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*Vache OVSIPIAN*

# GAREGIN NJHDE AND THE KGB

MEMOIRS OF AN INTELLIGENCE AGENT

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### Ovsepyan Vache

O 340                      Garegin Nzhde and the KGB. Memoirs of an intelligence officer.  
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The book by the late Colonel of State Security Vache Ovesepyan presents a documentary history of one of the most dramatic periods in the life of the outstanding national and political figure of Armenia, Garegin Ter-Arutyunyan (Nzhde), when he was imprisoned in the Yerevan prison of the Ministry of State Security of the Armenian SSR in 1952–1953. At that time, the then young captain, deputy head of the First (Intelligence) Department of the MGB of the Armenian SSR, Vache Hovsepyan, was in direct contact with the prisoner "Zubr" (the pseudonym given to Nzhdeh by the Soviet security services). It is his personal memories that form the basis of this book. At the same time, the book presents a number of extremely valuable documents (secret memos and letters, interrogation reports, etc.) that provide a more complete picture of the personality and activities of Garegin Ter-Arutyunyan as a whole.

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*From the editor of*

The prominent national and political figure Garegin Nzhdeh led the self-defence of Zangezur<sup>1</sup> in 1919-1921 (thanks to which Zangezur became part of Soviet Armenia), after which he was forced to emigrate to Bulgaria. The motto of his entire life was "Motherland above all."

Undoubtedly, one of the most remarkable and at the same time tragic and heroic pages in his life and work was his arrest and imprisonment by the Soviet state security services.

G. Nzhdeh was arrested (although he could have left) in Bulgaria on 12 October 1944 by officers of the Main Counterintelligence Directorate ("SMERSH") of the Ukrainian Front. Two days later, he was interrogated for the first time by the head of the department, P. Ivashutin (later head of the Main Directorate of Military Intelligence of the USSR). However, the decision to arrest G. Nzhdeh was approved later, on 1 November 1944, and the warrant was issued on 2 November. On 24 April 1948 (by chance or by bitter irony of fate, on the day of remembrance of the victims of the Armenian Genocide), by decision of a special meeting of the USSR Ministry of State Security, he was sentenced to 25 years' imprisonment.

Despite all his indescribable suffering, remaining unconditionally devoted to the idea of subordinating the individual to the national super-task, even in prison he nurtured the idea of liberating his homeland (Western Armenia), seeking to find ways to cooperate with the Soviets. Undoubtedly, this was also in their interests.

It was truly a fateful time: after 1945, a military confrontation between the USSR and Turkey was expected any day, and as a result, the liberation of Kars by the Soviet army.

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<sup>1</sup> Now the Syunik Province of the Republic of Armenia.

Vana, Erzurum... However, the Cold War began, and as a result of the confrontation between the USSR and the USA, everything changed dramatically.

Ironically, G. Nzhdeh was sacrificed to the Cold War, becoming a new martyr of the Armenian liberation struggle. Even Nazi generals were granted amnesty, while G. Nzhdeh, after eleven years of imprisonment from 1944 to 1955 – Butyrka, Lefortovo, Matrosskaya Tishina, Rostov, Tashkent, Yerevan) died in Vladimir Central Prison on 21 December 1955.

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The author of this book of memoirs, Vache Mesropovich Ovesepyan, was born in 1921 in the village of Gomadzor in the Sevan district. He served in the Soviet Army and took part in military operations against Japan in the Far East. From 1947 to 1954, he served in the State Security organs of the Armenian SSR. He later served in intelligence from Tajikistan to the GDR. From 1968 to 1975, he was head of military counterintelligence for the First Guards Tank Army (GDR), and from 1975 to 1985, for the Fourth Army (Azerbaijan). From 1968, he was a colonel in the KGB of the USSR. In 1985, after a 30-year absence, he returned to Armenia. From 1989 to 1997, he was chairman of the Council of Veterans of State Security of Armenia. He died in 2003.

V. Ovesepyan's direct contacts with G. Nzhdeh date back to 1952-1953, when Ovesepyan, with the rank of captain, served in the MGB as deputy head of first the First and then the Second Department. In his memoirs, imbued with deep respect for Nzhdeh, the author, along with descriptions of his meetings and impressions, presents numerous valuable documents (transcripts of interrogations, letters to I. Stalin, K. Voroshilov, and the heads of state security of the USSR and the Armenian SSR), giving them an objective assessment.

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While G. Nzhdeh was in the Yerevan prison of the Ministry of State Security of the Armenian SSR, his cell (No. 30) was bugged, and the information obtained in this way was transcribed. These materials, as well as many other documents (manuscripts of his works, letters, photographs) related to the "Zubr" case (as G. Nzhde was "christened" by the operatives), were completely separated from the investigation materials (G. Nzhde's investigation file consists of four volumes, is stored in the archives of the National Security Service and is available to researchers) and separated into a special case. This special case consisted of six volumes (about 1,500 pages) and was kept top secret. Unfortunately, the fate of these extremely important documents is unknown, although they are most likely stored in one of Moscow's special archives.

The very fact that G. Nzhde was "christened" "Bison" testifies to the fact that the operatives themselves were well aware of the scale of G. Nzhde's personality and patriotism. Incidentally, other prominent figures were "christened" with far less melodious nicknames.

One of the merits of these memoirs is that their author used the aforementioned documents at the time and even included some of them in the book. In this context, it should be emphasised that the main merit of the book is that the numerous documents it contains give the reader a unique opportunity to analyse the events of the period in question for themselves. On the other hand, it is significant that this is the first work by a state security operative intended for publication in Armenia.

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The first edition of this book was published by the National Club in 2001 with the kind permission of V. Ovesepyan, and it quickly sold out. The need for a reprint has been apparent for a long time. However, the current edition differs significantly from the first: it has been revised, edited, and appropriate lexical and stylistic corrections have been made to the text.

I believe it is necessary to pay tribute to the Noravank Scientific and Educational Foundation, whose organisational work made it possible to republish this extremely significant and important book.

*Avag Harutyunyan*

*From the author's e*

I am not a historian, writer or philosopher. I have a higher education in law, technical studies and military science. I have never been involved in literary activities and have devoted my entire adult life to serving in the Armed Forces (7 years) and in the intelligence and counterintelligence services of the USSR (37 years).

I was born and raised in Armenia, in the village of Gomadzor in the Sevan district. However, I only served in my homeland for 7 years. The rest of the time I worked almost throughout the entire territory of the former USSR and beyond – in Germany and Czechoslovakia. From 1968 to 1975, I was the head of military counterintelligence for the First Guards Tank Army (Dresden, GDR), and from 1975 to 1984, I headed military counterintelligence for the Fourth Combined Arms Army (Azerbaijan). From 1968, he was a colonel in the KGB of the USSR.

Immediately after retiring, I returned to Yerevan. In September 1989, at a general meeting of veterans of the KGB of Armenia, I was elected chairman of the Council of Veterans. Prior to that, I met in Moscow with the chairman of the Council of Veterans of the KGB of the USSR, Colonel General Vladimir Petrovich Pirozhkov, and then with the chairman of the Council of Veterans of War and Labour of the USSR, Marshal Nikolai Vasilyevich Ogarkov.

In order to pass on the experience of veterans to the younger generation, it was decided to record memories of the most interesting facts of their professional activities. A letter was received from the former KGB of the USSR on this matter.

Personally, I had the idea to write first and foremost about Garegin Nzhdeh, with whom I had dealings in 1952-53 (during my service in <sup>the</sup> First Department<sup>1</sup> of the MGB of the Armenian SSR). In

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<sup>1</sup>The First Department was engaged in intelligence activities. – *Editor's note.*

This desire took hold of me more and more. I considered it my patriotic duty to restore the memory and tell as accurately as possible about the eight-month period of my communication with this courageous fighter for the freedom of his people. Another important circumstance prompted me to take up the pen. In recent years, many publications about Garegin Nzhdeh have been published, which is quite natural. However, I must note that, perhaps through no fault of the authors, these publications lack reliable information about the reason for Nzhdeh's repeated transfer to the internal prison of the KGB of the Armenian SSR in 1952-53, and also contain many inaccuracies, conjectures, etc. I hope that my memories will help historians to research more accurately and deeply the heroic struggle and tragedy of the great son of the Armenian people, Garegin Nzhdeh.

*Vache Hovsepyan*

Our work with Nzhdeh while he was imprisoned in the KGB's internal prison in the Armenian SSR was not investigative in nature and did not pursue the goal of exposing him. We conducted it as representatives of the KGB's intelligence department.

It was 1952. Nzhdeh had already been sentenced to 25 years and by that time had eight years of prison experience behind him.

It should be added that the initiative for this work came from Nzhdeh himself. He believed that his authority and influence among Armenians abroad could be used to consolidate their efforts in the struggle against Turkey, as he did not rule out the possibility of a new war and subsequent genocide of Armenians by the Turks.

"The motherland above all else" was his patriotic credo.

In October 1952, I learned that the famous General Garegin Ter-Arutunyan (Nzhde) was being held in the republic's internal KGB prison, having been transferred from the Central Prison in Vladimir. I received this information from the leadership of the first department of the KGB of the Armenian SSR, where, with the rank of captain, I held the position of deputy head of the department.

At the same time, I received an order to be present at the conversations with Nzhde conducted by the head of the republic's MGB (this was Deputy Minister Colonel Martiros <sup>Agekyan</sup>) and to carefully record their content so that these documents could be forwarded to the authorities.

The role of liaison between Nzhde and the leadership of the First Department was assigned to another <sup>person</sup>. My mission was to

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<sup>1</sup> Agekyan Martiros Yervandovich – born in 1902 in Gyumri. From 1925 to 1952, he lived and worked in Moscow, in the GB bodies since 1937. From December 1952 to April 1954, he was Deputy Minister of the MGB, and then, until October 1957, Deputy Chairman of the KGB of the Armenian SSR. KGB Colonel.

<sup>2</sup> This refers to senior lieutenant Konstantin Mesropovich Abovyan, an operative. Abovyan K.M. was born in 1924 in Yerevan. From 1943, he worked in the security services. From 1946 to 1960, he was an operative, senior operative of the NKGB–MGB–KGB, and from 1960 to 1968, of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Armenian SSR.

friend, as will be described below.

