassinations in Vienna and Paris received substantial media interest in the international press, with coverage ranging from descriptions of the attacks and biographical information on the victims, speculation on the identities of the perpetrators, background information on Armenian animosity towards Turkey; to security precautions and general calls to do more to combat the surge in international terrorism.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁸ “Weekly Situation Report on International Terrorism,” CIA, Oct. 28, 1975, CIA-RDP79-01209A000600060001-7.

¹⁴⁹ Alan Horton, “US Intelligence ‘Has Evidence’ ALO Murdered Envoys,” *Armenian Weekly*, Dec. 18, 1975.

¹⁵⁰ “Protection of Turkish Ambassador,” USUN 5269, Oct. 23, 1975, NARA, AAD; “Death of Turkish Ambassador to France: Department Reaction,” STATE 254675, Oct. 25, 1975, NARA, AAD; “Secretary’s Condolence Message to the Turkish Foreign Minister,” STATE 254867, Oct. 25, 1975, NARA, AAD; “Turks’ Ambassador Murdered in Paris; 2d Slain in 2 Days,” *New York Times*, Oct. 25, 1975; “Protection of Turkish Establishments and Personnel in New York City,” USUN 5399, Oct. 28, 1975, NARA, AAD; and “Turkish Terrorist Threat Assessment,” LISBON 6566, Nov. 6, 1975, NARA, AAD.

¹⁵¹ “Armoring of Vehicles,” PARIS 28084, Oct. 29, 1975, NARA, AAD; and “Alleged Terrorism Threat Against U.S. and Egyptian Ambassadors,” BUDAPEST 3754, Nov. 20, 1975, NARA, AAD.

¹⁵² “Envoy of Turkey in Vienna Slain,” *New York Times*, Oct. 23, 1975; “Turks’ Ambassador Murdered in Paris; 2d Slain in 2 Days,” *NYT*, Oct. 25, 1975; Charles Hargrove, “Second Turkish envoy murdered,” *The Times*, Oct. 25, 1975; “4,000 March in Istanbul, Blaming Greeks for Role in Envoy’s Deaths,” *NYT*, Oct. 26, 1975; “French Free 14 Armenians in Slaying of Turkish Envoy,” *NYT*, Oct. 27, 1975; Robert Fisk, “Turkish extremists may have killed envoys,” *The Times*, Oct. 27, 1975; “Tens of Thousands at Rites in Ankara for Slain Envoys,” *NYT*, Oct. 28, 1975; “Turks give state funeral to murdered envoys,” *The Times*, Oct. 28, 1975; “Turkey; Terrorism anonymous,” *The Economist*, Nov. 1, 1975; and “Terror,” *NYT*, Nov. 2, 1975. The French press allegedly went into great detail regarding Turkish historical culpability for the assassinations. See “‘ALA’ Formation Announced,” *Armenian Weekly*, Nov. 6, 1975.

Armenian Terrorism and the Armenian Cause in the Press

The Armenian-American press also reported on the attacks, with extensive coverage provided by the ARF's Armenian Weekly. In addition to keeping its readership informed on the progress of identifying the culprits through the reprinting articles from various international news organs, the Turkish press, the Turkish reaction to the attacks, and news of the Armenian Secret Army and the Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide, negative commentary on Turkey and anti-Turkish diatribes continued unabated.¹⁵³ Of particular interest, however, was a four-part, unsigned editorial series between the November 27 and December 18, 1975 issues of the Armenian Weekly that accompanied the publication of the full JCAG communiqué and explored the veracity of possible Armenian involvement in the assassinations.¹⁵⁴

The editorial answered this rhetorical question in the affirmative, and appeared agitated that the Turkish government and international community suspected Greek and Greek-Cypriot

¹⁵³ “Armenian Liberation Movement Mentioned in Slaying of Two Turk Envoys,” *Armenian Observer*, Oct. 29, 1975; Levon Keshishian, “The Turkish Genocide of the Armenians,” *AO*, Oct. 29, 1975; “Turkish Ambassadors in Vienna, Paris Gunned Down and Killed; Assailants Not Apprehended,” *Armenian Weekly*, Oct. 30, 1975; “An Open Letter to Sen. Goldwater Regarding Turkish Aid,” *AO*, Nov. 4, 1975; “Assassins of Two Turkish Ambassadors Still At Large; Istanbul Turk Mobs Demonstrate,” *AW*, Nov. 6, 1975; “Turk Rabble Storms Saint Sophia’s,” *AW*, Nov. 6, 1975; “ALA’ Formation Announced,” *AW*, Nov. 6, 1975; “Turks Challenge ‘ALA’ Complicity,” *AW*, Nov. 6, 1975; “Paris Paper Cites ‘Armenian Revenge’,” *AW*, Nov. 6, 1975; “Austria Chided by Greek Officials,” *AW*, Nov. 6, 1975; “Turk Organ Opines Turks Responsible,” *AW*, Nov. 6, 1975; “Istanbul Press Lists Suspects,” *AW*, Nov. 6, 1975; “Turkish Cyprus Forces Excluding Armenians from Famagusta Rights,” *AW*, Nov. 6, 1975; “On A ‘Washington Post Editorial’,” *AW*, Nov. 6, 1975; “Press Reverberations on Assassinations of Turk Ambassadors,” *AW*, Nov. 13, 1975; “Turkey’s Rejection of Helsinki Clause Upsets Diplomats,” *AW*, Nov. 13, 1975; “An Issue of Harassment,” *AW*, Nov. 13, 1975; “‘End the Turkish Embargo’,” *AW*, Nov. 13, 1975; “Turks Point at Greeks, Armenians,” *AW*, Nov. 13, 1975; “Austria Police on Possibles,” *AW*, Nov. 13, 1975; “Judiciaries’ Issue Tract,” *AW*, Nov. 13, 1975; “Greeks Holding Passports Sought,” *AW*, Nov. 13, 1975; “Assassination in Paris Told Of,” *AW*, Nov. 13, 1975; “No Clue to Motives, Killers,” *AW*, Nov. 13, 1975; “Paris Police in Raids on Homes,” *AW*, Nov. 13, 1975; “Agence France Presse’ Items,” *AW*, Nov. 13, 1975; “Political Attack on Turkey’, He Says,” *AW*, Nov. 13, 1975; “Turkey Demanding \$1.5 Billion from US,” *AO*, Nov. 19, 1975; “FCC Strikes Down Turkish Bid for ‘Equal Time’ on TV,” *AW*, Nov. 20, 1975; “The Federal Communication Commission Decision,” *AW*, Nov. 20, 1975; “Massacres Denied,” *AW*, Nov. 20, 1975; “Greek Authorities Clear Suspects of Assassinations,” *AW*, Nov. 20, 1975; “Dissecting Peccant Turkish Arguments on the 1915 Genocide,” *AW*, Nov. 20, 1975; Anne Avakian-Bishop, “‘Forty Days of Musa Dagh’ Roling,” *AO*, Dec. 3, 1975; “Justice Commandos’ Address Communication to ‘All Peoples and Governments’,” *AW* Dec. 4, 1975; “Armenian National Committee Leads Boston Demonstration on Turkish UN Envoy’s Visit; He Denies the Massacres,” *AW*, Dec. 4, 1975; “Turk Journalist Urges ‘A Different Approach’ to ‘A Great Reality, a Truth that Simply Cannot be Denied: That in 1915 Hundreds of Thousands of Armenians Lost Their Lives’,” *AW*, Dec. 11, 1975; “Turkey Demands \$1.5 Billion to Reopen Bases,” *AW*, Dec. 11, 1975; “Before You Go to Hear the Turkish Ambassador’,” *AW*, Dec. 11, 1975; “Kehetian: The Genocide of 1915 Still in the Minds of World Leaders,” *AO*, Dec. 17, 1975; “Sec. Kissinger Terms the 1915 Massacres of Armenians ‘A Great Tragedy’; But He Denies Any Role in Muzzling ‘Helstolski’ Resolve,” *AW*, Dec. 18, 1975; and “Armenian Massacre Cited,” *AW*, Dec. 25, 1975.

¹⁵⁴ “The Vienna and Paris Assassinations -- I,” *Armenian Weekly*, Nov. 27, 1975; “The Vienna and Paris Assassinations -- II,” *AW*, Dec. 4, 1975; “The Vienna and Paris Assassinations -- III,” *AW*, Dec. 11, 1975; and “The Vienna and Paris Assassinations-- IV,” *AW*, Dec. 18, 1975.

elements, which it dismissed as self-serving Turkish propaganda. The editorial also gave precedence to the JCAG's claims of responsibility over the other potential Armenian groups, the reason for which is now clear. Furthermore, with complete disregard for the tremendous political success of the ARF and the Armenian diaspora in prosecuting their case with relative little violence since 1965, and in particular since 1973, the editorial justified Armenian violence against the Turkish government by nearly paraphrasing the arguments given in the official communiqué of the JCAG:

When, after sixty years, a people continues to wait, obviously in vain... and when there is no indication that such an international adjudication of the criminal nation and the settlement of the claims of the murdered nation is not forthcoming, people may in fact resort to such measures... When not only the Turk remains unpunished, when both large and small nations join... to help expiate the crime and even to turn the tables on the victimized nation—to indicate that the Armenians were at fault for their own massacres—and not the Turks.

When the human and moral principles of the world suffer such a breakdown, when we live in a world where a governmentless nation, such as Armenia, is deprived of its basic right to be heard by the company of nations...; when there are forces which are indeed using all methods of foul tactics to silence the voice and demands of the Armenians; and when the existing nations use their power and their influence solely in the cause of the perpetuation of injustice—it is then quite understandable that representatives of such a political powerless nation, bereft of its right to speak out and even of its ability to sue for its rights, might act to regain those rights, and might revert to methods of force to do just that.¹⁵⁵

And everyone should understand that the Armenian case against Turkey will not be solved, that quarrel will not subside, until Turkey does in fact admit to the massacres, perform its necessary reparative acts, and hand back to the Armenian nation the territories of western historical Armenia.¹⁵⁶

“Has not the Armenian nation a just case against Turkey which has been ignored by both Turkey and the world community of nations?” the author demanded.¹⁵⁷ The assassinations, and the Armenian Weekly's coverage were criticized by at least one Armenian newspaper, however: “It is unfortunate that one leading Armenian party organ gave unprecedented fanfare to a

¹⁵⁵ “The Vienna and Paris Assassinations -- II,” *Armenian Weekly*, Dec. 4, 1975.

¹⁵⁶ “The Vienna and Paris Assassinations-- IV,” *Armenian Weekly*, Dec. 18, 1975.

¹⁵⁷ “The Vienna and Paris Assassinations -- III,” *Armenian Weekly*, Dec. 11, 1975.

communiqué released by a little known Armenian underground organization following the killings of Turkish officials claiming responsibility.”¹⁵⁸

Underscoring the contention that the *ARF* possessed a plan for violence prior to *ASALA*'s emergence, the author refutes the conjecture that Armenian terrorism could be viewed as an act of “desperation,” or vengeance for 1915. Instead, he argued that political assassinations were the result of “the very extreme nature of which are meant to project the need for the exercise of that justice the inexercise of which in the first place led to that act of violence.” The author also took umbrage to the possibility that Armenian assassinations of Turkish officials would be for such a debased reason as vengeance. This would, he argued “make the assassinations, if done by Armenians (and there is no evidence that they were done by Armenians), a simply emotional outburst, a safety vent for hate, a desire to kill—as stupid an interpretation of what the Armenians feel about their Case against Turkey as one can imagine.”¹⁵⁹

The author makes no effort to reconcile this line of thought with the Armenian diaspora's idolization of the *ARF*'s Nemesis operatives who enacted vengeance on the leaders of the Ottoman Empire, but he does interpret the international communities' willingness to view the assassinations in this light as a reflection of their collective guilty conscience in regards to the historical betrayal of the Armenian nation.¹⁶⁰ The theme of Armenian violence being justified because it had no representation in the United Nations, and therefore no voice in international affairs, present in both the *JCAG* communiqué and the *Armenian Weekly* editorial, was also reflected in a flyer handed out the *ANC* to Armenians protesting against the Turkish Ambassador to the UN's visit to the Boston Museum of Science and reprinted in the *Armenian Weekly*.¹⁶¹

The coverage of the assassinations in Turkey was extensive. In the major Turkish dailies, there were well over 200 articles in the first four days after the attacks and this intensity continued through the first two weeks after the attacks.¹⁶² Most reporting engaged in the same broad speculation over possible perpetrators as the international and Armenian-American

¹⁵⁸ “False Implications,” *Armenian Reporter*, March 4, 1976.

¹⁵⁹ “The Vienna and Paris Assassinations-- IV,” *Armenian Weekly*, Dec. 18, 1975.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁶¹ “Before You Go to Hear the Turkish Ambassador’,” *Armenian Weekly*, Dec. 11, 1975.

¹⁶² See *Cumhuriyet*, *Hurriyet*, *Milliyet*, *Tercüman*, *Dünya*, *Orta Doğu*, *Son Havadis*, *Barış*, *Bugün*, and *Günaydın*, October 23-Nov. 8.

press.¹⁶³ Approximately 4,000 Turkish demonstrators took to the streets of Istanbul to protest the assassinations, while thousands more attended the state funeral services of the murdered diplomats in Ankara.¹⁶⁴ The Turkish government, for its part, remained calm and avoided making rushed and inflammatory statements while the investigations in Vienna and Paris were carried out, and called on its citizens to do the same, while it took the security precautions mentioned above for its personnel serving abroad.¹⁶⁵ It did, however, ask the U.S. State Department to ascertain the validity of the Armenian Liberation Organization's early claim to responsibility for the Tunalıgil assassination.¹⁶⁶

Oktar Cirit—Beirut, Lebanon, February 16, 1976

On December 28, 1975, *ASALA* launched rockets at the Turkish Embassy in Beirut. No one was injured, and the damage to the Embassy was minimal, and while the group did manage to gain some publicity for the attack, it was not nearly as successful as the assassinations in Vienna and Paris.¹⁶⁷ Six weeks later, on February 16, 1976, *ASALA* adopted the tactics of Yanikian and the ARF and assassinated the First Secretary at the Turkish Embassy in Beirut, Oktar Cirit. Hagop Darakjian shot the 30-year old diplomat was shot in a pinball arcade, and a second assault was carried out against the Ambassador's automobile as it made its way to the American University Hospital to retrieve Cirit's body. This second attack wounded the Embassy's driver, Farouk Şanar. After the Cirit assassination, it was increasingly clear that the assaults in Vienna, Paris and Beirut were the work of Armenian militants. While that attack garnered significant attention

¹⁶³ "Turkish Press Coverage for Oct. 23," ANKARA 7949, Oct. 23, 1975, NARA, AAD; "Turkish Domestic Reaction to Assassinations of Ambassadors," ANKARA 8033, Oct. 28, 1975, NARA, AAD; and "Turkish Press on Defense Cooperation Negotiations, Ambassadors' Assassination, Reported Helicopter Acquisition," ANKARA 8046, Oct. 29, 1975, NARA, AAD.

¹⁶⁴ "4,000 March in Istanbul, Blaming Greeks for Role in Envoy's Deaths," *New York Times*, Oct. 26, 1975; "Tens of Thousands at Rites in Ankara for Slain Envoys," *NYT*, Oct. 28, 1975; and "Turks give state funeral to murdered envoys," *The Times*, Oct. 28, 1975.

¹⁶⁵ "Turkish Domestic Reaction to Assassinations of Ambassadors," ANKARA 8033, Oct. 28, 1975, NARA, AAD.

¹⁶⁶ "Assassination of Turkish Ambassador to Austria," ANKARA 7985, Oct. 24, 1975, NARA, AAD.

¹⁶⁷ "Armenians Attack Embassy," *New York Times*, Dec. 29, 1975; "Attack on Beirut Turk Embassy; Armenian Group Claims Credit," *Armenian Weekly*, Jan. 1, 1976; "Armenian Terrorism," STATE 312409, Dec. 11, 1978; "The Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia," CIA, Jan. 1984, CIA-RDP85T00283R000400030009-2.

in the international, Turkish and Armenian press, it was not nearly as extensive as the October 1975 slayings.¹⁶⁸

In the sixteen months between the assassination of Oktar Cirit and the assassination of Taha Carim, the Turkish Ambassador to the Vatican, in June 1977, there were only a handful of attacks carried out by *ASALA*, the *ARF*, and, possibly, other Armenian terrorist organizations. *ASALA* managed to successfully carry out firebomb attacks on the Turkish Consulates in Frankfurt, Cologne and Essen, West Germany, on May 17, 1976, despite prior knowledge of the threat and increased security by both West German and Turkish authorities.¹⁶⁹ One year later, these were followed by a bomb attack on the Turkish military attaché in Beirut on May 2, 1977, and simultaneous attacks on the Yeşilköy Airport and Sirkeci train station in Istanbul, which killed five and injured 51.¹⁷⁰

The attack was claimed by the 28th of May, ostensibly a group named after the date the Armenian Republic was founded in 1918, but observers suspected that it was *ASALA*.¹⁷¹ In support of this observation is that fact that on February 24, 1977, *ASALA* communiqués to Agence France Presse in London, New York, and the Armenian Reporter from West Berlin and Sofia, Bulgaria, promised further attacks and warned the international public to avoid visiting

¹⁶⁸ “Murder of Turkish Diplomat,” ANKARA 1280, Feb. 18, 1976, NARA, AAD; “0900 Lebanon Report,” BEIRUT 1490, Feb. 18, 1976, NARA, AAD; “2 Deans are Slain on Beirut Campus,” *New York Times*, Feb. 18, 1976; “First Sec. of Beirut's Turkish Embassy Slain, Ambassador's Car Attacked; 'Secret Army for Liberation' Takes Full Credit,” *Armenian Weekly*, Feb. 26, 1976; Edward Babayan, Jr., “Ankara Blames Armenians for Assassination of Turkish Diplomat in Beirut-Probable Retaliation Considered,” *Armenian Reporter*, March 4, 1976; “False Implications,” *AR*, March 4, 1976; “Turkish Press Pins Killing of First Secretary on Antranik Pasha Liberation Organization: Threaten to Close Embassy,” *AW*, March 11, 1976; “Turkish Press Pins Killing of First Secretary on Antranik Pasha Liberation Organization: Threaten to Close Embassy,” *AW*, March 11, 1976; “Ipekci-Sivasliyan Discussion,” *Asbarez*, March 26, 1976; “Booklet Giving History of *ASALA*'s Existence Gives New Insight Into the Revolutionary Movement,” *Armenian Reporter*, Jan. 10, 1985; and Melkonian, *My Brother's Road*, 78.

¹⁶⁹ “Turkish Diplomats Reported Threatened,” *Armenian Reporter*, April 8, 1976; “4 Turkish Consulates in Europe Bombed by Assailants Unknown,” *Asbarez*, June 3, 1976; “Armenian Terrorism,” STATE 312409, Dec. 11, 1978; and “The Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia,” CIA, Jan. 1984, CIA-RDP85T00283R000400030009-2.

¹⁷⁰ “Yeşilköy Havaalanı ile Sirkeci garında bombalar patladı,” *Cumhuriyet*, May 30, 1977; and “Tedhiş: Havaalanı ve Sirkeci garı bombalandı,” *Milliyet*, May 30, 1977.

¹⁷¹ “Yeşilköy ve Sirkeci'de 5 kişinin ölümüne yol açan patlamaları '28 Mayıs' adlı bir Ermeni örgütü üstlendi,” *Cumhuriyet*, May 31, 1977; “Sirkeci ve Yeşilköy'deki patlamaları bir Ermeni Örgütü üstleniyor,” *Milliyet*, May 31, 1977; “Murder of Turkish Ambassador to the Vatican,” ANAKRA 4486, June 10, 1977; “Weekly Situation Report on International Terrorism: Turkish Envoy to the Vatican Slain,” June 15, 1977, CIA, CIA-RDP79-01209A000800090001-2; Kurz and Merari, 23; Hyland, 113-114.

Turkey or using its public transportation system.¹⁷² While attacks inside Turkey during the early phase of Armenian terrorism were rare, the attacks may have been an attempt to encourage Turkish-Armenians to join in the struggle. Both *ASALA* and the *ARF* had little success in recruiting Turkish-Armenians to their cause, however, particularly during a period in which left and right-wing violence was causing near civil war-like conditions in Turkey.¹⁷³ It also appears that operational decisions for *ASALA* were in the hands of Darakjian throughout the first six months of 1977, while Takoushian was in Yugoslavia recovering from wounds received from an assassination attempt by disgruntled former Palestinian colleagues.¹⁷⁴

The *ARF*'s first attack after the assassinations in Vienna and Paris was on May 28, 1976 in Zurich, Switzerland, when the Turkish consulate and a Turkish bank were bombed.¹⁷⁵ Two of the five suspects in the attack resided in Los Angeles, but denied knowledge of the incident when interviewed by FBI agents.¹⁷⁶ In this case as well, it appears the Turkish government had some prior warning that Armenians were preparing to strike.¹⁷⁷ The day before the attack, another group of *ARF* agents accidentally set off a bomb at the Armenian Cultural Center in Paris. The explosion killed one *ARF* operative and wounded another. During the ensuing investigation, additional explosive devices, incriminating propaganda flyers, and an unusually large number of Lebanese-Armenian visitors, led authorities to believe the facility was being used to plan a terrorist attack.¹⁷⁸ The next operation was, again, nearly a year later on May 11, 1977, when a group calling itself the New Armenian Resistance (NAR) bombed the Turkish

¹⁷² "The 'Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia' Threatens to Strike Again," *Armenian Reporter*, March 10, 1977; "'Secret Armenian Army' Declares War on Turks Beginning on April 10," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, March 19, 1977; "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia," FBI, April 1, 1977, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 1 (818867); and C.L. Sulzberger, "Deadline for More Terrorism," *New York Times*, April 9, 1977.

¹⁷³ Kurz and Merari, 23.

¹⁷⁴ "Booklet Giving History of ASALA's Existence Gives New Insight Into the Revolutionary Movement," *Armenian Reporter*, Jan. 10, 1985; and Melkonian, *My Brother's Road*, 79.

¹⁷⁵ "4 Turkish Consulates in Europe Bombed by Assailants Unknown," *Asbarez*, June 3, 1976; "Armenian Terrorism," STATE 312409, Dec. 11, 1978; and "The Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia," CIA, Jan. 1984, CIA-RDP85T00283R000400030009-2.

¹⁷⁶ "Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia," FBI, May 27, 1977, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 1 (818867).

¹⁷⁷ "Turkish Newspaper 'Hiuriet' [Sic] Says 'Armed Armenian Organizations' Plotting Attacks," *Armenian Weekly*, May 27, 1976.

¹⁷⁸ "Bomb Explosion in Paris MCA Kills One, Wounds One," *Asbarez*, June 3, 1976; "Mysterious Bomb Blast at Paris 'Home' Takes One Life, Injures Another Man," *Armenian Weekly*, June 10, 1976; "Weekly Situation Report on International Terrorism: Turkish Envoy to the Vatican Slain," CIA, June 15, 1977, CIA-RDP79-01209A000800090001-2; and "Determine Identity of Man Slain in Bomb Blast; Turks Suggest Tie to Assassinations," *AW*, June 17, 1976.

Embassy and the Turkish Tourism office in Paris.¹⁷⁹ The *NAR* was suspected of being a front for the *ARF*'s *JCAG*.¹⁸⁰

Another significant attack, which has never credibly been linked to either *ASALA* or the *ARF*, was an explosion on a Moscow subway train on January 8, 1977 that killed seven passengers and wounded 37. News of the attack, the worst terrorist attack in the Soviet Union for decades, did not reach the international press until arrests were made, nearly 18 months after the incident. Three Armenians, Stepan Zadikyan, Hagop Stepanian, and Zaven Baghdasarian, were arrested and eventually executed for the terrorist attack. While Zadikyan was known to have ties to illegal Armenian nationalist groups inside the Soviet Union, and the Armenian Cause was the motive behind the attack, it is doubtful that the three individuals had links to either *ASALA* or the *ARF*. Their execution, however, did serve to arouse the indignation of the Armenia diaspora.¹⁸¹

Armenian terror attacks in this period passed virtually unnoticed by international media.¹⁸² What coverage of Armenians there was tended to emphasize the historical injustices, tragedy and trauma they endured, mainly the massacres and relocations of 1915, their Christian faith and resilience against all odds, whether Turkish or Soviet.¹⁸³ At the official level, the investigations in the assassinations of Tunalgil, Erez and Yener had yielded no suspects, only

¹⁷⁹“Press Reports on Armenian Terrorists,” ANKARA 3747, May 16, 1977, NARA AAD; “Bombings in Paris,” *Armenian Reporter*, May 19, 1977; “Threat Assessment: Secretary Vance’s Trip to Paris, May 29-June 1, 1977,” STATE 123873, NARA, AAD; “Armenian Terrorism,” STATE 312409, Dec. 11, 1978.

¹⁸⁰“Global Terrorism: The Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide,” CIA, September 1984, CIA-RDP85S00315R000200060002-3.

¹⁸¹“Soviet Discloses Arrests in Moscow Subway Blasts that Killed 4 Persons,” *New York Times*, June 8, 1978; “Moscow Metro Explosion of 1977 Traced to Armenian Nationalists,” *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Oct. 28, 1978; “Death Sentence Reported in ’77 Moscow Bombing,” *Washington Post*, Jan. 30, 1979; “Swift Execution Surprises West,” *Armenian Reporter*, Feb. 8, 1979; “Zadikyan Among Three Executed,” *AMS*, Feb. 10, 1979; “Three Soviet-Armenians are executed for participation in Moscow subway blast,” *Armenian Weekly*, Feb. 10, 1979; “‘Secret Army’ Condemns Soviet Killing of 3 for Dissidence,” *AR*, Feb. 15, 1979; “Execution of 3 Armenians in Moscow Triggers Picketing of Soviet Embassy in Paris,” *AR*, Feb. 15, 1979; “Execution of Zadikyan and 2 Others Tied to ‘Worst Recent Act of Terrorism’ in the USSR,” *AMS*, March 24, 1979; and “Execution of 3 Soviet Armenians Causes Much Speculation,” *AR*, May 10, 1979.

¹⁸²The attempted assassination of Turkish Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit while on a visit to New York by a Greek-American, however, did make page 3 of the *New York Times*. See Robert Hanley, “Gunman Threatens Turkish Official at Waldorf,” *New York Times*, July 27, 1976. See also “Turkish Press Coverage of Ecevit Visit,” ANKARA 5861, July 30, 1976, NARA, AAD; “Turkish Press Reports Conviction of Stavros Sykopetrides,” ANKARA 0412, Jan. 19, 1977, NARA AAD; and “Sentence of Sykopetrides,” ANKARA 1837, March 15, 1977, NARA, AAD.

¹⁸³Herbert Lottman, “Despite Ages of Captivity, the Armenians Persevere,” *New York Times*, Feb. 29, 1976; Robert Littel, “What it is to be Armenian: A Review of Passage to Ararat by Michael J. Arlen,” *The Times*, June 14, 1976; Leo Hamalian, “Amid Bounty, Longing,” *NYT*, Dec. 1, 1976; and “How suffering grew into a way of life for the persecuted Armenians,” *The Times*, Jan. 11, 1977.

spurious leads, while the Turkish Government was increasingly concerned over U.S. Congressional debates and hearings on the events of 1915, and the pro-Armenian sentiments of Jimmy Carter, which could only serve to embolden ASALA and the terrorist elements inside the ARF.¹⁸⁴ In response to the continuing threat of violence, however, the U.S. State Department continued to monitor Armenian activity in the United States, and the Turkish Foreign Ministry conducted a thorough review of its security protocols at its foreign missions to address vulnerability.¹⁸⁵ Ironically, the increase in Turkish security measures was only reported in the Armenian press.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁴ Edward Babayan, Jr., "Personnel Changes Implemented in the Turkish Foreign Service," *Armenian Review*, March 11, 1976; "Alleged Romanian Involvement in Vienna Assassination," PARIS 10270, April 7, 1976, NARA, AAD; "Alleged Romanian Involvement in Vienna Assassination," ANKARA 2721, April 8, 1976, NARA, AAD; Sen. Paul Fannin (AZ), "Armenia-1915," CR, April 27, 1976, 11301-11302; Rep. Edward Derwinski (IL), "Commemoration of the First Genocide Against the Armenian People," CR, 11473; "EUR Developments, April 27," STATE 102032, April 28, 1976, NARA, AAD; Sen. Harrison Williams (NJ), "Armenian Martyrs Day," CR, April 28, 1976, 11550; "FY-76 Security Assistance Bill; Congressional Hearing On Armenian Massacres," STATE 114464, May 10, 1976, NARA, AAD; "Subcommittee Hearings on 1915 Armenian Massacres," STATE 116617, May 12, 1976, NARA, AAD; Rep. James G. O'Hara (MI), "Massacre of Armenians Topic of Hearing," CR, May 13, 1976, 14039-14040; "US/Turkish Relations; Cyprus Talks," STATE 125301, May 21, 1976, NARA, AAD; "US Lecture Tour of Turkish Foreign Minister," STATE 248248, Oct. 6, 1976, NARA, AAD; "President Koruturk's Concern About U.S.-Turkish Relations," ANKARA 8916, Nov. 23, 1976, NARA, AAD; "Investigation into Certain Past Instances of Genocide and Exploration of Policy Options for the Future: Armenian Massacre: 1915-1918," House of Representatives, Committee on International Relations, Subcommittee on Future Foreign Policy Research and Development, May 11, 1976, 1-84, 135-137; "US Congress Holding Hearings on the Turkish Genocide of the Armenians," *Armenian Observer*, May 12, 1976; "One Does Not Have to be Armenian to Support Freedom for Armenians, Says Cong. Koch at Congressional Hearings," *AO*, May 19, 1976; "Rep. Koch on Armenian Case," *AO*, May 19, 1976; "Rep. Derwinski Pledges Support of Nat'l. Committee," *Armenian Weekly*, May 20, 1976; "Historic House Subcommittee Hearings Offered Testimony on Turkish Genocide; Congressmen Join Armenians in Discussion of Events of 1915," *AW*, May 20, 1976; "May 11 Hearings on Turkish Genocide of Armenians Draw Wrath of Turk Publications," *AW*, May 27, 1976; "Jimmy Carter Pledges Support and Commends Armenian Cause," *Asbarez*, June 3, 1976; "ANC Endorsed Candidates," *AO*, Oct. 27, 1976; "Turk Press Reacts to Carter ANC Statement," *AW*, Dec. 2, 1976; "Will Carter Keep His Promises?," *AW*, Dec. 2, 1976. President Carter declined an invitation to speak at an *AYF* rally in Detroit on April 23, 1977. See Correspondence, Armenian Youth Federation of Detroit to President Carter, April 7, 1977, Carter Presidential Papers— Staff Offices, Ethnic Affairs, Aiello, Box 12; Rep. Adam Benjamin (IN), "Armenian Memorial Day- April 24, 1977," CR, April 24, 1977, 12081; Rep. Edward Derwinski (IL), "Genocide by Turks on Armenians," CR, April 25, 1977, 12125-12126; Sen. Birch Bayh (In), "Man's Inhumanity to Man," CR, April 26, 1977, 12228; Rep. George Danielson (CA), "Armenian Martyrs Day Remembered," CR, April 26, 1977, 12329; "Statement of Harry Derderian, Chairman, Armenian National Committee," Economic and Military Aid Programs in Europe and the Middle East, Feb. 22 - April 27, 1977, Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East of the Committee on International Relations, House of Representatives, 95th Congress, First Session, 362-367.1977; "Correspondence, ANC to Sen. Hubert Humphrey, May 2, 1977," Security Assistance Authorization, Subcommittee on Foreign Assistance, Subcommittee on Africa and Subcommittee on Arms Control, Oceans, and International Environment, Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, 95th Congress, First Session, April 21 - May 2, 1977, 239-265; and Rep. Robert Drinan (MA), "The Anniversary of the Armenian Genocide; A Call to Conscience," CR, June 1, 1977, 17212.

¹⁸⁵ "Armenian Demonstration," USUN 1250, April 26, 1977, NARA, AAD; and "USUN Daily Classified Summary NO. 74, April 26, 1977," USUN 1259, April 27, 1977, NARA, AAD.

¹⁸⁶ Edward Babayan, Jr., "Personnel Changes Implemented in the Turkish Foreign Service," *Armenian Reporter*, March 11, 1976.

By 1977, it was clear, both inside and outside of Turkey, that the wave of terror against the Turkish government was the work of Armenian organization(s).¹⁸⁷ In late 1976, French reports confirmed that Armenians were behind the assassinations of Erez and Yener.¹⁸⁸ While most of the document remains redacted, it appears the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) began its lengthy inquiry into Armenian political violence on March 15, 1977, when the FBI explored potential links between *ASALA* and the Armenian community in the United States, or connections to the Yanikian murders in Santa Barbara, per the request of the U.S. Embassy in Bern, Switzerland.¹⁸⁹ While this initial inquiry revealed little: *ASALA*, or someone using the name, sent a letter to the Armenian Church in Fresno, CA demanding the creation of a private school, and an article about the organization had appeared in a local Armenian newspaper, *The California Courier*; it was enough for the Assistant United States Attorney to authorize an official investigation on April 13, 1977.¹⁹⁰

Soon after, it was reported that a Lebanese-Armenian, Antranig Touloubajian, had been arrested by Swiss authorities in Zurich for financing the assassinations, and that warrants were issued for three more Lebanese-Armenians in connection with the assassinations and the Zurich bank bombing: Noubar Sofouian, Kevork Tchekijian and Varoujan Aznavour.¹⁹¹ It followed that two of the Armenians suspects had managed to reach the United States from Switzerland, and Swiss authorities requested U.S. assistance in apprehending the fugitives.¹⁹² A month later, Turkish papers reported that an Armenian was killed and three others arrested by West German police in connection to the assassinations and that an Armenian organization in

¹⁸⁷ “Minorities in Istanbul,” ISTANBUL 1680, May 18, 1977, NARA, AAD.

¹⁸⁸ “‘Armenians Killed Ambassador’,” *Armenian Weekly*, Dec. 2, 1976.

¹⁸⁹ “Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia,” FBI, March 15, 1977, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 1 (818867); and “Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia,” FBI, March 28, 1977, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 1 (818867).

¹⁹⁰ “Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia,” FBI, March 28, 1977, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 1 (818867); “Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia,” FBI, April 14, 1977, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 1 (818867); “Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia,” FBI, April 14, 1977, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 1 (818867); “Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia,” FBI, April 18, 1977, 1149390-000, 199-TP-496, Section 1 (960248); and “Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia,” FBI, April 22, 1977, 1149368-000, 199B-NY-776, Section 24 (944739).

¹⁹¹ “‘Secret Armenian Army’ Declares War on Turks Beginning April 10,” *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, March 19, 1977; and “Swiss Police Arrest One, Charger Three Others for Assassination of Envoys,” *Armenian Observer*, March 23, 1977.

¹⁹² “Recent Press Items on Armenians,” ANKARA 2914, April 19, 1976.

Geneva, Switzerland was working to secure their release.¹⁹³ It remains unclear, however, what ultimately happened to these alleged Armenian terrorists.¹⁹⁴

Armenian Terrorism and the Armenian Cause in the Press

Nearly six weeks after the ASALA communiqués of February 24, 1977 were written, two and three weeks, respectively, after it was published by the Armenian Mirror-Spectator and the Armenian Reporter, and over a week after it was brought to the attention of the FBI, it was columnist C.L. Sulzberger who was the first to bring attention to the communiqués' threat of further Armenian terrorist attacks to the public in a New York Times editorial.¹⁹⁵ According to the communiqués, ASALA would recommence their attacks after midnight on April 10, 1977 and it appears that the FBI believed those attacks would take place in Washington, DC, New York or Chicago.¹⁹⁶ Making clear his sympathy for the Armenian Cause: "The Armenians have understandably hated the Turks since a wave of mass murders in the 19th and early 20th centuries...", Sulzberger only half-heartedly condemned the terror campaign: "it is impossible to resurrect the tragic dead by terrorism today, by assassinating Turkish officials who were not even born at the time of the massacres, or by slaying innocent non-Turks," and called on the Turkish republic to "offer some kind of belated guilt acknowledgement... an apologetic restititional act plus compensation to descendants of survivors."¹⁹⁷

Interestingly, this practice of only viewing non-Turks as innocent victims of Armenian political violence, with the obvious implication that Turkish victims were not innocent, continues today.¹⁹⁸ For their part, the Turkish Government requested further protection from the United States as the April 10th deadline and the April 24th anniversary approached. When no leads developed in Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles, New Orleans, San Francisco, Tampa and

¹⁹³ "Press Reports on Armenian Terrorists," ANKARA 3747, May 16, 1977, NARA AAD; "Istanbul Paper Claims Killers of Turkish Envoys Arrested by W. German Police," *Armenian Reporter*, May 19, 1977; and "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia," FBI, May 25, 1977, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 1 (818867).

¹⁹⁴ "Armenian Terrorism," STATE 312409, Dec. 11, 1978.

¹⁹⁵ "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia," FBI, April 1, 1977, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 1 (818867); and "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia," FBI, June 29, 1977, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 1 (818867).

¹⁹⁶ C.L. Sulzberger, "Deadline for More Terrorism," *New York Times*, April 9, 1977; "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia," FBI, April 14, 1977, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 1 (818867); "Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia," FBI, May 6, 1977, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 1 (818867); and "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia," FBI, May 16, 1977, 1149368-000, 199B-NY-776, Section 24 (944739).

¹⁹⁷ C.L. Sulzberger, "Deadline for More Terrorism," *New York Times*, April 9, 1977.

¹⁹⁸ See Bobelian, 162.

Washington, DC, however, and no attacks materialized, the investigations were called by the Assistant United States Attorney on June 7, 1977, two days before the next major attack.¹⁹⁹

The Armenian press was much more thorough in its reporting on Armenian terrorism and the progress being made on behalf of the Armenian Cause. In *Asbarez*, another *ARF* newspaper, the party editorialized on the great accomplishments of Armenians over the course of 1975. Underscoring the political gains Armenians were making, and undermining the argument that in order to be heard Armenians were forced to embrace terrorism as a tactic, *Asbarez* recounted the past year and set the tone for the next:

Turkish attempts at distorting history were rebuffed and exposed in the international forum [UN]. The U.S. embargo on arms to Turkey, proved to be an excellent forum in which to expose the *bestiality* of the Turks, not only as pathological *liars*, but also as the infamous successors of the *murderers* of 1915. In this light, the American public was the true winner. For the first time since 1923, news material unfavorable to Turkey's policies were printed and disseminated.²⁰⁰

After praising Armenian youth for “not only becoming increasingly concerned about its political demands, but is also determined and, naturally so, more intelligently militant,” the editorial continued with what appears to be a rather proud admission of guilt:

In this context, we cannot overlook the political assassinations of the two Turk Ambassadors in Europe. The parties knew what they were doing and if Armenians were involved (and they had as many reasons to be responsible as any other minorities oppressed by the Turkish government), a new dimension is added to the prosecution of the Armenian Case... With this resurgence of activities, with this record of accomplishment, we pass into 1976 with renewed faith, high spirits and undying determination to achieve justice for the Armenian people... Yes, there are reasons to anticipate the activities of the New Year with optimism.²⁰¹

That optimism was tempered somewhat, however, by the possible resumption of U.S. aid for Turkey and the U.S. State Department was heavily criticized in the Armenian media, for

¹⁹⁹ “Request for EPS and Police Coverage for Turkish Diplomatic Establishments,” USUN 0783, March 16, 1977; “Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia PFO-Subversive,” FBI, May 16, 1977, 1149368-000, 199B-NY-776, Section 24 (944739); “Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia,” FBI, June 1, 1977, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 1 (818867); and “Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia,” FBI, June 29, 1977, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 1 (818867).

²⁰⁰ “1975 Evaluated in Light of Armenian Resurgence,” *Asbarez*, Jan. 16, 1976. Italics mine.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*

this and other acts deemed detrimental to the Armenian Cause.²⁰² Accounts of 1915 and updates on the struggle for justice continued to be a major component of the Armenian-American press, as was (mostly) negative commentary on Turkey, from the petty to the bizarrely conspiratorial, the glorification of Armenian violence, and racist anti-Turkish rhetoric, now staples of the Armenian-American press. Again, this suggests that the Armenian Cause was not the end, but rather the means to a perpetual state of rage and violence between the Armenian diaspora and all things Turkish: “Our duty is clear. ‘These Turks—these cutthroats,’ as Lloyd George put it, simply must not be allowed to get away with their murder.”²⁰³

²⁰² “Outmoded Foreign Policy,” *Armenian Reporter*, March 18, 1976; “ANC Representatives Question on Turkey Asked at State Dept. Conference of Ethnic Groups Brings on 'Evasive and Superficial' Response,” *Armenian Weekly*, March 18, 1976; “Turkey Fourth in Foreign Aid,” *AW*, March 18, 1976; “Advice to People Who Certainly Need Some Good Advice,” *AW*, March 18, 1976; “Agreement' to Supply Turks \$1 Billion in Arms Announced in Washington; Congress Bristles,” *AW*, April 8, 1976; “Gov. Dukakis Brands Foreign Policy 'Failure',” *AW*, April 15, 1976; “Congressmen Warn Kissinger New Pact with Turkey 'In Trouble',” *AW*, April 22, 1976; “Senator Tunney Blasts Turkish Military Aid,” *AW*, April 22, 1976; “The Turkish Connection,” *AW*, May 27, 1976; “State Dept. Reprimands Mayor of LA for Speaking in Praise of New Documentary on the Massacres,” *AR*, June 24, 1976; “French Armenians in Arms at Phrase of Secretary of State that Armenians 'Might' Have Experienced a Genocide,” *AW*, July 8, 1976; “Sen. Pell Warns Against Military Aid to Turkey,” *AW*, Sept. 30, 1976; and “Shocking News on Turkish Aid,” *AMS*, April 30, 1977.

²⁰³ For quote, see “Sixty-one Years After,” *Armenian Weekly*, April 22, 1976. See also “‘Armenian Opinion' Cites Helstoski Resolve, Cyprus, Drugs, Embargo as Alienating Turks,” *Armenian Weekly*, Feb. 5, 1976; “The State of Soviet-Turkish Relations: Things are Changing,” *AW*, Feb. 26, 1976; “Developments Illustrate Important Shift in US-Turkish Relations,” *AW*, March 4, 1976; “The Bully Speaks,” *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, March 6, 1976; “Charge Turks With Provocation in April Tour of 'Dance Ensemble'; Action Urged,” *AW*, April 8, 1976; “ANC Calls for Halt to Turkish Aid,” *Armenian Observer*, April 14, 1976; “Turks Cancel NY Appearance of 'Dance Ensemble' in Face of Armenian Demonstrations; Picketers Protest DC Performance,” *AW*, April 15, 1976; “Democratic Party Platform Committee Hears Armenian National Committee Statement Urging Changes in Policy,” *AW*, April 15, 1976; “Dance Macabre,” *AW*, April 15, 1976; “No Way Congress Will Approve Aid to Turkey', Says Rep. W.S. Broomfield,” *AW*, April 15, 1976; “Cong. Quarterly in Remarks on Aid to Turkey,” *AW*, April 15, 1976; “Turkish Dancers Assaulted in Detroit,” *AO*, April 28, 1976; “Suspect, Arrest 3 Turks for Try to Blow Monument,” *AW*, April 29, 1976; “Armenian Rights Rally' On Genocide Set for Boston, May 3; Will Protest Turkish Dancers,” *AW*, April 29, 1976; “Philadelphia Armenians and Greeks Demonstrate at UPENN Against Appearance of Dancers,” *AW*, April 29, 1976; “Hellenic Chronicle Responds to Boston Herald American,” *AW*, April 29, 1976; “Washingtonians Hit Turkey as 'Master Begger' [Sic] as They Protest Folks Dancers,” *AW*, May 6, 1976; “Boston Girds for 'Rights Rally', March on Dance Ensemble,” *AW*, May 6, 1976; “New Yorkers Attend Solemn Central Part [Sic] Rites, Demonstrate at UN,” *AW*, May 6, 1976; “Determined Demonstrators Force Cancellations of Turkish Dance Performances in LA,” *AW*, May 6, 1976; “Armenians, Greeks Band to Protest Dancers' Appearance in Milwaukee,” *AW*, May 6, 1976; “They Danced in the Garden,” *AW*, May 6, 1976; “Turks Ask for Equal Time on TV,” *AO*, May 19, 1976; “Remembering,” *AO*, May 19, 1976; “Young Armenian Survivors' Picket Lowell Dance Held on Martyrs Day,” *AW*, May 20, 1976; “Ethnic Convention Calls for the Return of Territories to Their 'Proprietor Peoples’,” *AW*, May 27, 1976; “Paris Police Arrest, Release 150 Armenians Demonstrating the Genocide,” *AW*, May 27, 1976; “Turks Reject Proposal to Withdraw Troops,” *AW*, May 27, 1976; “Armenian Again? Vandalism, Desecrations Hit Cyprus,” *AW*, June 10, 1976; “Turkey to Get \$2.6 Million to Control Opium,” *AW*, June 10, 1976; “Turkish Version of the Massacres to Be Presented on Television Program,” *AR*, June 17, 1976; “Turkish Professor Denies Turkish Guilt in Armenian Massacres,” *AR*, June 24, 1976; “Turks Say Armenians and Greeks Plotting Against Turkish Athletes at Montreal Olympics,” *AR*, June 24, 1976; “A Turkish View of the Armenian Massacres,” *AR*, June 24, 1976; “Pres. Ford Quietly Asks Congress to Restore Aid to Turkey,” *AMS*, June 26, 1976; “Does Crime Pay?: The Betrayal of a Heroic People,” *AW*, July 1,

Specifically in terms of the potential involvement of Armenians in the slayings of the Turkish diplomats and the other attacks carried out against the Turkish government and Turkish business interests, commentary in the Armenian press covered a wide spectrum. Much of the coverage simply provided updates to the various international investigations into the attacks, reprinted communiqués it received from the organizations themselves, and reprinted articles from non-Armenian sources.²⁰⁴ Asbarez translated a lengthy conversation between the renowned Turkish journalist Abdi Ipeckçi, of *Miliyet*, and Hagop Sivaslian, the editor of *Baykar*, a Turkish-Armenian weekly, in which they discuss the potential reasons behind alleged Armenian

1976; "Canadian ANC Head Says 'Armenians Want Justice'," *AW*, July 15, 1976; "Immigration of 'Low Intelligence' Turks Continues," *AW*, Aug. 8, 1976; "Anderson-Whitten: Fresh Turkish-Produced Heroin Wave May Engulf US," *AW*, Sept. 16, 1976; "The Dynamics of American Politics and the Armenians," *AW*, Sept. 16, 1976; "Who is an *ARF* Member?," *Asbarez*, Sept. 21, 1976; Serge L. Samoniantz, "Turkish Foreign Minister Visit to L.A. Proves Unsuccessful Due to Armenian Pressure," *Asbarez*, Sept. 28, 1976; "Ambassador Hits Turks on Cyprus Issue, Harassments," *AW*, Sept. 30, 1976; "Bagdikian Says Nazi Programs Might Have Been Averted If World Knew of Turk Massacres," *AW*, Oct. 14, 1976; "Sen. Kennedy Hits Turkish Aid at Greek-Sponsored Dinner," *AW*, Oct. 14, 1976; "Heavy Security as Turkish Ambassador Speaks in LA," *AW*, Oct. 28, 1976; "President-elect Jimmy Carter Remarks Irk Turkish Cypriots," *AW*, Nov. 25, 1976; "Cypriot Representative in UN Blasts Turk 'Colonization'," *AW*, Dec. 16, 1976; "Turkey Suffers Strife from Within and Without," *AW*, Jan. 13, 1977; "Text of Congressional Hearing on Armenian Massacres Released," *AMS*, Jan. 15, 1977; "Turkish-Soviet Détente Postponed," *AW*, Jan. 20, 1977; "Turk Not Discriminated Against," *AW*, Jan. 27, 1977; "Amnesty International on Tortures in Turkey and Cyprus," *AW*, Feb. 3, 1977; "Secret Report Assails Turkey for Human Rights Violations," *AW*, Feb. 10, 1977; "Human Rights...and Turkey," *AW*, Feb. 10, 1977; "A Call to Action on 'Roots'; Why not 'Passage to Ararat'," *AW*, Feb. 10, 1977; "Ararat Not on Turkish-Russian Border," *AW*, Feb. 10, 1977; "Demirel Denies Turk Atrocities," *AW*, Feb. 10, 1977; "Text of Secret Report Condemning Turks on Cyprus," *AW*, Feb. 10, 1977; "Close Relations Between US and Turkey," *AW*, Feb. 10, 1977; "The Message of April 24," *AO*, April 20, 1977; "39 Turks Die at May Day Rally," *AO*, May 4, 1977; "Armenians Should Not Forget the Genocide," *AO*, May 4, 1977; "More on the Armenian Question," *AO*, May 4, 1977; "April 24 365 Times a Year?," *AO*, May 4, 1977; "Realistic Approach is Needed," *AO*, May 4, 1977; "Genocide Panel Keeps Eye on Carter 'Rights' Policy," *AO*, May 4, 1977; "UCLA Project to Document Experiences of Genocide Survivors," *AO*, May 4, 1977; "A Time for Resolve," *AMS*, May 7, 1977; "Turkish Booklets Place Blame on Armenians for 1915 Events," *AMS*, May 21, 1977; "The 'Turkish Point of View'," *AMS*, May 21, 1977; "A Young Armenian Sums Up Martyrs Day 1977: 'Perhaps We Have Turned the Corner,'" *AMS*, May 21, 1977; and "Armenian Organizations Attend US Foreign Policy Conference," *AO*, June 1, 1977.

²⁰⁴ Edward Babayan, Jr., "Personnel Changes Implemented in the Turkish Foreign Service," *Armenian Reporter*, March 11, 1976; "Turkish Diplomats Reported Threatened," *AR*, April 8, 1976; "Turkish Newspaper 'Hiuriet' [Sic] Says 'Armed Armenian Organizations' Plotting Attacks," *Armenian Weekly*, May 27, 1976; "4 Turkish Consulates in Europe Bombed by Assailants Unknown," *Asbarez*, June 3, 1976; "Bomb Explosion in Paris MCA Kills One, Wounds One," *Asbarez*, June 3, 1976; "Mysterious Bomb Blast at Paris 'Home' Takes One Life, Injures Another Man," *AW*, June 10, 1976; "Determine Identity of Man Slain in Bomb Blast; Turks Suggest Tie to Assassinations," *AW*, June 17, 1976; "Armenians Killed Ambassador," *AW*, Dec. 2, 1976; "The 'Armenian Secret Army' for the Liberation of Armenia' Threatens to Strike Again," *AR*, March 10, 1977; "Secret Armenian Army' Declares War on Turks Beginning on April 10," *Armenian Mirror Spectator*, March 19, 1977; "Swiss Police Arrest One, Charge Three Others for Assassination of Envoys," *Armenian Observer*, March 23, 1977; "Sulzberger Writes of 'Secret Army' in N.Y. Times April 9," *AMS*, April 16, 1977; "Deadline for More Terrorism," *AO*, April 20, 1977; "Bombings in Paris," *AR*, May 19, 1977; "Istanbul Paper Claims Killers of Turkish Envoys Arrested by W. German Police," *AR*, May 19, 1977; and "France Offers to Pay Damages for Bombed Turkish Offices," *AMS*, June 4, 1977.

involvement in the attacks.²⁰⁵ The *Armenian Weekly* used the case of Soghomon Tehlirian and his acquittal of Talaat Pasha's murder as a metaphor to press upon its readership that violence was morally justified, against both internal and external enemies, when used in pursuit of the Armenian Cause, and to criticize those who disagreed: "Upon his death, anti-Dashnag groups refused to pay homage to him claiming that the assassination was merely a political vendetta, shunning him as anything but the national hero that he truly was."²⁰⁶

The *ARF* also placed adverts and book reviews in its newspapers and academic journal to publicize the release of Nemesis assassin Arshavir Shiragian's memoirs and Leon Surmelian equated the assassinations and murders to "a just war for us, a war of national liberation."²⁰⁷ An editorial in *Asbarez* condoned violence by arguing, incorrectly, that the Armenian struggle had yet to make international news and, therefore, "the only breakthrough... seems to be with means other than peaceful."²⁰⁸ A reporter from the same paper tried to engage the Turkish Foreign Minister, Ihsan Cağlayangil into a discussion on Armenian terrorism at Los Angeles press conference, and, in an editorial linking the black majority's struggle in Rhodesia to the Armenian Cause openly advocated for Armenians to embrace terrorism.²⁰⁹

Sulzberger's sympathetic editorial in the *New York Times* was a major topic of discussion in the American diaspora and was reflected on the pages of the Armenian-American press. The *Armenian Observer* reprinted the article for its readers, while the *Armenian Mirror-Spectator* also provided commentary emphasizing both Sulzberger's call for a Turkish admission of guilt and reparations and his legitimization of their cause.²¹⁰ Two weeks later, it caused the editor of the *Armenian Mirror-Spectator* to nearly recant the paper's condemnation of violence in the previous month's edition because "the threat of the 'secret army' resulted in full exposure of the Armenian case."²¹¹ Apparently, however, that exposure was flawed and not

²⁰⁵ "Ipekci-Sivasliyan Discussion," *Asbarez*, March 26, 1976.

²⁰⁶ "A Student Named Soghomon Tehlirian," *Armenian Weekly*, April 15, 1976.

²⁰⁷ "Book Review: Arshavir Shiragian, *The Legacy: Memoirs of an Armenian Patriot*," *Armenian Review*, Vol. 29, No. 4 (Winter 1976): 428-429; "From the Hairenik Press... *The Legacy: Memoirs of an Armenian Patriot*," *Armenian Weekly*, Oct. 28, 1976; and "From the Hairenik Press... *The Legacy: Memoirs of an Armenian Patriot*," *Armenian Weekly*, Nov. 25, 1976.

²⁰⁸ "Croatia and Armenia," *Asbarez*, Sept. 21, 1976.

²⁰⁹ Serge L. Samoniantz, "Turkish Foreign Minister Visit to L.A. Proves Unsuccessful Due to Armenian Pressure," *Asbarez*, Sept. 28, 1976; and Mark Aprahamian, "Message to 'Deaf' Armenians," *Asbarez*, Sept. 28, 1976.

²¹⁰ "Sulzberger Writes of 'Secret Army' in N.Y. Times April 9," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, April 16, 1977; and "Deadline for More Terrorism," *Armenian Observer*, April 20, 1977.

²¹¹ "Sulzberger and the Secret Army," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, April 30, 1977.

nearly sympathetic enough. The author accused Sulzberger of downplaying the magnitude of 1915 by failing to heed “the accounts of those horrors which appeared in the 1975 issue of the N.Y Times,” and took umbrage at Sulzberger’s attempt to compare Armenian terrorists to, hypothetical and fictitious, Jewish terrorists to make a point.

According to the *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, the difference was that the guilty plea, apology and reparations that Sulzberger advised for Turkey, while desirable, did not compensate for the fact that the Turks had not been punished, that there had been no Armenian Nuremberg. While it was true that revenge killings would not bring back the Armenians killed during the massacres, “justice could be done.” The author, however, appeared to be oblivious to two major flaws in his own argument. First, if the New York Times had provided compelling accounts of the massacres on its pages in 1975, which it did, then certainly Armenian terrorism was not the only catalyst bringing exposure to the Armenian Cause. Second, in terms of justice, punishment or the lack thereof, the writer ignores the *ARF* assassination campaign after the World War I.

An editorial in the *Armenian Observer* followed a similar line, arguing that Sulzberger failed to understand the true nature of Armenian grievances. In a misread of Sulzberger’s comments, the author endeavored to show that all contemporary Turks were, in fact, guilty for the atrocities committed in 1915 because they continued to show no remorse or admit their culpability. Additionally, the editorial argued that since “political chicanery has, in many cases, delayed a concrete result” for the non-violent political efforts of the Armenians they “cannot help but wonder if there is any legitimate and civilized channel open through which this sensitive moral question can be resolved once and for all.” Particularly interesting is the author’s request that when speaking of Armenian terrorism, “the extremist actions of an independent radical group should not be attributed to a people as a whole,” while doing the very same thing to Turks, 60 years after the event.²¹²

For its part, the *ARF* seemed relatively pleased with the Sulzberger article. A ranking member of the *ANC* praised the piece as a “refreshing insight into the real issue,” and then proceeded to ignore the success of their non-violent political efforts and condemn the West for forcing the Armenian hand: “some Armenians have apparently lost faith in the willingness or

²¹² Leslie Ordoubegian, “Is There a Way?,” *Armenian Observer*, May 4, 1977.

capacity of the world's governments to listen to, or act on, peaceful appeals."²¹³ At a lecture series for the New York Armenian Students' Association, the Sulzberger article caused the guest speaker to change topics and speak about Armenian terrorism. The speaker implied that while terrorism could likely achieve Armenian demands, it would be beneath Armenians who were "among the few civilized peoples in the world."²¹⁴

This was not the only example of self-criticism for the violence and hate redirected at Turkey and Turks from the diaspora.²¹⁵ Contrary to the analysis put forth by the *ARF* regarding the gains of the Armenian community, an editorial in the *Armenian Reporter* argued that no progress was being made precisely because "survivors of the genocide have passed down hatred for the Turks from one generation to another... Hatred is a major reason for our failure. It has accomplished nothing except divided ourselves and belittled ourselves in the eyes of our fellow man... we must examine ourselves and remove the hate from within because it is our weakness."²¹⁶ The *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, while blaming the (alleged) Armenian violence on Western indifference, argued that if Armenians "begin to resort to terror, especially against innocent civilians, their image may become tarnished in the eyes of the world."²¹⁷

Finally, an editorial in the *Armenian Observer* provided one of the longest and thought-provoking self-explorations into Armenian violence. After succinctly stating the argument for Armenian acts of violence: "Because Turks perpetrated a genocide against the Armenians, then the Armenians in vengeance are justified to make the Turks pay any price in blood," the editorial asked: "Is revenge justice?" The answer was no: "We must not make the mistake of emulating barbarity under the guise of justice defended to cover our human weaknesses." Unfortunately, while a noteworthy point was made: "'The social and economic conditions of the Armenian communities do not permit the gestation of such vengeance... Does an Armenian community whose children grow up in green gardens with swimming pools, and eat bacon and eggs every morning produce terrorists. No,'" the author not only underestimated the powerful

²¹³ K. Donabedian, "Of Turkey and an Armenian Anniversary," *New York Times*, May 30, 1977.

²¹⁴ "Concern About Terrorists Aired by Dr. Hamalian in ASA Talk," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, May 14, 1977.

²¹⁵ "False Implications," *Armenian Reporter*, March 4, 1976; and Sue Gurahian, "Emphasize the Future," *AR*, April 8, 1976.

²¹⁶ "Forgive-- But Don't Forget," *Armenian Reporter*, April 8, 1976.

²¹⁷ "On the So-Called 'Secret Army'," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, March 26, 1977.

allure of nationalism and violence, but also overlooked the disintegration of Lebanon and the plight of the Armenian community there.²¹⁸

Taha Carim—The Vatican, June 9, 1977

On June 9, 1977, the Turkish Ambassador to the Vatican, 62-year old Taha Carim, was shot by an unidentified gunman as he tried to enter his home and died several hours later at a local hospital. The assassination was claimed by both *ASALA* the *JCAG*, which contacted various press offices in Beirut, and few doubted that the Armenian claims were genuine. In fact, Carim had already received a threatening communication from one of the groups in March 1977, and the Italian police had only recently removed the police protection they had been providing.²¹⁹ What was still unclear, however, was how many Armenian terrorist organizations were involved and like the Vienna and Paris investigations, credible leads were difficult to establish.²²⁰

The assassination also prompted scathing criticism of Armenian terrorism in the form of a letter to the *New York Times* from Nafiz Sekendur, the president of the Turkish-American Societies.²²¹ Labeling the Armenian acts as “historical hallucinations and the mad search for identity,” Sekendur argued that not only was the Armenian narrative of 1915 ahistorical, and that the numbers they cited as victims were grossly exaggerated, but the diplomats they were murdering had absolutely no connection to 1915, and, that they had already assassinated all of the government officials who possibly could have had a connection. The letter was reprinted in the *Armenian Observer* in the July 13, 1977 edition, and a reply was published two weeks

²¹⁸ “Nihilism and Utopianism,” *Armenian Observer*, June 8, 1977; and “Nihilism and Utopianism,” *AO*, June 15, 1977.

²¹⁹ “Attempt on Life of Turkish Ambassador to the Vatican,” ROME 9507, June 9, 1977, NARA, AAD; “Attempt on Life of Turkish Ambassador to the Vatican,” ANKARA 4451, June 9, 1977, NARA, AAD; “Assassination of Turkish Ambassador to Vatican,” ROME 9683, June 10, 1977, NARA, AAD; “Assassination of Turkish Ambassador,” ROME 9595, June 10, 1977, NARA, AAD; “Murder of Turkish Ambassador to the Vatican,” ANAKRA 4486, June 10, 1977; “Turkish Statement on Terrorist Attacks on Turkish Ambassadors,” NATO 06801, July 14, 1977; “Turkish Envoy Slain, Armenians Take Responsibility,” *Washington Post*, June 10, 1977; “Responsibility for Attack,” *New York Times*, June 10, 1977; “Turkish Ambassador to Vatican is Slain,” *NYT*, June 10, 1977; Peter Nichols, “Turkish Envoy Shot in Rome,” *The Times*, June 10, 1977; and “Turkish Diplomat at Vatican Killed,” *AO*, June 15, 1977. Some Armenian-American newspapers, however, still expressed doubt. See “Turkish Diplomat at Vatican Killed,” *Armenian Observer*, June 15, 1977; and “Comments on Armenian Terrorism,” *Armenian Reporter*, June 30, 1977.

²²⁰ The CIA was speculating that all of the attacks were the work of *ASALA*. See “Weekly Situation Report on International Terrorism: Turkish Envoy to the Vatican Slain,” June 15, 1977, CIA, CIA-RDP79-01209A000800090001-2. For investigative efforts see “Assassination of Turkish Ambassador to Vatican,” ANKARA 4749, June 22, 1977, NARA, AAD.

²²¹ Nafiz Sekendur, “Armenia: To Satisfy Historical Hallucinations,” *New York Times*, July 2, 1977.

later.²²² In contrast, a letter in *The Times* co-written by journalist David Barchard and historian Christopher J. Walker sympathized with the “Armenian sense of grievance and their frustration at apparent world indifference,” but criticized the alleged terrorist campaign’s potential damage to international support for the Armenian Cause and exposure of Turkish-Armenians to counter-attacks.²²³ Walker also continued to express doubt that Armenians were behind the attacks long after most other observers had conceded the point.²²⁴ Outside of these articles, however, neither Armenian terrorism, nor the Armenian Cause received much exposure in the non-Armenian press.²²⁵

The Turkish Response

The assassination remained front-page news in Turkey for several days, and sparked a series of articles that called for increased protection for its diplomats, retaliation against international terrorist groups, and explored the “Armenian problem.”²²⁶ Whether or not increasing public pressure played a role or not, the Turkish government appeared to take Armenian terrorism much more seriously after the assassination of Taha Carim, and became increasingly agitated at the rather cavalier attitude of its NATO allies. The Turkish Ambassador to the United States requested an explanation for a Voice of America (VOA) broadcast detailing the assassination that allegedly provided sympathetic commentary for the Armenian Cause which “could be interpreted as an indirect invitation to further terrorism.”²²⁷ The U.S. Embassy in Ankara concurred, stating that, if true, the VOA exhibited “appallingly poor judgment,” and the U.S. State Department issued an apology to the Turkish government after it had reviewed the incident.²²⁸

²²² “Reader’s Forum,” *Armenian Observer*, July 13, 1977; and “In Reply to Sekendur,” *AO*, July 27.

²²³ David Barchard and Christopher Walker, “Murdered Ambassadors,” *The Times*, July 4, 1977.

²²⁴ “Verdict Remains to be Proved Says Article on Armenian Terrorism,” *Armenian Mirror Spectator*, Aug. 20, 1977.

²²⁵ At least one exception to this was an apparent article in the *Christian Science Monitor* by John K. Cooley. See “Comments on Armenian Terrorism,” *Armenian Reporter*, June 30, 1977; and “Christian Science Monitor on Emerging Armenian Terrorists,” *Armenian-Mirror Spectator*, July 30, 1977.

²²⁶ “Reaction to Murder of Turkish Ambassador to Vatican,” ANKARA 4624, June 17, 1977, NARA, AAD.

²²⁷ “Turkish Government Reaction to VOA Broadcast on Death of Turkish Ambassador Carim,” STATE 144629, June 21, 1977, NARA, AAD.

²²⁸ “VOA Broadcast on Murder of Turkish Ambassador Carim, ANKARA 4788, June 23, 1977, NARA, AAD; and “VOA Broadcast on Murder of Turkish Ambassador Carim, ANKARA 4788, June 23, 1977, NARA, AAD.

At a June 12, 1977 meeting of the North Atlantic Council, the Turkish Ambassador to NATO, Coşkun Kırca, made clear his country's concerns by bringing to the attention of his NATO colleagues that the Armenian attacks were "directed against the territorial integrity of the an allied nation," and emphasized the Turkish government's expectation that its NATO allies would assist and cooperate in combatting the terrorist attacks against Turkey, the "international public order, the precepts of civilization and human conscience."²²⁹ In his words, "Turkey, out of patience, is perfectly capable of putting an end to this savageness."²³⁰ The U.S. Embassy in Ankara argued that a unilateral response to Armenian terrorism from Turkey raised the potential for human rights issues, and a weakening of U.S.-Turkish relations. It therefore recommended a positive response to Kırca's request, and suggested public condemnation of anti-Turkish terrorism along with efforts to convince Armenian and Greek groups in the United States to disavow terrorism.²³¹

Two months later, the U.S. Consulate in Istanbul expressed grave concerns over the impact Armenian American involvement in Armenian terrorism could have on U.S-Turkish relations, and the U.S. Embassy in Ankara concurred. In fact, the U.S. Embassy in Ankara reemphasized the importance of taking Turkish concerns over Armenian terrorism seriously, reminded Washington of the efforts undertaken by the Turkish government to ensure the safety of U.S. personnel in Turkey, and argued for a permanent guard post to be installed outside of the Turkish Embassy in Washington, DC.²³² Despite Armenian claims of responsibility, and with total disregard for the mounting evidence, U.S. Secretary of State Vance rebuked the diplomats in Ankara and Istanbul, downplayed Armenian involvement, naïvely dismissed the possibility of either Armenian-American or legitimate Armenian organizations' culpability, and attempted to shift blame for the attacks to Turkey:

With regard "Armenian threat" (Istanbul 3253), we have not and do not intend to discuss this matter with any Armenian-American organizations... We recognize that in some instances individuals of Armenian extraction have claimed responsibility for actions against Turkish government representatives. It is also certainly true that many Armenian-Americans feel deeply about Turkish

²²⁹ "Turkish Statement on Terrorist Attacks on Turkish Ambassadors," NATO 06801, July 14, 1977.

²³⁰ Ibid. Ambassador Kırca would himself be a victim of Armenian terrorism eight years later while serving as the Turkish Ambassador to Canada.

²³¹ "Turkish Statement on Terrorist Attacks on Turkish Ambassadors," ANKARA 5323, July 15, 1977, NARA, AAD.

²³² "Armenian Terrorism," ISTANBUL 3253, Sept. 27, 1977, NARA, AAD; "Armenian Terrorism," ANKARA 7224, Sept. 29, 1977, NARA, AAD; and "Armenian Terrorism," ANKARA 7286, Sept. 30, 1977, NARA, AAD.

persecution of Armenians and would like to see GOT be more responsive to Armenian minority in Turkey. We have no indication that any responsible Armenian-American organization supports, condones, or in anyway encourages in any manner alleged Armenian terrorist activities against GOT reps. To imply otherwise or to suggest that reputable organization in U.S. bear some responsibility for such alleged activities would in our judgment be serious mistake.²³³

That the U.S. Secretary of State's assessment of Armenian terrorism was so far off the mark helps explain Turkish frustration over the lack of assistance and underscores the political and clandestine prowess of the *ARF*: two years into their assassination campaign against Turkish civil servants, some U.S. politicians would not even privately entertain the idea that the organization was involved.

While the Turkish government waited for its allies to devise adequate counter-terrorist measures in Western Europe and North America, it moved to limit domestic Armenian terrorist attacks by preventing non-Turkish Armenians from entering the country in early July 1977. Criticized by various Western governments, including the United States and France, however, the restrictions were removed less than three weeks after they were put in place.²³⁴ Unable to prevent the entry of potential Armenian militants into the country, the Turkish government nevertheless began to strictly monitor the movements of the foreign Armenians who did. It was within this context, the case of Kevork Ourfalian captured the attention of the Armenian diaspora in 1977 and 1978. Ourfalian was a 27-year old Armenian originally from Libya but residing in Italy who, in October 1977, was arrested in Istanbul on charges of attempting to instigate local Armenians to establish an independent Armenian Republic in eastern Anatolia.

The Turkish prosecutor in charge of his case pushed for the death penalty. Apparently arrested after having only spent one day in Turkey on what was, ostensibly, a business trip through Turkey en route to Iran by car, Ourfalian's ordeal quickly became a cause célèbre within the Armenian diaspora and depicted as the potential 1,500,001 martyr of the Armenian genocide. The Armenian press was quick to proclaim his innocence, despite the fact that it took several weeks for the details to emerge, and argued that the Turkish response was evidence of Turkish guilt for the crime of 1915 and, with a subtle acknowledgement of Armenian terrorism

²³³ "Security for Turkish Installations," STATE 251748, Oct. 20, 1977, NARA, AAD.

²³⁴ "Restrictions on Armenians' Entry into Turkey," ANKARA 5461, July 21, 1977; "Rights of Armenians in Turkey," ISTANBUL 2772, Aug. 16, 1977, NARA, AAD; and "Armenian Terrorism," ISTANBUL 3253, Sept. 27, 1977, NARA, AAD.

by the Armenian press, anger over the failure to apprehend the Armenians responsible for the assassinations of their diplomats. While the *ARF* officially brought Ourfalian to the attention of the U.S. State Department in mid-November 1977, U.S. diplomats were following developments in the case since his arrest in September, consulted local legal counsel regarding court decisions, and provided assistance to Ourfalian's uncle, an American citizen, who traveled to Istanbul after his nephew's arrest.²³⁵

While Ourfalian was known as prominent planner and coordinator of anti-Turkish demonstrations and activities in Rome, the evidence against him in Turkey: alleged possession of inflammatory literature, Armenian flags, and an incriminatory statement by an acquaintance in Istanbul, which was later recounted, was not enough to prevent the case from being dismissed. In a decision applauded by the Armenian press, Ourfalian was allowed to return to Italy in April 1978, six months after his arrest. Ourfalian, however, appears to have been forgotten as just as quickly as he had attained fame. Months after his release, while Ourfalian was on a speaking tour of the United States in an attempt to solicit donations to reimburse himself and family members for the 60,000 dollars in court expenses incurred in Turkey during his trial, at least one Armenian newspaper chided Armenian Americans for abandoning Ourfalian, much like Yanikian, in his time of need.²³⁶

Turkey, the *ARF*, *Hunchaks*, and *Ramgavars*: Switzerland—November 1977

In addition to increased security measures and other precautions, on November 27, 1977 Ankara tried to negotiate a peaceful way out of the escalating crisis by calling a top-secret, high-level

²³⁵ "Situation of Armenians in Turkey," STATE 280705, Nov. 23, 1977, NARA, AAD; "Armenian Terrorism," ISTANBUL 3253, Sept. 27, 1977, NARA, AAD; "Situation of Armenians in Turkey," ISTANBUL 3956, Dec. 2, 1977, NARA, AAD.

²³⁶ "Turkish Newspaper Claims Capture of Armenian Terrorist," *Asbarez*, Oct. 12, 1977; "Kevork Ourfalian of Italy Allegedly Arrested in Turkey," *Armenian Mirror Spectator*, Oct. 15, 1977; "Turkish Police Arrest Lebanese-Armenian," *Armenian Observer*, Oct. 19, 1977; "Trial of Armenian Held by Turks Set for Nov. 30 in Istanbul," *Armenian Reporter*, Nov. 3, 1977; "Turks are on Trial, Not Giorgio: 'His Sins are those of Every Arm.'" Writer Claims," *AR*, Nov. 17, 1977; "Ourfalian: Our Test of Resolve," *AR*, Dec. 1, 1977; "Kevork Ourfalian Released by Turkish Court for Lack of Evidence," *AR*, Dec. 8, 1977; "K. Ourfalian's Release Attributed to Lack of Evidence," *AR*, Dec. 15, 1977; "Verdict Fair in Ourfalian Case," *AR*, Dec. 15, 1977; "Ourfalian's Case," *AO*, March 15, 1978; "Turkish Prosecutor in the Ourfalian Case, Renews Demand for Death Penalty in Istanbul Hearing," *AR*, March 16, 1978; "Ourfalian's Hearing Still Continuing," *AO*, April 12, 1978; "Turkish Court Dismisses Charges Against Kevork Ourfalian, Prosecutor Files Appeal Barring His Exit from Istanbul," *AR*, April 13, 1978; "Turks Allow Kevork Ourfalian to Leave Istanbul for Rome," *AR*, April 27, 1978; "Kevork Ourfalian, Cleared by Turkish Court, on Visit to United States," *AR*, Dec. 7, 1978; "Where Do We Go From Here?," *AR*, Dec. 28, 1978; and "Militancy Does Not Pay," *AR*, Jan. 25, 1979.

meeting in either Geneva or Zurich, Switzerland between the Turkish Foreign Minister Ihsan Çaglayangil and representatives of the three main political organizations of the Armenian diaspora. It is remarkable that it took nearly eight years for vague, and initially incorrect, details of the meeting to leak in the Armenian press, and was revealed only after the abduction and torture of *ARF* Bureau member Sarkis Zeitlian.²³⁷

Very little was known about the meeting, however, other than that the *ARF* was represented by Shavarsh Toriguian, then an international law professor in Beirut. Two years later, the Armenian Reporter claimed that in addition to Toriguian, Parounag Tovmassian (Townasian), the Ramgavar representative, and Avedis Demirjian, the *Hunchak* representative were also present at the meeting in Switzerland. In 2001, Haig Naccashian, a member of the Ramgavar party who recorded Tovmassian's report on the meeting immediately after its conclusion, published his memoirs in Yerevan.

According to Naccashian, Turkish Foreign Minister Çaglayangil requested the meeting while on a visit to the United States. Using a member of the Armenian Church as an intermediary, the Turkish government's request was passed on to *ARF* Bureau member Hratch Abrahamian. After two days of consultations with the leaders of the Ramgavar and *Hunchak* parties, the diaspora leaders agreed to meet with the Turkish Foreign Minister.²³⁸ While there exists two slightly different accounts of what took place at the meeting in Switzerland, and Naccashian was recollecting the second-hand account he had transcribed decades later, it appears that the Turkish government was willing to offer financial reparations to the Armenian diaspora organizations, without any formal acknowledgement or apology for the events of 1915, in return for the cessation of terrorist attacks.

The talks quickly broke down, however, over Armenian demands for a formal apology and the *ARF* representative's insistence on the return of territory in eastern Anatolia. With regards to the Turkish request to put an end to Armenian terrorism, the delegates allegedly responded "that although they understood the anger that provoked the Armenian youth who had joined that campaign, they themselves did not agree with the modus operandi of resolving

²³⁷ "Armenian Group Blasts Dashnag Party for Links With Turkey and the West," *Armenian Reporter*, March 6, 1986; and "Second Installment of "Confessions" Attributed to Abducted A.R.F. Leader, Sarkis Zeitlian," *AR*, March 6, 1986.

²³⁸ "Series in Turkish Daily Acknowledges a Meeting in 1979 Between Armenian Political Party Representatives & Turkish Foreign Minister," *Armenian Reporter*, May 5, 1988.

matters through bloodshed. At the same time, however, they could not condemn and, especially, prevent those youths, considering that the latter had no ties whatsoever with the political parties.²³⁹ There is still, however, no official record of the meeting in the U.S. and Turkish documents now available.

In spite of the efforts of the Turkish government, the assaults continued over the course of the next year across Europe.²⁴⁰ The first was carried out by *ASALA* on October 20, 1977, when the organization destroyed the automobile of Metin Yelmez, the Turkish press attaché, in Athens, Greece.²⁴¹ *ASALA*, operating as 28 May Group, also threatened to bomb an oil refinery and bus station (alternatively reported as a truck refueling station) in Izmit, Turkey in early January 1978, but the attacks were never successfully carried out. A bomb found at the bus station was disarmed before it detonated, and it appears no move was made towards the oil refinery.²⁴² On January 3, 1978, the *ARF* (NAR) struck, bombing the Turkish Embassy in Brussels, Belgium and the Turkish Bank in London, UK on the same day.²⁴³ On March 10, 1978, *ASALA* attacked three Turkish diplomatic vehicles in Athens, and released a statement on April 24th criticizing the Armenian Patriarch in Istanbul for speaking out against Armenian violence and denied his right to speak for the Armenian people.²⁴⁴ The *ARF* was also

²³⁹ “Series in Turkish Daily Acknowledges a Meeting in 1979 Between Armenian Political Party Representatives & Turkish Foreign Minister,” *Armenian Reporter*, May 5, 1988; and “The First Armeno-Turkish Dialogue,” *AR*, September 22, 2001.