In order to be up to date during the conversations, I reread the materials on Nzhde available at the MGB. At that time, among many documents from the period 1921-22, as well as materials on Nzhde's activities during his emigration and during World War II, I found a document with the following content:

*Deputy Minister of State Security of the USSR<sup>1</sup>  
Lieutenant General Savchenko S.R.  
Moscow*

On 12 October 1944, the Main Counterintelligence Directorate "Smerch" arrested in Bulgaria (Sofia) and brought to Moscow one of the top leaders of the Dashnaktsutyun party Ter-Arutyunyan Garegin Yegishevich, born in 1886, a native of Nakhichevan, Nakhichevan ASSR, Armenian, Bulgarian subject, with higher education, a journalist by profession, known under the pseudonym "Nzhde." In November 1946, Ter-Arutyunyan was transferred from Moscow to Yerevan, where he was under investigation until March 1948.

On 24 April 1948, at a special meeting of the USSR Ministry of State Security, Ter-Arutyunyan was sentenced to 25 years in prison. He is currently being held in one of the USSR Ministry of State Security prisons.

Ter-Arutyunyan has repeatedly made urgent appeals and offered his capabilities and efforts in organising the struggle against Turkey.

Given Ter-Arutyunyan's popularity in nationalist circles abroad and in some regional associations, we believe that he will be able to implement his proposals, also using the nationalist organisations "Tsegakron" and "Taron" that he has created in a number of foreign countries.

To develop a plan of action for the use of

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<sup>1</sup> This document is not included in the four-volume file on G. Nzhde in the archives of the National Security Service (NSS) of the Republic of Armenia; it was taken from the six-volume operational file "Zubr," the location and fate of which are currently unknown.

Ter-Arutyunyan's capabilities, we consider it appropriate to transfer it to the KGB of the Armenian SSR.

*I request your instructions. Minister  
of State Security of the Armenian SSR  
Colonel S. Korkhmazyan<sup>1</sup>*

After that, it became clear to me what was going on.

My first meeting with Nzhde took place in the office of the Deputy Minister of the Republic, Colonel Martiros Agekyan. According to the assignment I had received, I sat in a corner at a separate table with a pencil and paper to record the conversation.

Before I share what was said, let me tell you about my first impressions of Nzhde.

Accompanied by a guard (who then left), a military-looking man of pleasant appearance entered the office. He was 66 years old, above average height, with lively brown eyes, grey hair and a bald patch. Despite his military bearing, he looked somewhat exhausted and depressed, but his sharp reactions, vivid speech, keen memory, analytical thinking, firmness, and ability to carry himself with dignity were still intact.

The deputy minister conducted the conversation with Nzhdeh in a manner that was, to put it mildly, unethical. He had arrived from Moscow, knew little about Armenian history, spoke poor Armenian, and at the same time behaved extremely arrogantly, arousing the suspicion and obvious antipathy of Nzhde, who surpassed Agekyan in every respect.

All the questions preceding the conversation about his health, mood, etc.

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<sup>1</sup> Sergei Arkadyevich Korkhmazyan, by decision of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia dated 13 April 1954 "for mistakes and distortions in intelligence and operational work, manifested in the unjustified initiation of intelligence investigations and the arrest of honest people, for violating socialist legality during his work in the Ministry of National Security of the Armenian SSR." In September 1955, he was arrested and sentenced by the military tribunal of the Transcaucasian Military District on 10 February 1959 to 10 years' imprisonment. He served his full sentence and was released on 18 September 1965. In May 1966, the USSR Prosecutor's Office reviewed his case and found no grounds for revising the sentence.

Nzhde's questions were formal and impersonal, and his answers were correspondingly brief.

Then the deputy minister unexpectedly decided to play his "trump card" and said the following: "You, Nzhde, should be grateful to us for the fact that, despite your bloody deeds against the Bolsheviks in Zangezur, we nevertheless spared your life and did not shoot you."

These words enraged Nzhdeh. He jumped up and shouted at Agekyan: "I don't give a damn about your shooting. You must understand who you are dealing with. I am Garegin Nzhdeh, a staunch enemy of Bolshevism who has dedicated his life to the uncompromising struggle for the freedom and independence of his people. I defended Zangezur from the Turks and the Turkish Bolsheviks. Do you really think I am afraid of your execution? Many have threatened me with it, but to no avail."

Of course, I cannot vouch for the absolute accuracy of Nzhde's words quoted here, but their essence has stuck in my memory, as has the entire interrogation scene.

I should note that on that first occasion, as on subsequent occasions when ideological disputes arose (and they arose frequently!), Nzhdeh, due to the tragic circumstances in which he found himself at the time, often lost his patience, became heated, and turned into a bundle of nerves. In time with his striking judgments, he gestured with his raised left hand, often placing his right hand on his heart. He spoke aptly, artistically, emotionally. His arguments were logically sound and difficult to refute.

As I mentioned above, due to the conflict with Colonel Agekyan, Nzhde interrupted his conversation with us and demanded to be returned to his cell.

The deputy minister had no choice but to hastily wipe the sweat from his completely bald head with a handkerchief and comply with his demand.

I returned to my office feeling depressed and dejected.

. With his rash behaviour, Colonel Agekyan had essentially dealt a blow to an important cause. Was it really so difficult to understand that a conversation with a man who had voluntarily expressed his ardent willingness to serve the interests of his people in the fight against their common enemy, Turkey, should not begin with accusing him of something he categorically did not consider himself guilty of? Was this really a platform for uniting joint efforts?

Then I went into the head of department's office and, without saying anything about what had happened, simply asked him to relieve me, if possible, of this very responsible burden. At that moment, Agekyan called and asked the head of department to come in. Some time after talking to Agekyan, the head of the department called me in and informed me that he was aware of everything that had happened and that, as I was involved in the military operation, I was ordered to "stick it out" until the end. Moreover, as a witness to the conflict, I was given the mission of defusing the tension that had arisen.

In those years, my character was more that of a career artillery officer than an intelligence operative. Therefore, I decided that it was unworthy of a military man to retreat, even in a matter that was unusual for me. I thought that if I suffered the same fate as Agekyan, at least I would be in conflict with Nzhde himself, who, after everything I had read about him, had grown considerably in my estimation. I felt a desire to work with him, to communicate with him, to find a way to reach his tormented soul.

I realised that with such a great thinker and quick-tempered personality as Nzhde was, I should behave as calmly and correctly as possible, be attentive but not obsequious, ideologically consistent but not pushy with propaganda, remain as natural as possible and show myself to be as Armenian as possible. For Nzhde, being an experienced politician, could easily distinguish truth from falsehood.

It was also necessary to take into account the large age difference. To him

was 66 at the time, and I was 31. He was a battle-hardened, experienced general, a thinker, a philosopher with vast experience of life and political battles, while I was a front-line captain, a lawyer, a young operative with five years' experience and incomparably less general and political insight. My knowledge of the history and fate of the Armenian people was very superficial, and my judgement of it was one-sided and largely biased. In short, we were in completely different "weight categories".

What can you do, back then we were all pretty much like that...

But in relation to Nzhe, we were, of course, in an incomparably more advantageous position. Firstly, with the help of listening devices, we monitored his behaviour in the cell around the clock. Nzhe undoubtedly guessed this, but he didn't show it. This factor was quite "slippery." After all, he could easily "figure out" any rash move we made, and then we would be in big trouble. Therefore, after each reading of the wiretap report, we had to thoroughly analyse and work out a course of action so that we would not get caught out in conversation with him.

I should mention that there was another prisoner in the same cell as Nzhdeh – the writer Hovhannes Akopovich Devedzhan, who, on Nzhdeh's recommendation, had also been transferred from Vladimir Prison.

Who was Devedzhan himself?

Here is what we knew about him at the time.

Devedjian, Hovhannes Akopovich, born in 1886, a native of Aleppo (Syria), Armenian, Bulgarian subject, member of the Dashnaktsutyun party, teacher of the Armenian language. In 1896-1897, Devedjian was assigned to an Armenian school in Aleppo, where he completed seven grades, after which he studied French for about a year.

In December 1907, Davedjian left for Istanbul (Turkey), where he enrolled in the Berberian boarding school. After graduating in 1912, he enrolled in a law university in Turkey. However, due to

lack of financial support, he was forced to abandon his studies. In 1913-14, Devedjian worked as a teacher at an Armenian primary school in Istanbul. In the summer of 1914, he was drafted into the Turkish army and, having the appropriate education, was enrolled in officer training courses. In February 1915, he deserted from the army and emigrated to the city of Burgas (Bulgaria), from where he travelled to Plovdiv, where he taught for a year, giving private lessons in Armenian language and literature. In the autumn of 1916, he was mobilised into the Bulgarian army and enrolled in the medical corps as a clerk, where he served until 1918. After demobilisation, he taught private lessons until the summer of 1919.

Living in Istanbul since 1914, he sympathised with the Dashnaktsutyun party, which he actually joined in 1918 in Sofia. In 1919, Devedjian was elected a member of the Central Committee of the Dashnaktsutyun Party in Bulgaria, and in the same year he was elected a delegate to the 9th Congress of the Dashnaktsutyun Party, which took place in Yerevan in August 1919.<sup>1</sup> After the congress, Devedjian remained in Yerevan and held the position of secretary of the Council of Ministers of the Dashnak government in Armenia, while also heading the secretariat of the Dashnaktsutyun Party Bureau and participated in the meetings of the Bureau. Devedjian held this position until November 1920, after which he was sent by the Dashnak government to Echmiadzin, where he travelled around the villages, gathering militiamen for the Dashnak army.

After the establishment of Soviet power in Armenia, Devedjian was appointed by the Dashnak government in early 1921 as chairman of the "Committee for the Salvation of the Motherland" in the Akhtin district.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, he was one of the organisers of the Dashnak February uprising in Armenia. After its suppression, in April 1921, Devedjian, together with the retreating Dashnak troops and government, found himself in Zangezur, where he was appointed Minister of Education.

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<sup>1</sup>The Ninth Congress of the Dashnaktsutyun Party was held from 27 September to 2 November 1919.

<sup>2</sup>Now the Razdan district.

broadcasting and justice. At that time, Garegin Nzhdeh was the sparapet of Zangezur.

After Zangezur joined Soviet Armenia, Devedjian, together with the Dashnak government, emigrated to Tabriz (Iran), where he joined the Dashnak government-in-exile as Minister of Justice.

In August 1921, Devedjian left Iran via Baghdad (Iraq) for Istanbul (Turkey), from where he left in May 1922 for the city of Plovdiv (Bulgaria), where he got married.

As an active Dashnak, Devedjian participated in 1923 as a delegate from the Egyptian Dashnak organisation in the Dashnak party conference in Vienna.

In 1932, Devedjian was elected by the Bulgarian Dashnak organisation as a delegate to the 12th Congress of the Dashnaktsutyun Party, held in Paris. From 1925 to 1935, Devedjian was periodically elected a member of the Central Committee of the Dashnaktsutyun Party. In 1925, Devedjian and his family moved from Plovdiv to Sofia (Bulgaria), where he worked as a teacher.

In 1935, Devedjian moved to Bucharest (Romania), where he worked as deputy director of an Armenian school, and a year later was appointed director of the school. He remained in this position until May 1944.

During his stay abroad, Devedjian constantly collaborated with Dashnak newspapers published in Bucharest, Paris and Boston, placing anti-Soviet articles in them, as well as making anti-Soviet speeches at émigré gatherings.

During World War II, Devedjian maintained contact with and provided assistance to Dro Kanyan, a well-known Dashnak figure and leader of the German intelligence agency "Dromedar," which was waging an armed struggle against units of the Soviet Army. Devedjian was also a member of the Dashnak Party's "Political Council" organised by the Germans and participated in the work of this body in

Bucharest and Berlin. On behalf of this body, Devedjian personally travelled to Rome in December 1942, where he established contact with the government of fascist Italy. On the instructions of one of the members of the "Political Council", Davidhanyan, Devedjian travelled to Bulgaria to recruit individuals for subsequent use in the interests of German intelligence, but he was unable to complete this work due to the entry of Soviet troops into Bulgaria.

After the end of World War II, Devedjian went underground, hiding in the vicinity of Bucharest, where he continued his active Dashnak work with the aim of preserving the party's ranks from decay. To this end, he wrote two circular letters with anti-Soviet content, addressed to all Dashnaks in Romania, calling on them to remain loyal to the party. He also organised a committee to provide assistance to the families of Dashnaks who had been repressed by the Soviet authorities. On 19 April 1947, Devedjian was arrested by the SMERSH counterintelligence agency in Romania and brought to trial.

Soon, Devedjian was transferred to Moscow, and from there to the MGB of the Armenian SSR, where he remained under investigation until March 1948. On 5 June 1948, a special council of the MGB of the USSR sentenced Devedjian to 20 years in prison.

I have written about Devedjian in such detail because Nzhdeh himself assigned him a key role in the proposal he put forward. Devedjian himself agreed with him completely and was ready for the task. However, their relationship in the past had been quite complicated, as will be discussed further.

Now I think it is necessary to explain what the names "Smerch" and "Special Department" mean.

"Smerch" (Death to Spies) was the Main Counterintelligence Directorate of the People's Commissariat of Defence of the USSR and the Counterintelligence Directorate of the People's Commissariat of the Navy of the USSR. These directorates were formed by the State Committee

of Defense of the USSR in April 1943 on the basis of the former Special Departments Directorate of the NKVD of the USSR. The main tasks of the SMERSH counterintelligence agencies were: combating espionage, sabotage, terrorism and other subversive activities by foreign intelligence services and anti-Soviet elements in the units and institutions of the Red Army and Navy, as well as combating treason, desertion and self-mutilation at the front. In May 1946, the SMERSH counterintelligence agencies were reorganised into special departments and transferred to the USSR Ministry of State Security. For a more accurate understanding of the role and place of SMERSH, I would like to remind you that during the war, Joseph Stalin headed the People's Commissariat of Defence and also held the post of Supreme Commander-in-Chief. The military counterintelligence agencies were removed from the NKVD of the USSR and placed under Stalin's direct control. The new name "SMERSH" reflected the spirit of the times, taking into account the war, Hitler's espionage aggression against the USSR and, above all, the armed forces.

During the war, Colonel General V. Abakumov was the head of the SMERSH Main Directorate. He was then appointed Minister of State Security of the USSR. In the summer of 1951, Abakumov was expelled from the party and arrested. After Stalin's death, he was convicted and executed by Nikita Khrushchev.

The question may arise: how were Nzhdeh and Davedjian, being foreign nationals and not serving in the Soviet Army, arrested by the SMERSH Main Directorate?

The fact is that during wartime, military counterintelligence is the dominant authority on all matters of security in the theatre of operations. I am not talking about the legality of the arrest. I am simply explaining the essence of the issue.

Thus, Garegin Nzhdeh was detained by the SMERSH counterintelligence agency of the Third Ukrainian Front on 10 October 1944. The decision to arrest him was approved on 1 November 1944, and arrest warrant No. 476 was issued on 2 November of the same year.

Nzhdeh's first interrogation was conducted on 12 October 1944 by Lieutenant General P.I. Ivashutin, head of the SMERSH counterintelligence department of the Third Ukrainian Front.

But let us return to the old story of Nzhdeh's relationship with his cellmate Devedzhan. This relationship requires documentary illustration.

*Archival excerpt*

*30 August 1947, Yerevan From  
the information report of the Extraordinary Commission in Tabriz  
for the period from 15 October to 1 November 1921.*

"...A few days before Vratsan's departure, government official Devedzhan managed to gain Nzhe's trust and learn all his secrets.

Nzhdeh showed him all his documents proving the groundlessness of the charges brought against him and incriminating Vratyan and other ministers in criminal acts and abuses. Having learned this, Davedjian told Vratyan everything and left with him. Nzhdeh was deceived: contrary to Devedzhan's promises, Vratyan did not take him, and, most importantly, he was left without funds. Long before that, he had handed over his remaining currency to Vratyan. All this turned Nzhdeh against Vratyan, the government, and the central bureau. In conversations with his friends, he called them scoundrels and villains and said that he would like to see the Dashnaktsutyun party completely destroyed. He also made no secret of the fact that if Soviet Armenia gave him a socialist promise that he would not be touched, he would prefer to go to Armenia and live in Echmiadzin. But even more than that, he wants to follow Vratyan abroad and not let him smear him with mud...

*According to data from the Central State Archives of the Armenian SSR, N16/2/396-2.*

It is not difficult to guess that this refers to the evacuation of the Armenian government to Iran and the role played by Prime Minister <sup>Vratyan1</sup> and his closest confidant Devedjian in the fate of the Zangezur sparapet.

To put an end to the question of Nzhdeh's relationship with Devedjian, I would like to note that when questioned as a witness in the Nzhdeh case, Devedjian Ovanes Akopovich was not entirely objective and behaved dishonestly by both legal and human standards.

Let us turn to the specific facts – the minutes of Devedzhan's interrogation at the MGB of the Armenian SSR on 28 August 1947.

*Interrogation transcript*

*of the arrested Devedjian Ovanes Akopovich  
on 28 August 1947. The  
interrogation began at 10:05  
a.m. and ended at 4:30 p.m.*

*Question:* Tell us the story of the organisation of the Dashnak political council during the Second World War.

*Answer:* Before Germany attacked the Soviet Union, an Armenian named Kamsarakan<sup>2</sup> arrived in Sofia from Germany in 1941. In Sofia, he met with Garegin Ter-Arutyunyan, known by the pseudonym Nzhdeh.

*Question:* Who is Kamsarakhan?

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<sup>1</sup> Vratyan (Gruzinyan) Simon (1882-1969) – politician, memoirist, member of the party "Dashnaktsutyun." He was the last "weekly" prime minister of the Republic of Armenia, and in February 1921, he led the anti-Soviet "Committee for the Salvation of the Fatherland." He escaped Bolshevik reprisals only thanks to G. Nzhdeh. He was the dictator-leader of the "Dashnaktsutyun" and, from 1927, was a member of the Masonic lodge "Northern Star" (Paris) with the rank of 18th degree Mason. At the time of writing the quoted information report, he headed the "Dashnaktsutyun" intelligence school. After 1921, he constantly fought against G. Nzhdeh.

<sup>2</sup> Kamsarakan, Peter Arshakovich – an employee of Department C of the Sixth Security Directorate of the Reich, which conducted counterintelligence work against the USSR and countries in the Middle and Far East.

*Answer:* According to the information I have received, Kamsarakan was born in Yerevan and was an engineer by profession. He lived in Germany and most likely served in the German intelligence services. As far as I know, he came to Sofia to meet with Nzhde (with the aim of persuading the Dashnaks to cooperate with the Germans).

*Question:* We will return to the question of the Dashnaks' cooperation with the Germans

. Now, please give us a detailed account of what you know about Nzhdeh – Garegin Ter-Arutyunyan.

*Answer:* Garegin Ter-Arutyunyan-Nzhde is over 60 years old, a native of one of the villages of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, the son of a priest, an old Dashnak, in 1903-1909 he was brought to trial by the tsarist government as a Dashnak, then trained in courses for preparing fighters to be sent to Turkey.

After completing these courses, Nzhdeh enrolled in a Bulgarian military school located in Knyazhevo, near Sofia. Upon graduation, he was awarded the rank of ensign in the Bulgarian army.

During the Balkan War of 1912-1913, together with the famous khmabpet Andranik, he led a volunteer detachment (khumba) against the Turks. During the First World War, Nzhdeh moved to Russia and here, in the Caucasus, took an active part in organising Armenian volunteer detachments against the Turks.

During the Dashnak rule in Armenia, he was used by the Dashnak government in the military sphere, i.e. he headed the military affairs in Zangezur - initially, to pacify the local Azerbaijanis (or rather, to cleanse the territory of Azerbaijanis), and then in the fight against the Red Army. During the Dashnak adventure in 1921, Nzhdeh was again in Zangezur and fought against the Red Army.

When the Red Army expelled the adventurers from Yerevan, Nzhdeh continued to lead the fight against the Red Army in Zangezur for several months. Here he proclaimed

himself sparapet, i.e. commander-in-chief.