²⁴⁰ “Press Reports GOT Plans to Combat Armenian Terrorist Attacks Against Turkish Diplomats,” ANKARA 6311, Aug. 24, 1977, NARA, AAD; “Security for Turkish Installations,” STATE 251748, Oct. 20, 1977, NARA, AAD.

²⁴¹ “Reaction to Death of Baader and Associates,” ATHENS 9633, Oct. 21, 1977, NARA, AAD; “Turkish Diplomat’s Car Blown Up in Athens; Armenian Secret Army Takes Responsibility for Act,” *Armenian Reporter*, Nov. 3, 1977; “Global Terrorism: The Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide,” CIA, September 1984, CIA-RDP85S00315R000200060002-3.

²⁴² “Terrorist Threat Against Refinery,” ISTANBUL 0109, Jan. 11, 1978; “Turkish Newspaper Reports on Bomb Found in Izmit Gas Depot,” *Armenian Weekly*, March 4, 1978; and “Turks Report Armenian Threats of Terrorism Within Turkey,” *Armenian Reporter*, Jan. 26, 1978. There are a number of discrepancies with these attacks. The Global Terrorism Database lists a bomb attack on an oil refinery in Izmir, Turkey on January 1, 1978 by *ASALA*. Hyland also lists this attack, citing Kurz and Merari and Ternon as his sources. Kurz and Merari, however, only mention a “reported” attack in January 1978, while Ternon lists an attack at an oil refinery and bus stop in Izmit, Turkey on January 8, 1978. Given the date of the State Department Telegram, it can be concluded that there was no bomb attack at an oil refinery in Izmir or Izmit by an Armenian organization. See Hyland, 117; Kurz and Merari, 23; and Ternon, 197.

²⁴³ Craig Seton, “Armenians blamed for explosions,” *The Times*, Jan. 4, 1978; “Armenian Group Claims Responsibility for Two Bombings in Europe,” *Armenian Observer*, Jan. 11, 1978; and “Armenian Group Claims Responsibility for Bombing of Turkish Offices in London, Brussels,” *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Jan. 14, 1978.

²⁴⁴ “Statement,” Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia, Library of Congress, African & Middle Eastern Reading Room, Spurk Archive, Folder 19.

unimpressed by the Patriarch's comments, and bombed the Turkish Airway's office in London on May 24, 1978.²⁴⁵

The Attack on Academia—Professor Stanford Shaw (Los Angeles, CA, October 3, 1977)

Another attack, widely believed to be the work of Armenian extremists but never confirmed, took place on October 3, 1977 in Los Angeles, CA. Unlike previous attacks by the *ARF*, *ASALA*, or other radicalized Armenians, the October 1977 firebombing of a home in the Brentwood neighborhood of Los Angeles targeted a non-Turk for the first time: UCLA professor Stanford Shaw.²⁴⁶ Whereas the other victims had been chosen because of either their Turkish ethnicity or association with the Turkish government, Shaw, a professor of Turkish history, was attacked because his academic research and conclusions differed from the Armenian narrative.²⁴⁷ While the blast did not kill either Shaw, his wife, or their 7-year old daughter, who were at home when the bomb went off at four o'clock in the morning, the detonation was significant enough to shatter windows in the surrounding homes. Shaw was not first, or the only academic to draw the ire of segments of the Armenian diaspora during this time.

In January 1976, a historiographical essay was published in *Middle Eastern Studies* by the historian Gwynne Dyer that severely criticized, with few exceptions, both the Armenian and Turkish scholarship on the events of 1915, and the more general approach to the crisis by the Armenian diaspora and Turkey.²⁴⁸ While accusing both groups of disregarding proper historical methods in order to prove their respective points and producing work which was “biased and unreliable,” the author was particularly concerned with the Armenian historiography: “The deafening drumbeat of the propaganda, and the sheer lack of sophistication in argument which comes from preaching decade after decade to a convinced and emotionally committed audience, are the major handicaps of Armenian historiography of the diaspora today.”

²⁴⁵ “Armenians Claim Responsibility for 3 Athens Bomb Explosions,” *Armenian Observer*, March 15, 1978; and “Armenians Claim Responsibility for Bombing of Turkish Cars,” *Armenian Weekly*, March 25, 1978. There are only secondary accounts of the May 24, 1978 attack in London. See Ternon, 197.

²⁴⁶ “Crude Bomb Explodes at UCLA Professor's Home,” *Los Angeles Times*, Oct. 4, 1977. The Global Terrorism Database attributes the attack to *ASALA*.

²⁴⁷ It should be noted, however, that his wife, Ezel Kural Shaw, and co-author of the book which would become so controversial within the Armenian diaspora, was Turkish.

²⁴⁸ “Turkish ‘Falsifiers’ and Armenian ‘Deceivers’: Historiography and the Armenian Massacres,” *Middle East Journal* Vol. 12, No. 1 (Jan. 1976): 99-107.

Acknowledging the tragic loss of life during both the relocations of 1915 and the reconquest of Smyrna, the author was still troubled by the existence in both Hartunian's memoirs and Housepian's book on Smyrna of "an unpleasantly dualistic approach to massacre: Muslim massacres of Christians are a heinous and inexcusable outrage; Christian massacres of Muslims are, well, understandable and forgivable." Housepian's "old exhortations of hatred are brought out uncloaked," which the author argues "is a luxury that an historian simply cannot afford." The Turks, for their part, are criticized for inactivity: "But it is the Turks, controlling most of the unexploited sources from which the history of the conflict could be written, who have the greater responsibility for writing it. In doing so they will have to admit to themselves that things got very badly out of hand in the East in 1915, that the government subsequently took an utterly reprehensible decision to compound the crime rather than live with the consequences, and that a great wrong was done." In order to correct the problems in the historiography, the author recommends a near complete and total reset.

Dyer's critique did not go unchallenged in the Armenian diaspora, although both responses largely missed the article's main point. Two years after its original publication, Gerard Libaridian responded to Dyer's essay in article in the *Armenian Review*.²⁴⁹ In addition to contesting Dyer's conclusion that the events of 1915 were unlikely an organized and planned extermination on the part of the Ottoman government, Libaridian, while acknowledging the flaws in Armenian research into the subject, argued that the scholarship of Western academics was just as likely to be as subjective as Armenians and Turks. In critiquing Dyer's analysis, Libaridian argued the historiographical essay "displays lack of sound, historical judgment and consistency on many levels," and in fact provided "neither a methodology less objectionable, nor a framework more adequate, to those he so avidly denounces." But while Dyer argued for all scholars working on the subject to examine, and reexamine, all available sources, and write a history of 1915 unencumbered by hate, prejudice, naiveté and predetermined conclusions, Libaridian's entire critique was based on the very premise Dyer used as his point of departure: the relocation and massacre of Ottoman Armenians in 1915 was state-sponsored genocide. For Libaridian, the major flaws of the Armenian approach to the issue was the mistaken belief that "common knowledge and experience of the past, constitute historical reality," and their failure

²⁴⁹ Gerard J. Libaridian, "Objectivity and the Historiography of the Armenian Genocide," *Armenian Review* Vol. 31, No. 1 (Jan. 1978): 79-87.

to “imagine that a written confession signed by the perpetrators would be required to prove the fact of the crime.”

The response from Housepian was more personal. She first made clear that she did not expect her letter to be published (“an exercise in futility”), hence the long delay in responding to Dyer’s assessment of her book, and had done so only to satisfy the urgings of colleagues.²⁵⁰ Then, through the use of 16 numbered points, Housepian proceeded to label “this Dyer person” as, an obvious, “pro-Turkish writer,” if not a Turk writing under pseudonym, and criticized his tone, intellect, assessment of the Armenian literature, and, in particular, his analyses of the sources, methodology and bias he identified in her manuscript. She attacked the form of Dyer’s article, rather than the substance, and does not address any of the specific points raised except with outright dismissal, citing the positive reviews her book received in over 30 newspapers in the U.S. and the U.K. as evidence of her sound methodology. She apparently did not feel it necessary to discuss her book with an “academic boor.” Housepian then attacked the journal itself: “Beyond comprehension is how this sort of drivel got published. In what other academic area would this sort of shabby treatment be condoned, much less published?” Both her response and Dyer’s rebuttal suggest that Housepian was much less comfortable as an amateur historian, although she clearly believed in the fairness of her portrayal and conclusions, than she was as an English professor at Columbia University.

The Shaw case, however, was different. Professor Shaw was an accomplished professor at one of the most prestigious universities in the United States, and was in close proximity to one of the largest Armenian-American communities in world. Additionally, the Armenian-American youths in the Los Angeles area, some of whom were students at UCLA, were among the most active in organizing anti-Turkish demonstrations in the United States. The Shaws’ research was first mentioned in Sekendur’s letter to the New York Times mentioned above to counter Armenian casualty statistics in July 1977.²⁵¹ In a letter to the Armenian Observer in response to Sekendur’s correspondence, a recent Armenian-American graduate of UCLA, and former student of Stanford Shaw, attacked Shaw’s credibility as an academic. She claimed that Dr. Shaw was guilty of misrepresenting the facts of the Armenian massacres and relocations in

²⁵⁰“Correspondence,” *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 3 (Oct. 1978): 397-402. For the *Armenian Review* reprint see “An Exchange: Housepian and Dyer,” *Armenian Review* Vol. 32, No. 3 (Autumn 1979): 313-320.

²⁵¹Nafiz Sekendur, “Armenia: To Satisfy Historical Hallucinations,” *New York Times*, July 2, 1977.

both his book and in his class lectures and was “a person who exaggerates and distorts the facts to such an extent that he might as well rewrite history.”²⁵² According to her, because Shaw found no evidence in the Ottoman archives that the massacres had been ordered by the government, he believed the “hundreds of books and articles (including U.S. Ambassador Morgenthau’s own account) which hold the Young Turk government responsible...are all lies.”

Despite being rejected by the Armenian community, the book at the center of the controversy, a history of the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey from 1808 to 1975, was anonymously peer-reviewed by four scholars from four different institutions before it was published, and was well received by the non-Armenian academic community.²⁵³ The section that upset Armenians, entitled “The Northeastern Front, 1914-1916,” consisted of less than three pages, out of 437, and is still described by Armenians as “a seminal work of [Armenian Genocide] denial.”²⁵⁴ Shaw attributed the decision to relocate the Armenians in eastern Anatolia to the actions of various Ottoman Armenian leaders who had fled to Russia in order to agitate and prepare for the Russian invasion. All of the Armenians in eastern Anatolia would have to be relocated because “it would be impossible to determine which of the Armenians would remain loyal and which would follow the appeals of their leaders’.” After a very benign description of how those relocation orders were supposed to be carried out, and without an accompanying description of how they unfolded in practice, the Shaws acknowledged Armenian allegations of wholesale massacre by stating: “The Entente propaganda mills and Armenian nationalists claimed that over a million Armenians were massacred during the war.” Using prewar Ottoman census figures of 1.3 million, the Shaws calculated that, based on the numbers of those who fled to the Russian Caucasus, Western Europe and North America, approximately 200,000

²⁵² Lena Jamgotchian, “Reply to Sekendur,” *Armenian Observer*, July 27, 1977.

²⁵³ “Cambridge University Replies to Protests Against Shaw’s Book,” *Armenian Observer*, Feb. 8, 1978; George Harris, “Review of History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey: Volume II: Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808-1975,” *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 31, No. 4 (Autumn 1977), 491-492; Kemal Karpat, “Review of History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey,” *American Historical Review*, Vol. 83, No. 1 (Feb. 1978), 242-243; C.H. Dodd, “Review of History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey: Volume II: Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808-1975,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. 41, No. 3 (1978): 600-601; Ehud R. Toledano, “Review of History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey,” *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (Feb. 1978): 40-41; and Roderic H. Davison, “Review of History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey: Volume II: Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808-1975,” *Slavic Review*, Vol. 37, No. 1 (Mar. 1978): 162-163;

²⁵⁴ Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, Vol. II: Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808-1975* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 314-317; and Bobelian, 172.

Armenians died in the relocation process. The inflated numbers offered by the “Entente propagandists and Armenian nationalists,” the Shaws argued, were the result of using the much higher prewar Armenian estimate of 2.5 million Armenian subjects of the empire.²⁵⁵

This was enough to invite the firebombing of their home by Armenian militants. Calls to the Los Angeles Police Department and, perhaps, French news agencies in Paris claimed the attack was carried out by either the Armenian Group of 28²⁵⁶ or the Armenian Liberation Army, and was in retaliation for the Shaws blaming Armenians for the events of 1915. If a claim in Paris was made, it would suggest a planned and coordinated attack, rather than spontaneous activity by local Armenians.²⁵⁷ According to Markar Melkonian, the FBI and local police interrogated numerous Greek and Armenians in the Los Angeles and San Francisco area, tapped phones, opened mail and infiltrated Armenian Student organizations, but could not find the perpetrators of the attack, and his brother, Monte, was a suspect.²⁵⁸ While it is not possible to verify if the investigation was indeed that aggressive, it does appear to have been relatively thorough.²⁵⁹ Although it is true that the case was never solved, when it was reopened in 1983, five Lebanese-Armenians residing in the Los Angeles area, all *ARF* members with ties to the *JCAG*, some of whom were also linked to the Tunalgil and Erez assassinations, were sought for the attack on Shaw’s residence.²⁶⁰

The Armenian Students Association of UCLA, while deploring the violence, made it clear that they were “incensed over Professor Shaw’s grossly distorted presentation of

²⁵⁵ Shaw and Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, 315-316.

²⁵⁶ A possible reference to the 28 Armenians arrested in France in wake of the Tunalgil assassination in October 1975, or May 28, Armenian Independence Day. Ironically, this information was apparently given to the FBI by Monte Melkonian. See FBI, April 6, 1978, 1211499-0-174-HQ-7826, Section 1, Serial 1.

²⁵⁷ “Bombing of Residence of Stanford Shaw, 12227 Tweed Lane, West Los Angeles, California, October 3, 1977,” FBI, October 4, 1977, 1211499-0-174-HQ-7826, Section 1, Serial 1; “Armenian Group of 28; Bombing of Residence of Stanford Shaw, 12227 Tweed Lane, West Los Angeles, California, October 3, 1977,” FBI, October 5, 1977, 1211499-0-174-HQ-7826, Section 1, Serial 1; and “Hurriyet Alleges Armenian Attack on American Scholar,” ANKARA 7392, Oct. 5, 1977, NARA, AAD. The call in Paris may, or may not, have taken place. See “Bombing of Residence of Stanford Shaw, 12227 Tweed Lane, West Los Angeles, California, October 3, 1977,” FBI, October 28, 1977, 1211499-0-174-HQ-7826, Section 1, Serial 1.

²⁵⁸ Melkonian, *My Brother’s Road*, 37; and Garin K. Hovannisian, *Family of Shadows: A Century of Murder, Memory, and the Armenian American Dream* (New York: HarperCollins, 2010), 114. Hovannisian claims that many Armenians believed the attack on Shaw’s house was staged.

²⁵⁹ “Bombing of Residence of Stanford Shaw, 12227 Tweed Lane, West Los Angeles, California, October 3, 1977,” FBI, October 28, 1977, 1211499-0-174-HQ-7826, Section 1, Serial 1.

²⁶⁰ “Bombing of Residence of Stanford Shaw, 12227 Tweed Lane, West Los Angeles, California, October 3, 1977,” FBI, Nov. 15, 1983, 1211499-0-174-HQ-7826, Section 1, Serial 1.

Ottoman/Armenian history...²⁶¹ There appears to be only one instance, by another former Armenian-American student of Shaw's, who unequivocally rejected the attack.²⁶² In response to the violence, harassment, threats of more violence, and the failure to apprehend the assailants, Shaw was eventually forced to cancel classes and take a leave of absence from the university.²⁶³ Attacks on the credibility of Shaw and "his Turkish born wife" as scholars continued, and was spearheaded, ironically, by Richard Hovannisian, Shaw's colleague in the history department at UCLA. Hovannisian went on a lecture in the fall of 1977 to discredit the Shaws' book and, when asked for advice on how to help in the campaign against the Shaws, Hovannisian suggested letters of protest to the book's publisher, Cambridge University Press, and to the Chancellor of the University of California, Los Angeles.²⁶⁴ Letters, and a copy of Hovannisian challenge to the Shaws' research and conclusions even made their way to President Carter's office.²⁶⁵

In spite of the letter campaign, and at least one implicit threat of violence to their institution from what appears to be Monte Melkonian, Cambridge University Press stood behind the Shaws' book revised, although a second edition was quickly released with slight revisions.²⁶⁶

²⁶¹ Levon Marashlian, "Armenians Deplore Bombing," *Asbarez*, Oct. 12, 1977. See also John O. Kurugian; "Shaw Bomb," *Los Angeles Times*, Oct. 18, 1977

²⁶² Socrates Peter Manoukian, "Shaw Bomb," *Los Angeles Times*, Oct. 18, 1977.

²⁶³ "Shaw Cancels Class at UCLA Due to "Reasons of Health"," *Armenian Weekly*, April 29, 1978.

²⁶⁴ Richard G. Hovannisian, "The Critic's View: Beyond Revisionism," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* Vol. 9, No. 3 (Oct. 1978): 379-388. For the Shaws rebuttal see Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, "The Author's Respond," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* Vol. 9, No. 3 (Oct. 1978): 388-400. For some background on the relationship between Hovannisian and Shaw, as told by Hovannisian's grandson, see Hovannisian, *A Family of Shadows*, 190. For the community wide campaign against Stanford Shaw and his wife, see "Richard Hovannisian Lectures on Revisionism Before an Audience of 400," *Armenian Observer*, Dec. 7, 1977; "Prof. R. Hovannisian Offers Fine Lecture in Chicago," *Armenian Reporter*, Dec. 15, 1977; "Prof. Hovannisian Outlines Steps to Discredit Controversial Book," *AR*, Dec. 15, 1977; "Letters to Cambridge Press Urged," *AO*, Dec. 28, 1977; "Cambridge University Replies to Protests Against Shaw's Book," *AO*, Feb. 8, 1978; "Protest Letter to Cambridge Press," *AO*, Feb. 15, 1978; "Comments on a Book," *AR*, March 16, 1978; "In Support of Protest Against Dr. Shaw's Book," *AR*, March 16, 1978; "Press Finally Agrees to "Re-examine" Shaw Volume on Modern Turkey," *Armenian Mirror Spectator*, March 25, 1978; "Letter from Cambridge to the Assembly," *AO*, March 29, 1978; "Cambridge U. Press Promises Review of Shaw's Book on Turkish History," *AR*, April 6, 1978; "English Reviewer Criticizes Shaw's Ottoman History Book," *Armenian Weekly*, April 8, 1978; "ANC Protests Shaw Book," *AW*, April 15, 1978; and "Shaw Cancels Class at UCLA Due to "Reasons of Health"," *AW*, April 29, 1978.

²⁶⁵ Correspondence, Dicran Berberian, Armenian Assembly, to President Carter, Nov. 27, 1978, Carter Presidential Papers— Staff Offices, Ethnic Affairs, Aiello, Box 12.

²⁶⁶ "Bombing of Residence of Stanford Shaw, 12227 Tweed Lane, West Los Angeles, California, October 3, 1977," FBI, Jan. 11, 1978, 1211499-0-174-HQ-7826, Section 1, Serial 1. For the Melkonian letter see "Bombing of Residence of Stanford Shaw, 12227 Tweed Lane, West Los Angeles, California, October 3, 1977," FBI, Jan. 30, 1978, 1211499-0-174-HQ-7826, Section 1, Serial 1; Melkonian, *My Brother's Road*, 33 and 37. It is doubtful that

The sentence on “Entente propaganda mills and Armenian nationalists” was removed, their estimates on deaths related to the relocations were increased to 300,000 and a more nuanced description of the contemporary debate over the subject was inserted into the section:

The Armenians also feel that the deaths resulted from a planned policy of genocide by the Ottoman government. This accusation was repeated by several European commissions during and after the war. The Ottoman cabinet records, however, do not confirm this, but, rather, manifest numerous efforts to investigate and correct a situation in which some 6 million people—Turks, Greeks, Arabs, Armenians, Jews, and others—were being killed by a combination of revolts, bandit attacks, massacres and counter-massacres, and famine and disease, compounded by destructive and brutal foreign invasions in which all people of the empire, Muslim and non-Muslim alike, had their victims and criminals. Considerable further study is needed to determine the exact degree of blame and responsibility that can be assigned to each of the parties involved.²⁶⁷

In the ARF’s response to the letter from director of the Cambridge University Press explaining the institution’s decision, Leo Sarkisian, the Public Information Chairman of the ANC expressed outrage over the decision not to pull the book, incredulity over allegations that Armenians were behind the threats to both Shaw and the press, and was prominently displayed on the pages of the *Armenian Weekly* along with the original letter from the director of the press.²⁶⁸ The impact that this violence, or the threat of further violence, had on academia and the research into the Armenian Question during these formative years remains unexplored. At a minimum, anyone disagreeing with the Armenian nationalist narrative had to consider the personal, not to mention the professional, risks involved, particularly as the frequency of Armenian terrorist attacks increased during this period.

Armenian Terrorism and the Armenian Cause in the Armenian-American Press

Despite the continuing attacks against the Turkish government, virtually no attention was paid to either Armenian terrorism or, outside of the U.S. Congress, the Armenian Question and the Armenian Cause in the mainstream press.²⁶⁹ For its part, the Armenian-American press

there was more than one student at Berkeley who was an Asian history/Archaeology double major with numerous accolades *and* a member of the Armenian Students Association.

²⁶⁷ Shaw and Shaw, 314-317.

²⁶⁸ “The Cambridge Press Distorts, the ANC Responds,” *Armenian Weekly*, June 3, 1978.

²⁶⁹ Harry Derderian, “Statements of the Armenian National Committee,” Foreign Assistance Legislation for Fiscal Year 1979, Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East of the Committee on International Relations, House of Representatives, 95th Congress, Second Session, Feb. 6 - March 16, 1978, 673-677; “Annual

continued to explore the issue of Armenian terrorism in much more detail. While some of the coverage was merely informative, and some continued to express doubt over Armenian culpability, most of the articles, editorials and letters expressed support for the terrorist campaign.²⁷⁰ One editorial stated “Armenians... have no choice then to accept violence as a part of the means to reach our goals. The political assassinations carried out in the previous years in the names of Armenians is nothing to be ashamed of; on the contrary, it should show that the

Report for 1976 of His Beatitude, Archbishop Shnork Kalustian, Patriarch of the Armenian Apostolic Church in Turkey,” Foreign Assistance Legislation for Fiscal Year 1979, Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East of the Committee on International Relations, House of Representatives, 95th Congress, Second Session, Feb. 6 - March 16, 1978, 678-684; “The Armenians,” Minority Rights Group, Report No. 32, Foreign Assistance Legislation for Fiscal Year 1979, Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East of the Committee on International Relations, House of Representatives, 95th Congress, Second Session, Feb. 6 - March 16, 1978, 685-687; Armenian National Committee, “The Evidence of the Genocide,” Foreign Assistance Legislation for Fiscal Year 1979, Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East of the Committee on International Relations, House of Representatives, 95th Congress, Second Session, Feb. 6 - March 16, 1978, 688; Statement of Hratch Abrahamian, President, Armenian National Committee, Foreign Assistance Legislation for Fiscal Year 1979, Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East of the Committee on International Relations, House of Representatives, 95th Congress, Second Session, Feb. 6 - March 16, 1978, 689-705; Statement of Hasan Bekir Ali, Representative of the American-Turkish Association of Washington, DC, and Editor of the Digest of the American-Turkish Association (DATA), Foreign Assistance Legislation for Fiscal Year 1979, Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East of the Committee on International Relations, House of Representatives, 95th Congress, Second Session, Feb. 6 - March 16, 1978, 706-730; Rep. George Danielson (CA), “Today Marks the 63D Anniversary of the Armenian Massacres,” *CR*, April 24, 1978, 11090-11094; Rep. Peter H. Kostmayer (PA), “Armenian Massacres,” *CR*, May 1, 1978, 12021; Rep. Edwin Derwinski (IL), “Turkish Massacres of the Armenians in 1915,” *CR*, May 2, 1978, 12295; Rep. John Hans Krebs (CA), “Germany Repaying Victims of NAZI Atrocities While Turkey Refuses to Assist Armenian Victims of Atrocities,” *CR*, 16965; Sen. Edward Kennedy (MA), “The Proud Armenians,” *CR*, July 20, 1978, 22041-22044; and Rep. Adam Benjamin (IN), “Remember the Armenians in the Karabakh Region,” Aug. 1, 1978, *CR*, 23768.

²⁷⁰ “Comments on Armenian Terrorism,” *Armenian Reporter*, June 30, 1977; “Turkish Papers Says ADL (!) Responsible for Terroristic Acts,” *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, July 30, 1977; “Some English Views on the Assassinated Turkish Ambassadors,” *AMS*, July 30, 1977; “Christian Science Monitor on Emerging Armenian Terrorists,” *AMS*, July 30, 1977; “ARF Confirms ADL Policy,” *AMS*, Aug. 20, 1977; “Plot Staged by Armenians Said to Seek Murder of Turkish Premier,” *AR*, Aug. 25, 1977; “The Effects of Political Terrorism,” *AW*, May 13, 1978; Gassia Armenian, “Patriarch Shnork and Ecevit,” *AW*, May 20, 1978; For material questioning Armenian involvement see: “Verdict Remains to be Proved Says Article on Armenian Terrorism,” *AMS*, Aug. 20, 1977; “Series of Articles on US Armenians Featured in Istanbul Daily Offers Unique Opportunity to Readers to Learn Armenian Version of World War I Events,” *AR*, Sept. 1, 1977; “Turkish Journalist Stresses US Armenians' Political Strength,” *AMS*, Sept. 3, 1977; “Marjorie Housepian, One of the Persons Inverviewed by Turkey's "Gunaydin", Offers Own Version of Talks with Journalist,” *AR*, Sept. 15, 1977; “Turkish Newspaper Gunayden Correspondent Interviews Armenian-American Personalities,” *Asbarez*, Sept. 21, 1977; “Marjorie Housepian Corrects Some Statements Made in Reports of Her Interview for the Turkish Newspaper,” *AMS*, Sept. 24, 1977; For material supporting Armenian terrorism see: Haig Araratian, “A Powerful Reminder,” *AR*, June 30, 1977; “And Now... The Reasons for the Interviews,” *Asbarez*, Sept. 28, 1977; “Turkish Newspaper Gunayden Correspondent Interviews Armenian-American Personalities,” *Asbarez*, Sept. 28, 1977; “Evening Report— 17 Jan 78,” Paul B. Henze to Zbigniew Brzezinski, Jimmy Carter Library; Markar Melkonian, “We're So Smart,” *AR*, March 23, 1978; Markar Melkonian, “Armenian People "Have it All Figured Out”,” *AW*, April 29, 1978; “Politicization of the Armenian People,” *AW*, April 29, 1978; and “Priorities on Survival,” *AW*, June 3, 1978.

struggle is alive.”²⁷¹ Some support came in the form of poetry: “...the freedom fighters of revenge and liberty / stealthily stalk throughout the crags and crevices of our land / Ever vigilant, always militant / they head for war as the restless wind / echoes their cries for justice.”²⁷² Indeed, mere physical destruction no longer seemed to suffice:

Your aberrations will not cease. They will haunt you to spiritual death.
And my curse will be upon you and your children.
Never to be released.
Damnation of the spirit is your rightful inheritance.
And then my revenge will be complete.²⁷³

Criticism of the attacks were largely framed in the context of while not supporting or condoning terrorism or violence, it is understandable why these Armenian youths were driven to these extremes because of the indifference of the world and their inability to tolerate the continued denialism by the Turkish government.²⁷⁴

An eight-part series in the Turkish daily *Günaydın* between August 15 and August 22, 1977 by correspondent Ertuğrul Akbay, in particular, sparked a rather long and sustained discussion on the Armenian Question and Armenian terrorism in the Armenian-American press that extended into the following year.²⁷⁵ Akbay interviewed prominent Armenian-Americans in order to ascertain their opinions on the assaults on Turkish diplomats, Armenian-Turkish relations and the influence of Armenian-Americans in the U.S. government. The interviewees included Archbishop Torkom Manoogian, the Primate of the Eastern Diocese of the Armenian

²⁷¹ Angela Barseghian, “The Struggle Goes On,” *Armenian Observer*, Nov. 23, 1977.

²⁷² Hosvep Margosian, “Ghosts of Armenia,” *Armenian Weekly*, April 22, 1978.

²⁷³ C.K. Garabed, “Anathema,” *Armenian Weekly*, April 22, 1978.

²⁷⁴ “Editor Offers Own Version of Interview,” *Armenian Reporter*, Sept. 1, 1977; “Marjorie Housepian, One of the Persons Interviewed by Turkey's “Gunaydin”, Offers Own Version of Talks with Journalist,” *AR*, Sept. 15, 1977; and “Turkish Newspaper Gunayden Correspondent Interviews Armenian-American Personalities,” *Asbarez*, Sept. 21, 1977.

²⁷⁵ “Turkish Journalist Interviews Armenians and Writes Articles,” *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Aug. 27, 1977; “Series of Articles on US Armenians Featured in Istanbul Daily Offers Unique Opportunity to Readers to Learn Armenian Version of World War I Events,” *Armenian Reporter*, Sept. 1, 1977; “Editor Offers Own Version of Interview,” *AR*, Sept. 1, 1977; “Turkish Journalist Stresses US Armenians' Political Strength,” *AMS*, Sept. 3, 1977; “Turkish Newspaper Publishes Articles on Armenian-Americans,” *Armenian Observer*, Sept. 7, 1977; “Marjorie Housepian, One of the Persons Interviewed by Turkey's “Gunaydin”, Offers Own Version of Talks with Journalist,” *AR*, Sept. 15, 1977; “Turkish Newspaper Gunayden Correspondent Interviews Armenian-American Personalities,” *Asbarez*, Sept. 21, 1977; “Marjorie Housepian Corrects Some Statements Made in Reports of Her Interview for the Turkish Newspaper,” *AMS*, Sept. 24, 1977; and “Turkish Newspaper Gunayden Correspondent Interviews Armenian-American Personalities,” *Asbarez*, Sept. 28, 1977. For the original Turkish series see Ertuğrul Akbay, “Dünya Ermeni Liderleri Açıklıyor,” *Günaydın*, Aug. 16-Aug. 21, 1977. For U.S. State Department assessment of the series see “Gunaydin Series on Armenians in America,” ANKARA 6306, Aug. 24, 1977, NARA, AAD.

Orthodox Church of America, Dennis Papazian of the Armenian Assembly, Edward Boghosian, editor of the *Armenian Reporter*, Marjorie Housepian, then a dean at Columbia University, and Harry A. Sachaklian, a retired U.S. Air Force Colonel, member of the *ARF* and spokesman for the ANC. Some of those interviewed apparently agreed to participate as test case to see if their responses would be accurately reproduced in the Turkish newspaper.

The responses of the interviewees varied, and displayed slight inconsistencies in Armenian perceptions and demands. Manoogian, Papazian and Housepian went on record to deplore violence as a political tool and continued to downplay the possibility of Armenian involvement in the attacks, albeit with a caveat: if Armenians were involved, then they were driven to it by the continued denial of the Turkish government and the indifference shown to their cause by rest of the world. Papazian added that if it were true, then it was most certainly not connected to any known, legal Armenian organization. He also, perhaps unwittingly, helped the Armenian terrorist cause by arguing that through its actions, the current Turkish government was an accomplice to the crimes of 1915. Boghosian acknowledged that it was “safe to presume Armenians were behind the attack and that they would continue until there was an admission of guilt on behalf of the Turkish government,” but he, too, criticized political violence while empathizing with the youthful perpetrators “who can no longer tolerate Turkish denials of participation in the mass murder of the Armenian people.” Sachaklian also attributed the attacks to Armenian militants, claiming “when persons or groups lose every hope, and see no chance of achieving their goals, naturally they resort to violence.”²⁷⁶ Sachaklian’s statement did not escape the attention of the U.S. State Department.²⁷⁷

Papazian and Housepian emphasized an acknowledgement of guilt and some attempt at reparations as a means to resolve the animosity between Armenians and Turks, while Sachaklian, towing the *ARF* party line, demanded territorial restitution. Where Papazian and Housepian appeared to recognize that repatriation was both unrealistic and undesirable, Sachaklian, and presumably the *ARF* as well, believed returning eastern Anatolia to the Armenians and implementing the stillborn Treaty of Sevres would not only resolve the Armenian Question, but would undermine the Soviet Union by tempting the Armenian SSR to

²⁷⁶ “Series of Articles on US Armenians Featured in Istanbul Daily Offers Unique Opportunity to Readers to Learn Armenian Version of World War I Events,” *Armenian Reporter*, Sept. 1, 1977.

²⁷⁷ “Gunaydin Series on Armenians in America,” ANKARA 6306, Aug. 24, 1977, NARA, AAD.

secede and join their free and democratic compatriots across the border. Interestingly, Papazian, Boghosian and Housepian went to great lengths to impress upon Akbay the political strength and influence of Armenian-Americans, replete with photographs and name-dropping of Armenian friendly politicians. Allied with the Greeks, the U.S. Congress and sympathetic politicians in the White House, the interviewees discussed how that influence could be used as “a weapon against the Turks” to change or alter U.S.-Turkish relations.²⁷⁸ The statements made by these Armenian leaders raised concern among U.S. diplomats in Turkey, and at least two of the participants, Housepian and Boghosian, rushed to publish clarifications of their statements to Akbay after translations of the Turkish original became available in the United States. Their concern, however, was not the opinion of the U.S. government, but rather how their statements would be perceived in the diaspora, which criticized Papzian, Boghosian, and Housepian, and any who supported them, for their comments on the land issue.²⁷⁹

While some Armenian-Americans, including Housepian, viewed Akbay’s series as a positive milestone for the Armenian Cause in Turkey because it published “the Armenian version of events in Turkey during World War I” and brought “Turkish readers for the first time to Armenian views,” many others did not. An editorial in the *Armenian Reporter* alleged that the main purpose of the series was to “extract a denial” from Armenian leaders regarding the involvement of Armenians in the attacks on Turkish diplomats.²⁸⁰ The article argued that if Armenian involvement could be dismissed, the Turkish government would avoid increased

²⁷⁸ “Gunaydin Series on Armenians in America,” ANKARA 6306, Aug. 24, 1977, NARA, AAD. These sentiments were reinforced again, only a few weeks later. See “Armenians Are on the Move in American Politics, and Presidential Advisor Set Momjian Tells How,” *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Oct. 15, 1977.

²⁷⁹ “Gunaydin Series on Armenians in America,” ANKARA 6306, Aug. 24, 1977, NARA, AAD; “Editor Offers Own Version of Interview,” *Armenian Reporter*, Sept. 1, 1977; “Turkish Journalist Stresses US Armenians’ Political Strength,” *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Sept. 3, 1977; “Turkish Newspaper Publishes Articles on Armenian-Americans,” *Armenian Observer*, Sept. 7, 1977; “Marjorie Housepian, One of the Persons Interviewed by Turkey’s ‘Gunaydin’, Offers Own Version of Talks with Journalist,” *AR*, Sept. 15, 1977; “Turkish Newspaper Gunayden Correspondent Interviews Armenian-American Personalities,” *Asbarez*, Sept. 21, 1977; “Marjorie Housepian Corrects Some Statements Made in Reports of Her Interview for the Turkish Newspaper,” *AMS*, Sept. 24, 1977; “Turkish Newspaper Gunayden Correspondent Interviews Armenian-American Personalities,” *Asbarez*, Sept. 28, 1977; “Who are the Fools?,” *AMS*, Oct. 15, 1977; “Lecture Series by Conn. Group Generates Wide Interest,” *AR*, Oct. 27, 1977; and “A Review of Our Claims,” *AR*, Nov. 3, 1977. For an attack on an editorial in the *Armenian Reporter* that supported the reasoning of Papazian, Housepian, and Boghosian see “The Enemy Within US,” *Armenian Weekly*, March 25, 1978.

²⁸⁰ “Series of Articles on US Armenians Featured in Istanbul Daily Offers Unique Opportunity to Readers to Learn Armenian Version of World War I Events,” *Armenian Reporter*, Sept. 1, 1977; “Editor Offers Own Version of Interview,” *AR*, Sept. 1, 1977; “Turkish Newspaper Publishes Articles on Armenian-Americans,” *Armenian Observer*, Sept. 7, 1977; and “Marjorie Housepian, One of the Persons Interviewed by Turkey’s ‘Gunaydin’, Offers Own Version of Talks with Journalist,” *AR*, Sept. 15, 1977.

coverage of the events of 1915 in the press and limit negative the commentary against Turkey caused by the attacks. In effect, the newspaper argued that to deny Armenian involvement in the attacks was to assist the Turkish government in their attempts to “cover-up” the events of 1915. What the Armenian Reporter editorial did not explain, however, was if this was indeed the intention of the interviews then why were they still published? Given the already widespread belief in Turkey that Armenians were behind the attacks, dismissing those allegations would have only served to assist the Turkish government in protecting its Armenian citizens from potential reprisals. While a thorough U.S. State Department analysis of minorities in Istanbul concluded that there was no current danger to local Armenians, they feared it might not hold if Armenian attacks continued.²⁸¹ In fact, three small handheld bombs shattered windows at the Armenian Patriarchate in Istanbul in August, along with other alleged minor incidents the *ARF* brought to the attention of the U.S. State Department.²⁸²

The *ARF* was also displeased with the Turkish series. *Asbarez* admonished the Turkish government for attempting to accomplish three things with the series. First, to “sow dissension” and “give a rebirth to internecine rivalries” in within the Armenian diaspora, presumably through by representing the disparity among Armenian demands; second, to manipulate the interviewees’ responses in order to threaten Armenians in Turkey with mob violence incited by the articles; and, finally, to reduce resolution of the Armenian Question to simply an apology from Turkey. In response to this Turkish assault, the *ARF* vowed to “continue to hurt Turkey, in speeches, in deeds, and most important in the areas of world public opinion,” and to “continue to demand justice, by any means necessary.” In other words, there would be “no respite for Turkey.”²⁸³ To make it clear that the *ARF* still demanded eastern Anatolia from Turkey, the organization took out an ad in the New York Times and stated their demands to the Turkish Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit.²⁸⁴ The UCLA Armenian Student Association directed their ire at the members of the Armenian Assembly who spoke to Akbay for, among other things, allowing

²⁸¹ “Minorities in Istanbul,” ISTANBUL 1680, May 18, 1977, NARA, AAD; “Human Rights Evaluation: Turkey,” ANKARA 4868, June 27, 1977, NARA, AAD; “Armenian Terrorism,” ISTANBUL 3253, Sept. 27, 1977, NARA, AAD.

²⁸² “Bombs at Armenian Patriarchate,” ISTANBUL 2893, Aug. 24, 1977, NARA, AAD; “Armenian Terrorism,” ISTANBUL 3253, Sept. 27, 1977, NARA, AAD; and “Situation of Armenians in Turkey,” STATE 280705, Nov. 23, 1977, NARA, AAD.

²⁸³ “And Now... The Reasons for the Interviews,” *Asbarez*, Sept. 28, 1977.

²⁸⁴ “Mr. Ecevit, We Demand Reparations and Return of our Territories!,” *New York Times*, May 28, 1978; and “ANC Message Published in the New York Times,” *Armenian Weekly*, June 3, 1978.

the Turkish newspaper to represent their personal views as the views of the Armenian community; suggesting that Turkey only need apologize for the events of 1915 to make amends; and that Armenians were uninterested in territorial recompense because it was unlikely that any Armenians would resettle in eastern Anatolia. If the Assembly was to enjoy the support of the Armenian community, the UCLA students argued, its members would have to try harder to “demonstrate political sophistication and a commitment to championing the moral, and more urgently, the political/territorial aspects of the Armenian Question.”²⁸⁵ Similar criticism over the lack of a unified Armenian voice with regards to claims against Turkey, and calls to develop one, were made throughout the period.²⁸⁶

The Armenian American press also continued with other, tangential, items of interest: the events of 1915, evidence or arguments contrary to the Armenian narrative of 1915, the sanctity of their Cause, the political, social and cultural efforts towards their Cause, the deepening relationship between Armenians, U.S. Congressmen and other politicians, Armenian military prowess over the Turks, indignation over any positive portrayal of Turks or negative portrayal of Armenians, Armenians in Turkey, Turkish news, and general anti-Turkishness.²⁸⁷

²⁸⁵ “Open Letter to the Armenian Assembly,” *Armenian Observer*, Dec. 7, 1977.

²⁸⁶ “Armenian Decision Making: Is it Effective?,” *Armenian Observer*, Jan. 4, 1978; “Politically Speaking,” *AO*, Feb. 15, 1978; and “Reflections on the Armenian Community Life,” *Armenian Reporter* May 18, 1978.

²⁸⁷ “ANC Urges UN Genocide Treaty Pro-Ratification Letters to Senator,” *Armenian Observer*, June 29, 1977; “The Resurrection of Hagop Ghoogasian and ‘The Forty Days of Musa Dagh’,” *AO*, June 29, 1977; Nancy J. Brazil, “A Distorted View,” *Armenian Reporter*, June 30, 1977; “The Resurrection of Hagop Ghoogasian and ‘The Forty Days of Musa Dagh’,” *AO*, July 6, 1977; “Arujua Saraydarian to Senator Alan Cranston,” *AO*, July 6, 1977; “Armenian Assembly on the Move in Washington, DC,” *AO*, Aug. 3, 1977; “‘Geographic’ Concedes Mistakes on Armenians,” *AO*, Aug. 10, 1977; “ARM Asks Brezhnev to Negotiate with Turkey for Return of Lands,” *AO*, Aug. 10, 1977; “Arrogant Turkish Bankers Deepen Turkish Foreign Exchange Crisis,” *AMS*, Aug. 13, 1977; “Sen. Deukmejian Urges Sen. Hayakawa to Support Genocide Convention,” *AO*, Aug. 24, 1977; “Unforgettable Friends,” *AO*, Sept. 7, 1977; “Armenian Church in Turkey Closed by Government-- Patriarch Protests,” *Asbarez*, Sept. 21, 1977; “Turkey Circumvented Arms Embargo Through Obscure NATO Agency,” *Asbarez*, Oct. 12, 1977; “Armenians Are on the Move in American Politics, and Presidential Advisor Set Momjian Tells How,” *AMS*, Oct. 15, 1977; “How the Helsinki Accords May Help the Armenians in Turkey,” *AMS*, Oct. 15, 1977; “Assembly Presents Memorandum on Armenians in Turkey,” *AO*, Oct. 19, 1977; “C.L. Sulzberger Thought by Turks to be Allied with Col. Sachaklian and Armenians,” *AMS*, Oct. 22, 1977; “Lecture Series by Conn. Group Generates Wide Interest,” *AR*, Oct. 27, 1977; “Turkey Buys More Arms from NATO,” *AO*, Nov. 2, 1977; “Program on Turkish Television Refutes Armenian Claim,” *AR*, Nov. 3, 1977; Ara Baliozian, “Book Review,” *AR*, Nov. 3, 1977; “Another Distortion,” *AMS*, Nov. 12, 1977; “Turkish TV Program on Urartu,” *AO*, Nov. 30, 1977; Nubar Dorian, “The Forgotten Embrace,” *AR*, Dec. 1, 1977; “President Carter Holds First White House Meeting with Armenian Group,” *AO*, Dec. 7, 1977; “Political Killings Rack Turkey Campuses,” *AO*, Dec. 7, 1977; “Release of G. Yanikian is Sought by Armenians of California,” *AR*, Dec. 15, 1977; “Armenian Assembly Presents Human Rights Violations in Turkey at the State Department,” *AO*, Dec. 21, 1977; “Posthumous Tribute: Arnold J. Toynbee-- A Historian Friendly to the Armenian People,” *AR*, Dec. 22, 1977; “Papazian Speaks Out on Repression of Armenians in Turkey,” *AR*, Dec. 29, 1977; Haig Baronian, “If We Have Clout-- Shouldn’t We Use It?,” *AO*, Jan. 11, 1978; “A Status Report: The Genocide Convention,” *AR*, Jan. 12, 1978; “Armenian Patriarchate, Church

Bombed in Istanbul: Retaliation for Incidents in London and Brussels,” *AR*, Jan. 19, 1978; “Patriarch Deplores Lack of Interest by Authorities in Investigation of Bombings,” *AR*, Jan. 19, 1978; “A Status Report: The Genocide Convention,” *AR*, Jan. 19, 1978; “US Ambassador to the UN Told of Armenian Rights Violation in Turkey,” *AO*, Jan. 25, 1978; “Documents Surfaced by Turkish Sources Claim Talaat Pasha Was Not That Bad After All...,” *AR*, Jan. 26, 1978; “A New Challenge,” *AR*, Jan. 26, 1978; “Bomb Explodes in Istanbul's Karageuzian Armenian Orphanage-- No Casualties,” *AO*, Feb. 2, 1978; “Let's Get Our Story Told,” *AO*, Feb. 2, 1978; “President Carter Reaffirms His Commitment to Armenian Human Rights,” *AO*, Feb. 15, 1978; “State Department Report Includes Armenian Human Rights in Turkey,” *AO*, Feb. 15, 1978; “President Carter Reaffirms Campaign Pledge Toward Unresolved Armenian Question and Rights,” *AR*, Feb. 16, 1978; H. Jack Touryantz, “On the Role of Talaat Pasha,” *AR*, Feb. 16, 1978; “Turkish National Economy Badly in the Red,” *AW*, March 4, 1978; “Abp. Torkom Manoogian Meets with President Carter,” *AO*, March 8, 1978; “Legislation Introduced in Massachusetts Designating April 24 as Annual Armenian Martyrs Day,” *AO*, March 8, 1978; “Turkish Human Rights Violations Omitted in State Department Report,” *AO*, March 8, 1978; “Our Unsung Heroes,” *AO*, March 8, 1978; “Armenian Assembly Urges Support of Greek Protest of State Dept. Policy on Turkey,” *AR*, March 9, 1978; “State Department Report on Turkey is Distorted, According to Greek & Armenian American Leaders,” *AMS*, March 11, 1978; “Turkish Paper Says Armenian Group Steals Guns From Turkish Army,” *AW*, March 11, 1978; “Sen. Dole,” *AO*, March 15, 1978; “State Department Denies That Turkey Violates Human Rights,” *AW*, March 18, 1978; “Anderson Says State Dept. Report on Turks is False,” *AW*, March 18, 1978; “Proof that Turkey Violates Rights,” *AW*, March 18, 1978; “ANC Efforts Lead to "Modest Progress" in State Department Report,” *AW*, March 25, 1978; “Let's Build Our Political Power by Voting,” *AO*, March 29, 1978; “G. Yanikian Expected to be Set Free on Parole Next Year,” *AR*, March 30, 1978; “Turk Elected to UN Human Rights Subcommittee,” *AW*, April 1, 1978; “UC Berkeley Gives in to Turkish Pressure,” *AO*, April 5, 1978; “Turkish Violence Increases,” *AW*, April 8, 1978; “Patriarch Kalousdian Discusses Armenian Affairs with Ecevit,” *AO*, April 12, 1975; “ANC Responds to State Dept. Report on Rights,” *AW*, April 15, 1978; “Senator Deukmejian Protests UC Ban of Armenian Exhibit,” *AO*, April 19, 1975; “Istanbul Patriarch Appeals to Diaspora Armenians to Refrain from Anti-Turkish Activities: Meeting with Ecevit May Have Prompted Appeal,” *AR*, April 20, 1978; “Martyrs Day Observances Throughout the World to Range from Low-Key to Impressive,” *AR*, April 20, 1978; “Harry A. Dorian Addresses Greek Independence Day Gathering,” *AR*, April 20, 1978; “Minutes of the Secret Meeting at Which The Young Turk Leadership Planned the Genocide,” *AW*, April 22, 1978; Vahakn Dadrian, “The Armenian Genocide: A Sociological Study,” *AW*, April 22, 1978; “A Thought from a Turkish Exile,” *AW*, April 22, 1978; “Prelate's April 24 Message,” *AW*, April 22, 1978; “The Armenian Question,” *AW*, April 22, 1978; “Armenian Demonstrators Clash with Police in Hollywood, CA,” *AR*, April 27, 1978; “Turks Force Closing of Armenian Student Exhibit at Berkeley,” *AW*, April 29, 1978; “Commentary by Leo Sarkisian,” *AW*, April 29, 1978; “Epitath for Armenians,” *AW*, April 29, 1978; “Where is Our Youth?,” *AW*, April 29, 1978; “Armenian Genocide Exhibit Reinstated at Berkeley Campus,” *AR*, May 4, 1978; “Large Press Coverage Given for Armenian Genocide,” *AR*, May 4, 1978; “Remembering the Massacre-- The Armenians in Agony,” *AR*, May 4, 1978; “Peaceful March in Los Angeles Dispersed by Police Violence,” *AW*, May 6, 1978; “Armenian Cause Day Activities,” *AW*, May 6, 1978; “Genocide: The Killing of a People,” *AW*, May 6, 1978; “Cypriot President Issues Special Statement on Martyrs Day,” *AR*, May 11, 1978; “Remembering the Armenians,” *AR*, May 11, 1978; “The Memory Still Haunts,” *AR*, May 11, 1978; “The News Media Discusses the Turkish Massacres of the Armenians in 1915 Rep. Danielson's Remarks,” *AR*, May 11, 1978; “Paris Primate Lodges Protest Against French Police,” *AR*, May 11, 1978; “Armenian National Committee Presents Recognition Award to Speaker of the House O'Neill,” *AW*, May 13, 1978; “‘There is Only One Way ... The World Can Atone for the Holocaust’,” *AW*, May 13, 1978; Edward Boghisian, “A Meeting with President in the White House is an Exciting Event,” *AR*, May 18, 1978; Leonard Mahoney, “It is Fitting that the 20th Century Holocaust Be Remembered,” *AR*, May 18, 1978; Stella S. Rustigian, “Reading Between the Lines of Patriarch Shnork's ‘Appeal’,” *AW*, May 20, 1978; Hratch Dasnabedian, “The Armenian Question,” *AW*, May 20, 1978; “Manifesto 1890,” *AW*, May 27, 1978; Shavarsh Toriguian, “Legal Basis of Armenian Claims to Provinces of Eastern Turkey,” *AW*, May 27, 1978; “Armenia's Mandate-- Why America?,” *AW*, May 27, 1978; Hratch Dasnabedian, “The Armenian Question II,” *AW*, May 27, 1978; “Congressmen Danielson, Krebs and Anunzio Demand Reparations to Armenians by the Turkish Government,” *AW*, May 27, 1978; “Meeting with the President,” *AR*, June 1, 1978; Anne Atanossian, “Capitol Encounter of the Armenian Kind: Award to Tip O'Neill,” *AR*, June 1, 1978; Stella S. Rustigian, “Alliance with Turkey an Embarrassment,” *AR*, June 1, 1978; “Armenian Story Still Untold,” *AR*, June 1, 1978; “Ecevit ‘Welcomed’ by Armenians in NYC,” *AR*, June 1, 1978; “Turkey May Pursue Stronger Soviet Ties, Threatening

As it had been in the past, a just resolution to the Armenian Cause was equated with global redemption:

The World cannot be saved politically, unless it is saved morally at the same time; and it cannot be saved morally unless a factor of political immorality in the modern world, the reckless injustice imposed upon the Armenian people, is removed, and the Armenian nation allowed to unite as one people on their historic lands still held by force of arms by their six-centuries old merciless oppressor, the Turk.²⁸⁸

Meanwhile, on the political front, the ARF, Hunchaks and Ramgavars, called on President Carter to honor his campaign promise to support the Armenian Cause.²⁸⁹ They contacted him again to try and dissuade him from resuming military aid to Turkey, a possibility that caused particular resentment from Armenian-Americans, and posed a rather complicated dilemma for Armenian terrorist organizations: “The United States, for the past sixty years, has consistently followed a policy of supporting the Turks or conversely, of not supporting the aspirations of the Armenians... American troops now occupy Armenian soil, in a military alliance with the Turks. Imagine for a minute—if Armenian freedom fighters were to enter Turkish occupied Armenia tomorrow in an effort to liberate those territories, American troops would fight them.”²⁹⁰

US Role in Mideast, NATO,” *AW*, June 3, 1978; “Armenian Story Still Untold,” *AW*, June 3, 1978; and “Commentary by Leo Sarkisian,” *AW*, June 3, 1978.

²⁸⁸ Souren Sarkisian, “Remember The Month of April, 1915,” *Armenian Reporter*, March 23, 1978.

²⁸⁹ Correspondence, ARF and ADL Telegram to President Carter, Aug. 10, 1977, Carter Presidential Papers— Staff Offices, Ethnic Affairs, Aiello, Box 12; and “Three Armenian Political Parties Urge President Carter to Support Armenian Cause,” *Armenian Observer*, Aug. 24, 1977. See also “Evening Report— 23 April 1979,” Paul B. Henze to Zbigniew Brzezinski, Jimmy Carter Library.

²⁹⁰ Telegram to President Carter, March 10, 1978, Jimmy Carter Presidential Library; and “Stop American Support of Turks,” *Armenian Weekly*, March 18, 1978. See also “Carter Again Requests Turkish Aid Packet-- Armenians Must Act!,” *AW*, March 11, 1978; “Armenian Political Parties Contact Congress, Administration on Turkish Aid Issue,” *AW*, March 18, 1978 and “Armenians Respond to Turkish Aid Call,” *AW*, March 18, 1978; “ANC Sends Testimony to House, Senate Committees,” *AW*, March 25, 1978; “Resolution Passed by 42 Organizations Opposed to Aid to Turkey,” *AW*, March 25, 1978; “Carter Urged to Drop Request for Arms to Turkey,” *AO*, March 29, 1978; “ANC Contacts All US Senators, Congressmen on Aid Issue,” *AW*, April 1, 1978; “Carter Administration to Testify April 6 on Aid to Turkey,” *AW*, April 1, 1978; “Zablocki Responds to ANC,” *AW*, April 1, 1978; “President Carter to Seek Lifting of Arms Embargo Against Turkey,” *AR*, April 6, 1978; “US in Policy Shift Toward Turkey,” *Armenian Reporter*, April 6, 1978; “Carter Reverses Position-- Will Push for Turkish Aid,” *AW*, April 8, 1978; “Washington DC Transit Authority Turns Down ANC Ad on Turkish Aid,” *AW*, April 15, 1978; “Vance Pushes for Turkish Aid to House Committee,” *AW*, April 15, 1978; “New York Times Editorial Says No Turkish Aid Now,” *AW*, April 15, 1978; “Congressional Leaders to Fight Latest Aid Proposal,” *AW*, April 15, 1978; “Greeks in US Protest Lifting Turkey Arms Ban,” *Armenian Observer*, April 19, 1975; “Insights on a Congressional Hearing,” *AR*, April 20, 1978; “ANC Testifies on Turkish Aid Issue Before Committee,” *AW*, April 29, 1978; “Armenians Support Greek Rally at White House,” *AW*, April 29, 1978; “Opposed in Congress

Necla Kuneralp & Beşir Balçioğlu—Madrid, Spain, June 2, 1978

On June 2, 1978, the wife of the Turkish Ambassador to Spain, Necla Kuneralp, her brother, Beşir Balçioğlu, a retired former Ambassador, and their Spanish driver, Antonio Olmedes, were fired upon while slowing for a red light in the Ambassador's car. Witnesses claimed three young men, who were loitering at the stoplight, began shooting into the car once it arrived. Balçioğlu was killed instantly, while Kuneralp and Olmedes died at the local hospital shortly thereafter. The "commandos seeking Justice for the Armenian Genocide," (*JCAG*) immediately claimed responsibility for the attack.²⁹¹

The Turkish press expressed outrage over the assassinations, and renewed their call for the Turkish government to respond with force to the latest attack. Some papers began to suspect links between the Armenian terrorist organization and Palestinian, Greek Cypriot and Kurdish movements, while others argued against such speculation. For their part, *ASALA* confirmed its relationship with the Palestinians in a 1978 interview, did not deny associations with Cypriot or Kurdish movements, and added that the organization also sought to strengthen its ties to anti-government organizations within Turkey. These connections, Takoushian believed, would bring *ASALA* "to the stage of advanced revolutionary cooperation which aims at exhausting and toppling the Turkish reactionary regimes." Takoushian did deny, however, that the organization had received any financial assistance from any other terrorist organizations or governments.²⁹² One month later, a communiqué from *ASALA* was published in the *Armenian Reporter* confirming its commitment to "struggle hand in hand with Turks, Kurds, Arabs and all revolutionary forces of the world," while also demanding that foreign governments stop providing protection to Turkish installations or "expect our severe blows should the cooperate with the Turkish power and its allies."²⁹³ The *ARF* would also eventually discuss cooperation with the Palestinian and Kurdish movements, at least on its editorial pages: "We need strength

Statement Lifting of US Arms Embargo," *AW*, May 6, 1978; "House Committee Votes to Lift Arms Embargo," *AW*, May 13, 1978; and Leo Sarkisian, "NEA Reporter," *AW*, May 13, 1978.

²⁹¹ Fenton Wheeler, Associated Press, June 2, 1978; Harry Debelius, "Three die in attack on Turkish envoy's car," *The Times*, June 3, 1978; "3 Killed in Attack on Turkish Ambassador's Car in Madrid," *Washington Post*, June 3, 1978; and "World News Briefs: 3 Killed in Madrid in Turkish Envoy's Car," *New York Times*, June 3, 1978.

²⁹² "First Press Interview, July 10, 1978," in *ASALA Interviews*, Popular Movement for the *ASALA*, Britain, April 1982.

²⁹³ "Armenian Secret Army Renews Threat to Strike at Turkish Institutions," *Armenian Reporter*, Aug. 3, 1978. See also "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia," FBI, Sept. 5, 1978, 1149357-000, 199B-LA-103720C, Section 01 (943903); and "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia," FBI, Sept. 5, 1978, 1149376-000, 185A-BA-143, Section 1 (944916).

in the areas of diplomacy, terrorism and propaganda. And we can appear stronger if we have other groups standing with us.”²⁹⁴

Armenian leaders in Turkey, including the Armenian Patriarch, quickly denounced the attack, but the Turkish government moved to increase police protection for the Armenian Patriarchate and Armenian communities in Istanbul as a safety precaution against public retaliation. Analyzing the events in Turkey, the U.S. Embassy in Ankara again requested Washington to urge Armenian American leaders to denounce terrorism and violence and to disassociate their organizations from such acts. Regardless of whether or not it had an impact on the violence, the diplomats in Ankara believed an anti-terrorist stance by Armenian American groups would help strengthen the U.S. position in the event that the Turkish government had to be restrained from aggressive counter-terrorist measures against the Armenian organizations.²⁹⁵

The potential threat to U.S.-Turkish relations posed by the “large and vociferous Armenian community in the United States” was raised again by the U.S. Embassy in Ankara when a high ranking official in the Turkish Ministry of Affairs lodged an oral protest for the failure of the United States government to provide adequate protection for the Turkish Embassy in Washington and its consulates in San Francisco, Chicago and New York. The U.S. Embassy expressed its hope that the State Department “will provide sympathetic consideration to the Turkish request.”²⁹⁶ Ironically, Turkish Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit went out of his way to speak with Armenian demonstrators in Washington and with an Armenian-American reporter in New York on the very day of the attack, downplaying Armenian involvement in the assassinations and calling on Turkish citizens to embrace Armenians.²⁹⁷

Furthermore, the son of the Turkish Ambassador to Spain, Sinan Kunalp, still grieving the loss of his mother and uncle, suggested the establishment of a foundation to investigate Armenian claims in order to seek a peaceful resolution to the dispute and expressed his hope that her death would serve “as a cause that will bring an end to the hatred and violence.” Kunalp, with a master’s degree in history from the Sorbonne, seemed ideally suited to head

²⁹⁴ Tamar Manjikian, “To advance our cause, we must form coalitions with our allies!” *Armenian Weekly*, March 10, 1979.

²⁹⁵ “Turks Strongly Affected by Latest Diplomatic Assassinations,” ANKARA 4242, June 5, 1978.

²⁹⁶ “Requests for Security Protection for Turkish Diplomatic Missions in the United States,” ANKARA 5053, July 10, 1978.

²⁹⁷ “Turkish Envoy's Wife, Brother-in-Law, Driver Slain in Madrid; Armenian Group Claims Responsibility,” *Armenian Reporter*, June 8, 1978.

such an effort, and by October 1978 the organization was operational.²⁹⁸ It appeared, however, that the initiative was doomed from the start, much like the initiative in Switzerland, over the issue of giving eastern Anatolia to the Armenians; a prospect the Turkish government would never agree to and, unfortunately, without which many Armenian political leaders would never agree to reconciliation.²⁹⁹

In late August 1978, the FBI received warning of possible Armenian attacks on Turkish installations in the United States by an organization presumed to be *ASALA*, but calling itself the Armenian Clandestine Army, and information was passed on to the relevant local, federal and Turkish authorities.³⁰⁰ The *Armenian Weekly* revealed that both the *ARF* and the *AYF* were on the Los Angeles Police Department's watch list of potentially violent organizations.³⁰¹ At about the same time, the FBI investigated the origins and dissemination of a publication entitled "Until Death," that encouraged terrorist acts against the Turkish government and which the FBI suspected was an *ASALA* publication.³⁰² Although no attacks materialized in the United States, *ASALA* propaganda remained on the offensive. An August communiqué sent to the *Armenian Reporter* referenced attacks in Turkey, and promised more.³⁰³ At a November 1978 press conference in Beirut, *ASALA* also accused Lebanese leader Camille Chamoun, the CIA and Turkish intelligence agencies of conspiring to kill and forcibly remove the Armenian population of Beirut and declared "our organization uses all means to promote the struggle, whether political, propaganda or military. We don't reject violence aimed at the Turkish fascist

²⁹⁸ "New Foundation in Turkey to Conduct Research on Ottoman Era History," *Armenian Reporter*, Oct. 19, 1978.

²⁹⁹ "Son of Turkish Ambassador to Madrid Proposes Special Effort to End Turkish-Armenian Rift," *Armenian Reporter*, June 29, 1978.

³⁰⁰ "Armenian (Clandestine) Secret Army," FBI, Aug. 24, 1978, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 1 (818867); "Armenian (Clandestine) Secret Army," FBI, Aug. 29, 1978, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 1 (818867); "Armenian Secret Army (Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia)," FBI, Aug. 30, 1978, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 1 (818867); "Armenian Clandestine Army," FBI, Sept. 5, 1978, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 1 (818867); "Armenian Clandestine Army (ACA)," FBI, Sept. 6, 1978, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 1 (818867); "Armenian Clandestine Army (ACA)," FBI, Sept. 13, 1978, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 1 (818867); and "Armenian Clandestine Army (ACA)," FBI, Sept. 21, 1978, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 1 (818867).

³⁰¹ "ARF, AYF Named a LA Police Surveillance Targets," *Armenian Weekly*, Aug. 26, 1978.

³⁰² "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia," FBI, Sept. 5, 1978, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 1 (818867); "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia," FBI, Sept. 5, 1978, 1149357-000, 199B-LA-103720C, Section 01 (943903); "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia," FBI, July 25, 1977, 1149376-000, 185A-BA-143, Section 1 (944916); and "Armenian Clandestine Army (ACA)," FBI, Jan. 8, 1979, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 1 (818867).

³⁰³ "'Secret Army' Vows to Continue Fight Against Turkey," *Armenian Reporter*, Aug. 31, 1978.

authorities and their supporting agencies. Instead, we consider militancy to be the backbone of our present struggle.”³⁰⁴

Backing up these bold statements were a number of successful attacks claimed by *ASALA* inside Turkey between the August and October 1978. On August 23, they attacked a Turkish military installation and a statue of Atatürk; on August 30, a bomb placed (set off) on Galata Bridge in Istanbul; on October 1/2, three people were killed in simultaneous attacks on a bus stop, a ferry landing and the Sirkeci Railroad Station in Istanbul; on the same day a bomb was allegedly placed at UN facility in Ankara; and on October 30, *ASALA* attacked a cigarette factory in Istanbul.³⁰⁵ In an inflated self-assessment during the same interview mentioned above, given the fairly limited international exposure to the Armenian Cause at this point, Takoushian argued that *ASALA* “has led the Armenian struggle and has brought our cause into an international sphere of struggling peoples.” After a one-month hiatus, the attacks began again. Although there is some discrepancy, it appears that on December 6, and, perhaps, again on December 17, 1978, the *NAR* set off a bomb at the Turkish consulate in Geneva, Switzerland.³⁰⁶ In between, on December 12, or alternatively on December 17, *ASALA* attacked the Turkish Airlines office in Geneva.³⁰⁷

³⁰⁴ “Press Conference of Nov. 9, 1978,” in *ASALA Interviews, Popular Movement for the ASALA, Britain*, April 1982, 9; “‘Armenian Secret Army’ Spokesmen Hold First Press Conference,” *AW*, Nov. 18, 1978; and “Armenian Terrorism,” *STATE* 312409, Dec. 11, 1978.

³⁰⁵ “Ermeni Kurtuluş Ordusu adlı bir gizli örgüt İstanbul’daki patlamaların sorumluluğun üstlendi,” *Cumhuriyet*, Oct. 4, 1978; “Secret Army Claims Responsibility for Series of Bombings in Turkey,” *Armenian Reporter*, Sept. 21, 1978; “Armenian Secret Army Claims Responsibility for Series of Bombings in Turkey,” *AR*, Nov. 2, 1978; and “Press Conference of Nov. 9, 1978,” in *ASALA Interviews, Popular Movement for the ASALA, Britain*, April 1982, 13. See also Ternon, 214.

³⁰⁶ *Global Terrorism: The Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide*, CIA, Sept. 1984, CIA-RDP85S00315R000200060002-3. There is some disagreement over the identity of the *NAR*. The *Armenian Reporter* argued that the *NAR* was associated with *ASALA* based on the communiqué it received after this attack claiming it was carried out in the honor of a leftist Armenian killed by the *ARF* in Beirut in 1976. Markar Melkonian also claimed the *NAR* was an *ASALA* affiliate, see Melkonian, *My Brother’s Road*, 80. See also “Armenian Group Claims Responsibility in Bombing of Geneva Turkish Consulate,” *Armenian Reporter*, Dec. 14, 1978. See also “Turkish Embassy in Geneva is Bombed; Armenian Resistance Group Claims Responsibility,” *Armenian Weekly*, Dec. 16, 1978.

³⁰⁷ “The Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia,” January 1984, CIA-RDP85T00283R000400030009-2. The attack did not make the CIA’s chronological list of attacks published alongside the *JCAG* report published later that same year, and the *Armenian Reporter* claimed the Turkish Airlines office was bombed on December 17, by the *NAR*. See “Explosion Causes Damage to Geneva Offices of Turkish Airlines,” *Armenian Reporter*, Jan. 4, 1979. The *Armenian Weekly* also noted a December 17 attack on Turkish Airlines, but attributed it to *ASALA*. See “Another Turkish Office in Geneva is Bombed; Armenian Liberation Group Again Claim Responsibility,” *Armenian Weekly*, Jan. 6, 1979. The *Armenian Mirror-Spectator* noted only two attacks, one on December 6, against the Turkish Consulate claimed by the *NAR* and one, perpetrator not

The CIA also noted two attacks in January 1979 carried out by the *JCAG* in Madrid against the offices of British Airways and TWA, although there are no reports in either the international or Armenian Press. There would not be another attack until an *ASALA* attack on the Istanbul airport on May 6, 1979, followed by an *ARF* attack in Paris that July, although *ASALA* did issue a communiqué in February to criticize the Soviet Union's execution of three Armenians convicted of the terrorist attack on the Moscow Subway.³⁰⁸ In May 1979, the Armenian Reporter claimed that *ASALA* was actively recruiting Armenian youth in Lebanon and the United States to join its ranks, along with speculation that wealthy Armenians in the Middle East and Europe, were financing the organization, willingly or otherwise.

The article also claimed that *ASALA* would move its fundraising/extortion efforts to the United States.³⁰⁹ Shortly thereafter, the *ARF*'s charitable relief organization, the Armenian Relief Society (*ARS*), was rocked by the resignation of nearly 400 members (out of 3000) and the subsequent disbanding of some chapters of the *ARS*. While it is unknown whether or not the resignations had anything to do with revelations of terrorist links, those that resigned quoted the actions of "certain people, prompted and supported by elements outside of the organization," whose aim was to "1. To seize the spiritual and financial assets of the organization. 2. To use the assets for purposes unknown to its members. 3. To impose their will on the majority." At the time, the assets of the *ARS* amounted to approximately 3 million dollars.³¹⁰

Armenian Terrorism & the Armenian Cause in the Press

Among the various Western news articles carrying the details of the attack in the days after the assassinations, one published in UK's *The Economist*, in particular, stands out. In addition to its surprisingly sympathetic analysis of the "revenge killings" carried out by a group [Armenians] with "much to revenge" and who most likely saw the violence as "cruel acts of vengeance against a cruel and hereditary enemy," the news journal was the first to correctly claim the

mentioned, on December 17 against the Turkish Airlines office. See "2 Geneva Bombings Attributed to Armenian Groups," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Jan. 13, 1979.

³⁰⁸ "Secret Army Says it Caused Airport Explosion," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, May 26, 1979; "Armenian group claims responsibility for 3 bombings," *Armenian Weekly*, July 21, 1979; "Paris Bombings of Turkish Institutions Claimed by Arm. Group," *Armenian Reporter*, July 26, 1979; "The Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia," January 1984, CIA-RDP85T00283R000400030009-2; and "'Secret Army' Condemns Soviet Killing of 3 for Dissidence," *Armenian Reporter*, Feb. 15, 1979.

³⁰⁹ "Secret Army Actively Seeks Recruits," *Armenian Reporter*, May 17, 1979.

³¹⁰ "ARS Members Explain Why They Resigned," *Armenian Reporter*, July 5, 1979; and "Hundreds Resigning from the ARS Say Organizational Changes Mean Takeover by Dashnak Party," *AR*, July 5, 1979.

existence of only two organizations, *ASALA* and the *JCAG*, and to report on alleged links between the *ARF* and the Armenian terrorist organizations.³¹¹ Christopher Walker, the British specialist on Armenian history mentioned above, quickly wrote to the *Economist* to disagree with their assessment that legitimate Armenian political organizations were involved in the attacks.³¹² Less than two weeks after the *Economist* article was published, however, the *Armenian Reporter* also noted Scotland Yard's suspicion of *ARF* involvement in Armenian terrorism.³¹³

In a lengthy article on Armenians and Canada, however, the *Globe and Mail* captured the prevailing attitudes of Armenians towards Turks: "I feel animosity towards Turks. I may not say it outwardly, but it's there, deep in my heart." Only one interviewed for the article qualified that sentiment by acknowledging the nearly 70-year gap in time: "We don't hate Turkish people, the recent generation... We blame their ancestors."³¹⁴ Although there were a few exceptions, media attention on Armenian terrorism and the Armenian Cause quickly moved on,³¹⁵ even if coverage of the Armenian Cause remained prevalent in the United States Congress.³¹⁶

³¹¹ "Turkey and Armenia: In cold blood," *The Economist*, June 10, 1978.

³¹² Christopher Walker, "Letters to the Editor," *The Economist*, July 1, 1978. Reprinted in *Asbarez*, along with the original article. See "Turkey and Armenia: In Cold Blood, *The Economist*, June 10, 1978," *Asbarez*, Aug. 30, 1978.

³¹³ "Police in Europe Increase Surveillance of Local Armenians," *Armenian Reporter*, June 22, 1978.

³¹⁴ "Armenians in Canada zealously guard culture," *The Globe and Mail*, July 19, 1978.

³¹⁵ "More Quit Armenia Than Arrive," *New York Times*, June 26, 1978; Craig R. Whitney, "Georgian and Armenian Pride Lead to Conflicts with Moscow," *NYT*, June 26, 1978; and William Claiborne, "Israel Delays TV Show After Turkish Protest," *Washington Post*, Sept. 20, 1978.

³¹⁶ "The Armenian Holocaust: 'Crime Continuing'," BBC, May 2, 1979. For coverage in the U.S. Congress see Harry Derderian, "Statements of the Armenian National Committee," Foreign Assistance Legislation for Fiscal Year 1979, Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East of the Committee on International Relations, House of Representatives, 95th Congress, Second Session, Feb. 6 - March 16, 1978, 673-677; "Annual Report for 1976 of His Beatitude, Archbishop Shnork Kalustian, Patriarch of the Armenian Apostolic Church in Turkey," Foreign Assistance Legislation for Fiscal Year 1979, Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East of the Committee on International Relations, House of Representatives, 95th Congress, Second Session, Feb. 6 - March 16, 1978, 678-684; "The Armenians," Minority Rights Group, Report No. 32, Foreign Assistance Legislation for Fiscal Year 1979, Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East of the Committee on International Relations, House of Representatives, 95th Congress, Second Session, Feb. 6 - March 16, 1978, 685-687; Armenian National Committee, "The Evidence of the Genocide," Foreign Assistance Legislation for Fiscal Year 1979, Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East of the Committee on International Relations, House of Representatives, 95th Congress, Second Session, Feb. 6 - March 16, 1978, 688; Statement of Hratch Abrahamian, President, Armenian National Committee, Foreign Assistance Legislation for Fiscal Year 1979, Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East of the Committee on International Relations, House of Representatives, 95th Congress, Second Session, Feb. 6 - March 16, 1978, 689-705; Rep. George Danielson (CA), "Today Marks the 63D Anniversary of the Armenian Massacres," CR, April 24, 1978, 11090-11094; Rep. Peter H. Kostmayer (PA), "Armenian Massacres," CR, May

In addition to reporting the assassinations in Madrid, and noting, mistakenly, that Necla Kunalp was the daughter of a member of the CUP who had defended Armenian rights during the First World War, police investigations, security measures, and other attacks were reported in the Armenian press, while sporadic editorials opined on the subject.³¹⁷ Most were in favor of the violence, implicitly or explicitly, or, at a minimum, like the scholar Richard Hovannisian, recognized its inevitability.³¹⁸ Due homage was paid to Yanikian, the “spark” that launched the “Armenian freedom fighters [that] have served notice to the Turkish government and to their capitalist and communist imperialist allies: until they come to terms with the Armenian people and free all occupied Armenian territory, death and destruction will continue.”³¹⁹ There was also an editorial in the Armenian press condemning the Armenian Patriarch’s call to renouncing the

1, 1978, 12021; the Armenians in 1915,” CR, May 2, 1978, 12295; Rep. John Hans Krebs (CA), “Germany Repaying Victims of NAZI Atrocities While Turkey Refuses to Assist Armenian Victims of Atrocities,” CR, 16965; Sen. Edward Kennedy (MA), “The Proud Armenians,” CR, July 20, 1978, 22041-22044; Rep. Adam Benjamin (IN), “Remember the Armenians in the Karabakh Region,” Aug. 1, 1978, CR, 23768; Sen. Carl Levin (MI), “The Genocide Convention,” CR, Feb. 1, 1979, 1683-1684; Rep. George Danielson (CA), “The Armenian Genocide Must Be Remembered,” CR, March 7, 1979, 4051-4052; Sen. Carl Levin (MI), “Senate Concurrent Resolution 13- Submission of a Concurrent Resolution with Respect to the United Nations Report on Genocide,” CR, March 15, 1979, 5281-5282; Rep. Adam Benjamin, Jr. (IN), “Congratulations to U.N. Ambassador Set Monjian on Paragraph 30,” CR, March 27, 1979, 6483; Rep. William M. Brodhead (MI), “Commemorating Armenian Genocide,” CR, April 5, 1979, 7591; Sen. William Proxmire, “In Commemoration of the Armenian Massacres,” CR, April 10, 1979, 7881; Rep. George Danielson (CA), “Sixty-Fourth Anniversary of 1915 Armenian Genocide,” CR, April 23, 1979, 8184; Rep. George Danielson (CA), “Rev. Vertanes Kalayjian,” CR, April 24, 1979, 8336; Rep. George Danielson (CA), “The 64th Anniversary of Armenian Massacres,” CR, April 24, 1979, 8366-8370; Rep. Benjamin A. Gilman (NY), “The Holocaust— In Memoriam,” CR, April 24, 1979, 8372; Sen. Carl Levin (MI), “Armenian Martyrs Day,” CR, April 24, 1979, 8455; Sen. Robert Dole (KS), “Remembering the Holocaust,” April 24, 1979, 8456-8457; Rep. Edward J. Derwinski (IL), “Sixty-Fourth Anniversary of Armenian Genocide,” CR, April 25, 1979, 8696-8697; Sen. William Proxmire (WI), “In Remembrance of the Armenian Genocide,” CR, May 10, 1979, 10559; Rep. Robert F. Drinan (MA), “Armenian Independence Observed,” June 11, 1979, 14268; and Sen. William Proxmire (WI), “Realistic View of Genocide Convention Needed,” CR, Sept. 10, 1979, 23836.

³¹⁷ “Turkish Envoy’s Wife, Brother-in-Law, Driver Slain in Madrid; Armenian Group Claims Responsibility,” *Armenian Reporter*, June 8, 1978. The CUP member the article referred to, Kemal Ali, was actually the father of Necla’s husband, Zeki Kunalp, then the Turkish Ambassador to Spain and the actual target of the Armenian terrorists’ assassination. The mistake was corrected in a subsequent issue: “Transcript of the Armenian Reporter Interview with Mr. Bulent Ecevit, Prime Minister of Turkey,” *AR*, June 29, 1978. See also “Armenians Cited in Murder of Turkish Envoy’s Family,” *Armenian Mirror Spectator*, June 10, 1978; Arthuer Herman, “Turkish Representatives Slain; Work of Armenian Terrorists?,” *Armenian Weekly*, June 10, 1978; “Police in Europe Increase Surveillance of Local Armenians,” *AR*, June 22, 1978; “Turkish Ambassador Killed by Turks?,” *AMS*, July 22, 1978; “Secret Army Claims Responsibility for Series of Bombings in Turkey,” *AR*, Sept. 21, 1978; “Greece and Turkey Coordinate Anti-Terrorist Activities Against Armenians,” *AW*, Oct. 7, 1978; “Were Armenian terrorists responsible for assassination of Turkish editor?,” *AW*, Feb. 24, 1979; “Execution of Zadikyan and 2 Others Tied to ‘Worst Recent Act of Terrorism’ in the USSR,” *AMS*, March 24, 1979;

³¹⁸ “Militancy Does Not Pay,” *Armenian Reporter*, Jan. 25, 1979; and “A Talk with Richard Hovannisian,” *AR*, June 28, 1979.