A government was then organised in Zangezur, in which Nzhdeh took the post of prime minister, minister of armed forces and minister of foreign affairs. In this government, I was appointed minister of education and justice.

Nzhdeh allowed the brutal murder of communists in Zangezur: he threw them alive from Tatev Rock into <sup>the abyss</sup>. I first learned of this fact from conversations with the leader of the Dashnaktsutyun party and officials responsible for the Dashnak adventure of 1921 in Tabriz, and then Nzhdeh himself told me about it, stating that he had acted as a statesman, not as a Christian.

The facts about the Bolsheviks being thrown off the Tatev cliff into the abyss were initially known only to a very limited circle of Dashnak leaders (Ruben Ter-Minasyan – Ruben <sup>Pasha</sup>, Amo Oganjanyan and Vratyan Simon), who tried to keep this a strict secret.

This act of his even became the subject of discussion at <sup>the party tribunal</sup><sup>3</sup>, which convened in Tabriz to examine the case of Nzhdeh, accused – as I learned from the Dashnaks – of beating the Minister of Food, Akop Ter-Akopian, and murdering the Dashnak army officer Aslanyan.

The party tribunal decided to expel him from the party. An official publication announced that Nzhdeh had been expelled from the party, but no reasons were given. In Tabriz, Nzhdeh led a semi-clandestine life, fearing reprisals <sup>from the masses</sup> he had deceived and who were now strongly agitated against him.

In 1925, Nzhdeh was reinstated in the party. Although before that...

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<sup>1</sup>This statement does not correspond to historical facts.

<sup>2</sup> Ter-Minasyan Ruben (1882-1951) was a figure in the liberation movement and a member of the Dashnaktsutyun party. During the Turkish-Armenian War of 1920 (in which the Republic of Armenia suffered a crushing defeat), he was the Minister of War of the Republic of Armenia. In exile, he fought against Nzhdeh in every way possible, despite the fact that in 1921 he had escaped Bolshevik reprisals thanks to Nzhdeh. During World War II, he was an advisor to the British secret services in Cairo.

<sup>3</sup>The so-called party trial took place from 24 July to 29 September 1921.

<sup>4</sup>This testimony does not correspond to historical facts.

and was considered expelled, but while living in Sofia, he took part in party affairs. Nzhdeh was reinstated in the Dashnak party by the 10th Congress of the Dashnaktsutyun party, as he had been expelled by a party court elected at the party congress.

After his reinstatement in the Dashnak party, Nzhdeh continued his active party work and was elected a member of the Central Committee of the Dashnak party in Bulgaria.

In 1932, he travelled to the United States, where he visited Armenian communities, promoting the Dashnak Party and simultaneously creating groups of so-called "Tsegakrons," whose members were young Dashnaks.

Upon his return to Bulgaria, where he resided permanently, he worked to strengthen the organisational structure of the "Tsegakrons".

*Question:* How do you understand "Tsegakron"?

*Answer:* If we explain the word "Tsegakron", it means reverence for the race and the preservation of its purity, which is equivalent to Nazism-Hitlerism. Thus, Nzhdeh, with his "Tsegakron", propagated fascism in Armenian reality.

*Question:* Continue your testimony about Nzhdeh.

*Answer:* In 1936 or 1937, Nzhdeh was expelled from the Dashnak Party for a second time for his divisive activities.

For the investigation of the activities of Nzhdeh and Hayk Asatryan The Dashnaktsutyun sent two members of its Bureau to Bulgaria: Dro<sup>Kanyan1</sup> from Romania and Lazyan<sup>Gabriel2</sup> from Greece. After sorting things out...

<sup>1</sup> Dro (Drastamat) Kanyan (1883-1956) – military and political figure, member of the Dashnaktsutyun party. During World War I, he commanded the Second Volunteer Detachment, and in May 1918, he led the Armenian armed forces in the Battle of Bash-Aparan. He was the first commander of the Soviet Army. He emigrated from the USSR in 1923. He fully supported the leadership of Dashnaktsutyun. He took an active part in the creation of legions from Armenian prisoners of war. After World War II, he participated in the activities of the American National Committee of Armenians Without a Homeland (ANCA), which assisted in the resettlement of displaced Armenians in the United States. From 1920, he had a strained relationship with G. Nzhdeh.

<sup>2</sup> Lazian Garyel (1893-1959) was a politician, historian, and member of the Dashnaktsutyun party. In 1921, he managed to escape thanks to the self-defence forces of Zangezur, led by G. Nzhdeh. He fully supported the Dashnaktsutyun leadership, including in the field of historiography.

While in place, they subjected Aik Asatryan to party discipline. Since the supporters of "Tsegakron" did not obey this decision, the bureau expelled 15-20 people from the Dashnak party, including Nzhde. During World War II, Nzhdeh began to actively collaborate with the Germans. He was a member of the Armenian National Council, organised by the German leadership with the aim of using Armenians to help German fascism win the war and organise a bourgeois-national government in Armenia in the event of the German occupation of Soviet Armenia.

Nzhdeh recruited 40 Armenian officers and soldiers from Bulgaria and sent them to study in the suburbs of Berlin. After several months of training, they were sent to Crimea to fight against Soviet troops.

Question: Continue your testimony.

Answer: In addition to the above, Nzhdeh repeatedly gave propaganda speeches to Armenian prisoners of war, calling on them to take up arms against the USSR, stating: "Those who die for Germany die for Armenia."

Question: How do you know this?

Answer: I was told this by David Davidkhanian, a member of both the political and national councils, who was a friend of Nzhdeh. According to Davidkhanian, Nzhdeh, after visiting (most likely with the assistance of the Muradyan brothers, who were active Nazi sympathisers) a camp for Armenian prisoners of war, called on the Armenians to wage a merciless struggle against the Soviets, since, as stated above, "those who die for Germany die for Armenia."

Question: How many people were brutally killed by being thrown off the Tatev cliffs into the abyss?

Answer: I do not know the exact number of those killed, but there was talk of a group of communists. Even <sup>Arsham</sup> Hondkaryan, an active participant in the SR adventure, expressed his indignation to me in conversation.

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<sup>1</sup>This testimony does not correspond to historical facts.

<sup>2</sup>Khondkaryan Arsham was saved from Bolshevik reprisals thanks to G. Nzhdeh.

Nzhde and said that "the scoundrel did not even spare the women." Hondkaryan told me about this in Tabriz.

Question: What is your relationship with Nzhde?

Answer: I was never on friendly terms with him. Our relationship, which was normal at first, began to deteriorate over time, starting in 1923. The primary reason for this was my opposition to his reinstatement in the party at a meeting of Dashnak representatives in Vienna. Then, while living in Bulgaria until 1935 and being members of the same Dashnak organisation, I noticed his intrigues and ill-considered, provocative actions – for example, his intention in 1931-32 to terrorise some anti-Dashnaks with the help of Macedonian terrorists.

All this led to my speaking out against his actions at meetings of the Dashnak Party Central Committee. Our relationship deteriorated to such an extent that when we were delegates to the 12th Dashnak Party Congress in 1932, we did not speak to each other.

I did not see Nzhdeh again after 1935, as I was living in Romania, and he remained in Bulgaria after a year-long tour of Armenian colonies in the United States in 1933-34.

Recorded from my words, translated into Armenian

*signed – Devedjian  
translated – Tovmasyan  
Interrogate  
d by the head of the 1st department of the MGB of  
the Armenian SSR  
Captain Gukasov on  
28 August 1947.  
Case No. 11411  
Archive No. 8882, volume 1, pp. 189-197.*

I consider it appropriate to draw the reader's attention to Nzhdeh's testimony regarding Devedjian.

*Excerpt from the interrogation report*

*Prisoner Ter-Arutyunyan Garegin Yegishevich*

*Dated 30 April 1947.*

*Question:* Tell us in detail what you know about the activities of Dashnak activist Ovanes Akopovich Devedzhyan both in Armenia and abroad.

*Answer:* Devedzhyan Ovanes, Armenian, 55 years old, stateless – a Nansen refugee, an old Dashnak, arrived in Armenia from Bulgaria in 1919, where he was appointed secretary of the so-called government bureau, which was headed by Oganjanyan Amo. He held this position until the February uprising of 1921. After the suppression of the uprising, in April 1921, he evacuated from Yerevan to Zangezur.

In early May 1921, the second congress was held, which instructed me to form the government of Zangezur. On the recommendation of Vratyan Simon, Devedjian Hovhannes joined this government as Minister of Justice. On 10 June 1921, the Supreme Body of the Dashnak Party was created, which performed the functions of a bureau. Devedjian also joined the Supreme Body, while continuing to serve as Minister of Justice. In July 1921, Devedjian emigrated to Iran, where he joined Vratyan Simon's government as Minister of Justice.

In 1921, Devedjian travelled from Iran to Constantinople (Istanbul). In the same year, he emigrated to Bulgaria and then to Romania. Until 1924, Devedjian was a member of the so-called responsible party body that performed the functions of a bureau.

While in Bulgaria until 1936, he was secretary of the Central Committee of the "Dashnaktsutyun." Upon his arrival in Romania, he was a member of the "Mekusi" in Romania. During his stay abroad, he was constantly involved in journalism, collaborating with Dashnak newspapers published in Bucharest, Paris and Boston.

In 1941, he became one of the closest associates of Kanyan Dro,

He took part in the Dashnaktsutyun congress convened by Dro in Bucharest in 1941, at which a decision was made on the cooperation of Dashnak organisations with the Germans. To implement the decisions of this congress, Dro created a political commission, which included: Davedjian Hovhannes, Sarkisian Yeprem and Papazian.

At the end of 1941, Devedjian left for Belgium, where he took part in the second Dashnaktsutyun congress convened by Dro in 1942. Even before this congress, he was sent by Dro to Italy to establish contact with Mussolini's government. I am not aware of the results of Davedjian's trip to Italy.

At the end of 1943, he returned to Romania and spread propaganda that all countries liberated by the Germans would gain independence. In particular, he cited the example of Ukraine, which was occupied by the Germans.

Devejan argued that if Armenia were occupied by the Germans, it would gain greater and broader independence than Ukraine.

In September 1943, Devedjian moved to Bulgaria and settled with his sister in Varna.