³¹⁹ “Gourgen Yanikian and the Resurgence of the Armenian Revolutionary Movement,” *Armenian Reporter*, Aug. 23, 1979.

activities of Armenian militants.³²⁰ At least some in the diaspora believed that the Patriarch, along with the entire Armenian community in Turkey, was being held hostage by the Turkish government and implicitly being used as leverage against the Armenian terrorist organizations.

As late as July 1978, nearly a year after most governments and intelligence agencies had concluded that Armenian terrorist organizations were behind the assassinations and assaults on Turkey and Turkish citizens, an article in the *Armenian Weekly* by Khachig Tölölyan implied that the issue was still open for debate, although he also expressed irritation over those that implied Armenians were incapable, from a technical standpoint, of carrying out the attacks. He then moved into a discussion regarding the positive impact Armenian terrorism (the “recent events in Madrid”) and, in particular, attacks in multiple countries, had on media coverage for the Armenian Cause: “All of the Western European press is now aware of the existence and persistence of our problems.”

Although the Western press made some mistakes in their description of the Armenian narrative, Tölölyan was convinced that Armenian “cultural propagandists” could correct those errors. While Tölölyan criticized some British publications of exhibiting “condescension and distaste” for Armenians, and generally ignoring the Armenian Cause, he seemed genuinely impressed by the sympathetic article in *The Economist*, although it was criticized for not labeling the events of 1915 as a genocide, and noted that it exhibited “the degree to which the European press has been sensitized to Armenian issue.”

While it is impossible to know with any certainty how many within the *ARF* knew of its direct control over one of the two Armenian terrorist organizations, and when this knowledge became available, it is interesting to note that the allegations in *The Economist* that the *ARF* was involved was less than emphatically denied in the Tölölyan article. In response to the final analysis of the *The Economist* labeling the attacks as “cruel acts of vengeance against a cruel and hereditary enemy,” Tölölyan responded: “Well, it’s not true, but it’s a start.”³²¹ Another article in the same issue entitled “Terrorism—Will it Work?,” encouraged readers to discuss their thoughts on Armenian terrorism, while at the same time letting its readership know exactly where the *ARF* and the *Armenian Weekly* stood on the issue and continued the process of dehumanizing ethnic Turks: “Varied opinions on the topic of terrorism in general and Armenian

³²⁰ “A New Awareness,” *Armenian Reporter*, June 8, 1978.

³²¹ Khachig Tölölyan “The Armenian Terrorists and the International Press,” *Armenian Weekly*, July 1, 1978.

terrorism specifically are to be found within our community. Surely you must have some feelings or reaction whenever you read or hear that another official Turkish mouthpiece has been silenced.”³²²

A few weeks later, another editorial criticized both the Armenian diaspora and international observers for continuing to express their disbelief that Armenians were behind the terror campaign, and expressed satisfaction over “the new image slowly emerging... That is one of the armed and determined Armenian defending his rights, no longer being the victim!”³²³ ARF leader Hratch Dasnabedian gave an inflammatory speech at a rally in Washington, DC in late September, declaring that the ARF was “not ready to wait longer nor remain begging to find a solution to our cause. We will be unable to restrain our youth, the generation loyal to the ideals of the A.R.F. Today more than before, our youth is conscious and ready to make any sacrifice for the accomplishment of our cause.”³²⁴ Ironically, some in the Armenian American community accused the *ARF* of not being aggressive enough.³²⁵

The occasion of *ASALA*'s first press conference, which made it nearly impossible to continue to deny that Armenians were behind the attacks, prompted the first lengthy article on Armenian terrorism in the Armenian-American press. In it, the *Armenian Reporter* claimed that it was believed *ASALA* was comprised of former members of the *ARF* who had become disenchanted with their former organization's lack of progress towards the Armenian Cause. It also argued against suspicions of direct *ARF* involvement held by U.S. law enforcement. Analyzing *ARF* coverage of the attacks, the *Reporter* concluded that the *ARF* had largely ignored the activities of *ASALA* in its publications, while at the same time the organization had “tacitly approved of the violence.”

Despite this, the *Reporter* largely ruled out *ARF* involvement, arguing that the *ARF* could not possibly have held a press conference in Beirut at this time, due to the extreme political crisis the organization was experiencing in Lebanon as the sectarian violence had hit Armenian neighborhoods under *ARF* control particularly hard during this time. The *Reporter* also identified a possible link between *ASALA* and French organization named Hye Baikar

³²² Sarkis Kiligian, “Terrorism-- Will it Work?,” *Armenian Weekly*, July 1, 1978.

³²³ “Commentary by Leo Sarkisian,” *Armenian Weekly*, Aug. 26, 1978.

³²⁴ “ARF Day Celebrated in Washington; Unger Dasnabedian Gives Fiery Speech,” *Armenian Weekly*, Sept. 30, 1978.

³²⁵ “Emergence of New Radical Groups Prompts ARF Statement,” *Armenian Reporter*, Feb. 15, 1979.

(Armenian Struggle) that published a pro-*ASALA* periodical and speculated on sources of financial support for *ASALA*, not ruling out support from wealthy Armenians. While the leader of Hye Baikar, Ara Toranian, denied official links to *ASALA*, he made no effort to suppress his sympathy and admiration, and refuted allegations that *ASALA* resorted to extortion to fund its operations. Toranian was convinced that, if asked, Armenians would gladly and willingly contribute to *ASALA*'s cause.³²⁶ The confused state of Armenian terrorism was indicative of the lack of knowledge of how many organizations were actually involved.

There was, however, at least one article deploring the “awful increase in crimes committed by Armenians in the Los Angeles area which was blamed on the increase in Armenian immigrants from the Soviet Union and the Middle East. Ironically, the article expressed shock over an Armenian arrested for murder, claiming this was the first case of an Armenian committing murder in the history the Armenian-American presence in the United States. The author evidently forgot the high-profile assassination of Archbishop Leon Tourian in 1933, and excluded the murders of Baydar and Demir by Gourgen Yanikian because Yanikian believed his crime “was a patriotic act of vengeance...”³²⁷ One article, while not condemning the acts terrorism, questioned the logic of provoking Turkey and the Soviet Union with these acts of indiscriminate violence and warned that Armenians were flirting with national suicide.³²⁸

At times, support for terrorism was subtly packaged in theoretical discussions of Armenian political organizations and its members, and the social and political evolution of the diaspora.³²⁹ In fact, instead of condemning or criticizing the terrorist attacks, the *ARF* publications emphasized the threat being posed to Armenians by Turks, and organized their

³²⁶ “French-Armenian Militant Leader Discusses the Armenian Resistance, a New Leftist Group,” *Armenian Reporter*, Aug. 2, 1979.

³²⁷ “Courier Editor Speaks Out on Armenian Crime,” *Armenian Reporter*, July 6, 1978.

³²⁸ Leo Gananian, “A Nation Without Political Wisdom is Doomed to Perish,” *Armenian Reporter*, April 5, 1979; and Leo Gananian, “A Nation Without Political Wisdom is Doomed to Perish,” *AR*, April 12, 1979

³²⁹ “National Issues: Fundamental Theory,” *Armenian Weekly*, July 29, 1978; “How to Renew Armenian Organizations,” *AW*, July 29, 1978; “At the Threshold of the New Stage: Period of Awakening,” *AW*, Aug. 5, 1978; “At the Threshold of the New Stage: Period of Bursting Aspirations,” *AW*, Aug. 12, 1978; “The Dashnaksagan-- A Soldier,” *AW*, Aug. 26, 1978; “National Structures and Modernization,” *AW*, Aug. 26, 1978; “National Structures and Modernization: The Organized Society of the Armenian Diaspora,” *AW*, Sept. 2, 1978; “Where is Our Youth?,” *AW*, Sept. 23, 1978; and “Let's Live & Work in the Spirit of Hai Tahd!,” *AW*, Dec. 30, 1978.

defense under the heading “Awareness training.”³³⁰ These claims of Turkish threats or violence were quickly discredited by the *Armenian Reporter*, which saw no evidence of Turkish intimidation, and criticized ARF efforts to radicalize Armenian youth and bolster the ARF’s membership drive. In fact, the *Armenian Reporter* praised the patience and restraint of the Turkish government in the face of the Armenian attacks against their diplomatic corps.³³¹

The ARF responded to the *Reporter*’s criticism by labeling it as “misinformed and pompous speculation,” attacked the credibility of the newspaper’s editor (Edward Boghosian) and proceeded to defend their efforts to prepare and defend Armenians from Turkish attacks by printing a list of vandalism, assaults (during an anti-Turkish demonstration) and alleged telephone threats from individuals self-identifying as Turks. The paper also printed letters from readers who provided spurious evidence of Turkish intentions and supported their efforts to protect Armenians from imminent “indiscriminate Turkish reactions in response to alleged acts of Armenian terrorism,” and from an ethnic group which possessed “a significant number of Turks who think and act as their forefathers.”³³² The *Armenian Weekly* also viewed the efforts of local Turkish organizations to increase the protection of the Turkish Consul in San Francisco and a successful Turkish Students’ Association event that drew over 400 visitors to a night of food, film and entertainment, as a potential threat.³³³

Efforts of the Turkish government to publicize their version of events were likewise well covered by the ARF.³³⁴ The *Armenian Weekly* also reprinted a translated two-part editorial that first appeared in *Aztag* (Armenian) and *Asbarez* (English), in “the spirit of an open forum,” that, after weighing the pros and cons of both peaceful and violent political efforts and assessing the current international forces aligned against Armenians, argued that “armed struggle is not only beneficial, it is an absolute necessity and cannot be postponed,” allayed fears that this would endanger Armenians living in Turkey, and all but admitted the existence of an armed terrorist

³³⁰ “ANC Statement,” *Armenian Weekly*, Aug. 26, 1978; “Awareness Training-- Educational Seminar,” *AW*, Sept. 2, 1978; and “Tashnag Party Issues Warning Against Turkish Threats Directed at Armenians Here,” *Armenian Reporter*, Sept. 7, 1978.

³³¹ “False Alarm,” *Armenian Reporter*, Sept. 21, 1978.

³³² “The Awareness Seminar; Statement,” *Armenian Weekly*, Oct. 7, 1978; “In Support of the Awareness Seminar,” *AW*, Oct. 7, 1978; and “Facts About the Awareness Seminar,” *AW*, Oct. 7, 1978.

³³³ “California Turk Organizations are Writing Letters to Congressmen; Opposing Armenian Activities,” *Armenian Weekly*, Oct. 14, 1978.

³³⁴ “‘There is no Armenian problem concerning Turkey,’ says Turk Report from the UN that is now being sent across the US,” *Armenian Weekly*, Nov. 25, 1978.

wing of the *ARF*.³³⁵ The editors of *Asbarez* agreed with the conclusions of the author: “we have long been convinced that peaceful means alone are not powerful enough to attract world attention to the Armenian Cause and are even less effective to solve our question for justice and liberation.”³³⁶ At least one reader, however, an assistant professor at Northwestern University, wrote to the *Armenian Weekly* to “deplore not only the illogical thoughts of the writer, but also the lack of analysis on the part of the people who decided to publish such an article which demeans and insults the perspicacity of your readers,” and questioned the “hidden psychological reasons” for the authors use of the phrase “armed struggle” 17 times in the article.³³⁷ His opinion, however, represented the minority position. Many wrote in to criticize the professor’s views, and express their support and agreement with the author and editorial board of *Asbarez* and the *Armenian Weekly*.³³⁸ One respondent believed the academic should “stew in your cultural beliefs and use your Christian excuses but we as true patriots and revolutionaries will bury you with what is true Armenianism.”³³⁹

Particularly noteworthy during this time was an interview conducted between the editor of the *Armenian Reporter*, Edward Boghosian, Turkish Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit and Gündüz Ökçün, the Turkish Foreign Minister that discussed the current state of Armenian-Turkish relations. Prime Minister Ecevit expressed his belief that Armenians and Turks could, and should, have an amicable relationship because of their shared heritage and culture and that he was open to the idea of an independent inquiry into the events of 1915 of the type Sinan Kunalp was proposing. At the same time, however, Ecevit made clear to his interviewer that, in his opinion, Armenians and Turks should look to the future and not the past.³⁴⁰ The interview with Ökçün was very similar. The Foreign Minister also expressed his desire for improved

³³⁵ “Armed Struggle: Necessary for the Resolution of the Armenian Case?,” *Armenian Weekly*, Dec. 2, 1978; and “Armed Struggle for the Resolution of the Armenian Case, Part II,” *AW*, Dec. 9, 1978.

³³⁶ “Peaceful Means are Not Powerful Enough,” *Armenian Weekly*, Dec. 16, 1978.

³³⁷ Levon Krikor Topouzian, “Armed Struggle will Only Create Public Disdain for the Armenian Case,” *Armenian Weekly*, Dec. 16, 1978.

³³⁸ “Armenian Rights can only be defended through the use of arms,” *Armenian Weekly*, Dec. 30, 1978; “‘Stupid’ Opinions? Let Weekly Readers Judge for themselves!,” *AW*, Jan. 6, 1979; “‘Armed Means is the Only Way’,” *AW*, Jan. 6, 1979; and “‘We are Armenians First’,” *AW*, Jan. 27, 1979.

³³⁹ Jerry Zakarian, “‘Armed Means is the Only Way’,” *Armenian Weekly*, Jan. 6, 1979.

³⁴⁰ “Prime Minister Ecevit in Exclusive and Unprecedented Interview in Ankara with the Editor of the Armenian Reporter, Discusses Turkish-Armenian Relations,” *Armenian Review*, June 29, 1978; and “Transcript of the Armenian Reporter Interview with Mr. Bulent Ecevit, Prime Minister of Turkey,” *AR*, June 29, 1978.

relations, support for an historical inquiry, and a hope that Armenians would look to the future instead of the past.³⁴¹

The interviews and the comments made by the Turkish leaders were well received in certain diaspora circles, albeit with some degree of skepticism and arrogance, with many hoping it marked a warming of sorts of Armenian-Turkish relations and some gains were seen immediately in regards to Armenian concerns in Istanbul.³⁴² The *Armenian Mirror-Spectator* (Ramgavar) was not quite as optimistic, claiming that Ecevit ultimately said nothing new and that there was no need for any independent or objective commission (the facts, they argued, had already been established).³⁴³ The *ARF*, however, was outright hostile. By both under-reporting the interviews and their outcome in some its newspapers, and openly criticizing it in others, the *ARF* reemphasized its insistence on territorial acquisition being the basis for any reconciliation between Turkey and the Armenian diaspora.³⁴⁴ A follow up editorial in the *Armenian Weekly* was slightly less critical, applauding Boghosian's efforts to establish a dialogue but criticizing the fragmented political state of the Armenian diaspora.³⁴⁵

The *ARF* publications continued to promote fear and violence, with editorials equating the Armenian situation to that of the Basque separatists in Spain (ETA) and the Palestinians, and going into great detail regarding how and why sensational terrorist act(s) were useful: "properly used terrorist activities would benefit our case and publicize Armenian claims... the involvement of the so-called 'secret armies' in the assassinations of Turkish diplomats point to the usefulness of terrorist activities."³⁴⁶ By smuggling terrorists into Turkey to further undermine the country's stability and facilitate its collapse, the author of one editorial argued that an independent Armenia would be the logical choice to replace Turkey as the United State's

³⁴¹ "Foreign Minister of Turkey, in Meeting with Editor of the Armenian Reporter, Holds Candid Discussion of Armenian-Turkish Relations," *Armenian Weekly*, July 6, 1978; and "Transcript of the Armenian Reporter Interview with Prof. G. Okcun, Foreign Minister of Turkey," *Armenian Reporter*, July 6, 1978.

³⁴² "Armenian Reporter Interview with Turkish Leaders Stirs Interest Here and Abroad," *Armenian Reporter*, Aug. 3, 1978; "Turkey Continues Efforts to Ease Conditions Affecting Minorities," *AR*, Aug. 3, 1978; "Comments on Reporters Interviews with Turkish Government Leaders," *AR*, Aug. 3, 1978; "Interviews with Ecevit, Okcun," *AR*, Aug. 3, 1978; and "Turkish Authorities Move to Further Accommodate Armenians in Istanbul," *AR*, Sept. 7, 1978.

³⁴³ "The Ecevit Interview: The Same Turkish Refrain," *Armenian Mirror Spectator*, Sept. 2, 1978.

³⁴⁴ "Who Speaks for Us?," *Armenian Reporter*, Aug. 31, 1978.

³⁴⁵ Levon Marashlian, "On Boghosian's Interviews," *Armenian Weekly*, Sept. 23, 1978.

³⁴⁶ Viken Pakradouni, "A Critical Evaluation of options for the resolution of the Armenian case, Part I," *Armenian Weekly*, Feb. 17, 1979; and Viken Pakradouni, "A Critical Evaluation of options for the resolution of the Armenian case, Part II," *AW*, Feb. 24, 1979.

ally on the Soviet southern flank.³⁴⁷ Action was necessary, but the type of action depended on the situation, and the *ARF* strove to press upon its readers and members that it was actively working towards the realization of the Cause.³⁴⁸ At an Armenian youth seminar in Los Angeles, participants concluded that under the right conditions, i.e. a just cause, terrorism was a perfectly acceptable tool to use in the pursuit of that cause.³⁴⁹

Most articles and stories in the Armenian-American press, however, remained focused on the progress of the Armenian Cause outside of Turkey, Armenian political strength, Armenians in Turkey, glorification of past violence and criticism of Turkey, Turks, U.S.-Turkish relations, particularly the decision to lift the arms embargo, alleged anti-Armenian activity and world indifference to the Armenians.³⁵⁰ Armenian groups in the United States were

³⁴⁷ Viken Pakradouni, "A Critical Evaluation of options for the resolution of the Armenian case, Part II," *Armenian Weekly*, Feb. 24, 1979.

³⁴⁸ Zovig Mardirossian, "To be free Armenians must WANT to work towards a revolutionary situation," *Armenian Weekly*, March 3, 1979.

³⁴⁹ "A study of terrorism was made at recent California youth seminar," *Armenian Weekly*, June 9, 1979.

³⁵⁰ "Paper Charges Armenians Prepare Letter Bombs," *Armenian Mirror Spectator*, June 10, 1978; "An Armenian Delegate to Be Included in Cypriot Delegation to UN," *Armenian Weekly*, June 10, 1978; "Ecevit Appears at NPC Press Conference," *AW*, June 10, 1978; Gassia Armenian, "Open Letter to Mr. Ecevit," *AW*, June 10, 1978; Sam Cohen, "Turkey Weakens Its NATO Ties," *AW*, June 10, 1978; "Armenians Demonstrate Against Ecevit at the United Nations," *AW*, June 10, 1978; "Carter Administration Plans Three-Week Pro-Turkish Campaign," *AW*, June 10, 1978; "Armenians Invited to Reception Honoring President of Cyprus," *Armenian Reporter*, June 15, 1978; "Comments on a New Book," *AR*, June 15, 1978; "Commentary by Leo Sarkisian," *AW*, June 17, 1978; "Sen. Bayh Addresses Senate on Need for Genocide Observance," *AW*, June 17, 1978; "'Put a Halt to Genocide'," *AW*, June 17, 1978; "Turks Increase Efforts to Dismiss 1915 Events," *AMS*, July 1, 1978; "Armenians in Istanbul Appear to Enjoy Relatively Peaceful Life," *AR*, July 13, 1978; "Senate Voting on Turkish Arms Embargo," *AMS*, July 29, 1978; "West Germany-- Turkey's Historic Ally," *AW*, July 29, 1978; "The Armenian Question Today," *AW*, July 29, 1978; "Turkish Group Threatens US Senators in 'Ultimatum'," *AW*, July 29, 1978; "The Repeal of the Turkish Arms Embargo: A Defeat... And a Gain-- In Awareness," *AW*, Aug. 5, 1978; "West Germany-- Turkey's Historic Ally," *AW*, Aug. 5, 1978; "Turkish Democracy Under Fire: Anarchy in the Universities," *AW*, Aug. 5, 1978; "Letter from San Francisco," *AR*, Aug. 10, 1978; "On Lifting the Embargo," *AMS*, Aug. 12, 1978; "Turkish Arms Embargo Will Be Lifted; But Senate-House Conference Must Determine Extent of Restrictions," *AW*, Aug. 12, 1978; "Turkey as It Is," *AW*, Aug. 12, 1978; "Terrorism-- Clues to a Dangerous Game," *AW*, Aug. 12, 1978; "Commentary by Leo Sarkisian: On Friends Amidst the Foes," *AW*, Aug. 19, 1978; "The Armenian Cause," *AW*, Aug. 19, 1978; "Senate-House Conference Approves Lifting of Arms Embargo to Turkey," *AW*, Aug. 26, 1978; "US Government Awaits Reopening of Military Bases in Turkey," *AW*, Aug. 26, 1978; "Today the Kurds of Turkey Are Seeking Identity, Autonomy," *AW*, Aug. 26, 1978; "How Good an Ally Is Turkey," *AW*, Aug. 26, 1978; "Another Turkish Distortion of Armenian History: This Time by an Azerbaijani Academician," *AW*, Sept. 2, 1978; "Israel Delays TV Show After Turkish Protest," *AR*, Sept. 28, 1978; "Israeli TV Show on Armenians Delayed After Turks Protest," *AMS*, Sept. 30, 1978; "Israeli Documentary Depicting Armenian Life & Massacres Is Suppressed by Turks," *AW*, Sept. 30, 1978; "Carter Ends Turkish Arms Embargo," *AW*, Oct. 7, 1978; "Assyrians Trained as 'Armenian Nationalists' In Armenian Schools of Istanbul, Turkish Newspaper, Hurriet [sic], Reports," *AW*, Oct. 14, 1978; "An Armenian Representative is Coming to Serve on UN Cyprus Delegation," *AW*, Nov. 4, 1978; "'Jerusalem Post' Journalist Criticizes Suppression of Armenian Documentary," *AW*, Nov. 4, 1978; "Mass. Senatorial Candidate Paul Tsongas Issues Statement in Support of Armenian Concerns and Aspirations," *AW*, Nov. 4, 1978; "A Primer in Politics-- American Style," *AR*, Nov. 9, 1978; "A Primer in Politics-- American Style, Part II: Interfacing with the Political System," *AR*, Nov. 16, 1978; "Turkey, US Hold Talks on Manufacturing Arms,"

AW, Nov. 18, 1978; "UN Security Council Deadlocked as Turks Walk Out Because of Cypriot Armenian," *AR*, Nov. 30, 1978; "Turk Delegates Boycott Cyprus UN Representative Dr. Antranig Ashjian," *AW*, Dec. 2, 1978; "Is Voting an Exercise in Futility for Our Small Community?," *AR*, Dec. 7, 1978; "Dec. of Human Rights Celebrated by Armenians at White House," *AR*, Dec. 14, 1978; "ANC Participates in Human Rights Commemoration at the White House," *AW*, Dec. 16, 1978; "On Armenian "Tribalism"," *AW*, Dec. 16, 1978; "The Holocaust, the Armenians and Cynicism," *AR*, Dec. 21, 1978; "Where Do We Go From Here?," *AR*, Dec. 28, 1978; "Martial Law Declared in 13 Turkish Cities," *AW*, Dec. 30, 1978; "Survivors of Genocide Sought for Oral History Project at UCLA," *AR*, Jan. 4, 1979; "Letter in Christian Science Monitor Protests Denial of the Genocide of 1915," *AMS*, Jan. 6, 1979; "Genocide Survivors Living in LA and Fresno Urged to Permit Interviews," *AMS*, Jan. 6, 1979; "Carter Administration is Failing to Force Turkey to Seek a Settlement on Cyprus," *AW*, Jan. 6, 1979; "Once an Armenian registers to vote, he thinks about politics, influences others," *AW*, Jan. 6, 1979; "NY Times editorial advocated financial aid for Turkey," *AW*, Jan. 13, 1979; "Turkish Interior Minister quits after week of martial law; He was unable to stop political violence," *AW*, Jan. 13, 1979; "Greece Objects to Increased U.S. Aid to Turkey," *AMS*, Jan. 20, 1979; "Turkey to receive \$550 million in economic, military credits from US, visit by Warren Christopher to Turkey has revealed," *AW*, Jan. 20, 1979; "The 1915 Genocide of the Armenians: One Survivor's Story," *AW*, Jan. 20, 1979; "Aid to Turkey, Again," *AMS*, Jan. 27, 1979; "Turkey to Receive another \$1 Billion from NATO Allies?," *AW*, Jan. 27, 1979; "US, Turkey Begin Talks for New Defense Agreement," *AW*, Feb. 3, 1979; "Western powers to aid Turkey for sake of NATO alliance," *AW*, Feb. 3, 1979; Matthew Karanian, "Giving more military aid to Turkey is an insane act," *AW*, Feb. 3, 1979; "A concerned Armenian recently wrote to protest suppression of Israeli documentary," *AW*, Feb. 3, 1979; "On getting the most mileage out of action to further Armenian Claims," *AW*, Feb. 3, 1979; "A Misguided Effort," *AR*, Feb. 8, 1979; "The "Alleged" Holocaust," *AMS*, Feb. 10, 1979; "A Different Interpretation of Zionist Leader Herzl's Armenian Strategy," *AMS*, Feb. 10, 1979; "Disagrees on Armenian Holocaust," *AMS*, Feb. 10, 1979; "Examining the implausibility of using the Indirect Approach to further Armenian claims," *AW*, Feb. 10, 1979; "Armenian-Turkish relations to be examined in new course at California State, Fresno," *AW*, Feb. 10, 1979; "Meeting with Ecevit "Achieved Nothing," Patriarch Shnork says," *AMS*, Feb. 17, 1979; "Los Angeles Mayor Bradley Heads Speakers at Montebello Rally," *AMS*, Feb. 17, 1979; "Let's BE the spirit of February 18 today!," *AW*, Feb. 17, 1979; "How many of US would fight as Vartan Mamigonian fought for the politics of idealism?," *AW*, Feb. 17, 1979; "From the heroic struggle celebrated on Vartaniz Day, valuable lessons can be gained," *AW*, Feb. 17, 1979; "On February 18, 1921, a spark was struck for the ultimate liberation of the Armenian people," *AW*, Feb. 17, 1979; "A Response: Direct vs. Indirect," *AR*, March 1, 1979; "Fighting US Arms to Turkey Not A Productive Approach for Armenians," *AMS*, March 10, 1979; "State Department's 3rd human rights report again whitewashes Turk violations," *AW*, March 10, 1979; "The Greeks, our natural allies," *AW*, March 10, 1979; "Vice Premier of Turkey Visits Arm. Patriarchate in Istanbul," *AR*, March 15, 1979; "Hanum (Lady), Please, Some Food.. A Little Boy's Story from the 1915 Massacre," *AR*, March 15, 1979; "State Dept. Report Ignores Turkish Rights Violations," *AMS*, March 17, 1979; "Armenians Attend 'Spectacular' Geneva Reception for Set Momjian," *AMS*, March 17, 1979; "The Fall of Kars: An Eyewitness Account of the Events of 1920," *AMS*, March 17, 1979; "The Fall of Kars: An Eyewitness Account of the Events of 1920," *AMS*, March 24, 1979; "New Agreement for Filming "Musa Dagh" Announced," *AMS*, March 31, 1979; "The Fall of Kars: An Eyewitness Account of the Events of 1920," *AMS*, March 31, 1979; "Aid for Turkey receiving support at House hearings," *AW*, March 31, 1979; "A Statute of Limitations on Genocide? This precedent must not be set!," *AW*, March 31, 1979; "The economics of revolution," *AW*, March 31, 1979; "The State Department Report on Human Rights in Turkey," *AW*, April 7, 1979; "A 'rescue package' is announced to save Turkey's faltering economy," *AW*, April 7, 1979; "Martyrs Day, April 24," *AMS*, April 21, 1979; "Turks Continue to Deny Facts of Armenian Massacres," *AMS*, April 21, 1979; "Martyrs Day 1979," *AMS*, April 21, 1979; "Some Eyewitness Accounts of Adana in 1909," *AMS*, April 21, 1979; "April 24 is Armenian Cause Day! AYF Central Executive statement," *AW*, April 21, 1979; "Pres. Carter asks Congress to consider \$150 million hike in Turkish aid," *AW*, April 21, 1979; "April 24," *AR*, April 26, 1979; "Some of Us Survived...," *AR*, April 26, 1979; "April 24th Program in the Nation's Capital Includes Armenian Candlelighting Ceremony," *AMS*, April 28, 1979; "April 24 is observed throughout the world!," *AW*, April 28, 1979; "Boston Globe exhorts readers to never ignore crime of genocide," *AW*, April 28, 1979; Rev. Dr. Vahan H. Tootikian, "What does April 24 mean to us today?," *AW*, April 28, 1979; "Armenian Martyrs Remembered in Special Services & Programs Throughout Last Week," *AR*, May 3, 1979; "Martyrs' Day Posters Spark Incident in Lebanon," *AR*, May 3, 1979; "Armenians in Germany Visited," *AR*, May 3, 1979; "Legislators Featured as Prayer Breakfasts Enter 3rd Year," *AR*, May 3, 1979; "French Armenians Hold Services, Public Rallies on April 24," *AR*, May 3, 1979; "Turkey Protests Greece's Liberal Stand on

particularly pleased with the fictional representation of Turkey, Turks and Turkish prisons in film *Midnight Express*.³⁵¹ While the failure of paragraph 30 was viewed as “a springboard to legitimize any actions Armenians take in regards to Turkey and its accomplices, no matter who they are.”³⁵² One of the primary concerns of, at least the ARF publications, was to remind its

Armenians,” *AR*, May 3, 1979; “Moving Program at the Diocese Recalls Genocide,” *AR*, May 3, 1979; “UCLA Students Get Involved in Media Broadcasts About Martyrs’ Day,” *AR*, May 3, 1979; “Canadian Minister Advises Turkey to Accept Built for ‘Killing Armenians,’” *AR*, May 3, 1979; “Holocaust and Armenian Genocide Studies May be Centered at UMass,” *AMS*, May 5, 1979; “Armenians’ Reception Mixed at Holocaust Commission Meeting,” *AMS*, May 5, 1979; “The President’s Speech,” *AMS*, May 5, 1979; “Be informed soldiers of Armenian Cause, Apply now for ARS Summer Studies Program,” *AW*, May 5, 1979; “Execution of 3 Soviet Armenians Causes Much Speculation,” *AR*, May 10, 1979; “Congress Hears Martyr’s Day Speech,” *AR*, May 10, 1979; “Senators and Congressmen Speak About the Armenian Genocide,” *AMS*, May 12, 1979; “United States Legislators Featured As Washington Prayer Breakfasts Enter Third Year,” *AMS*, May 12, 1979; “Influence-- Real or Fantacized?,” *AR*, May 17, 1979; “Armenians in Athens Picket Turkish Concert,” *AR*, May 24, 1979; “Leaders of Three Parties in Ontario Support Armenian Resolution,” *AMS*, May 26, 1979; “True patriotism, a life-long process, never ‘goes out of fashion’,” *AW*, May 26, 1979; “London Arm. Youth Leaders Decry Politicians’ Passiveness,” *AR*, May 31, 1979; Nubar Dorian, “Rotunda Reflections,” *AR*, May 31, 1979; “Comments on Reporting the News,” *AR*, May 31, 1979; “Pres. Carter Honors Set Momjian at White House. Reiterates Administration Commitment to Arm. People,” *AR*, June 7, 1979; “Rep. Derwinski Vows to Fight on Grant to Turkey,” *AMS*, June 16, 1979; “Turkey Seeks More US Aid and Joint Arms Production,” *AMS*, June 16, 1979; “In striving for Armenia’s independence, let’s look at how the Americans won theirs,” *AW*, June 16, 1979; “An Armenian President...? Not Really!,” *AR*, June 21, 1979; “Have You Ever Been to a Demonstration?,” *AR*, June 21, 1979; “From 1918 to 1979: The Dream Remains,” *AR*, June 21, 1979; “Forty Days of Musa Dagh to be Filmed in Armenia,” *AR*, Aug. 16, 1979; “4 ANC reps receive harrassment from Turks near UN while distributing flyers concerning Sevres Treaty,” *AW*, Aug. 18, 1979; “In the name of justice, we must act to right the wrongs committed,” *AW*, Aug. 25, 1979; “Another Look at the ‘Build Armenia’ Campaign,” *AR*, Aug. 30, 1979; “Reassessing Our Efforts Toward Realization of Our Goals,” *AR*, Aug. 30, 1979; “Assault on ANC reps in Turk newspaper,” *AW*, Sept. 1, 1979; “Readers urged to protest Aug. 10 incident; ANC members picket,” *AW*, Sept. 1, 1979; and “Kurdish Unrest Reported Growing in Turkey,” *AR*, Sept. 6, 1979.

³⁵¹ “A Storm of Protest from the Turkish Government Accompanies Release of Film, ‘Midnight Express’,” *Armenian Weekly*, Sept. 23, 1978; “Midnight Express...,” *AW*, Nov. 11, 1978; “A Turk Criticizes Midnight Express...,” *AW*, Nov. 25, 1978; George Mouradian, “An Armenian Answers!,” *AW*, Nov. 25, 1978; “Leading Conservative in Britain House of Lords Tries in Vain to Ban ‘Midnight Express’,” *AW*, Dec. 2, 1978; “Journalists Giving Credence to ‘Midnight Express’,” *AW*, Dec. 16, 1978; “UPI Justifies Turk Reactions to ‘Midnight Express’,” *AW*, Dec. 30, 1978; “Australian Turks call for banning of ‘Midnight Express’,” *AW*, Jan. 6, 1979; “Film ‘Midnight Express’ Strengthens Turkish Suspicions About the West,” *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Jan. 6, 1979; “‘Midnight Express’ Has Top Film Gross Here,” *AMS*, Jan. 6, 1979; “‘Midnight Express’ receives awards from narcotic officers...,” *AW*, Jan. 13, 1979; “ANC responded to attempts to refute ‘Midnight Express’,” *AW*, Feb. 10, 1979; “Midnight Express Wins Awards,” *AW*, Feb. 10, 1979; “‘Midnight Express’ Triumphs at Golden Globe Awards,” *AR*, Feb. 15, 1979; and “Americans Fought Signing of Treaty of Lausanne,” *AMS*, Aug. 4, 1979.

³⁵² “Paragraph 30 Succumbs to Turkish Pressure; It is Removed from Special UN Study,” *AR*, Aug. 10, 1978; “UN Subcommittee Deletes Paragraph 30 from Report; 8 Delegates Urge Reinstatement Over Turkish Protest,” *AW*, Oct. 7, 1978; “Armenian Genocide was Discussed But Dropped at UN Subcommittee Meeting,” *AW*, Oct. 14, 1978; “Experts from Many Countries Discussed Deletion of Armenians From Final UN Genocide Study,” *AW*, Nov. 4, 1978; “Armenians at the Last Session of the United Nations in NYC,” *AMS*, Jan. 6, 1979; “Two Armenian Groups Announce Move to Save Paragraph 30 with Open Letter to President Carter,” *AR*, Jan. 11, 1979; “A Major Breakthrough for Armenians: Because he connected Armenian ‘tragedy’ to Jewish, United States UN Rep officially acknowledged genocide in speech to Human Rights Commission,” *AW*, Jan. 13, 1979; “Last Chance for Paragraph 30; Human Rights Commission to make final decision,” *AW*, Jan. 20, 1979; “We Must Strive to Reinstate Paragraph 30,” *AW*, Jan. 20, 1979; “If the UN Genocide Report is approved next month, Paragraph 30 will be permanently excluded,” *AW*, Jan. 27, 1979; “UN Human Rights Commission to Consider Genocide Report

readership the Turk “is no different now than he was 500 years ago... Even in this century, the world has to face up to the fact that the Turkish mind is still depraved.”³⁵³ Of equal importance was to show to the United States and the Western allies how unreliable Turkey was: “Although Turkey is a NATO member, it is at best a shaky nation to rely on and, as shown by its recent overtures to the USSR, it is in fact an untrustworthy ally. Should Turkey’s internal strife increase, which seems likely, America could welcome a new ally on the Soviet Union’s southern flank: Armenia could be such an ally.”³⁵⁴ Through reprints and their own reporting,

Minus Paragraph 30,” *AMS*, Jan. 27, 1979; “ANC, ARM raised \$8,200 at gathering for campaign to retain Paragraph 30,” *AW*, Feb. 3, 1979; “UCLA Armenian Students Talk With Congressmen About Paragraph 30,” *AMS*, Feb. 10, 1979; “French Minority Rights Group Supports Armenian Reference in UN Genocide Study,” *AMS*, Feb. 10, 1979; “‘We insist Paragraph 30 be re-instated,’ said ANC in telegram to President Carter and others,” *AW*, Feb. 10, 1979; “Support for Para. 30,” *AMS*, Feb. 17, 1979; “Concerning the future of Paragraph 30,” *AW*, Feb. 17, 1979; “‘I urge that we... reinsert the deleted reference to the Armenian Genocide,’ said Sen. Carl Levin,” *AW*, Feb. 17, 1979; “Paragraph 30 is the closest the modern world has come to recognizing Armenian claims,” *AW*, Feb. 17, 1979; “Political Ad in Washington Post Calls on Carter for Reinstatement of Paragraph 30,” *AR*, Feb. 22, 1979; “US to Ask for Reinstatement of Paragraph 30 in UN Document,” *AR*, Feb. 22, 1979; “UN Commission on Human Rights to Consider Study of Genocide on March 8,” *AW*, Feb. 24, 1979; “Israeli official predicts Turkey will ‘fall as Iran did’,” *AW*, Feb. 24, 1979; “UN Commission on Human Rights to Consider Study of Genocide on March 8,” *AW*, Feb. 24, 1979; “1,500 French-Armenian Youths March to Swiss Border, Ask Reinstatement of Paragraph 30,” *AR*, March 1, 1979; “Washington Post Ad Urges Carter to Support Retention of Para. 30,” *AMS*, March 3, 1979; “Armenians in Europe March in Support of Paragraph 30,” *AMS*, March 3, 1979; “Paragraph 30,” *AMS*, March 10, 1979; “Calif. Senate Joins Assembly in Resolution Supporting Para. 30,” *AMS*, March 10, 1979; “A Plea for Paragraph 30,” *AMS*, March 10, 1979; For quote see “More important than its intrinsic value, Paragraph 30 can serve as the springboard,” *AW*, March 3, 1979; “Turks Pressure Patriarch Shnork over Para. 30,” *AMS*, March 17, 1979; “‘The Armenian Genocide must be reported’,” *AW*, March 17, 1979; “UN Commission on Human Rights Recommends Reinsertion of Para. 30 in Special Report on Genocide,” *AR*, March 22, 1979; “UN Commission Calls for Retention of Para. 30,” *AMS*, March 24, 1979; “Sen. Levin Praises Set Momjian's Successful Efforts for Para. 30,” *AMS*, March 24, 1979; “Commission on Human Rights votes to recommend Special Rapporteur reinstate Paragraph 30,” *AW*, March 24, 1979; “The Reinstatement of Paragraph 30: Our gain, but not our ultimate goal,” *AW*, March 24, 1979; “Armenian Patriarchate of Istanbul receiving pressure to oppose Paragraph 30,” *AW*, March 24, 1979; “The Victory at Geneva,” *AMS*, March 31, 1979; “The Armenian Genocide Must Be Recorded, Rep. Danielson Tells Congress,” *AMS*, March 31, 1979; “The full text of the US' speech in support of paragraph 30,” *AW*, March 31, 1979; “Patriarch Shnork Kaloustian pressured by Turks to oppose Paragraph 30,” *AW*, April 7, 1979; “UN Council soon to consider paragraph 30,” *AW*, April 14, 1979; “UN Council soon to consider paragraph 30,” *AW*, April 14, 1979; “A transcript of discussion on Paragraph 30 at the March 14 session of the UN Commission on Human Rights,” *AW*, April 21, 1979; “The Summary Report of the United Nations Debate on Paragraph 30 in Geneva,” *AMS*, April 28, 1979; “Rights Council Honors Set Momjian, Ed. Mezvinsky for Para. 30 Efforts,” *AMS*, May 19, 1979; “Social & Econ. Council Endorses Para. 30 in Genocide Report,” *AMS*, May 19, 1979; “Paragraph 30 Gets Endorsement of Social and Economic Council,” *AR*, May 24, 1979; and “Foreign Minister Explains French Policy on UN Genocide Report,” *AMS*, Aug. 25, 1979.

³⁵³ George Mouradian, “An Armenian Answers!,” *Armenian Weekly*, Nov. 25, 1978.

³⁵⁴ “In Turkey, Turmoil Thrives: Stirred by Religious, Political Tensions,” *Armenian Weekly*, Sept. 2, 1978; “Turkish Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit Has No Intention of Taking New Austerity Measures to Aid Turkey's Faltering Economy,” *AW*, Nov. 18, 1978; “Turkish Authorities Concerned Over Wave of Terrorism; Discussing Proposals to Institute Martial Law,” *AW*, Nov. 18, 1978; “Is Our Policy Toward Turkey in Our Best Interests?,” *Armenian Reporter*, Nov. 30, 1978; “Turkey Today-- Looking east to west to east to...,” *AW*, Dec. 9, 1978; “Whose Side are the Turks On? Greeks claim Turks are acting against NATO,” *AW*, Dec. 9, 1978; “Turkey Today-- Headed for a Long Recession?,” *AW*, Dec. 9, 1978; “Under Martial Law, Turkey is Kept Quiet by Troops, but

they strived to “show America another Turkey, a Turkey beyond Turkish fabrications and Turkish lies. And the time is right... never before has she been so vulnerable and dependent... Make them see that Turkey owes us a nation.”³⁵⁵

The First Crack in Solidarity

In June 1979, the *Armenian Reporter* began to publicize a World Armenian Congress set to meet in Paris, France September 3-6, 1979. One of the Congress’ main organizers was James Karnusian, the protestant minister and founding member of *ASALA* based in Switzerland. Openly independent of the main Armenian diaspora political parties, the Congress hoped to bring various Armenian leaders from throughout the world together to formulate future political goals and to challenge the leadership of the existing parties.³⁵⁶ In an appeal to the readers of the *Armenian Reporter*, Karnusian warned Armenians not to be fooled by recent Armenian political gains. The reality, he argued, was that “collectively we [Armenians] represent a miserable and tragic image to the world. ... we represent even less than nothing... we are a nation of beggars.” Karnusian argued that the only solution to that was the creation of an Armenian International Movement, which would, among other things, establish one centralized government and political platform for the entire Armenian diaspora that would focus on the one and only goal for Armenians: “the liberation of occupied lands and the return of our people to their homeland.”³⁵⁷ The World Armenian Congress was to be the start of that goal, and continued to receive exposure throughout the summer of 1979, as noted Armenians, including Vahakn

Atmosphere is Still Tense,” *AW*, Jan. 6, 1979; “Turkey Today: A Nation in social, political and economic blight,” *AW*, Jan. 20, 1979; “Turkish Defense Minister Quits,” *AW*, Jan. 27, 1979; “Turk Cypriots suffer also at hands of mainland Turks,” *AW*, Jan. 27, 1979; “Why is US so loyal to Turkey?: Her support is needed to retain balance of power, but Armenians in historic Armenia could be better allies,” *AW*, Jan. 27, 1979; “Turkey today: As the unpleasant reality of a major economic crisis creeps into the citizens' daily lives...,” *AW*, Feb. 17, 1979; “Israeli official predicts Turkey will ‘fall as Iran did’,” *AW*, Feb. 24, 1979; S. Karayan, “Is Turkey a modern country?,” *AW*, March 10, 1979; “Turkey Today,” *AW*, March 17, 1979; S. Karayan, “Is Turkey a modern country?,” *AW*, March 17, 1979; “Turkey Moving Toward Radical Arabs, Away from West,” *AMS*, March 31, 1979; “Turkish democracy threatened,” *AW*, April 21, 1979; “Armenians Need New Strategies to Deal with Turkey,” *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, May 12, 1979; “Sec. Christopher Fliest to Ankara to Discuss Economy and Unrest,” *AMS*, May 12, 1979; and “Turks fear insurgence on east borders,” *AW*, June 2, 1979. For quote see “A critical evaluation of options for the resolution of the Armenian case, Part II,” *AW*, Feb. 24, 1979.

³⁵⁵ “It’s time to make Turkey pay,” *Armenian Weekly*, June 2, 1979.

³⁵⁶ “New Congress Expected to Revitalize Arm. Politics,” *Armenian Reporter*, June 14, 1979.

³⁵⁷ James Karnusian, “Need of Power,” *Armenian Reporter*, July 5, 1979.

Dadrian, made known their intentions to participate.³⁵⁸ Karnusian sought to take advantage of the renewed international and diaspora wide interest in the Armenian Cause triggered by the *ASALA* and *ARF* campaigns to promote a new political force in the diaspora, and believed that further violence would only deteriorate the Armenian position,

It appears, however, that Takoushian was not pleased with Karnusian's efforts to disarm the terrorist wing of *ASALA* and to concentrate on politics, however.³⁵⁹ A series of attacks preceded the opening of the World Armenian Congress in Paris. On August 22, 1979, there was a failed assassination attempt on a Turkish diplomat in Geneva that wounded two bystanders. On August 23, a series of explosions were set off against Turkish military installations in Ankara, Turkey, and on August 27, a bomb exploded at the Turkish Airlines office in Frankfurt, West Germany.³⁶⁰ While not yet irreconcilable, the split the dispute between one *ASALA*'s three intellectuals and its terrorist commander would have profound implications on the violence witnessed during the next phase of Armenian political violence.

Conclusion

1974 was an important year for the political development of the Armenian diaspora, and in particular Armenian-Americans. Despite the ultimate failure regarding paragraph 30, the diaspora was able to capitalize on the deterioration of Turkey's image within the U.S. Congress and the American public. After Turkey's intervention on Cyprus, the Armenians found another important strategic ally, the Greek lobby. Despite the progress being made with regards to the Armenian cause through non-violent and political efforts, two groups within the diaspora decided to pick up arms and advocate their claims through violence. While *ASALA* was a new voice that, at first, only represented a new minority faction with the diaspora, the *ARF* was one of the oldest and most powerful of the Armenian political parties.

ASALA may have posed a very minor threat to the *ARF*'s rhetoric in Beirut, but it was in no position to challenge the *ARF*'s traditional authority in the diaspora. Instead, the *ARF*'s

³⁵⁸ "Attendance Expected to be High at Upcoming Armenian Congress," *Armenian Reporter*, Aug. 2, 1979; "World Armenian Congress Anticipates Record Attendance," *AR*, Aug. 23, 1979; and "Rev. James Karnusian and the Armenian Cause," *AR*, Aug. 30, 1979.

³⁵⁹ "Rev. James Karnusian, Retired Pastor and One of Three Persons to Establish ASALA, Dies in Switzerland." *Armenian Reporter*, April 18, 1998.

³⁶⁰ "Turkish Office in Frankfort [sic] Latest Target of Armenian Group," *Armenian Mirror-Speactator*, Sept. 1, 1979; "Armenian org. takes responsibility for bomb explosion in Turk Airline office in Germany; No one injured," *Armenian Weekly*, Sept. 1, 1979; Hyland, 129-130; and Ternon, 214.

decision to activate an armed wing can only be viewed as a natural extension of the violent anti-Turkishness it propagated since 1965 and the fortuitous international climate of 1975. In its own assessment, the *ARF*: “pursued a vigorous anti-Turkish policy designed to expose and hurt the Turkish state in every conceivable way.”³⁶¹ There was, in other words, nothing holding the *ARF* back from engaging in international terrorism to further its goals. Rather than attacking from a position of weakness and necessity, however, the *ARF* attacked from a position of strength and deliberate choice.

Although they occupied different positions on the ideological spectrum, their self-proclaimed goals were nearly identical, and the two groups competed viciously for the financial and moral support of the Armenian diaspora through propaganda, intimidation and violence. While most analysts have described their campaign as quixotic, after the seventh assassination of a Turkish Foreign Ministry official in four years, the Armenian terrorist organizations managed to bring the Turkish government and the leaders of the Armenian diaspora together for the first time in over sixty years. If it is true, then the actions of the *ARF* representative at that meeting made it clear that, as far as that organization was concerned, the Armenian Cause did not mean dialogue and reconciliation with Turkey, but rather the imposition of their terms through force or international pressure. Another attempt the following year, this time from the Turkish private sector, also failed. In reality, what the *ARF* wanted was the 1920 Treaty of Sevres retroactively applied.³⁶²

It is clear, however, that they did not speak for the entire diaspora. The wider diaspora was not overly concerned with taking eastern Anatolia, and this was tragic stumbling block between *ARF*-Turkish reconciliation. Likewise, *ASALA*, through their intimidation and attacks on Armenians and international relief organizations working to facilitate Armenians out of the Soviet Union and Beirut, proved that they too, did not speak for the diaspora. By the time Karnusian sought to transform the perceived benefits of terrorism into a political initiative, Takoushian had already embraced violence as an end in itself. But while the larger diaspora did not agree entirely with the political platforms of the *ARF* and *ASALA*, they do seem to have

³⁶¹ “This is precisely the Wrong time to stop our campaign, our struggle...,” *Armenian Weekly*, March 24, 1979.

³⁶² “On the Eve of the 58th Anniversary of the Sevres Treaty-- Armenian Territorial Claims Not Restored,” *Armenian Weekly*, Aug. 5, 1978; “Sevres Treaty contains the legal basis for our claims!,” *AW*, Aug. 11, 1979; “Armenians Picket in NY,” *AW*, Sept. 8, 1979; “ANC Writes to Vance, Carter, Others on August 10 Incident,” *AW*, Sept. 8, 1979; and “The Treaty of Sevres and the Armenian Question,” *AW*, Sept. 8, 1979.

tacitly approved the means by which these two violent organizations were advocating the cause, even when the violence was turned on non-Turkish academics. And by not speaking out against terrorism, the Armenian diaspora helped prolong its existence.

CHAPTER 5

THE RISE OF ARMENIAN POLITICAL VIOLENCE, II, 1979 – 1983

Armenian political violence peaked between the fall of 1979 and the summer of 1983. By the end of July 1983, assassinations, armed assaults and bomb attacks took the lives of 19 Turkish Foreign Ministry officials, dependents and employees, as well as French, American, Italian, Yugoslav, Swiss and German nationals; as well as at least 8 attempted assassinations which left at least two of the victims paralyzed for life. The period was marked by the particularly brutal automatic weapon assaults at the Esenboğa Airport, the Istanbul Covered Bazaar, and Turkish Embassy and Ambassadorial Residence in Lisbon in the summers of 1982 and 1983, and the premature detonation of a bomb designed to explode in mid-air at the Orly Airport in Paris in July 1983.

There was no dialogue or negotiations between the Armenian militant groups and the Turkish government during this period, only death, destruction and Turkish shock at the world's indifference to international terrorism. In fact, despite the tentative approaches by the Turkish government and Turkish private sector in 1977 and 1978, the ARF blamed the lack of dialogue on "the unyielding attitude of the racist Turkish ruling class," and because "Armenians lack all the means for initiating such a dialogue." Two claims disproved by the attempts towards at least some form of reconciliation during the 1970s under Prime Minister Ecevit.¹

The disagreement in ASALA between Karnusian and Takoushian, increasing links and cooperation with other international terrorist organizations, and the Israeli invasion of Beirut, which fractionated and dispersed the organization's operational leadership, first to Damascus, then to the Bekaa Valley, and eventually to the sympathetic confines of Athens, Greece, contributed to ASALA's increasingly bold and violent attacks. As part of their strategy, ASALA began to broaden their scope and attack non-Turkish targets in order to, ostensibly, bring more awareness to the Armenian Cause, to secure the release of their captured comrades and, perhaps, because of commitments to other international terrorist organizations. The ARF,

¹ "Dialogue (For the Solution of the Armenian-Turkish Crisis)," *Armenian Weekly*, May 31, 1980.

in order to keep up and to respond to the challenges thrown down by ASALA, increased the frequency of their assassinations. After each claimed event by the Armenians, and every arrest and capture, it became increasingly more difficult for the handful of Armenian leaders who defiantly, or naively, refused to believe that Armenians were involved in the terrorist campaign.

As the carnage continued, however, sympathy for the Armenian Cause and indifference to the Turkish victims waned. First, Armenian terrorism lost the American public's sympathy with bombs in Los Angeles and New York, the assassination of Kemal Arıkan in Los Angeles, and, finally, the assassination of Orhan Gündüz in Boston in the spring of 1982. As investigations in the U.S. deepened, the FBI connected the ARF to the JCAG and Armenian terrorism, and labeled both ASALA and the JCAG as threats to the national security interests of the United States. In the wake of the six brutal weeks during the summer of 1983, in which Armenian terrorists killed 13 individuals and injured 76, ASALA and the ARF also lost Western Europe, particularly France, which finally turned on the Armenian militant groups.

Despite four years of increasingly more brutal and indiscriminate violence, including the murder of Turkish children and non-Turkish nationals, the Armenian diaspora, or at least its most vocal contingent, continued to support the violent campaign against the Turkish governments and citizens, until the very end. Even beyond the well-publicized Orly Airport bombing in Paris, which has been designated as the act through which Armenian terrorism lost the diaspora, support for violence against Turkish citizens remained strong, even after it became increasingly apparent that the violence was not the means through which to achieve the realization of the Armenian cause, but rather an end in and of itself.

Ahmet Benler—The Hague, Netherlands (October 12, 1979)

In addition to threatening the Lebanese UN Delegation in New York, and rumors of kidnapping plots to extort funds from wealthy Armenians, the violence invoked by Takoushian at the end of August 1979 continued into the fall of 1979.² On September 13, ASALA attacked the Turkish

² “Alleged Kidnap Plot by the Armenian Secret Army,” FBI, Aug. 23, 1979, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 1 (818867); “Alleged Kidnap Plot by the Armenian Secret Army,” FBI, Aug. 27, 1979, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 1 (818867); “Status of Investigation Involving Alleged Kidnap Plot by the Armenian Secret Army,” FBI, Sept. 5, 1979, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 1 (818867); “Threatening Phone Calls Received by Lebanese,” USUN NY 03733, Sept. 12, 1979; “Alleged Kidnap Plot by the Armenian Secret Army,” FBI, Sept. 12, 1979, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 1 (818867); “Alleged Kidnap Plot by the Armenian Secret Army,” FBI, Sept. 12, 1979, 1149376-000, 199B-DE-725, Section 1 (944982); “UNSUB, aka Armenian Secret Army,” FBI, Sept. 14,

Airlines, Lufthansa and KLM offices in Paris. On September 25, the offices of five airlines in Madrid were attacked in retaliation for a Papal visit to Turkey, and on September 29, a bomb was placed in a restroom at the Esenboğa airport in Ankara.³ On October 4, the Turkish Airlines office in Copenhagen was bombed, injuring two Danish citizens who were in the area, and on October 8, an Armenian called the Turkish Consulate General in Los Angeles to notify them of his intention to “kill everyone there.”⁴ All of these ASALA attacks and threats, which received no international attention, were upstaged by the ARF’s assassination of Ahmet Benler October 12, 1979.

Benler, the 27-year old son of the Turkish Ambassador to the Netherlands, Özdemir Benler, and a graduate student at the University of Delft, was shot to death in his car at point blank range while stopped at a red light on his way to school at 9:30 in the morning. The targeting of the Ambassador’s son was a deliberate response prompted by the increased protection provided to the diplomats that made them more difficult to assassinate. The murder of immediate family members increased the level of psychological terror endured by the Turkish diplomatic staff and was further evidence of the degree to which Turks had been dehumanized by the ARF’s propaganda efforts.⁵ A female immediately contacted the Associated Press office in Beirut to claim the act on the behalf of the JCAG. Due to the distraction made by Benler’s car as it lurched forward into oncoming traffic, and the considerable time it took for the local police to arrive on the scene, the assassin was able to escape before any of the eyewitnesses were able to get a clear look at him.⁶

1979, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 1 (818867); “UNSUB, aka Armenian Secret Army,” FBI, Sept. 21, 1979, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 1 (818867); “Accusations Denied by Secret Army,” *Armenian Reporter*, Sept. 13, 1979; “UNSUB, aka Armenian Secret Army,” FBI, Sept. 14, 1979, 1149368-000, 185-NY-898, Section 1 (944286); “Alleged Kidnap Plot by the Armenian Secret Army,” FBI, Dec. 31, 1979, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 1 (818867).

³ Yves Ternon, *The Armenian Cause*, trans. by Anahid Apelian Mangouni (Del Mar, NY: Caravan Books, 1985), 214; and Francis P. Hyland, *Armenian Terrorism: The Past, The Present, The Prospects* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1991), 131-133.

⁴ “Armenian Terrorists Bomb the Turkish Airlines,” COPENHAGEN 6029, Oct. 5, 1979; Correspondence, Turkish Embassy, Washington, DC to Department of State, Oct. 12, 1979; and “Bomb in Turkish Airlines Office, Copenhagen,” *Armenian Weekly*, Oct. 20, 1979.

⁵ “Arm. Underground Warns Dutch to Stop Investigating Murder of Turkish Envoy’s Son; Armenian Church in Istanbul Bombed,” *Armenian Reporter*, Oct. 25, 1979; and “Istanbul Paper Claims Kurds, Turks, Greeks Helped Armenians Plot Holland Killings,” *AR*, Nov. 8, 1979.

⁶ Suzanne Schafer, AP, The Hague, Oct. 12, 1979; “Turkish Ambassador’s Son Dies in Ambush,” *Los Angeles Times*, Oct. 13, 1979; “Son of Turkish Diplomat Slain in the Netherlands,” *New York Times*, Oct. 13, 1979; “Assassination of Turkish Ambassador’s Son,” THE HAGUE 6230, Oct. 18, 1979; “Arm. Terrorists Take Responsibility for Killing Turkish Envoy’s Son,” *Armenian Reporter*, Oct. 18, 1979; “Son of Turkish Ambassador

Within two weeks, the Dutch government was threatened with terrorist attacks in the Netherlands if they insisted on investigating the assassination any further.⁷ For their part, Turkish papers reported that the attack was a joint operation between Armenians, Kurds, Greeks, and radicalized Turks, and at least one journalist condemned France, the United States and the Netherlands for facilitating Armenian terrorism through their relatively lax approach to the problem.⁸ While slightly off the mark, the Turkish newspaper article describing the joint attack was much closer to the truth than any other theories up until that point, and is most likely why it was cynically dismissed by the *ARF*.⁹

In a possible retaliation attack against Turkish Armenians, the Armenian Cathedral adjacent to the Patriarch's Residence in Istanbul was bombed, causing significant damage to parts of the church.¹⁰ In the Western press, the motive for Benler's assassination was explicitly, or implicitly, attributed to the Ottoman government's treatment of Armenians in 1915.¹¹ A fact that did not go unnoticed by the diaspora newspapers.¹² The *ARF* even published a photograph of Benler's corpse and his destroyed car, without any accompanying article or commentary, other than a caption under the picture.¹³ The same newspaper hailed the success of the organization's second 'Awareness Training' program held at Camp Hayastan (Haistan) in Massachusetts, a camp identified later by the FBI as one of the *ARF*'s probable terrorist training facilities.¹⁴ In an official communiqué published in two of their newspapers, the *ARF* declared:

Slain Oct. 12," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Oct. 20, 1979; and "Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide Claimed Responsibility," *Armenian Weekly*, Oct. 20, 1979.

⁷ "Arm. Underground Warns Dutch to Stop Investigating Murder of Turkish Envoy's Son; Armenian Church in Istanbul Bombed," *Armenian Reporter*, Oct. 25, 1979; and "The Turkish Press and the Murder of Turkish Envoy's Son," *Armenian Weekly*, Nov. 3, 1979.

⁸ "Istanbul Paper Claims Kurds, Turks, Greeks Helped Armenians Plot Holland Killings," *Armenian Reporter*, Nov. 8, 1979; and "Turkish Newspaper 'Tercumen' Comments on Murder of The Turkish Envoy's Son," *Armenian Weekly*, Nov. 10, 1979.

⁹ "Turkish Newspaper Tells of 'Secret Plot'," *Armenian Weekly*, Dec. 8, 1979.

¹⁰ "Bomb Explodes at Entrance to Armenian Cathedral in Istanbul," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Nov. 3, 1979.

¹¹ Suzanne Schafer, *AP*, The Hague, Oct. 12, 1979; and "Turkish Ambassador's Son Dies in Ambush," *Los Angeles Times*, Oct. 13, 1979.

¹² "Son of Turkish Ambassador Slain Oct. 12," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Oct. 20, 1979; and "U.S. Media Relates Netherlands Killing," *Armenian Weekly*, Oct. 20, 1979.

¹³ "Victim," *Armenian Weekly*, Oct. 27, 1979.

¹⁴ "ARF Awareness Seminar," *Armenian Weekly*, Oct. 27, 1979; "Transportation of Explosives by Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide," STATE 316444, Nov. 5, 1983; "Cache of Dynamite in Massachusetts Linked to Armenian Terrorists," *Los Angeles Times*, Nov. 5, 1983; "Dynamite Cache Found Near Camp Hayastan in Franklin, MA; FBI Checking Origins of Explosives," *Armenian Reporter*; Nov. 10, 1983; "Camp Hayastan Director Explains Discovery of Explosives," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Nov. 12, 1983; "Dynamite Near Camp Hayastan Linked to Justice Commandos," *AMS*, Nov. 12, 1983; "Camp Hayastan, Inc.," *AW*, Nov. 12, 1983; and

“We realize today that it is necessary to remind the world that the Armenians are more than ever compelled to answer injustice by violence, since all avenues are systematically and hypocritically shut to us.” While it is unclear what the statement specifically referred to, the *ARF* promised to “fight with unrelenting vigour until all the Armenian lands are restored to their rightful owners—the Armenians.”¹⁵ A former resident of Lebanon living in Livonia, Michigan, Moustafa Hassan Ammar, was eventually arrested for the murder in the spring of 1960 and extradited to the Netherlands, but was not convicted of the murder.¹⁶

Immediately after news of the attack reached Washington, the Turkish Embassy sent a message to the State Department asking for an increase in security measures to protect their staff.¹⁷ In the meantime, *ASALA* resumed its attacks. On October 30, the Turkish Airlines office in Milan was targeted, and on November 9, the Turkish Airlines office in Rome was hit.¹⁸ On November 17, the French policemen were injured in attacks on Turkish Airlines, KLM, and Lufthansa in Paris. In their call to the press claiming responsibility, *ASALA* declared the bombings “must be interpreted as acts of vengeance against the Turks, perpetrators of the Armenian Genocide of 1915.”¹⁹

No explanation was given for the attacks against German and Dutch interests, unless it was to be understood that Germany was culpable because they were allies of the Ottoman government in 1915, and the Dutch were still investigating the murder of Benler. It was clear, however, that *ASALA* would no longer limit their attacks to Turkish targets. On November 25, it was the turn of Sabena, TWA, British Airways, and Alitalia, in Madrid, although fortunately the bomb targeting Alitalia did not go off. *ASALA* claimed that the airlines were attacked because

“Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF) Eastern Region, International Terrorism-ARF,” FBI, March 2, 1984, 1149368-000, 199B-CG-625, Section 2 (944522).

¹⁵ “To All Governments, World Public Opinion and the Press,” *Armenian Weekly*, Nov. 10, 1979.

¹⁶ “Livonia Man Charged with Murder of Turkish Ambassador’s Son,” *Armenian Weekly*, April 26, 1980; “Arrest of a Non-Armenian Raises Questions About Terrorist Groups,” *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, May 17, 1980; Victor Livingston and Dennis Debbaudt, “The Strange Case of the Armenian Assassins,” *The Detroit News*, June 15, 1980; “Suspects in Assassinations of Turkish Ambassadors Await Trial,” *AMS*, June 28, 1980; “Suspected Terrorist of Ambassador’s Son Acquitted in Netherlands,” *AW*, Sept. 27, 1980; “Court Dismisses Case Involving Suspect in Turkish Assassination,” *AMS*, Sept. 27, 1980; and “Trial Opens in Holland for the Alleged Killer of Turkish Ambassador’s Son,” *Armenian Reporter*, Oct. 9, 1980.

¹⁷ Correspondence, Turkish Embassy, Washington, DC to Department of State, Oct. 12, 1979.

¹⁸ “Daily Roundup-Lebanon: November 10, 1979 12:00 Hours Local,” BEIRUT 6292, Nov. 10, 1979; “Bombings of Turkish Centers in Italy Attributed to the Arm. Secret Army,” *Armenian Reporter*, Nov. 15, 1979; Ternon, *The Armenian Cause*, 214; and Hyland, *Armenian Terrorism*, 134-135.

¹⁹ “Turkish Airlines Office Blasted in Paris,” *Armenian Weekly*, Nov. 24, 1979; and “Arm. Terrorists Strike Again,” *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Nov. 24, 1979.

they all flew to Turkey, and that the bombs were a warning to the Pope to not go ahead with his planned visit to Turkey.²⁰

Yılmaz Çolpan—Paris, France (December 22, 1979)

While *ASALA* embarked on its attacks on international airline offices in Europe, the *ARF* remained relatively quiet. But in early December, the *ARF* emulated its competitor and attacked the offices of El Al and British Airways in Rome, wounding 9 people that were in close proximity to the blasts.²¹ Two weeks later, the *ARF* returned to its more comfortable modus operandi. On the morning of December 22, the *JCAG* assassinated Yılmaz Çolpan, the 31-year old press counselor at the Turkish Embassy in Paris, and director of the Turkish National Office of Tourism and Information, while he was on his way to buy newspapers.²² The assassination prompted an interesting condemnation from the Armenian Patriarch in Istanbul in which, while deploring the violence against Turkish citizens and the Turkish government, he still maintained that the attacks were not being carried out by Armenians: “We do not believe that these criminal acts have been committed by the Armenian organizations whose names always change and from this they possibly don’t exist.”²³ While surprisingly naïve, it undoubtedly spoke to the increasingly awkward position of Turkish Armenians, and some observers appear to have shared his opinions.²⁴ As the efforts of the French police failed to identify any credible suspects, much like the previous assassinations, the Turkish public and former Turkish security officials began to call for more aggressive measures from their government, including calls for

²⁰ “‘Armenian Army’ bombs Madrid airline offices,” *The Times*, Nov. 27, 1979; and “New Series of Bombings in Paris and Madrid Claimed by the Arm. Secret Army,” *Armenian Reporter*, Nov. 29, 1979.

²¹ “Armenians blast airlines in Rome,” *Armenian Weekly*, Dec. 22, 1979; and Ternon, 201.

²² “Turkish Aide Slain in Paris; Armenians Say They Did It,” *New York Times*, Dec. 23, 1979; “Gunmen Kill Turkish Press Attache in Paris,” *Washington Post*, Dec. 23, 1979; “‘Armenian avengers’ killed Turkish official in Paris,” *The Times*, Dec. 24, 1979; “Diplomat Killed on Paris Street,” *Armenian Reporter*, Dec. 27, 1979; “Turkish Official Gunned Down in Paris; Offices Bombed in London,” *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Dec. 29, 1979; and “Turkish Aide Slain in Paris; Armenians Claim Responsibility,” *Armenian Weekly*, Dec. 29, 1979.

²³ “Statement of Armenian Patriarch on Alleged Armenian Terrorist Actions Against Turkey,” ISTANBUL 4976, Dec. 29, 1979.

²⁴ “Istanbul Patriarch Doubts Terrorists Are Armenian,” *Armenian Reporter*, Jan. 3, 1980; “No Proof Terrorists Are Armenian Says Patriarch Shnork,” *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Jan. 12, 1980; and Halid Kakunch, “What the Turkish Papers are Saying: Armenian Assassination Attempts,” *AR*, Jan. 10, 1980.

counter-terrorist strike teams.²⁵ On the same day as the Çolpan assassination, the *ARF (NAR)* bombed the Turkish Airlines office in Amsterdam.²⁶

Not be outdone by the *ARF*, on December 23 *ASALA* set of bombs at Air France, TWA, and an ANCHA sponsored hostel hosting Soviet Armenian emigrants waiting to leave for the United States in Rome.²⁷ A letter from *ASALA* accompanying the attack on the hostel demanded that “the 16 immigration centers run by American and Turkish imperialism and Zionism be closed. If not, measures will be taken. Hotels which house immigrants will also be dealt with...”²⁸ This warning from *ASALA* was contrary to the State Department’s recent reevaluation of the Armenian terrorist threat, prompted by *ASALA*’s move to attack non-Turkish targets, and sent out only two days earlier:

Armenian Terrorists are primarily motivated by revenge against Turkey for the alleged genocide of over a million and a half Armenians by the Turks in 1915. Although their communiqués have mentioned the “liberation of Armenia,” the fact that most of their major operations are conducted outside of Turkey seems to indicate an emphasis on revenge rather than any concerted effort to liberate Turkish Armenia.²⁹

But it seems that at the end of 1979, at least some elements in *ASALA* were still motivated by the prospect of Armenian liberation, and were willing to threaten fellow Armenians in order to achieve that dream. The Armenian Catholicos had also spoken out against the Armenian Catholic Church’s assistance to the Armenian refugees.³⁰ Whether or not there was a connection between the two, however, remains unclear. The U.S. Embassies in Moscow and Rome expressed their concern over these developments, and some preventative security measures

²⁵ “More Talk of Possible Turkish Retaliation,” *Armenian Reporter*, Dec. 27, 1979; “The Armenian Reporter and Its Turkish Sources,” *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Jan. 12, 1980; “Political Assassinations and Bombings Anger Turks,” *AR*, Jan. 17, 1980; “Turkish Press and TV React to Killing of Tourism Attache,” *AMS*, Jan. 19, 1980; “Turks Blame Cypriots for Attacks in Name of Armenians,” *New York Times*, Feb. 28, 1980; and “Angry Turks Threaten Reprisals After Latest Terrorist Attack,” *AR*, Feb. 14, 1980.

²⁶ “Global Terrorism: The Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide,” CIA, September 1984, CIA-RDP85S00315R000200060002-3; and “New Armenian Resistance, Communique No. 7,” *Armenian Weekly*, Jan. 5, 1980.

²⁷ “Armenian avengers’ killed Turkish official in Paris,” *The Times*, Dec. 24, 1979; “Bombs at Airline Offices in Rome,” *New York Times*, Dec. 25, 1979; “Security Advisory: Armenian Terrorists— Increased Activity and Broadening of Targets,” STATE 331293, Dec. 26, 1979; Hyland, 141-143; and “Soviet Trends No. 54,” Department of State, Briefing Memorandum, David E. Mark to The Secretary, Jan. 15, 1980, Jimmy Carter Library, NARA Computer Database.

²⁸ “(LOU) Armenian Secret Army Threatens TCP Immigrants,” ROME 35693, Dec. 28, 1979. See also “Armenian Terrorism,” ROME 0058, Jan. 2, 1980; and “Armenian Terrorist Targeting,” STATE 00948, Jan. 8, 1980.

²⁹ “Security Advisory: Armenian Terrorists— Increased Activity and Broadening of Targets,” STATE 331293, Dec. 26, 1979.

³⁰ “Bombing of Hotel in Rome,” *Armenian Reporter*, Jan. 17, 1980.

were implemented by the NGOs involved.³¹ For their part, many of the Armenian Refugees believed that Turkish groups were behind the attacks, not *ASALA*.³² Regardless, Armenian emigration and *ASALA* threats continued,³³ and by August 1980, *ASALA* was even directly threatening the Pope.³⁴ In March 1981, the U.S. Embassy in Rome requested that the processing of Armenian refugees in Rome be eliminated and moved entirely to Moscow.³⁵

The State Department was primarily worried, however, about the ramifications *ASALA*'s decision to broaden their target base posed to U.S. security interests, and speculated that these new attacks "are some form of payment for the 'cooperation' given the Armenians by the above three more experienced, better trained, and financially sound terrorist groups [the Basque Revolutionaries, the Irish Republican Army, and the Japanese Red Army]," or that they were now simply part of the larger international terrorist network.³⁶ The CIA was also concerned about the new direction of *ASALA*, and in analyses of threats to the 1980 Winter Olympics in Lake Placid, NY, rated the probability that the organization would attack international airline carriers serving Olympic officials and athletes as "medium to high."³⁷ Understanding, perhaps,

³¹ "Armenian Secret Army (SALA) and the Refugee Program in Italy," ROME 2100, Jan. 23, 1980.

³² "Armenian Secret Army (SALA)," ROME 2066, Jan. 22, 1980.

³³ "Armenians Leaving Soviet for the U.S.," *New York Times*, May 25, 1980; "Armenians Kiss Russia Goodbye in Hordes," *Globe and Mail*, May 26, 1980; "Exodus of Armenians from Soviet Armenia for the U.S.A. Suddenly Stepped up to Beat the Olympic Deadline," *Armenian Reporter*, May 29, 1980; "L.A. Armenians: the Trauma of Finding a Self-Image," *Los Angeles Times*, June 8, 1980; "Soviet Armenian Exodus Prompts Redefinition of Armenian Cause," *AR*, June 5, 1980; "Secret Army Lashes Out Against Emigration," *AR*, June 12, 1980; Michael Binyon, "Trickle of Armenians Leaving for West Becomes a Torrent," *Armenian Weekly*, June 28, 1980; Barbara Slavin, "Soviet Union is Letting its Armenian People Go," *NYT*, July 6, 1980; Hrair Maroukhian, "We are Against Emigration," *AW*, July 26, 1980; "Threats by Beirut Spokesman Against Transit of Armenians to USA," ROME 21031, Aug. 26, 1980; "Armenian Terrorism," ROME 20987, Aug. 26, 1980; "Interview with Hagop Hagopian," *ASALA Interviews*, Sept. 1, 1980; Armenian Secret Army (SALA)— Refugee Program in Italy," ROME 21962, Sept. 8, 1980; "Possibility of Soviet Maneuvering Behind Threats Against Armenian Refugee Program," ROME 28298, Nov. 21, 1980, Jimmy Carter Library, NARA Computer Database; Memorandum, Department of State, Edmund S. Muskie, Secretary of State, to Jimmy Carter, President of the United States, Nov. 26, 1980, Jimmy Carter Library, NARA Computer Database; and "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia," BEIRUT 0238, Jan. 14, 1981.

³⁴ "Threats by Beirut; Terrorist Spokesman Against Transit of Armenians to USA," ROME 20934, Aug. 25, 1980; "Secret Army Warns Catholic Church Against Aiding Armenian Emigrants," *Armenian Reporter*, Sept. 11, 1980; and "Armenian Terrorist Leader Hagopian Interviewed," *Milan Panorama*, Sept. 1, 1980, Henze Papers, Box 64, Folder 14, Hoover Institution.

³⁵ "Armenian TCP Processing in Rome," ROME 06200, March 17, 1981.

³⁶ "Security Advisory: Armenian Terrorists— Increased Activity and Broadening of Targets," STATE 331293, Dec. 26, 1979. See also "Armenian Secret Army (SALA)," STATE 027335, Jan. 31, 1980; "Monthly Terrorism and Security Summary, January 1980," STATE 031345, Feb. 5, 1980; and "Monthly Terrorism and Security Summary, April 1980," STATE 124757, May 10, 1980.

³⁷ "XIII Winter Olympic Games," Memorandum, From Stansfield Turner, Director, Central Intelligence Agency, to William H. Webster, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Jan. 14, 1980, Jimmy Carter Library, NARA Computer Database.

much better than their *ASALA* peers that the attacks on U.S. and West European interests would undermine both sympathy for the Armenian Cause and the relative indifference to the plight of Turkish diplomats in Western public opinion, the *JCAG* sent a letter to the General Manager of TWA in Austria. In it, the *JCAG* denied that Armenians were behind the attacks on non-Turkish airline offices and, instead, alleged “Turkey and its network of European agents are the actual perpetrators of these vile and cheap theatricals,” in order to “blur and twist the issue of the Armenian Cause.”³⁸

A curious back and forth of communiqués between the *ARF* and *ASALA* ensued. In early December, the *ARF (NAR)* applauded the efforts of the *Secret Army* and threatened to broaden their own attacks: “whoever stands in the way of the liberation of Armenia will be counted as one of our enemies and as such will serve as target for our fighters.”³⁹ At the end of January, *ASALA* accused the *ARF* of misleading the Armenian public by taking credit for the actions of *ASALA*, and for causing the deaths of two of its members.⁴⁰ Their dispute would become much more violent as the period unfolded. In an analysis of the exchange, the *Armenian Reporter* stated its opinion that the *JCAG* was an *ARF* organization, the first Armenian media outlet to do so.⁴¹

ASALA returned to Turkey for its next attack where, in an apparent celebration of the 5th anniversary of its creation, bombed the Yeşilköy airport in Istanbul on December 30. The two bombs destroyed an airport transportation bus, damaged a hallway, and caused at least one injury.⁴² Their next target was the Turkish Airlines office in Tehran on January 10.⁴³ Although they denied responsibility, it is believed the *ARF (JCAG)* carried through with their threat to widen the scope of their attacks and bombed the offices of British Airways, TWA, Swissair, and Sabena in Madrid on January 19 (20).⁴⁴ On February 1, the *ARF (NAR)* bombed the Soviet

³⁸ “Letter from Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide,” VIENNA 00604, Jan. 16, 1980. See also “Armenian Secret Army Denies it Struck at European Offices of Non-Turkish Airlines,” *Armenian Reporter*, Jan. 24, 1980; “Full Text of Statement Released by Justice Commandos of the Arm. Genocide,” *AR*, Jan. 24, 1980; and “To All Governments, World Public Opinion and the Press,” *Armenian Weekly*, Jan. 26, 1980.

³⁹ “Communiques from the New Armenian Resistance,” *Armenian Weekly*, Jan. 5, 1980.

⁴⁰ “For the Edification of the Armenian People,” *Armenian Reporter*, Jan. 31, 1980.

⁴¹ “Secret Army, ARF Both Want Credit for Terrorist Campaign,” *Armenian Reporter*, Feb. 14, 1980.

⁴² “Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia Hits Istanbul Airport,” *Armenian Weekly*, Jan. 12, 1980; “Istanbul Airport Blasts Claimed by Armenians,” *Armenian Reporter*, Jan. 17, 1980; and Ternon, 215.

⁴³ The Global Terrorism Database is the only record of this attack.

⁴⁴ There is a discrepancy over whether the attacks took place on 19 or 20 January. See “Global Terrorism: The Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide,” CIA, September 1984, CIA-RDP85S00315R000200060002-3;

information office in Paris, and Aeroflot and Turkish Airline offices in Brussels, and was the first time either group targeted Soviet interests, apparently in retaliation for three Armenians who were found guilty and executed for the Moscow Subway bombing.⁴⁵

A few days later, the *ARF (JCAG)* attempted to assassinate the Turkish Ambassador to Switzerland, Doğan Türkmen, on February 6. Although a three-man hit squad fired six rounds into the Ambassador's car, he was only slightly wounded. Shortly after the attack, the first arrest in connection to Armenian terrorist activity was made when French authorities detained Max Kilindjian, an Armenian with alleged ties to the *ARF* from Marseilles. Eyewitnesses had identified the rental car Kilindjian used to flee the scene of the crime and make his way back to France. He remained in a French prison while Swiss authorities attempted to extradite him back to Switzerland for trial.⁴⁶ In rallying to his defense and justifying the violence, the *ARF* all but admitted their association with terrorism:

Kilidjian is in jail accused of participation in an act whose purpose is the recognition of genocide perpetrated against Armenians, the just solution of the Armenian Case, and the protection of the inalienable rights of the Armenian people... it is impossible not to show an understanding of those who resort to such means [terrorism]...accused of an act aimed at the reinstatement of justice, [he] must of the support of us all.⁴⁷

Shortly thereafter, an official defense committee was established for his defense costs, demonstrations organized demanding his release, editorials written criticizing his incarceration,

"Monthly Terrorism and Security Summary, January 1980," STATE 031345, Feb. 5, 1980; and "Turk Diplomats in Athens Reported to be Tailed," *Armenian Reporter*, Feb. 7, 1980.

⁴⁵ "Global Terrorism: The Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide," CIA, September 1984, CIA-RDP85S00315R000200060002-3; "Soviet Tourist Office in Paris Bombed by Armenian Underground Group," *Armenian Reporter*, Feb. 7, 1980; "Armenian Group Says it Bombed Soviet Bureau in Paris," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Feb. 9, 1980; "Bomb Explosions in Paris and Brussels Rock Soviet and Turkish Offices," *Armenian Weekly*, Feb. 9, 1980; "New Armenian Resistance—Communique No. 1," *AW*, Feb. 16, 1980; "Armenians Continue Increased Activity in Europe," STATE 062099, March 8, 1980; and Ternon, 202.

⁴⁶ "Global Terrorism: The Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide," CIA, September 1984, CIA-RDP85S00315R000200060002-3; "Turkish Envoy Shot in Switzerland," *AP*, Feb. 6, 1980; "Official Police Statement Points to Armenians," *Armenian Reporter*, Feb. 14, 1980; "Assassination Attempt Against Turkish Ambassador Fails," *Armenian Weekly*, Feb. 16, 1980; "Turk Envoy Shot in Bern; 3 Held For Questioning," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Feb. 16, 1980; "Turkish Newspapers Filled with Speculation about Armenian Terrorists," *AR*, Feb. 21, 1980; "Max Kurkjian Arrested in Assassination Attempt," *AMS*, Feb. 23, 1980; "Marseilles Armenian Still Held in Attempted Assassination of Turkish Ambassador to Switzerland," *AR*, March 6, 1980; "The Daily 'Le Provençal' of Marseilles Reports on Max Kilidjian's Arrest," *AW*, March 15, 1980; "Judge Refuses Bail Application for Max Hrair Kilidjian," *AW*, April 5, 1980; "Worldwide Efforts to Free Max Klindjian Fail to Move French Judicial Authorities," *AR*, July 31, 1980; "Selective Helping," *AR*, July 31, 1980; and "The Hrair Kilindjian Defense Committee," *AW*, Jan. 17, 1981.

⁴⁷ "ARF Central Committee in France Issues Announcement About the Bern Incident," *Armenian Weekly*, March 15, 1980.

and updates on his status were given in the Armenian press.⁴⁸ As his trial approached in January 1982, French authorities prepared for the worst, while the Turkish government and its public watched the proceedings closely to see whether or not the French government would give in to mounting Armenian pressure.⁴⁹ When Kilindjian was sentenced to only two years for his crimes, and faced imminent release because of time served, Armenians in attendance cheered the verdict, while the Turkish press reacted with understandable outrage.⁵⁰ The Turkish government was also displeased, but was somewhat more subdued in its criticism.⁵¹ Foreshadowing future terrorist attacks; U.S. analysts observed that in light of the verdict, Armenian terrorists had ample reason to view France as a safe haven for their continuing operations.⁵²

The U.S. Deputy Chief of Mission in Ankara, Robert S. Dillon, who by this point had over seven years of experience with Armenian terrorism, implored Washington to take Turkish requests for increased protection seriously, as criticism from Turkish politicians, including the Foreign Minister, and the Turkish press against the West's indifference began to increase.⁵³ Renewed suspicion that the Armenians were working with Greek and Greek Cypriot elements

⁴⁸ "Defense Committee Formed," *Armenian Reporter*, March 27, 1980; "Free Hrair Kilndjian's Movement Gains Momentum," *Armenian Weekly*, May 17, 1980; "Fight the Turkish Harassment Campaign," *AW*, May 17, 1980; "Early Release of M. Klindjian Not Seen Imminent," *AR*, June 19, 1980; "L.A. French Consul Agrees to Deliver Petition For Klindjian's Release," *AW*, June 21, 1980; "Free Klindjian Movement Spreads to Lebanon," *AW*, June 21, 1980; "Los Angeles French Consul to Report on Klindjian," *Armenian Observer*, June 25, 1980; "Suspects in Assassinations of Turkish Ambassadors Await Trial," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, June 28, 1980; "Klindjian Defense Committee holds rally in Paris," *AO*, July 16, 1980; "Armenian Killers: Mr. Klindjian and Mr. Ammar..." *AR*, July 24, 1980; "Hrair Kilndjian Defense Committee Issues Appeal to Armenians," *AW*, Aug. 23, 1980; "French Armenians Actively Seeking Release of Hrair Klindjian," *AR*, Sept. 25, 1980; "Marseille Klindjian Committee Issues Statement," *AW*, Sept. 27, 1980; "Update on Hrair Klindjian," *AW*, Sept. 27, 1980; "Boston 'Klindjian Defense Committee' Formed," *AW*, Oct. 4, 1980; "Klindjian Committee to Stage Demonstration, Monday, October 13, 1980," *L.A. Klindjian Demonstration Set for October 13*," *AW*, Oct. 11, 1980; "Armenians Ask for Klindjian's Release from French Prison," *AO*, Oct. 15, 1980; "L.A. Klindjian Committee begins petition campaign," *AW*, Jan. 31, 1981; "trial termed 'historic'," *AW*, Jan. 2, 1982; "Demonstration for Kilndjian set," *AW*, Jan. 9, 1982; and "Demonstrations for Hrair Klindjian Set for NYC," *AR*, Jan. 14, 1982.

⁴⁹ "Paris Warned on Armenians," *New York Times*, Jan. 21, 1982; and "Turkish Press Review: January 21-22, 1982," ANKARA 00611, Jan. 22, 1982.

⁵⁰ "Armenian Suspect is Sentenced in France," *New York Times*, Jan. 25, 1982; "Armenian Sentenced," *The Times*, Jan. 25, 1982; "Turkish Press Review: January 23-25, 1982," ANKARA 00630, Jan. 25, 1982; "M. Hrair Klindjian, Given 2-Year Sentence for Attempt on Turkish Ambassador's Life, Set to Go Free This Week," *Armenian Reporter*, Jan. 28, 1982; "Klindjian Found Guilty but Freed After 2 Years in French Prison," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Jan. 30, 1982; and "Hrair Kilndjian is Free," *Armenian Weekly*, Jan. 30, 1982.

⁵¹ "FONMIN Comments to Consultative Assembly," ANKARA 00719, Jan. 27, 1982; and "Turkish Objection to French Port Visit by NAVOCFORMED," ANKARA 00770, Jan. 29, 1982.

⁵² "Jailed Armenian to be Freed," PARIS 03479, Jan. 29, 1982.

⁵³ "Security Protection for Turkish Diplomats," ANKARA 01049, Feb. 6, 1980; "Turkish Press Review: February 8, 1980," ANKARA 01134, Feb. 8, 1980; "Turkish Press Review— February 9-11, 1980," ANKARA 01153, Feb. 11, 1980; "Turks Blame Cypriots for Attacks in Name of Armenians," *New York Times*, Feb. 28, 1980; and "Angry Turks Threaten Reprisals After Latest Terrorist Attack," *Armenian Reporter*, Feb. 14, 1980.

also surfaced, but Greek and Armenian Cypriots denied the allegations and Greek authorities chose to increase protection for Turkish diplomats in Athens.⁵⁴ Some Armenians believed this was a deliberate ruse on the part of the Turkish government in order to avoid confronting Armenian demands.⁵⁵ Additionally, calls for an aggressive response from the Turkish government steadily increased, while concerns over reprisals against Armenians residing in Turkey for the terrorist attacks surfaced.⁵⁶

On February 18, *ASALA* attacked the offices of Swissair, Lufthansa and El Al in Rome.⁵⁷ The following week a discussion sponsored by the *AYF* on UCLA's campus with the Turkish Consul General, Kemal Arıkan, was cut short by police after a bomb threat was made.⁵⁸ On March 10, *ASALA* bombed the Turkish Airlines office in Rome, killing one to two individuals and wounding another nine to fourteen.⁵⁹ While *ASALA* apologized to the families of the victims, they reminded the world that it had warned against frequenting Turkish institutions and businesses as they "are at the mercy of our commandos."⁶⁰ After a month without any attacks, *ASALA* and the Kurdistan Worker's Party (*PKK*) held a joint press conference on April 6 in

⁵⁴ "Armenian Terrorism- Concern Mounts," ANKARA 01203, Feb. 12, 1980; "Revived Interest in Allegations of GOC Involvement with Armenian Terrorists," NICOSIA 0387, Feb. 12, 1980; "Turks Blame Cypriots for Attacks in Name of Armenians," *New York Times*, Feb. 28, 1980; "Denktas on Greek Cypriot Encouragement of Armenian Terrorists," BBC, Feb. 13, 1980; "Stepped Up Security," *Armenian Reporter*, Feb. 7, 1980; "Armenians Continue Increased Activity in Europe," STATE 062099, March 8, 1980; "Turks Insist Cypriots are Behind Recent Armenian Terrorist Activity in Europe," *AR*, March 6, 1980; "Government of Cyprus Denies Turkish Allegations of Cyprus Involvement in Terrorist Attacks," *Armenian Weekly*, March 8, 1980; "K. Zartarian Denies Turkish Press Reports He is Involved in Training of Terrorists," *AR*, March 20, 1980; "Turks Claim Cypriots Instigate Armenian Terrorist Attacks," *AR*, March 20, 1980; and "Italian Paper Discloses Greek and Palestinian Involvement in Secret Army," *AR*, May 29, 1980.

⁵⁵ "We Must Seek to Understand the Reasons Behind the Terrorists Activities," *Armenian Weekly*, March 29, 1980.

⁵⁶ "Armenians Continue Increased Activity in Europe," STATE 062099, March 8, 1980; "Turkish Armenians Haunted by Fear of Persecution," *New York Times*, March 13, 1980; "Press Items on Turkey," STATE 069549, March 16, 1980; "Turkish Terror Group Rumored to Be Preparing for Strikes at Armenians," *Armenian Reporter*, March 20, 1980; "Alleged Anti-Armenian Group Formed in Turkey," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, March 22, 1980; and "According to a Greek Cypriot Newspaper a Turkish Counter-Terrorist Group Formed," *Armenian Weekly*, March 22, 1980;

⁵⁷ "Armenians Continue Increased Activity in Europe," STATE 062099, March 8, 1980; and Ternon, 215.

⁵⁸ "Turkish Consul's Talk Before Student Group Ends with Bomb Threat," *Armenian Reporter*, March 6, 1980; "Bomb Threat Ends Lecture by Turkish Consul to Arm. Students," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, March 8, 1980; and "Discussion Session Between Turkish Consul and Armenian Students Ends Abruptly Because of Bomb Threat," *Armenian Weekly*, March 8, 1980.

⁵⁹ "Two Blasts Damage Turkish Offices in Rome, Kill One," *AP*, March 10, 1980; "Attack on Turkish Offices in Rome," *BBC*, March 12, 1980; "Bombing of Turkish Offices in Rome by Arm. Secret Army Kills One Italian, Wounds Seven," *Armenian Reporter*, March 13, 1980; "Bomb in Rome Kills 2 Persons; Michael Arlen Writes on Terror," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, March 15, 1980; and "Turkish Airlines Offices in Rome Bombed. One Killed, Four Wounded," *Armenian Weekly*, March 15, 1980.

⁶⁰ "Secret Army Expresses Regret for Victims in Rome Bombing of Turkish Offices," *Armenian Reporter*, March 27, 1980.

Lebanon to announce their solidarity and intent to cooperate in their respective fights for independence and against imperialism and the fascist government of Turkey.⁶¹

Based on the language used by the two organizations, some observers concluded that the Soviets were involved.⁶² They also referred, for the second time, to *ARF* responsibility for the deaths of their agents, claiming that ARF allies in Lebanon had killed six of *ASALA*'s men, foreshadowing the war between the two groups that would soon begin to unfold on the streets of Beirut.⁶³ A union of sorts between the *PKK* and *ASALA* also gave the Armenian organization an important ally to facilitate its attacks inside Turkey, and prompted Takoushian to recruit more militants into the fold.⁶⁴ This press conference was the first for the *PKK* and has fueled rumors ever since that *ASALA* created the *PKK*, in much the same way that the Cypriot Greek terrorist organization, the National Organization of Cypriot Fighters (*EOKA*), was accused of creating *ASALA*.⁶⁵

On April 17, four *ARF* assassins wounded, but failed to kill, the 63-year old Turkish Ambassador to the Vatican, Vecdi Turel, and his bodyguard while they traveled to the Embassy.⁶⁶ Three days later, the Turkish Consulate General in Marseilles suffered an unsuccessful rocket attack from *ASALA*.⁶⁷ The Turkish government responded to the

⁶¹ "Joint A.S.A.L.A.-Kurdish Workers Party Press Conference," *ASALA Interviews*, April 6, 1980. See also "Armenians, Kurds Joining Forces," AP, April 7, 1980; "Yeni Asir on Cooperation Between Armenian and Kurdish Terrorists," IZMIR 119, April 8, 1980; "Press Conference of Armenian and Kurdish Nationalists," BEIRUT 2145, April 9, 1980; "Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia Holds Press Conference; Announces Alliance with Kurds," *Armenian Reporter*, April 10, 1980; "Lebanon Group Says Armenians Will Join Kurds to Fight Turkey," *Armenian Weekly*, April 12, 1980; "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (*ASALA*)," FBI, May 14, 1980, 1149360-000, 199B-LA-103720C, Section 37 (944276).

⁶² "Moscow Hand in Armenian/Kurdish Terrorism?," ANKARA 03761, May 22, 1980; "Background Information," STATE 151374, June 9, 1980.

⁶³ "Joint A.S.A.L.A.-Kurdish Workers Party Press Conference," *ASALA Interviews*, 24.

⁶⁴ Markar Melkonian, *My Brother's Road: An American's Fateful Journey to Armenia* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2007), 80.

⁶⁵ "PKK Support from Armenian Sources," STATE 220237, July 20, 1993; and "PKK 'Support' from Armenian Sources," YEREVAN 002697, July 26, 1993, DOS.

⁶⁶ "Noon Notes," National Security Council, Memorandum, The Situation Room to Zbigniew Brzezinski, April 17, 1980, Jimmy Carter Library, NARA Computer Database; "Armenian Vengeance Squad Wounds Turk Diplomat," AP, April 17, 1980; "Anti-Turkish Armenians Shoot Envoy," AP, April 17, 1980; "Armenian Groups Claim Credit for Anti-Turkish Attacks," BEIRUT 2406, April 21, 1980; "Turkish Envoy in Rome Wounded by Terrorists," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, April 26, 1980; "Assassination Attempt Against Turkish Ambassador to Vatican; 'Justice Commandos' Claim Responsibility," *Armenian Weekly*, April 26, 1980; and "Monthly Terrorism and Security Summary, April 1980," STATE 124757, May 10, 1980.

⁶⁷ "Armenian Groups Claim Credit for Anti-Turkish Attacks," BEIRUT 2406, April 21, 1980; "Turkish Press Review: April 19-21, 1980," ANKARA 03044, April 21, 1980; "Armenian Catholicos' Visit to the United States," ANKARA 03265, April 30, 1980; "Secret Army Issues Martyrs Day Message," *Armenian Reporter*, May 1, 1980;

assassination attempt by once again calling on Western governments to do more to protect Turkish diplomatic representatives serving in their countries.⁶⁸ While U.S. State Department, particularly the U.S. Embassy in Ankara, did seem concerned with the safety of Turkish diplomats, the Armenian assassinations barely registered in the U.S. Congress. Between April and June 1980, 26 members of the U.S. Congress commented on the 65th anniversary of the events of 1915,⁶⁹ but only four condemned the assassination of Turkish diplomats.⁷⁰ Even then, these four congressmen were accused of being under the influence of Turkey, were well covered in the Armenian American press, and their statements condemning terrorism were labeled as anti-Armenian.⁷¹ Armenian activists continued their non-violent, but aggressive, efforts for recognition and reparations, undeterred by the terrorist attacks carried out on their behalf.⁷² The *ARF* press openly praised the results achieved through violence and called for more: “We have

and “‘Black April’ Commando Bomb Attack Against Turkish Consulate in Marseilles,” *Armenian Weekly*, May 3, 1980;

⁶⁸ “Armenian Vengeance Squad Wounds Turk Diplomat,” *AP*, April 17, 1980; “Anti-Turkish Armenians Shoot Envoy,” *AP*, April 17, 1980; “Security Protection for Turkish Diplomats,” ANKARA 03029, April 18, 1980.

⁶⁹ Rep. William M. Brodhead (MI), “Genocide of the Armenian Nation,” *CR*, April 16, 1980, 8118; Sen. Carl Levin (MI), “Armenian Martyrs Day,” *CR*, April 24, 1980, 9000; Sen. Bob. Dole (KS), “Remembering Armenian Martyrs Day and the Holocaust,” *CR*, April 24, 1980, 9000; Rep. Millicent Fenwick (NJ), “In Remembrance of the Massacre of Armenians,” *CR*, April 24, 1980, 9014; Rep. George Danielson (CA), Rep. Adam Benjamin (IN), Rep. Frank Annunzio (IL), Rep. Chip Pashayan (CA), Rep. Tony Coelho (CA), Rep. John Brademas (IN), Rep. Edward Boland (MA), Rep. Joseph Addabbo (NY), Rep. Robert Drinan (MA), Rep. Edward Derwinski (IL), Rep. Joseph Early (MA), Rep. Carlos Moorhead, Rep. James Howard (NJ), Rep. James Florio (NJ), Rep. James Blanchard (MI), “The 65th Anniversary of the Armenian Genocide of 1915,” *CR*, April 24, 1980, 9080-9086; Rep. John Moakley (MA), “Commemorating Genocide of Armenian People by Turkish Government During World War I,” *CR*, April 24, 1980, 9089; Rep. Shirley Chisholm (NY), “Armenian Genocide: Remembering the Victims and the Lessons,” *CR*, April 29, 1980, 9381-9382; Sen. Birch Bayh (IN), “Man’s Inhumanity to Man: Another Reason to Remember,” *CR*, May 1, 1980, 9618-9619; Rep. Harold Hollenbeck (NJ), “The 65th Anniversary of Armenian Genocide,” *CR*, May 1, 1980, 9726; Rep. Edwin Forsythe (NJ), “Armenian Genocide,” *CR*, May 5, 1980, 9904; Rep. Mario Biaggi (NY), “The Tragedy of the Armenian Massacre,” *CR*, May 14, 1980, 11324-11325; Sen. Claiborne Pell (RI), “Armenian Genocide,” *CR*, June 24, 1980, 16556; and Sen. Bill Bradley (NJ), “Making the Armenian Genocide an Integral Part of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial,” *CR*, June 25, 1980, 16759.

⁷⁰ Rep. William Dickinson (AL), “Assassination of Turkish Diplomats,” *CR*, April 22, 1980, 8636-8637; Rep. Larry McDonald (GA), “Assassination of Turkish Diplomats,” *CR*, April 23, 1980, 8902-8903; Sen. Strom Thurmond (SC), “Aid to Turkey,” *CR*, April 30, 1980, 9403-9404; and Rep. Stephen Solarz (NY), “Assassination Attempt Against Turkish Ambassador,” *CR*, April 30, 1980, 9573-9574.

⁷¹ “Rep. Dickinson Denounces Killing of Turkish Ambassadors,” *Armenian Reporter*, May 1, 1980; “Against Armenian Terrorism,” *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, May 10, 1980; “Congressmen Dickinson and McDonald Speak Out Against Armenians,” *Armenian Weekly*, May 10, 1980; “Another Congressman Scores Assassination of Turkish Diplomats by Armenians,” *AR*, May 22, 1980; and “Turkish Pressures Again,” *AMS*, May 24, 1980.

⁷² “The Avenging Fists,” *Armenian Weekly*, April 26, 1980; “Armenians Mark Anniversary of 1915 Massacres; Demonstrators in New York City Clash with Police,” *Armenian Reporter*, May 1, 1980; “Secret Army Issues Martyrs Day Message,” *AR*, May 1, 1980; “Diocese Places Full Page Ad on Genocide Commemoration,” *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, May 3, 1980; “Armenians Demand Justice,” *AW*, May 3, 1980; “New Armenian Resistance Communique No. 9,” *AW*, May 3, 1980; “5 Arrested in New York City,” *AMS*, May 10, 1980; and “Armenian Secret Army Appeals to All Armenian People,” *AR*, May 29, 1980.

seen the results of ‘peaceful’ methods, if there is anything to see. We do not have time to lose... The Turkish Flag must be kept burning.”⁷³ Two prominent *ARF* members based in Michigan, *ANC* president Harry Derderian and *ARF* Central Committee member Aram Bagdassarian, even went on record to openly support Armenian terrorism: “If the terrorism is a contributing factor in getting people’s attention, I can go along with it. There may be *some negatives*, but I can go along with it.”⁷⁴

Galip & Neslihan Özmen—Athens, Greece (July 31, 1980)

On July 31, in Athens, Greece, Armenian terrorist attacks hit a moral nadir when *ASALA* operative Monte Melkonian attempted to kill the Turkish Administrative Attaché to Greece, 42-year old Galip Özmen and his entire family. In arguably the most brutal of all of the attacks carried out against Turkish diplomats, Galip and his 14-year old daughter Neslihan were killed, while his wife and 17-year old son suffered gunshot wounds.⁷⁵ Melkonian, an Armenian American from California, and a University of California, Berkeley honors graduate who carried out the assassination, joined *ASALA* in late May 1980, after spending time in the Armenian militias operating in Beirut.⁷⁶ He was never apprehended, or charged with the crime, and Greek authorities confided to a U.S. diplomat that the reason European police forces were having such little luck identifying and apprehending the Armenians involved in the murders was

⁷³ “On Forward!,” *Armenian Weekly*, May 3, 1980.

⁷⁴ Victor Livingston and Dennis Debbaudt, “The Strange Case of the Armenian Assassins,” *The Detroit News*, June 15, 1980. Emphasis mine.

⁷⁵ Gillian Whittaker, “Four Turks Shot in Athens Attack,” *AP*, July 31, 1980; “Turkish Diplomat Assassinated in Athens; Armenian Secret Army Claims Responsibility,” ATHENS 08453, Aug. 1, 1980; “Turkish Press Review: August 1, 1980,” ANKARA 05617, Aug. 1, 1980; “Turkish Envoy is Slain in Athens,” *New York Times*, Aug. 1, 1980; “Turkish Diplomat, Daughter Killed in Athens, Greece Attack; Turkish Consulate in Lyons, France Struck by Armenians,” *Armenian Reporter*, Aug. 7, 1980; “Armenian Secret Army Claims Responsibility for Athens Deaths,” *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Aug. 9, 1980; “Secret Army Hits in Athens and Lyons,” *Armenian Weekly*, Aug. 9, 1980; and “Turkish diplomat and son killed by Armenian gunmen in Athens,” *Armenian Observer*, Aug. 13, 1980.

⁷⁶ Melkonian, *My Brother’s Road*, 62-71, 84-85. The FBI seems to have suspected Melkonian’s involvement as early as March 1981, possibly due to intelligence collected after the arrest of Suzy Mahseredjian in Geneva. See “Armenian Terrorist Matters, FCI-Terrorism,” FBI, March 30, 1981, 1149357-000, 199B-LA-103720C, Section 01 (943903); “[Redacted] UNSUBS; Galip Ozmen-Victim PFO. Monte Melkonian,” FBI, May 6, 1981, 1149357-000, 199B-LA-103720C, Section 02 (943904); “[Redacted] UNSUBS; Galip Ozmen-Victim PFO. Monte Melkonian,” FBI, May 6, 1981, 1149357-000, 199B-LA-103720C, Section 02 (943904); and “Armenian Terrorism Matters,” FBI, June 2, 1981, 1149357-000, 199B-LA-103720C, Section 02 (943904).

because of the “clannish, close-knit,’ ways typical of Armenians that made it exceedingly difficult to infiltrate their clandestine groups.”⁷⁷

In his brother’s account, Melkonian positioned himself in front of the Turkish Airways office on the evening of July 31 and when a car with diplomatic plates arrived, he unloaded his weapon at the four people inside. Melkonian claimed that he was unable to see who was in the car because of its tinted windows.⁷⁸ The State Department report, based on eyewitness accounts, stated that assassin waited in front of Özmen’s home, watched the family get into the car, and then attacked.⁷⁹ While the Benler assassination showed that Armenian terrorists were willing to expand their homicidal attacks from representatives of the Turkish Republic to their adult family members, Melkonian proved that the hate instilled by Armenian propaganda campaign was enough to justify the murder of Turkish children. Even the most condemnable act imaginable was now justified in the pursuit of the Cause.

Just months later, *ASALA* started publishing a monthly newsletter in Beirut that claimed that in over five years of operations “almost no innocent people” had been killed, and expressed remorse only for the Italians caught in their attacks.⁸⁰ Ahmet Benler, Neslihan and Alper Özmen apparently did not warrant mention. Greek newspapers covering the assassination claimed that Özmen was a member the Turkish intelligence services, Milli İstihbarat Teşkilatı (MIT), and a Turkish newspaper claimed that he was killed because of what he had uncovered regarding Armenian organizations in Greece.⁸¹ According to Melkonian’s account, however, *ASALA* was not aware of Özmen’s involvement with MIT.⁸²

On August 5, two *ASALA* agents attacked the Turkish Consulate General in Lyon, France, and wounded a foreign ministry employee and three Turkish citizens.⁸³ The Turkish press continued to speculate on the links between Greek, Armenians and others, and lamented the indifference shown by the Greek and French governments towards the attacks on Turkish

⁷⁷ “Armenian Terrorism Directed at Turkish Officials,” ATHENS 09643, June 19, 1981.

⁷⁸ Melkonian, *My Brother’s Road*, 84.

⁷⁹ “Turkish Diplomat Assassinated in Athens; Armenian Secret Army Claims Responsibility,” ATHENS 08453, Aug. 1, 1980.

⁸⁰ “Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia,” BEIRUT 0238, Jan. 14, 1981.

⁸¹ “Turkish Press Review: Aug. 4, 1980,” ANKARA 05651, Aug. 4, 1980.

⁸² Melkonian, *My Brother’s Road*, 84.

⁸³ “Turkish Press Review: August 6, 1980,” ANKARA 05728, Aug. 6, 1980; “Armenian gunmen avenge 1915 massacre by Turks,” *Christian Science Monitor*, Aug. 6, 1980; “4 Turks Shot By Armenian Gunmen at Consulate,” *Los Angeles Times*, Aug. 6, 1980; “Secret Army Hits in Athens and Lyons,” *Armenian Weekly*, Aug. 9, 1980; and “Armenian Secret Army claims responsibility for Lyon shooting,” *Armenian Observer*, Aug. 13, 1980.

diplomats, while the Turkish Foreign Ministry repeated its request for increased security measures in Western Europe.⁸⁴ *ASALA* responded with a communiqué that promised to continue their attacks, threatened the *ARF*, and warned the French government: “we will not spare French institutions spread throughout the world if French authorities resort to the arrest of French-Armenians.”⁸⁵

For most of August and September, *ASALA* and the *ARF* were quiet except for vandalism and threats to Turkish installations in the United States.⁸⁶ The lull in violence ended on September 26, when *ASALA* severely wounded the Turkish Press Attaché in Paris, Selçuk Bakalbaşı, when he was shot in the head while he was entering his home.⁸⁷ Bakalbaşı survived the assassination attempt, but was paralyzed from the attack. On October 3, two *ASALA* agents, Alec Yenikomshian and Suzy Mahserejian, a naturalized American, accidentally detonated a bomb in their hotel room. Yenikomshian was permanently blinded by the blast and lost a hand, while Mahserejian was only lightly wounded.⁸⁸ Over the course of the next few months, *ASALA*, operating as the October 3 Group, carried out a number of attacks against Swiss interests, many of which resulted in casualties, in an effort to intimidate Swiss authorities to go lightly on the two captured agents and in retaliation for their alleged mistreatment.⁸⁹ Even one of their defense

⁸⁴ “Turkish Press Review: August 7, 1980,” ANKARA 05749, Aug. 7, 1980, DOS; “Turkish Press Review: August 8, 1980,” ANKARA 05800, Aug. 8, 1980, DOS; “Turks decry ‘world’s apathy’ on Armenian terrorist acts,” *Christian Science Monitor*, Aug. 11, 1980; “Yeni Asir on Palestine Links to Armenian Terrorists,” IZMIR 328, Aug. 28, 1980, DOS; Turkish Consulate in Lyons, France Struck by Armenians,” *Armenian Reporter*, Aug. 7, 1980; “Turkish Foreign Minister Scores Attacks on Turkish Diplomats; Calls for Special Measures to Prevent Further Repetition,” *AR*, Aug. 14, 1980; “Turkey Urges Effective Measures to Curb Armenian Terrorism,” *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Aug. 16, 1980; “Turkey’s Prime Minister Says Armenian Terrorists Cooperate with Turkish Anarchists,” *AR*, Aug. 21, 1980; “Turks Charge European Authorities Lax in Providing Protection to Their Envoys,” *AR*, Aug. 28, 1980; “Preventative Measures,” *AR*, Sept. 11, 1980.

⁸⁵ “Secret Army Vows to Continue Attacks on Diplomatic Representatives of Turkey,” *Armenian Reporter*, Aug. 21, 1980; “Text of the Secret Army Statement,” *AR*, Aug. 21, 1980.

⁸⁶ “Telephonic Threat by Alleged Member of the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (*ASALA*) to Kill [redacted],” FBI, Oct. 02, 1980, 1073740-001, 185-1823, Section 1 (814766); and “UNSUB, Threatening Letter Mailed to Turkish Mission to United Nations, New York, New York; August 27, 1980,” FBI, Oct. 3, 1980, 1073740-001, 185-1823, Section 1 (814766).

⁸⁷ “Paris Elçiliğimiz Basın Danışmanı Bakkalbaşı silahlı saldırıda yaralandı,” *Cumhuriyet*, Sept. 27, 1980; “Paris Basın Ataşemizi vurdular,” *Hürriyet*, Sept. 27, 1980; “Turkish Diplomat is Shot Near Paris,” *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Oct. 4, 1980; “Secret Army Strikes Again in Paris Suburb; Diplomat Wounded,” *Armenian Reporter*, Oct. 9, 1980; and “Assassination Attempt Against Turkish Diplomat Fails in Paris; Armenian Secret Army Claims Responsibility,” *Armenian Weekly*, Oct. 11, 1980.

⁸⁸ “UNSUBS; aka, Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide,” FBI, Oct. 14, 1980, 1075807-000, HQ 174-8799, Section 1 (796759); Ternon, 215; and Melkonian, *My Brother’s Road*, 88-89.

⁸⁹ “Geneva law court bombing claimed by Armenians,” *London Times*, Nov. 5, 1980; “October 3 Group Claims Responsibility for Bombing in Geneva Nov. 3,” *Armenian Reporter*, Nov. 6, 1980; Rome, *UPI*, Nov. 10, 1980; “Bomb Explosion in Geneva Claimed by Armenian Group,” *Armenian Weekly*, Nov. 8, 1980; “Armenian Secret

attorneys was not spared from violence.⁹⁰ As an American citizen with links to international and domestic terrorism, the FBI became intimately involved with Mahserejian's case.⁹¹ As the opening of their trial neared, the U.S. government feared an even further escalation of violence.⁹² Mahserejian was convicted of extorting funds from wealthy Armenians living in Switzerland to fund terrorism, but, to cheers from Armenians in the courtroom, Mahserejian was only given a suspended sentence and immediate expulsion from Switzerland.

In an amazing stroke of luck, however, a diary Mahserejian kept while she was a member of *ASALA* proved to be one of the most important sources of information yet obtained for the FBI's investigation into the organizations leadership, organization and activities.⁹³ Immediately returning to the United States, the example set in the case of Mahserejian did very little to disprove the notion that *ASALA*'s intimidation campaign against the Swiss government

Army Strikes in Italy & France," *AR*, Nov. 13, 1980; Geneva Switzerland, *AP*, Nov. 25, 1980; "New Bombings in Switzerland Reported," *AR*, Nov. 27, 1980; "Trial Set for Armenians Held in Geneva," *AW*, Nov. 29, 1980; "Bomb Explodes in Geneva," *AW*, Nov. 29, 1980; "Secret Army Calls for Release of Two Armenian Youths Detained by Swiss Following Accidental Explosion in Geneva, Oct. 3," *AR*, Dec. 4, 1980; "Text of Secret Army Statement," *AR*, Dec. 4, 1980; "Statement by 'Armenian Secret Army'," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Dec. 13, 1980; "A.S.A.L.A. Communique: 'Salute to our heroes in Swiss prisons'," *AW*, Dec. 13, 1980; "Terrorists Threaten Swiss Diplomats," *AP*, Jan. 2, 1981; "Around the World: Swiss Envoys Threatened," *Globe and Mail*, Jan. 3, 1981; Beirut, Lebanon, *AP*, Jan. 4, 1981; "Bombings Aimed at the Swiss, Americans," *AR*, Jan. 1, 1981; "New Armenian Resistance Communique no. 10: For the Liberation of our Comrades Alexandre Yenikomechian and Suzy Kevork Mahseredjian," *AW*, Jan. 3, 1981; "Swiss Court rejects plea by Armenian," *AW*, Jan. 10, 1981; "Another Bombing Takes Place," *AR*, Jan. 29, 1981; "Bomb Dismantled at Swiss Consulate," *AP*, Feb. 3, 1981; Los Angeles, *UPI*, Feb. 3, 1981; Los Angeles, *AP*, Feb. 4, 1981; and Melkonian, *My Brother's Road*, 89-90.

⁹⁰ "[Redacted], FCI-Lebanon-Terrorism," FBI, Dec. 30, 1980, 1075807-000, HQ 174-8799, Section 2 (796760); "Cases Pending in Geneva Against 2 Armenians," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Jan. 17, 1981; and "Lawyer defending Armenian youth attacked in Geneva," *Armenian Weekly*, Jan. 17, 1981.

⁹¹ "[Redacted], FCI-Lebanon-Terrorism," FBI, Nov. 14, 1980, 1075807-000, HQ 174-8799, Section 3 (796761); "[Redacted], FCI-Lebanon-Terrorism," FBI, Nov. 24, 1980, 1075807-000, HQ 174-8799, Section 3 (796761); Geneva Switzerland, *UPI*, Dec. 8, 1980; "[Redacted], FCI-Lebanon-Terrorism," FBI, Dec. 8, 1980, 1075807-000, HQ 174-8799, Section 2 (796760); "[Redacted], FCI-Lebanon-Terrorism," FBI, Dec. 9, 1980, 1075807-000, HQ 174-8799, Section 2 (796760); and "Armenian girl questioned by FBI," *Armenian Weekly*, Dec. 20, 1980.

⁹² "Security Advisory: Trial of Suspected Armenian Terrorists on January 12," STATE 005031, Jan. 8, 1981.

⁹³ "UNSUBS, aka Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide; Bombing of Music City Tours, 1525 Vine Street, Hollywood, California, October 12, 1980," FBI, Jan. 13, 1981, 1075807-000, HQ 174-8799, Section 2 (796760); "U.S. Student Given Light Sentence in Armenian Attacks," *AP*, Jan. 13, 1981; "Foreign News Briefs," *UPI*, Jan. 13, 1981; "Around the World: Swiss Sentence American Linked to Armenian Group," *New York Times*, Jan. 14, 1981; "15-year expulsion by Swiss for American *London Times*," Jan. 14, 1981; "Swiss Court Gives Suspended Sentence to Suzy Mahseredjian, Allows Her Return Home," *Armenian Reporter*, Jan. 15, 1981; "Mahseredjian Given an 18-month Suspended Sentence," *Armenian Observer*, Jan. 21, 1981; "Suzy Mahseredjian Freed by Geneva Court & Comes Home," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Jan. 24, 1981; "Mahseredjian given suspended sentence," *Armenian Weekly*, Jan. 24, 1981; and "Armenian Terrorism Matters, FCI-Terrorism; [Redacted], FCI-Lebanon-Terrorism; [Redacted]; FCI-Lebanon-Terrorism; Monte Melkonian; FCI-Lebanon-Terrorism; Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia, FCI-Terrorism; UNSUBS; Galip Ozmen- Victim, PFO," FBI, May 21, 1981, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 3 (818871).

was a resounding success.⁹⁴ The story of the young Californian terrorist naturally spurred local interest, and even the Los Angeles Times ran a series on Armenian terrorism.⁹⁵ The terror against Swiss targets quickly resumed though, since Yenikomshian was still in custody, and despite a Red Cross report that confirmed he was not being mistreated.⁹⁶ Yenikomshian was eventually found guilty of an illegal explosives charge, but was given the same opportunity as Mahserejian: an 18-month suspended sentence and expulsion from Switzerland.⁹⁷ Within 24 hours, he was back in Beirut.⁹⁸ The lenient treatment of two self-confessed terrorists by the Swiss Courts was not well received by the Turkish press, and Yenikomshian even had the audacity to attempt to enter the United States later in the year, ostensibly for medical treatment.⁹⁹

On the same day that Yenikomshian and Mahserejian were caught in their own bomb blast, Melkonian (*ASALA*) bombed the Turkish Airlines Office in Milan.¹⁰⁰ On October 5, *ASALA* attacked the Turkish Airlines office in Madrid.¹⁰¹ In Los Angeles on October, the residence of the Turkish Consul General, Kemal Arıkan, was assaulted with Molotov cocktails after he had received phone calls threatening his life and his daughter's if he did not retract a letter he wrote opposing the early release of Gourgen Yanikian from prison.¹⁰² For good

⁹⁴ "Armenian Freedom Fighter Whisked Through N.Y. Airport," *AP*, Jan. 13, 1981; "Swiss Yield to Secret Army Threats; Visits Now Allowed by Red Cross, Amnesty International," *Armenian Reporter*, Jan. 8, 1981; and "Swiss yield to Secret Army threat?," *Armenian Weekly*, Jan. 17, 1981.

⁹⁵ "Secret Army of Armenians Directs Terrorism at Turks," *Los Angeles Times*, Jan. 25, 1981; "Turkish Envoys in L.A. Live Under Shadow of Terrorism," *LAT*, Jan. 25, 1981; "Suzy Mahseredjian Describes Her Involvement with the Secret Army," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Jan. 31, 1981; and "Details of Mahseredjian's trial," *Armenian Weekly*, Jan. 31, 1981.

⁹⁶ "Bomb Swiss Offices in Milan," *AP*, Jan. 27, 1981; "Threats Against Swiss Installations," GENEVA 00892, Jan. 29, 1981; "Red Cross Visit to Armenians," BERN 00462, Jan. 29, 1981; and "The Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia," BEIRUT 0610, Jan. 30, 1981.

⁹⁷ "Partisan of Armenian Terrorist Group Convicted on Explosives Charge," *AP*, Feb. 9, 1981; "Swiss Court Hands Down Suspended Sentence to Secret Army Member. Orders Immediate Expulsion of Ara. A. Yenikomshian," *Armenian Reporter*, Feb. 12, 1981; "Yenikomshian Released," *Armenian Weekly*, Feb. 14, 1981; and "Release of Mahserejian, Yenikomshian Viewed as Victory for Secret Army," *AR*, Feb. 19, 1981.

⁹⁸ "Daily Roundup: Lebanon - February 11, 1981 - 1000 Hours Local," BEIRUT 0860, Feb. 11, 1981; and "Ara Yenikomshian, Released by Swiss, Enjoys Freedom on His Return to Beirut," *Armenian Reporter*, April 2, 1981.

⁹⁹ "Izmir Press on Swiss Release of Armenians Accused of Terrorism," IZMIR 083, Feb. 12, 1981; and "US Rejects Request of Ara Yenikomshian to Enter Country for Medical Care," *Armenian Reporter*, June 25, 1981.

¹⁰⁰ "Ermeniler Milano THY bürosu önünde bomba patlattılar," *Cumhuriyet*, Oct. 5, 1980. Melkonian claims the attacks by his brother were actually against a Turkish Coffee shop and a publishing company. See Melkonian, *My Brother's Road*, 88.

¹⁰¹ "Secret Army Claims Responsibility for Madrid Bombing," *Armenian Reporter*, Oct. 16, 1980.

¹⁰² "Firebombing of Residence of GOT Consul General in Los Angeles," STATE 269993, Oct. 9, 1980; and "L.A. Turkish Consul's House Target of Molotov Cocktail Attack," *Armenian Weekly*, Oct. 11, 1980. Harout Sassounian

measure, *ASALA* also sent a thinly veiled threat to the California Parole Board.¹⁰³ In the subsequent investigation, Levon Yergatian, the individual who had been coordinating Yanikian's defense funds, was suspected of being *ASALA*'s strongest supporter in California, if not a member, particularly after it was noted that he had met Takoushian on at least two recent occasions in Beirut.¹⁰⁴

On October 12, a Turkish travel agency in Los Angeles (*ARF*), Turkish Airlines in London (*ASALA*), and Turkish government offices across from the United Nations in New York (*ARF*) were all attacked.¹⁰⁵ The car bomb attack near the UN in New York resulted in extensive damage, wounded 4 pedestrians, and was eventually linked to prominent *ARF* member Mourad Topalian in the late 1990s. The attacks in the United States finally prompted a thorough and sustained investigation of Armenian terrorism by the FBI, and by early 1981 the Bureau

would eventually be arrested for the attack on Arikan's residence. See "Assassin Suspect's brother arrested in firebombing," *UPI*, Feb. 16, 1982.

¹⁰³ "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia," FBI, Jan. 2, 1981, 1149357-000, 199B-LA-103720C, Section 02 (943904); and *ASALA*, Letter to Parole Board, California Institution for Men, FBI, Feb. 2, 1981, 1149360-000, 199B-LA-103720-A, Section 2 (944216).

¹⁰⁴ "The Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia," Memorandum, Board of Prison Terms, State of California, FBI, March 9, 1981, 1149357-000, 199B-LA-103720C, Section 02 (943904); "Levon Yergatian, FCI-ME-Terrorism. Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia, FCI-Lebanon-Terrorism," FBI, March 11, 1981, 1149357-000, 199B-LA-103720C, Section 01 (943903); "Levon Yergatian, FCI-ME-Terrorism. Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia, FCI-Lebanon-Terrorism," FBI, March 12, 1981, 1149376-000, 199B-DE-725, Section 1 (944982); "[Redacted], FCI-ME-Terrorism. Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia, FCI-Lebanon-Terrorism. (199-520)," FBI, March 13, 1981, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 2 (818868); "Levon Yergatian, FCI-ME-Terrorism; [Redacted], FCI-Lebanon-Terrorism; [Redacted], FCI-Lebanon-Terrorism; Monte Melkonian, FCI-Lebanon-Terrorism; Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia, FCI-Lebanon-Terrorism," FBI, March 19, 1981, 1149357-000, 199B-LA-103720C, Section 01 (943903); and "Levon Yergatian; FCI-Middle East-Terrorism," July 17, 1981, FBI, 1149357-000, 199B-LA-103720C, Section 3 (943916).

¹⁰⁵ "UNSUBS; aka, Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide," FBI, Oct. 13, 1980, 1075807-000, HQ 174-8799, Section 1 (796759); Michael R. Gross, "The Armenians: 6 Million People in Quest of a Nation," *AP*, Oct. 13, 1980; M.A. Farber, "Blast Injures Four Near a U.N. Mission," *New York Times*, Oct. 13, 1980; "Armenian Terrorists Say They Planted Some Bombs," *AP*, Oct. 13, 1980; "One Hurt in Hollywood Blast," *NYT*, Oct. 13, 1980; "UNSUBS; AKA, Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide," FBI, Oct. 14, 1980, 1075807-000, HQ 174-8799, Section 1 (796759); "Stolen Car Was Used in Blast Near U.N.," *NYT*, Oct. 14, 1980; "UNSUBS; aka Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide," FBI, Oct. 17, 1980, 1075807-000, HQ 174-8799, Section 1 (796759); "Armenian Group Claims Setting Off Bomb," *Armenian Observer*, Oct. 15, 1980; "Armenians Claim Responsibility for Bomb Blast Outside U.N. Turkish Mission," *Armenian Reporter*, Oct. 16, 1980; "News Agencies Receive Statement from Armenian Secret Army," *AR*, Oct. 16, 1980; "Blasts Rock Turkish Centers Around the World; Justice Commandos & Secret Army Claim Responsibility," *Armenian Weekly*, Oct. 18, 1980; "Police Come Up With Little in Bombing of Turkish Mission in New York City," *AR*, Oct. 23, 1980; "Text of Secret Army Communiques on Bombings in New York, Los Angeles and Europe," *AR*, Oct. 23, 1980; "No Clues to N.Y.C. Bombing of Turkish Center," *AR*, Oct. 30, 1980; "Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide Issue Communique on Bombing Attacks," *AW*, Nov. 22, 1980; and "Armenian Terrorist Matters, FCI-Terrorism," FBI, March 30, 1981, 1149357-000, 199B-LA-103720C, Section 01 (943903).

suspected that the *ARF* was behind one or both of the Armenian terrorist organizations.¹⁰⁶ Eventually, the investigation would focus specifically on ties between the *ARF* and the *JCAG*, and by early 1982 the FBI was convinced that the *ARF* leadership ran the *JCAG/ARA*, and by the end of 1986 it was clear that the terrorist organizations were “financed and directed by the Politburo {Bureau} of the *ARF*...”¹⁰⁷

Particularly noteworthy for the FBI was the statement by *ANC* president Harry Derderian: “If the terrorism is a contributing in getting people’s attention [to the Armenian cause], I can go along with it.”¹⁰⁸ The connection between the *ARF* and the *JCAG* also began to appear more in the Armenian American press, as did complaints over the FBI’s investigation.¹⁰⁹ U.S. authorities also investigated *ASALA*’s link to the Armenian American community in the Los Angeles Area, and took threats of violence more seriously.¹¹⁰ In March 1981, the danger posed to U.S. interests by Armenian terrorist forced the FBI to declare that both *ASALA* and the *JCAG* represented a “clear and present threat to the national security interests of the United States.”¹¹¹ Equally threatening to the peace and security in Europe, on November 10, the Turkish Consulate in Strasbourg, France was bombed, and on November 19, the Turkish Airlines office

¹⁰⁶ “UNSUBS; aka Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide,” FBI, Dec. 15, 1980, 1075807-000, HQ 174-8799, Section 2 (796760); “The Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia,” Memorandum, District of California, Board of Prison Terms, FBI, Feb. 6, 1981, 1149357-000, 199B-LA-103720C, Section 01 (943903); “Armenian Terrorism Matters; FCI-Terrorism,” FBI, Feb. 26, 1981, 1149357-000, 199B-LA-103720C, Section 01 (943903); “[Redacted], FCI-Lebanon-Terrorism; Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (*ASALA*); FCI-Lebanon-Terrorism; Monte Melkonian, FCI-Lebanon-Terrorism,” FBI, March 18, 1981, 1149376-000, 199B-DE-725, Section 1 (944982); “Armenian Terrorism Matters,” FBI, April 6, 1981, 1149357-000, 199B-LA-103720C, Section 02 (943904); “Armenian Terrorist Matters, FCI-Terrorism,” FBI, April 11, 1981, 1149360-000, 199B-LA-103720C, Section 37 (944276); “Armenian Terrorist Matters; FCI-Terrorism,” FBI, April 13, 1981, 1149357-000, 199B-LA-103720C, Section 02 (943904); and “Armenian Terrorist Matters,” FBI, April 17, 1981, 1149357-000, 199B-LA-103720C, Section 02 (943904).

¹⁰⁷ “Armenian Terrorist Matters, FCI-Lebanon-Terrorism,” FBI, April 24, 1981, 1149357-000, 199B-LA-103720C, Section 02 (943904); “Armenian Revolutionary Federation (*ARF*); FCI-Lebanon-Terrorism. Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide (*JCAG*); FCI-Lebanon-Terrorism,” FBI, March 9, 1982, 1149368-000, 199B-CG-625, Section 1 (944520); and “Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide {*JCAG*}, AKA Armenian Revolutionary Army {*ARA*}; IT-*JCAG/ARA*,” FBI, Dec. 18, 1986, 1075807-000, HQ 199-9742, Section 1 (796809).

¹⁰⁸ “Armenian Terrorism Matters; FCI-Terrorism,” FBI, Feb. 26, 1981, 1149357-000, 199B-LA-103720C, Section 01 (943903).

¹⁰⁹ “Secret Army Scores Tashnak Party for Creating Justice Commandos; Manipulating Armenian People,” *Armenian Reporter*, Feb. 12, 1981; “A.R.F. Actions Seem to Confirm Assumptions About Links to the Justice Commandos,” *AR*, Feb. 12, 1981; and “Surveillance of Armenians,” *Armenian Weekly*, March 5, 1981.

¹¹⁰ “Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (*ASALA*); Foreign Counterintelligence Investigation-Lebanon-Terrorism,” FBI, June 2, 1981, 1149357-000, 199B-LA-103720C, Section 3 (943916); “Armenian Terrorist Matters,” FBI, June 5, 1981, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 3 (818871); *UPI*, Anaheim, June 6, 1981; “Visit of Turkish Folklore Ballet to the United States,” FBI, June 9, 1981, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 3 (818871); and “Demonstrations Cause Cancellation of Turkish Events,” *Armenian Observer*, June 10, 1981.

¹¹¹ “Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (*ASALA*), FCI-Lebanon-Terrorism,” FBI, March 17, 1981, 1149357-000, 199B-LA-103720C, Section 02 (943904).

in Rome was attacked by ASALA.¹¹² On December 11, ASALA attempted to assassinate a Turkish diplomat in Rome, who was only saved by the recently installed bulletproof glass in his car, and five days later, ASALA attacked the French tourist office in London, but the bombs were defused before they detonated.¹¹³

Şarik Arıyak & Engin Sever (Sydney, Australia)—December 17, 1980

On December 17, the Turkish Consul General in Sydney, Australia, 50-year old Şarik Arıyak, and his bodyguard, 28-year old Engin Sever, were assassinated in front of the Consul's home by two *ARF* operatives riding on a motorcycle.¹¹⁴ Even though Australian intelligence services had knowledge of an impending assault, they were still unable to prevent Arıyak and Sever from becoming the 14th and 15th victims of the Turkish Foreign Ministry.¹¹⁵ Australian police efforts failed to turn up the assailants, while the Armenian Patriarch in Istanbul, who was still not entirely convinced Armenians were behind the violence, condemned the attack.¹¹⁶ In an editorial to the *Los Angeles Times*, the Turkish Press Secretary in Washington noted: "the current wave of anti-Turkish terrorism should inspire universal revulsion... but there has been surprisingly little condemnation, editorial or otherwise, in the United States." He implored readers to speak out against anti-Turkish violence and terrorism in order to undermine the "tacit encouragement of terrorists that past widespread silence in the face of attacks on Turks seems to have

¹¹² "Bir konsolosluğumuz daha bombalandı," *Hürriyet*, Nov. 11, 1980; "Armenians Bomb Turkish Office in Rome," *UPI*, Nov. 20, 1980; "Bombing in Rome," *Armenian Reporter*, Nov. 27, 1980; and "Bombings Continue in Europe; Three Armenians are in Custody," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Dec. 6, 1980.

¹¹³ "Assassination Attempt in Rome Foiled," *Armenian Reporter*, Jan. 1, 1981; *AP*, London, Dec. 16, 1980; "Armenian Group thought to be behind bomb attempt," *London Times*, Dec. 17, 1980; and "Bombs Defused in London," *Armenian Weekly*, Jan. 3, 1981.

¹¹⁴ "Terrorists assassinate Turkish consul general," *UPI*, Dec. 16, 1980; "Turkish Consul to Australia Slain," *AP*, Dec. 16, 1980; *AP*, Sydney, Dec. 17, 1980; "Turkish Consul is Slain in Sydney," *New York Times*, Dec. 17, 1980; "Australians Police Seek Killers of Turkish Official," *NYT*, Dec. 18, 1980; "U.S. Denounces Slayings of Turks by Armenian Separatists," *AP*, Dec. 19, 1980; "Turkish Consul of Sydney Hit," *Armenian Weekly*, Dec. 20, 1980; "Justice Commandos Claim Killing Turkish Consul in Sydney," *Armenian Observer*, Dec. 24, 1980; "Turkish Consul and Guard Assassinated in Australia," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Dec. 27, 1980; and "Details of the Sydney hit," *Armenian Weekly*, Dec. 27, 1980.

¹¹⁵ "Turkish Papers Add Details on Sydney Assassinations," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Jan. 3, 1981.

¹¹⁶ "Police Hunt in Australia Produces Little in Assassination of Turkish Diplomat," *Armenian Reporter*, Jan. 1, 1981; "Armenian Patriarch in Turkey Condemns Armenian Terrorism," *AR*, Jan. 1, 1981; "Turkish Papers Print Assassin's Message," *Armenian Observer*, Jan. 21, 1981; "Australians baffled by lack of clues in assassination of Turkish consul," *Armenian Weekly*, Feb. 14, 1981; and "Patriarch Shnorhik of Turkey Condemns Terrorism Against Turkish Officials," *AO*, Feb. 18, 1981.

produced,” as did various Turkish American organizations.¹¹⁷ The Armenian community largely disregarded these requests to unequivocally denounce terrorism.¹¹⁸

After the slayings in Sydney, the Turkish press began to openly speculate on possible Soviet involvement with the Armenian terrorist organizations for the first time.¹¹⁹ Privately, it seems, Turkish government officials felt the same way, although they still did not dismiss Greek Cypriot influence.¹²⁰ On December 30, TWA and Swissair were targeted by *ASALA* in Madrid.¹²¹ Shortly thereafter, the UN passed a resolution requiring all member states to submit an annual list of attacks carried out against foreign diplomats in their country.¹²² The Turkish government believed this was a start in forcing countries to take international terrorism and, in particular, assaults on diplomats more seriously. But it was still not a preventative measure; on January 13, the Turkish press reported an assassination attempt on the Embassy’s financial advisor in Paris, Ahmet Erbeyli. In response, the Turkish government declared it was sending a delegation for France to assist in the investigation.¹²³ In yet another condemnation of the violence, the Armenian Patriarch in Istanbul finally acknowledged the possibility that some “‘naïve and befuddled’ Armenian young men and women” might be involved.¹²⁴

Around the same time, the U.S. State department became aware of an *ASALA* newsletter being published in Beirut. Although primarily filled with Marxist rhetoric and anti-imperialist, anti-American, anti-Turkish and anti-ARF rhetoric, the newsletter would provide the FBI, and one can only assume the CIA and other international intelligence organizations, with an important source of information on *ASALA* and Armenian terrorism for the remainder of its

¹¹⁷ Ahmet Ersoy, “Turkish Embassy Deplores Slayings,” *Los Angeles Times*, Dec. 28, 1980; “An Appeal to All Americans to Condemn Terrorism,” *New York Times*, Dec. 24, 1980; and “Turkish American Groups Appeal for Condemnation of Terrorist Attacks,” *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Jan. 3, 1981.

¹¹⁸ Haig Baronian and Lydia Garoian, “Turkish Slayings,” *Los Angeles Times*, Jan. 3, 1981; “Armenian Assembly Responds to Turkish Appeal,” *Armenian Reporter*, Jan. 15, 1981; “Armenian Assembly responds to Turkish ad,” *Armenian Weekly*, Jan. 17, 1981; “Armenian National Committee responds to S.F. Chronicle’s pro-Turkish Editorial,” *AW*, Jan. 31, 1981; and “Armenian Terrorism,” *LAT*, Feb. 5, 1981.

¹¹⁹ “NCNA Accuses USSR of Making Use of Armenian Anti-Turkish Terrorists,” *BBC*, Jan. 9, 1981.

¹²⁰ “Franco-Turkish Relations in the Light of Fonmin Turkmen’s Feb 9-10 Paris Visit,” PARIS 04519, Feb. 13, 1981.

¹²¹ *AP*, Madrid, Dec. 30, 1980; and “Bombings in Spain Attributed to Armenian Groups,” *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Jan. 3, 1981.

¹²² “Turkey Gains a Tool to Fight Attacks on Diplomats,” *New York Times*, Jan. 11, 1981.

¹²³ “Turkish Press Review: January 13-14, 1981,” ANKARA 00361, Jan. 14, 1981; “GOT Reaction to Armenian Terrorism,” ANKARA 00423, Jan. 14, 1981; and “Armenians claim car bomb blast,” *Armenian Weekly*, Jan. 17, 1981.

¹²⁴ “Istanbul Patriarch Appeals to World Armenians to Condemn Terrorism Against Turks,” *Armenian Reporter*, Jan. 22, 1981.

existence.¹²⁵ In the short-term, however, U.S. and West European police agencies were unable to develop any substantial progress in their efforts to track down the terrorists, and the Turkish public was beginning to lose its patience, both with the international community and its own political leadership: “Is our government unable to establish a counter-guerilla organization that could deal a decisive blow to those madmen?”¹²⁶

By early February 1981, newspaper reports circulated that some Turkish groups were taking matters into their own hands.¹²⁷ While there is no evidence that the Turkish government formed a counter-guerilla hit squad at this time, and the State Department did not believe they would, *ASALA* had risen so high on the priority list of the U.S. government, that it was one of three organizations on the agenda for an international counterterrorism conference hosted by the FBI.¹²⁸ The State Department also began to suspect deeper connections between *ASALA* and the Soviet Union than previously thought, and the diplomats in the USSR did not believe Armenian SSR officials who claimed ignorance of the subject.¹²⁹

Reşat Moralı & Tecelli Arı—Paris, France (March 4, 1981)

On March 4, *ASALA* assassinated Reşat Moralı, the Turkish Embassy’s 37-year old Labor Attaché, and Tecelli Arı, the Embassy’s 35-year old Religious Affairs advisor, on a Parisian

¹²⁵ “Magazine of the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation Armenia,” BEIRUT 0238, Jan. 14, 1981; “Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia,” BEIRUT 0240, Jan. 14, 1981; “Biographic Information on Alleged Members of the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia,” BEIRUT 0241, Jan. 14, 1981; “Reporting on *ASALA* Armenian Terrorism,” STATE 011135, Jan. 15, 1981; “MER Article on the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia,” BEIRUT 0287, Jan. 16, 1981; “Secret Army Goes ‘Public’, Publishes Multilingual Magazine,” *Armenian Reporter*, Feb. 5, 1981; “Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia,” BEIRUT 1292, March 4, 1981; “Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia,” BEIRUT 1693, March 19, 1981; “Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia,” BEIRUT 1803, March 25, 1981.

¹²⁶ “Speculations in the Turkish Press,” *Armenian Weekly*, Jan. 31, 1981.

¹²⁷ “Turkish Columnist Claims Groups Forming to Take Reprisals for Killing of Diplomats,” *Armenian Reporter*, Feb. 5, 1981; and “Turks Speak of Revenge,” *Armenian Weekly*, Feb. 14, 1981.

¹²⁸ “April 6th Liberation Movement {ASLM}; Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia {*ASALA*}; FCI-Terrorism; Taiwanese Independence Movement {TIM},” FBI, Feb. 13, 1981, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 1 (818867); “April 6th Liberation Movement (ASLM); Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (*ASALA*); FCI-Terrorism; Taiwanese Independence Movement (TIM),” FBI, March 5, 1981, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 2 (818868); and “Reactions in Istanbul to Assassinations of Turkish Diplomats in Paris,” ISTANBUL 1008, March 9, 1981.

¹²⁹ “Possibility of Soviet Links to the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (*ASALA*),” ROME 03992, Feb. 23, 1981; “Administration’s Concern Over International Terrorism Focuses on Support to Armenian Terrorists,” *Armenian Reporter*, Feb. 12, 1983; and “Armenian Officials on Armenian Terrorism,” MOSCOW 03678, March 16, 1981.

street.¹³⁰ Along with claiming the attack, *ASALA* threatened the French government not to interfere with *ASALA*'s operations and warned "French interests are within reach of our fighters."¹³¹ According to an *ASALA* interview, the assassinations were, in part, in retaliation for the crackdown on leftist "revolutionaries" in Turkey, following the September 12, 1980 coup, and the Turkish Foreign Minister's visit to France on February 9.¹³² This most recent attack threatened to further strain the already tense relations between Turkey and France over the issue of Armenian terrorism, and Turkey's new head of state, General Kenan Evren, officially expressed his country's expectations that France "must show the necessary concern... must work day and night and must capture and punish the perpetrators of these atrocities."¹³³

Five Turkish diplomats had been murdered in France since the terror campaign had started, and France had yet to arrest a single suspect in connection with the murders, assaults or bombings carried out by the Armenians. The Turkish press was quick to note, and criticize, that French television coverage of the assassinations gave more time to an explanation of the Armenian cause than to the two murdered Turkish diplomats.¹³⁴ While anti-French sentiment increased in the Turkish press, Evren called on the entire international community to "take

¹³⁰ "Wounded Turkish Diplomat Dies," *AP*, March 5, 1981; "Turkish Diplomat Slain by Assassins in Paris," *Christian Science Monitor*, March 5, 1981; *UPI*, Paris, March 5, 1981; "Turkish Diplomat Gunned Down in Paris By Armenian Secret Army; Second Envoy Wounded," *Armenian Reporter*, March 5, 1981; "Turkish Diplomats Gunned Down in Paris," *Armenian Weekly*, March 7, 1981; "Attack Upon Turkish Diplomats," PARIS 08440, March 20, 1981; "ASALA Claims Responsibility for the Shooting Deaths of Turkish Diplomats in Paris," *Armenian Observer*, March 11, 1981; and "Two Turkish Diplomats Killed in Paris by Unknown Gunmen," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, March 14, 1981.

¹³¹ "ASALA Threat Against French," BEIRUT 1390, March 6, 1981.

¹³² "Press Conference with Shahan Natali Guerilla," *ASALA Interviews*, 36-39; "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA)," FBI, March 6, 1981, FBI, 1149357-000, 199B-LA-103720C, Section 01 (943903); "Secret Army Struck After Warning," *Armenian Reporter*, March 5, 1981; and "Secret Army had Warned the French," *Armenian Weekly*, March 14, 1981. One of the diplomats was also accused of being a CIA agent. See "Armenian Secret Army News Conference," BEIRUT 1472, March 11, 1981, DOS; "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA)," FBI, March 25, 1981, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 2 (818868); "One of the slain diplomats was a CIA agent according to ASALA," *AW*, March 28, 1981; "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA)," FBI, April 14, 1981, 1149357-000, 199B-LA-103720C, Section 02 (943904).

¹³³ "Turkish Press Review: March 5-6, 1981," ANKARA 01804, March 6, 1981; "Turkey Protests to France in Shooting Deaths of 2 Diplomats," *Armenian Observer*, March 11, 1981; "French authorities criticized by Turkey for failing to protect diplomats," *Armenian Weekly*, March 14, 1981; and "Armenian Killers Drive a Wedge Between Turkey and Its Allies," *Armenian Reporter*, April 9, 1981. See also "Turkish Press Review - June 23-24, 1981," ANKARA 04666, June 24, 1981.

¹³⁴ "Reactions in Istanbul to Assassinations of Turkish Diplomats in Paris," ISTANBUL 1008, March 9, 1981. See also "Armenian Terrorism Matters; FCI-Terrorism," FBI, March 16, 1981, 1149357-000, 199B-LA-103720C, Section 01 (943903).

stronger action against international terrorism.¹³⁵ The *ARF* meanwhile cynically responded to the Turkish reaction, and used it as an opportunity to prove to its readership that contemporary Turkish leaders were just as culpable for the events of 1915 as their Ottoman predecessors.¹³⁶ The Turkish newspapers, which had been calling for a stronger government response for months, found the new military regime more sympathetic to their frustrations, and Turkish citizens publicly demonstrated in Ankara, Paris and elsewhere to voice their anger over Armenian terrorism and Western apathy.¹³⁷

Less than one month after the murders in Paris, Cavit Demir, the 43-year old Turkish Labor Attaché in Copenhagen, was the victim of an assassination attempt while inside his apartment building. Shot six times at close range, Demir manage to crawl to his apartment where his wife telephoned for help. Even before the Copenhagen police were aware of the situation, both *ASALA* and the *JCAG* immediately claimed responsibility.¹³⁸ The U.S. Secretary of State phoned the Turkish Foreign Minister, who had been thoroughly briefed only days before by the FBI on Armenian counterterrorist efforts, to reiterate the United States' commitment to fighting terrorism.¹³⁹ As rumors circulated that Turkey was debating retaliatory

¹³⁵ "Turkish Leader Appeals for Anti-terror Measures," *New York Times*, March 6, 1981; "Reactions in Istanbul to Assassinations of Turkish Diplomats in Paris," ISTANBUL 1008, March 9, 1981; "Turkish Press Review: March 7-9, 1981," ANKARA 01859, March 9, 1981; "Turkish Press Review: March 12-13, 1981," ANKARA 02006, March 13, 1981; "Angry Turks Mourn Assassination of Diplomats," *Armenian Reporter*, March 19, 1981; "Turkey's Victims of Terrorism," *AR*, March 19, 1981; "Turks Attack French Indifference in Funeral for Slain Diplomats," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, March 21, 1981; and "Turks angry at world 'passivity'," *Armenian Weekly*, March 21, 1981.

¹³⁶ "Turkish papers 'analyze' Armenian 'terrorism'," *Armenian Weekly*, March 21, 1981.

¹³⁷ "Reactions in Istanbul to Assassinations of Turkish Diplomats in Paris," ISTANBUL 1008, March 9, 1981; "Demonstrations Against "Armenian Terrorism" in Ankara and Paris," *Armenian Weekly*, March 28, 1981; "Turks Demonstrate Against Armenians," *Armenian Observer*, April 1, 1981; "Turkish Demonstrations Against Terrorism Continue," *Armenian Reporter*, April 23, 1981; "Turks Stage Anti-Armenian Demonstration in the Streets of N.Y.," *AR*, April 30, 1981; and "Turkish-American Group Explains Why it Planned Demonstrations," *AR*, April 30, 1981. Turkish attempts to demonstrate in Athens, Greece were denied by the Greek government. See "Greek Reject Turk Protest Over Armenians," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, May 2, 1981; and "Greece rebuffs Turkish Protest," *AW*, May 2, 1981.

¹³⁸ "Assassination Attempt Against Turkish Diplomat," COPENHAGEN 2241, April 3, 1981; "Statement on April 3 Shooting in Copenhagen," STATE 084903, April 3, 1981; "Critically Wounded by Armenian Terrorists," *AP*, April 3, 1981; "Armenian Terrorists Claim Responsibility in Diplomat Shooting," *UPI*, April 3, 1981; "Diplomat Shot," *AP*, April 3, 1981; *UPI*, Copenhagen, April 3, 1981; "Turkish Diplomat is Shot," *The Times*, April 3, 1981; "Around the World: Turk in Critical Condition After Attack in Copenhagen," *New York Times*, April 4, 1981; "Turkish Envoy Shot," *Washington Post*, April 4, 1981; "Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide/Justice for the Armenian People," BEIRUT 2187, April 9, 1981; and "Turkish Diplomat Survives Assassination Attempt Claimed by Armenians," *Armenian Reporter*, April 9, 1981.

¹³⁹ "Assassination Attempt on Turkish Diplomat in Copenhagen," Department of State Action Memorandum, Lawrence S. Eagleburger to Secretary of State, April 3, 1981; and "Foreign Minister Turkmen's Meeting with State

strikes, the U.S. Embassy in Ankara urged Washington to dissuade the Turkish government from this type of action, arguing that it would only serve to “harm Turkey’s standing in world public opinion” and help to “perpetuate and reinforce an historically false and stereotyped image of Turkey;” which the embassy identified as one of the aims of Armenian terrorism.¹⁴⁰

Whether or not the Turkish government did in fact carry out strikes against Armenians remain uncertain, but on April 28, *ASALA* issued a call for Armenians everywhere to arm themselves in response to “attacks perpetrated by the Turkish government.”¹⁴¹ Press reports of events in France also led to suspicion that Turkish groups had entered into the conflict, even though the Turkish government denied these allegations.¹⁴² Before the rumors gained much traction, there was an assassination attempt against Pope John Paul II on May 13. Although it would later be disproved, initial speculation centered on *ASALA*, because of its repeated threats against the Pope.¹⁴³

Mehmet Savaş Yergüç, Geneva, Switzerland—June 9, 1981

On June 9, 1981, 39-year old Mehmet Savaş Yergüç, a Turkish diplomat serving at the General Consulate in Geneva, was shot to death in the back by an *ASALA* operative approximately 200 yards from the Consulate as he was leaving work. Within minutes, the Swiss police had arrested a 23-year old Lebanese Armenian named Mardiros Jamgochian, who was still in possession of

and FBI Officials to Discuss Terrorism,” STATE 087232, April 7, 1981. See also “Armenian Terrorism Directed at Turkish Officials,” STATE 141960, June 1, 1981.

¹⁴⁰ “Reported Turkish Decision to Strike Back at Attackers of Turkish Diplomats Abroad,” STATE 089350, April 9, 1981; “Secret Army Issues a Call to Arms; Cites Turkish Plans for Renewed Persecution,” *Armenian Reporter*, April 30, 1981; and “Armenians Warned of Impending Campaign,” *Armenian Weekly*, May 16, 1981.

¹⁴¹ “Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia Communiques,” BEIRUT 2741, May 2, 1981.

¹⁴² “Bomb Explodes in Front of AGBU Center in Paris,” *Armenian Reporter*, June 3, 1981; “Turkish Embassy Request for Security,” ANKARA 04235, June 5, 1981; *UPI*, Paris, June 5, 1981; “Turks Says Europe Must Combat Terrorism,” *AP*, June 6, 1981; “Bomb Wrecks Alec Manougian Cultural Center in Paris,” *Armenian Weekly*, June 6, 1981; “Bomb Found at Armenian Church in Paris,” *BBC*, June 8, 1981; “Armenian Church Bombed. Turkish Revolutionary Group Claims Responsibility,” *Armenian Observer*, June 10, 1980; “Turkish Foreign Minister on Armenian Terrorist Attack,” *BBC*, June 12, 1981; “Bombings in Paris Continue, Armenian Community Organizes,” *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, June 13, 1981; and “Turks Blame Armenians for Bombing of Armenian Sites,” *AW*, July 4, 1981.

¹⁴³ “Assassination Attempt on the Pope: Turkish Views,” ANKARA 03900, May 22, 1981; “Pope John Paul II Wounded in Rome Assassination Attempt,” *Armenian Reporter*, May 14, 1981; “Italian Police Find No Evidence of Armenian Involvement in Turk’s Attempt to Kill the Pope,” *AR*, May 21, 1981; “Armenians Indignant at Reports Papal Assailant Had Armenian Connections,” *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, May 23, 1981; “Turkish Ambassador [sic] tries to distort facts regarding attempt against Pope,” *Armenian Weekly*, May 23, 1981; “Vigilance pays off,” *AW*, May 23, 1981; “A.N.C., Armenian Assembly and other organizations act swiftly to prevent distortion of fact by Turks,” *AW*, May 23, 1981; and “Turkish Ambassador Challenged on ABC’s ‘Issues and Answers’,” *Armenian Observer*, May 27, 1981.

the murder weapon, ammunition and a hand grenade.¹⁴⁴ An *ASALA* communiqué providing full disclosure of the attack claimed that the organization had intended to do much more damage than simply murder one diplomat. Expecting a number of Turkish consular staff to rush to Yergüç's aid, the hand grenade was designed to kill this second group of Turkish diplomats with *ASALA* agents nearby armed with weapons to finish off any survivors of the blast.

Because of the number of 'innocent' Swiss bystanders, however, the hand grenade attack was aborted.¹⁴⁵ According to consular reports Jamgochian "gloried in what he had done," and *ASALA* threatened to resume attacks against the Swiss government if he was not released or if either Interpol or Turkish authorities were allowed to interview Jamgochian.¹⁴⁶ *ASALA* also claimed that Yergüç was an agent of both the MIT and CIA.¹⁴⁷ Jamgochian had allegedly joined *ASALA* in mid-1979, and had spent the five months of 1981 in a Palestinian training camp. In his own account, Jamgochian was working alone, and lived on the streets of Geneva for six days before the attack.¹⁴⁸

The Turkish government pleaded with the Armenian diaspora to condemn the attacks, and continued to look to its western allies to assist in counterterrorist efforts.¹⁴⁹ While Turkish Armenians obliged, the diaspora responded with anti-Turkish demonstrations. Some 15,000 Armenians marched in Paris on June 11, and 16 Armenian youths occupied the Turkish Airlines office in Paris for an hour on June 13.¹⁵⁰ The release of those who participated in the Turkish

¹⁴⁴ "Turkish Consular Secretary Shot to Death in Switzerland," *AP*, June 9, 1981; *UPI*, Geneva, June 9, 1981; "Turkish Envoy Shot," *Washington Post*, June 10, 1981; "Group Claims Responsibility for Killing," *AP*, June 10, 1981; *UPI*, Ankara, June 10, 1981; "Fatal Shooting of Turkish Consular Employee in Geneva," GENEVA 05915, June 12, 1981; and "Secret Army Takes Credit for Killing of Turkish Diplomat in Geneva; Assailant's Identity Revealed," *Armenian Reporter*, June 18, 1981.

¹⁴⁵ "Armenian Terrorism - Switzerland," GENEVA 06159, June 18, 1981; and "Armenian Terrorism," GENEVA 06335, June 23, 1981.

¹⁴⁶ "Armenian Terrorism - Switzerland," GENEVA 06159, June 18, 1981; "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (*ASALA*)," FBI, June 18, 1981, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 3 (818871); and "Secret Army of the Liberation of Armenia, aka Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide," FBI, June 18, 1981, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 3 (818871).

¹⁴⁷ "Armenian Terrorism," GENEVA 06335, June 23, 1981.

¹⁴⁸ "Armenian Terrorism - Switzerland," GENEVA 06214, June 19, 1981.

¹⁴⁹ "Turk Plea to Armenians," *The Times*, June 11, 1981; "Fatal Shooting of Turkish Consular Employee in Geneva," GENEVA 05915, June 12, 1981; "Turkey, Fearing Increased Armenian Attacks, Warns France to Beef up Security," *Armenian Reporter*, June 25, 1981; and "French Ambassador to Turkey Denies His Country Harbors Terrorists," *AR*, July 9, 1981.

¹⁵⁰ "Turkish Arm. Newspapers, in Press Conference, Denounce Terrorism," *Armenian Reporter*, Sept. 10, 1981; "Ending of Occupation of Turkish Airlines' Office in Paris," *BBC*, June 13, 1981; "Turkish Note to France Over Attacks by Armenians," *BBC*, June 15, 1981; "Armenian Terrorism Directed at Turkish Officials," ANKARA 04525, June 17, 1981; "15,000 Armenians March in Paris," *Armenian Observer*, June 24, 1981; and "Armenian Group Occupies Turkish Airlines Office in Paris," *AO*, June 24, 1981.