*Signature*  
*Garegin Harutyunyan Nzhde*

Having presented these testimony transcripts, I would like to emphasise once again: when planning an important operational and political event involving travel abroad (initiated by Garegin Nzhdeh himself), our intelligence service thoroughly and comprehensively studied the relationship that had developed between these two prominent statesmen during their joint work in the ranks of the same party, in exile, during the Second World War – i.e. before their arrest – in order to determine as accurately and unambiguously as possible the specific role of each of them in the above-mentioned case.

Dewejan's candidacy was put forward by Nzhdeh himself, but what do we have?

guarantee that, if he found himself face to face with Simon Vratsyanyan or Dro Kanyan during the implementation of the planned operation, Devedjian would not play a cruel joke on Nzhdeh and make his name the subject of an international scandal? During the Cold War, this would have been extremely undesirable.

Nzhdeh himself understood this circumstance perfectly well and, in his conversations with Davedjian, constantly emphasised the need to implement their plan, and Davedjian agreed with him. But that was not enough. Therefore, round-the-clock wiretapping of their cell and analysis of the materials obtained<sup>1</sup> gave us the opportunity to monitor the progress of their mutual adaptation and the development of their relationship in the current circumstances, since, as we have already seen, they had been severely damaged prior to their arrest.

As for their sincerity towards each other, the above statements by each of them clearly show who is who.

While Nzhdeh did not tell the investigators anything seditious about Davedjian, merely indicating the stages of his career in the ranks of the Dashnaktsutyun, Davedjian, to please the investigators, did not spare any colourful language in smearing his Sparapet, in whose government he held the key post of Minister of Justice in Zangezur. At the same time, all the facts he put forward against Nzhdeh were vague, unsubstantiated and based solely on the statements of others. Meanwhile, the Minister of Justice of the Dashnak government, even if he could afford to be insincere towards Nzhdeh, was simply obliged to be at least accurate in his testimony.

But what about Nzhdeh's behaviour in the same circumstances? To jump ahead, when one version of the letter to Simon Vratsa was already ready, Nzhdeh, with his characteristic directness, touched on his relationship with Davedjian, writing on this subject

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<sup>1</sup> These materials, in six volumes under the code name "Zubr," were stored in the KGB archives of the Armenian SSR until 1990. Their current location and fate are unknown.

The following: "...In the summer of 1948, I was transferred to the Far North. I was physically exhausted, but not spiritually. I lived with all the passion and joy of a martyr. I tried, as I do now, not to collapse and die with a book in my hand. I was in this state when, unexpectedly, like *Deus ex machina* (God from the machine), Ov. Davedjian appeared. He too was brought to the same prison and the same cell where I was.

You know that we had shunned each other for years. Deep suffering, above all, brings a person face to face with the truth. It was enough for us to see the tears of joy in each other's eyes to reconcile and become brothers without saying a word. From then on, our selfless reflections began. Faced with the danger of a looming new world war, which could have irreparable consequences for our people, we pondered and worried...

Moreover, when Nzhdeh was read Devedzhian's testimony during the investigation, he demanded a confrontation, but this was denied.

Be that as it may, I draw the reader's attention to Nzhdeh's personality, his attitude towards himself and his surroundings. A man who believed that "the Motherland comes first" bore his cross with dignity until the end of his days.

Having dwelled in detail on the relationship that had developed between Nzhdeh and Davedjian, I would like to continue my account of Nzhdeh's subsequent behaviour and the dynamics of our joint actions with him after the conflict with Deputy Minister Agekyan. It was decided not to disturb Nzhdeh for the time being, to give him a chance to calm down a little. At the same time, I was instructed to visit him in his cell and try to "defuse" Nzhdeh's anger as much as possible after the unfortunate incident. A few days later, I visited cell N30, where Nzhdeh and Davedjian were being held, and said hello. Nzhdeh was still in an agitated state: indignant, with his hands behind his back, he paced around the cell.

, while Devedjian lay on the bed reading. My position was extremely difficult, but there was no turning back. In front of me was the formidable, indomitable Nzhde, and behind me was Agekyan, who had failed in his mission and wielded great power. And I was a captain, deputy head of the department, father of two children, inexperienced but, to the best of my ability, a diligent intelligence officer. What could I do? That was the nature of the service...

I began the conversation something like this: "Dear Garegin, you were wrong to take the deputy minister's statement so badly that day. Colonel Agekyan had no intention of insulting your dignity or upsetting you." In response, Nzhdeh lashed out at me, accusing me of representing the Soviet state security organs that had unjustly arrested and sentenced him to 25 years in prison. And now Agekyan was playing the virtuous one: he had saved his life, they said!

"You are all equally educated, you have no national dignity, you speak not as an Armenian, but as a fellow thinker of Agekyan!" etc. Of course, it was difficult to argue with Nzhdeh, an intelligent and experienced political fighter. With his iron logic, he could crush anyone. In that situation, I could have ended the conversation and reported to my superiors about Nzhdeh's unwillingness to continue dealing with us. In that case, all the blame would have fallen on me.

Despite all the insults, I behaved as calmly as possible and continued the conversation.

I told Nzhde that I could find words to respond to him in the same vein, but I am a military man and respect my superiors. "I have nothing against you. Personally, I am very unhappy that everything turned out this way. Moreover, you saw that I was present in the office to record the conversation and did not allow myself to say anything against you. As for your accusations of anti-Armenian actions on my part, I beg to differ. Moreover, I had no part in your tragic fate. In 1944, when you were arrested in Bulgaria and then investigated, first in Moscow and then in Yerevan, I was in the state security services..."

He did not work in security, but served in the army far from his native Armenia. He was an artilleryman, commanded a battery, and was proud of it. In 1945, the Soviet government did indeed intend to declare war on Turkey, which would have fulfilled our nation's centuries-old dream of seeing our homeland <sup>liberated</sup>. Personally, my joy knew no bounds. I was eager to go into battle, but it did not happen. Stalin reversed his decision. This was essentially the reason for my departure from the army. Now I have been serving in intelligence for several years, in a dangerous section of the secret front fighting against Turkey. Proof of this is my willingness to participate with you in the development of an important operational measure, again directed against Turkey." And I continued: "Dear General! You were born on the banks of the Araks, and I was born on the banks of Lake Sevan. My ancestors are also Ararat Armenians. They moved here from the area around the Iranian city of Makhu via Nakhichevan, overcoming a long and difficult journey. They were prisoners of the bloodthirsty Sultan Hamid. My name is Vache. My sons' names are Mesrop and Vahagn, not Volodik or Frunzik."

Nzhde corrected me: "Your real name is not Vache, but Vachagan."

"I first heard your name, Nzhde, from my mother in the early 1930s. What dishonest intentions could I possibly have towards you? It should come as no surprise that my peers and I are not members of the Dashnak party, as I was born in 1921 under Soviet rule in Armenia. If the Dashnaks had managed to remain in power until the present day, perhaps our generation would have had a different fate – I cannot predict whether it would have been better or worse."

Nzhde listened to me attentively, believed in my sincerity, of course, and said: "Before we get down to business, I insist that <sup>the nakharar</sup><sup>2</sup> meet with me. Please report this to your superiors."

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<sup>1</sup>These plans of the USSR failed due to strong opposition from the United States.

<sup>2</sup>Naharar – Armenian for minister.

Then Nzhde complained about the lack of attention to his health. According to him, he told <sup>the liaison officer</sup> that he was feeling even weaker in Yerevan and asked for a course of injections.

I reported everything to my superiors and then urgently contacted the prison doctor, Lieutenant Colonel Okoev of the medical service, and conveyed Nzhdeh's request to him, which was fulfilled.

I do not consider it superfluous to present to the readers the report on Nzhdeh's state of health at that time.

*Medical examination report* <sup>2</sup>

*of prisoner Ter-Arutyunyan G.E.*

We, the undersigned: Head of the Medical Department of the MGB of the Armenian SSR, Lieutenant Colonel of the Medical Service Melik-Pashayev M.A., neurologist at the polyclinic and health department of the MGB of the Armenian SSR, Captain of the Medical Service Chimishtkian A.I., and doctor at the internal prison of the MGB of the Armenian SSR, Lieutenant Colonel of the Medical Service Okoev G., examined prisoner Ter-Arutyunyan G.E. and drew up this report at the clinic of the internal prison of the MGB of the Armenian SSR on 24 March of this year, finding the following:

Prisoner Ter-Arutyunyan G.E., born in 1886, complains of: general weakness, constant headaches, especially during any physical movement, forgetfulness, occasional flashing black circles before his eyes, pain in his lower limbs, mainly in his left leg, loss of balance when walking, unsteady gait, tinnitus, poor hearing in the left ear, pain in the liver and gallbladder area, restless sleep, waking up in the morning with headaches. Constant pain in the heart and left

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<sup>1</sup>This refers to Konstantin Abovyan.

<sup>2</sup>This document is missing from the four-volume file on G. Nzhde in the RA National Security Service archives; it was taken from the six-volume operational file "Zubr" mentioned above.

upper limb, numbness, pins and needles, and tremors in his left hand.

He suffered from typhoid fever and typhus in 1914, tuberculosis in 1914, malaria and rheumatism in 1912. He was wounded twice in battles with the Turks.

Prisoner Ter-Arutyunyan G.E. is above average height, of correct build, visible mucous membranes are slightly pale in colour, sclera is yellowish in colour, subcutaneous fat layer is satisfactorily developed, muscles are flabby.

There is pain when palpating the muscles of the upper and lower extremities, crunching in the knee joints, the fingers of the upper extremities are swollen at the joints and do not bend completely. The tongue is coated, moist, there is inflammation of the gums. Fourteen chewing teeth are missing, the remaining four teeth are loose and exposed.

An examination of the internal organs revealed the following: there is a boxy sound in the lungs, breathing is weakened, and dry rales are heard in places. The borders of the heart are enlarged by 2 transverse fingers on both sides, the tones are very dull, the pulse is 88 per minute, and the filling is firm. Blood pressure is 250/100.

Visible vessels are sclerotic, tortuous, and thickened. The liver is enlarged by two transverse fingers, protruding from under the costal arch, with a dense, painful edge. The gallbladder area is painful on palpation. The spleen is not palpable. The abdomen is soft, with pain along the colon on the left side when palpated. Bowel movements every other day.

Neurological examination: pupils are uniform, narrow, reaction to light is sluggish, flattening of the left nasolabial fold is noted. Left corner of mouth drooping. Mild hypertonia of left limb muscles, more pronounced in left upper limb. Pronounced intense tremor of left hand fingers. Unstable in Romberg's position. Abdominal reflexes barely present, tendon reflexes

in the lower limbs are not elicited.

No meningeal symptoms.

*Conclusion:* Prisoner Ter-Arutyunyan G.E. suffers from hypertension, general atherosclerosis, myocardiosclerosis, chronic inflammation of the liver and gallbladder, chronic rheumatism and chronic colitis.

Regimen: Interrogation should be conducted for no more than three hours per day, with the prisoner being summoned to the investigator's office.

Diet: Milk and vegetables Treatment:

Medication

1. Luminal – 0.03

Papaverine – 0.02

Diuretin – 0.3

Three times a day in powder form N30

1. Glucose at 20.0 internally, every other day, 10 times in total.

2. Leech therapy once, 6 to 8 leeches in the mastoid region

*Head of the Medical Department of the  
MGB of the Armenian SSR, Lieutenant Colonel*

*M.A. Melik-Pashayev*

*Neurologist at the polyclinic and medical department of the  
MGB of the Armenian SSR, Captain A.I.*

*Chimishtkyan. Doctor at the MGB prison of  
the Armenian SSR, Lieutenant Colonel G.*

*Okoev.*

*25 March 1952*

*Yerevan*

I believe that this medical report clearly demonstrates the greatness of spirit of this man, who, despite his imprisonment and serious illnesses, continued to fight for the triumph of his patriotic ideals.

As for Davedzhan Ovanes Akopovich, on the basis of

Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR dated 30 July 1955, he was released early from prison on 7 September 1955, after which he emigrated to Argentina, where his family lived, consisting of his wife, Davedjian Ripsime, born in 1890; daughters Devedjian Anna, born in 1923, and Devedjian Victoria, born in 1925.

They moved there in 1952 from Bucharest (Romania), where they had lived for many years at 8 Vasilor Street.

In connection with their arrival in Buenos Aires, the Paris-based Dashnak newspaper Arach published an article on 17 January 1957 (No. 7784) stating that Davedjian Hovhannes, who had been imprisoned in the USSR for more than 10 years, had recently arrived in Buenos Aires after his release.

Devedjian was invited to a dinner organised at the Armenia Club Armenia in honour of his arrival. Davedjian's appearance was greeted with applause. The speakers talked about his selfless party activities.

At the end, Davedjian himself spoke, saying that unity could preserve the Armenians scattered around the world, and that this unity would make it possible to avoid the current tensions in the international arena.

I knew all this from working on my memoirs. But I was completely surprised to learn that in 1970, Davedjian published a book in Buenos Aires under the pseudonym Armen Sevan, entitled *Memoirs of a Prisoner: Years of Suffering with Garegin Nzhdeh*.

After reading the book, I discovered that the author's memoirs devote considerable space to their joint stay in the internal prison of the MGB of the Armenian SSR during the period I am describing, i.e. 1952-53. It mentions an incident involving Deputy Minister Agekyan and Nzhdeh's famous reply: "I don't give a damn about your execution." And, importantly for me personally, the book also describes my visit to the cell of

Nzhdeh and my dialogue with him in the presence of Devedjian. Despite my critical attitude towards the latter, I am grateful to him for his memory, even though some facts in the book are somewhat distorted. But the main point is preserved. This proves the veracity of my memories and inspires me.

Now let us turn to the facts from his book: the following is written about the incident itself: "One day, Nzhdeh was summoned separately to the ministry to continue the conversations we know about, which were in the nature of negotiations.

Less than an hour later, he returned to his cell extremely agitated and beside himself. He was shaking all over.

It turned out that at the end of the conversation, Garegin again proposed that we be returned to Vladimir Prison. The deputy minister, who was from Leninakan and spoke Armenian, expressed surprise that we were once again raising the issue of transfer and said the following: "Mr Garegin, why are you in such a hurry and insisting on leaving? When the time is right, we will send you, of course. We're not going to shoot you."

Nzhdeh, whose blood pressure had risen to 240, flew into a rage at this remark and declared in Russian: "I don't give a damn about your shooting!"

As a result, the atmosphere became tense. After that, the guards escorted Nzhdeh back to his cell. Incidentally, in addition to high blood pressure, Nzhdeh also suffered from arthritis. Even on warm summer days, his legs below the knees would go numb.

A few days after the incident, a young officer entered our cell, undoubtedly on behalf of the ministry. He was modest in appearance, and although his clothes were faded, he looked neat. Addressing my comrade in a respectful tone, he said: "Mr. Nzhdeh, you were wrong to get upset that day.

by the deputy minister's harmless words. What he said was not a threat. You misunderstood him and got angry for no reason."

Nzhde began to argue and said things that were offensive to the young officer, which served to further escalate the tension. The young man listened calmly to Nzhde and replied: "Mr Nzhde, please do not forget that we are also Armenians. I could have responded in kind, but I have respect for your age.

You know, when I was a child and cried or disturbed my mother, she would threaten me, saying, 'Be quiet, or Nzhde will come and take you away'. And I would fall silent. Now, Mr Nzhde, you are here. I am also Armenian, and my name is Mesrop."

"However," said Nzhdeh, "it was your father who gave you the name Mesrop. If you have a son, his name is surely not Mesrop or anything like that, but Leninik..." The young man smiled sadly in response and left <sup>the room</sup>.

As we can see, Devedjian's account confirms the veracity of my memories of events that have remained etched in my memory for the rest of my life.

As for some inaccuracies in Davedjian's account, the reason, in my opinion, is as follows: Davedjian was not present during the conversation between Nzhdeh and Agekyan. He learned about it from Nzhdeh, who did not trust his cellmate completely (for good reason) and did not recount everything exactly as it had happened.

As for me, given the length of time that has passed since the events described (20 years), I may have omitted some details or mixed up names, focusing on conciseness and an accurate description *of the overall picture* of what happened.

Before recounting Nzhde's meeting with the minister, I think it is necessary to inform the reader of what I know (which is far from complete).

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<sup>1</sup>Translated from Armenian, pp. 121–123 of the aforementioned publication.

information about all the ministers who had some degree of contact with Nzhdeh and their role in his tragic fate. As Nzhde himself told me personally in conversations with him (there is also information about this in his letters and statements), shortly after his arrest in Bulgaria (1944) and delivery to Moscow, he had a detailed conversation with the then head of the Main Directorate

"SMERSH" General Abakumov. Nzhde tried to convince him of the illegality of his arrest and the immorality of this action, since he himself would have voluntarily remained in Bulgaria to meet with the Soviet command and assist in the fight against Turkey. Nzhde did not rule out Abakumov's loyalty towards him, as Abakumov promised to consider his proposals. Nzhdeh was convinced that he had been left in prison after Abakumov reported on him to Stalin. It was Stalin whom he blamed for his own tragedy and the tragedy of many repressed Dashnaks.

Nzhdeh believed that in order to investigate his case more objectively, Abakumov had ordered him to be transferred to the internal prison of the MGB of the Armenian SSR. However, in Yerevan, as he said more than once, although he was treated with ostentatious tact, the quality of the investigation was worse than in Moscow.

It was in Yerevan, not Moscow, that Nzhdeh's investigation continued for another two years, and after four years of interrogation, he was charged with a serious offence and sentenced to 25 years' imprisonment.

Nzhde was taken to the internal prison of the MGB of the Armenian SSR on 14 November 1946. The Minister of State Security at that time was Colonel N.A. <sup>Krymian</sup>, whom Nzhde described in extremely negative terms.

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<sup>1</sup> Nikita Arkadyevich Krymian was born in 1913 in Kars. From 1932, he worked in the State Security organs, and from 1941 to 1945, he was head of the NKVD-NKGB (Yaroslavl) department. From 1945 to 1947, he was Minister of State Security of the Armenian SSR, and from 1947 to 1951, he was head of the MNB (Ulyanovsk). From 1951 to 1953, he was head of the MNB (Ulyanovsk), and from 1951 to 1953, he was head of the MNB (Ulyanovsk). he was Minister of State Security of the Armenian SSR, from 1947 to 1951 he was head of the MNB (Ulyanovsk), and from 1951 to 1953 he was head of the personnel department of the Ministry of Food Industry of the Armenian SSR. On 26 December 1953, he was expelled from the CPSU "as an arrested traitor to the Motherland, as an exposed, vile enemy of the people".

According to him, on his first day in the prison warden's office, he was given an order from Minister Kryman to henceforth be known not as Nzhde, but as Ter-Arutyunyan. In response to Nzhde's categorical protest, Kryman threatened that in that case he would rot in prison.

Personally, I did not work in the state security services in those years, but was in the ranks of the Soviet Army, but in 1947, when I was enrolled to work in the state security services, Krimyan was no longer in Armenia: he had been removed from his post in 1947 and sent with a demotion to the Ulyanovsk region as head of the state security department, and after a while he was removed from this post and dismissed from the security services altogether. After that, he arrived in Yerevan, worked in the republican prosecutor's office, and in 1953, in connection with Beria's arrest and trial, he was arrested and taken to Moscow as an accomplice and assistant in the crimes. He was sentenced to death by firing squad.

After Krymin's removal in 1947, he was replaced by the Deputy Minister of the MGB of the Armenian SSR, Colonel S.A. Korkhmazyan. I have not heard any negative statements or specific facts of a negative nature about Korkhmazyan from Nzhde. However, the criminal case against Nzhde was completed under Korkhmazyan, and the indictment of 10 March 1948 was approved by him.

According to this conclusion, Nzhdeh was sentenced to 25 years in prison.

In 1952, when Nzhdeh was sent to Armenia for the second time, S.A. Korkhmazyan was still serving as minister. He himself supported proposals to use

Nzhdeh's abilities in conjunction with Davedjian and was interested in implementing the planned measures. By order of Minister Korkhmazyan, Nzhdeh and Davedjian were held in conditions of extra-prison regime (cell N30 of the internal prison of the MGB), they were given additional food, allowed long walks, and in the same year Nzhdeh

underwent a medical examination.