Airlines break-in, without prosecution, produced another rift in French-Turkish relations.¹⁵¹ Likewise, a report on Armenian terrorism against Turkey in West Germany that failed to condemn the attacks drew the ire of the Turkish government.¹⁵² It appears that the U.S. government requested an assessment report from its embassies in Western Europe after the attack on what was being done in each country, a few of which had more pressing local terrorist concerns than Armenian terrorist attacks against Turks.¹⁵³

The FBI maintained contact with Armenian Church leaders, the Armenian press, and with recent immigrants from Beirut and the Soviet Union in an attempt to develop leads.¹⁵⁴ The U.S. Congress also began to express more concern over Armenian terrorism, an indication of rising international attention to the attacks and a reflection of Turkey's renewed importance in the region as the geopolitics of détente shifted in the wake of the Iranian Revolution, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, and the election of Ronald Reagan to the 'New Cold War'.¹⁵⁵ Any criticism of Armenian terrorism, whether by Congress or the media, was still immediately labeled and interpreted as anti-Armenian by the Armenian American press.¹⁵⁶

The violence was beginning to take its toll on everyone involved. The Turkish government, their diplomats and their families were under siege,¹⁵⁷ and evidence emerged of the escalating animosity between *ASALA* and the *ARF*, including attempts at infiltration and defection between the two groups and intimidation to secure funds in Beirut and elsewhere.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵¹ "Armenians Occupying Turkish Office Must be Jailed," *Armenian Weekly*, July 18, 1981.

¹⁵² "German T.V. Coverage of ASALA Angers Turkish Envoy," *Armenian Reporter*, Sept. 10, 1981.

¹⁵³ "Armenian Terrorism in Spain," MADRID 09492, June 25, 1981; "Armenian Terrorist Attacks in Italy," ROME 15453, June 25, 1981; "Armenian Terrorism Directed at Turkish Officials," MOSCOW 08930, June 26, 1981; and "Armenian Terrorism Directed at Turkish Officials," BEIRUT 4239, June 26, 1981.

¹⁵⁴ "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA)," FBI, Aug. 11, 1981, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 3 (818871).

¹⁵⁵ "Terrorism: The Turkish Experience," Hearing Before the Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism of the Committee on the Judiciary United States Senate, Ninety-Seventh Congress, First Session on Turkish Experience with Terrorism," June 25, 1981, Serial No. J-97-43; "Turkish Press Review-June 25-26, 1981," ANKARA 04734, June 26, 1981; Rep. Charles Wilson (TX), "Assassination of Turkish Diplomats by Armenian Terrorists," *CR*, July 30, 1981, 18848-18849; "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA)," FBI, July 31, 1981, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 3 (818871); and "USG Policy Toward Turkey," Department of State, Sept. 5, 1981, CIA-RDP83B00140R000100120003-0.

¹⁵⁶ "US Rep. Ritter Complains About Armenians," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, June 27, 1981; "Senate Subcommittee Discusses Terrorism," *Armenian Weekly*, July 18, 1981; and "Bias Against Armenians," *AW*, July 25, 1981.

¹⁵⁷ "Armenia Extremists the Terror of the Turks," *UPI*, July 1, 1981.

¹⁵⁸ "Victor Chayto/Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide," BEIRUT 4385, July 1, 1981; "Prominent Beirut Armenian Shot in Assassination Attempt," *Armenian Reporter*, July 30, 1981; "ASALA Uncovers Infiltration Plot," *AR*, Aug. 13, 1981; "Confessions of Secret Army Prisoner," *AR*, Aug. 13, 1981; "Convicted Spy Makes Plea to Youth," *AR*, Aug. 13, 1981; "Secret Army Launches Fund-Raising Drive," *AR*, Sept. 3, 1981;

Still, however, it continued, as the perpetuation of violence and the murder of Turkish citizens became the end, rather than the means, of Armenian terrorism. In July, *ASALA* began its second global offensive against the Swiss government, including targets Berne, Lausanne, Geneva, Copenhagen, Tehran and Los Angeles, under the name ‘June 9 Organization.’¹⁵⁹ It was the “most concentrated series of foreign terrorist attacks against Switzerland in memory,” and at least one Swiss citizen was killed and thirty-six wounded in attacks on public areas.¹⁶⁰ Swiss interests in Los Angeles were also bombed.¹⁶¹ *ASALA* threatened to retaliate for the recent attacks on Armenian interests in France and Iran, which “attest to the alliance between the Turkish junta and world imperialism, Zionism and other reactionary elements.”¹⁶²

Since Jamgochian was being held for murder, the stakes were much higher than in the Mahserejian/Yenikomshian trial, and the Armenian press played close attention to his case. An Armenian organization based in France, the Committee for the Aid of Armenian Political Prisoners, sent representatives to Geneva to observe his case.¹⁶³ On September 16, *ASALA* bombed the Turkish Airlines office in Copenhagen and the Swiss Embassy in Tehran.¹⁶⁴ Unlike

“ASALA Claims Assassination Attempt Was Engineered by Right Wing ARF Group,” *AR*, Dec. 24, 1981; “Voice of Armenians in Lebanon/Radio Program,” BEIRUT 0282, Jan. 14, 1982; “Armenian Terrorism,” BEIRUT 0941, Feb. 9, 1982; “ASALA’s ‘Armenia: Van Operation and Dmitriu Giorgiu,” BEIRUT 1131, Feb. 18, 1982; “Attack on Armenian Party Leaders,” *BBC*, Feb. 20, 1982; “Paris ARF and Independent Youth Clash over Local Armenian Radio Program,” *AR*, Feb. 4, 1982; “Assassination of Arikian and the Dashnak Crisis,” *AR*, Feb. 25, 1982; “Incident in Teheran Pits Secret Army Supporters Against ARF Members,” *AR*, Feb. 25, 1982; and “Clashes on April 24 Demonstration Pits ARF Against ASALA Supporters,” *AR*, May 6, 1982.

¹⁵⁹ “Armenian Terrorists Claim Third Bombing,” *AP*, July 21, 1981; *UPI*, Lausanne, July 21, 1981; “Armenian Terrorist Spokesman Threatens Further Attacks on Switzerland,” ZURICH 00856, Aug. 5, 1981; “Tehran Bombing of Swissair Work of ‘June 9’ Terror Group,” *Armenian Reporter*, July 9, 1981; “Swiss Targeted for Secret Army Bombings; Army Presses for Release of Arrested Member,” *AR*, July 30, 1981; “Copenhagen Bombing Shatters Lull of Anti-Swiss Attacks,” *AR*, Aug. 27, 1981; “ASALA Justifies Bombings,” *AR*, Aug. 27, 1981; and “Switzerland a Target for Armenian Terrorism,” *Armenian Weekly*, Sept. 5, 1981. June 9 was the day Jamgotchian was arrested by Swiss authorities.

¹⁶⁰ “Armenian Terrorist Offensive Against Switzerland,” BERN 03207, July 24, 1981; “Bomb Victim Dies,” *AP*, July 31, 1981; and “Switzerland Becomes a Target for Armenian Terrorists,” *AP*, August 9, 1981.

¹⁶¹ “Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA),” FBI, Aug. 11, 1981, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 3 (818871); “Armenian Group Claims Putting Bomb at LA Swiss Bank,” *Armenian Observer*, July 1, 1981; “Underground Group Explains Actions,” *Armenian Reporter*, July 2, 1981; and “ASALA Undertakes Bombings in Paris, Los Angeles,” *AR*, Sept. 3, 1981.

¹⁶² “ASALA Military Communique,” *Armenian Reporter*, July 2, 1981.

¹⁶³ “ASALA Member Held Without Bail by Swiss; Murder Trial Will Begin in Next Three Months,” *Armenian Reporter*, July 2, 1981; “Suspect in Geneva Slaying of Turkish Diplomat Held Until Sept. 17,” *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, July 18, 1981; and “Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia,” BEIRUT 6763, Sept. 8, 1981.

¹⁶⁴ “Explosion at SPP Tehran,” BERN 03917, Sept. 17, 1981; “Bomb Destroys Airline Office,” *Los Angeles Times*, Sept. 17, 1981; “Bomb Destroys Turkish Airlines Office,” *Armenian Observer*, Sept. 23, 1981; and “ASALA Continues Bombing Attacks in European Cities; Trial of Mardiros Jamgotchian in Swiss Court is Postponed,” *Armenian Reporter*, Sept. 24, 1981.

the French, the Swiss were relatively unmoved by the terror campaign, which diminished as *ASALA*'s attention was diverted elsewhere in the fall of 1981; and Jamgotchian's trial date was set for December 17.¹⁶⁵ In what amounted to a last ditch effort, Ara Toranian, head of the French Armenian Liberation Movement and known *ASALA* sympathizer, and 15 Armenian youths occupied the Swissair offices in Paris and demanded that the Swiss government release Jamgotchian two days before the trial began.¹⁶⁶

Jamgotchian's court proceedings lasted two days, and despite his father's proud declaration that he and his wife had "brought up Mardiros to become a soldier of our nation," he was found guilty of premeditated murder and sentenced to 15 years in prison. *ASALA* threatened to retaliate unless the verdict was overturned,¹⁶⁷ and held true to its word when it claimed responsibility for a match factory bombed in Nyon, roadside bombs detonated in Geneva, and an attack at a Swiss ski resort.¹⁶⁸ Shortly thereafter, however, *ASALA* announced a ceasefire in order to allow negotiations with the Swiss to commence, and they shifted their attacks to French targets.¹⁶⁹

Cemal Özen & Operation Van, Paris, France—September 24, 1981

On September 17, two *ASALA* operatives in the custody of the Iranian authorities for an attack on the Turkish Embassy on March 12, 1981 that killed two Republican guards, Yeghian Keshishian and Zaven Abedian, were executed by firing squad.¹⁷⁰ One week later, on September 24, *ASALA* changed tactics when four young Lebanese Armenian gunmen from the Bourj

¹⁶⁵ "Trial of ASALA Commando in Geneva Set for December 17," *Armenian Reporter*, Dec. 10, 1981.

¹⁶⁶ "Armenians Occupy Swissair Office," *AP*, Dec. 15, 1981; *UPI*, Paris, Dec. 15, 1981; "CIVAIR: Occupation of SWISSAIR Office in Paris," PARIS 38271, Dec. 16, 1981; and "Armenians Occupy Swissair Office in Paris," *Armenian Weekly*, Dec. 19, 1981.

¹⁶⁷ "Armenian Terrorist Sentenced to 15 Years," BERN 05281, Dec. 21, 1981; "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA)," FBI, Dec. 21, 1981, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 5 (818877); "Swiss jail Armenian assassin," *The Times*, Dec. 21, 1981; and "Armenian Terrorist Threats Against Swiss Diplomats," GENEVA 12604, Dec. 24, 1981. See also "Armenians to Converge at M. Jamgotchian Trial," *Armenian Reporter*, Dec. 17, 1981; "ASALA's Mardiros Jamgotchian Gets 15-Year Prison Sentence for Killing Turk in Switzerland," *AR*, Dec. 24, 1981; "ASALA Member's Sentence Appealed," *AR*, Jan. 14, 1982; "ASALA Threatens Retaliation for M. Jamgotchian Imprisonment," *AR*, Jan. 14, 1982; "Swiss Court Turns Down Appeal for Review of Jamgotchian Sentence," *AR*, July 8, 1982; and "Armenian Terrorist's Appeal Fails," BERN 05323, Dec. 3, 1982.

¹⁶⁸ *UPI*, Jan. 13, 1982; "Armenian Terrorists Claim Responsibility for Bomb Blast," BERN 00186, Jan. 15, 1982; "Armenian Terrorist Claim Ski Resort Bombing," *UPI*, Jan. 21, 1982; and "ASALA Claims Responsibility for Three Separate Bombings in France & Switzerland," *Armenian Reporter*, Jan. 21, 1982.

¹⁶⁹ "Armenian Terrorism-News Report," GENEVA 00705, Jan. 22, 1982; "ASALA: Truce in Switzerland, Bombs in France," BEIRUT 0530, Jan. 23, 1982; and "ASALA: Truce in Switzerland," BERN 00384, Jan. 28, 1982.

¹⁷⁰ "Iranians Execute ASALA Member," *Armenian Reporter*, Oct. 8, 1981.

Hammoud neighborhood of Beirut and trained by Melkonian: Vazken Sislian, Kevork Guzelian, Aram Basmadjian, and Hagop Djoulfayan, also known as the “Yeghian Keshishian Suicide Commando Unit,” forced their way into the Turkish Consulate in Paris.¹⁷¹

Known as ‘Operation Van,’ the 4 men took approximately 60 hostages, including the Turkish Consul General and two French policemen, and *ASALA* threatened to execute its hostages and blow up the building if its demands for the release of five Turkish, five Kurdish, and two Armenian political prisoners detained in Turkey were not met.¹⁷² To prove their point, “the Armenians paraded women, including a mother holding a child, at a window with guns at their heads.”¹⁷³ Cemal Özen, a Turkish security guard at the Consulate, was killed during the initial assault, and the Turkish Vice Consul, Kaya Inal, along with two of the terrorists were wounded.

After an approximate fifteen-hour standoff, *ASALA* released the hostages and surrendered to the French police after France allegedly accepted their request for political asylum.¹⁷⁴ When French authorities rejected their request, and declared their intention to try the terrorists as criminals, Ara Toranian threatened the government with demonstrations until they granted the Armenians political asylum.¹⁷⁵ But France, along with other Western governments, condemned the takeover and apologized to the Turkish government.¹⁷⁶ In response, Takoushian threatened France with retaliation for its duplicitous promises, torture of the detainees, and its

¹⁷¹ “ASALA’s “Armenia” and the Attack on the Turkish Consulate in Paris,” BEIRUT 8126, Nov. 6, 1981; and Melkonian, *My Brother’s Road*, 97.

¹⁷² “Secret Armenian Holds Turks Hostage in Paris,” PARIS 28564, Sept. 24, 1981; *ABC News*, Sept. 24, 1981; Jeffrey Ulbrich, *AP*, Sept. 24, 1981; Paul Treuthardt, *AP*, Sept. 24, 1981; *UPI*, Paris, Sept. 24, 1981; “Turks Release Names of ASALA Commandos,” *Armenian Reporter*, Oct. 1, 1981; “Commandos Charged After Interrogation,” *Armenian Weekly*, Oct. 10, 1981; “Background of ASALA Paris Commandos Revealed,” *AR*, Oct. 15, 1981; and “Turkish Government Identifies ASALA Members,” *Armenian Observer*, Oct. 21, 1981.

¹⁷³ “Paris Siege Ends in Surrender by Armenians,” *The Times*, Sept. 25, 1981.

¹⁷⁴ Jeffrey Ulbrich, *AP*, Sept. 24, 1981; Aline Mosby, *UPI*, Sept. 24, 1981; “Terrorists Surrender Ending Hostage Siege,” *AP*, Sept. 25, 1981; Aline Mosby, *UPI*, Sept. 25, 1981; Edward Cody, “Armenians Surrender After Killing 1, Holding 50 in Paris,” *Washington Post*, Sept. 25, 1981; “Seizure of Turkish Consulate General in Paris,” *BBC*, Sept. 26, 1981; “Armenian Attack on Turkish Consulate/Cultural Center,” BEIRUT 7237, Sept. 29, 1981; “15-Hour Siege of Turkish Center in Paris by ASALA Ends Without Release of Armenian Prisoners in Turkey,” *Armenian Reporter*, Oct. 1, 1981; “Four Armenian Gunmen Held in Paris Following Seizure of Turkish Consulate,” *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Oct. 3, 1981; and “Monthly Terrorism and Security Summary, August - September 1981,” STATE 276910, Oct. 17, 1981.

¹⁷⁵ Aline Mosby, *UPI*, Sept. 25, 1981; “Paris Siege Ends in Surrender by Armenians,” *The Times*, Sept. 25, 1981; “Turkish Press Review,” ANKARA 07218, Sept. 29, 1981; “French Government Condemns Takeover; Says Terrorists Will be Put on Trial,” *Armenian Reporter*, Oct. 1, 1981; John Brecher with Timothy Nater, “France; The Hundred Years’ War,” *Newsweek*, Oct. 5, 1981; and “2,000 Armenians Demonstrate in Paris,” *AR*, Oct. 15, 1981.

¹⁷⁶ “France Condemns Raid,” *AP*, Sept. 25, 1981; “Armenian Seizure of Turkish Center in Paris,” ANKARA 07204, Sept. 28, 1981; and “U.S. Reaction to Consulate Takeover,” *Armenian Reporter*, Oct. 1, 1981.

collaboration with Turkish and U.S. intelligence agencies, and declared that *ASALA* had two more commando units ready to strike at Turkish diplomatic installations anywhere in the world.¹⁷⁷

In a rare display of solidarity between the *ARF* and *ASALA*, the French *ARF* released a statement declaring that Armenians were justified in the use of “all means, in order to reclaim its just national rights to live on its native lands,” and accused Turkey of “completely distorting the reality of terroristic acts being performed by Armenian freedom fighters.”¹⁷⁸ Six weeks later, however, their tune had changed slightly, and the *ARF* in France condemned *ASALA* attacks in France and Switzerland.¹⁷⁹ While genuinely pleased with the official French response, the Turkish Foreign Minister and the Turkish press criticized French media coverage for openly expressing sympathy for the Armenian cause.¹⁸⁰ A few weeks later, comments by the French Defense Minister to an Armenian group that appeared to condone Armenian political violence brought Turkish-French relations to the breaking point,¹⁸¹ but by mid-November, Turkish-French relations had recovered somewhat because of French efforts.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁷ “More ‘Suicide Squads’ Aimed at Turkish Targets,” *Los Angeles Times*, Sept. 27, 1981; “Armenian Guerrilla Group Warns It Will Strike Again; Two ‘Suicide Squads’ Ready,” *Washington Post*, Sept. 27, 1981; John Kifner, “Armenians Assert Suicide Squads are Ready,” *New York Times*, Sept. 27, 1981; “ASALA, in Beirut Press Conference, Vows to Continue Attacks,” *Armenian Reporter*, Oct. 1, 1981; “Secret Army Leader Meets the Press in Beirut,” *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Oct. 3, 1981; “Turkish Consulate Released But Armenian Group Vows to ‘Continue to Strike’,” *Armenian Weekly*, Oct. 3, 1981; “Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA),” FBI, Oct. 21, 1981, 1149357-000, 199B-LA-103720C, Section 3 (943916); “Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA),” FBI, Oct. 22, 1981, 1149357-000, 199B-LA-103720C, Section 3 (943916); “Armenian Secret Army for Liberation of Armenia (ASALA),” FBI, Oct. 23, 1981, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 4 (818872); and “Secret Army Issues Statement; Threatens More Violence,” *AR*, Oct. 22, 1981.

¹⁷⁸ “Paris ARF issues a communiqué,” *Armenian Weekly*, Oct. 17, 1981.

¹⁷⁹ “ARF condemns attacks on French establishments,” *Armenian Weekly*, Dec. 5, 1981; and “Communique from ARF-CC France,” *AW*, Dec. 5, 1981.

¹⁸⁰ “Attack on Turkish Consulate General in Paris,” ANKARA 07331, Sept. 30, 1981; “Torianian must be punished, insist Turkish legal ‘experts’,” *Armenian Weekly*, Oct. 17, 1981; “Turkish Chief Calls for Better Security,” *Armenian Reporter*, Oct. 22, 1981.

¹⁸¹ “Strong Turkish Reaction to French Defense Minister’s Alleged Remarks,” ANKARA 07615, Oct. 15, 1981; “French Defense Minister’s Alleged Remarks Regarding Armenians,” PARIS 31203, Oct. 16, 1981; “France’s Defense Minister Calls on Turkey to Recognize Massacre of 1915,” *Armenian Reporter*, Oct. 15, 1981; “Promises Made by Mitterand Will Be Kept, Declares French Minister of Defense, Charles Hernu,” *Armenian Weekly*, Oct. 24, 1981; “France Disavows Pro-Armenian Statements Made by Defense Minister Hernu,” *AR*, Oct. 29, 1981; “Pro-Armenian French Political Leaders Well Cultivated,” *AR*, Oct. 29, 1981; “Turkish Foreign Minister Decries Hernu’s Statements,” *AR*, Oct. 29, 1981; “French Defense Minister Blasts Turkish Denial of the 1915 Genocide,” *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Oct. 31, 1981; and “Turkish-French Relations Sink to All Time Low; Officials Meet to Discuss ‘Armenian Problem,’” *AR*, Nov. 5, 1981.

¹⁸² “Franco-Turkish Relations,” ANKARA 08428, Nov. 12, 1981; and “French President Condemns Terror in France,” *AR*, Nov. 19, 1981.

On October 3, *ASALA* attacked Swiss interests again, this time detonating bombs at the Geneva Post Office and the Geneva Court House.¹⁸³ Ten days later, *ASALA* organized protest demonstrations in front of the French and Swiss Embassies in Beirut to demand the release of Jamgotchian and the four involved in the Parisian Consulate attack.¹⁸⁴ With five *ASALA* terrorists now in custody, the organization was losing a certain amount of the aura of mystery and invincibility that it enjoyed through its first six years.¹⁸⁵ Around the same time, a heroin bust in Stockholm, Sweden piqued rumors that *ASALA* was receiving a substantial portion of its operating budget from drug smuggling operations.¹⁸⁶ On October 26, Monte Melkonian unsuccessfully tried to assassinate another Turkish citizen. This time his target was Gökberk Ergenekon, the Second Secretary at the Turkish Embassy in Rome. Although he was wounded, Ergenekon was able to return fire and scare Melkonian away, who received a minor wound in the exchange.¹⁸⁷ When word of the assassination attempted reached Turkey, the Armenian Patriarch in Istanbul once again called on the diaspora to condemn the violence and denounce international terrorism.¹⁸⁸

Although he escaped Italy, Melkonian was arrested in mid-November by French authorities in Paris with a fake Cypriot passport under the name of Dmitri Giorgiu as he was attempting to board a flight to Beirut.¹⁸⁹ His arrest, initial release under pressure from a highly placed French government official, and re-arrest because of suspected links to both an attack on a Paris Synagogue in October 1980, and the October 25, 1981 attack on Ergenekon in Rome, prompted a series of threats from *ASALA* to the French government against their diplomats and aircraft if he was not released. The Air France offices and French cultural center in Beirut, along

¹⁸³ *AP*, Geneva, Oct. 3, 1981; "New Bombings in Geneva," *Armenian Reporter*, Oct. 8, 1981.

¹⁸⁴ "Armenian Demonstration in Front of French and Swiss Embassies in Beirut," BEIRUT 7653, Oct. 17, 1981.

¹⁸⁵ "Monthly Terrorism and Security Summary, August - September 1981," STATE 276910, Oct. 17, 1981; "Background of ASALA Paris Commandos Revealed," *Armenian Reporter*, Oct. 15, 1981; "Turkish Government Identifies ASALA Members," *Armenian Observer*, Oct. 21, 1981; "Additional Information on ASALA Paris Commandos Revealed," *AR*, Oct. 22, 1981; and "Monthly Terrorism and Security Summary," STATE 335837, Dec. 19, 1981.

¹⁸⁶ "Worldwide Report: Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs," *Foreign Broadcast Information Service*, Dec. 3, 1981, CIA-RDP82-00850R000400080014-4; and "Worldwide Report: Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs," *Foreign Broadcast Information Service*, Dec. 24, 1981, CIA-RDP82-00850R000500010013-1.

¹⁸⁷ "Turkish Press Review: October 24-27, 1981," ANKARA 07943, Oct. 26, 1981; "Terrorist Shooting of Turkish Diplomat in Rome," ROME 25361, Oct. 29, 1981; "Secret Army Takes Credit for Wounding of Turkish Diplomat in Rome," *Armenian Reporter*, Oct. 29, 1981; "Turkish Official Shot in Rome," *Armenian Weekly*, Oct. 31, 1981; and Melkonian, *My Brother's Road*, 98-99.

¹⁸⁸ "Turkish Armenians' Condemnation of Attacks on Diplomats," *BBC*, Nov. 3, 1981.

¹⁸⁹ Melkonian, *My Brother's Road*, 99-101.

with a car in Paris were bombed immediately.¹⁹⁰ Melkonian, obviously, denied the charges, and refused to divulge his true identity, but did admit to being a member of *ASALA*.¹⁹¹ On November 15, three more French affiliated sites were bombed in Beirut.¹⁹²

The next day, *ASALA* bombed a Paris train station, wounding two bystanders, a McDonald's restaurant, and a hand grenade attack on tourists exiting a tour boat.¹⁹³ The FBI tried to ascertain 'Giorgiu's' real identity but did not succeed before he was released by the French.¹⁹⁴ On December 8, Melkonian was convicted of using a false passport, given a four-month suspended sentence, was released from detention and sent to Beirut, despite the fact that the French authorities suspected he was the shooter in the Ergenekon assassination attempt. Whether it was the French or the Italians who preempted or stalled the extradition proceedings remains unclear, but the Turkish government was not pleased, and were forced yet again to question its allies commitment to helping Turkey protect its diplomats and their families from international terrorism.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁰ *AP*, Paris, Nov. 14, 1981; "Armenians Threaten French Diplomats," *UPI*, Nov. 14, 1981; "Armenians Threaten to Blow Up Air France Jet," *UPI*, Nov. 15, 1981; *UPI*, Paris, Nov. 15, 1981; "Situation Report: Lebanon - Nov 16, 1981 - 1100 Hours Local," BEIRUT 8301, Nov. 16, 1981; "Threat on Air France Aircraft," PARIS 34518, Nov. 16, 1981; "Turkish Review: November 14-16, 1981," ANKARA 08495, Nov. 16, 1981; "Around the World: Armenians Threaten to Destroy French Plane," *New York Times*, Nov. 16, 1981; "Tighten Security at French Embassies after Terrorist Threats," *UPI*, Nov. 16, 1981; Frank J. Prial, "Armenian Linked to Synagogue Raid," *NYT*, Nov. 17, 1981; "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia," FBI, Nov. 19, 1981, 1149357-000, 199B-LA-103720C, Section 3 (943916); "ASALA and the Orly Organization," BEIRUT 8485, Nov. 23, 1981; "Situation Report: Lebanon- November 28, 1981 - 1200 Hours Local," BEIRUT 8623, Nov. 28, 1981; "Bombings Intensify as ASALA Presses for Release of Its Jailed Members," *AR*, Nov. 19, 1981; "French Officials Tie Armenian to Bombing of Paris Synagogue in October 1980," *AR*, Nov. 19, 1981; "French Experts Tie Armenian Secret Army With Syrian Effort to Undermine Mideast Peace," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Nov. 21, 1981; "Threats and Allegations follow latest Secret Army actions," *Armenian Weekly*, Nov. 21, 1981; "Linked with Synagogue incident? ... And Rome?," *AW*, Nov. 21, 1981; "ASALA Press Interview Sheds Light on the Case of the 'Orly Detainee'," *AR*, Dec. 10, 1981; and "Armenian Militant Interrogated in Paris," *AMS*, Dec. 12, 1981.

¹⁹¹ "Armenian Denies Role in Paris Attacks," *UPI*, Nov. 17, 1981.

¹⁹² "Situation Report: Lebanon - Nov 16, 1981 - 1100 Hours Local," BEIRUT 8301, Nov. 16, 1981; "Two French Banks, Air France Office Bombed in Lebanon," *AP*, Nov. 16, 1981; and "INTSUM 1,444 - November 17, 1981," STATE 307043, Nov. 17, 1981.

¹⁹³ "Two Injured in Paris Bombing," *UPI*, Nov. 16, 1981; "Tighten Security at French Embassies after Terrorist Threats," *UPI*, Nov. 16, 1981; "Armenian Experts Claim Paris Attack," *AP*, Nov. 17, 1981; "Bomb Explodes at Rail Station," *New York Times*, Nov. 17, 1981; *UPI*, Paris, Nov. 17, 1981; "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia," FBI, Nov. 19, 1981, 1149357-000, 199B-LA-103720C, Section 3 (943916); "Two Blasts Attributed to ASALA," *Armenian Observer*, Nov. 25, 1981; and "Paris Rail Station Bombed," *Armenian Weekly*, Nov. 28, 1981.

¹⁹⁴ "Armenian Secret Army for Liberation of Armenia (ASALA)," FBI, Nov. 18, 1981, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 4 (818872); and "French Police Unable to Identify Armenian; Rome Turkish Diplomat Says Armenian was His Assailant," *Armenian Reporter*, Dec. 3, 1981.

¹⁹⁵ "Turkish Government Statement on French Release of Armenian Terrorist," *BBC*, Dec. 12, 1981; "French Release of Suspected Armenian Terrorist," PARIS 37803, Dec. 11, 1981; and "Monthly Terrorism and Security Summary," STATE 335837, Dec. 19, 1981.

Shortly after Monte's arrival in Beirut, *ASALA* called a press conference to announce his and *ASALA*'s successful campaign of intimidation and it was there that he was identified as Monte Melkonian.¹⁹⁶ *ASALA* also used this as an opportunity to remind the French government of its promise of political asylum for the four *ASALA* agents being held in connection with the Turkish Consulate assault, and threatened more attacks if they were tried as criminals.¹⁹⁷ A cessation of attacks was called at the end of January 1982, when *ASALA* declared that the French government had acceded to its wishes and agreed to treat the four *ASALA* detainees as political prisoners.¹⁹⁸ In July, unsatisfied with French efforts, *ASALA* resumed its attacks in France with devastating bomb attacks that wounded 16 bystanders, and killed one of its own agents as another bomb was being prepared.¹⁹⁹ The subsequent investigation led to the arrest of Ara Toranian but did little to stop the attacks.²⁰⁰

Kemal Arıkan, Los Angeles, CA—January 28, 1982

After remaining relatively quiet during *ASALA*'s assault on Switzerland and France, the *JCAG* claimed responsibility for a bomb attack on the Turkish Consulate General in Los Angeles on November 20, and warned against more violence if the Turkish Ambassador went ahead with

¹⁹⁶ "Dimitriu Giorgiu's Press Conference," BEIRUT 8975, Dec. 11, 1981; "French Release of Suspected Armenian Terrorist," PARIS 37803, Dec. 11, 1981; "Monty Melkonian, 24-Year-Old American-Armenian, Emerges as Mysterious ASALA Member Held in Paris," *Armenian Reporter*, Dec. 17, 1981; "Monty Melkonian, Exposed as the 'Mysterious Man of Orly Airport' Provides Explanations in Beirut Press Conference," *AR*, Dec. 24, 1981; and "Armenian held in Paris released," *Armenian Weekly*, Dec. 26, 1981.

¹⁹⁷ "Turkish Press Review: December 10-11, 1981," ANKARA 09353, Dec. 11, 1981; "Situation Report: Lebanon-December 11, 1981-1100 Hours Local," BEIRUT 8964, Dec. 11, 1981; and "ASALA Threatens French Government," BEIRUT 0711, Jan. 30, 1982.

¹⁹⁸ "Situation Report: Lebanon-January 30, 1982-1100 Hours Local," BEIRUT 00717, Jan. 30, 1982; *AP*, Beirut, Jan. 30, 1981; "Armenian Group Ends Attacks on French Sites," *New York Times*, Jan. 31, 1981; "ASALA Withdraws Threats Against French Government," PARIS 03890, Feb. 3, 1982; "Armenian Group Ends Attacks on French Sites," *Armenian Observer*, Feb. 3, 1982; "ASALA Says will Cease Attacks on Targets in France," *Armenian Reporter*, Feb. 4, 1982; and "Secret Army Calls Off Attacks in France," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Feb. 13, 1982.

¹⁹⁹ Greg MacArthur, "Armenian Guerrillas Bomb Crowded Sidewalk Cafe," *AP*, Paris, July 21, 1982; Aline Mosby, *UPI*, Paris, July 21, 1982; "Paris terror bombs wound 16," *UPI*, Paris, July 21, 1982; "Armenian Separatists Blamed for Paris Blast that Wounds 16," *Washington Post*, July 22, 1982; "Paris Blast Claimed by 'Orly Group' in Behalf of Jailed Armenians," *Armenian Reporter*, July 22, 1982; "New Armenian Group Claims Responsibility for Paris Blast," *Armenian Observer*, July 22, 1982; "Armenian group vows more bombings," *UPI*, Paris, July 28, 1982; "Man Killed While Making Bomb, Police Say," *AP*, Paris, July 31, 1982; "Armenian terrorist killed by own bomb in Paris," *UPI*, Paris, July 31, 1982; "Armenian Group Claims Bombing in Paris That Injures 15," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, July 31, 1982; "Government in Bind over Armenian Terrorism," PARIS 26167, Aug. 2, 1982; "Armenian Killed," *AMS*, Aug. 7, 1982; and "'Bomb Factory' Explosion Kills Yet Another Youth," *AR*, Aug. 12, 1982.

²⁰⁰ *UPI*, Paris, Aug. 5, 1982; *UPI*, Paris, Aug. 8, 1982; and "Armenians Charged in French Investigation of Terrorism," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Aug. 14, 1982.

his plans to speak in the Los Angeles area.²⁰¹ After Turkey asked for more security measures to protect the Ambassador, the U.S. government promised 35 Los Angeles Police officers and ten State Department security officials to be on duty during the Ambassador's speaking engagement. The speech went ahead as planned, albeit with substantial opposition from local Armenian groups.²⁰² A few weeks later, the escalating anti-Turkish aggression and violence within the Armenian community in Los Angeles culminated in the city's third assassination.

On the morning of January 28, exactly nine years to the day since Gourgen Yanikian murdered Mehmet Baydar and Bahadır Demir, two *JCAG* gunmen shot and killed the Turkish Consul General to Los Angeles, 54-year old Kemal Arıkan, in Beverly Hills while he was stopped at a red light driving to the consulate.²⁰³ Arıkan had been the victim of a number of Armenian attacks during his Los Angeles posting, and the Turkish government implored the United States to insure the safety of the rest of its diplomatic staff in the United States.²⁰⁴ With regards to the Turkish delegation at the United Nations at least, the U.S. government obliged, but after the arrest of four suspects, all Lebanese nationals of Armenian descent, the U.S.

²⁰¹ "Armenians Threats in California; Bombing at Turkish CG Los Angeles," ANKARA 08689, Nov. 21, 1981; "UNSUB; Bombing of Turkish Consulate, Los Angeles, California, 11/20/81," FBI, Nov. 21, 1981, FBI, 1075807-000, HQ 185-1588, Section 1 (820251); *UPI*, Beverly Hills, Nov. 21, 1981; "UNSUB(S), aka Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide (JCAG); Bombing of Turkish Consulate, 8730 Wilshire BLVD. Los Angeles, California, 11/20/81," FBI, Nov. 23, 1981, 1075807-000, HQ 185-1588, Section 1 (820251); "Turkish Consulate in Los Angeles Target of Bombing; Armenian Group Claims Credit," *Armenian Reporter*, Nov. 26, 1981; "Turkish Consulate in LA Bombed; Damage But No Injuries Reported," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Nov. 28, 1981; and "Blast Wrecks Consulate in LA," *Armenian Weekly*, Nov. 28, 1981.

²⁰² "Armenians Threats in California; Bombing at Turkish CG Los Angeles," ANKARA 08689, Nov. 21, 1981; and "Turkey Asks U.S. Government to Stop Armenian Attacks," *AP*, Nov. 21, 1981. See also "Thousands join demonstration in Los Angeles to protest against Turkish Ambassador's speech," *Armenian Weekly*, Nov. 28, 1981; "2,000 Armenians Demonstrate in Los Angeles; Protest Appearance of Turkish Ambassador," *Armenian Reporter*, Dec. 3, 1981; and "Armenians Peacefully Demonstrate Against Turk Ambassador in LA," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Dec. 5, 1981.

²⁰³ "Turkish Consul Gunned Down Near Wilshire Blvd," *Los Angeles Times*, Jan. 28, 1982; Linda Deutsch, *AP*, LA, Jan. 28, 1982; Chris Chrystal, *UPI*, LA, Jan. 28, 1982; "Highlights of January 28 TV Newscasts," STATE 023955, Jan. 29, 1982; "Washington Post News of Friday, Jan. 29, 1982," STATE 024042, Jan. 29, 1982; "Murder of Turkish Consul General Arıkan," STATE 023946, Jan. 29, 1982; Robert Lindsey, "Turkish Diplomat is Slain on Coast," *New York Times*, Jan. 29, 1982; "18 Have Died in Seven Years of Assassinations," *LAT*, Jan. 29, 1982; Katharine Macdonald, "Turkish Consul Slain in Los Angeles; Armenian Group Claims it Shot Him," *Washington Post*, Jan. 29, 1982; "Los Angeles Turkish Consul General Assassinated in Ambush," *Armenian Reporter*, Feb. 4, 1982; and "Killing of Turkish Consul Committed on Anniversary of Shooting by Yanikian," *AR*, Feb. 11, 1982.

²⁰⁴ "Turkey Asks for Tougher US Action to Curb Attacks," *AP*, Ankara, Jan. 28, 1982; and "Turkish Leader Condemns Diplomat's Assassination," *AP*, Jan. 29, 1981.

government began to fear for its own interests, given the recent experiences of Switzerland and France.²⁰⁵

Regardless, the U.S. government publicly, and privately, condemned the Justice Commandos and their most recent “vicious and cowardly act” in their “savage campaign,” and the Arikian assassination was even the subject of a separate Senate resolution condemning Armenian terrorism.²⁰⁶ Three of the four suspects were eventually released, but one, Hampig Sassounian, was detained on murder charges.²⁰⁷ While he and his family initially denied his involvement in the murder, they did admit that Sassounian “hates Turks,” and local police continued to seek out his accomplices.²⁰⁸ The evidence against Sassounian, including a copy of the *ARF*’s manifesto found in his car, was substantial, but not uncontested.²⁰⁹ Soon, authorities

²⁰⁵ “Armenian Threat Against Turkish Diplomatic Installations-Request for Police Protection,” USUN NY 00224, Jan. 28, 1982; “Assassination of Kemal Arikian, Turkish Consul General,” STATE 024902, Jan. 29, 1982; and “Assassination of Turkish Consul General in Los Angeles: Q&A’s,” STATE 023945, Jan. 29, 1982.

²⁰⁶ “Department Statement on Murder of Turkish Consul General Arikian,” STATE 024981, Jan. 29, 1982; “Assassination of Turkish Consul General in Los Angeles: Department Press Statement,” STATE 023953, Jan. 29, 1982; *UPI*, Washington, Jan. 29, 1981; “Call on Head of State,” ANKARA 0829, Feb. 2, 1982, Turkey (11/29/1981-5/10/82), Box 20, Executive Secretariat, NSC, Ronald Reagan Library; “State Department Official Statement on Terrorism,” *Armenian Observer*, Feb. 3, 1982; “Assassination of Kemal Arikian— Turkish Consul General,” ANKARA 00999, Feb. 4, 1982; “State Dept. Comments on Assassination,” *Armenian Reporter*, Feb. 4, 1982; “Reagan Statement,” *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Feb. 6, 1982; Sen. Strom Thurmond (SC), “The Assassination of Turkish Consul General Kemal Arikian in Los Angeles,” *CR*, Feb. 8, 1982, 1012-1013; Hon. Joseph P. Addabbo (NY), “Assassination of the Turkish Consul General in Los Angeles,” *CR*, Feb. 8, 1982, 1135; Hon. Charles Pashayan, Jr. (CA), “Terrorist Attack,” *CR*, Feb. 9, 1982, 1345; Hon. Charles Wilson (TX), “Assassination of the Turkish Consul General in Los Angeles,” *CR*, Feb. 9, 1982, 1346-1347; Hon. Stephen J. Solarz (NY), “Terrorist Campaign Against Turkish Diplomats Must be Stopped,” *CR*, Feb. 9, 1982, 1384; Sen. S.I. Hayakawa (CA), “The Assassination of the Turkish Consul General in Los Angeles,” *CR*, Feb. 11, 1982, 1755; “Request from Senators Percy and Lugar for Ambassador,” STATE 038067, Feb. 12, 1982; “Senate Resolution on Arikian Assassination,” STATE 039097, Feb. 12, 1982; “Turkish Press Review: February 17-19, 1982,” ANKARA 01474, Feb. 19, 1982; Sen. Pete Domenici (NM), “Assassination of Turkish Diplomats,” *CR*, March 3, 1982, 3099; Hon. John M. Ashbrook (OH), “The Assassination of the Turkish Consul General at Los Angeles,” *CR*, March 3, 1982, 3199; Sen. Jesse Helms (NC), “The Assassination of the Turkish Consul General,” *CR*, March 8, 1982, 3510-3511; Hon. Guy Vander Jagt (MI), “Another Battleground,” *CR*, March 15, 1982, 4181-4182; and “Sen. Jesse Helms Scores Attacks by Armenian Terrorist Groups,” *AR*, March 25, 1982. For the Senate Resolution see “Expressing the Sense of the Senate with Respect to the Assassination of Kemal Arikian, A Consul General of the Government of Turkey Assigned to the United States,” *CR*, Feb. 11, 1982, 1680-1691.

²⁰⁷ “Murder of Turkish Consul General in Los Angeles,” BEIRUT 00709, Jan. 29, 1982; “Turk Consul in L.A. Killed by Assassins,” *Los Angeles Times*, Jan. 29, 1982; Chris Chrystal, “Suspect booked in diplomat killing,” *UPI*, Jan. 29, 1982; Chris Chrystal, *UPI*, Jan. 29, 1982; Judith Cummings, “Youth, 19, Held in Coast Slaying of Turkish Aide,” *New York Times*, Jan. 30, 1981; “Police Charges 19-Year Old Hampig Sassounian with Murder,” *Armenian Reporter*, Feb. 4, 1982; “Youth held in shooting of Turkish diplomat,” *Armenian Weekly*, Feb. 6, 1982.

²⁰⁸ Chris Chrystal, *UPI*, Jan. 30, 1981; “Sassounian Pleads Innocent to Charge of Murdering Turkish Consul General in LA,” *Armenian Observer*, Feb. 3, 1982; “Suspected teenage assassin could face death,” *UPI*, Jan. 30, 1982; *UPI*, Los Angeles, Feb. 1, 1982; and “Police Continues Investigation of Arikian’s Death,” *AO*, Feb. 10, 1982.

²⁰⁹ *UPI*, Los Angeles, Feb. 2, 1982; “Death Penalty Sought in Consul Slaying,” *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Feb. 6, 1982; “Assassination of Kemal Arikian, Turkish Consul General,” STATE 033153, Feb. 8, 1982; “L.A. Police Link Hampig H. Sassounian to Killers of Turkish Consul General in Calif. Last Week,” *Armenian Reporter*, Feb.

were looking for a suspect named Krikor Saliba, another Lebanese Armenian, whom they believed to be the second shooter. Law enforcement was aware, however, that Saliba may have escaped to Brazil, where another attack was planned, or back to Lebanon by the time they were on to his involvement.²¹⁰ U.S. authorities never captured Saliba, who was allegedly liquidated by the *ARF* itself on June 10, 1982, in Beirut.²¹¹ Ironically, as the investigation continued, Sassounian's older brother, Harout Sassounian, was arrested for the bomb attack on Arikan's residence in October 1980.²¹²

While the Los Angeles community came out in large numbers to deplore terrorism, violence and murder, and pay their respects to Arikan at memorial services, over 70 teenaged members of the *AYF* demonstrated in front of the federal building in Los Angeles to protest what they believed to be FBI harassment of local Armenians.²¹³ Additionally, in what was becoming standard procedure, a committee was formed to prepare for the Sassounians' court cases and raise money to cover their defense costs, and regular coverage of the two brothers

11, 1982; "Brother Reportedly Changes Statement on Sassounian's Whereabouts," *AP*, Feb. 27, 1982; "Defense Attorney Giragos Says File on Sassounian is Far From Complete," *AR*, Feb. 11, 1982; "Sassounian being held on fragmentary evidence," *Armenian Weekly*, Feb. 13, 1982; "Hampig Sassounian, Alleged Killer of Turkish Consul, Said to Implicate Himself in Prison Discussion," *AR*, May 13, 1982; "Sassounian's innocence is clear according to lawyer," *AW*, June 12, 1982; and "Cortez Changes Testimony vs. Hampig," *AW*, Sept. 4, 1982.

²¹⁰ Roger Bennett, *UPI*, Los Angeles, Feb. 11, 1982; Brian Bland, *AP*, Los Angeles, Feb. 11, 1982; Brian Bland, "Police Identify Second Suspect," *AP*, Feb. 12, 1981; "Second Man is Sought in Slaying of Diplomat," *New York Times*, Feb. 12, 1982; "Police Seek 2nd Suspect in Envoy's Slaying," *Armenian Observer*, Feb. 17, 1982; "Krikor Saliba Identified as Second Gunman in Killing of Los Angeles Turkish Consul General Kemal Arikan," *Armenian Reporter*, Feb. 18, 1982; "LA Police Seeking 2nd Suspect in Slaying of Turkish Consul," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Feb. 20, 1982; "Police identify second suspect," *Armenian Weekly*, Feb. 20, 1982; "Possible Threat to Turkish Diplomats in Brasilia," STATE 075138, March 21, 1982; "GOT Query RE Krikor Saliba," STATE 086333, April 1, 1982; "Suspect in Arikan Assassination Reportedly Flees the U.S.," ANKARA 02787, April 6, 1982; and "Arikan Assassination," STATE 093099, April 7, 1982.

²¹¹ "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia," FBI, Jan. 28, 1987, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 28 (819643); "Krikor Saliba, Second Gunman in L.A. Killing of Turkish Consul, Said to Have Died in Lebanon," *Armenian Reporter*, March 10, 1983; and "Krikor Saliba killed by stray bullet during Lebanese civil war," *Armenian Weekly*, March 12, 1983.

²¹² "Assassin Suspect's brother arrested in firebombing," *UPI*, Feb. 16, 1982; "Turkish Press Review: February 17-19, 1982," ANKARA 01474, Feb. 19, 1982; "Harout Sassounian, Suspect in Envoy's Home Bombing, Jailed; Bail - 1 Million," *Armenian Observer*, Feb. 24, 1982; "Bail Reduction Hearing Set for Wednesday," *AO*, Feb. 24, 1982; "Harout Sassounian, Brother of Alleged Killer of Turkish Consul in LA Arrested on Fire Bombing Charges," *Armenian Reporter*, Feb. 25, 1982; and "Sassounian's brother apprehended," *Armenian Weekly*, Feb. 27, 1982.

²¹³ Linda Deutsch, "Hundreds Mourn Assassinated Turkish Consul," *AP*, Feb. 3, 1982; Patt Morrison and Eric Malnic, "Mourners Bid Farewell to Slain Turkish Official," *Los Angeles Times*, Feb. 4, 1982; Linda Deutsch, "As Turks Honor Slain Diplomat, Armenians Protest FBI 'Harassment'," *AP*, Feb. 4, 1982; "AYF Officially Protests Against FBI Investigative Tactics of Its Members," *Armenian Observer*, Feb. 10, 1982; "AYF Statement on FBI Witch Hunt," *AO*, Feb. 10, 1982; "Armenians protest FBI harassment," *Armenian Weekly*, Feb. 13, 1982; "LAPD Harasses Armenians," *AW*, Feb. 20, 1982; "Armenian Harassment by LAPD, FBI Charged," *LAT*, March 13, 1982; "Lawyer Says LAPD and FBI Harass Armenians and Conduct Surveillance," *AO*, March 17, 1982; and Rahageets, "First Europe, Then America: The New Threat," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, March 20, 1982.

appeared in the Armenian American press.²¹⁴ During court appearances, Armenian sympathizers came out to support the defendants and “jammed the courtroom and overflowed into the hallway,” and, as their trials approached, the U.S. government prepared for possible retaliatory terrorist attacks against U.S. interests.²¹⁵

As far away as London and Paris, Armenians demonstrated in front of the U.S. Embassy to show their support for Sassounian.²¹⁶ Lillie Mergian, spokeswoman for the Sassounian

²¹⁴ “Sassounian Defense Committee formed,” *Armenian Weekly*, Feb. 20, 1982; “Committee Formed to Raise Funds for Sassounian Defense,” *Armenian Reporter*, Feb. 25, 1982; “Sassounian Defense Committee Raises \$25,000 in L.A. Area,” *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Feb. 27, 1982; “Committee appeals for funds,” *AW*, Feb. 27, 1982; “Sassounian Defense Committee Says \$35,000 Has Already Been Raised,” *AR*, March 4, 1982; “Harout Sassounian, Charged with Firebombing of Home of Slain Turkish Consul, Gets Bail Reduced in Court Hearing,” *AR*, March 4, 1982; “Sassounian Brother Charged with Firebombing Turkish Consul’s Home,” *AMS*, March 6, 1982; “Bail Reduced for Harout Sassounian,” *AW*, March 6, 1982; “Sassounian Committee to defend brother,” *AW*, March 6, 1982; “Harout Sassounian Released on Reduced Bail,” *AR*, March 11, 1982; “Harout Sassounian remains in prison,” *AW*, March 13, 1982; “Sassounian Defense Committee Update,” *Armenian Observer*, March 17, 1982; “Sassounian Brothers Defense Fund Shows Marked Increase,” *AR*, March 18, 1982; “Sassounian Committee fundraising results,” *AW*, March 20, 1982; “Armenians Plan Demonstration for Hampig Sassounian on April 1,” *AR*, March 25, 1982; Demo for Sassounian to be held April 1,” *AW*, March 27, 1982; “Harout Sassounian Released,” *AO*, March 31, 1982; “Harout Sassounian out on bail,” *AW*, April 3, 1982; “Hampig Sassounian Given Court Date Delay,” *AO*, April 7, 1982; “Sassounian fund activities,” *AW*, April 17, 1982; “Sassounian Defense Committee,” *AO*, April 28, 1982; “Hearing for Hampig Sassounian Begins; Trial Expected in About Six Months,” *AR*, May 6, 1982; “Armenian to Stand Trial in Consul’s Slaying,” *New York Times*, May 7, 1982; “Trial Set for Youth Accused of Killing Envoy,” *NYT*, May 22, 1982; “Sassounians in Court,” *AW*, May 8, 1982; “Mistrial for Harout Sassounian; Judge Sets New Date:-- July 6,” *AO*, May 12, 1982; “Hampig formally charged trial date to be set on May 21,” *AW*, May 15, 1982; “Sassounian Committee Update,” *AO*, May 19, 1982; “The LA Sassounian Trials,” *AMS*, May 22, 1982; “Sassounian retrial date set,” *AW*, May 22, 1982; “Trial Date set for Hampig Sassounian,” *AR*, May 27, 1982; “Concert to be Held for Sassounian Fund,” *AO*, June 9, 1982; “Sassounian Defense Update,” *AO*, June 9, 1982; “Sassounian Fund activities,” *AW*, July 3, 1982; “Hampig’s trial date postponed,” *AW*, July 17, 1982; “Hampig Sassounian Pre-trial,” *AO*, July 21, 1982; “Hampig Sassounian Pre-Trial Hearing Continued- Aug. 17,” *AO*, July 27, 1982; “Sassounian pretrial hearings held,” *AW*, July 27, 1982; “Sassounian Pre-trial hearing for October 6,” *AW*, Aug. 21, 1982; “Hampig Sassounian’s Trial May Start Before the End of This Year,” *AO*, Aug. 25, 1982; “Sassounian Defense Committee Reaffirms Its Goals for Justice,” *AW*, Aug. 28, 1982; “L.A. Court Denies Motions in Hampig Sassounian Case,” *AR*, Sept. 16, 1982; “Sassounian Defense Committee Plans Demonstration Oct. 6,” *AR*, Sept. 16, 1982; “Sassounian Defense Committee Demonstration on October 6,” *AW*, Sept. 18, 1982; “Sassounian demo planned,” *AW*, Oct. 2, 1982; “Federal Authorities Object to Issuance of the Subpoenas at Sassounian Pre-Trial,” *AO*, Oct. 13, 1982; “Documents from Federal Agencies Sought by Defense Attorneys in the Sassounian Case,” *AR*, Oct. 14, 1982; “Demo for Hampig,” *AW*, Oct. 16, 1982; “Hampig’s Lawyers subpoena FBI, etc.,” *AW*, Oct. 16, 1982; “Sassounian Defense Seeks US and Turkish Documents,” *AMS*, Oct. 23, 1982; “Sassounian to Appear in Court Nov. 8,” Nov. 3, 1982; “Sassounian Defense Committee of Greater Boston to hold program for Sassounian,” *AW*, Nov. 20, 1982; “East coast Sassounian groups hold meeting in Boston,” *AW*, Feb. 26, 1983; “Sassounian rally planned for July 17,” *AW*, May 28, 1983; and “Successful Sassounian rally shows Armenian nation will not be deterred,” *AW*, July 23, 1983.

²¹⁵ “Arikan Assassination,” STATE 093099, April 7, 1982; “Trial of Hampig H. Sassounian Rescheduled for May 5; Hundreds Demonstrate Outside of Los Angeles Court House,” *Armenian Reporter*, April 8, 1982; “Turkish Journalist Loses Camera While Covering Hearing,” *AR*, April 8, 1982; “Sassounian given court delay—500 people demonstrate,” *Armenian Weekly*, April 10, 1982; “Armenian Terrorism: Possible Threat to U.S. Interests,” STATE 108630, April 22, 1982; and “Sassounian Motion Denied,” *AW*, Sept. 4, 1982.

²¹⁶ “Demonstration,” LONDON 9823, May 6, 1982; and “Pro-Sassounian Protest Staged in Paris, France—400 Take Part,” *Armenian Reporter*, May 13, 1982.

Defense Committee declared that her group intended “to pursue his [Hampig’s] defense as vehemently as the LAPD, the FBI, the American State Department and the Turkish Junta is pursuing his persecution.”²¹⁷ In light of the violence, and tactless disregard for public sensibility and decency, some analysts observed that the Armenian terrorist organizations were in jeopardy of losing the support they had enjoyed from the non-Armenian western publics.²¹⁸

On June 11, Harout Sassounian was found guilty on charges of assault on a protected foreign official, attempting to damage property used by a foreign government, and unlawful possession of a destructive device.²¹⁹ On July 12, 1982, He was sentenced to six years in federal prison.²²⁰ After numerous postponements, Hampig Sassounian’s trial for the murder of Kemal Arkan was finally scheduled to begin on September 14, 1983.²²¹ On January 4, 1984, Sassounian was found guilty of First Degree Murder and for killing Arkan specifically because of his ethnicity, a crime for which the death penalty could be sought.²²² In June 1984, Sassounian was sentenced to life imprisonment, where, as of this writing, he remains.²²³

At the formal state funeral in Ankara, the Turkish government singled out the U.S. Government for praise in its fight against international terrorism, and criticized West European governments for their indifference, weakness and reluctance to hand down punishment commensurate with the crimes being committed by the agents of *ASALA* and the *ARF*.²²⁴ Privately, however, the Turkish government criticized the U.S. for not doing nearly enough to protect Turkish diplomatic personnel, particularly in the Los Angeles area, and asked for more

²¹⁷ “Arikan Assassination,” STATE 093099, April 7, 1982.

²¹⁸ “UnArmenian Activities,” *The Economist*, Feb. 6, 1982; “This New Battleground,” *Globe and Mail*, April 26, 1982; and Richard Worsnop, “Armenian Terrorism: It’s No Laughing Matter,” *Aiken Standard*, May 11, 1982.

²¹⁹ “Trials of Armenian Terrorists,” STATE 170375, June 19, 1982; “LA Court Convicts Harout Sassounian for Firebombing Home of Slain Consul,” *Armenian Reporter*, June 17, 1982; and “Sassounian Found Guilty in Turkish Consul Firebombing,” *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, July 3, 1982.

²²⁰ *UPI*, Los Angeles, July 12, 1982; *UPI*, Los Angeles, July 13, 1982; “Harout given six years,” *Armenian Weekly*, July 17, 1982; “Harout Sassounian Gets Six Year Term for Firebombing,” *Armenian Observer*, July 21, 1982; “Harout Sassounian Gets Six Years in Prison for Firebombing of Turk’s Home,” *Armenian Reporter*, July 22, 1982; and “Harout Sassounian Given 6 Years in Firebombing Conviction,” *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, July 24, 1982.

²²¹ “Trial Date Set for Hampig H. Sassounian,” *Armenian Reporter*, Nov. 25, 1982; and “Hampig waits for new trial date,” *Armenian Weekly*, Feb. 19, 1983.

²²² “Coast Jury Convicts Armenian in Death of a Turkish Envoy,” *New York Times*, Jan. 5, 1984; “Turkish Security Threat,” USUN NY 00019, Jan. 5, 1984; and “Conclusion of Trial of Armenian Terrorist in the United States,” STATE 003083, Jan. 6, 1984.

²²³ “Assassin Gets Life Term,” *New York Times*, June 16, 1984.

²²⁴ “Turkish State Ceremony for Murdered Diplomat,” *BBC*, Feb. 8, 1982.

to be done.²²⁵ According to FBI intelligence, since Stanford Shaw was forced to leave his position at UCLA because of the continuing threats to his life, the Turkish Ambassador to the United States, Şükrü Elekdağ, now replaced him as the number one assassination target in the United States for Armenian terrorists.²²⁶

The failure of the U.S. to provide security measures deemed adequate by the Turkish government prompted more demarches from the Turkish government, and an admission from the LA Chief of Police, Darryl Gates, even though Turkish officials admitted the precautions in the U.S. “would put many other countries to shame.”²²⁷ Adding insult to injury to the Turkish government, considering the Yanikian murders, the Arıkan assassination, and the continuing threat of violence towards Turks in California, the state government of California decided to lower the state flag on April 23, to honor the Armenian victims of 1915 for “local political reasons.”²²⁸ Similarly, concern over Armenian terrorism in Congress quickly gave way to coverage for the Armenian cause, even though the Armenian American press accused the Turkish government of pressuring U.S. politicians to avoid making pro-Armenian statements.²²⁹

²²⁵ “Protection of Turkish Diplomats,” STATE 036779, Feb. 11, 1982; “Los Angeles Mayor Seeks Security Advice,” *New York Times*, Feb. 11, 1982; “Security for Turkish Diplomats in the United States,” STATE 040450, Feb. 13, 1982; and “Security for Turkish Diplomats in the United States,” STATE 042619, Feb. 18, 1982.

²²⁶ “Reported Threats Against Ambassador Elekdağ,” STATE 036809, Feb. 11, 1982; “L.A. Police Guarding Pro-Turkish Professor as Possible Target of Armenian Terrorists,” *Armenian Reporter*, Feb. 11, 1982; “Prof. Shaw Takes Leave from UCLA,” *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Feb. 13, 1982; “Shaw takes leave from Turkish history class,” *Armenian Weekly*, Feb. 13, 1982; “Prof. Shaw Takes Leave of Absence,” *AR*, Feb. 18, 1982; and Jay Matthews, “Armenian Terrorism; Near East Feud Rages in America,” *Washington Post*, May 17, 1982.

²²⁷ “Elekdağ LTR RE Protection for Turkish Diplomats,” STATE 048381, Feb. 24, 1982; “Can’t Protect Diplomats, Gates Warns U.S.,” *Armenian Observer*, Feb. 17, 1982; “Turkish Concern RE Armenian Propaganda Efforts in California,” STATE 089259, April 3, 1982; “Suspect in Arıkan Assassination Reportedly Flees the U.S.,” ANKARA 02787, April 6, 1982; and “Turkish Concerns RE Armenian Propaganda Efforts in California,” STATE 104558, April 19, 1982.

²²⁸ “Lowering the State Flag in Sacramento,” STATE 107746, April 22, 1982; “Holmes-Elekdağ Discussion of Flag Ceremony,” STATE 109424, April 23, 1982; and “State Flags Flow Half Mast for Armenian Martyrs Day,” *Armenian Observer*, April 28, 1982.

²²⁹ Sen. William Proxmire (WI), “We Must Condemn Acts of Genocide,” *CR*, Feb. 23, 1982; Hon. Ed Derwinski (IL), “April 24— Day of Mourning for Armenians the World Over,” *CR*, April 22, 1982, 7563; Hon. Bobbi Fiedler (CA), “A Day for Remembrance,” *CR*, April 22, 1982, 7586; Hon. William J. Hughes (NJ), “Armenian Martyrs’ Day,” *CR*, April 22, 1982, 7632-7633; Sen. Robert Dole (KS), “Armenian Martyrs’ Day,” *CR*, April 26, 1982, 7686; Sen. Carl Levin (MI), “The 67th Anniversary of Armenian Martyrs Day,” *CR*, April 26, 1982, 7692; Hon. Steny H. Hoyer (MD), “Armenian Martyr’s Day,” *CR*, April 26, 1982, 7711; Hon. Joseph D. Early (MA), “Armenian Genocide,” *CR*, April 26, 1982, 7721; Sen. Charles Pashayan (CA), “The First Genocide of the 20th Century,” *CR*, April 27, 1982, 7748-7753; “Congressmen stand for cause,” *Armenian Weekly*, May 8, 1982; and “Congressman Ignore a Turkish Plea,” *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, May 8, 1982.

ASALA, meanwhile, resumed its threats against the Italian government and Armenian refugees being processed for emigration in Italy.²³⁰ In fact, *ASALA* claimed that the Italian government had reneged on an agreement it had brokered with *ASALA* in which, in return for *ASALA* ceasing operations in Italy, the Italian government would shut down the processing centers.²³¹ *ASALA* also accused the United States of interfering with its operations in Beirut.²³² But it was the *ARF*, on March 22, that first struck again in North America, when its agents bombed the building containing the Turkish Honorary Consul in Boston, Orhan Gündüz.²³³ A little more than two weeks later, *ASALA* agents attempted to assassinate 50-year old (Kemalettin) Kani Güngör, a commercial officer at the Turkish Embassy in Ottawa, Canada, while he was in his apartment building's parking garage. Although he survived the attack, thanks largely to a tow truck driver who found his unconscious body, Güngör was left paralyzed from the neck down.²³⁴

Similar to its approach to France and Switzerland, *ASALA* warned the Canadian government against taking measures against Armenians in Canada in retaliation for the

²³⁰ "Armenian Refugee Program in Italy," ROME 06654, March 18, 1982; "Soviet Armenians Come to Rome from Beirut," ROME 06834, March 19, 1982; and "Soviet Armenian Refugee Applicants in Beirut and Rome," ROME 5626, April 3, 1982.

²³¹ "ASALA Spokesman Threatens to Strike Italian Targets Because of Armenian Refugee Program," ROME 03379, Feb. 10, 1982.

²³² "ASALA Warns Against U.S. Interference in its Activities," BEIRUT 0986, Feb. 10, 1982.

²³³ "Bombing of Honorary Turkish Consulate in Cambridge," STATE 076322, March 23, 1982; "Probe terror bombing of Turkish store," *UPI*, March 23, 1982; Dave Richwine, "Turkish import store hit by bomb," *UPI*, March 23, 1982; "Turkish Press Review: March 23-24, 1982," ANKARA 02437, March 24, 1982; "Press Guidance: Bombing of Turkish Honorary Consulate General in Cambridge," STATE 077324, March 24, 1982; "Turkish Shop Bombed in Cambridge," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, March 27, 1982; "Bomb blasts Turkish Consul's office," *Armenian Weekly*, March 27, 1982; and "Justice Commandos Claim Responsibility for Boston Bombing," *Armenian Observer*, March 31, 1982.

²³⁴ "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA)," FBI, April 8, 1982, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 6 (818878); "Turkish Consul Official Critically Wounded," *AP*, Ottawa, April 8, 1982; *UPI*, April 8, 1982; Andrew P. Hutton, *UPI*, Ottawa, April 8, 1982; "Turkish Press Review: April 8-9, 1982," ANKARA 02923, April 9, 1982; "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA)," FBI, April 9, 1982, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 6 (818878); "Gunmen in Ottawa Wound Turkish Envoy," *New York Times*, April 9, 1982; Charlotte Montgomery, "Turkish Official Shot in Ottawa; security increased for embassy," *Globe and Mail*, April 9, 1982; Andrew P. Hutton, *UPI*, Ottawa, April 9, 1982; "Wounded Turkish Diplomat in Serious Condition," *UPI*, Ottawa, April 9, 1982; "Armenian Terror Group Claims Ottawa Shooting," *NYT*, April 10, 1982; *UPI*, Ottawa, April 10, 1982; *UPI*, Ottawa, April 11, 1982; "Turkish Attache Hit by Bullets in Ottawa, Canada," *Armenian Observer*, April 14, 1982; "New Armenian Political Assassination in Ottawa, Canada: ASALA Takes Credit for Wounding of Turkish Diplomat," *Armenian Reporter*, April 15, 1982; "ASALA Explains Reasons for Ottawa Attack," *AR*, April 15, 1982; "Armenian Terror Group Claims Credit for Attack," *Los Angeles Times*, April 16, 1982; "Turkish Envoy in Ottawa Shot," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, April 17, 1982; and "Situation Report: Lebanon-April 20, 1982-1200 Hours Local," BEIRUT 2747, April 20, 1982.

assault.²³⁵ The Canadian and U.S. governments quickly denounced the attack, although the Canadian government was criticized for not taking previous threats and warnings seriously.²³⁶ Attempts to quickly apprehend the terrorists were not successful, but eventually four Armenians were arrested for their connections an *ASALA* extortion ring and the assassination attempt: Haroutiun Kevork, Rafi Balian, Haig Karakhanian, and Malkon Karakhanian.²³⁷ A few days later, after a lengthy FBI investigation and surveillance operation on the East and West Coasts, three *ASALA* agents were arrested placing a bomb at the Air Canada terminal at the Los Angeles International Airport on May 30, 1982: Hratch Kozibioukian; his wife, Stranouche Kozibioukian; and Varant Berkev Chirinian.²³⁸ The arrests were controversial within the North American Armenian diaspora communities.²³⁹

A fourth accomplice, Vicken Tchukhtian, who managed to flee to Lebanon before his arrest, was also sought for his connection to the June 1981 bombing of the Swiss Bank in Los Angeles, Tchukhtian was arrested in Paris in June 1982, and the U.S. government began extradition proceedings.²⁴⁰ *ASALA*'s resumption of attacks against the French government

²³⁵ "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA)," FBI, April 10, 1982, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 6 (818878); and "Turkish Press Review: April 15-16, 1982," ANKARA 03134, April 16, 1982.

²³⁶ "Press Statement: Shooting of Turkish Diplomat in Ottawa," STATE 097634, April 12, 1982; "Turkish Press Review: April 10-12, 1982," ANKARA 02691, April 12, 1982; and "Canada Condemns Armenian Terrorism," OTTAWA 02917, April 27, 1982.

²³⁷ *UPI*, Ottawa, April 12, 1982 (AM); *UPI*, Ottawa, April 12, 1982 (PM); *UPI*, Ottawa, April 13, 1982 (PM); "Condition of Wounded Turkish Diplomat Said Improving—Police Fail to Find Clues to ASALA Attempt," *Armenian Reporter*, April 22, 1982; "Arrest of Armenian Terrorists," TORONTO 2392, May 26, 1982; "Toronto Police Arrest Four in Extortion Ring: Suspects Said to Be Connected with ASALA," *AR*, May 27, 1982; "Three Armenians Await Arraignment as Canadians Detail Other Arrests," *AP*, Los Angeles, May 31, 1982; "Armenian Terrorism: Update for Toronto," TORONTO 05997, Nov. 5, 1982; and "4 Armenians Arrested in 1982 Shooting of Turkish Diplomat," OTTAWA 01858, March 14, 1984.

²³⁸ "[Redacted] Explosive Incendiary Device," FBI, Undated, 1073740-001, 174-9180, Sec 1, Section 1 (842667); Carolyn Skorneck, *AP*, Los Angeles, May 30, 1982; *UPI*, Los Angeles, May 30, 1982; "Armenian Terrorism," STATE 149008, May 31, 1982; "Three Armenians Arrested in Bomb Attempt at Air Canada Terminal," *AP*, Los Angeles, May 31, 1982; "3 Armenians Arrested for Bomb at Airport," *New York Times*, May 31, 1982; "Three Armenians Await Arraignment as Canadians Detail Other Arrests," *AP*, Los Angeles, May 31, 1982; "Turkish Press Review: May 29 - June 1, 1982," ANKARA 04415, June 1, 1982; *UPI*, Ottawa, June 1, 1982; "Three Armenians Charged on Attempted Bombing," *Armenian Observer*, June 2, 1982; "Armenian Terrorism," STATE 151927, June 3, 1982; "Three Seized in Bombing Plot at Los Angeles Airport; Plot Linked to Arrest of Four Armenians in Toronto, Canada," *Armenian Reporter*, June 3, 1982; "FBI Arrests 3, Defuses Bomb, at LA Airport," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, June 5, 1982; "Armenians held in Los Angeles," *Armenian Weekly*, June 5, 1982; "Three Armenians Indicted in LA in Attempted Airport Bombing," *AMS*, June 19, 1982; and "FBI Taps Led to Arrest of 3 in Bombing Plot," *Los Angeles Times*, April 5, 1983.

²³⁹ "Committee for Political Prisoners Scores Arrest of Four in Toronto," *Armenian Reporter*, June 3, 1982; and "Noted Attorney Charles Garry to Represent Three Armenians Held in Los Angeles," *AR*, June 17, 1982.

²⁴⁰ "Trials of Armenian Terrorists," STATE 170375, June 19, 1982; "Suspect Held in France in the Attempted Bombing of Air Canada," *Armenian Observer*, July 14, 1982; "Tcharkhutian Hearing in Paris," *AO*, July 27, 1982;

mentioned above, and claims that France had broken the ‘truce’, were viewed as a possible threat to France to deny the U.S. the right to extradite Tchukhtian.²⁴¹ The threat worked, even if France denied it had ever brokered a separate deal with *ASALA*.²⁴² The French government, exhibiting, at best, a shocking lack of resolve, not only refused to extradite Tchukhtian to the United States, twice, but released him on condition he leave France for Syria, gave his attorney classified U.S. documents, hid his expulsion from the U.S. government, and pressured the Cypriot government to not arrest the him, as requested by the U.S. government, while he was in transit through their country.²⁴³ The French government’s actions led *ASALA* to believe that France had once again become sympathetic to their cause.²⁴⁴

The three alleged terrorists in custody were represented by a prominent Armenian American defense lawyer, and the had assistance of the Committee for the Defense of Armenian Political Prisoners, an international Armenian non-profit organization created to “provide legal defense to Armenians arrested in various countries for political militancy and other charges.” They plead not guilty to their charges, and U.S. intelligence agencies were alert to possible retaliation from *ASALA* as their court dates loomed in late 1982.²⁴⁵ Not surprisingly, all three blamed the crime entirely on the one member of their group who was not present, Vicken Tchukhtian, and claimed they participated only after their lives, and the lives of their loved

“Armenian youth apprehended in France,” *Armenian Weekly*, July 27, 1982; and “ASALA Suspect Held in France In Attempted Air Canada Bombing,” *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Aug. 7, 1982.

²⁴¹ “Government in Bind over Armenian Terrorism,” PARIS 26167, Aug. 2, 1982; and “Clues from fatal blast aid hunt for terrorists,” *Globe and Mail*, Aug. 3, 1982.

²⁴² “France Denies Pact with Armenians,” *Armenian Observer*, Aug. 11, 1982.

²⁴³ “[Redacted] Extradition Matter,” FBI, Aug. 25, 1982, 1073740-001, 174-9180, Section 2 (814672); “Vicken S. Tcharkhutian is Being Detained on Cyprus,” *Armenian Observer*, Aug. 25, 1982; “Fluor Worker Spurs Extradition Protest,” *Los Angeles Times*, Sept. 14, 1982; “State Department Wants France to Extradite Armenian,” *AP*, Washington, Sept. 15, 1982; “France Expels Alleged Accomplice in L.A. Bomb Attempt; Said to be Arrested in Mideast,” *Armenian Reporter*, Sept. 16, 1982; “Vicken Tcharkhutian Believed to be in Libya, Officials Say,” *AO*, Sept. 22, 1982; and “V. Tcharkhutian, Accomplice in Bombing, Said to be in Libya,” *AR*, Oct. 7, 1982.

²⁴⁴ “Possible Future Retaliatory Activity by ASALA Against U.S. Interests,” STATE 284172, Oct. 8, 1982.

²⁴⁵ *UPI*, Los Angeles, June 15, 1982; “Committee for the Defense of Arm. Political Prisoners Holds Meeting in Los Angeles,” *Armenian Reporter*, July 8, 1982; “Trial Date Set for Three Armenians,” *AR*, July 8, 1982; “LA Court Denies Bail Reduction for Armenian Imprisoned Over Bomb Incident,” *AR*, Sept. 9, 1982; “Two Armenian Youths Arrested in London; Charged with Plotting Assassination,” *AR*, Sept. 23, 1982; and “Possible Future Retaliatory Activity by ASALA Against U.S. Interests,” STATE 284172, Oct. 8, 1982.

ones, were threatened by Tchukhtian and *ASALA*.²⁴⁶ Despite the best efforts of their defense consultants, the Kozibioukians and Chirinian were found guilty on August 10, 1983.²⁴⁷

Orhan Gündüz, Boston, MA—May 4, 1982

On May 4, an ARF assassin again struck in the United States, targeting the Turkish Honorary Consul in Boston, 60-year old Orhan Gündüz, for the second time in less than two months. On his way home from work, the *JCAG* agent shot Gündüz nine times at close range through the car's window, killing him at an intersection the assassin chose as an ambush point.²⁴⁸ The United States government was quick to condemn both the "vile act and those who committed it," and swore the proper authorities were "fully engaged in bringing the guilty parties to justice."²⁴⁹

The Turkish Foreign Ministry, however, expressed its dismay over the murder of individual who had already been targeted and whom the Turkish government had specifically requested protection for on at least two occasions between the March 22 attack and Gündüz's assassination on May 4, and requested, once more, increased protection for its personnel in the United States.²⁵⁰ Incredulously, the *ARF* boldly labeled the FBI's investigation into the assassination and the *ARF*, "as an excuse to gather intelligence on legitimate political activities

²⁴⁶ "Armenians on Trial for LAX Bomb Attempt Blame Mystery Man," *Los Angeles Times*, June 24, 1983; David Johnston, "Alleged Terrorist Admits Bombing; Tells Court He Acted Only After His Life was Threatened," *LAT*, July 9, 1983; and *UPI*, Los Angeles, July 9, 1983.

²⁴⁷ "LA Jury Convicts Three Armenians in Attempted Bombing of Air Canada," *Armenian Weekly*, Aug. 18, 1983.

²⁴⁸ *UPI*, Boston/Los Angeles, May 4, 1982; Anne Flaherty, *UPI*, Somerville, MA, May 4, 1982; "Assassination of Honorary Turkish Consul General Gunduz," STATE 121020, May 5, 1982; "Assassination of Honorary Turkish Consul General Gunduz," STATE 121929, May 5, 1982; "Turkish Consul is Fatally Shot," *New York Times*, May 5, 1982; "Turkish Consul Slain Near Boston; Armenians Blamed," *Los Angeles Times*, May 5, 1982; "Gunman Kills Turkish Aide in Suburban Boston," *Washington Post*, May 5, 1982; James Simon, *AP*, Somerville, MA, May 5, 1982; Anne Flaherty, *UPI*, Somerville, MA, May 5, 1982; *UPI*, Boston, May 5, 1982; "The Armenian string of terror," *UPI*, May 5, 1982; Karla Vallance and Maggie Lewis, "Justice Commandos Take Credit for Assassination of Turkish Honorary Consul in Boston," *AR*, May 6, 1982; "More violence against Turks in US," *Christian Science Monitor*, May 6, 1982; "Armenian group's claim for Turkish diplomat's killing," *BBC*, May 6, 1982; "Commandos hit in Boston," *AW*, May 8, 1982; "Turkish Consul to New England Orhan Gunduz Killed in Somerville," *AO*, May 12, 1982; and "Turkish Consul General Killed in Boston," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, May 15, 1982.

²⁴⁹ "Department of State on Gunduz Assassination," STATE 121649, May 5, 1982. For a copy of the preliminary, but inconclusive, FBI investigation report see "Kapikill," FBI, May 19, 1982, 1075807-000, HQ 185-1651, Section 1 (796781), Part 1; "Kapikill," FBI, July 9, 1982, 1075807-000, HQ 185-1651, Section 3 (796783).

²⁵⁰ "Assassination of Honorary Turkish Consul General Gunduz," ANKARA 03624, May 5, 1982, Executive Secretariat, NSC, Country File, Turkey, Ronald Reagan Library; "Turkish Envoy Asks Stricter Anti-Terrorist Measures," *AP*, Washington, May 5, 1982; Sam Cohen, "Turkey wants stepped up US vigilance against Armenian terrorists," *Christian Science Monitor*, May 7, 1982; and "Turkish ambassador says U.S. pledges to tighten security for Turks," *UPI*, Boston, May 8, 1982.

and stifle the voice of our community concerning its national goals,” and claimed further harassment.²⁵¹

Outrage in the Turkish press and public was understandable, as local and federal authorities searched the Boston area for the assassin, and state department officials in Turkey warned that Armenian political violence posed a serious threat to U.S.-Turkish relations.²⁵² High-level talks took place between representatives of the U.S. and Turkish governments to discuss Armenian terrorism and ways in which the two countries could cooperate in counterterrorist efforts.²⁵³ In the United States, Turkish Americans called for an end to the senseless violence.²⁵⁴ For the first time, the Turkish government acknowledged that they were fighting two linked, but separate, issues, Armenian propaganda and Armenian terrorism, and vowed to take measures to counter both of these threats to Turkish national security.²⁵⁵

Erkut & Nadide Akbay, Lisbon, Portugal—June 7, 1982

On June 7, *ARF* assassins fired upon Erkut Akbay, a 40-year old administrative attaché at the Turkish Embassy in Portugal, and his wife, Nadide, an embassy secretary, as they returned home for lunch. Erkut was killed immediately, but his wife remained in a coma for eight months until her death on January 10 at a hospital in Ankara.²⁵⁶ The U.S. quickly denounced the attack,

²⁵¹ “Communique,” *Armenian Weekly*, May 15, 1982; “Communique from the Armenian Revolutionary Federation,” *AW*, May 15, 1982; “Harassment of Armenians following assassination of consul,” *AW*, May 15, 1982; and “FBI Said to Have Embarked on Major Investigation of ARF Party Members,” *Armenian Reporter*, May 20, 1982.

²⁵² “Slayer of Turkish Envoy is Hunted in Boston Area,” *New York Times*, May 6, 1982; “Reaction to Assassination of Turkish Honorary Consul in Boston,” ANKARA 03699, May 7, 1982; and “Turkish Press Review: May 6-7, 1982,” ANKARA 03730, May 7, 1982.

²⁵³ “SECVISIT: Meeting with Foreign Ministry Officials May 14,” SECTO 7049, May 16, 1982.

²⁵⁴ “Hundreds Gather for Gunduz Funeral, Ask for End to Terrorism,” *AP*, Boston, May 7, 1982; “Slain Turkish Envoy Memorialized in Boston,” *New York Times*, May 8, 1982; and Betty Stein, “Turkish diplomat’s death stirs old hatreds,” *UPI*, May 8, 1982.

²⁵⁵ “Further Turkish Reaction to Armenian Terrorism,” ANKARA 03729, May 7, 1982.

²⁵⁶ “Turkish Attache Killed, Wife in Coma, Guards Increased,” *AP*, Lisbon, June 7, 1982; Alexander Sloop, *UPI*, Lisbon, June 7, 1982; “Daily Report,” STATE 156110, June 8, 1982; “Armenian Terrorism: Possible Threat to U.S. Interests,” ANKARA 04669, June 8, 1982; “Turkish Envoy in Lisbon is Killed by Gunman,” *New York Times*, June 8, 1982; “Gunman Kills Turkish Diplomat, Wounds His Wife in Lisbon,” *Washington Post*, June 8, 1982; “Turkish Diplomat Killed in Lisbon,” *Armenian Observer*, June 9, 1982; “Turkish Press Review: June 8-9, 1982,” ANKARA 04703, June 10, 1982; “Justice Commandos Take Credit for Killing of Turk in Portugal,” *Armenian Reporter*, June 10, 1982; “Additional Details Assassination of Turkish Diplomat - Lisbon,” LISBON 04076, June 11, 1982; “Turkish Consul Killed, His Wife Wounded, in Lisbon,” *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, June 12, 1982; “Turkish diplomat hit in Lisbon, Portugal,” *Armenian Weekly*, June 12, 1982; “Wife of Slain Turkish Diplomat Still in Coma,” *AR*, June 24, 1982; “Turkish Diplomat’s Wife Dies,” *AP*, Istanbul, Jan. 10, 1983; and “Turk Wounded in June Attack by Armenian Terrorists Dies,” *NYT*, Jan. 11, 1983.

and the Turkish government made it clear that despite the continued lack of international support it was not interested in unilateral retaliation against Armenian groups.²⁵⁷ Instead, the Turkish Parliament called for renewed international efforts to dissuade Armenian terrorism.²⁵⁸

Within days of the assassination, an unrelated Israeli invasion of Lebanon forced the *ARF* and *ASALA* to reconsider Beirut as the headquarters of their respective operations.²⁵⁹ Particularly hard hit was *ASALA*, whose operational leadership was forced to flee the city, and there were initial reports that the Israelis had captured a number of Armenian militants and that *ASALA*'s leader, Haroutiun Takoushian (Hagop Hagopian), had been killed in an airstrike.²⁶⁰ These unconfirmed reports, however, were not true.²⁶¹ The Israelis also allegedly obtained *ASALA* documents that confirmed the group was working with the Soviet Embassy in Lebanon, but documentary evidence supporting this claim is still unavailable to researchers.²⁶² On July 21, a previously unknown group, the Armenian Red Army, attempted to assassinate the Turkish Consul General in Rotterdam, Kemalettin Demirer, by firing on his car. Demirer escaped unhurt, while one of his would be assassins, Peniamin Evengulu, was wounded and subsequently arrested. He would eventually be sentenced to six years imprisonment for the attack.²⁶³ Naik Aitek, the second assassin, managed to escape.²⁶⁴ In the United States, the

²⁵⁷ "Press Statement on Assassination of Turkish Diplomat," STATE 156057, June 8, 1982; "Turkish Press Review: June 8-9, 1982," ANKARA 04703, June 10, 1982; "Turkish Press Reaction to Recent Assassination in Lisbon," ANKARA 04708, June 10, 1982; and "Turkish Discussion of Armenian Terrorism," ANKARA 04808, June 11, 1982.

²⁵⁸ "Armenian Terrorism: Turkish Assembly's Call for International Co-operation," *BBC*, July 2, 1982; "Turkish Assembly Asks for World Cooperation Against Wave of Armenian Terror Attacks," *Armenian Reporter*, July 22, 1982; and "Turks Seek Cooperation in Dealing with Armenian Terrorists," *AR*, July 22, 1982.

²⁵⁹ "Armenian Terrorism," STATE 26214, Sept. 17, 1982.

²⁶⁰ "Armenian Radical Groups May Have to Clear Out of Beirut," *Armenian Reporter*, June 17, 1982; "Press Reporting on Israeli Allegations of Turks and Armenians in PLO Camps," ANKARA 5158, July 8, 1982; "Reported Death of ASALA Leader," BEIRUT 5189, Aug. 7, 1982; "Armenian Terrorism," STATE 225037, Aug. 11, 1982; "Top ASALA Leader Reported Killed in Israeli Air Raid in W. Beirut 10 Days Ago," *AR*, Aug. 12, 1982; "ASALA Leader Killed in Lebanon," *Armenian Observer*, Aug. 18, 1982; "ASALA to Release Information on Hagop Hagopian, Killed in Beirut Raid," *AR*, Sept. 9, 1982; "Joint Group on Armenian Terrorism," ANKARA 09172, Nov. 6, 1982; and "ASALA Makes Partial Disclosure of Hagop Hagopian, Slain Leader," *AR*, Nov. 18, 1982.

²⁶¹ "Press Interviews with FONMIN Turkmen," ANKARA 06990, Aug. 24, 1982. Some Armenians were arrested later, but by Lebanese forces. See "LAF Arrests 'International Criminals'," BEIRUT 075888, Oct. 26, 1982; and Melkonian, *My Brother's Road*, 107.

²⁶² "Israel Arrests ASALA Members," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, July 3, 1982.

²⁶³ "Trial Begins for Assailant of Turkish Diplomat," *Armenian Reporter*, Nov. 11, 1982; "Dutch Jail Armenian for Murder Attempt," *Armenian Observer*, Nov. 17, 1982; "Evengulu Gets Six Years for Role in Attempt on Turkish Envoy's Life," *AR*, Dec. 2, 1982; and "Armenian Killed, Another Sentenced," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Dec. 4, 1982.

Turkish Honorary Consul in Florida, Necmi Karahan, quit his post after two Armenians attacked him in his office.²⁶⁵

Esenboğa Airport Attack, Ankara, Turkey—August 7, 1982

In the afternoon of August 7, two *ASALA* terrorists, Levon Ekmekjian and Zohrab Aprahamian (Sarkissian), entered Ankara's Esenboğa Airport. Ekmekjian had entered Turkey nearly two weeks before on a flight from Damascus to Istanbul, while Aprahamian had crossed the Turkish-Syrian border, both of them meeting in Ankara on August 1. While early reports were subject to wide speculation, and later grossly exaggerated by *ASALA*, it appears that once inside, Ekmekjian pulled out a submachine gun from his bag and began firing at a police officer. While he was doing this, Aprahamian detonated a Molotov cocktail inside the terminal. When Ekmekjian was wounded, however, Aprahamian fled to an airport restaurant where he took 15 to 18 hostages, wounding several of them when he, or Ekmekjian, drove away police by triggering a hand grenade. In the counter assault by Turkish police officers, Aprahamian was killed and Ekmekjian captured.²⁶⁶ By the time it was over, 9 people were dead, including one American female and a West German male, and approximately 71 wounded.²⁶⁷ During his

²⁶⁴ *AP*, Rotterdam, July 21, 1982; *UPI*, July 21, 1982; "Gunmen Try to Assassinate Consul," *Armenian Observer*, July 27, 1982; and "Relatives of Suspect in Rotterdam Assassination Attempt Held in Istanbul," *Armenian Reporter*, Aug. 19, 1982.

²⁶⁵ "Turkey's Florida Honorary Consul Quits Post Following Threats Incident," *Armenian Reporter*, July 1, 1982.
²⁶⁶ "ASALA Discloses Names of 2 Commandos in Ankara Attack; Terror Group Renews Demand for Release of 85 Political Prisoners," *Armenian Reporter*, Aug. 26, 1982; "Esenboga After Action Report," ANKARA 07016, Aug. 25, 1982; "Investigation of Terrorist Activity in Turkey," ANKARA 06667, Aug. 13, 1982; and "After Action Report on ASALA Attack Esenboga Airport," ANKARA 06511, Aug. 10, 1982. See also "Terrorist Incident at Esenboga Airport After Action Report," ANKARA 06462, Aug. 7, 1982; *AP*, August 7, 1982; Ismet G. Ismet, *UPI*, Ankara, Aug. 7, 1982; Emel Anil, *AP*, Ankara, Aug. 7, 1982; *AP*, Ankara, Aug. 7, 1982; "6 Killed in Attack in Ankara Airport," *New York Times*, Aug. 8, 1982; "Armenian Terrorism: Revenge Sought for Turkish 'genocide'," *The Times*, Aug. 9, 1982; "Investigation Indicates Gunmen Probably Sneaked Through Syrian Border," *AP*, Ankara, Aug. 9, 1982; "Terrorist Incident at Ankara Airport," *BBC*, Aug. 9, 1982; "A new, internal Turkish threat?," *Christian Science Monitor*, Aug. 9, 1982; "Turks seek to question airport terrorist," *Globe and Mail*, Aug. 9, 1982; Ismet G. Ismet, "Turkey bans news reports on airport massacre," *UPI*, Ankara, Aug. 9, 1982; Emel Ani, "Extra Troops Guard Against New Terrorist Attacks," *AP*, Ankara, Aug. 9, 1982; "Terrorist Incident at Ankara Airport," *BBC*, Aug. 9, 1982; "Turkish Press Review: August 10-11, 1982," ANKARA 06567, Aug. 11, 1982, DOS; and "Armenian terrorism; That Beirut virus," *The Economist*, Aug. 14, 1982. For *ASALA's* fictional account see "ASALA Claims Ankara Airport Operation was Mounted by Two Commando Units; Took 40 Lives and Wounded 113," *Armenian Reporter*, Sept. 30, 1982.

²⁶⁷ Emel Anil, *AP*, Ankara, Aug. 8, 1982; Ismet G. Ismet, *UPI*, Ankara, Aug. 8, 1982; "Death Toll Rises to 9 in Turkish Airport Attack," *New York Times*, Aug. 9, 1982; "Death Toll Rises to 9 in Ankara Airport Raid," *Washington Post*, Aug. 9, 1982; "Nine Killed and Scores Wounded in Ankara Airport Attack," *Armenian Observer*, Aug. 11, 1982; and "Latest ASALA Terror Attack Said to Be 'Bloodies Ever;' 11 Die at Ankara Airport," *Armenian Reporter*, Aug. 12, 1982.

interrogation, Ekmekjian divulged that there were at least three other Armenian teams that had recently left Damascus after training and which were ready to strike.²⁶⁸ Ekmekjian confessed to his role in the attack in Turkish court, showed considerable remorse, and, on September 8, 1982, was convicted and sentenced to death.²⁶⁹ The death penalty was upheld in lieu of an automatic appeal, and Ekmekjian was executed on January 29, 1983 by hanging.²⁷⁰

The United States, Turkey and the Armenian Patriarch in Istanbul immediately condemned the attack, and a Turkish Armenian in Istanbul, Artin Penik, set fire to himself in Taksim Square to protest against Armenian terrorism.²⁷¹ Calls for the Turkish government to seek an independent solution were again raised as tensions between Turks and Armenians inside Turkey rose.²⁷² When *ASALA* claimed responsibility for the attack, it announced that the Ankara airport had been chosen “because the mercenaries from NATO were using it as a bridge to

²⁶⁸ “After Action Report on ASALA Attack Esenboga Airport,” ANKARA 06511, Aug. 10, 1982, DOS.

²⁶⁹ *AP*, Ankara, Sept. 7, 1982; *UPI*, Ankara, Sept. 7, 1982; “Armenian Terrorist Sentenced to Death,” *BBC*, Sept. 9, 1982; “Levon Ekmekjian, Surviving Member of Ankara Airport Attack, Brought to Trial; Says, ‘I’m Sorry... I was Brainwashed,’” *Armenian Reporter*, Sept. 9, 1982; “Turkish Press Claims ASALA Planned to Kill Ekmekjian for Fear He Would Talk,” *AR*, Sept. 9, 1982; “The Trial of an ASALA Terrorist Caught During the Ankara Airport Incident,” ANKARA 07505, Sept. 10, 1982, DOS; “Turkish Press Review: September 8-10, 1982,” ANKARA, Sept. 10, 1982, DOS; “Leon Ekmekjian Sentenced to Death,” *Armenian Weekly*, Sept. 11, 1982; “Armenian Terrorist’s Letter: Turks ‘Not Our Enemies,’” *BBC*, Sept. 13, 1982; “Leon Ekmekjian Sentenced to Death by Turkish Court,” *Armenian Observer*, Sept. 15, 1982; “Turkish Military Court Sentences Levon Ekmekjian, ASALA Commando, to Death for Ankara Attack,” *AR*, Sept. 16, 1982; “ASALA Says Confession was Result of Torture,” *AR*, Sept. 16, 1982; “Turkish Newspapers Report on Investigation of Airport Attack,” *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Sept. 18, 1982; and “Levon Ekmekjian’s Statement Before the Ankara Attack,” *AR*, Oct. 21, 1982.

²⁷⁰ “Armenian terrorist’s appeal against death sentence,” *BBC*, Sept. 15, 1982; “Turkish Press Review: October 7-8, 1982,” ANKARA 08362, Oct. 8, 1982; “Levon Ekmekjian Granted Permission to Meet with His Family in Ankara,” *Armenian Reporter*, Oct. 14, 1982; “Levon Ekmekjian Pleads for His Family to Visit Him in Ankara,” *AR*, Oct. 21, 1982; “Turkish Appeals Court Upholds Ekmekjian’s Death Sentence,” *AR*, Oct. 21, 1982; “Levon Ekmekjian, in Turkish Prison, Claims He is Well Fed, Gets ‘Pakhlava,’” *AR*, Oct. 28, 1982; “Turks Stand Firm on Death Penalty for Ekmekjian,” *AR*, Jan. 13, 1983; “Death Penalty for Ekmekjian Confirmed,” *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Jan. 15, 1983; “Turks hang Armenian convicted in airport massacre,” *UPI*, Ankara, Jan. 29, 1983; “Execute Terrorist Convicted of Ankara Airport Attack,” *AP*, Ankara, Jan. 29, 1983; “Turkey Executes 5, Including an Armenian,” *New York Times*, Jan. 30, 1983; “Armenian terrorist executed in Turkey,” *BBC*, Feb. 2, 1983; “ASALA’s Levon Ekmekjian hanged in Ankara,” *AR*, Feb. 3, 1983; “Turkey Executes Ekmekjian,” *AMS*, Feb. 5, 1983; and “Last Letters by Ekmekjian Published,” *AR*, March 31, 1983.

²⁷¹ “Press Statement,” STATE 221255, Aug. 9, 1982; “Evren and Ulusu on Terrorist Incident at Ankara Airport,” *BBC*, Aug. 10, 1982; “Turkish Press Review: August 10-11, 1982,” ANKARA 06567, Aug. 11, 1982; “Security of the Armenian Community in Istanbul,” ISTANBUL 2723, Aug. 11, 1982; *AP*, Istanbul, Aug. 11, 1982; “U.S. Deplores Incidence,” *Armenian Observer*, Aug. 11, 1982; “Armenian leaders’ call for end to terrorism,” *BBC*, Aug. 14, 1982; “Armenian Dies from Self-Inflicted Burns,” *AP*, Istanbul, Aug. 15, 1982; “Reaction to Esenboga ASALA Attack,” ANKARA 06765, Aug. 17, 1982; and “Turkish-Armenian Protester Dies of Self-Inflicted Burns,” *Armenian Reporter*, Aug. 19, 1982.

²⁷² “Reaction to Esenboga ASALA Attack,” ANKARA 06765, Aug. 17, 1982; “Brief Detention of Armenian-Americans at Yesilkoy Airport August 18,” ISTANBUL 2869, Aug. 23, 1982; “Turks Seize Film, Notes from Armenian American Visitors,” *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Sept. 11, 1982; “Turkish Authorities Harass Armenian Tourists—Confiscate Personal Items,” *Armenian Weekly*, Sept. 11, 1982; and “Armenian-American Tour Group Difficulties,” ISTANBUL 3698, Nov. 4, 1982.

NATO bases in occupied Armenia,” and threatened more strikes against the U.S., Canada, France, the United Kingdom, Switzerland and Sweden if Armenian militants being held by those countries were not released within seven days.²⁷³ The threats were taken seriously, and a minor incident was registered in France.²⁷⁴ When the next major attack came, it was once again against the Turkish diplomatic corps, and was carried out by an increasingly emboldened *ARF*.²⁷⁵

Atilla Altıkat, Ottawa, Canada—August 27, 1982

On August 27, Atilla Altıkat, the 45-year old Military Attaché at the Turkish Embassy in Ottawa was shot ten times by an *ARF* assassin while sitting in his car at an intersection.²⁷⁶ The assailant was able to make a clean get away despite numerous eyewitnesses. The Turkish government condemned the attack, and expressed its expectation that the Canadian authorities would do everything in their power to apprehend those responsible.²⁷⁷ At the memorial service

²⁷³ “After Ankara, ASALA Threatens US, Europeans,” BEIRUT 5251, Aug. 9, 1982; and “Secret Army Threatens Violence in Six Countries,” *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Aug. 14, 1982.

²⁷⁴ “Armenian Terrorism,” STATE 225037, Aug. 11, 1982; “Canada’s envoys increase security in wake of threat,” *Globe and Mail*, Aug. 11, 1982; “Threat by Armenian Secret Army— Press Report,” ZURICH 00754, Aug. 12, 1982; “Security Advisory,” ANKARA 06651, Aug. 13, 1982; “Minutes of Mission Security Watch Committee Meeting,” ANKARA 06666, Aug. 13, 1982; “Armenian Terrorism-Possible Threat to U.S. Interests,” STOCKHOLM 3314, Aug. 13, 1982; “Terrorists fires near Turkish tourist office,” *UPI*, Paris, Aug. 13, 1982; “Gunmen fire from car in Paris,” *UPI*, Paris, Aug. 13, 1982; “Varent Barkev Chirinian, Rome 199-160,” ROME 18401, Aug. 14, 1982; “Armenian Terrorism,” ROME 18673, Aug. 14, 1982; “Possible Armenian Terrorist Actions on September 17 or 19,” PARIS 28146, Aug. 18, 1982; “The Terrorist Threat to U.S. Interests in Western Europe: The Next Six Months,” STATE 236087, Aug. 23, 1982; “Security Projects,” BERN 03680, Aug. 24, 1982; “Possible Terrorist Activity in Turkey,” ANKARA 07114, Aug. 27, 1982; “ASALA Threat,” ANKARA 07348, Sept. 7, 1982; “Adana Security Director Views Security Situation,” ADANA 00324, Sept. 20, 1982; and “Armenian Guerrilla Group Warns It Will Strike Again,” *Washington Post*, Sept. 27, 1982.

²⁷⁵ “London AYP Honors JCAG,” *Armenian Weekly*, Aug. 21, 1982.

²⁷⁶ “Turkish Diplomat Killed August 27 in Ottawa,” OTTAWA 05949, Aug. 27, 1982; “Department Statement on Assassination of Turkish DATT in Ottawa,” STATE 242417, Aug. 27, 1982; “Turkish Military Attache in Ottawa Slain by Terrorists,” *Los Angeles Times*, Aug. 27, 1982; Andrew P. Hutton, *UPI*, Ottawa, Aug. 27, 1982; *AP*, Ottawa, Aug. 27, 1982; “Turkish Envoy Slain in Canada by Terrorists,” *LAT*, Aug. 28, 1982; Charlotte Montgomery, “Killed Turkish attache in Ottawa, Armenian terrorist group claims,” *Globe and Mail*, Aug. 28, 1982; Michael T. Kaufman, “Turkish Diplomat is Slain in Ottawa,” *New York Times*, Aug. 28, 1982; “Armenians Claim Killing of Turkish Envoy,” *Washington Post*, Aug. 28, 1982; “Police Search for Killers of Turkish Diplomat,” *AP*, Ottawa, Aug. 28, 1982; “Armenians Strike Again,” *NYT*, Aug. 29, 1982; “Turkish Military Attache Slain in Canada,” *LAT*, Aug. 29, 1982; “Justice Commandos Claim Responsibility for Ottawa Shooting,” *Armenian Observer*, Sept. 1, 1982; “Justice Commandos Take Credit for Killing of Military Attache of Ottawa Turkish Embassy,” *Armenian Reporter*, Sept. 2, 1982; “Killing of Turkish Diplomat is Second Political Assassination,” *AR*, Sept. 2, 1982; and “Turkish Attache Slain,” *Armenian Weekly*, Sept. 4, 1982.

²⁷⁷ *UPI*, Aug. 27, 1982; “Canada’s Prime Minister Trudeau Says Anti-Terrorist Efforts to Redouble,” *Armenian Reporter*, Sept. 2, 1982; and “Canadian Police Still Searching for Justice Commandos,” *Armenian Weekly*, Sept. 18, 1982.

for her husband, Ayla Altikat asked the Canadian government to denounce the terrorists “who tried to spoil the name of this peace loving country.”²⁷⁸ The Canadian Prime Minister obliged, condemning the “despicable and cowardly crime.”²⁷⁹

Six months later, however, the Canadian authorities had made no arrests in either the Altikat assassination or the assault on Güngör in April, and were forced to offer a \$100,000 dollar reward for information leading to an arrest in either case.²⁸⁰ Although it would take years to find the assassin, in 1986 three Armenians: Haroutioun Kevork, Raffi Balian, and Haig Gharakhanian plead guilty to the assault on Güngör’s and were sentenced to prison terms.²⁸¹ Seven years later, in 1993, it appears the FBI was attempted to negotiate a surrender and confession from the *ARF* members responsible for the assassinations of Altikat and Gündüz with the leaders of the *ARF*.²⁸²

In a separate matter, the Turkish Prime Minister asked for U.S. assistance in removing large numbers of Armenian terrorists who had relocated from Lebanon to southern Cyprus after the Israeli invasion.²⁸³ The Cypriot government denied these allegations, but the Turkish government remained suspicious.²⁸⁴ In fact, we now know that *ASALA* relocated its headquarters

²⁷⁸ Alan Bass, *UPI*, Ottawa, Sept. 3, 1982;

²⁷⁹ “1982 Canadian Human Rights Report,” OTTAWA 07041, Oct. 6, 1982.

²⁸⁰ *UPI*, Ottawa, March 4, 1983; “GOC Offers Reward for Assassins of Turkish Diplomat in Ottawa,” OTTAWA 02021, March 14, 1983; “Canadian Police Offer \$100,000 Reward for Arrest of Killers of Turkish Diplomats,” *Armenian Reporter*, March 24, 1983; and “Canadian government buys ads offering \$100,000 reward for info leading to arrest of ASALA or JCAG members,” *Armenian Weekly*, March 26, 1983.

²⁸¹ “Three jailed in shooting of envoy,” *Globe and Mail*, June 14, 1986; “Sentencing of Armenian Terrorists in Canada,” STATE 208631, July 2, 1986; “Middle Eastern Terrorists Imprisoned in Canada,” OTTAWA 00453, Jan. 16, 1987; “Convicted in envoy plot, Armenian’s term extended,” *Globe and Mail*, Jan. 18, 1988; and “Sentence lengthened for plotter of murder,” *Globe and Mail*, Oct. 27, 1988.

²⁸² “Unsubs; Assassination of Atilla Altikat— Victim; Turkish Military Attache, August 27, 1982, Ottawa Canada; Unsubs; Assassination of Orhan R. Gunduz— Victim; Honorary Turkish Consul General, May 4, 1982, Boston, Massachusetts,” FBI, Oct. 23, 1993, 1075807-000, HQ 185-1651, Section 9 (796797).

²⁸³ “PRIMIN Ulusu’s Request for US Assistance,” ANKARA 07130, Aug. 28, 1982.

²⁸⁴ “Allegations RE Armenian Terrorists in Cyprus,” NICOSIA 3269, Aug. 31, 1982; “Turkish Ambassador BATU and GOC Defense Minister Comment on Allegations of Armenian Terrorists in Cyprus,” NICOSIA 3308, Sept. 1, 1982; “FONMIN Turkmen’s August 31 Press Conference,” ANKARA 07212, Sept. 1, 1982; “Turkish Concerns Over Armenian Terrorists in Cyprus and Senator Percy’s Cyprus Visit,” STATE 247005, Sept. 2, 1982; “Reported Armenian Terrorist Activity in Cyprus,” ANKARA 07472, Sept. 10, 1982; “Controversy Continues Over Alleged Armenian Terrorists in Southern Cyprus,” NICOSIA 3470, Sept. 10, 1982; “Conversations with Foreign Minister Rolandis, GOT Ambassador Bataund SRSG Gobbi RE Alleged Armenian Terrorist Activity,” NICOSIA 03484, Sept. 13, 1982; “Alleged Armenian Terrorist Activity in Cyprus: Conversation with Foreign Minister Rolandis - September 13,” NICOSIA 03486, Sept. 13, 1982; “Press Polemics over Alleged ASALA Activities in Cyprus,” NICOSIA 03514, Sept. 14, 1982; “Further Conversation with Turkish Ambassador RE Alleged Armenian Terrorists in Cyprus,” NICOSIA 03522, Sept. 14, 1982; “Further on Alleged Armenian Terrorists in Cyprus,” NICOSIA 03547, Sept. 15, 1982; “Treatment of Armenian Terrorism in the Turkish Press,” ANKARA 07666, Sept. 16, 1982; “Alleged Armenian Terrorists in Cyprus and Melkonian Institute,” NICOSIA 03558, Sept. 16,

from Beirut to Damascus, where it enjoyed a working relationship with the Abu Nidal Group and at least tacit support from the Syrian government, and within a month some *ASALA* members, including Monte Melkonian, were already back in Lebanon, at facilities in the Bekaa Valley.²⁸⁵ In light of the increasing frequency and severity of attacks, the Turkish Ambassador to the United States, Elekdağ, once again requested increased protection from the State Department.²⁸⁶ The Turkish Press, on the other hand, continued its call for action, and seemed to have the support of the Turkish President, Kenan Evren, and other key members of the government.²⁸⁷

Bora Suelkan—Burgas, Bulgaria (September 9, 1982)

Less than two weeks after the Altikat assassination, the *ARF* successfully carried out the first assassination in Communist Eastern Europe in Burgas, Bulgaria on the Black Sea Coast.²⁸⁸ On September 9, Bora Suelkan, a 45-year old administrative attaché at the Turkish Consulate was shot and killed in front of his home in the early afternoon.²⁸⁹ Again, despite a number of

1982; “Greek Cypriots Deny Cyprus is a Base for Armenian Terrorists,” *Armenian Reporter*, Sept. 16, 1982; “Dispute Over Alleged Armenian Activity in Cyprus,” NICOSIA 03570, Sept. 17, 1982; “Turks accuse Cyprus of housing Armenian terrorists,” *Armenian Weekly*, Oct. 16, 1982; “Turkish Cypriot Leader Claims Armenian Terrorists Now Operate Out of S. Cyprus,” *AR*, Oct. 28, 1982; and “Israel Said in Possession of Documents on ASALA Operations in Cyprus,” *AR*, Dec. 30, 1982.

²⁸⁵ Melkonian, *My Brother’s Road*, 107-110.

²⁸⁶ Correspondence, Şükrü Elekdağ, Ambassador of the Turkish Republic, to Lawrence Eagleburger, Under Secretary of Political Affairs, Department of State, Aug. 31, 1982; and “Conversations with SRSG Gobbi and Foreign Minister Rolandis RE Alleged Armenian Terrorists in Cyprus,” NICOSIA 3387, Sept. 7, 1982.

²⁸⁷ “FONMIN Turkmen’s August 31 Press Conference,” ANKARA 07212, Sept. 1, 1982; “Turkish Paper Says Turks will Counter-attack,” *Armenian Observer*, Sept. 1, 1982; “Turkish Strongman Evren Warns,” *AO*, Sept. 1, 1982; “Turkish Writer Says Will Counter Attack Armenians,” *AO*, Sept. 1, 1982; “Public Reactions to the Latest Slaying by Armenian Terrorists,” ANKARA 07219, Sept. 2, 1982; “Call on Under Secretary Ercement Yavuzalp, MFA,” ANKARA 07220, Sept. 2, 1982; “Reprisal by Turks Highly Possible,” *Armenian Reporter*, Sept. 2, 1982; “Turkey’s Leader Vows to End War with Arm. Terrorists,” *AR*, Sept. 2, 1982; “Turkey Vows to Wipe Out Armenian Terrorists,” *AP*, Ankara, Sept. 4, 1982; “Turkey Says It Will Stop Terrorism by Armenians,” *New York Times*, Sept. 5, 1982; “Turkish Foreign Minister’s Speech at Military Attache’s Funeral,” *BBC*, Sept. 6, 1982; “Turkey’s Foreign Minister Turkmen Vows Action,” *AR*, Sept. 9, 1982; “Turkey Says it Will Stop Terrorists But Doesn’t Say How,” *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Sept. 11, 1982; “Turkey’s Reactions,” *Armenian Weekly*, Sept. 11, 1982; “Turkey has decided to send commando units...,” *AW*, Sept. 11, 1982.

²⁸⁸ “New PLO Office,” STATE 266984, Sept. 22, 1982. Both the *JCAG* and *ASALA* claimed responsibility, but most observers tended to give credit to the *JCAG*.

²⁸⁹ *AP*, Ankara, Sept. 9, 1982; UPI, Sofia, Sept. 9, 1982; “Turkish Press Review: September 8-10, 1982,” ANKARA, Sept. 10, 1982; “Armenian Terrorists Ambush, Kill Turkish Envoy in Bulgaria,” *Los Angeles Times*, Sept. 10, 1982; “Armenians Kill 23rd Turk,” *Washington Post*, Sept. 10, 1982; “Assassination of Turkish Diplomat in Burgas,” SOFIA 02642, Sept. 14, 1982; “Assassination of Turkish Diplomat in Burgas,” SOFIA 02641, Sept. 14, 1982; “Turkish Press Review: September 14-15, 1982,” ANKARA 07624, Sept. 15, 1982; “Turkish Envoy Killed in Bulgaria,” *Armenian Observer*, Sept. 15, 1982; “Killing of Turkish Diplomat Reported in Bulgaria,” *Armenian Reporter*, Sept. 16, 1982; “Ilter Turkmen’s Statement at Ceremony for Murdered Diplomat,” *BBC*, Sept.

eyewitnesses to a murder carried out in broad daylight, the assassin was able to escape. Furthermore, the Bulgarian location of the assassination suggested links between Armenian terrorists and the notorious Bulgarian and Turkish smuggling syndicates, that, like the Soviet connection, have never been proven.²⁹⁰ It was quickly apparent that the Bulgarians would have little luck in apprehending anyone for the crime.²⁹¹

The attack prompted the near automatic condemnation of terrorism from the U.S. government, and a rather stern telegram from the U.S. Ambassador to Turkey to Washington, expressing disbelief that Turkish diplomatic personnel in the United States were still unable to procure adequate security from local U.S. authorities.²⁹² Two days after the murder, Scotland Yard Special Branch in London arrested two *ASALA* agents, Zaven Bedros and Grish Gregorian, as they prepared for an attack on the Turkish Ambassador to the UK.²⁹³ Bedros was convicted of illegal arms possession and sentenced to 8 years in prison, while Gregorian was acquitted.²⁹⁴ Immediately after the sentencing, which occurred only days after the Orly Airport bombing (see below), the U.K. was on full alert for possible retaliation from *ASALA*.²⁹⁵ Shortly thereafter, meetings between high-ranking U.S. and Turkish officials, including the FBI's Deputy Director of the Office for Combatting Terrorism, discussed ways in which the two

16, 1982; "Turkish Diplomat Assassinated in Bulgaria," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Sept. 18, 1982; and "Turkish Attache Slain in Bulgaria; Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide took the responsibility," *Armenian Weekly*, Sept. 18, 1982.

²⁹⁰ "Turkish Press Review: September 11-13, 1982," ANKARA 07543, Sept. 13, 1982; and "Turkish Press Review: October 5-6, 1982," ANKARA 08312, Oct. 7, 1982.

²⁹¹ "Assassination of Turkish Diplomat in Burgas," SOFIA 02735, Sept. 20, 1982; and "Official-Informal: Daily Report 9/21," STATE 266119, Sept. 22, 1982.

²⁹² "Department Statement on Assassination of Turkish Diplomat in Bulgaria," STATE 254141, Sept. 10, 1982; and "Threat to Turkish Diplomatic Personnel," ANKARA 07504, Sept. 10, 1982.

²⁹³ "Arrest of Possible *ASALA* Members - London," LONDON 19898, Sept. 11, 1982; "Arrest of Possible *ASALA* Members - London," LONDON 20045, Sept. 14, 1982; "Turkish Press Review: September 14-15, 1982," ANKARA 07624, Sept. 15, 1982; "Treatment of Armenian Terrorism in the Turkish Press," ANKARA 07666, Sept. 16, 1982; "Capture of *ASALA* Member by British Police," ISLAMABAD 14229, Sept. 21, 1982; "Two Armenian Youths Arrested in London; Charged with Plotting Assassination," *Armenian Reporter*, Sept. 23, 1982; "Two youths arrested," *Armenian Weekly*, Oct. 2, 1982; "British Still Holding 2 Armenians on Charges of Plotting Against Turkish Ambassador," *AR*, Oct. 21, 1982; "Two Armenian Youths, Arrested in London, to be Tried in Criminal Court There," *AR*, Dec. 30, 1982; "Arrests in London, Bombing in Athens," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Jan. 8, 1983; and "Jury out in Armenian plot trial," *The Times*, July 23, 1983.

²⁹⁴ "Turkish Press Review: July 23-25, 1983," ANKARA 06377, July 25, 1983; *AP*, London, July 25, 1983; "Britain watchful for Armenian terrorist attack," *UPI*, London, July 25, 1983; and "Zaven Bedrosian Will Serve 8 Years; Grish Gregorian Released for Lack of Evidence," *Armenian Reporter*, Aug. 11, 1983.

²⁹⁵ Richard Evans, "World alert over Armenian revenge," *The Times*, July 25, 1983.

countries would, and should, cooperate against Armenian terrorism.²⁹⁶ This eventually led to the creation of a U.S.-Turkish Joint Group on Armenian Terrorism.²⁹⁷

Within days of a visit to Ankara by CIA Director William Casey in mid-October, the FBI announced the arrest of five suspected ARF terrorists operating in the United States, four in Los Angeles and one in Boston, on charges of the illegal possession of weapons and interstate trafficking of explosives for the purpose of bombing the Turkish Consulate General in Philadelphia.²⁹⁸ The five arrested were Karnig Sarkissian (29); Viken Yacoubian (19); Viken Hovsepian (22), a high-ranking member in the *AYF*; Dirkan Berberian (29); and Steven Dadaian (20), who was actually caught in possession of the bomb components. All four had been part of lengthy surveillance operation by the FBI.²⁹⁹ The *ARF*'s political wing in the United States, the *ANC*, denounced the arrests as "a 'setup' by the Reagan administration to further the cause of the 'fascist government in Turkey'," claimed Armenians in Los Angeles were subjected to harassment and intimidation from "the FBI, the Police and the sheriff's department," and "condemned this effort by the FBI and local police agencies to do Turkish dirty work against the Armenian people."³⁰⁰ Approximately 300 Armenians, primarily members of the *AYF*, demonstrated in front of the courthouse where the initial bail was set, and local Armenian interest in their plight continued throughout their case.³⁰¹

²⁹⁶ "September 14, 1982 Meeting of Security Watch Committee," ANKARA 08027, Sept. 24, 1982; "Turks ask U.S. for help against Armenian terrorists," *Armenian Weekly*, Dec. 4, 1982; and Correspondence, Lawrence Eagleburger, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, Department of State, to Şükru Elekdağ, Ambassador to Washington, Republic of Turkey, Dec. 20, 1982.

²⁹⁷ "Joint Group on Armenian Terrorism," ANKARA 09172, Nov. 6, 1982.

²⁹⁸ "Casey Visit Linked with Countering Armenian Terrorism," Tercuman (Istanbul), CIA, News Bulletin, Oct. 16, 1982, CIA-RDP88B00443R001103920045-0; "CIA Chief Paid Unpublicized visit to Turkey," *AP*, Ankara, Oct. 16, 1982; "FBI Makes Major Justice Commandos Arrests," STATE 298887, Oct. 23, 1982; "5 Armenians Held in Bombing Plot," *Los Angeles Times*, Oct. 27, 1982; "Suspected Terrorists Held on \$1 Million Bail," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Oct. 30, 1982; and "Youth arrested in Boston," *Armenian Weekly*, Oct. 30, 1982.

²⁹⁹ "Five Armenians Arrested in Bombings of Foreign Diplomats," *AP*, Los Angeles, Oct. 23, 1982; "5 Armenians Held in Coast Bombings," *New York Times*, Oct. 24, 1982; "Armenians Held for Blast," *Washington Post*, Oct. 24, 1982; and "FBI Report of Arrests of Suspected JCAG Members," STATE 301050, Oct. 26, 1982, DOS.

³⁰⁰ *UPI*, Los Angeles, Oct. 23, 1982; "Five Armenians Arrested in Connection with Bombings," *AP*, Los Angeles, Oct. 23, 1982; "5 Armenians Held in Coast Bombings," *New York Times*, Oct. 24, 1982; and "Arrests Called Smear of U.S. Armenians," *Los Angeles Times*, Oct. 24, 1982.

³⁰¹ Jackie Hyman, "Bail Set for Armenians Accused of Bombings," *AP*, Los Angeles, Oct. 25, 1982; "US Asks \$1 Million Bail Each for Five Arrested Armenians," *Armenian Observer*, Oct. 27, 1982; "Five Armenian Youths Arrested in Los Angeles, Boston and Charged with Links to Terrorism Against Turks," *Armenian Reporter*, Oct. 28, 1982; "Five Charged with Conspiracy to Bomb Consulate," *AO*, Nov. 3, 1982; "Four of the Five Arrested Armenians Released on Bail," *AO*, Nov. 10, 1982; "Steven Dadaian Pleads Not Guilty to Possession of Explosives," *AR*, Nov. 11, 1982; "All Five Hyes Free on Bail; Judge Pfaelzer Sets Dec. 6 Date," *AO*, Nov. 17, 1982; "Four Armenian Youths Released on High Bail in Los Angeles, Ca.," *AR*, Nov. 18, 1982; Tim Alger, "The

Perhaps most importantly, the FBI arrests meant that for the first time since the campaign against Turkey began in 1975 a significant number of both *ARF* and *ASALA* terrorists, 23 to be precise, had been sentenced, were in the custody, or were awaiting trial in Europe or North America: Klindjian (*ARF*), Sislian (*ASALA*), Guzelian (*ASALA*), Basmadjian (*ASALA*), and Djoulfayan (*ASALA*) in France; Jamgotchian (*ASALA*) in Switzerland; Krikorian (*ASALA*) and Bedros (*ASALA*) in the U.K.; Ekmekjian (*ASALA*) in Turkey; Kevork (*ASALA*), Balian (*ASALA*), Karakhanian (*ASALA*), and Karakhanian (*ASALA*) in Canada; and the Sassounians (*ARF*), Koziboukians (*ASALA*), Chiranian (*ASALA*), Sarkissian (*ARF*), Yacoubian (*ARF*), Hovsepien (*ARF*), Berberian (*ARF*); and Dadaian (*ARF*) in the United States. This did not include Peniamin Ergingul, the Turkish Armenian and Armenian Red Army member sentenced to six years imprisonment for attempting to assassinate Kenalettin Demirer in Rotterdam. Given the high number of captured Armenian terrorists, and the *ARF*'s apparent reluctance to strike at non-Turkish targets, the U.S. government was no longer overly concerned with the possibility of retaliatory strikes by *ASALA*.³⁰² The eroding support for their cause in the non-Armenian Western public was slowly being matched by the investigative success of the FBI and other police forces.

In response to the rash of arrests, the Defense Committee for Armenian Political Action (presumably the same as the Committee for the Defense of Armenian Political Prisoners mentioned above), held its first public meeting in Watertown, MA, and a fund specifically to assist the five *ARF* terrorists arrested in conjunction with the attack on the Turkish Consulate General in Philadelphia was also created, the Los Angeles 5 Defense Committee, and successful fundraising events organized.³⁰³ Some of these events were even enjoyed 'guest' appearances by the suspects themselves.³⁰⁴ An original trial start date of May 4, 1983 was eventually decided

FBI Case in Alleged Armenian Plot," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Nov. 20, 1982; and "Eight Terror Suspects Will Challenge U.S. Law," *AR*, Feb. 3, 1983.

³⁰² "Status Report on Armenian Extremists," STATE 307926, Nov. 2, 1982; and "Letter from Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide," STATE 358302, Dec. 28, 1982.

³⁰³ "Defense Committee holds first public meeting," *Armenian Weekly*, Nov. 20, 1982; "LA Five Committee formed," *AW*, Nov. 20, 1982; "Arrest of Five Youth Prompts the Formation of Defense Committee," *Armenian Reporter*, Nov. 25, 1982; "\$100,000 raised for LA5DC," *AW*, Dec. 25, 1982; "\$110,000 Raised at L.A. Banquet for Five Arrested Youths," *AR*, Dec. 30, 1982; "Support strong for LA5," *AW*, Feb. 26, 1983; "AYF-YOARF sponsors LA5 benefit in Boston, April 2," *AW*, March 12, 1983; "Sassounian/LA5 committee working in Providence, RI," *AW*, March 12, 1983; "L.A. Five Defense Committee Works to Meet \$250,000 Goal," *AR*, May 5, 1983; and "\$20,000 Raised in Montebello for the 'LA Five'," *AR*, June 2, 1983.

³⁰⁴ "LA5 will be at April 2 AYF-sponsored concert," *Armenian Weekly*, March 19, 1983; "Support the LA5," *AW*, March 26, 1983; "5 Armenians Arrested in LA to Appear in Benefit Concert Here," *Armenian Mirror Spectator*,

upon, but was pushed back until July 26.³⁰⁵ In October 1984, Sarkissian, Yacoubian, Hovsepien, and Dadaian were found guilty, and in January 1985 three of them were sentenced to terms between 4 to 6 years.³⁰⁶ Berberian was not convicted until March 1986.³⁰⁷ On January 22, an *ASALA* agent, identified as Apraham Tomasian, attacked a Turkish Airlines office in Paris causing severe damage to the building, but no casualties, and was sentenced to 30 months for the attack.³⁰⁸ After a pause, *ASALA* resumed their assault on February 28, when they bombed a Turkish travel agency in Paris. The blast killed a young French woman and wounded four others.³⁰⁹

Galip Balkar—Belgrade, Yugoslavia (March 9, 1983)

Less than 10 days later, two *ARF* assassins critically injured the Turkish Ambassador to Yugoslavia, 47-year old Galip Balkar, while he was stopped at a traffic light in Belgrade, killed a 22-year old eyewitness who attempted to prevent their escape, and wounded three others, including the Ambassador's chauffeur. Police captured one of the terrorists, Harout Boghosian (Krikor Levonian), after he was wounded trying to escape, and the second, Raffi Elbekian, was apprehended the following day.³¹⁰ Both would receive 20 years in prison for the crime.³¹¹

April 2, 1983; "LA5 benefit concert a grand success," *AW*, April 9, 1983; and "LA5 N.Y., Detroit concerts a success," *AW*, July 2, 1983.

³⁰⁵ "May trial for five youths," *Armenian Weekly*, Dec. 18, 1982; "LA5 in court for hearing," *AW*, Jan. 29, 1983; "Trial of 'Los Angeles Five' Postponed," *Armenian Reporter*, March 24, 1983; "LA5 trial date changed," *AW*, March 26, 1983; "June 7 Set as Date for the Trial of 'Los Angeles 5'," *AR*, April 7, 1983; "Trial for 5 LA Armenians Postponed to June 7," *Armenian Mirror Spectator*, April 9, 1983; and "LA5 trial date changed again," *AW*, April 16, 1983.

³⁰⁶ William Overend, "4 Armenians Found Guilty in Bomb Case," *Los Angeles Times*, Oct. 10, 1984; *UPI*, Los Angeles, Jan. 26, 1985; "Sentencing of Armenian Terrorists in U.S.," STATE 026969, Jan. 29, 1985; and "Three of the 'Los Angeles 5' Are Sentenced; Appeals Are Pending," *Armenian Reporter*, Jan. 31, 1985.

³⁰⁷ "Dickran Berberian Convicted on Charges of Attempted Bombing," *Armenian Reporter*, March 6, 1986.

³⁰⁸ "Say Armenian Militants Attack Again," *AP*, Paris, Jan. 22, 1983; *UPI*, Paris, Jan. 22, 1983; Aline Mosby, *UPI*, Paris, Jan. 22, 1983; "Turkish Office in Paris Attacked by Armenians," *New York Times*, Jan. 23, 1983; "Attacks on Turkish Offices," *Washington Post*, Jan. 23, 1983; "Armenian Terrorists warn they will strike again," *UPI*, Athens, Jan. 23, 1983; "Turkish Airlines Office Bombed," *Armenian Mirror Spectator*, Jan. 29, 1983; "Grenade attack at Turkish airline office," *Armenian Weekly*, Jan. 29, 1983; "ASALA Bombs Turkish Airlines Office in Paris," *Armenian Reporter*, Feb. 3, 1983; "Paris Police Reveal Identity of Armenian Youth Held in Attack on Turkish Airlines," *AR*, Feb. 10, 1983; and "ASALA Commando Receives Short Sentence in Paris Bombing Last Jan.," *AR*, July 21, 1983.

³⁰⁹ "Armenians claim responsibility for Paris bomb," *UPI*, Paris, March 1, 1983; "Bombing Attack Claimed by ASALA Kills Young French Woman in Paris," *Armenian Reporter*, March 3, 1983; and "One Killed in Paris Bombing of Turkish Agency," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, March 6, 1983.

³¹⁰ "Press Guidance: Shooting of Turkish Ambassador in Belgrade," STATE 064990, March 9, 1983; Ivan Stefanovic, *AP*, Belgrade, March 9, 1983; "Turk Hurt in Belgrade; Armenian Role Claimed," *New York Times*, March 10, 1983; "Gunmen Wound Turkish Envoy to Belgrade," *Washington Post*, March 10, 1983; Nesho Djuric,

Balkar succumbed to his wounds two days later, having never regained consciousness after the attack.³¹² An obvious pro-Armenian slant to French media coverage of the assassination, as well as French opposition to a NATO condemnation of the attack, brought Turkish-French relations to a new nadir.³¹³ The Turkish government appealed to the international community and its NATO allies to assist them in combatting Armenian terrorism.³¹⁴ Once again, however, the U.S. Congress, and the governor of California, Armenian American George Deukmejian, overwhelmingly focused their attention on the crimes of 1915 and Armenian genocide recognition,³¹⁵ rather than the more recent victims, and the more

UPI, Belgrade, March 10, 1983; "Assassination Attempt on Turkish Ambassador: Background on Armenian Terrorism," STATE 067766, March 11, 1983; "Turkey's Ambassador to Yugoslavia Seriously Wounded in Belgrade Attack Claimed by Justice Commandos," *Armenian Reporter*, March 10, 1983; "Turkish Ambassador to Yugoslavia shot by Justice Commandos in Belgrade," *Armenian Weekly*, March 12, 1983; "Assassination Suspects Arrested," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, March 19, 1983; "Second Gunman in Belgrade Killing Arrested by Yugoslav Police," *AR*, March 24, 1983; and "Monte Melkonian, Former Leader of ASALA, Surfaces in Armenia," *Armenian Reporter*, Jan. 31, 1991.

³¹¹ "'Example' of Yugoslav Sentence on Armenian Terrorists," *BBC*, March 12, 1984.

³¹² "Turkish ambassador dies from gunshot wounds," *UPI*, Belgrade, March 11, 1983; "Turk Dies in Belgrade; Two Gunmen Held," *New York Times*, March 12, 1983; "Turkey's Ambassador in Belgrade Dead of Wounds Received in Attempt," *Armenian Reporter*, March 17, 1983; "Turkish Ambassador dies in Belgrade Justice Commandos held responsible," *Armenian Weekly*, March 19, 1983; and "Commando Communique," *AW*, April 9, 1983.

³¹³ "French Newspaper Raps ASALA But Demands Truth from Turkey," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, March 12, 1983; "Turkish-French Relations Worsen Over Armenian Terrorism Issue," ANKARA 02754, March 25, 1983; "Turkish Press on French Attitude Toward Terrorism," ANKARA 02988, April 1, 1983.

³¹⁴ "Turks Ask for Help in Fighting Armenian Attacks," *New York Times*, April 17, 1983; and "Turks Again Warn on Armenian Terrorists," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, April 9, 1983.

³¹⁵ Rep. Chip Pashayan (CA), "Armenian Genocide," *CR*, April 21, 1983, 9372-9395; Sen. Paul Tsongas (MA), "Day of Remembrance for Victims of Genocide," *CR*, April 21, 1983, 9517; George Deukmejian, "Our Debt to the Past Will Secure Our Future," *Los Angeles Times*, April 24, 1983; Mary Curtius and Ted Thackery, Jr., "1915 Massacre Remembered," *LAT*, April 25, 1983; Rep. Peter H. Kostmayer (PA), "Armenian Martyrs' Day— Let Us Never Forget," *CR*, April 25, 1983, 9623; Rep. Barbara B. Kennelly (CT), "The Armenian Genocide," *CR*, April 25, 1983, 9627; Rep. Robert H. Michel (IL), "Armenian Martyrs' Day," *CR*, April 25, 1983, 9629; Rep. Joseph D. Early (MA), "Armenian Genocide," *CR*, April 25, 1983, 9632-9633; Rep. William J. Hughes (NJ), "The 68th Anniversary of Armenian Martyrs' Day," *CR*, April 26, 1983, 9800; Sen. Carl Levin (MI), "Recognition of Armenian Martyrs Day," *CR*, April 27, 1983, 9879-9894; Rep. Frank J. Guarini (NJ), "Armenian Martyrs Day," *CR*, April 27, 1983, 10105-10106; Rep. Peter W. Rodino (NJ), "Remembrance of the Armenian Genocide," *CR*, April 27, 1983, 10128; Sen. Bill Bradley (NJ), "Armenian Martyrs Day," *CR*, April 28, 1983, 10164-10165; Sen. Bob Dole (KS), "Armenian Martyrs Day," *CR*, April 28, 1983, 10358; Sen. Ted Kennedy (MA), "Armenian Martyrs Day," *CR*, April 28, 1983, 10359-10360; Sen. Ernest F. Hollings (SC), "In Memory of Armenian Martyrs' Day," *CR*, April 28, 1983, 10379-10380; Rep. Edwin B. Forsythe (NJ), "Armenian Genocide," *CR*, April 28, 1983, 10507; Rep. Bill Lowery (CA), "Armenian Genocide," *CR*, April 28, 1983, 10532-10533; Rep. Katie Hall (IN), "Armenian Martyrs' Day," *CR*, April 28, 1983, 10535; Rep. Gerry E. Studds (MA), "Armenian Genocide," *CR*, April 28, 1983, 10537; Sen. Richard Lugar (IN), "The Suffering of the Armenian People," *CR*, May 2, 1983, 10638; Sen. Jesse Helms (NC), "The Genocide of Armenians," *CR*, May 3, 1983, 10741-10742; Sen. John Glenn (OH), "68th Anniversary of the Armenian Genocide," *CR*, May 3, 1983, 10743; Rep. Gary L. Ackerman (NY), "Recognition of Armenian Martyrs' Day," *CR*, May 3, 1983, 10831; Rep. Joe Moakley (MA), "Armenian Martyrs' Remembered," *CR*, May 3, 1983, 10862; Rep. Marty Russo (IL), "Armenian Martyrs' Day," *CR*, May 3, 1983, 10864; Rep. William Lehman (FL), "Remembering the Armenian Genocide," *CR*, May 4, 1983, 11114-11115;

immediate threat, of Armenian terrorism.³¹⁶ On May 25, *ASALA* exploded bombs at the Turkish Information and Cultural Center and a Turkish travel agency in Brussels.³¹⁷

Attack on the Covered Bazaar—Istanbul, Turkey (June 16, 1983)

On June 16, an *ASALA* gunman exploded a bomb in a garbage can and then randomly opened fire with an automatic pistol on patrons inside one of Istanbul's most iconic locations, the Grand Bazaar (Kapalıçarşı), killing 2 and wounding over twenty more before he was killed by another one of his own incendiary devices.³¹⁸ Curiously, the attack was only mentioned in the *Armenian Reporter*, after two weeks had passed, and was grossly exaggerated by *ASALA*, which claimed two commando groups had killed over 30 people.³¹⁹ The *ASALA* terrorist was identified only as a "religious youth" named Mgo Madrian.³²⁰ Also noteworthy is that by the time the attack in Istanbul was carried out, *ASALA* had finished relocating its headquarters from Damascus to Athens, (as had the *ARF*) where Armenian terrorism and the Armenian Cause enjoyed the support of Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou and his Panhellenic Socialist Movement Party (*PASOK*).³²¹ In the summer of 1983, *ASALA* could boast approximately 100 full-time militants spread out in "safe houses, training camps and sleeper cells," hundreds of "part-time"

Rep. Robert J. Mrazek (NY), "Armenian Genocide," *CR*, May 10, 1983, 11734-11735; Sen. Christopher J. Dodd (CT), "Why We Must Remember the Armenian Genocide," *CR*, May 12, 1983, 12162-12163; Sen. William Proxmire (WI), "Remembering the Armenian Genocide," *CR*, June 14, 1983, 15557-15558; and Rep. Stewart B. McKinney, "Remembering the Armenian Genocide," *CR*, July 11, 1983, 18567. See also "Sixty-One Congressmen Participate in Armenian Genocide Commemoration on April 21," *Armenian Reporter*, May 12, 1983.

³¹⁶ Sen. Steve Symms (ID), "Armenian Terrorists Must be Stopped," *CR*, April 20, 1983, 9170-9171; Rep. Marjorie S. Holt (MD), "Attacks Continue," *CR*, May 4, 1983, 11124; Rep. Mark D. Siljander (MI), "The Recent Murder of the Turkish Ambassador to Yugoslavia," *CR*, May 10, 1983, 11748-11749; Rep. Charles Wilson (TX), "The Murders of Turkish Public Officials and Diplomats," *CR*, May 17, 1983, 12686; Rep. Gerald B.H. Solomon (NY), "A Needed Perspective on Armenian Terrorism," *CR*, June 16, 1983, 16276-16277; and "Turkish Press Review: April 28-29, 1983," ANKARA 03932, April 29, 1983. See also Sema Karaoglu, "Letters to the Times: Deukmejian's Armenia Speech," *Los Angeles Times*, May 2, 1983.

³¹⁷ "Bombings at Turkish Offices - 5/25/83," BRUSSELS 07202, May 25, 1983; "Turkish Press Review: May 24-25, 1983," ANKARA 04734, May 25, 1983; and "Two Explosions Shake Belgian Capital," *Armenian Reporter*, May 26, 1983.

³¹⁸ "Turkish Report on the Armenian Attack at the Covered Bazaar," ANKARA 05718, June 27, 1983; "Three Dead, 21 Wounded in Bazaar Rampage," *AP*, Istanbul, June 16, 1983; "Gunmen Injure 17 in Shootout in Bazaar," *AP*, Istanbul, June 16, 1983; "Terrorist Opens Fire on Grand Bazaar in Istanbul," *Washington Post*, June 17, 1983; "Terrorists Kill 2 in Turkey," *Los Angeles Times*, June 17, 1983; and "Turkish Press Review: June 18-20, 1983," ANKARA 05517, June 21, 1983.

³¹⁹ "ASALA Takes Credit for Attack in Istanbul's Covered Bazaar," *Armenian Reporter*, June 30, 1983.

³²⁰ Melkonian, *My Brother's Road*, 114.

³²¹ "Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF) Eastern Region, International Terrorism-ARF," FBI, March 2, 1984, 1149368-000, 199B-CG-625, Section 2 (944522); "Radical Group Hosts Well-Attended Solidarity Meeting," *Armenian Reporter*, May 1, 1986; "Pro-ASALA Rally in Athens," STATE 155446, May 16, 1986; and Melkonian, *My Brother's Road*, 110.

enthusiasts in across the diaspora, willing do to their part, and thousands of supporters of moral and financial supporters.³²² Individuals claiming to represent *ASALA* had actively and openly recruited Armenian high school students in Los Angeles since at least 1981.³²³

Dursun Aksoy—Brussels, Belgium (July 14, 1983)

Less than a month after the assault in Istanbul, the *ARF* assassinated the Administrative Attaché at the Turkish Embassy in Brussels, 39-year old Durson Aksoy, as he started out toward the Embassy that morning. After shooting Aksoy twice in the head at point-blank range, the assassin was able to flee into a wooded area and escape. *ASALA*, the *JCAG* and the *Armenian Revolutionary Army (ARA)* all claimed responsibility.³²⁴ This was the first instance where the *ARF* used the *ARA* name in one of their attacks.³²⁵ Within weeks, the Belgian authorities extradited a Turkish Armenian named Hussni Geol (Husnu Gol) from the Netherlands for the murder, but he was released due to lack of evidence.³²⁶ The Aksoy assassination would be quickly overshadowed, however. The very next day, *ASALA* carried out the Orly Airport bombing, the most infamous Armenian terrorist attack between 1975 and 1985.

³²² Melkonian, *My Brother's Road*, 111.

³²³ "Untitled," May 4, 1981, FBI, 1149357-000, 199B-LA-103720C, Section 02 (943904); "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA); Foreign Counterintelligence Investigation-Lebanon-Terrorism," June 2, 1981, FBI, 1149357-000, 199B-LA-103720C, Section 3 (943916).

³²⁴ "Press Statement: Assassination of Turkish Diplomat in Brussels," STATE 196815, July 14, 1983; "Assassination of Turkish Diplomat in Brussels," BRUSSELS 09644, July 14, 1983; "Armenian Terrorists Slay Turkish Envoy in Brussels," *Los Angeles Times*, July 14, 1983; AP, Brussels, July 14, 1983; Roman Rollnick, *UPI*, Brussels, July 14, 1983; Philippe Neuray, *AP*, Brussels, July 14, 1983; "Turkish Press Review: July 12-15, 1983," ANKARA 06143, July 15, 1983; "Turk Slain in Brussels; Armenians Claim Deed," *New York Times*, July 15, 1983; "Turk Slain in Brussels," *Washington Post*, July 15, 1983; Herman Saen, *UPI*, Brussels, July 15, 1983; "Turkish Press Coverage of Assassination of Diplomat in Brussels," ANKARA 06150, July 16, 1983; "Attache Shot in Brussels," *Armenian Weekly*, July 16, 1983; "Turkish Diplomat Assassinated in Belgium; ASALA Takes Credit," *Armenian Reporter*, July 21, 1983; and "Turkish Diplomat Shot in Belgium," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, July 23, 1983.

³²⁵ "Affiliation of Attackers in 3 Incidents Subject of Wide Speculation," *Armenian Reporter*, Oct. 6, 1983; "Armenian Revolutionary Army," PARIS 22917, June 5, 1985; "Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide {JCAG}, AKA Armenian Revolutionary Army {ARA}; IT-JCAG/ARA," FBI, Dec. 18, 1986, 1075807-000, HQ 199-9742, Section 1 (796809).

³²⁶ "Turkish Press Review: July 26-27, 1983," ANKARA 06468, July 27, 1983; "Belgium Calls on Holland to Extradite Suspect in Assassination of Diplomat," *Armenian Weekly*, Aug. 11, 1983; "Extradition Sought of Suspect in Belgian Assassination," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Aug. 20, 1983; and "Belgians Release Armenian for Lack of Evidence in Diplomat's Assassination," *Armenian Reporter*, March 15, 1984.

Orly Airport Bombing—Paris, France (July 15, 1983)

On Friday, July 15, shortly after 2 pm, *ASALA* operatives detonated a suitcase bomb at the Turkish Airlines check-in desk at the Orly Airport outside of Paris. Eight people were killed, three instantly and five later from injuries sustained, including four French citizens, two Turks, an American, and a Swede, and close to sixty others were wounded. The attack, along with vivid descriptions of the carnage and chaos were well covered in the international media.³²⁷ The original intent was to have the bomb detonate in air aboard a Turkish Airlines flight to Istanbul, which would have killed all 167 of the scheduled passengers.

The Turkish reaction was both stern and reproachful: "...our warnings with regard to international terrorism have not been taken seriously... Those who support terrorism and remain silent, are now realizing that terror does not bypass them and includes them in its vicious circle."³²⁸ While the scale and indiscriminate violence of the Orly attack was no different than the assault at Esenboğa or, to a slightly lesser degree, the Grand Bazaar, the Paris airport attack caused considerably more coverage and outrage in the international press. Whether this was because the ultimate goal had been carnage on a much larger scale, i.e., the 167 Turkish Airlines passengers, or because of the audacity of *ASALA* to conduct such an operation outside of Turkey, remains unclear. The fear, however, was palpable and was described by the former CIA director of counterterrorism: "They [Armenians]'re brutal... They don't take hostages to negotiate. It's just out-and-out murder."³²⁹

While *ASALA* threatened the world with more violence as it tried to cope with the Aksoy assassination and the Orly bombing, the French government finally broke ties with Armenian terrorism, and 150 policemen rounded up over 50 Armenians for questioning, seized weapons

³²⁷ *ABC News*, July 15, 1983; Greg MacArthur, *AP*, Paris, July 15, 1983; "5 Killed, 60 Hurt by Paris Bomb; Armenian Extremists Take Blame," *Los Angeles Times*, July 15, 1983; Peggy Turbett, *UPI*, Paris, July 15, 1983; Brigid Phillips, *UPI*, Paris, July 15, 1983; "5 Killed in Orly Airport Bombing; Armenians Claim Responsibility," *New York Times*, July 16, 1983; "A Long History of Vengeance," *NYT*, July 16, 1983; "Armenian Blast Kills 5m Hurts 56 at Paris Airport," *LAT*, July 16, 1983; Claire Rosenberg, "American student killed in bomb explosion," *UPI*, Paris, July 16, 1983; *UPI*, Paris, July 16, 1983; Greg MacArthur, *AP*, Paris, July 16, 1983; "Armenians Claim More Victims," *NYT*, July 17, 1983; "Death Toll Climbs to 6 in Orly Bombing," *NYT*, July 17, 1983; "American Among Dead in Orly Blast," *Washington Post*, July 17, 1983; "Turkish Press Review: July 16-18, 1983," ANKARA 06192, July 18, 1983, DOS; "Orly Blast Claims Seventh Victim, New Threats," Associated Press, July 21, 1983; "Death Toll Rises to 7 After Terror at Orly," *NYT*, July 22, 1983; "ASALA Bombing of Orly Airport Takes Heavy Toll; Paris Police, in Major Sweep, Detain Over 50 Suspects," *Armenian Reporter*, July 21, 1983; and "ASALA-planned blast at France's Orly Airport," *Armenian Weekly*, July 23, 1983.

³²⁸ "Armenian Terrorism: GOT Reaction to Orly Bombing," ANKARA 06276, July 21, 1983.

³²⁹ "Terrorist Group Baffles Experts in Armenian Tactics," *Washington Post*, July 26, 1983.

and explosives, and expelled as many as 11 Armenians from the country.³³⁰ In the wake of French action, it was leaked, by the *ARF* no less, that the leader of *ASALA*, Haroutiun Takoushian, was not killed in Beirut as reported, but in fact was photographed and followed as recent as April in France as he made preparations for future attacks. The French, allegedly, did not want to arrest him out of fear of retaliation.³³¹ The *ARF* only half-heartedly condemned the attack at the airport, restating that it fully supported “actions aimed against the Turkish State which has been carried on since 1975 by Commandos of the Avengers of the Armenian Genocide and by *ASALA*.”³³²

One of the Armenians brought in under the French sting, a 29-year old Syrian Armenian named Varoujan Garbidjian, admitted to carrying out the attack at Orly and was identified as the head of *ASALA*'s operations in France.³³³ In March 1985, Garbidjian was sentenced to life in prison, while his two main accomplices, Soner Nayir and Ohannes Sermerci were given 15 and 10 year sentences respectively. Garbidjian was pardoned in early 2001 on the condition that he quit France immediately for Armenia. Five more Armenians were eventually convicted for their roles in the crime in January 1985: Antoine Ashkoyan, Hallebian, Avedis Katanasian, Hovhannes Katanasian, and Nersess Tashjian. Each only received between 2 ½ to 3 years for the crime.³³⁴ In retaliation, *ASALA* struck at the French Embassy and Air France offices in Iran and threatened more attacks if the Armenians detained by the French government were not

³³⁰ “Militant Armenians warn of more attacks,” *Globe and Mail*, July 18, 1983; “Asala threatens further violence,” *The Times*, July 18, 1983; Aline Mosby, “Paris police question 51 Armenians,” *UPI*, Paris, July 18, 1983; *AP*, Paris, July 18, 1983; *UPI*, Paris, July 18, 1983; “French police round up Armenian activists after airport bomb blast,” *The Times*, July 19, 1983; *UPI*, Paris, July 19, 1983; “Armenian Terrorism: Turkish Reactions to Brussels and Orly Attacks,” ANKARA 06318, July 22, 1983; “Sympathy Won't Help,” *New York Times*, July 24, 1983; “French Police Pick Up 51 for Questioning in Terror Attack,” *Armenian Reporter*, July 21, 1983; “51 Armenian ‘Activists’ Arrested in Paris,” *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, July 23, 1983; “ASALA and French Relations,” *Armenian Weekly*, July 23, 1983; and “Paris Papers Report End of Pact Between Fr. Gov't and ASALA,” *AMS*, July 30, 1983.

³³¹ “French Detain 51 in Orly Terrorism,” *New York Times*, July 19, 1983; “French Police Question Armenians in Orly Airport Bombing,” *Washington Post*, July 19, 1983; “Armenian bombing at Orly ends pact between Socialists and terrorists,” *Christian Science Monitor*, July 19, 1983; “Turkish Press Review: July 21-22, 1983,” ANKARA 06334, July 22, 1983; “Conflicting Reports on the Armenian Secret Army,” *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, July 23, 1983; and “French Police Were Expecting a Major Strike by Armenian Terrorists,” *Armenian Reporter*, July 28, 1983.

³³² “The Armenian Community in South of France,” MARSEILLE 00730, July 28, 1983.

³³³ *AP*, Paris, July 20, 1983; *UPI*, Paris, July 20, 1983; E.J. Dionne, Jr., “Paris Says Suspect Confesses Attack,” *New York Times*, July 21, 1983; “11 Charged in Paris Bombing,” *Washington Post*, July 21, 1983; “Turkish Press Review: July 21-22, 1983,” ANKARA 06334, July 22, 1983; “Varoujan Garbidjian Confesses to Orly Bombing; Massive Police Sweep Results in Detention of Scores of Armenians,” *Armenian Reporter*, July 28, 1983; and “Verdicts in Armenian Terrorists’ Trial,” PARIS 08926, March 4, 1985.

³³⁴ “Five Armenians are Sentenced in France,” *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Jan. 5, 1985.

released.³³⁵ Despite the shock, outrage, and the intense scrutiny of the Armenian diaspora brought on by the bombing of the Orly Airport, Armenian terrorists would stage one final assault during the period, another armed assault on a Turkish Embassy compound. This time, however, the *ARF* would make an attempt to steal the headlines captured by *ASALA* in France.

Cahide Mihçioğlu—Lisbon, Portugal (July 27, 1983)

Less than two weeks after the Orly attack, five *ARF* terrorists tried to takeover the Turkish Embassy and Ambassadorial Residence in Lisbon. Although the attempt would ultimately fail, primarily because of the resilience of the recently established Portuguese anti-Terror unit, the assault resulted in the death of seven individuals. One terrorist was killed entering the building, while the remaining four fought their way into the residence, took hostages, and eventually committed suicide, along with killing Cahide Mihçioğlu, the wife of Turkish charge d'affaires, and a Portuguese policeman with a grenade as a Portuguese counterterrorist unit retook control over the building. Mihçioğlu's husband, the Turkish charge d'affaires in Portugal, and their 17-year old son were wounded in the blast. Before they self-detonated, the *ARA* commandos announced their intention to sacrifice themselves "on the altar of freedom."

The militants had planned for a prolonged occupation and kidnapping operation, but it appears the death of one of their own early into the attack changed their plans. The Portuguese authorities quickly launched an investigation and searched for accomplices.³³⁶ The *ARA* warned that their "brothers would be avenged," and personally threatened the Portuguese Prime

³³⁵ "Armenian Terrorists Claim Two Tehran Bomb Blasts," *AP*, Nicosia, July 22, 1983; "French Embassy in Iran Damaged by Bombing," *New York Times*, July 23, 1983; "Armenians Claim Responsibility for Iran Bombs," *Los Angeles Times*, July 23, 1983; "Armenians threaten French Embassy in Tehran," *UPI*, Paris, July 28, 1983; "Tight Security at French Embassy in Tehran," *UPI*, Paris, July 28, 1983; "Armenian Terrorists Threaten Rocket Attack on French Embassy in Tehran," *LAT*, July 29, 1983; "Armenian bomb threats ground two French planes," *UPI*, Paris, July 30, 1983; *AP*, Paris, July 30, 1983; "Calls Delay French Plances," *Washington Post*, July 31, 1983; "2 Retaliatory Strikes Already Reported," *Armenian Reporter*, July 28, 1983; "ASALA Threatens 'War' on France," *AR*, July 28, 1983; and "French Seek Suspects in Orly Bombings as ASALA Threatens More Action," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, July 30, 1983.

³³⁶ "Turkish Embassy Siege Kills 7; Armenians Slay Envoy's Wife, Selves," *Los Angeles Times*, July 27, 1983; "Terrorists Bomb Turkish Embassy in Suicide Mission," *ABC News Transcripts*, July 27, 1983; *AP*, Lisbon, July 27, 1983; Stuart Stone, *UPI*, Lisbon, July 27, 1983; Stuart Stone, *UPI*, Lisbon, July 27, 1983; *UPI*, Lisbon, July 27, 1983; "Five Armenian gunmen killed in Lisbon raid," *The Times*, July 28, 1983; "7 Die in Suicide Embassy Raid by Armenians," *LAT*, July 28, 1983; "Portuguese Suspected Armenian Terror Attack," *AP*, Lisbon, July 28, 1983; "7 Dead in Lisbon Armenian Raid," *New York Times*, July 28, 1983; "Terrorists Planned Long Siege," *AP*, Lisbon, July 28, 1983; "Turkish Embassy Takeover by Armenian Extremists in Lisbon Results in 7 Deaths," *Armenian Reporter*, July 28, 1983; "Manhunt launched across Portugal," *Globe and Mail*, July 29, 1983; "A New Armenian Death Mission," *NYT*, July 31, 1983; and "Five ARA members sacrifice their lives to "altar of freedom," *Armenian Weekly*, Aug. 20, 1983;

Minister.³³⁷ In condemning the Armenian terrorist attacks in Brussels, Paris, and Lisbon, U.S. President Ronald Reagan's statement accurately reflected the non-Armenian public's reaction in the wake of the attacks during the summer of 1983: "No real or imagined grievance could possibly justify these modern day horrors."³³⁸ In other words, patience and tolerance for Armenian political violence outside of the Armenian diaspora, even in France, had reached the breaking point and was beginning to be viewed for what it was: "Armenian terrorism... represents sheer hate."³³⁹

Armenian Terrorism in the Press

Armenian terrorism during its most active period, 1979 to 1983, naturally engendered a large amount of discussion in the Western press and, obviously, in the Armenian American press. While the majority of voices represented in the Armenian American newspapers supported Armenian terrorism, that support can be broken into four general phases during this period. The first phase, from the summer of 1979 up through the assassination of Kemal Arıkan in Los Angeles at the end of January 1982 is in general a period in which the aggressive support evidenced in the last chapter transitioned to a slightly more nuanced "we condemn what they do, but at the same time we understand why they are doing it" form of support. Other opinions existed, including unconditional support of the violence, aggressive support, relatively objective and in-depth analysis of terrorism's impact on the Armenian cause, and even some condemnation of the violence, but the "condemn but understand" response was by far the most common in the Armenian press throughout this period. It was also the safest response, and the one most likely offered by an Armenian politician or celebrity.

Typically, these opinions began with the acknowledgement that while they did not advocate violence, they sympathized and understood why these "frustrated" Armenian youths murdered Turkish citizens. The lack of progress for the cause, the world's indifference to the Armenian's quest for justice, the painful stories of their grandparents, and, most importantly,

³³⁷ "Armenian group threatens more violence," *UPI*, Lisbon, July 29, 1983.

³³⁸ "Statement on Terrorism for Today's Press Briefing," White House Memorandum, John Poindexter for Richard G. Darman, July 28, 1983, Ronald Reagan Library; "Reagan to seek end to terrorism," *UPI*, Washington, July 28, 1983; and "Terrorism: Statement by the President," STATE 212781, July 29, 1983.

³³⁹ Dave Smith, "Armenians: Old Scars Mar Image," *Los Angeles Times*, July 29, 1983; Colman McCarthy, "Turks: Victims of twisted history," *Detroit Free Press*, July 29, 1983; Colman McCarthy, "Armenian Terror Tactics," *Washington Post*, July 31, 1983; "Armenian Terror," *WP*, July 31, 1983; and "Four French Ministers Friendly to Armenian Cause Severely Criticized," *Armenian Reporter*, July 28, 1983.

Turkey's adamant refusal to acknowledge the wrongs of 1915 were all cited as the mitigating factors driving these young men and women to kill. The articles implored non-Armenians to try and understand the reasons behind the violence, to recognize that Armenians were the victims of the second greatest crime in the twentieth century, and encouraged Turkey to come to terms with its past so the Armenians could heal.³⁴⁰ In many cases, however, the difference between the "condemn but understand" commentary and full support for Armenian terrorism was minimal.

The articles, letters and editorials in support of violence dispensed with the formality of recognizing that murder was wrong. For these writers, the means, whatever they may be, always justified the end. This opinion, as discovered in Beirut by the *New York Times* journalist, Marvin Howe, was perhaps the closest representation of the majority opinion within the Armenian diaspora in 1980.³⁴¹ The articles used a multitude of arguments to justify political violence, including that terrorism "is line with modern revolutionary movements," that at least they are not attacking hospitals, buses or schools, that it would be foolish to waste the opportunities being created by violence, and that the Armenian cause should be compared to the American struggle against the British in 1776. Most alarming, was one individual who argued that violence was the best way to deal with a Turk because "the Turkish mentality that must be dealt with today is synonymous to that which existed in 1915: barbaric, uncivilized, inhumane," and an Armenian priest who confessed that the murder of Turkish diplomats made him "feel good."³⁴²

³⁴⁰ "Aznavour Discusses Attacks on Turkish Diplomats in Europe," *Armenian Reporter*, March 6, 1980; Michael Arlen, "Armenians Vs. Turks—Again," *New York Times*, March 11, 1980; "A One-Sided Presentation," *AR*, March 15, 1980; "We Must Seek to Understand the Reasons Behind Terrorist Activities," *Armenian Weekly*, March 29, 1980; "Gourgen Yanikian: Prisoner of Hate," *Armenian Mirror Spectator*, December 13, 1980; "The Turkish Appeal on Terrorism," *AMS*, January 3, 1981; "Reader Responds to Turkish Embassy Letter in Los Angeles Times," *Armenian Observer*, January 14, 1981; "Armenian Assembly Responds to Turkish Appeal," *AR*, January 15, 1981; "Armenian Terrorism," *LAT*, February 5, 1981; "The Ends and the Means," *AMS*, August 1, 1981; "Letter: It is No Wonder That Some May Turn to Terrorism," *AMS*, October 31, 1981; and "Terrorism is Wrong, but..." *AW*, December 26, 1981.

³⁴¹ Marvin Howe, "Most Armenians in Beirut Support Attacks on Turks," *New York Times*, March 1, 1980.

³⁴² "Blaming the Victim," *Armenian Weekly*, November 8, 1980; "Shame on Costikyan," *AW*, December 6, 1980; "No Need for Armenian Americans to Feel Guilt Ridden About Terrorism Acts Abroad," *Armenian Mirror Spectator*, January 17, 1981; "Armenian Political Violence and the New Challenge," *Armenian Reporter*, January 22, 1981; "Columbia University Debate Focuses on Terrorism," *AR*, February 19, 1981; "Freedom Fighters or 'Terrorists'?", *AW*, May 2, 1981; "To the Editor: Terrorism Necessary for Freedom," *AMS*, October 1981; "Efforts of ASALA Doomed to Failure Without the Support of All Armenians," *AR*, October 15, 1981; "Official Censure, but Popular Sympathy for Political 'Acts' Outside, Reports Foreign Correspondent from Armenia," *AW*, November 7, 1981; "Reader Lauds ASALA and Its Attacks on Turkish Diplomats," *AMS*, December 12, 1981; and "Mothers in Solidarity with Their Sons," *AR*, December 31, 1981.