I worked under Kormazyan's leadership and know that he was an active participant in the Great Patriotic War, had many military awards, was an exceptionally erudite and well-read man, was a member of the bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia, and a deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

However, shortly after the arrest of Union Minister Abakumov, Korkhmazyan by order of the new Minister of State Security, S. Ignatiev (former head of the CPSU Central Committee department), Korkhmazyan was removed from his post and appointed head of the Special Department of the USSR Ministry of State Security for the Seventh Army, stationed in Yerevan – i.e. the position he had held before his appointment as deputy minister. However, Kormazyan did not remain in this position for long. After Beria and his allies were arrested, the clouds over Kormazyan's head grew even darker. He was dismissed from the state security services, then charged as the main culprit in the deportation of Armenians to the Altai region. In 1949, a lengthy trial took place, as a result of which Korkhmazyan was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment. He served his sentence from "bell to bell". After his release, he lived for several years and then died.

The next Minister of State Security of the Armenian SSR, after Kormazyan's dismissal, which was, I believe, sometime in August 1952, was Major General Martirosov G.I. In those years, when Nzhdeh was in the prison of the MGB of the Armenian SSRSSR as a suspect, Martirosov had nothing to do with him for the simple reason that he was not in Armenia, he was serving outside the republic.

He enjoyed authority among the state security staff, was somewhat harsh in character, but fair and accessible to his colleagues. He personally supervised the intelligence service, delved into the technological process of intelligence, knew how to listen carefully to people, and could not stand flatterers and those who stifled criticism. Yes, I did not misspeak. Under him, it was possible to speak out.

with genuine criticism and remain unscathed.

The fate of combat general Martirosov was also complicated, but without repression. Despite the fact that during the war years he led the state security services in carrying out extensive work to strengthen the republic's defence capabilities and fought against enemy sabotage groups and gangs, Martirosov was also dismissed.

Thus, after the interrupted conversation with Colonel Agekyan, at Nzhdeh's request, a meeting took place between him and Minister General Martirosov.

Nzhde spoke very positively about both Martirosov and the results of the discussion. This gave us the opportunity to continue our joint work with Nzhde.

Now I will explain in detail the truth about Nzhdeh and Davedzhan's appearance in Yerevan in 1952, i.e. during their second transfer to the internal prison of the MGB of the Armenian SSR.

It should be said that there is a lot of speculation and, unfortunately, even distortions on this subject. The reason for all this is a lack of information. Information deficit and hunger breed misinformation in the first case, and abuse and crime in the second.

So.

*First confirmation.* One of the main organisers of this "journey" described this episode in his memoirs as follows:

"To ascertain his sincerity, we began to test him. First, we put him in a car and drove him to Victory Park, from where the entire panorama of Yerevan was visible. The result was unexpected: Nzhde began to cry and marvel at the beauty of the city. There was no longer any doubt about his sincerity, and we believed him."

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<sup>1</sup> This refers to Melkumov Vartan Arsenyevich. V. Melkumov was born in 1912 in Tiflis. From 1932, he worked in the security services, and from 1947 to 1949 and 1951 to 1953, he was deputy head of the First Department, and from 1949 to 1951 and 1953 to 1954, he was deputy head of the Second Department of the MGB of the Armenian SSR. From 1954 to 1956, he held the position of deputy head of the department, from 1959 to 1964 he was head of the accounting and archival department, from 1964 to 1966 he was secretary of the party committee, and then deputy head of the Seventh Department of the KGB of the Armenian SSR. He passed away in 2003.

*Second confirmation.* Armen Sevan-Devedjian Hovhannes writes about this in his memoirs: "Once, the officer on duty opened the door to our room and ordered Garegin to get dressed and be ready to leave.

A little later, my comrade left the room and returned more than two hours later. He was taken by car to see Yerevan, the city buildings, various sights, and Echmiadzin.

- 'What did you think?' I asked my friend.

- "A positive one. Old Yerevan has changed beyond recognition. Of course, throughout the trip, Nzhdeh was accompanied by the minister, his deputy, and the head of the political department.

I was somewhat upset that I had been deprived of the opportunity to participate in this trip and that a sign of inequality had been placed between me and my comrade. However, a few days later, the officer on duty entered our room, ordered me to get dressed and wait. A little later, I was also taken to the courtyard, where a beautiful car was waiting at the prison gates. The minister took his seat in the middle of the car. I got in, the deputy minister sat to my right, and Melkumov, the head of the political department, sat next to the driver. We began to drive around the beautiful new streets and squares.

After a three-hour tour, we returned to the prison. I thanked the minister for the wonderful surprise.

I entered the room. Garegin was waiting impatiently, lost in gloomy thoughts.

*Third confirmation.* The fruit of their joint efforts was an unsent letter to Simon Vratsan, written by Nzhdeh and Devedzhan themselves on 14 April 1953. I have a copy of the first draft of the text. It is my firm belief that this letter is one of the most important documents, having a significant

This document is of great importance to our people; it is a covenant for all of us for the future, for many years to come. I will provide the full text in Russian to readers a little later. However, here I would like to offer an excerpt from this document concerning this event.

"...I would like to take this opportunity to inform you that we, as political opponents who did not believe what was said about present-day Armenia in the Soviet press, in films and on the radio, were given the opportunity to see Yerevan with our own eyes while in prison. What we saw was unprecedented and inspires every eyewitness with respect and admiration for the historical labour and architectural genius of the Armenian people, who were given the opportunity to reveal and develop their abilities under Soviet rule."

And finally, *the fourth*. I myself have heard many times from Nzhdeh about the tour of Yerevan he was given.

On 5 March 1953, Joseph Stalin died. At that time, Nzhdeh and Davedjian were still being held in the internal prison of the MGB of the Armenian SSR. Before sharing my personal impressions and memories of their reaction to this sensational news, especially Nzhdeh's reaction, I think it is important to quote an excerpt from Devedjian's book, after which I will make some clarifications of my own.

"Like all prisoners, we were entitled to a daily twenty-minute walk in the prison yard under the supervision of a guard.

If I am not mistaken, it was 5 March 1953 when, during our usual walk, we suddenly heard a series of cannon shots. We stopped and listened carefully. What were these volleys connected with? We came to the conclusion that they were probably being fired in connection with some public holiday or the burial of a famous person.

Approaching our guard, who was forbidden to engage in conversation with us, we asked:

- Aramais, what are these artillery salvos? Is today a public holiday?

The soldier, without turning his head in our direction, replied in a low voice:

- I don't know...

Our walk was over, and we returned to our room. A few minutes later, we were taken to a barber for a haircut. The barber was from Western Armenia and his name was Vahagn. We asked him why the cannons were firing.

- I don't know, I didn't hear any artillery fire, was his short reply.

We asked the same question to the guard in charge of our cells, who, I believe, was from Mak. The answer was negative.

However, everyone, including high-ranking officials, looked concerned and serious.

We returned to our room from the barber. The assistant to the officer on duty, who also served as a bath attendant and usually visited us to find out our needs, came in. He was a pleasant and handsome young man who communicated with us in the course of his duties with a constant smile on his face.

His partner, the bath attendant, was short and unfriendly, and we did not respect him. As they say, he had a sour expression on his face.

On the same day, we noticed that the smiling attendant we respected was in a depressed state and unusually silent, while the other attendant, whom we disliked, radiated joy.

We asked them the question that was tormenting us, but the answer was the same: "We don't know."

From that day on, we were no longer given the newspaper Sovetakan Hayastan.

A month later, when we were with the minister, we told him that for some reason we were no longer being brought newspapers. The minister pretended he knew nothing about it. He summoned an officer, our <sup>liaison officer</sup>, and demanded an explanation from him. After a moment's hesitation, the officer replied that the reason was his departure for Leninakan. The minister ordered all the newspapers to be collected and taken to our room.

There was no doubt that the newspapers were not being delivered to us on the minister's personal orders and that the officer's departure from Yerevan was fictitious.

The next day, we received all the newspapers for the month. We leafed through all the issues by date and read the headline on two pages of the 4 or 5 March issue: "Death of Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin." Finally, the reason for the cannon fire became clear.

All the prison officials were in a state of shock, from the guard to the minister. When Stalin was replaced by the notorious Beria, the order remained the same, so there was no reason for concern.

Under Stalin, Commander Korkhmazyan was Minister of State Security and was promoted to Minister of Internal Affairs.

Due to the new situation, our meetings with the minister ceased for more than a year.

Devejian described the events objectively, but some clarifications should be made.

*First.* As far as I remember, on the day of Stalin's funeral, all factories and plants across the USSR stopped working for a few minutes, and then long sirens sounded as a sign of mourning. As for cannon salutes, I don't remember that.

*Second.* "Commander Korkhmazyan," as described by Devedzhyan (this is Colonel Sergei Arkadyevich Korkhmazyan), was not

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<sup>1</sup> Konstantin Abovyan.

not only did he not receive a promotion, but he was no longer the Minister of State Security. At that time, the Minister of the KGB was Major General Martirosov G.I.

With Beria's rise to power, the ministries of state security and internal affairs were merged into the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR, Beria was appointed Minister of Internal Affairs, and Major General Martirosov G.I. became Minister of Internal Affairs of the Armenian SSR.

*Third.* The cessation of newspaper deliveries to prisoners Nzhde and Devedzhan was carried out on the instructions of Minister Martirosov G.I. However, through audio surveillance, we learned that Nzhde had correctly guessed the reason for the factory sirens. He associated them with Stalin's death, and since there was no longer any point in hiding this fact from them, it was decided to resume delivering newspapers to them.

All our meetings and conversations with Garegin Nzhdeh were, of course, accompanied by work on drafts of a letter to Simon Vratsyanu.

In March of the same year, 1953, Nzhde expressed some of his thoughts on how our representative should behave when communicating with Vratyan, in case he met with him to deliver the letter.

I wrote down Nzhdeh's thoughts on a separate sheet of paper in pencil, then added them to other materials on the case.