The final three categories in this phase were articles that attempted some analysis or debate on the topic of terrorism; those that condemned terrorism and those, like the previous period, called for an intensification of the armed struggle. The analyses of Armenian terrorism generally centered on the degree to which terrorism actually benefitted, or furthered the Armenian cause, or whether it worked against it, rather than any questions of morality. Those who argued in favor, tended to cite the increase in publicity and awareness of Armenian grievances, while others believed that terrorism worked against the cause, because any real resolution would ultimately require the participation of Turkey, and terrorism pushed Armenians and Turks further away from cooperation. Some even criticized the role that the culture of anti-Turkishness and hate within the Armenian community had in Armenian terrorism, while others suggested alternative strategies.³⁴³

There were only a handful of articles in this period that condemned terrorism, the use of violence or the murder of innocents outright, but at least there were fewer calls for an increase in violence.³⁴⁴ Unfortunately, it is in this last category that we clearly see some of the arguments being made to justify the killing of Turkish diplomats: “Present day Turkey is as much, and maybe more, responsible for the crimes committed against the Armenian nation,” or “How can a people, let alone their official representatives of a government be “innocent” when they have not confessed their Crime which is public knowledge?”³⁴⁵

The second phase evident in the press covers the period between the assassination of Kemal Arıkan in Los Angeles in January 1982 and the attack on Esenboğa Airport in August 1982, and includes the murder of Orhan Gündüz in Boston. During this period the coverage changed slightly. Obviously, due to the fact that it begins with the murder of another Turkish Consul General in Los Angeles, 9 years to the day since the assassinations of Mehmet Baydar and Bahadır Demir, and that Kemal Arıkan appears to have been well-known, well-liked, and highly respected within the greater Los Angeles community, there was considerable

³⁴³ “A Closer Look at Armenian Terrorism,” *Armenian Reporter*, May 1, 1980; “Panel Discussion Indicates Varying Reaction to Armenian Terrorism,” *AR*, May 1, 1980; “Let’s Be Guided by Realism,” *AR*, May 8, 1980; “Terrorism: A Tired and Predictable Course,” *AR*, May 8, 1980; “On a Dangerous Course,” *AR*, June 5, 1980; “Paris and Other Terrorist Affairs: Where do They Lead?,” *Armenian Mirror Spectator*, October 3, 1981.

³⁴⁴ “The Bounty of International Terrorism—Is it Real?,” *Armenian Reporter*, August 14, 1980; “A Game Men Play,” *Armenian Mirror Spectator*, September 13, 1980; “An Insult to the Armenian Martyrs,” *New York Times*, October 20, 1980; “ARCA Statement on Terrorism,” *AMS*, October 25, 1980; and “Terrorism Tarnishes the Cause,” *AMS*, April 11, 1981.

³⁴⁵ “Why Resort to Terrorism,” *Armenian Reporter*, April 10, 1980; “The Avenging Fists,” *Armenian Weekly*, April 26, 1980; “We Must Not Sleep,” *AW*, May 10, 1980; and “Massacrists Beware,” *AW*, March 14, 1981.

condemnation and outrage in the mainstream U.S. media.³⁴⁶ In fact, in one of the more critical responses, an editorial in the *Los Angeles Times* asked: “What honor can there be among a group that would with deliberation and dispassion murder such an innocent man? What justice can there be in a cause that must be furthered by the slaughter of individuals whose only crime was that they were born Turkish and worked for their government?”³⁴⁷

The Armenian response to this question was more of the same: both implicit and explicit support for Armenian terrorism.³⁴⁸ Implicit support for the violence was best expressed by a young Armenian male at a gathering in Edmonton, Canada: “I am against terrorism. But every time I hear about some [Turkish] diplomat being shot, I feel great. I suppose that’s only normal.” Even more revealing, especially in hindsight, was another statement made at the same gathering: “At least the Armenians are focusing on Turkish diplomats, representatives of the Turkish government. They are not, and thank god for little mercies, shooting up airports.”³⁴⁹ This statement was printed only two weeks before the attack on Esenboğa Airport in Ankara.

Explicit support included a shocking statement from the head of the Armenian Church in California who described Armenian terrorists as “rebellious sons” who “are the daredevils who have risen against injustice,” and that “each and every act of assassination of a Turkish diplomat

³⁴⁶ “Terrorism at Work,” *Los Angeles Times*, January 29, 1982; “18 Have Died in Seven Years of Assassinations,” *LAT*, January 29, 1982; “Slaying Deplored: Armenians See No Quick End to the Bloodshed,” *LAT*, January 29, 1982; Richard Gunde “A Diplomat Pays the Ultimate Price,” *LAT*, January 31, 1982; “Two Turks Directly Affected by Terrorism. Despite Violence, They Have No Hatred of Armenians,” *LAT*, January 31, 1982; “State Department Official Statement on Terrorism,” *Armenian Observer*, February 3, 1982; “Mourners Bid Farewell to Slain Turkish Official,” *LAT*, February 4, 1982; and “Wall Street Journal: Terrorism at Home,” *Armenian Reporter*, February 4, 1982.

³⁴⁷ Richard Gunde “A Diplomat Pays the Ultimate Price,” *Los Angeles Times*, January 31, 1982.

³⁴⁸ Implicit: “Mix Reaction by California Armenians Reported Following Killing of K. Arikan,” *Armenian Reporter*, February 4, 1982; “New York Armenians React to Killing,” *AR*, February 4, 1982; “Wall Street Journal Editorial on Terrorism,” *Armenian Mirror Spectator*, February 6, 1982; “Seeking an Answer to Terrorism,” *AMS*, February 13, 1982; “Armenian Terrorism: An Unfair and Inaccurate Portrayal in the American News Media,” *AR*, February 18, 1982; “Arm. Assembly, in Statement, Calls Assassination Result of Frustration,” *AR*, February 25, 1982; “Terrorism, Turkey and ‘Taps’,” *AMS*, February 27, 1982; “Calls Armenians to Condemn Terrorists,” *AMS*, March 6, 1982; “Academicians Find Journal Editorial ‘Deeply Offensive’,” *AR*, March 11, 1982; “Massacre Survivor Expresses His Feeling,” *AR*, March 11, 1982; “Boston Reacts to Gunduz Shooting,” *AMS*, May 29, 1982; “Let’s Pass From Terrorism to Negotiation,” *AMS*, June 5, 1982; “Armenian Terrorism: Why?,” *AR*, June 24, 1982; “Right and Wrong is Irrelevant, Edmonton Armenians are Told,” *AMS*, July 24, 1982. Explicit: “Prelate Explains Underlying Reasons for Violence in Letter to Non-Armenians,” *AR*, February 11, 1982; “Assassination of Arikan and the Dashnak Crisis,” *AR*, February 25, 1982; and “Political Violence and the Armenian Question,” *AW*, June 5, 1982.

³⁴⁹ “Right and Wrong is Irrelevant, Edmonton Armenians are Told,” *Armenian Mirror Spectator*, July 24, 1982.

symbolizes an outcry and is a vivid demonstration of the revival of the Armenian Case.”³⁵⁰ Another statement, attributed to the Armenian People’s Movement, an *ASALA* affiliate in Los Angeles, claimed: “not many Armenians would dispute the fact that, as a representative of the bloody Turkish regime, Kemal Arıkan is a criminal guilty of murder.”³⁵¹ Despite the unprecedented attention and outrage expressed in the mainstream American press, however, only four articles in the Armenian press condemned either the murder or Armenian terrorism in general.³⁵²

The third phase, between the attacks on Esenboğa and Istanbul’s Grand Bazaar in June 1983, is noteworthy for two reasons. First, although this period covers nearly a year, there are only six articles in the Armenian-American press dealing explicitly with the question of Armenian violence. Second, of these six articles, four of them were again concerned with providing analyses of terrorism: its implications, and self-reflection on the direction violence has taken the Armenian community.³⁵³ Of the remaining two, one was a long discussion justifying and glorying the young Armenian extremists,³⁵⁴ while the other was an editorial providing relatively ambiguous support.³⁵⁵ Rather than a trend, however, the lull in attention paid to Armenian terrorism in the diaspora press was merely the calm before the storm of the fourth phase.

The last phase of the coverage of Armenian violence and terrorism in the Armenian-American covers the period from the Orly attack to the last successful terrorist operation, the takeover the Turkish Embassy in Ottawa, Canada in March 1985. Similar to the attack on Kemal Arıkan, the mainstream press coverage of the Orly Airport attack in the United States was extensive.³⁵⁶ However, it wasn’t simply the attack in Paris that produced the most scathing

³⁵⁰ “Prelate Explains Underlying Reasons for Violence in Letter to Non-Armenians,” *Armenian Reporter*, February 11, 1982.

³⁵¹ “Assassination of Arıkan and the Dashnak Crisis,” *Armenian Reporter*, February 25, 1982.

³⁵² “A Statement on Terrorism,” *Armenian Observer*, February 10, 1982; “The Armenian Cause & Terrorism,” *Armenian Reporter*, February 11, 1982; “Terrorism Won’t Work,” *AR*, February 25, 1982; and “What Price Revenge?,” *Armenian Mirror Spectator*, March 6, 1982.

³⁵³ “The Art of Self-Deception,” *Armenian Reporter*, September 1982; “Armenian Political Violence Merits Serious Discussion,” *AR*, February 17, 1983; “Why the Confusion in Addressing the Issue of Terrorism,” *AR*, February 17, 1983; and “Terrorism or Other Approach,” *AR*, March 17, 1983.

³⁵⁴ “Political Activists are Not Armenian Terrorists,” *Armenian Reporter*, November 4, 1982.

³⁵⁵ “A Discussion on Terrorism,” *Armenian Reporter*, June 9, 1983.

³⁵⁶ “5 Killed, 60 Hurt by Paris Bomb; Armenian Extremists Take Blame,” *New York Times*, July 15, 1983; “Armenian Blast Kills 5, Hurts 56 at Paris Airport,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 16, 1983; “Death Toll Climbs to 6 in Orly Bombing,” *NYT*, July 17, 1983; “French Detain 51 in Orly Terrorism,” *NYT*, July 19, 1983; “Paris Says

criticism, and unequivocal condemnation of Armenian terrorism up until that point, but a combination of the murder of Turkish diplomat Dursin Aksoy in Brussels on July 14, 1983, the Orly attack on July 15, 1983 and the raid on the Turkish Embassy in Lisbon which resulted in the death of Cahide Mihcioğlu, a Portuguese policeman and five of the Armenian terrorists.³⁵⁷ This was, evidently, too much for Western public opinion to stomach, and dissatisfaction with the Armenian diaspora's methods transformed into outright hostility. Particularly distasteful, appears to have been the decision of the Second Armenian World Congress, which met shortly after these attacks, not to issue a statement condemning the violence.³⁵⁸ Also indicative of this new mood was the *New York Times*'s description of Armenian activity: "Murdering people because of their ethnic identity is a crime against all humanity."³⁵⁹

Judging from the content in their newspapers in the wake of the attacks and the onslaught of criticism, the Armenian community in the United States was caught of guard by the level and intensity of the negative publicity directed at the diaspora. It seems the possibility that the U.S. and European public opinion would turn against Armenian violence had not crossed their minds. President Ronald Reagan's statement mentioned above that: "no real or imagined grievance could possibly justify these modern day horrors," seems to have particularly cut deep.³⁶⁰ Armenian-American leaders interpreted the criticism of Armenian terrorism as being a more general attack on the Armenian community. In response, their media went on the defensive, and the articles, letters, editorials and content in the Armenian-American newspapers were primarily concerned with justifying the validity of their cause, denouncing Turkey and accusing Western governments and media outlets of not only misrepresenting and

Suspect Confesses Attack," *NYT*, July 21, 1983; "Sympathy Won't Help," *NYT*, July 24, 1983; and "Four French Ministers Friendly to Armenian Cause Severely Criticized," *NYT*, July 28, 1983.

³⁵⁷ "Turkish Embassy Siege Kills 7: Armenians Slay Envoy's Wife, Selves," *Los Angeles Times*, July 27, 1983; "7 Die in Suicide Raid by Armenians," *LAT*, July 28, 1983; "New Terrorism. Armenians: Old Scars Mar Image," *LAT*, July 29, 1983; "A New Armenian Death Mission," *New York Times*, July 31, 1983; "Armenian Terror: A Tangle of Motives," *NYT*, August 1, 1983; "Soiling the Altar of Freedom," *NYT*, August 9, 1983; "Reagan Says No Justification of Attacks," *Armenian Weekly*, August 20, 1983; and "Genocide No Excuse for Terrorism, Sec. Abrams Tells LA Audience," *Armenian Mirror Spectator*, December 3, 1983.

³⁵⁸ "A New Armenian Death Mission," *New York Times*, July 31, 1983.

³⁵⁹ "Soiling the Altar of Freedom," *New York Times*, August 9, 1983.

³⁶⁰ "Reagan Says No Justification of Attacks," *Armenian Weekly*, August 20, 1983; "A Reply to Reagan," *AW*, October 8, 1983; "Letter to President Reagan," *Armenian Mirror Spectator*, October 29, 1983; and "Vote for Reagan is vote against Armenians," *AW*, April 7, 1984.

misunderstanding their actions and history, but of also mislabeling their “freedom fighters” as “terrorists.”³⁶¹

One of the more interesting developments of this phase was the re-packaging of Armenian terrorists after the Lisbon assault as soldiers in a 70-year war with such statements such as: “Certainly we condemn violence, doesn’t everyone? Yet we all go to war when necessary. The Armenians have been at war with the Turks since 1915 when the Turks tried to exterminate the Armenians,” and “the five young men who gave their lives in Lisbon were not terrorists, but casualties in the War for Armenian Liberation.”³⁶² A few writers did condemn the actions of ASALA and the Justice Commandos, but they started nine months after the attacks of the summer of 1983, when their voices were drowned in the overwhelming show of support for the righteousness of violence in the pursuit of the Armenian cause, and by the time it was much too late.³⁶³

Conclusion

The period between the fall of 1979 and the summer of 1983 marked the apogee of Armenian political violence. By the time the ARF siege of the Turkish Embassy and Residence in Lisbon ended on July 27, 1983, the assassinations, armed assaults and bomb attacks of ASALA and the ARF took the lives of 19 Turkish Foreign Ministry officials, dependents and employees, a number of French, American, Italian, Yugoslav, Swiss and German nationals, at least 9 Armenian terrorists killed in action or executed for their crimes, paralyzed two Turkish officials

³⁶¹ “Armenians Respond to Post Letter on Orly Bombing,” *Armenian Mirror Spectator*, August 6, 1983; “Letter to the Times: Old Scars Mar Image,” *Los Angeles Times*, August 12, 1983; “The Roots of Armenian Violence,” *New York Times*, August 27, 1983; “A Question of Dishonor,” *Armenian Weekly*, August 27, 1983; “Cure for Terrorism is Acknowledgement,” *AW*, August 27, 1983; “Terrorism Begets Terrorism,” *AW*, September 1983; “A ‘Terrorist’ is in the Eyes of the Beholder,” *Armenian Reporter*, September 15, 1983; “Lisbon Youth Did Not Dishonor Armenian Martyrs of 1915,” *AW*, September 17, 1983; “A Reply to Reagan,” *AW*, October 8, 1983; “The Last Straw for ASALA Supporters,” *AMS*, October 22, 1983; “Letter to President Reagan,” *AMS*, October 29, 1983; “Can’t We Understand the Lisbon Act?,” *AW*, November 26, 1983; “Secret Army Leader Says Targets Will Be Turks Only,” *AMS*, December 3, 1983; “On Terrorism,” *AR*, January 5, 1984; “Four Perspectives on Terrorism,” *AMS*, February 18, 1984; “The Freedom Fighter vs. The Terrorist: Meditations of a Genocide Survivor,” *AW*, August 18, 1984; “Armenians Condemn Violence, Blame Turkey,” *AMS*, March 23, 1985; and Bedros Odian, “A Turkish Admission Would Halt Terrorism,” *NYT*, June 11, 1987.

³⁶² “Can’t We Understand the Lisbon Act?,” *Armenian Weekly*, November 26, 1983; “On Terrorism,” *Armenian Review*, January 5, 1984; and “The Freedom Fighter vs. The Terrorist: Meditations of a Genocide Survivor,” *AW*, August 18, 1984.

³⁶³ “Judge Arabian Speaks Out on Terrorism and Armenians,” *Armenian Mirror Spectator*, March 31, 1984; “No Time for Terrorism,” *Armenian Reporter*, April 25, 1985; and “A Radical Remedy for the Armenian Question,” *AR*, April 25, 1985.

in the 8 attempted assassinations, and wounded countless others. The assaults at the Esenboğa Airport, the Istanbul Grand Bazaar, the Turkish Embassy and Ambassadorial Residence in Lisbon, and the premature detonation of a bomb designed to explode in mid-air at the Orly Airport in Paris in July 1983 had helped Armenian terrorists, and in particular ASALA, live up to their reputation as being “among the most capable and dangerous terrorist organization in the world.”³⁶⁴ This was no mean feat given the terrorists groups they were competing with for international exposure.

ASALA’s increased notoriety and publicity undoubtedly brought more awareness to the Armenian Cause, and forced the ARF to keep pace. ASALA’s decision to broaden their target base to include Western governments and their citizens, their links to other international terrorist organizations, their increasingly brutal and indiscriminate attacks, including the targeting of children, however, caused outrage among the very governments and publics they sought to win over to their cause. As the body count continued to mount, however, sympathy for the Armenian Cause and indifference to the Turkish victims waned. The attacks in New York, Boston and Los Angeles, lost the American public, and their existence became a concern for the national security of the United States and the Western alliance, and raised their priority for the FBI. First, Armenian terrorism lost the American public’s sympathy with bombs in Los Angeles and New York, the assassination of Kemal Arıkan in Los Angeles, and, finally, the assassination of Orhan Gündüz in Boston in the spring of 1982. After the brutal violence witnessed in the summer of 1983, in which Armenian terrorists killed 13 individuals and injured 76, ASALA and the ARF lost not only Western Europe, but also their most important patron, France.

Armenian terrorism still enjoyed the support of the Armenian diaspora and to a slightly lesser extent, the government of Greece. This support would allow ASALA and the armed wing of the ARF to sustain their campaign for a short while longer, before ASALA faded away into insignificance and the ARF partially demobilized its militants after internal disputes, and factional bloodletting led to an Armenian terrorist civil war on the streets of Beirut decimated their ranks. While the collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe spelled doom for most

³⁶⁴ “Growing Terrorist Danger for Americans,” National Foreign Assessment Center, CIA, December 23, 1981. See http://www.foia.cia.gov/browse_docs_full.asp

international terrorist organizations, as patrons, safe havens and, for many, their very raison d'être disappeared over night, ASALA and the militants within the ARF enjoyed a renaissance when their talents were needed in the Armenian-Azeri struggle over Nagorno-Karabakh during the dissolution of the Soviet Union.

CHAPTER 6

THE FALL, 1983 – 1988

In less than two weeks during the summer of 1983, Armenian terrorists killed 15 individuals and wounded over 60 more. In total, by the end of July 1983, *ASALA* and the *ARF* were responsible for the deaths of 28 Turkish diplomats and family members, 34 non-Turks, and wounded over 300 more.¹ Strong statements by both President Evren and President Reagan strengthened the resolve of the United States, Canada and Turkey to cooperate intimately on counterterrorist measures aimed at ending Armenian terrorism, and the Reagan administration in general took an aggressive stance against all forms of international terrorism.² The brutality of the attacks forced the hand of other countries, including France, that were previously reluctant to aggressively go after *ASALA* and the *ARF*.³ Even the Soviet Union, who had long been silent on the issue of Armenian terrorism, denounced the July attacks, and the Turkey warned those countries known to support or sympathize with *ASALA* and/or the *ARF*, and who did not reevaluate their positions after Orly, that they had lost patience.⁴

The tendency of the Armenian diaspora, and others, to pay lip service to the condemnation of terrorism, while openly sympathizing with the Armenian Cause and the

¹ “Armenian Terror: Tangle of Motives,” *New York Times*, Aug. 1, 1983.

² “Evren takes strong line towards Armenia,” *The Times*, Aug. 1, 1983; “Follow Up on President’s Statement,” National Security Council Memorandum, Donald R. Fortier for William P. Clark, Aug. 3, 1983, Turkey (02/16/1983-10/05/1983), Box 20, Executive Secretariat, NSC, Ronald Reagan Library; “New Initiatives to Combat Armenian Terrorism,” ANKARA 06707, Aug. 4, 1983, Ronald Reagan Library; “Armenians top priority for RCMP, CBC says,” *Globe and Mail*, Sept. 23, 1983; “Reagan Said to Warn Western European Countries on New Armenian Terrorism,” *Armenian Reporter*, Aug. 20, 1983; “December 9 Meeting of the Joint Group on Terrorism,” ANKARA 11332, Dec. 19, 1983; “Shultz/Halefoglu Breakfast in Stockholm,” ANKARA 00303, Jan. 10, 1984; “March 20 Meeting of the Joint Group on Terrorism,” ANKARA 03012, March 27, 1984; “Move on terrorism ordered by Reagan,” *Washington Times*, April 16, 1984; Robert C. Toth, “Preemptive Anti-Terrorist Raids Allowed,” *Washington Post*, April 16, 1984; and “Report on the 14 September Meeting of the Joint Group on Terrorism,” ANKARA 08494, Sept. 19, 1984.

³ “Turkish-French Relations Worsen Over Armenian Terrorism Issue,” ANKARA 02754, Sept. 25, 1983; and “French Hold Armenians in Orly Airport Bombing,” *New York Times*, Oct. 9, 1983.

⁴ “‘Hurriyet’ Coverage of Soviet Criticism of ASALA,” ANKARA 06949, Aug. 11, 1983; “GOT ‘Warns’ Visiting Iranian FONMIN Velayati,” ANKARA 07672, Sept. 1, 1983; “GOT Report on Syria’s Anti-Turkish Activities,” ANKARA 07679, Sept. 2, 1983; “Soviets Deny Help Has Been Given to Armenian Radicals,” *Armenian Reporter*, Sept. 15, 1983; and “Turkish Press Review: October 8-11, 1983,” Oct. 11, 1983.

frustrations of their militant youth, was also called out in the international press for the first time, as public opinion edged slightly in favor of the Turkish victims.⁵ The financial cost to local governments of protecting Turkish diplomats also began to undermine Western public support for the Armenian campaign.⁶ The Armenian diaspora, though, did not waiver in their commitment to the radical youth, and continued to glorify and honor political violence: “the heroism of the Lisbon Five, far from being an act of desperation, is a source of self-confidence and a lesson in dedication and sacrifice for the Armenian people.”⁷ Although *ASALA* and the *ARF* continued their campaign of violence for only two more years, until March 1985, their ability to induce fear in Turkey, Western Europe and North America lingered on much longer. By the time the leader of *ASALA*, Haroutiun Takoushian, was assassinated in Athens in April 1988, however, Armenian terrorism had run its course.

It is unlikely that scholars will ever know the definitive reasons why Armenian terrorism went out with whimper, rather than a bang, during the mid-1980, but speculation and conjecture have resulted in two main theories. The first is that the Armenian diaspora was so appalled after the Orly Airport bombing that it pulled its moral and financial support from these two groups staffed by a handful of militant Armenian youths. Once this support was lost, the *ASALA* and the *JCAG/ARA* had no choice but to fold. But this theory is problematic for at least three reasons discussed below.

The second theory is that the lack of support and indifference to the safety concerns of its diplomats abroad, the tendency of European governments to be lenient and sympathetic to Armenian terrorists, and the lack of resolve those same governments showed in the face of

⁵ “The Wages of Hatred,” *New York Times*, Aug. 5, 1983; “Soiling the Altar of Freedom,” *NYT*, Aug. 9, 1983; Sam Cohen, “Turkish authorities seek international help in battling Armenian terrorism,” *Christian Science Monitor*, Aug. 25, 1983; “Genocide No Excuse for Terrorism, Sec. Abrams Tells LA Audience,” *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Dec. 3, 1983; “Abrams says ‘terrorists’ represent Hai Tahd,” *Armenian Weekly*, Dec. 3, 1983; Edmond Jacoby, “Turks Are Losing the War of Words,” *AMS*, Aug. 4, 1984; “ASALA’s Day,” *Wall Street Journal*, Oct. 2, 1984; “More Terror, More Speed,” *NYT*, Dec. 2, 1984; “No time for terror,” *Toronto Sun*, March 13, 1985; and “A Troubling Armenian View,” *Toronto Star*, April 4, 1985.

⁶ “LA Protests High Cost of Protecting Turkish Diplomats,” *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, April 28, 1984.

⁷ “Three Years After Lisbon Shook,” *Asbarez*, Aug. 9, 1986. See also “Hampig’s cause is our cause,” *Armenian Weekly*, Aug. 27, 1983; “Lisbon youth did not dishonor Armenian martyrs of 1915,” *AW*, Sept. 17, 1983; “Lisbon youth heroes in Beirut,” *AW*, Sept. 17, 1983; Markar Kassabian, “Valiant sons of Armenia,” *AW*, Oct. 22, 1983; “Protest Against Sassounian Verdict,” MONTREAL 00074, Jan. 11, 1984; “Support activities for Hampig Sassounian begin immediately after guilty verdict rendered,” *AW*, Jan. 14, 1984; “An Unjust Decision,” *AW*, June 23, 1984; “It’s Time to Refute the Allegations,” *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Aug. 4, 1984; Rev. Vartan Hartunian, “A Response to the Wall St. Journal,” *AW*, Oct. 6, 1984; “Armenians Condemn Violence, Blame Turkey,” *AMS*, March 23, 1985; “Few Apologies: Turks ‘orchestrated’ bomb scare, Armenians say,” *Globe and Mail*, April 3, 1985; and Bedros Odian, “A Turkish Admission Would Halt Terrorism,” *New York Times*, June 11, 1987.

Armenian threats of violence, forced the Turkish government to activate long rumored counter-terror hit squads. Infiltrating into Armenian organizations throughout the world, the Turkish counter-guerrillas put an end to Armenian terrorism in a few short years through intimidation and assassinations. While possible, there is virtually no evidence that this actually took place in the mid-1980s. Instead, rather than the result of a suddenly remorseful diaspora or an elite squad of Turkish hit-men, the evidence suggests that Armenian terrorism faded away due to combination of a radically altered international political climate, internal dissent over terrorist targets and locations, and a war between *ASALA* and the *ARF* that decimated both organizations. The assassination of the main protagonist of this inter-Armenian violence, Haroutiun Takoushian, in April 1988 was the final act of Armenian terrorism.

First, and more generally, the geopolitical conditions of the mid-1970s that engendered an environment in which Armenian terrorism and anti-Turkish violence thrived had been completely reversed by the early-1980s. In the fierce zero sum logic of Reagan's New Cold War, there was no room for international terrorist organizations widely believed, but never proven, to be under the direct control of Moscow; let alone one which threatened to undermine an important strategic ally of United States, and which had the audacity to carry out attacks inside the U.S. During this period, both *ASALA* and the *ARF* experienced violent internal dissension at the highest levels of the organizations' leadership, before engaging in a street war for political control of the Armenian diaspora.

Virtually no terrorist attacks took place during this time. When the bloodshed was over, the New Cold War had transitioned into the Reagan-Gorbachev thaw and, as the Cold War neared its conclusion, the sources of ideological, political, logistical and financial support the Armenian groups, and *ASALA* in particular, had enjoyed disappeared over night. By 1985, both *ASALA* and the armed wing of the *ARF* were rendered inconsequential. Ironically, however, many of the veterans of *ASALA* and, to a lesser extent, the *JCAG/ARA*, who survived the internal violence in Beirut were quickly able to bring their violent skills to bear on yet another Armenian-Turkish (Azeri) struggle: the fight for Nagorno-Karabakh. Their legacy in a war that remains unresolved today has yet to be fully explored.

ASALA Attacks, 1983-1988

Although there were threats and bomb attacks by *ASALA* that killed at least two individuals and injured over 30 in the weeks immediately following Orly, by early September 1983 *ASALA* terrorist attacks became increasingly less frequent.⁸ In fact, the Orly bombing was the last major terrorist attack *ASALA* successfully carried out. In comparison to 1979 to 1983 period, the years between the fall of 1983 and 1988 witnessed threats, relatively minor bombings, and failed assassination attempts on Turkish diplomatic personnel: Ismail Pamukcu, Hasan Servet Oktem, and Sadiye Yonder in separate attacks in Tehran.⁹ There were still fatalities attributed to *ASALA*, including Isik Yonder, Sadiye Yonder's husband, but these deaths were collateral

⁸ "Car Explodes Inside French Embassy Compound in Tehran," *AP*, Nicosia, Aug. 10, 1983; "Turkish Press Review: August 13-15, 1983," ANKARA 07053, Aug. 15, 1983; "Mayor Says Armenians Planned to Attack Pope," *AP*, Lourdes, Aug. 16, 1983; "Armenian Threats against Pope, Swedish King, Reported," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Aug. 20, 1983; "ASALA Threatens to Kidnap Swedish King, Prominent Artists," *Armenian Reporter*, Aug. 25, 1983; Clive Freeman, "Armenians claim they set Berlin, Beirut bombs," *UPI*, Aug. 25, 1983; "Armenian terrorists bomb three French targets," *UPI*, Aug. 25, 1983; "Armenian Bomb Shatters French Consulate, Kills 1," *AP*, Berlin, Aug. 25, 1983; "Hoax Threat Against Consulate - 8/17/83," ISTANBUL 03717, Aug. 26, 1983; "French consulate bombed in Berlin," *Globe and Mail*, Aug. 26, 1983; "French Consulate Bombed in Berlin," *New York Times*, Aug. 26, 1983; "Powerful Explosion in West Berlin, Claimed by ASALA, Kills 1," *AR*, Sept. 1, 1983; "Car Bomb Injures Two Women Near French Embassy in Tehran," *AP*, Nicosia, Sept. 7, 1983; "Bomb in Berlin Kills West German," *AMS*, Sept. 10, 1983; and "ASALA Claims Responsibility for Attacks on the French in Beirut," BEIRUT 10409, Sept. 19, 1983.

⁹ "Bomb at trade fair kills one person, injures 26," *UPI*, Marseille, Sept. 30, 1983; "French Embassy Vehicle Bombed in Teheran," *Armenian Reporter*, Oct. 6, 1983; "Foiled Attempt by Armenian Terrorists to Attack Turkish Athletes in Morocco," STATE 289989, Oct. 11, 1983; "Turkish Press Review: October 8-11, 1983," Oct. 11, 1983; "October 29 Attack on Turkish Embassy," BEIRUT 12134, Nov. 1, 1983; "ASALA Admits That One of Its Commandos was Picked up in Beirut," *AR*, Nov. 17, 1983; "Armenian Group Threatens to Strike in France," *AP*, Nicosia, Jan. 16, 1984; "Armenian Threat Against French Interests," PARIS 02106, Jan. 17, 1984; "Two Turkish diplomats shot in Tehran by Armenians," *UPI*, Ankara, March 28, 1984; "Terrorists Attack Turkish Diplomats in Tehran," *AP*, March 28, 1984; "Armenian Terrorists Wound 2 Turks in Iran," *Los Angeles Times*, March 29, 1984; "Turkish diplomats attacked in Tehran," *BBC*, March 29, 1984; "2 Turkish diplomats wounded in Iran," *Globe and Mail*, March 29, 1984; Ismet G. Ismet, "Turkish diplomats attacked in Iran," *UPI*, March 29, 1984; "Anti-Turkish Attacks Part of 'Plot'," *AP*, Ankara, March 29, 1984; "Turkish Diplomats Shot in Iran," *Asbarez*, March 31, 1984; "Armenians Blamed for Attempt on Turkish Diplomats in Iran," *BBC*, March 30, 1984; "Turkish Press Review: March 31-April 2, 1984," ANKARA 03236, April 2, 1984; "Turkish Press Review: April 3-4, 1984," ANKARA 03344, April 4, 1984; "Armenian Killed, Two Turks Hurt, in Iran Attacks," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, April 14, 1984; "New Details Offered on ASALA Attacks in Teheran, March 28," *AR*, April 19, 1984; "ASALA Warns Turkish Prime Minister Against Paying Official Visit to Teheran," *AR*, April 26, 1984; *UPI*, Lyon, Aug. 13, 1984; "Teheran Police Claim Discovery of Armenian Plot Against Turks," *AR*, Sept. 27, 1984; "ASALA Claims Responsibility for Bombing French Targets in Lebanon," *AR*, Jan. 24, 1985; "ASALA Threatens Air France," *Asbarez*, Jan. 26, 1985; "Armenian Attacks Against Turkish Diplomats," ANKARA 02325, March 13, 1985; "Armenian Group Condemns France," *Asbarez*, July 13, 1986; "ASALA Makes Repeated Threats Demanding Release of V. Garabedian & 2 Other Prisoners in French Jails," *AR*, Oct. 9, 1986; "ASALA Calls on France to Speed Up Negotiations for the Release of Varoujan Garabedian and Other Prisoners," *AR*, Oct. 23, 1986; and "ASALA Spokesmen Meet with French Officials," *AR*, Oct. 23, 1986.

damage and not primary targets.¹⁰ Iranian authorities arrested seven *ASALA* agents, who were also linked to the pro-Communist Tudeh party, for the attacks on the Turkish diplomats in Tehran.¹¹ Despite the continued efforts of analysts, however, no direct link between the Soviet Union and either Armenian terrorist organization was ever established.¹²

The *ASALA* attacks during this final period, while deplorable, were nowhere near the frequency level reached in the summer of 1983. Dispersed, ideologically and personally fractionated, and with a large number of their veteran terrorists in prison, *ASALA*, unbeknownst to Western intelligence agencies, was quickly becoming operationally irrelevant. The organization's brutal record over the past eight years, however, ensured that the fear of *ASALA* violence persisted. Over a year after they had failed to carry out a terrorist attack, the Director of the FBI, William Webster, told Congress "the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA) is currently the most dangerous terrorist organization in the world."¹³ After six years of relative silence, outside of their war with the ARF in Beirut during the mid-1980s, *ASALA* resurfaced on December 19, 1991 when one of its agents attempted to assassinate the Turkish Ambassador to Hungary, Bedrettin Tunabaş. This remained the organization's final act of violence in a campaign of murder and intimidation against the Turkish government that lasted almost 17 years.¹⁴ Although communiqués and threats periodically appeared, some of them clearly forged, *ASALA* was finished.

¹⁰ "Turkish Businessman Shot; Armenian Group Claims Responsibility," *AP*, Ankara, April 28, 1984; "Gunmen wound husband of Turkish Embassy employee," *UPI*, Ankara, April 28, 1984; "Turk Shot in Teheran; Armenians Claim Attack," *New York Times*, April 29, 1984; "Turk killed by Armenian terrorists in Tehran," *BBC*, 1984, April 30, 1984; "Turk Shot in Teheran Dies," *NYT*, May 1, 1984; and "The World," *Los Angeles Times*, May 2, 1984.

¹¹ "ASALA Attack in Teheran," ANKARA 03263, April 2, 1984.

¹² "Armenian Terrorism: Is There a Soviet Link?" STATE 137146, May 10, 1984.

¹³ "Turkish Press Review: April 4-5, 1985," ANKARA 03357, April 5, 1985. Some former members of *ASALA* may have been involved in the bombing of a French Department store on December 7, 1985, in response to the arrest of Monte Melkonian by French authorities. See "Bombing of Two Parisian Dept. Stores: French Police Investigate ASALA Role in Pressuring for Monte Melkonian's Release," *Armenian Reporter*, Dec. 12, 1985.

¹⁴ "Attack on Turkish Ambassador in Budapest," STATE 413237, Dec. 20, 1991; "The Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Turkey Issues Statement on Assassination Attempt Against Turkish Ambassador to Budapest," *PR News*, Washington, Dec. 20, 1991; Hugh Pope, "Armenian Terrorist Group Tries to Kill Turkish Envoy," *Los Angeles Times*, Dec. 21, 1991; "Department Daily Press Briefing- December 23," STATE 415638, Dec. 23, 1991; "PKK Terrorists Incidents in Turkey," STATE 419092, Dec. 28, 1991; and "ASALA Wing Acknowledges Responsibility For Attempted Assassination of Turkish Envoy," *Armenian Reporter*, January 18, 1992. For official mention of *ASALA* prior to 1991, see "ASALA Surfaces at Jerusalem's Armenian Genocide Commemoration," JERUSALEM 01432, April 27, 1985; and "Pro-ASALA Rally in Athens," STATE 155446, May 16, 1986; "Sentencing of Armenian Terrorists in Canada," STATE 208631, July 2, 1986; "ASALA Thanks Government of Jacques Chirac," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Aug. 16, 1986; "ASALA Speaks Out on Karabagh Developments," *Armenian Reporter*, April 7, 1988; "ASALA Leader in Beirut Claims Leader of Amal Knows Whereabouts of

***ARF* Attacks, 1983-1988**

According to available record, the military wing of the *ARF* conducted only four more official terrorist attacks after the disastrous assault on the Turkish Embassy in Portugal that led to the deaths of seven individuals, including five of its own agents. In terms of fatalities and media exposure, however, the *ARF* far outpaced *ASALA* during the last five years of Armenian terrorism. Perhaps cognizant of the public outrage after Brussels, Orly and Lisbon, the *ARF* waited nearly a year before their next terrorist attack. But on June 20, 1984, the *ARA* struck in Vienna by assassinating the Labor Officer at the Turkish Embassy, Erdoğan Özen. Moving away from their traditional methods, the *ARF* agents detonated a bomb inside Özen's car as he parked in front of the Embassy. The blast killed the Turkish diplomat instantly, critically wounded the Austrian police officer on duty in front of the embassy, and wounded four pedestrians.¹⁵

In what appears to have been the *ARF*'s first attempt to carry out an attack inside Turkey, two of its agents, identified as Ali Mahmoud and Mohammed Mahmoud, were killed when a car bomb detonated prematurely on September 3, 1984.¹⁶ In November, the *ARF* returned to Vienna where they assassinated Enver Ergun, a high-ranking United Nations official who was the director of the United Nations Center for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs, by shooting him six times at point blank range while he was stopped at an intersection.¹⁷

Terry Waite," *AR*, April 7, 1988; "ASALA Statement Calls for Justice for Victims of Sumgait," *AR*, July 21, 1988; and "Alleged ASALA Communique," STATE 324063, September 24, 1990.

¹⁵ "Assassination of Turkish Diplomat in Vienna," STATE 181372, June 20, 1984; "Turk Diplomat Killed by Car Bomb in Vienna," *Los Angeles Times*, June 20, 1984; George Jahn, "Bomb Explodes at Turkish Embassy, One Dead, Five Hurt," *AP*, Vienna, June 20, 1984; Ruth E. Gruber, *UPI*, Vienna, June 20, 1984; "Vienna Bomb Kills Man in Turkish Aide's Car," *New York Times*, June 21, 1984; "Armenian group claims responsibility for bombing," *UPI*, June 21, 1984; "Embassy official killed in Austria by Armenians," BBC, June 22, 1984; "Arm. Revol. Army Claims Vienna Act," *Armenian Weekly*, June 23, 1984; "Turkish Press Review: June 26-27, 1984," ANKARA 06017, June 27, 1984; and "Remote Control Device Used in Bomb Attack on Turkish Embassy," *AW*, June 30, 1984.

¹⁶ "Two Lebanese Killed in Istanbul Blast," *AP*, Istanbul, Sept. 3, 1984; "Armenian Revolutionary Army Claims Responsibility for Bombing Act in Istanbul," *AW*, Sept. 22, 1984; "Armenian Revolutionary Army Issues Communique on Istanbul Bomb Blast," *Asbarez*, Oct. 20, 1984; and "Armenian Attacks Against Turkish Diplomats," ANKARA 02325, March 13, 1985.

¹⁷ "Assassination of Turkish Diplomat," VIENNA 15671, Nov. 19, 1984; "Press Statement on Assassination of Turkish Diplomat in Vienna," STATE 343410, Nov. 19, 1984; Diane Foulds, "Turkish U.N. official slain in Vienna," *UPI*, Vienna, Nov. 19, 1984; George Jahn, *AP*, Vienna, Nov. 19, 1984; "Austrian Press Summary No. 216/84, for 11/20/84," VIENNA 15760, Nov. 20, 1984; Richard Bassett, "Turkish envoy shot dead by Armenian," *The Times*, Nov. 20, 1984; "Turkish Diplomat Slain in Vienna," *Washington Post*, Nov. 20, 1984; "Turkish Diplomat Slain in Vienna," *News Services*, November 20, 1984; "Turkish Diplomat Killed in Vienna, Austria; ARA Takes Credit," *Armenian Reporter*, Nov. 22, 1984; "Armenian Revolutionary Army Slains [sic] Turkish Diplomat in Vienna," *Armenian Weekly*, Nov. 24, 1984; "Police in Vienna Have No Leads in Tracking Turk's

Ergun, who was not employed by the Turkish Foreign Ministry, was assassinated for simply being Turkish.

The final terrorist attack by the *ARF* against a Turkish target was the takeover of the Turkish Embassy in Ottawa, Canada on March 12, 1985. The assault began at 7:00 am and was over by 11:30 am after local police officers took three *ARA* agents into custody: Kevork Marachelian, Ohannes Noubarian, and Rafi Titizian. Using a rented truck to gain entrance into the compound, the terrorists killed a Canadian security protecting the entrance as they fought their way inside the building, took over ten hostages, and wounded the Turkish Ambassador, Coskun Kirca.¹⁸ After their arrest, the *ARA* threatened the Canadian government with retaliation, and when Marachelian, Noubarian, and Titizian received life sentences Armenian supporters in France immediately demonstrated against the Canadian court's decision by occupying the offices of Air Canada in Paris.¹⁹

For all intents and purposes, this marked the end of contemporary Armenian political violence that terrorized Turkey, Western Europe and North America for slightly less than a decade. Concern over Armenian terrorism in Turkey, the United States, France and Canada remained strong until the early 1990s, however, and kept Armenian terrorism relevant long after

Killer," *AR*, Nov. 29, 1984; "More Terror, More Speed," *New York Times*, Dec. 2, 1984; and "Armenian Revolutionary Army Issues Communique," *AW*, Dec. 29, 1984.

¹⁸ "Terrorist Attack on Turkish Embassy Ends," OTTAWA 01836, March 12, 1985; *ABC News*, March 12, 1985; K. Michael Fraser, *AP*, Ottawa, March 12, 1985; Drew Fagan, "Takeover is third time envoys hit since 1982," *Globe and Mail*, March 12, 1985; Laurie Watson, *UPI*, Ottawa, March 12, 1985; "Official-Informal: EUR Daily Activities Report Tuesday, March 12, 1985," *AP*, Ankara, March 13, 1985; Christopher S. Wren, "Turks' Embassy in Ottawa Seized," *New York Times*, March 13, 1985; "3 Charged with Murder in Turkish Embassy Siege in Ottawa," *AP*, Ottawa, March 13, 1985; Jeff Sallot, "Ottawa favorite hunting ground for Armenians," *Globe and Mail*, March 13, 1985; "A chronology of the takeover," *Globe and Mail*, March 13, 1985; "Turkish Press Coverage of Attack on Ottawa Embassy," ANKARA 02402, March 14, 1985; "Turkish Press Review: March 14-15, 1985," ANKARA 02478, March 15, 1985; and "Canadian Embassy Attacked by ARA," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, March 16, 1985. Some have attributed an additional bomb attack on the Turkish Consulate in Melbourne to the *ARF*. See "Turkish Consulate is Bombed in Australia," *New York Times*, Nov. 23, 1986; "Car Bomb at Turkish Consulate in Melbourne, Australia Causes One Death," *Armenian Reporter*, Nov. 27, 1986; "Turkish Consulate in Melbourne Target of Attack," *AMS*, Nov. 29, 1986; "Armenian Killed in Melbourne Blast," *AMS*, Dec. 6, 1986; and "Mixed Groups Takes Claim for Bombing in Australia," *AR*, Jan. 22, 1987.

¹⁹ "Bomb Threat by Armenian Revolutionary Army Cripples Toronto Transit System for Rush Hour," *Armenian Reporter*, April 4, 1985; "Armenian Threats Paralyze Toronto," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, April 6, 1985; "Turkish Embassy Guard's Killers Given Life in Ottawa, Canada," *AR*, Nov. 6, 1986; "Middle Eastern Terrorists Imprisoned in Canada," OTTAWA 00453, Jan. 16, 1987; "Armenian Militants Seize Air Canada Offices in Paris to Protest Sentence of Three in Canada," *AR*, Nov. 13, 1986; "Air Canada offices in Paris occupied in Armenian protest," *Globe and Mail*, Nov. 15, 1986; and "Armenians Occupy Airline Office in Paris in Protest Against Ottawa 3 Convictions," *Asbarez*, Nov. 22, 1986.

the groups had ceased to be a credible threat to national or international security.²⁰ This was particularly true as the United States prepared to host the 1984 Summer Olympics in Los Angeles, the center of militant Armenian activity in the U.S.²¹ Fully cognizant of internal dissension within *ASALA*, the U.S government believed that these splits would lead to more violence, rather than less, as multiple Armenian terrorist groups vied for the support of the diaspora. Intelligence reports in 1985 justified these conclusions, but by 1986, U.S. analysts correctly observed that “schisms” inside *ASALA* and the *ARF* had “rendered them virtually inoperable.”²² The FBI believed that as long as *ASALA* remained inactive, the *ARF*, despite

²⁰ “Turks Spend Millions Tightening Security at Embassies and Consulates Worldwide,” *Armenian Reporter*, Sept. 8, 1983; “Police Task Force in NYC Bracing for Possible Attempt on Turkish Minister,” *AR*, Sept. 22, 1983; “Turkish Security Threat,” USUN NY 00019, Jan. 5, 1984; “Conclusion of Trial of Armenian Terrorist in the United States,” STATE 003083, Jan. 6, 1984; “Protest Against Sassounian Verdict,” MONTREAL 00074, Jan. 11, 1984; “Free Armenia Terrorist Threat Against U.S. Interests in Switzerland and Europe,” STATE 078498; “The Armenian Terrorist Threat and a Possible Armenian-American Response,” National Security Council Secretariat, March 26, 1984, Ronald Reagan Library; “Armenian Secret Army Threatens Airlines and Arab Governments,” BEIRUT 03531, April 10, 1984; and “Weapons Cache in London Believed to Belong to Armenian Radicals,” *Armenian Reporter*, Nov. 15, 1984. The exception, perhaps, was the alleged *ARF* plot to kill ten Turkish diplomats uncovered by Iranian authorities. See “Aftermath of Arrest of ARF leaders in Iran: Plot to Assassinate 10 Turkish Diplomats in Asian Countries Attributed to Armenians, Iranians Reveal,” *AR*, Sept. 11, 1986. See also “The Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia: A Continuing International Threat,” CIA, January 1984, CIA-RDP85T00283R000400030009-2; “Global Terrorism: The Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide,” CIA, September 1984, CIA-RDP85S00315R000200060002-3; “Sentencing of Armenian Terrorists in Canada,” STATE 208631, July 2, 1986.

²¹ “FBI Director Expresses Concern,” *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Aug. 6, 1983; “The Olympics and the Threat of Terrorism,” *Los Angeles Times*, Oct. 16, 1983; Kenneth Reich, “Armenians targeted for FBI investigation regarding 1984 Los Angeles Olympics,” *Armenian Weekly* [Los Angeles Times reprint], Nov. 5, 1983; “Armenian Peoples Movement-Democratic Front; IT-Armenia,” FBI, Feb. 14, 1984, 1149357-000; 199B-LA-103720C; Section 01 (943903); “Prosecutors fear Olympic threat,” UPI, Los Angeles, March 16, 1984; “Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA); International Terrorism- Armenia,” STATE 086067, March 23, 1984; “FBI Probing 19 Terrorist Gangs Alleged in U.S.,” *Washington Post*, May 7, 1984; “FBI investigating domestic, international terrorist groups,” *AW*, May 17, 1984; “Armenian National Committee’s Position Statement on Fairness and Opportunity,” *Asbarez*, May 26, 1984; *UPI*, Rome, June 28, 1984; “Armenian Terrorists Threaten Turks at Olympics,” STATE 192551, June 29, 1984; John Phillips, “Armenian terrorists threaten Turks at Olympics,” *UPI*, Rome, June 29, 1984; “Threats Against Turks at Olympics Received,” *New York Times*, July 3, 1984; Danelia Wild, “FBI cautiously optimistic about peaceful Olympics,” *UPI*, Los Angeles, July 5, 1984; *AP*, Ankara, July 10, 1984; Osse Balian, “Fear of Terrorism Sweeps the Nation,” *AW*, July 21, 1984; Evan Maxwell, “Fear of Armenian Terrorism at Games Spurs Both Anger, Calls for Cooperation,” *LAT*, July 28, 1984; “Suspected Armenian Terrorists are Denied U.S. Entry at Border,” *Armenian Reporter*, Aug. 2, 1984; Dennis Anderson, “Ticket scalpers hold lead for Olympic arrests,” *UPI*, Los Angeles, Aug. 4, 1984; “Authorities Investigation Call in London Threatening Olympic Violence,” *AP*, Los Angeles, Aug. 4, 1984; Anne S. Crowley, *AP*, Los Angeles, Aug. 6, 1984; *AP*, Sports News, Aug. 13, 1984; “Global Terrorism: The Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide,” CIA, Directorate of Research, September 1984, CIA-RDP85S00315R000200060002-3, 8-9; and “Documentation Sought by ANC on U.S. Customs Harassment of Armenians,” *Asbarez*, July 19, 1986.

²² “Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide (JCAG), IT-JCAG,” FBI, April 4, 1985, 1075807-000, HQ 199-9742, Section 1 (796809); and “Armenian Terrorism,” STATE 400620, Dec. 31, 1986.

clearly possessing the capacity to resume terrorist attacks, would have no reason to do so. Keeping ASALA in check then, remained a top priority for the organization.²³

The Significance of Orly

One of the most perplexing questions surrounding *ASALA* and the *ARF*'s military wing is why they disappeared in the mid-1980s. One of the more common arguments is that after the vicious and brutal bombing of the Orly Airport in Paris in July 1983, Armenian terrorist organizations lost the support of the diaspora, or "after the indiscriminate targeting of innocent lives exhibited during the Orly bombing, and other excesses, their acts seemed merely demonic, not heroic."²⁴ Since the diaspora was the primary source of the organizations' moral and financial backing: "when the diaspora turned against them, *ASALA* was lost, and lost quickly."²⁵ Once *ASALA* was finished, there was no longer a reason for the *ARF* to maintain an armed wing of the *ARF* and, therefore, Armenian terrorism disappeared. This rather simplistic explanation for the demise of *ASALA* and the *JCAG/ARA*, however, has at least three flaws.

First, it assumes, and gives credence to, the fallacy that *ASALA* and the *JCAG/ARA* was comprised of only a handful of radical Armenian youths who were dependent on handouts from the Armenian diaspora, when it is clear that the organizations were much larger than is typically acknowledged. Not only did *ASALA* have anywhere between 200 and 300 full- and part-time agents, but the *JCAG/ARA* was being run by the most powerful and influential political institution in the diaspora, and being fed recruits directly from the *AYF*.²⁶ Second, *ASALA* funded its operations primarily through illicit activities and foreign sponsorship, not private donations, and the *ARF* sat on top of a political empire that, coincidentally, also supplemented

²³ "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia; IT-ASALA," FBI, March 4, 1988, 1149360-000, 199B-LA-103720-SUBC, Section 1 (944213).

²⁴ Michael Bobelian, *The Children of Armenia: A Forgotten Genocide and the Century-long Struggle for Justice* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2008): 162. It is interesting to note that the author appears to be applying an extremely subjective definition of "innocent" in this statement. See also Laura Dugan, et. al., "Sudden Desistance from Terrorism: The Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia and the Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide," *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict* Vol. 1, No. 3 (November 2008): 231-249; and Michael Gunter, "Armenian Terrorism: A Reappraisal," *The Journal of Conflict Studies* Vol. XXVII, No. 2 (Winter 2007): 119.

²⁵ Dugan, "Desistance from Terrorism," 246.

²⁶ "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA)," FBI, June 25, 1986, N1073740-001, 199-343, Section 26 (819642).

its revenues by participating in the global narcotics trade.²⁷ A loss of revenue from willing donors in the diaspora would have had virtually no impact on the terrorist activities of either group. Finally, the argument assumes that the Armenian diaspora was unwilling to accept the deaths of innocent civilians and bystanders; a group proven to regard diplomats, one of the oldest and most sacred positions in international affairs, as valid targets for revenge killings in retribution for events that took place decades before any of the victims were born.

Even if we accept the deplorable logic that justified the murder of Turkish diplomats because they represented the successor state to an empire which participated in the massacre of Armenian civilians, however, and remove the twenty-one Foreign Ministry personnel, there are still thirty-seven innocent victims who had already been murdered by the time of the Orly attack.²⁸ In fact, the *ASALA* attack at Ankara's Esenboğa Airport on August 7, 1982 actually killed more people, nine, than the explosion at Orly,²⁹ and certainly the attack on Istanbul's Covered Bazaar on June 16, 1983, was just as indiscriminate.³⁰ Furthermore, if the attack on Orly was indeed a watershed in the diaspora's relationship and support for Armenian terrorism, then one of two things should be evident: either a slow, but growing, dissatisfaction with the number of innocent victims throughout the period of Armenian political violence, or a noticeable increase in criticism after July 1983. Not only are these trends not evident in the press, but support for Armenian terrorism actually increased after the Orly bombing.

Turkish Counter-Terror 'Hit' Squads

The second most common explanation for the disappearance of Armenian terrorism, albeit circumstantial Armenian and Turkish accounts, is that at some point in the early 1980s the Turkish government lost patience with its Western allies and decided to combat Armenian terrorism on its own. While calls for their creation and rumors of their existence persisted throughout the 1980s, there is no credible evidence or admission on the part of the Turkish

²⁷ "Arrest of ARF Members in 1993 in Lebanon on Drug-Trafficking Charges Now Linked to Activities of "Dro" Group," *Armenian Reporter*, January 21, 1995.

²⁸ Ömer Engin Lütem, *Armenian Terror* (Ankara, Turkey: Center for Eurasian Strategic Studies Institute for Armenian Research, 2007): 51-54.

²⁹ "Death Toll Rises to 9 in Turkish Airport Attack," *New York Times*, August 9, 1982.

³⁰ "Assailants in Istanbul Kill 2 and Wound 27 Near Bazaar," *NYT*, June 17, 1983.

government.³¹ The closest thing to a confirmation of their existence is an offer made by the Turkish government to send a team in to assist the Lebanese government in rooting out Armenian terrorists in Beirut, and a comment made by the former U.S. Ambassador to Lebanon, Robert S. Dillon: “the underground warfare between the Turks and the Armenians in Lebanon was also beginning to be troublesome. There were murders on both sides.”³²

If Turkish hit squads did exist in some capacity, and carried out the assassinations of Armenian terrorists, they were extremely efficient and never left a trail that could be traced back to the Turkish government. Although there are just enough rumors and redacted material to keep scholars guessing,³³ most evidence tends to discredit the formation and existence of such a program.³⁴ Instead, it appears that Armenian terrorism ran its course in the mid-1980s because the changed geopolitical environment was no longer conducive to either the left and rightwing international terrorism that thrived during the late 1960s and 1970s, or the particular brand of anti-Turkish terror espoused by the two Armenian organizations; and, more importantly, because ASALA and the ARF murdered themselves, and each other. In the end, the Turkish government did not need counter-terror assassins to liquidate the Armenian terrorists who had hunted their diplomats for over a decade; the violence and hatred toward the Turks propagated by the ARF since 1959 that had given rise to Armenian violence, eventually turned on itself.

The Splits in ASALA

The year 1983 saw two major splits within ASALA. The first occurred at top, between two of the four founding members, Takoushian and Karnusian. The second occurred on the ground

³¹ “Turkish Press Review: December 23-27, 1982,” ANKARA 10622, Dec. 27, 1982; “Turkish Press Review: July 21-22, 1983,” ANKARA 06334, July 22, 1983; “Two Armenians reported killed by agents,” *Globe and Mail*, Aug. 30, 1983; “Requiem Service Held in Athens for Martyr Karnig Vahradian,” *Armenian Observer*, December 31, 1986; Adrian Foreman, “Turks deny killing Armenian activist: Faction fighting blamed for assassination of Agopian,” *The Guardian*, April 30, 1988; and Jack Anderson, “Armenian Murdered by Turkish Hit Team,” *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, May 21, 1988.

³² “Turkish Approach on Cooperation Against Terrorism,” BEIRUT 09203, Dec. 10, 1982; and “Interview with Ambassador Robert S. Dillon,” May 17, 1990. (<http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/collections/diplomacy/about.html>)

³³ “Beirut Armenians Stage Huge Demonstration for Release of Missing Top Dashnag, Apraham Ashjian,” *Armenian Reporter*, Jan. 13, 1983; and “Global Terrorism: The Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide,” CIA, September 1984, CIA-RDP85S00315R000200060002-3, iii, 8.

³⁴ “The Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia: A Continuing International Threat,” CIA, January 1984, CIA-RDP85T00283R000400030009-2, 9; “Global Terrorism: The Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide,” CIA, September 1984, CIA-RDP85S00315R000200060002-3, 8; “Turkish Prime Minister Said to Oppose Formation of Anti-Terrorism Unit,” *Armenian Reporter*, May 9, 1985; “Official-Informal: 1988 Terrorism Report,” STATE 278586, Aug. 25, 1988; and Mehmet Ali Birand, “Thanks to Nuri Gündeş,” *Turkish Daily News*, Feb. 10, 2007.

between Takoushian and disaffected operatives, led by Melkonian. As mentioned in Chapter 4, the first crack in ASALA's edifice took place between Takoushian and Karnusian on the occasion of the First World Armenian Congress in 1979. While Karnusian allegedly believed that the terrorism had achieved its goal and wanted to move towards an aggressive, but non-violent, political campaign, Takoushian disagreed. Karnusian alleged that he and James Karnusian confronted Takoushian because of his "iron hand" methods of leadership and accused him of hiring out the services of ASALA to various foreign governments, including Libya.³⁵

The disagreement festered during the second phase of Armenian terrorism, and came to a head in the summer of 1983, as Karnusian planned the Second World Armenian Congress in Lausanne, Switzerland for July 20-24. Despite the ultimate failure of the first Congress in 1979, Karnusian hoped to use the Congress as another opportunity to create a new, non-denominational Armenian political organization to advocate on behalf of Armenians everywhere. For Karnusian, this meant to force the Turkish government to admit the events of 1915 constituted genocide, and to then to 'liberate' the historical lands of Armenia occupied by Turkey through a program called "Araratism."³⁶ Although how Karnusian hoped to extract land from Turkey without the use force remains unclear.

Takoushian, apparently was enraged over Karnusian's efforts to undermine the Armenian terrorist campaign, and his collaboration with Ara Toranian, a former ally turned competitor.³⁷ Karunusian's hypocrisy towards ASALA and Takoushian did not help matters: "these terrorists are desperados who have given up hope of a peaceful solution."³⁸ Takoushian demanded the Congress cancelled, and when Karnusian refused, he ordered the attack on Orly to sabotage the conference and the ambitions of his former co-conspirator.³⁹ There was also a

³⁵ "Rev. James Karnusian, Retired Pastor and One of Three Persons to Establish ASALA, Dies in Switzerland." *Armenian Reporter*, April 18, 1998.

³⁶ "Arm. Congress Set to Hold 2nd Conference on Anniversary of Treaty of Lausanne," *Armenian Reporter*, Feb. 2, 1983; "2nd Int'l Armenian Congress Draws Attention Worldwide," *AR*, June 30, 1983; "For Rev. J. Karnouzian the Dream of Uniting the Armenian People Worldwide is Still Just a Dream," *AR*, June 30, 1983; "Orly Blast Claims Seventh Victim, New Threats," *AP*, July 21, 1983; "Second Armenian World Congress," BERN 03637, July 21, 1983; and "Armenian Terrorism: Turkish Reactions to Brussels and Orly Attacks," ANKARA 06318, July 22, 1983.

³⁷ Markar Melkonian, *My Brother's Road: An American's Fateful Journey to Armenia* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2007), 118.

³⁸ *UPI*, Lausanne, July 18, 1983. See also "Second Armenian World Congress," BERN 03637, July 21, 1983.

³⁹ "Rev. James Karnusian, Retired Pastor and One of Three Persons to Establish ASALA, Dies in Switzerland." *Armenian Reporter*, April 18, 1998; and Melkonian, *My Brother's Road*, 118.

fear that ASALA would target the Congress itself.⁴⁰ The plan proved to be extremely successful; not only did a fraction of the anticipated participants, 60 to 80 of an expected 200, attend the conference, but Karnusian and the Congress also came under severe criticism from both non-Armenian and Non-Armenian sources.⁴¹ The Turkish government and the Armenian Patriarch in Istanbul criticized the Congress for its goals and for not forcefully condemning the attack in Paris: “But if Armenians are unable to obtain justice there may be no other way [other than terrorism];” while an Armenian observer labeled Karnusian as a “nationalist fanatic” whose ideology was built “on fascist principles.”⁴²

It was also publicly acknowledged that much of Karnusian’s support came from radical elements within the diaspora, despite his call for a peaceful resolution. The CIA was wary of Karnusian’s support for Armenian terrorism, and saw ASALA’s hand in the organization of the Congress.⁴³ It is noteworthy that the Turkish daily newspaper *Günaydın* ran Karnusian’s picture with the headline: “This Man is More Dangerous than ASALA;” if only the reporters had known that he *was* ASALA.⁴⁴ Ultimately, Karnusian blamed Takoushian for the failure of the Congress and his dream of liberating the Armenian People. The tentatively planned 3rd World Armenian Congress never took place, and the two new political organizations established, the Armenian Liberation Organization and the Armenian National Council, were stillborn.⁴⁵ The split between two of the founding members of *ASALA* was now irrevocable.⁴⁶

The second split in *ASALA* also occurred at the time of the Orly attack, although its primary instigator, Monte Melkonian, allegedly had planned to make a move much earlier. At some point in 1981, Melkonian became disenchanted with Takoushian’s leadership and the

⁴⁰ *UPI*, Lausanne, July 18, 1983.

⁴¹ “The dream and the terror,” *The Economist*, July 23, 1983; John A. Callcot, “Our young people have given up hope,” *UPI*, Geneva, July 31, 1983; and “Armenian Congress Calls on Turkey to Recognize Massacres; World Gov’ts. Asked to Assist in Resolving Issues,” *Armenian Reporter*, Aug. 4, 1983.

⁴² *UPI*, Paris, July 20, 1984; “Armenian Patriarch of Istanbul Denounces Armenian Congress Press Conference,” *Armenian Reporter*, Aug. 4, 1983; “Turkish Foreign Minister Enraged by Statement Attributed to Rev. Karnuzian,” *AR*, Aug. 4, 1983; and “The Second World Armenian Congress,” *Armenian Weekly*, Sept. 3, 1983.

⁴³ “The dream and the terror,” *The Economist*, July 23, 1983; “The Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia: A Continuing International Threat,” CIA, January 1984, CIA-RDP85T00283R000400030009-2, 3; “Global Terrorism: The Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide,” CIA, September 1984, CIA-RDP85S00315R000200060002-3, 9.

⁴⁴ “Turkish Press Review: July 21-22, 1983,” ANKARA 06334, July 22, 1983.

⁴⁵ “Armenians Establish Council,” *Washington Post*, July 25, 1983; “World Armenian Congress: More Successful than Expected,” *Armenian Reporter*, Aug. 18, 1983; and “2nd Armenian Congress Creates New International Armenian Organization,” *AR*, July 28, 1983.

⁴⁶ “Turkish Press Review: July 26-27, 1983,” ANKARA 06468, July 27, 1983; and “Rev. James Karnusian, Retired Pastor and One of Three Persons to Establish ASALA, Dies in Switzerland,” *Armenian Reporter*, April 18, 1998.

direction in which the terrorist organization was moving. Particularly upsetting for Melkonian appears to have been the realization that a series of bombings against Armenian facilities in France, the execution of a number of *ASALA* recruits, and the attempted assassinations of a former *ASALA* supporter/operative in France, Ara Toranian, were all done on Takoushian's orders.⁴⁷ Ironically, for an assassin who had murdered a 14-year old girl and nearly wiped out an entire family, Melkonian was moved to action by Takoushian's "lies, cruelty, and intransigence: the poorly planned operations, the staged bombings of Armenian targets in Paris, the broken agreements with allies, the bombs in bistros and metro stations, [and] the senseless civilian casualties."⁴⁸ Melkonian was not the only agents affected by the deteriorating conditions, and *ASALA* agents were splitting into two opposing groups.⁴⁹ The opportunity for Melkonian to follow through in his plans to assassinate Takoushian and takeover the leadership of *ASALA*, however, never materialized.⁵⁰

Instead, the first shots in the internal strife that would wrack the organization for the remainder of its existence occurred in a training camp in Lebanon where one of Melkonian's collaborators, Tavit Tavitian, murdered Vicken Aivazian (John Lulu), one of Takoushian's closest associates on July 15, the very same day as the attack at Orly.⁵¹ In order to cover up the assassination, another *ASALA* member close to Takoushian, Katchik Havarian (Abu Mahmoud), was also murdered as the three main conspirators, Melkonian, Tavitian and Aram Vartanian, scrambled to cover up the murder.⁵² While Melkonian and Tavitian remained stranded in Lebanon, Vartanian and another operative loyal to the Melkonian faction, Garlen Ananian, fled to Damascus. Vartanian and Ananian were caught shortly thereafter by Takoushian and, after being tortured for weeks, the two *ASALA* traitors had their executions videotaped and widely dispersed.⁵³

⁴⁷ Melkonian, *My Brother's Road*, 94, 107, 110.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 94, 123.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 111-113.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 95.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 115.

⁵² "Booklet Giving History of ASALA's Existence Gives New Insight Into the Revolutionary Movement," *Armenian Reporter*, Jan. 10, 1985; "Monte Melkonian, Former Leader of ASALA, Surfaces in Armenia," *AR*, Jan. 31, 1991; and Melkonian, *My Brother's Road*, 115-116.

⁵³ Max Arax, "The Riddle of Monte Melkonian," *Los Angeles Times*, Oct. 9, 1993; Melkonian, *My Brother's Road*, 121-122; and Monte Melkonian, *A Self-Criticism*, ed. By Gregory Topalian and trans. by Seta Melkonian (London: Gomidas Institute, 2010), 39, n. 46.

Melkonian and Tavitian were luckier. After some time on the road, they eventually found refuge in the ARF stronghold of Ainjar, Lebanon, where Hrair Maroukhian himself approved of their protection from Takoushian and put them in the care of the local *ARF* leader, Zaven Tashjian.⁵⁴ Meanwhile, Takoushian searched for Melkonian and correctly suspected that the ARF and Ara Toranian, who helped Melkonian and Tavitian escape from Lebanon to Europe, were involved in the conspiracy against him. Nearly two years after the assassination of Takoushian's men, Melkonian arrived in France in May 1985.⁵⁵ While his brother's account provides no details about what Melkonian did, precisely, while he was under the watch of the *ARF* in Ainjar, it is unlikely that the emergence of the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia-Revolutionary Movement (*ASALA-RM*) as rival faction within *ASALA* in August 1983 is pure coincidence. Melkonian was recognized as the leader of *ASALA-RM*, and it espoused his new philosophy that the Armenian struggle continue against only "legitimate military targets," which the CIA interpreted to mean 'Turkish' targets.⁵⁶

Melkonian appears to have used his time in Ainjar to write, reflect and give interviews, and shortly before leaving Ainjar, Melkonian published a history of *ASALA* giving, naturally, his version of events and the reasons for the split in the organization.⁵⁷ Curiously, Melkonian's involvement with *ASALA-RM* is not mentioned in either his brother's account, or his own, and there is no record or claim to suggest the group ever carried out an attack. It seems more likely that *ASALA-RM* was an imaginary 'group' used simply to undermine Takoushian's authority and standing in the diaspora and to legitimize their criticism and exposure of Takoushian, rather

⁵⁴ Melkonian, *My Brother's Road*, 121.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 123, 125.

⁵⁶ The Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia," CIA, January 1984, CIA-RDP85T00283R000400030009-2, 3; "Global Terrorism: The Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide," CIA, September 1984, CIA-RDP85S00315R000200060002-3, 6; *UPI*, Paris, Dec. 1, 1985; John Cramer, "His Lifework: Fighting Oppression," *Fresno Bee*, Sept. 20, 1992; "Visalia Native Dies Fighting for Armenian Causes; Tens of Thousands are Expected as the Funeral of Monte Melkonian, Who Died on the Battlefield as a Commander of Armenian Forces," *Fresno Bee*, June 16, 1993; "IN MEMORIUM: Monte Melkonian, Killed in Action," *Armenian Reporter*, June 19, 1993; and "Monte Melkonian Alias Commander Avo, Killed in Action in Karabagh; Fresno-Born Military Man Was One of ASALA Leaders," *AR*, June 19, 1993. Some accounts incorrectly date the creation of *ASALA-RM* to Melkonian's arrival in France. See "Monte Melkonian, Former Leader of ASALA, Surfaces in Armenia," *Armenian Reporter*, Jan. 31, 1991; and Max Arax, "The Riddle of Monte Melkonian," *Los Angeles Times*, Oct. 9, 1993.

⁵⁷ "Booklet Giving History of ASALA's Existence Gives New Insight Into the Revolutionary Movement," *Armenian Reporter*, Jan. 10, 1985. See also Melkonian, *A Self-Criticism*, 41-42.

than an actual rival faction that ever threatened *ASALA*.⁵⁸ In any event, it would have been impossible for *ASALA-RM* to have had any impact outside of a propaganda role, when its leader was hiding out in an *ARF* controlled village in Lebanon for the first two years of organization's 'existence.' Takoushian, naturally, was able to counter the claims of *ASALA-RM* and make his own allegations, labeling the assassinations of Aivazian and Havarian as the work of the 'traitors' working with the CIA and MIT.⁵⁹

It is possible that Melkonian's propaganda efforts did have an effect on *ASALA*'s operational capacity. One of *ASALA-RM*'s first communiqués "called on Armenians to stop moral financial support for *ASALA*," and while estimates of those *ASALA* supporters were clearly exaggerated, it is possible that the numbers were significant.⁶⁰ The existence of *ASALA* agents unwilling to carry out attacks against non-Turkish targets, along with Takoushian's preoccupation with punishing Melkonian, Vartanian and other traitors, was clearly a distraction for the organization. Even Ara Toranian in France, whose National Armenian Movement was now openly supporting the new anti-Takoushian and "Turkish only" position being advocated by Melkonian through *ASALA-RM*, was the victim of an assassination attempt.⁶¹ When that failed, Takoushian released evidence incriminating Toranian and other *ASALA* agents who presumably 'defected' to *ASALA-RM* in various terrorist attacks in France and Switzerland.⁶² By its own assessment, *ASALA* still enjoyed the loyalty of supporters in Iran, Greece; England and

⁵⁸ Frederic A. Moritz, "Armenian infighting may be at root of attacks on Turks," *Christian Science Monitor*, Aug. 25, 1983; "'Revolutionary Movement' of ASALA, Claiming to be the Only 'True Revolutionaries,'" *Armenian Reporter*, Sept. 1, 1983; "The Armenian Question," *The Times*, Sept. 10, 1983; "Armenian Secret Army Splits into Two Factions," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Sept. 10, 1983; Judith Perera, "Showdown for ASALA," *The Middle East*, October 1983; Melkonian may also have deliberately self-identified as the leader of *ASALA* in some of his communications with the press. See "Secret Army Leader Says Targets Will Be Turks Only," *AMS*, Dec. 3, 1983; "ASALA leader notes policy change in French magazine report," *Armenian Weekly*, Dec. 17, 1983; and "Monty Melkonian Explains his Break with ASALA," *AR*, Jan. 12, 1984.

⁵⁹ "Two Armenians reported killed by agents," *Globe and Mail*, Aug. 30, 1983; "Turkish Press Review: August 30-31, 1983," ANKARA 07619, Aug. 31, 1983; "ASALA Provides New Details on the Killing of Two Leaders by Turkish Agents; Accuses the CIA of Complicity," *Armenian Reporter*, Sept. 22, 1983; and "ASALA Blasts Bishop Kalpakian for Sheltering What it Calls 'Traitors,'" *AR*, Jan. 19, 1984.

⁶⁰ Judith Perera, "Showdown for ASALA," *The Middle East*, October 1983; and "Ara Toranian, French Armenian Leader, Discusses Status of *ASALA*," *Armenian Reporter*, June 28, 1984.

⁶¹ "Turkish Press Review: December 6-7, 1983," ANKARA 10937, Dec. 7, 1983; "Ara Toranian, Leader of the Nat'l Armenian Movement Escapes 2nd Assassination Attempt," *Armenian Reporter*, Dec. 8, 1983; and "Rev. James Karnusian, Retired Pastor and One of Three Persons to Establish *ASALA*, Dies in Switzerland." *AR*, April 18, 1998.

⁶² "The Split Within *ASALA* Widens: *ASALA* Discloses Names of Operatives Involved in Various Activities," *Armenian Reporter*, Sept. 13, 1983.

the United States were split between the two, but it admitted it had lost France.⁶³ In an aside, the *ASALA-ASALA-RM* split was also given as a possible reason for the suicide of Aram Basmadjian, one of the four terrorists trained by Melkonian to storm the Turkish Consulate in Paris in September 1981. While the other three denounced Melkonian, Basmadjian appears to have been deeply troubled by the changing ideological stance of many within the organization.⁶⁴ Interest in *ASALA-RM*, like *ASALA* itself, quickly waned after 1985. It was then that Takoushian turned his attention almost exclusively to liquidating prominent *ARF* party members in Beirut.

After leaving Lebanon and successfully making his way into France, Melkonian went quickly back to work; scouting out potential Turkish targets to attack; associating with like-minded militant Armenians, including Toranian; and pondering this group's best move, post-*ASALA*, and seemed to have settled on creating a new political organization to unit all of the progressive elements of the diaspora into one group: the Armenian Patriotic Liberation Movement (APLM).⁶⁵ The French authorities, however, were alerted to Melkonian's presence in their country and, after several weeks of surveillance, arrested Melkonian in November 1985.⁶⁶ On December 12, 1986, Melkonian was convicted of entering France illegally on a fraudulent passport and for the possession of illegal handgun and eventually sentenced to four years in prison.⁶⁷ The FBI believed that his arrest would be well received in both *ASALA* and *ARF* circles, and speculated that Takoushian might make an assassination attempted while he was in custody. There was no concern that *ASALA-RM* might retaliate against French authorities for the arrest of Melkonian, however, furthering underscoring the fact that the organization never existed in any operational sense.⁶⁸ While it can be assumed that both Karnusian, given the simultaneous break with Takoushian and his ideological similarities to Melkonian, and Ajemian, who made his stance against Takoushian clear in his 'fictional' memoir, supported the *ASALA-RM* position, there are no hints as to where Simonian stood.

⁶³ Copy of "Armenian Struggle," FBI, July 9, 1984, 1149360-000, 199B-LA-103720-A, Section 3 (944217).

⁶⁴ "Aram Basmadjian, ASALA Gunman, Commits Suicide in Paris Jail; Split in the Underground Group Said to be One of the Reasons," *Armenian Reporter*, April 18, 1985.

⁶⁵ Monte Melkonian, *The Right to Struggle*, ed. by Markar Melkonian (Sardarabad Collective, 1990), xxi.

⁶⁶ *UPI*, Paris, Dec. 1, 1985; "ASALA-MR Leader Arrested," PARIS 48131, Dec. 2, 1985; "Former ASALA Activist Arrested in France," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Dec. 7, 1985; and "Monte Melkonian, Head of ASALA-RM, Said to Have Been Captured Following Meeting with French Prosecutor," *Armenian Reporter*, Feb. 6, 1986.

⁶⁷ "Monte Melkonian, American-Armenian Leader of ASALA-RM, Given Six Year," *Armenian Reporter*, Dec. 18, 1986; "Monte Melkonian, Former Leader of ASALA, Surfaces in Armenia," *AR*, Jan. 31, 1991; and Melkonian, *My Brother's Road*, 153.

⁶⁸ "Monte Melkonian; IT-ASALA;," FBI, Dec. 18, 1985, 1149357-000, 199B-LA-103720C, Section 19 (944037).

The Split in the ARF

The disputes and assassinations within the *ARF* are much harder to decipher. Unlike *ASALA*, the obituaries of former *ARF* Bureau members have provided no insight into the terrorist campaign, no one with inside knowledge of the terrorist wings have written memoirs, fictional or otherwise, and no disillusioned former operatives inside the *JCAG* or *ARA* have come forward to tell their stories. Given the notoriously secretive, disciplined and well-organized nature of the *ARF*, and the potential stakes involved considering their many legitimate and publicly visible operations, this is not surprising.⁶⁹ As the split within the *ARF* eventually overlapped with the street war with *ASALA* in the mid-1980s, it is difficult to ascertain who, precisely, was behind each and every kidnapping and killing, who carried out the orders, and when this transitioned into an inter-, rather than intra-group dispute. It is even possible, as mentioned by the former U.S. Ambassador to Lebanon, that this is the point in the conflict that Turkish counter-terrorist units become involved. Scholars and researchers may never know the answers to these questions. What we can say with certainty, however, is that quite a few high-ranking Armenians in *ASALA* and the *ARF* were brutally gunned down on the streets of Beirut.

The rift within the *ARF* allegedly began with a disagreement over terrorist attacks conducted in the United States. The first prominent member of the *ARF* to be killed in this dispute was Apo Ashjian. Ashjian was a member of the *ARF*'s Central Committee in Lebanon, was the leader of the *ARF*'s defense militia in Beirut during the Lebanese Civil War, and a leader of the *ARF*'s terrorist wing, the *JCAG*. It is claimed that at some point in 1982, after the assassinations of Arıkan and Gündüz, the CIA brokered a deal with the *ARF* in exchange for a cessation of attacks against Turkish personnel and installations inside the United States. After the pact was completed, Maroukhian and Zeitlian ordered Ashjian to suspend all planned and future operations in the United States. The arrest of the five *JCAG* militants, who planned to attack the Turkish Consulate in Philadelphia in October 1982, revealed that Ashjian had no intention of honoring any deals with the United States and disregarded his superiors in the Bureau.⁷⁰ Ashjian, apparently, believed in “terrorism whenever and wherever possible.”⁷¹ He also appeared to favor reconciliation and cooperation between his *JCAG* and *ASALA*.⁷²

⁶⁹ “Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide/Armenian Revolutionary Army) International Terrorism,” FBI, July 28, 1986, 1149376-000, 199-MM-410, Section 1 (944933).

⁷⁰ “ASALA Says Dashnags Were Behind Series of Bombings in Beirut,” *Armenian Reporter*, September 13, 1984.

For his insubordination, Maroukhian and Zeitlian had Ashjian kidnapped and executed on December 29, 1982, and then accused the Turkish government for the abduction in order to cover up the murder.⁷³ The Armenian community in Beirut and elsewhere in the diaspora were outraged over this apparent move by the Turkish government, even though an explanation as to why the Turkish government might be interested in an Armenian in Lebanon was never given in the *ARF* press.⁷⁴ The heads of the *ARF*'s political lobby petitioned the U.S. government, the United Nations and others to assist in the investigation of Ashjian's disappearance, a crime they labeled an act of 'terrorism' by the Turkish government, thousands of Armenians repeatedly protested against the Turkish government in Beirut, Armenians demonstrated in New York, and even the Armenian American governor of California, George Deukmejian, advocated on the behalf of an international terrorist.⁷⁵ The Turkish government denied the allegations, and was the first to suggest his death was caused by internal ARF strife.⁷⁶ Five years after his abduction, the *ARF* still maintained that it was the work Turkish government.⁷⁷ The fact that Ashjian's body was never recovered served to fuel rumors and speculation. The assassination of Ashjian, and the disagreement which led up to it, served to divide a fraction of the *ARF* leadership into two camps: a left-wing represented by Ashjian which was unwilling to compromise on the use of

⁷¹ "Cypriot Paper Implies Apo Ashjian Has Been Killed by Other A.R.F. Leaders," *Armenian Reporter*, June 7, 1984.

⁷² "ARF Splinter Group Releases Photograph of Sarkis Zeitlian; Promises New Confessions," *Armenian Reporter*, December 5, 1985.

⁷³ "New Light Shed on Kidnapping of ARF Leader in December of 1982," *Armenian Reporter*, January 26, 1984. "Cypriot Paper Implies Apo Ashjian Has Been Killed by Other A.R.F. Leaders," *AR*, June 7, 1984; "Armenian Group Blasts Dashnag Party for Links With Turkey and the West," *AR*, March 6, 1986; "Who Tipped Off the F.B.I.?", *AR*, May 8, 1986; "Amicus America, Sed Magis Amica... The Armenian Cause," in Moush, June-July 1986, No-9/10; "Zaven Karaheusian Wounded in Car Bombing in Beirut," *Armenian Reporter*, Jan. 31, 1985.

⁷⁴ "Member of ARF leadership kidnapped in Lebanon," *Armenian Weekly*, Jan. 15, 1983; "Rally in Lebanon for Ashjian," *AW*, Jan. 29, 1983; For accounts linking Ashjian to the *JCAG* in the non-*ARF* press see "Abducted ARF Leader in Beirut Feared Dead; Turks Accused of Murder," *Armenian Reporter*, Jan. 27, 1983; "Mysterious Disappearance of Beirut ARF Leader is Still Unresolved," *AR*, Feb. 3, 1983; and "Deukmejian Joins Demand for Release of ARF Leader in Beirut," *AR*, March 10, 1983.

⁷⁵ "Beirut Armenians Stage Huge Demonstration for Release of Missing Top Dashnag, Apraham Ashjian," *Armenian Reporter*, Jan. 13, 1983; "Armenian Community Leader Kidnapped in East Beirut," OTTAWA 00282, Jan. 14, 1983; "Ashdjian Kidnapping: Continuing Armenian Reaction," BEIRUT 00651, Jan. 19, 1983; "Ashjian still missing," *Armenian Weekly*, Jan. 22, 1983; "Picket in New York for Ashjian," *AW*, Feb. 19, 1983; "Deukmejian Joins Demand for Release of ARF Leader in Beirut," *AR*, March 10, 1983; "Turkish newspaper says Ashjian in Ankara," *AW*, March 12, 1983; "Armenian Terrorism: Ashjian Disappearance: 'Armenian Reporter' Article," STATE 080103, March 24, 1983; "New Light Shed on Kidnapping of ARF Leader in December of 1982," *AR*, January 26, 1984; and "State Department responds to Ashjian kidnapping," *AW*, April 16, 1983.

⁷⁶ "Turkish report of 'conflicts' among Armenian terrorists," *BBC*, Jan. 25, 1983; and "Turks Deny Ashjian kidnapping," *Armenian Weekly*, Feb. 5, 1983.

⁷⁷ "Communique," *Armenian Weekly*, Jan. 2, 1988.

terror to achieve justice for Armenians and a right-wing, led by Maroukhian and Zeitlian which, apparently, was willing to compromise when political realities conflicted with the pursuit of the Armenian Cause.⁷⁸

What the ultimate result of this divide was, and to what degree it impacted global terrorist operations is impossible to gauge. The *ARF* still carried out six major terrorist operations, and killed seven individuals in the two years between Ashjian's assassination and the takeover of the Turkish Embassy in Canada.⁷⁹ This represented one more fatality than the *ARF* achieved in the last two years of Ashjian's leadership. Lending some degree of credibility to rumors of an agreement between the *ARF* and the CIA, however, with Ashjian gone the *ARF* never attempted a terrorist attack on U.S. soil again. Interestingly, over two years passed until the next acknowledged assault on a prominent *ARF* member. Abductions and assassinations continued for the next two years. While some assumed this was a result of the internal struggle between the left and right wing factions of the *ARF*, the available evidence suggests that it was *ASALA* who declared war on the *ARF* at the beginning of 1985.

Takoushian's War on the ARF

In September 1987, a confidential FBI source provided intelligence on the abductions and assassinations that wrecked havoc on the leadership of the *ARF* in Beirut between 1985 and 1986. According to this source, Takoushian created the *Armenian Revolutionary Federation-Revolutionary Movement (ARF-RM)* in February 1985 specifically to carry out assaults on the leadership of the *ARF*. The name was also deliberately chosen to instill the idea that the attacks were being carried out by a dissident faction of the *ARF*, similar to Melkonian's choice of *ASALA-RM*. While the precise reasons remain unclear, one theory is that the *ARF* was causing difficulties for Syrian interests in Lebanon, and Takoushian was given the task of solving that problem.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ "Cypriot Paper Implies Apo Ashjian Has Been Killed by Other A.R.F. Leaders," *Armenian Reporter*, June 7, 1984; "Zaven Karaheusian Wounded in Car Bombing in Beirut," *AR*, Jan. 31, 1985; "Who Tipped Off the F.B.I.?" *AR*, May 8, 1986.

⁷⁹ The Galip Balkar assassination on March 3, 1983 (Belgrade); the Durson Aksoy assassination on July 14, 1983 (Brussels); the assault on the Turkish Embassy in Portugal on July 27, 1983 (Lisbon); the assassination of Erdoğan Özen on June 20, 1984 (Vienna); the assassination of Enver Ergun on November 19, 1984 (Vienna); and the takeover of the Turkish Embassy in Canada on March 12, 1985 (Ottawa).

⁸⁰ "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia; IT-ASALA," FBI, Dec. 30, 1987, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 44 (819665).

A more plausible theory is that Takoushian was merely out for revenge once it became known that the *ARF* had assisted Melkonian and Tavitian's efforts to escape from Takoushian.⁸¹ It is also possible that *ARF* operatives who defected after the assassination of Ashjian assisted *ASALA*. It is known that Takoushian was able to obtain a list of *JCAG/ARA* members living in Beirut from a contact inside the *ARF*, and surely used that list to begin his campaign.⁸² It is also noteworthy that the *ASALA* group did not know the identity of the assassins Takoushian employed for the *ARF-RM* assaults, and given the areas that those he used were able to gain access to, it can be assumed at least some were former *JCAG/ARA* men.⁸³

The first attack was the high-profile abduction of Sarkis Zeitlian, along with his driver and bodyguard, Gharo Kholandjian, on March 28, 1985, the second highest-ranking member in the party, a Bureau member, and Maroukhian's trusted lieutenant.⁸⁴ Less than one month later, Sarkis Aznavourian, Ashjian's replacement to lead the armed wing of the *ARF*, and who had just taken over Zeitlian's responsibilities in the organization, was assassinated.⁸⁵ Beginning in the fall, the *ARF-RM* claimed responsibility for Zeitlian's abduction and the assassinations of Aznavourian and Tatoul Saheyian, another local *ARF* leader, although the origins of the group or its members remained unknown.⁸⁶ Zeitlian was kept alive long enough to produce a series of 'confessions' published in various newspapers in which Zeitlian admitted to the deal brokered between the CIA and the *ARF*; his role in the assassination of Apo Ashjian; the *ARF*'s

⁸¹ "Three ARF Leaders, in Wave of New Violence, Killed in Beirut, ARF-RM Takes Credit for Assassination," *Armenian Reporter*, Feb. 6, 1986.

⁸² "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia; IT-ASALA," FBI, Dec. 30, 1987, (819665);

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia; IT-ASALA," FBI, Dec. 30, 1987, (819665); and "Murder of Yet Another ARF Leader in Beirut Generates More Community Tension," *Armenian Reporter*, May 2, 1985. An independent commission believed that Zeitlian was abducted on the direct orders of the KGB and carried out by the Progressive Socialist Party of Walid Joumblatt. Once it was discovered, Maroukhian and Dasnabedian, both *ARF* Bureau members cut a deal with the Soviet Union to cover up the crime. See "Critical New Avowals About Sarkis Zeitlian's Case," *AR*, Aug. 26, 1995. Only a few months before this allegation, Dasnabedian claimed that *ASALA* had talked the Soviet Union into using a Kurdish group to abduct Zeitlian. See "Interview With Hratch Dasnabedian," *AR*, January 14, 1995. Although possibly unrelated, on January 9, 1985, Zaven Karagheusian, a prominent *ARF* leader close to both Maroukhian and Zeitlian barely escaped an assassination attempt in Beirut. See "Zaven Karagheusian Wounded in Car Bombing in Beirut," *AR*, Jan. 31, 1985.

⁸⁵ "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia; IT-ASALA," FBI, Dec. 30, 1987, (819665); and "Murder of Yet Another ARF Leader in Beirut Generates More Community Tension," *Armenian Reporter*, May 2, 1985.

⁸⁶ "Disappearance and Assassination of ARF Leaders in Lebanon: ARF Revolutionary Movement Claims Responsibility," *Armenian Reporter*, October 31, 1985; "New Secret Movement Takes Responsibility for ARF Leader's Kidnapping," *Armenian Mirror Spectator*, Nov. 30, 1985; and "ARF-RM Sends Statement to the Press," *AR*, Jan. 2, 1986.

protection of Melkonian and Tavitian while they were on the run from Takoushian; the meeting between the heads of the diaspora parties and the Turkish Foreign Minister in 1977; and an alleged recent meeting between the *ARF* and the Turkish government in Germany, brokered by an Armenian employee of Radio Liberty in Munich named Ed Hovanesian.⁸⁷

One of the clearest indications that Takoushian was behind *ARF-RM*, was the singling out of this information, and the organization's statement that "we have the details of this case, with names and everything related to the Tashnag involvement."⁸⁸ The confessions were primarily used, however, to 'prove' that the *ARF* betrayed the Armenian Cause and the information gained was recycled in *ASALA*'s newsletter *Armenia*.⁸⁹ The *ARF* eventually responded to the charges, and the threat from *ASALA*, both indirectly through an official communiqué and directly.⁹⁰ The announcement of Zeitlian's execution by ARF-RM finally came out in September-October 1986, although he was killed nearly a year before, around May 23, 1985.⁹¹ An FBI informant confirmed that Zeitlian and Kholandjian were held at an *ASALA* training camp in the Bekaa Valley prior to the former's death.⁹²

On January 31, 1986, three more *ARF* leaders, Levon Berberian (a Central Committee member), Vartkes Der Garabedian, and Nerses Khoudaverdian were assassinated. A fourth individual, an Armenian American named Hagop Barsoumian, miraculously survived the shootout and abducted because he did not resist.⁹³ The *ARF-RM* publicly took credit for the murders and abduction, which was confirmed by the FBI's source. At this point, the *ARF* knew it was dealing with Takoushian and *ASALA* and not a splinter faction of its own party, while

⁸⁷ "ARF Splinter Group Releases Photograph of Sarkis Zeitlian; Promises New Confessions," *Armenian Reporter*, December 5, 1985; "Text of ARF-RM Communique Sent to the Armenian Reporter," *AR* Jan. 16, 1986; and "Second Installment of "Confessions" Attributed to Abducted A.R.F. Leader, Sarkis Zeitlian," *AR*, March 6, 1986.

⁸⁸ "Text of ARF-RM Communique Sent to the Armenian Reporter," *Armenian Reporter*, Jan. 16, 1986.

⁸⁹ "Armenian Group Blasts Dashnag Party for Links with Turkey and the West," *Armenian Reporter*, March 6, 1986; "Abducted ARF Leader in New 'Confession': CIA Said to Have Trained ARF Cadres in '50s for Anti-Soviet Activity," *AR*, April 24, 1986; and "ASALA Publication, "Armenia", Focuses on Dashnag Crisis," *AR*, May 8, 1986; *Armenia*, No. 132/14, 1987.

⁹⁰ "Mercenaries Carry Out Acts Against A.R.F.," *Asbarez*, July 13, 1986; "A.R.F. Communique," *Asbarez*, July 5, 1986; and Hratch Dasnabedian, "Who Gains from Anti-ARF Activities?," *Asbarez*, January 1, 1987.

⁹¹ "A.R.F.-R.M. Announces Execution of Sarkis Zeitlian, Abducted Leader," *Armenian Reporter*, October 30, 1986; "United Front for the Justice Commandos and the Armenian Secret Army; IT-Armenia," FBI, May 27, 1994, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 56 (819689); and *Armenia*, No. 132/14, 1987.

⁹² "United Front for the Justice Commandos and the Armenian Secret Army; IT-Armenia," FBI, May 27, 1994, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 56 (819689).

⁹³ "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia; IT-ASALA," FBI, Dec. 30, 1987, (819665).

others refused to believe that Armenians were killing Armenians and saw other forces at work.⁹⁴ Barsoumian, a visiting lecturer at a local college in Beirut, became an international concern and the U.S. government worked for his release.⁹⁵ A month later, one of Takoushian's top targets, Zaven Tashjian, was shot to death in his grocer's shop in the *ARF* enclave of Ainjar in the Bekaa Valley. Tashjian was also, coincidentally, Zeitlian's brother-in-law.⁹⁶

Another primary target of *ASALA/ARF-RM* was the head of the *ARF* itself, Hrair Maroukhian, and it appears that a plan to execute him was being worked out in the middle of 1986.⁹⁷ Takoushian believed that if Maroukhian could be killed, the entire *ARF* would collapse.⁹⁸ Given that they were both residing in Athens, Greece at this time it is surprising that *ASALA* never had an opportunity to attempt an assassination, but both Maroukhian and *ASALA* appear to have been under the protection of Greeks.⁹⁹ Although Maroukhian was never touched, the *ARF* lost at least five more ranking members in Lebanon in the nearly three years of conflict, not including those that were merely wounded.¹⁰⁰ When this total is added to Ashjian in 1982, the five lost in the assault on the Turkish Embassy in July 1983, and the increasing numbers of *ARF* operatives in prison, it is understandable why the armed wing of the *ARF* was unable to mount any credible attacks after 1985. They were fighting for their survival. *ASALA* suffered as well. Although the names of the fatalities are still redacted, or shrouded in misinformation, it is clear that many of their operatives were killed in the war as well, and while the numbers do not appear to be as high as the *ARF*, because it was a much smaller group,

⁹⁴ "Three ARF Leaders, in Wave of New Violence, Killed in Beirut, ARF-RM Takes Credit for Assassination," *Armenian Reporter*, Feb. 6, 1986; "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia; IT-ASALA," FBI, Dec. 30, 1987, (819665); "Three Armenian Political Leaders Assassinated by Unknown Gunmen," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, Feb. 8, 1986; and "The Armenians are Threatened in Lebanon," *AMS*, Feb. 8, 1986.

⁹⁵ "Hagop Barsoumian, a Recent Kidnap Victim, May be Exchanged for ARF-RM Member," *Armenian Reporter*, Feb. 13, 1986; "Hagop Barsoumian- Missing American Citizen," STATE 021242, Jan. 23, 1987, DOS; and "Radical Group Calls Appeal for Release of Dr. H. Barsoumian as 'One Sided'," *AR*, Jan. 29, 1987.

⁹⁶ "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia; IT-ASALA," FBI, Dec. 30, 1987, (819665); and "Still Another Dashnag Leader Assassinated in Lebanon," *Armenian Reporter*, March 6, 1986.

⁹⁷ "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia, IT-ASALA; Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide/Armenian Revolutionary Army, IT-JCAG/ARA," FBI, June 25, 1987, 1149368-000, 199B-NY-776, Section 23 (944738).

⁹⁸ "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia; IT-ASALA," FBI, Dec. 30, 1987, (819665).

⁹⁹ "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia, IT-ASALA; Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide/Armenian Revolutionary Army, IT-JCAG/ARA," FBI, June 25, 1987, (944738).

¹⁰⁰ "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia; IT-ASALA," FBI, Dec. 30, 1987, (819665); "Two More ARF-Dashnag Leaders Gunned Down in Beirut," *Armenian Reporter*, July 25, 1985; and "Three More Assassinations of Armenian Militants Reported in Lebanon," *AR*, Dec. 26, 1985.

particularly by the mid-1980s, the relative damage was most likely higher.¹⁰¹ The tarnish to their reputation, propaganda aside, for killing fellow Armenians was undoubtedly even greater.

The *ARF* operatives that survived this bloodletting, and who were not in jail, largely disappeared, or at least went dormant, and took a backseat to the more traditional political and publishing activities of the *ARF*. It appears that some may have also moved into the *ARF*'s illicit activities, such as arms smuggling, drug trafficking, particularly Heroin, and money laundering.¹⁰² Takoushian on the other hand, seems to have remained concentrated on *ASALA*'s efforts with anti-*ARF*, anti-Western and anti-Turkish publications and propaganda, while loaning his terrorists out to whoever would pay. In late 1987 and early 1988, for example, the Libyans had *ASALA* kill two French citizens working in Beirut in retaliation for French military support to Chad.¹⁰³ He was, in other words, running "a purely mercenary outlaw gang with no constituency among the world Armenian community."¹⁰⁴ He had not only lost a large portion of his constituency, however. In the 15 or so years that Takoushian had been involved in international terrorism, he collected a number powerful enemies that wanted him dead like Turkey, the United States, which was aware that *ASALA* was working closely with Libya at that time, France, the *ARF*, and to a lesser degree, Monte Melkonian and his faction.¹⁰⁵ And those are only the ones that are known.

Conclusion: The Death of Haroutiun Takoushian (Hagop Hagopian)

The final act of Armenian terrorism took place at 4:30 morning, on April 28, 1988, when two masked gunmen using shotguns killed Takoushian as he walked out of his apartment building in Athens on his way to the airport.¹⁰⁶ The death of this dangerous and mysterious leader of *ASALA*

¹⁰¹ "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia," FBI, Jan. 28, 1987, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 28 (819643); and "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia; IT-ASALA," FBI, Dec. 30, 1987, (819665).

¹⁰² Jonathan V. Marshall, *The Lebanese Connection: Corruption, Civil War, and the International Drug Traffic* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012), 154-156; and "Arrest of ARF Members in 1993 Lebanon Drug-Trafficking Charges Now Linked to Activities of "Dro" Group," *Armenian Reporter*, January 21, 1995.

¹⁰³ "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia," FBI, May 17, 1988; 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 36 (819656).

¹⁰⁴ "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia, IT-ASALA," FBI, Jan. 20, 1987, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 29 (819644).

¹⁰⁵ "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia," FBI, Jan. 20, 1987, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 29 (819644); and "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia," FBI, June 23, 1987, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 34 (819652).

¹⁰⁶ "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia," FBI, May 18, 1988, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 44 (819665).

attracted global media attention, and the discrepancies in the biographical information reported by the press is a testament to the success Takoushian had in concealing his identity for nearly two decades.¹⁰⁷ It took nearly two weeks for his real name and nationality to be revealed.¹⁰⁸ No group claimed the assassination, and the identity of the culprits was subject to broad speculation.¹⁰⁹ Greece denied any knowledge of Takoushian's presence in Athens, and the Turkish government, the primary suspect in his assassination as far as Armenians were concerned, denied responsibility and suggested that his death was the culmination of the five-year internal *ASALA* dispute.¹¹⁰ Even the FBI could only narrow it down to four broad possibilities: the *ARF*, dissident *ASALA* members, a foreign government, or a rival terrorist organization.¹¹¹

While it might have been true that the FBI did know who pulled the trigger, their brief assessment of the assassination failed to reveal that the FBI's investigation into Takoushian experienced a major break in September 1987, when at least two individuals with intimate knowledge of Takoushian and *ASALA* revealed everything they knew to the FBI including names of members, locations and former activities. By January, only three months before his death, the FBI had positive confirmation of Takoushian's identity, detailed information on his habits, and those of his closest associates, and a schematic of his office and living quarters in Athens, Greece. This information was then forwarded to the CIA and the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA), and some portions were also sent to the Department of State, Immigration and

¹⁰⁷ "Gunmen Kill Man in Athens Identified as Armenian Terrorist Chief," AP, Athens, April 28, 1988; "Turkish Press Review: April 29, 1988," ANKAARA 05789, April 29, 1988; "Assassinated Armenian terrorist faced internal opposition," UPI, April 29, 1988; John Rigos, "Greek police say murdered 'diplomat' was terrorist," UPI, Athens, April 29, 1988; Philip Smith, "Armenian Terrorist Leader Murdered," *Washington Post*, April 29, 1988; "Armenian rebel chief killed," *Herald*, April 29, 1988; Patrick Quinn, "Dead Leader's Body Re-Examined for Identity Check," AP, Athens, April 29, 1988; "Armenian guerrilla slain in Athens," *Globe and Mail*, April 29, 1988; "Armenian Separatist Leader Assassinated in Athens," BBC, April 30, 1988; Adrian Foreman, "Turks deny killing Armenian activist: Faction fighting blamed for assassination of Agopian," *The Guardian*, April 30, 1988; and "Assassination of ASALA Leader is Queried by Greek Authorities," *Armenian Reporter*, May 5, 1988.

¹⁰⁸ "Body of Slain ASALA Leader Flown to Iraq for Burial," Associated Press, May 9, 1988.

¹⁰⁹ "ASALA Leader Killed," *Asbarez*, May 7, 1988; "ASALA Leader Hagopian's Assassination Still Unclaimed," *Armenian Reporter*, May 12, 1988; "Terrorists claim leader's murder solved," UPI, Athens, May 27, 1988; "Hagop Hagopian," FBI, March 4, 1991, 1149368-000, 199B-NY-776, Section 27 (944756); "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia," FBI, Jan. 17, 1992, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 51 (819679).

¹¹⁰ Kerin Hope, "Government Reported Unaware Slain Armenian Terrorist was in Athens," AP, Athens, April 29, 1988; Adrian Foreman, "Turks deny killing Armenian activist: Faction fighting blamed for assassination of Agopian," *The Guardian*, April 30, 1988; "Turkey Denies Role in Armenian Terrorist's Killing," AP, Ankara, April 30, 1988; "Turkey Denies Involvement," *Armenian Reporter*, May 5, 1988; "Turkey Denies Role in Killing of ASALA Leader," *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, May 7, 1988; and Jack Anderson, "Armenian Murdered by Turkish Hit Team," *AMS*, May 21, 1988.

¹¹¹ "Hagop Hagopian," FBI, May 2, 1988, 1149368-000, 199B-NY-776, Section 25 (944740); and "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia," FBI, May 18, 1988, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 44 (819665).

Naturalization Services (INS) and the National Security Agency (NSA).¹¹² While this certainly does not prove that the U.S. government was involved in Takoushian's death, it does suggest that U.S. intelligence services were following Takoushian very close immediately prior to his assassination and, therefore, should have been able to provide a narrower list of suspects than the international press.

The terror campaign against Turkey that began in 1975, spread to various West European governments, and devolved into a bloody civil war within Armenian organizations in Beirut, officially ended with the assassination of one of the key architects of the violence. By April 1988, *ASALA* and the *ARF* were accountable for the deaths of over 30 Turkish diplomats, family members, and employees; nearly 30 citizens of other countries; and over 30 Armenians, either killed in action or assassinated for their affiliations. Despite the violence, fear and terror, however, *ASALA* and the *ARF* never came closer to achieving their stated goals than the meeting between the Turkish Foreign Minister and the heads of *ARF*, *Hunchaks* and *Ramgavars* in 1977, or the private Turkish initiatives in 1978, which were all induced by Armenian political violence. Instead, the drastic increase in attacks between 1979 and 1983, the indifference of its Western allies to the violence, coupled with sympathy for the Armenian Cause, and the relentless pressure from an unrepentant diaspora that refused to unequivocally denounce terrorism, forced the Turkish government and its citizens into an aggressive defense that still largely persists today.

The death of Takoushian left his faction of hardline supporters without direction or a leader. The Melkonian faction of *ASALA* was scattered and inactive, with many of its members in jail, including Melkonian himself. Once *ASALA* was finished, the armed wing of *ARF*, as predicted, went silent, despite the fact that their struggle for justice was not complete. Fortuitous for many of the Armenian militants that remained, however, a new struggle was breaking just as the terror campaign came to end: the fight for the Armenian SSR's independence from the Soviet Union and the subsequent war with Azerbaijan over the region of Nagorno-Karabakh in the Caucasus. This struggle would redeem many of *ASALA* and the *ARF*'s veteran terrorists, and elevate at least one to national glory. While Armenian terrorism in the conventional sense with

¹¹² "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia," FBI, Dec. 30, 1987, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 44 (819665); and "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia," FBI, Jan. 26, 1988, 1073740-001, 199-343, Section 44 (819665).

Takoushian's assassination, the story of the individual militants who filled the ranks of the two organizations continued on.

Epilogue: 'Homecoming', February 1988 – May 1994

Between 1988 and 1994, the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR) and Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR) fought a war over the political future of Azerbaijan's province of Nagorno-Karabakh; an autonomous province with an Armenian demographic majority, but with tremendous historical and cultural value to both sides. Although a ceasefire has held for 20 years, and while all three of the local participants have lost, Azerbaijan lost more. Today, Nagorno-Karabakh claims it is an independent nation, albeit one not recognized by another single government in the world, not even Armenia, and Armenian armed forces and militias continue to occupy an additional 20 percent of Azerbaijan's sovereign territory.

There are a multitude of reasons why this six-year conflict ended the way that it did, and many of them involve the Armenian diaspora. While the significant role the diaspora played in securing weapons, money, supplies and volunteers for Armenia and Karabakh, and its tremendous propaganda campaign aimed at Western governments, media and public opinion during and after the conflict are typically mentioned, scholars have yet to conduct detailed analyses, in English at least, on the diaspora's role in the conflict.¹¹³ While this epilogue will not explore the entire range of the Armenian diaspora's activities and between 1988 and 1994, it will attempt to explore at least one: the role of the two Armenian terrorist organizations, *ASALA* and the *ARF*'s terrorist wing, in the conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh. Although it will likely never be known how many of the approximately 300 diaspora volunteers who arrived in Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh to fight in the conflict were veteran terrorists of *ASALA* and the *ARF*, two things are clear.¹¹⁴

First, that while *ASALA*'s presence in the conflict was greater, and their contacts in Armenia went much higher up than what has been typically acknowledged, the war ultimately did much more for them than they could ever have hoped to contribute to Armenia. If anyone

¹¹³The exception being Thomas Goltz's recent brief survey on propaganda during the war. See Thomas Goltz, "The Successes of the Spin Doctors: Western Media Reporting on the Nagorno Karabakh Conflict," *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, Vol. 32, No. 2 (June 2012): 186-195.

¹¹⁴Christopher Zürcher, *The Post-Soviet Wars: Rebellion, Ethnic Conflict, and Nationhood in the Caucasus* (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 174.

“won” in the war between Armenia and Azerbaijan, it was the veterans of *ASALA*. Not only did the chaos and mayhem of the Southern Caucasus in the late 1980s and early 1990s provide these terrorists somewhere to go where they were not just welcomed, but embraced as heroes, it revitalized their cause, provided an opportunity to kill more “Turks,” and, for at least one former *ASALA* leader and assassin, a path to redemption and a spot in Armenian mythology. Second, because of the depth and breadth of the *ARF* in the diaspora, with its youth, women, cultural, political, lobby, terrorist and paramilitary organizations, and its general opaqueness, it is extremely difficult to identify any activity or individuals that can be linked to its terrorist-wing with any credible certainty in Nagorno-Karabakh.

For those *ARF* operatives who were sent or volunteered, however, not much really changed for them other than geographical location and targets. There was, however, some confirmed Armenian terrorist activity by the terrorist-wing in 1992, and there may have been more. Between 1991 and 1994, Azerbaijan, Baku in particular, suffered from a spate of deadly terrorist attacks, and there is credible evidence that it was an Armenian terrorist organization was behind these attacks. While it is possible that a new, fourth Armenian terrorist organization emerged out of the conflict, speculation always centered on either *ASALA* or the *ARF*. Since it is extremely unlikely that *ASALA* had the capabilities and resources to prepare and carry out these attacks by 1991, suspicion, therefore, falls on the *ARF*.

Nagorno-Karabakh

In the wake of the end of World War I and the collapse of the Russian Empire, the new independent republics of Armenia and Azerbaijan both laid claim to the region of Nagorno-Karabakh. When the case was put before the Paris Peace Conference, the allied governments sided with Azerbaijan in early 1920.¹¹⁵ The Bolshevik victory in the Russian Civil War, however, and their advance into Transcaucasia made the wishes of the Paris Peace Conference a moot point. In July 1921, despite the lobbying efforts of Armenian political leaders to transfer the territory of Nagorno-Karabakh from the Azerbaijan SSR to the Armenian SSR, the Caucasian Bureau of the Russian Communist Party ultimately confirmed the Azerbaijan SSR’s

¹¹⁵ Audrey L. Altstadt, *The Azerbaijani Turks: Power and Identity under Russian Rule* (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institute, 1992), 102.

retention of the province.¹¹⁶ Considering the intense competition for the region immediately after the First World War, the first sixty-five years of Nagorno-Karabakh's existence as part of the Azerbaijan SSR passed peacefully, with only a handful of minor incidents in the mid-1960s and late 1970s.¹¹⁷

In the late 1980s, however, this all changed. In August of 1987, a political petition from Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh to Moscow requesting the transfer of the province from Azerbaijan SSR to Armenia SSR set in motion a series of events that, within a few months, plunged the southern Caucasus into a humanitarian crisis that witnessed ethnic cleansing, displaced persons, illegal occupation, terrorism and war that remains unresolved today, more than 25 years since the first outbreak of violence. While the origins of the conflict are multifaceted and complex, like most violent conflicts, at its simplest, the dispute pitted the right to self-determination for an Armenian majority in an Azerbaijani SSR province against the constitutional rights of the Azerbaijan SSR, and later the sovereign rights of the Republic of Azerbaijan in a historically and culturally significant area for both groups. Obviously, however, it is much more than that, and even labeling the conflict properly is difficult, given the geopolitical context during which it was fought. It began as an internal dispute of the Azerbaijan SSR and a civil war between two republics of the Soviet Union and then evolved into an undeclared war between two sovereign nations and a breakaway province.¹¹⁸

Although a ceasefire brokered in May 1994 has for the most part held, the war took the lives of approximately 17,000 to 25,000 Azerbaijanis and Armenians, wounded over 50,000, and produced well over one million refugees, of which the vast majority, over seventy percent, were Azerbaijanis.¹¹⁹ The most infamous and deadliest single event of the entire period, the massacre in Khojaly on February 25 & 26, 1992, alone saw the slaughter of approximately 500 to 600 non-combatant Azerbaijani civilians by Armenian militias, with an additional 1000

¹¹⁶ Ronald Grigor Suny, *Looking Toward Ararat: Armenia in Modern History* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1993), 194; and Altstadt, *Azerbaijani Turks*, 117.

¹¹⁷ Suny, *Looking Toward Ararat*, 195; and "Unrest in the Caucasus and the Challenge of Nationalism," CIA, October 1988. (foia.cia.gov)

¹¹⁸ See Umut Uzer, "Nagorno-Karabakh in Regional and World Politics: A Case Study for Nationalism, Realism and Ethnic Conflict," *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, Vol. 32, No. 2 (June 2012): 250.

¹¹⁹ Human Rights Watch/Helsinki, *Azerbaijan: Seven Years of Conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh* (December 1994), ix; and Zürcher, *The Post-Soviet Wars*, 178.

wounded, 1250 taken hostage, and another 150 who remain missing and unaccounted for.¹²⁰ In one of the more bizarre twists of this conflict, the United States Congress responded to this tragedy by inexplicably passing a resolution denying all forms of U.S. aid to Azerbaijan until, among other things, it respected “international human rights standards.”¹²¹ Today, in addition to the province of Nagorno-Karabakh, which seceded from Azerbaijan on December 10, 1991, another 20 percent of the territory of Azerbaijan remains occupied by Armenian armed forces.¹²²

Nagorno-Karabakh in the Diaspora and Mainstream Media

Despite claims that the Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh suffered under the oppressive rule of the Azerbaijanis and continuously sought to be reassigned to the Armenian SSR, there is little record of this in either the Armenian or the mainstream press in the United States. In fact, prior to December 1987, evidence that the diaspora had any concerns over the loss of Nagorno-Karabakh to Azerbaijan and for the plight of Armenians living there, or that they were even aware the issue existed, is few and far between. In the two decades between 1966 and 1986, there are only a handful of references to Karabakh: six articles in the Armenian press and two articles in the mainstream media, one of which was then read into the Congressional Record.

Even this attention towards Karabakh appears to have been provoked by the large demonstration commemorating the 50th anniversary of 1915 massacre in Yerevan in 1965, which revitalized Armenian nationalist movements throughout the diaspora, and by specific reports of sporadic clashes between Armenian and Azerbaijani inhabitants of the region.¹²³

¹²⁰ This is a conservative estimate. See Goltz, “The Successes of the Spin Doctors: Western Media Reporting on the Nagorno Karabakh Conflict,” 189; Svante E. Cornell, *Azerbaijan Since Independence* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2011), 62-63; Markar Melkonian, *My Brother’s Road: An American’s Fateful Journey to Armenia* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2007), 213-214; Zürcher, *The Post-Soviet Wars*, 169; Hugh Pope, *Sons of the Conquerors: The Rise of the Turkic World* (New York: Overlook Duckworth, 2005), 52; and Thomas De Waal, *Black Garden: Armenia and Azerbaijan through Peace and War* (New York: New York University Press, 2003), 170-171.

¹²¹ Uzer, “Nagorno-Karabakh in Regional and World Politics, 246; Fariz Ismailzade, “The Geopolitics of the Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict,” *Global Dialogue*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (Summer/Autumn 2005): 106; De Waal, *Black Garden*, 234 & 276; and Svante E. Cornell, “Turkey and the Conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh: A Delicate Balance,” *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 1 (January 1998): 57.

¹²² Kambeck and Ghazaryan, *Europe’s Next Avoidable War*, 25; Cornell, “Turkey and the Conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh: A Delicate Balance,” 51-72.

¹²³ Haig Sarkissian, “50th Anniversary of the Turkish Genocide as Observed in Erivan,” *Armenian Review* Vol. 19, No. 4 (Winter 1966): 23-28; Vahakn N. Dadrian, “The Events of April 24 in Moscow— How They Happened and Under What Circumstances,” *Armenian Review* Vol. 20, No. 2 (Summer 1967): 9-26; James H. Tashjian, “The Problem of Karabagh,” *Armenian Review*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (Spring 1968): 4-49; Richard G. Hovannisian, “The

There was no sustained attention towards either the province of Nagorno-Karabakh, or the Armenians who lived there until 1988, and after that, coverage of Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenia dominated the Armenian American press for next six years. Fortunately for Armenia and the Armenians of Nagorno-Karabakh, there was not much else competing for the attention of the diaspora at the time. By 1988, the civil war in Lebanon was winding down, and Armenian terrorism, the assassinations of Turkish diplomats and their families and high-profile assaults on embassies and airports, which had energized and emboldened the Armenian diaspora since the early 1970s, had not been factor in nearly five years.

The outbreak of violence in Nagorno-Karabakh, Armenia and Azerbaijan rejuvenated the individual hopes and careers of the remaining ASALA operatives, many of whom had no other choice but to migrate to Armenia by the early 1990s.¹²⁴ For the ARF, Nagorno-Karabakh merely represented a new chapter in their long history. There were minor changes in location, titles, conditions and targets. They traded North America, Europe and Australia for the Caucasus. Instead of terrorists, their armed operatives were now called paramilitary groups and militias. Instead of operating underground in, possibly, hostile foreign territory, the ARF was now “home,” and appears, at least until 1992, to have operated independently of the laws and jurisdiction of the Armenian government.¹²⁵ Instead of targeting Turkish civilians and business interests, and anyone else who got in the way, the paramilitaries now targeted Azerbaijanis, Russians, Armenians and anyone else who got in their way. The tactics employed by the ARF’s terrorist organizations, seem to have been very similar to the ones employed by their paramilitary groups and militias, and like their predecessors in the JCAG/ARA the ARF members who left the diaspora to fight on behalf of the Armenian cause did so willingly.

Armeno-Azerbaijani Conflict Over Mountainous Karabagh, 1918-1919,” *Armenian Review*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (Summer 1971): 3-39; Raymond H. Anderson, “Armenians Ask Moscow for Help, Charging Azerbaijan with Bias,” *New York Times*, December 11, 1977, Anderson wrote this article after being contacted by Vahakn Dadrian, who supplied him with translated source material; Vahakn Dadrian, “Those Audacious Armenians,” *Christian Science Monitor*, January 10, 1978; “Issues in Soviet Armenia,” January 23, 1978; “A.R.F. 23rd World Congress Decisions,” *Asbarez*, August 30, 1986; “The A.R.F. Political Platform,” *Asbarez*, September 6, 1986.

¹²⁴ Melkonian, *My Brother’s Road*, 160.

¹²⁵ “President L. Der Bedrosian Rejects Strategy of War & Reassets [sic] Policy of Negotiations; Orders A.R.F. Top Leader Out of Country After Charging Him of Plotting With the Soviet KGB,” *Armenian Reporter*, July 4, 1992.

ASALA's Rejuvenation

The resurgence of extreme Armenian nationalism in Nagorno-Karabakh and the Armenian SSR in 1988, and in particular the prospect of acquiring more territory for Armenia, could not have come at a better time for *ASALA*. Largely leaderless and without purpose, excitement and enthusiasm for Armenian terrorism had waned during the years its operatives were incarcerated, on the run, or in hiding. The final five years of political violence had a greater negative impact on *ASALA*, which did not have the history, organizations, contacts and resources that the ARF had. It was much more difficult for an *ASALA* agent to disappear or transition to a non-violent occupation: the Armenian youths attracted to *ASALA* or, later, to Melkonian's *ASALA-RM*, were ideologues that joined the organization for life. In other words, most embraced *ASALA*'s worldviews and its interpretation of the Armenian cause in its totality, and wanted to see the fight carried through to the very end.

Land, specifically the reclamation of lands lost, was the crux of *ASALA*'s ideology, at least for Kevork Ajemian, James Karnusian and Monte Melkonian. In fact, making sure that there were enough Armenians left in the region to resettle the lands, once they were taken back, was a major concern for *ASALA*, as more and more Armenians left the Caucasus and the Middle East for Western Europe and North America.¹²⁶ As ludicrous as the idea may seem that Turkey, the United States or NATO would tolerate any territorial changes in eastern Anatolia, the only significant border between a NATO country and the Soviet Union, to the founding fathers of *ASALA*, and true believers like Melkonian, the prospect was at least theoretically possible.

During the 1970s, right and left-wing violence in Turkey had produced near civil war-like conditions, and the 1980s saw the rise of the *PKK*. *ASALA*'s links to the *PKK* are well known, and there is evidence that it was also cooperating with some of the more violent left-wing groups in Turkey. Also, as detente gave way to the start of the "New Cold War" around 1980, the hostility and mutual distrust between the United States and the Soviet Union reached levels not seen since the 1960s. The West's victory in the Cold War, therefore, was anything but assured during the first half of the 1980s, but by 1985 the Soviet Union's chances for victory and expansion were fading, and by November 1989, were all but destroyed. Nagorno-Karabakh, therefore, offered *ASALA*'s scattered veterans their first chance at a symbolic "victory" for the

¹²⁶ This was the reason behind *ASALA*'s first attack against the World Council of Churches (WCC) in Beirut, as they believed the WCC was facilitating the emigration of Armenians out of the area.

Armenian cause, even if redrawing the internal administrative borders of an autonomous province with an Armenian majority between the Armenian SSR and the Azerbaijan SSR was far and away removed from goal of liberating the lands of eastern Turkey and repopulating it with Armenian settlers. In fact, annexing Nagorno-Karabakh quickly took precedence over eastern Turkey.¹²⁷

Ironically, a mere six days before the assassination of Takoushian, the FBI believed that *ASALA* would not involve itself in any confrontation with the Soviet Union over Armenia or Nagorno-Karabakh and would “congratulate [sic] the Soviet authorities on whatever repressions occur.”¹²⁸ The FBI failed to understand that Armenian nationalism and anti-Turkishness, in this case applied to the Azerbaijanis, trumped all ideological considerations. It also missed a thinly veiled threat to the Soviet Union in a statement issued by *ASALA* on April 7, 1988 that they were pleased the leadership of Soviet Armenia was supporting the separation claims of the Nagorno-Karabakh Armenians, and that they believed “justice would prevail.”¹²⁹ Two years later, someone using the *ASALA* name issued another statement on the organization’s behalf claiming that *ASALA* vowed it would be actively involved in the liberation and annexation of the Karabakh region to the Armenian SSR” and that it viewed “the Karabagh region to be an inseparable part of historical Armenia.”¹³⁰

There was another factor pushing *ASALA* operatives to the Caucasus. By the late 1980s, they were running out of time, options and, most importantly, places to go. West European governments, and their respective police and intelligence agencies, were no longer as sympathetic and forgiving as they once were. Beirut, the terrorist and heroin transit capital of the world, primarily so because of the complete deterioration of state authority during the decade and a half civil war, was slowly returning to normal, and thus, no longer a guaranteed safe haven. *ASALA*’s support in Eastern Europe deteriorated, first, in 1987, when their intelligence agencies began to cooperate with the CIA on counterterrorism, and then in November 1989, when the communist regimes began to collapse.¹³¹ Even the two most sympathetic nations to Armenian terrorism, Greece and Cyprus, had proven to be unsafe after

¹²⁷ “Armenia/Political Affairs,” FBI, March 7, 1990.

¹²⁸ “Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia, IT-ASALA,” FBI, April 22, 1988.

¹²⁹ “ASALA Speaks Out on Karabagh Developments,” *Armenian Reporter*, April 7, 1988.

¹³⁰ “Alleged ASALA Communique,” STATE 324063, September 24, 1990.

¹³¹ Tim Naftali, *Blind Spot: The Secret History of American Counterterrorism* (New York: Basic Books, 2005), 195.

Takoushian's assassination in February 1988. It can be assumed that Melkonian was not the only *ASALA* terrorist who chased the receding borders of communism in 1989, as he bounced from Yemen, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and, finally, Bulgaria, before landing in Yerevan, Armenia on October 6, 1990.¹³²

By 1990, Armenia or Nagorno-Karabakh were, arguably, the only two places in the world that former *ASALA* terrorists could safely go, and not fear pursuit, in one form or another, and it seems that most of them did, indeed, eventually end up in Armenia.¹³³ Not all of the *ASALA* veterans took up arms, however. Some like, Alex Yenikomshian, former director of the Monte Melkonian Fund and the current *Sardarapat* Movement leader, who was permanently blinded in October 1980 when a bomb he was preparing exploded prematurely in his hotel room, were not capable of actually participating in the fighting.¹³⁴ Others, like Varoujan Garabedian, the terrorist behind the attack on the Orly Airport in Paris in 1983, who immigrated to Armenia when he was pardoned and released from prison by the French government in April 2001, arrived too late.¹³⁵ Based on the documents and material available today in English, there were at least eight *ASALA* veterans who can be identified who were actively engaged in the conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh,¹³⁶ but undoubtedly there were more. Detailed information on these individuals, with the obvious exception of Melkonian, however, is still virtually non-existent.

Vazken Sislian, one of the four *ASALA* terrorists to occupy the Turkish embassy in Paris in 1981, was the first, as far as we know, to arrive in Armenia sometime in early 1990.¹³⁷ The second, and by far the most famous today, was Monte Melkonian, who arrived in Yerevan in October 1990.¹³⁸ Less than three weeks later, but unbeknownst to Melkonian, his former close comrade, confidant and friend, the French Armenian militant and bank robber Levon Minassian, entered the Armenian SSR.¹³⁹ Mardiros Jamgotchian, one of *ASALA*'s original members and the

¹³² Melkonian, *My Brother's Road*, 170-181 & 278.

¹³³ "Azerbaijani Officials Blame Armenian Terrorists for Metro Bombing," BAKU 01056, March 23, 1994; and "Who Killed *ASALA* Members in Armenia?," *Armenian Reporter*, December 25, 1999.

¹³⁴ "Comrades in Arms," *Armenian International Magazine*, June 30, 1987.

¹³⁵ "Armenian Premier Meets with Released *ASALA* Member," *Radio Free Europe Newswire*, May 7, 2001.

¹³⁶ This number was arrived at through newspaper reports and Markar Melkonian's account.

¹³⁷ "Turks Release Names of *ASALA* Commandos," *Armenian Reporter*, October 1, 1981; and "Monte Melkonian, Former Leader of *ASALA*, Surfaces in Armenia," *AR*, January 31, 1991.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*; Melkonian, *My Brother's Road*, 177-182.

¹³⁹ Melkonian, *The Right to Struggle*, xiv; Melkonian, *A Self-Criticism*, 44, ns. 50 & 51; and Melkonian, *My Brother's Road*, 138, 248-249.

terrorist who assassinated Mehmet Savaş Yergüç in Geneva on June 9, 1981, followed in 1991.¹⁴⁰ The other four known *ASALA* agents to have arrived into the Armenian SSR in time to engage in combat were: Tavit Tavitian, the man who sparked the internal dissolution of *ASALA* in 1983 and a close associate of Melkonian; Apraham Khamissian, and, finally, two brothers from Iran, only identified as Vahig Sh. and Masis Sh.¹⁴¹

There is little information on the activities of Sislian, Vahig Sh. and Masis Sh., other than that they were in Armenia and fought in Nagorno-Karabakh, and only slightly more on Levon Minassian. Minassian led a militia group of approximately 50 men, and played a major role in the assault and occupation of the Kelbajar region in the spring of 1993.¹⁴² Madiros Jamgotchian, after first spending time as French translator in Nagorno-Karabakh, fought alongside Melkonian. He would later join the Armenian Ministry of Defense, where he would rise to the rank of commander and become a special aid to the Defense Minister. Apparently, however, he quit his position and for reasons unknown immigrated to the United States shortly thereafter.¹⁴³ Tavit Tavitian and Apraham Khamissian, however, were not so lucky. While also working for the Armenian Ministry of Defense, Tavitian and Khamissian, were allegedly operating photo shops, restaurants and an illicit import/export business on the side, which included selling Russian weapons to Iran. Khamissian was murdered first, execution style, in August 1996, and Tavitian was murdered in October 1997, allegedly by the same firearm.¹⁴⁴

The most infamous Armenian terrorist who landed in Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh was the Armenian national hero, Monte Melkonian. In English alone, there are at least two books of his writings, a biography written by his brother, and countless articles and references to him.¹⁴⁵ In the span of less than three years, Melkonian rose from leading a militia group of

¹⁴⁰ “Madiros Jamgotchian, *ASALA* Man Convicted of Killing Turkish Diplomat in Switzerland in 1980, Now Serves with Armenia’s Defense Ministry,” *Armenian Reporter*, January 11, 1997.

¹⁴¹ “Who Killed *ASALA* Members in Armenia?” *Armenian Reporter*, December 25, 1999; and Melkonian, *My Brother’s Road*, 241.

¹⁴² Melkonian, *My Brother’s Road*, 244-249.

¹⁴³ “Who Killed *ASALA* Members in Armenia?” *Armenian Reporter*; and “Madiros Jamgotchian, *ASALA* Man Convicted of Killing Turkish Diplomat in Switzerland in 1980, Now Serves with Armenia’s Defense Ministry,” *AR*, January 11, 1997.

¹⁴⁴ “Who Killed *ASALA* Members in Armenia?” *Armenian Reporter*; and Melkonian, *My Brother’s Road*, 277-278.

¹⁴⁵ Monte Melkonian, *A Self-Criticism* (London: Gomidas Institute, 2010); Melkonian, *My Brother’s Road*; and Markar Melkonian, ed., *The Right to Struggle: Selected Writings of Monte Melkonian on the Armenian National Question* (San Francisco, CA: Sardarabad Collective, 1993). For a sampling of the articles, see: Joseph Vorbach, “Monte Melkonian: Armenian Revolutionary Leader,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* Vol. 6, No. 2 (1994):

seven soldiers to commanding a force of between 3,000 to 4,000 troops and fifty tanks, and was involved in most of the major battles in Nagorno-Karabakh except for Şuşa and Kojaly.¹⁴⁶ By almost all accounts, Melkonian was a brilliant individual, gifted in languages, and a natural-born military leader, well known for his honesty, integrity and compassion, even for Azerbaijanis, and has been described as an “idealist seeking justice.”¹⁴⁷

There is, however, the much darker side to Monte Melkonian, which should at least call into question some of the adulation described above. As discussed previously, his most notorious act with *ASALA* was the assassination of Galip Özmen, the administrative attaché at the Turkish Embassy in Athens, Greece, and nearly his entire family in July 1980. Özmen’s wife and 17-year old son were wounded, but survived the attack, but both he and his 14-year old daughter did not.¹⁴⁸ His activities in Nagorno-Karabakh were likewise marred by at least two events. The first was the massacre of 38 civilians and POWs by men, if not under his orders, then at least under his command at Karadaghlu.¹⁴⁹ Another incident involving his militia, this time during the assault on Kelbajar, left at least 15 civilians dead, although it is claimed the civilians were driving a military transport, and thus were indistinguishable from combatants.¹⁵⁰ In June 1993, a chance encounter with an Azerbaijani patrol ended his life.¹⁵¹ His death, the last of a noteworthy former *ASALA* or *ARF* leader, closed the book on Armenian terrorism in the twentieth century. While he has been included here with the other *ASALA* operatives, it must be noted that there were persistent rumors that by the time he arrived in Armenia, Melkonian was working for the *ARF*, to pay “off the debt” he had incurred when the ARF saved his life during

178-195; John D. Cramer, “His Lifework: Fighting Oppression,” *Fresno Bee*, September 20, 1992; “Monte Melkonian, the Former ASALA Leader, Active Participant in Karabagh Defense Forces,” *Armenian Reporter*, April 17, 1993; “Fresno-Born Karabakh Commander Dies on Battlefield Caucasus: Monte Melkonian is mourned as ‘hero No. 1’ of the war,” *Los Angeles Times*, June 15, 1993; “Monte Melkonian Alias Commander Avo, Killed in Action in Karabagh; Fresno-Born Military Man Was One of ASALA Leaders,” *AR*, June 19, 1993; Taline Satamian, “Commander Mourned,” *Armenian International*, June 30, 1993; Raymond Bonner, “Foreigners Fight Again in the Embattled Caucasus,” *New York Times*, August 4, 1993; Mark Arax, “The Riddle of Monte Melkonian,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 9, 1993; “Life of Legend: A Visalia Native Remains a War Hero in Armenia 6 Years After His Death,” *Fresno Bee*, October 31, 1999; and “Homage to Monte Melkonian,” *AR*, December 9, 2000.

¹⁴⁶ Melkonian, *My Brother’s Road*, 182-240; and Melkonian, *Right to Struggle*, xiii-xvi.

¹⁴⁷ Melkonian, *A Self-Criticism*, xiii.

¹⁴⁸ Melkonian, *My Brother’s Road*, 84.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 211-212.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 245-246.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 241-256.

his dispute with Takoushian in Lebanon; a decision that had cost the ARF the life of Zaven Tashjian.¹⁵² Melkonian's family has denied this allegation.¹⁵³

Interestingly, Armenian President Ter-Petrosyan's attendance at Melkonian's state funeral prompted a rather perplexed telegram from the U.S. Secretary of State, Warren Christopher, to the U.S. Embassy in Yerevan asking for an explanation why the president attended the funeral of a known international terrorist. He also asked: "Is ASALA regarded as a legitimate entity in Armenia?"¹⁵⁴ There is no record of a reply from Yerevan, but one can assume that the answer was yes, and if Secretary Christopher had known then that Ter-Petrosyan himself had personally arranged the entry visas into the Soviet Union for both Monte and his *ASALA* comrade Levon Minassian, he would not have needed to ask the question.¹⁵⁵

The ARF's New Chapter

The case of the *ARF* and its veteran terrorists was very different from that of *ASALA*. Whereas *ASALA* was merely in the terrorist business, the *ARF* was, and is, a much more diversified organization. In addition to its terrorist and paramilitary branches, it has maintained the Armenian Relief Society, the Armenian Youth Federation, the *Homenetmen* Armenian General Athletic Union, the *Hamazkayin* cultural foundation, a number of newspapers throughout the world, a monthly journal, and a publishing house, as well as its North American lobby groups, the Armenian National Committee of America and the Armenian National Committee of Canada. The *ARF*'s terrorists, while also extreme nationalists who murdered without remorse, appear to have been only "part-timers": young men and women recruited through the *ARF* Youth Federation, who were trained and used for one specific purpose, and then reinserted back into the *ARF* network and the Armenian community, where they were protected.¹⁵⁶ Thus, when the time came to deactivate the *ARA*, it was able to provide a much smoother transition for the leaders and permanent operatives of the *ARF*'s terrorist wing, as well as for those terrorists in the pipeline for future assassinations and assaults, to civilian or non-violent roles.

¹⁵² "Armenian Revolutionary Federation," FBI, January 21, 1993; and David Rieff, "Nagorno-Karabakh: Case Study in Ethnic Strife," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 76, No. 2 (March-April 1997): 127.

¹⁵³ Maile Melkonian, "Letter to the Editor: Facts of the Case," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 76, No. 6 (November-December 1997): 184.

¹⁵⁴ "PKK Support from Armenian Sources," STATE 220237, July 20, 1993.

¹⁵⁵ Melkonian, *My Brother's Road*, 175-177.

¹⁵⁶ "The Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia," CIA, January 1984, CIA-RDP85T00283R000400030009-2, 2.

For those *ARF* terrorists that could not, or would not, adjust to a non-violent occupation, Nagorno-Karabakh offered them a chance to continue to fight, and they did so willingly. Unfortunately, while it is well known that the *ARF* played a major role in training and financing the militias that fought in Nagorno-Karabakh, and provided a large percentage of the volunteers, it is nearly impossible to identify, separate and track the involvement and careers of individual JCAG/ARA veterans in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, and a comprehensive analysis of the role of ARF militias in the war is beyond the scope of this paper. That being said, however, there is an interesting footnote to this story. There is evidence that after being dormant for a number of years the ARF terrorist-wing reappeared briefly in the early 1990s, both outside and inside of the Caucasus.

In January 1993, the FBI sent out what appears to be its last and most comprehensive analysis of the entire range the *ARF*'s internal politics, organizations and activities, including its terrorist and paramilitary operations, to all of the major FBI Field offices in the United States and to the FBI liaison in Canada. In it, sources confirmed to the FBI that while the *JCAG/ARA* had received no orders from the new *ARF* Bureau leadership, no plans for a resumption of attacks in the United States, and that the efforts of the *ARF* were focused on Nagorno-Karabakh, the organizational infrastructure of the terrorist group remained intact. The source even gave the FBI the name of the individual who was the head of its three-man leadership committee.¹⁵⁷ There are two primary reasons why an inactive terrorist organization would keep its leadership and infrastructure in place: to either credibly threaten a resumption of attacks, as a means of political leverage, or to facilitate the resumption of attacks. There is evidence that both scenarios took place.

Western governments had come to not only fear Armenian terrorism, but also to pay careful attention to threats of blackmail from *ASALA* and the *ARF*. Throughout the 1980s, a number of captured terrorists were either released or given light sentences due threats of violence. This may have been what the *ARF* was attempting to do in 1992, when the Justice Commandos released a statement to the press for the first time in years, threatening to resume attacks.¹⁵⁸ Shortly afterwards, the U.S. State department was convinced that there was a credible

¹⁵⁷ "Armenian Revolutionary Federation, IT-Armenia," FBI, January 21, 1993.

¹⁵⁸ "ARF Leadership Calls For Withholding Support of Armenia: Justice Commandoes of Genocide State Intention to Resume Terrorism," *Armenian Reporter*, September 5, 1992.

assassination threat to Azerbaijani President Elchibey when he visited the United Nations in the fall of that year.¹⁵⁹ Fear is a very powerful negotiation tactic. It is also possible, however, that *ARF* terrorism actually resumed in the early 1990s.

Even though was widely ignored in Western media outlets, and no credit was ever taken by an organization, Azerbaijan had suffered a rash of terrorist attacks in the early 1990s. In 1991, a bomb went off on a bus traveling between Azerbaijan and Georgia; in 1992, an explosion occurred on a ferry between Baku and Krasnovodsk; an undated attack on a Moscow to Baku train; in 1994, a bomb attack at the Baku rail station in February, killing 3; in March, a bomb went off on a train in the Baku subway system killing 13 and critically wounding dozens more, very similar to the bomb that exploded in the Moscow subway in 1976 which was attributed to Armenian extremists in the Soviet Union and a bomb was found on a train at the Baku station; and, finally, in April a bomb exploded on another Moscow to Baku train, this time in Dagestan, 100 km from the Azerbaijani border, killing six.

Conclusion

In total, 24 killed and over 90 wounded in these attacks. According to a U.S. State Department telegram, a group of Azerbaijani speaking Armenians, who had the ability to move freely around Baku without arousing suspicion, had been sent to Lebanon for terrorist training.¹⁶⁰ It also seems that these groups were operating out of Dagestan, which would explain the train explosion in April 1994.¹⁶¹ The full extent of *ASALA* and the *ARF*'s terrorists' involvement in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict may never be known. That some former members of *ASALA* participated in the conflict is without doubt, however, and each of these men joined the irregular militias deployed to Nagorno-Karabakh to fight a war that Armenia officially denied.

Undoubtedly, their contributions to the war effort were considerable; these men were experienced fighters with impeccable reputations, who had already been fighting the Turk underground for over a decade. The *ASALA* veterans fought in many of the decisive battles of the conflict, but were also present for many of appalling atrocities. Despite these contributions to Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh, however, the former terrorists got back much more in

¹⁵⁹ "Azerbaijani President to Attend UNGA," BAKU 00714, September 5, 1992, DOS.

¹⁶⁰ "Azerbaijani Officials Blame Armenian Terrorists for Metro Bombing," BAKU 01056, March 23, 1994, DOS; "Terrorist Activity," BAKU 001406, April 15, 1994, DOS.

¹⁶¹ Fährad Mammadov, "Armenian Aggression Backed up by Terror," *Yeni Mūsavat*, February 2, 2011.

return. After years on the run, they found not only a place of refuge, but also a country that embraced them. At least one rose to the rank of commander, and become a recognized national hero and saint to Armenia, Nagorno-Karabakh and to the diaspora. Three others were rewarded with positions in the Armenian Defense Ministry. Their participation in the Nagorno-Karabakh war absolved them of their past sins, many of which were grave. The *ARF*'s participation is murkier, and must wait for more documentation, evidence and admissions before we can begin to write a proper history of the war in Nagorno-Karabakh. It is not just the actions of the *ARF*'s terrorist wing and paramilitary militias that need to be analyzed, however, but rather the entire scope of the organization's involvement in the conflict, from the politicians, relief organizations, arms dealers, lobbyists to even the editorial letter writers.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

The violent acts of Gourgen Yanikian, *ASALA* and the *ARF* never succeeded in achieving their three stated goals: genocide recognition, reparations, and land in Eastern Anatolia. Instead, they left in their wake a legacy of death and destruction that stretched from Santa Barbara, California eastwards to Sydney, Australia, and killed at least 90 Turks, Armenians, French, Swiss, Italians, Germans, Yugoslavs, Swedes, and Americans and wounded hundreds more in the pursuit of justice for the Armenian people. Ironically, the organizations ended up killing more Armenians than the despised and hated “Turks.” Property damage ran easily into the millions of dollars, and their attacks kept the governments of Turkey, the United States, Canada and Western Europe preoccupied for years, their public frightened, and, in the case of the Turkish Foreign Ministry, in perpetual fear over their lives and the lives of loved ones.

The commonly held belief is that the Armenian people spontaneously “awoke” during the 1965 commemorations for the massacres and relocations of 1915. After fifty years, the Armenians were no longer willing to tolerate the indifference, apathy and political machinations of the Western governments that betrayed them between 1915 and 1923. They began to protest, demonstrate, and advocate for their cause. They wanted the world, and particularly the Republic of Turkey, to acknowledge that the massacres and relocations they endured at the hands of the Ottoman Empire constituted genocide, and they wanted the Turkey to pay for the crimes of their predecessor. What this meant for the most vocal Armenian groups in the mid-1960s, was an admission of guilt from Turkey, a formal apology, punishment (i.e. international condemnation), reparations, and the return of the historic Armenian homeland that they had lost some five centuries ago, or, at a minimum, the Armenia that President Wilson had drawn for them during the First World War.

When their just demands were not met, and when the international community allied with Turkey in the mid-1960s and early 1970s to frustrate their peaceful and justified political demands and thwarted their efforts in the United Nations, the Armenian youth, disappointed with

the incompetence and inactivity of the Armenian diaspora's traditional parties, and inspired by the actions of Gourgen Yanikian, took matters into their own hands. Eschewing non-violence, they adopted the 'language' of the times, and like the Palestinians, Irish, Basques, and radical Marxist-Leninist groups in West Germany, Italy and Japan, and embraced international terrorism as a means to give voice to their frustrations, ideals and demands. The end result of this was the creation of the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (*ASALA*), an Armenian terrorist organization that, ironically, carried out its first attack against the World Council of Churches, an institution helping Armenian refugees in Lebanon. Fearful that this new organization would undermine its position in the diaspora, and draw Armenian youth away from its ranks, the *ARF* activated an armed wing, known first as the Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide (*JCAG*). Together, these two terrorist organizations that plagued Turkey, Western Europe and North American from 1975 until 1988.

This rather strait forward and simplistic narrative, however, conceals much of the truth and many of the nuances that make the story of Armenian political violence between 1975 and 1988 so tragic. First, the 're-awakening' of the Armenian people in 1965, was not a spontaneous event, but rather the culmination of a deliberate attempt by the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (*ARF*) and elements within the Armenian SSR to separate the massacres and deportations of Armenians by the Ottoman Empire from the much more convoluted "Armenian Question" in order to implement an aggressive policy of anti-Turkishness throughout the Armenian diaspora and the Armenian SSR. One of the most tragic components of this period, and one which would have severe ramifications for the period of Armenian political violence, was the successful transfer of responsibility for the crimes of 1915 to the entire, collective population of modern Turkey. For many Armenians, the 'Turks' of 1915 were no different from the modern citizens of the Turkish Republic: guilty, and worthy of whatever punishment came their way. The plan to instigate tension and encourage animosity between Armenians and Turks, however, was simply carried out in order to achieve political gains inside the Armenian diaspora. The *ARF*, the Armenian SSR, and the Soviet Union never had any intention of following through with the demands being made by Armenians around the world with anything other than empty promises.

The *ARF* continued its policy of anti-Turkishness for the remainder of the 1960s and early 1970s, and implored Armenians everywhere to help publicize the details of the Armenian

Cause and the crimes of the Turkish government. Many in the diaspora heeded the call, and devoted their time and energy to publications, erecting monuments, organizing community events, and demonstrating, protesting and advocating for the Armenian Cause. The anti-Turkishness promoted by the *ARF* was embraced by the Armenian diaspora, particularly by the Armenian youth in the United States, where student activism was burgeoning in response to the Civil Rights Movement and anti-Vietnam war activity. Protests and demonstrations against the Turkish government became increasingly more aggressive in nature and acts of violence against Turkish government facilities occurred. The radicalization of Armenian youth in the United States did not go unnoticed by Turkey's apprehensive diplomatic staff posted to the U.S., but the U.S. government and local authorities largely disregarded their concerns.

Tragically, their worst fears were realized in January 1973, when a deranged elderly Armenian named Gourgen Yanikian shot and killed the Turkish Consul General of Los Angeles, Mehmet Baydar, and his assistant Consul, Bahadır Demir. Linking his act of murder to the actions of the great Armenian hero, Soghomon Tehlirian, Yanikian urged the Armenian diaspora to take up arms against the Turkish government and to slaughter its representatives. Although unnoticed at the time, Yanikian's efforts to equate his murders with Tehlirian's assassination of Talat, provided modern Armenian terrorists, and their supporters in the diaspora, with all of the justification they needed to carry out their crimes. Yanikian proved that the diaspora would support the assassination of any Turkish government official, and for those who carried the executions, adulation and glory waited. In only a few short years after the Yanikian murders, death sentences for Turks came to be expected, and would extend even to the spouses and children of Turkish civil servants.

Although there would be no assassinations between January 1973 and October 1975, 1974 was an important year for political developments and activity among Armenians worldwide, and in particular Armenian-Americans. While their efforts to have the events of 1915 labeled as "the first genocide of the twentieth century" languished in the UN, the Turkish government's decision to lift the ban on domestic poppy production in mid-1974, and the Turkish intervention on Cyprus in July 1974, caused a deterioration in U.S.-Turkish relations. These events provided Armenians with an unexpected political boost, as they found no shortage of U.S. Congressmen who were willing to both propagate their anti-Turkish rhetoric and promote the Armenia Cause. An alliance with the much more powerful and established Greek lobby,

which was also virulently anti-Turkish, especially during the Cyprus dispute, also greatly enhanced their political power and influence in Washington.

Despite the political progress being made by Armenians through non-violent and political efforts, in early 1975 two groups within the Armenia diaspora decided to pick up arms and embrace terrorism to advocate their demands for justice. While *ASALA* was a new voice that represented a new minority faction with the diaspora, the *ARF* was one of the oldest and most powerful organizations in the Armenian diaspora. While *ASALA* may have posed a very minor threat to the *ARF*'s rhetoric in Beirut, it was in no position to challenge the *ARF*'s traditional authority in the diaspora. Instead, the *ARF*'s decision to activate an armed wing can only be viewed as a product of the violent anti-Turkishness it had propagated since 1965, and the opportunities provided by the advantageous international climate of 1975 in regards to Armenian interests. Unlike most terrorist organizations, the *ARF* did not turn to violence because of political weakness or a lack of viable non-violent or traditional methods. Instead, when the *ARF* deployed terror as means for a political end it attacked from a position of strength and deliberate choice.

For the next decade, the two groups competed viciously for the financial and moral support of the Armenian diaspora through propaganda, intimidation and violence. While many dismissed their campaigns as hopeless, it must be acknowledged that after their seventh assassination in four years, *ASALA* and the *ARF* forced the Turkish government to the negotiating table with the leaders of the Armenian diaspora for the first time in over sixty years. This was by no means a minor accomplishment, and it was something that the traditional representatives of the diaspora had never achieved. The actions of the *ARF* representative at the meeting made it clear, however, that as far as *ARF* was concerned, resolution for the Armenian Cause did not mean dialogue and reconciliation with Turkey, but rather the imposition of their terms through force or international pressure. Another attempt the following year, this time from the Turkish provide sector, also failed.

The primary impediment to talks in the late 1970s was land. The *ARF* and *ASALA* wanted eastern Anatolia, and there was no chance that Turkey was going to willingly cede land to the Armenians. Tragically, a chance at reconciliation and a cessation of the terror was lost. Ironically, the wider diaspora was not overly concerned with taking eastern Anatolia, and it became clear that the *ARF* did not speak for the entire diaspora. Likewise, *ASALA*, through their

intimidation and attacks on Armenians and international relief organizations working to facilitate Armenians out of the Soviet Union and Beirut, proved that they too, did not speak for the diaspora. But while the larger diaspora did not agree entirely with the political platforms of the *ARF* and *ASALA*, it tacitly approved the means by which these two violent organizations were advocating the cause on their behalf, even when the violence was turned on non-Turkish academics. And by not speaking out unequivocally against terrorism, the Armenian diaspora helped prolong the existence of both groups.

Armenian political violence dramatically escalated between the fall of 1979 and the summer of 1983. During that period, assassinations, armed assaults and bomb attacks killed 19 Turkish officials, dependents and employees, as well as French, American, Italian, Yugoslav, Swiss and German nationals. There were also at least eight failed assassinations against Turkish officials that left two of the victims paralyzed for life. There was no dialogue or negotiations between the Armenian militant groups and the Turkish government during this period, only death, destruction and Turkish incredulity at the world's indifference to international terrorism. *ASALA* even began to broaden their scope, and attack non-Turkish targets in order to bring more awareness to the Armenian Cause and to secure the release of the increasing number of captured *ASALA* operatives. The *ARF* responded to the challenge, and increased the frequency of their assassinations.

As the violence continued, however, sympathy for the Armenian Cause waned while concern for the Turkish victims increased. First in the United States, after assassinations and bombing attempts in Los Angeles, Boston and Philadelphia, and then in Europe after a particularly brutal series of attacks in Brussels, Paris and Lisbon. For Europeans, it was a bombing attack at the Orly Airport outside of Paris that killed eight and wounded over sixty that turned them against the Armenian terrorism. Despite these attacks, the Armenian diaspora continued to support the violent campaign against Turkey until the very end, even after it became increasingly apparent that the violence was not the means through which to achieve the realization of the Armenian cause, but rather an end in and of itself.

Armenian terror was never the same after Orly. The United States, Canada and Turkey began to cooperate closely on counterterrorist measures aimed at ending Armenian terrorism, and the U.S., in particular, embarked on firm position against international terrorism. Even countries that were previously reluctant to condemn Armenian terrorism and go after *ASALA* and

the *ARF*, like France and the Soviet Union, changed their policies. Those countries which did not speak out, or who maintained connections with *ASALA* and/or the *ARF* were put on warning. The Armenian diaspora, though, did not waiver in their commitment to their radical youth, and continued to defend, glorify and honor political violence. This support enabled *ASALA* and the *ARF* to temporarily weather the storm produced by the controversial attacks in Europe, and they continued their campaign of violence for two more years. Their ability to induce fear in Turkey, Western Europe and North America lingered on much longer and was a testament to their prowess as terrorist organizations. By the time the leader of *ASALA*, Haroutiun Takoushian, was assassinated in Athens in April 1988, however, Armenian terrorism had run its course.

While there are multiple theories as to why Armenian terrorism faded away in the mid-1980s, the evidence available suggests that in addition the new international political climate brought on by the New Cold war and the subsequent collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union that left little room for international terrorist organizations, both *ASALA* and the *ARF* experienced violent internal dissension at the highest levels of the organizations' leadership, right before both groups engaged each other in a brutal street war on the streets of Beirut for political control of the Armenian diaspora. By the time the 'war' was over, the ideological, political, logistical and financial sources of support that had sustained the Armenian groups, and *ASALA* in particular, had enjoyed disappeared over night. Even its strongest supporter, the Armenian diaspora, had abandoned them for a greater cause: the liberation of the Armenian SSR and the war with Azerbaijan over the region of Nagorno-Karabakh. Many of the veterans of *ASALA* and, to a lesser extent, the *JCAG/ARA* who survived the internal violence in Beirut were eventually able to bring their violent skills to that emerging conflict in the Caucasus. At least one former prominent *ASALA* member, Monte Melkonian, was able to redeem himself and obtain a place reserved for only the most revered heroes of the Armenian nation for his efforts in the Karabakh war after his death on a Caucasian battlefield in 1993.

It is no small irony that 20th century Armenian terrorism begins and ends with the two greatest Armenian heroes of the twentieth century, Soghomon Tehlirian and Monte Melkonian, who took completely reverse paths to glory. Born in eastern Anatolia, but living in Yugoslavia, Tehlirian left the relative safety of Belgrade to volunteer to fight for the Armenian Irregulars in the Russian army. After proving himself an able soldier, he was selected and trained to be the *ARF*'s greatest assassin: the man who killed Talaat Pasha. After his death, Tehlirian was buried

under a monument constructed in his honor in Fresno, California. Monte Melkonian, left California and the comfortable confines of Berkeley to become an *ASALA* assassin, only to end up idolized as the great Armenian military commander who helped ‘liberate’ Nagorno-Karabakh. Melkonian was buried with full military honors, and in the presence of the President of Armenia, in Yerevan’s Yereblur cemetery. Tehlirian, the soldier-cum-assassin, was born in the Caucasus and buried in California; and Melkonian, the assassin-cum-soldier, was born in California and buried in the Caucasus.

In the end, the Armenian campaign of political violence between 1973 and 1988 is yet another example of the catastrophic dangers inherent in inciting an extreme nationalism based almost entirely on the dehumanization and hatred of the ‘other’, cloaked in unimpeachable self-righteousness and historical justification. It was also, by any measure, a complete failure. Despite the violence, fear, terror, and murder of innocent men, women and children, *ASALA* and the *ARF* never came closer to achieving their goals than the meeting between the Turkish Foreign Minister and the heads of *ARF*, *Hunchaks* and *Ramgavars* in 1977. Tragically, that opportunity was wasted. Instead, the drastic increase in attacks between 1979 and 1983, the indifference of its Western allies to the violence, coupled with sympathy for the Armenian Cause, and the relentless pressure from an unrepentant diaspora that refused to unequivocally denounce terrorism, forced the Turkish government and its citizens into an aggressive defense that still largely persists today.

Some claim that the terrorist attacks brought unprecedented attention to the Armenian Cause in the international media and academia, but considering the gains being made in the early 1970s in this regard before violence, this is a difficult argument to make. Judging by commentaries and interviews in the press during the attacks, some in the diaspora believed that any assassination of a Turkish official was a victory for the Cause. Even if this true, however, one must ask: at what cost? More Armenians were killed by *ASALA* and the *ARF* than Turks, even if we include those who were not employed by the Turkish government, and if the non-Turkish victims are added to the Armenian lives lost, the disparity is even greater. An observation not found on the Facebook pages dedicated to Gourgen Yanikian, Monte Melkonian

and Hagop Hagopian (Haroution Takoushian), or on the web page of the Hrair Maroukhian Foundation.¹

The only success obtained by *ASALA* and the *ARF* is that very few, even in the Armenian diaspora, seem to be aware that Armenian terrorist organizations existed, that they were staffed by hundreds of young Armenians, and that one of the most prominent, powerful, legitimate organizations in the diaspora, and now in Armenia, was involved. While these organizations were comparable in nearly every way to many of their contemporary international terrorist organizations like Baader-Meinhof, the Red Brigades, Black September and the PFLP, no one remembers or discusses *ASALA* or the *JCAG/ARA*. And while the nearly 40 Turkish citizens murdered by these two organizations is not in any way comparable to the 800,000 to 1.5 millions Armenians who died over the course of events in 1915 and after, an open discussion and recognition of the havoc wrecked by *ASALA* and the *ARF* would undoubtedly contribute to the reconciliation process between Turkey, Armenia and the Armenian diaspora.

¹ For Yanikian see: <https://www.facebook.com/pages/Gourgen-Yanikian/106348076081281>; For Melkonian see: <https://www.facebook.com/pages/Monte-Melkonian/142005402522448>; for a selection iphone covers and t-shirts see: http://society6.com/araaslanyan/monte-melkonian_iphone-case; For Haroutiun Takoushian (Hagop Hagopian) see: <https://www.facebook.com/pages/Hagop-Hagopian/265312296878835>; For the Hrair Maroukhian see: <http://www.maroukhianfoundation.org/english/about-us/hrayr-maroukhian-a-visionary-leader>.

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