Here are my notes:

1. *Firstly, Mr. Vratsyanyan, we are addressing you in order to avoid dishonour.*
2. *Do not make any anti-Dashnak proposals to Vratyan.*
3. *Use Vratyan as a lightning rod against attempts – under one flag or another, or under one slogan or another – to harm Armenia.*
4. *Do not make any insinuations of a spy nature. Take an interest in his conclusions.*

5. *Offer him patriotic activities based on mutual trust.*
6. *Do not demand that Vratsan make our letter the property of one comrade or another.*
7. *Do not break off relations with Vratsan completely.*
8. *Bring back Vratsan's reply – whether he received the manuscript and what his demands are.*

I would like to bring to the attention of readers one version of <sup>the letter<sup>1</sup></sup> from Garegin Nzhdeh and Hovhannes Davedjian addressed to Simon Vratyan:

*Dear Simon!*

I know that when you see my handwriting, you will be alarmed: is Nzhdeh alive? Can this be believed?

Yes! My voice comes not from the grave, but from the prison where I am destined to live, interfering with life and death, without complaint, for I myself, with my own hands, paved my way to the dungeon, thereby confirming the old saying of the East: "Everyone builds their own destiny." Listen to why and how this happened.

In the autumn of 1944, when the Red Army was already in Romania and thousands of people, fearing political repression, began to leave, I did not leave Bulgaria, although I had the perfect opportunity to leave for any country at any moment.

I stayed because I had to stay! I stayed because, like many others, I believed that the Red Army would march on Turkey, thereby fulfilling our national dream. There was also the agonising thought that my departure could lead to the arrest of many people.

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<sup>1</sup> This document is not included in the four-volume file on G. Nzhde in the RA National Security Service archives; it was taken from the six-volume operational file "Zubr," the location and fate of which are currently unknown. The letter was not sent to the addressee due to G. Nzhde's unfavourable position with the MGB. The text of the original Armenian letter was first published in the newspaper Anrapetakan of the Republican Party of Armenia (9-15 December 1993).

I would also like to note that I was confident that my chivalrous and patriotic decision to remain would be enough to make the Soviet authorities forget my anti-Soviet past. These are, roughly speaking, the motives that prompted me to stay. Unfortunately, the Soviet Army did not march on Turkey, and this is what led to my tragedy. About a month after the Red Army entered the country, I was invited to the Soviet mission, flown to Moscow and taken... to prison.

You know, my dear, that in my life, both joy and sorrow had one and the same name – Armenia. When, at the twilight of my life, I was unable to die as a warrior for the Armenian land, I decided to die as a martyr for an idea. It was with these feelings that I was transported to the Far North in the summer of 1948. I was physically exhausted, but my spirit remained unbroken.

I lived with all the passion and joy of a martyr. I tried, as I do now, not to fall down and die with a book in my hands. I was in this state when, unexpectedly, like *Deus ex ma-china*, Hovhannes Davedjian appeared – he was also brought to the same prison and the same cell where I was.

You know that we avoided each other for years. Deep suffering brings a person face to face with the Truth.

It was enough for us to see tears of joy in each other's eyes for us to silently reconcile and become brothers.

From that moment on, our reflections began. Faced with the danger of a new world war, which could have irreparable consequences for the fate of our people, we reflected and worried. War is a realm of uncertainty. Tomorrow may bring political surprises that the modern Metternichs and Talleyrands cannot even imagine.

What will happen tomorrow? We do not know.

However, given the existence of the unprecedented

and the existence of the latest types of weapons, we, as Armenians, cannot help but worry that tomorrow Armenia may be in mortal danger as a result of the war.

Based on the reality

1. that the Turks have historically proven their willingness to commit any atrocities against Armenians,
2. that during the First World War there was a massacre of Armenians, and the nation guilty of this atrocity remained unpunished,
3. that the destruction of millions of Jews in the last war was met with nothing more than a judicial farce – a mockery of humanity and justice,
4. that the UN resolution on genocide was dictated by concern that in tomorrow's war the destruction of entire peoples cannot be ruled out,
5. that our country, given its geographical location, is destined to become an active strategic platform or base for self-defence tomorrow, and in both cases the enemy's first strike will be against Armenia, and will be carried out by the Turks, who have allies and patrons in the form of a number of powers,
6. that Turkey will take decisive part in the coming war and that it will act under the UN flag – these and similar facts give serious grounds for concern that a "genocide" could easily take place in Armenia and our people could be completely destroyed.

You know that at one time the Turks tried, but were unable to immediately bury the Armenian people and their cause on their own. Now they will try to carry out their plan to destroy the Armenians with their own hands and with the help of others.

However, Armenia's defensive power is great and inexhaustible.

potential of the Soviet Union.

Nevertheless, Turkey's current resolute position, living with Pan-Turkic dreams, its deadly hatred of Armenians, and the fact that for the first time in history the interests of the Christian West coincide with those of Turkey, all give serious cause for deep concern about the fate of our people.

A handful of land, on which two-thirds of the Armenian people are concentrated, is what Armenia is today. In such a situation, in order not to be exterminated during the war, one must be as resilient as Mount Ararat!

Bear in mind that the Turks will act as "correctors" for the anti-Soviet air forces, pointing out to their Christian allies the targets and directions they (the Turks) need.

Through provocations and all kinds of machinations, they will turn their allies against Armenia and Armenians. Taking advantage of the opportunity, they will go out of their way to destroy the country that stands in the way of Turan.

I would also like to note that tomorrow's war, by its very existence alone – regardless of the strength of the warring parties and the outcome of the war – could turn into an irreparable disaster for our people.

We must not forget that in order to destroy Armenia, the Turks will most likely speculate on the authority of the UN and some Christian states.

Another alarming circumstance.

In the summer of 1952, an anti-Armenian demonstration took place in Van, echoing the anti-Armenian provocations that had taken place in Ankara and Istanbul. On this occasion, the newspaper Van Sesi called on the Turks to "destroy the Armenians to the last man". According to this newspaper, "the Panturan dream of the Turks can only be realised when all corners of Turkey are cleansed of the Armenian population."

As you can see, the Turks are publicly discussing the issue of a new massacre of Armenians – psychologically and politically preparing for a bloody repeat of 1915.

You should also know that the Turkish threat is directed not only against Armenians living in Turkey, but also against Soviet Armenia. The above-mentioned newspaper, which considers the Turks to be Urartians and the territory of Soviet Armenia to be part of the ancient Urartian kingdom, denies our historical right to our homeland and ancestral home.

It would be wrong to consider the anti-Armenian actions of the Turks in Van a sporadic phenomenon. It reveals the general mindset of the masses and the Turkish government. That is why the problem of the exceptional situation in which our people find themselves must be immediately brought before the international community. Only in this way can the coming catastrophe be prevented.

Europe was ostensibly anti-Turkish, and yet the massacre of Armenians took place.

Today, with so many pro-Turkish forces present, what guarantees can there be that the Turks, as notorious repeat offenders, will not repeat their atrocities?

In that case, what needs to be done to ensure that, in the event of war, the unprecedented suffering of our people during the First World War and their current exceptional situation are taken into account, so that Armenia is not subjected to nuclear bombing?

(I am passing the pen to Hovhannes to continue the letter).

My dear friend! Patriots appeal to patriots on a primarily patriotic matter – this is our only approach to this issue.

Yes, Armenians abroad must be filled with an awareness of the exceptional position of our country and our people. These concerns have prompted us to appeal – through the mediation of the prison administration – to the Soviet authorities with a request to connect us primarily with you. (We did this with the aim of

warned of certain inconveniences). We were given permission to do so.

It goes without saying that our patriotic initiative should not be discussed in the press in any way and should remain strictly confidential.

We believe that we should unite Armenians abroad in the struggle for peace and against the impending war. Our recent bloody past, when half of the Armenian people fell victim to the Turkish yatagan, demands this of us.

A number of measures can be used to fight for peace.

In particular, the Armenian intelligentsia in Europe can appeal to all European academies in the name of saving several tens of thousands of manuscripts stored in Armenia, whose universal value is well known to these scientific circles.

Equally, if not more, important is the behaviour of Armenians abroad during the war against Armenia, when irresponsible elements can bring disaster upon the Armenian people if no one restrains them. Let us not dwell on this.

It is especially important that you and other patriots like you, to the best of your ability, begin to actively help the Motherland right now, leaving aside our political differences with the Bolsheviks, as the Motherland is facing a terrible danger.

I would like to take this opportunity to mention that we, as political opponents who did not believe what was said about present-day Armenia in the Soviet press, cinema and radio, were given the opportunity to see Yerevan with our own eyes while in prison. What we saw is unprecedented and inspires every observer with respect and admiration for the creative work and building genius of the Armenian people, who have been given the opportunity to demonstrate their abilities under Soviet rule.

All this, of course, would have been impossible without the fraternal assistance of the great Russian people and without the political security that exists in our country.

If we add to this the fact that only the Russian people can desire the unification of the Armenian people in a single Armenia, it becomes clear why every Armenian must stand by his homeland in times of danger.

In our current situation, we would be deeply comforted to receive your assurance that you have fulfilled your duty to Armenia as an Armenian and as a patriot.

Once again, we emphasise the confidential nature of our letter. Please inform us of your position through the same person.

*12 March 1953<sup>1</sup>*

*Yerevan*

*Gar. Nzhde*

*O. Davedjian*

Response to our letter.

Before expressing some of my thoughts on the historical value and political significance of Nzhdeh's letter, regardless of the results of its use, I would like to note that the author of the letter himself, Nzhdeh, was not in favour of establishing written contact with Simon Vratsyanyan.

He considered the most effective and safest way to achieve this goal to be to convey the message through a living person. He proposed Hovhannes Davedjian as a suitable candidate. Therefore, while considering the structure of the first draft of the letter, he expressed his counterarguments to us and wrote about this to the Minister of State Security of Armenia.

*Minister of Security of the Armenian SSR<sup>2</sup>*

*Dear Minister!*

1. To the question of whether there are reasons that compel us

<sup>1</sup>Garegin Nzhdeh did not sign the second version of the letter dated 14 April 1953 due to certain additions made by Davedjian.

<sup>2</sup>This document is not included in the four-volume file on G. Nzhdeh in the RA National Security Service archives; it was taken from the six-volume operational file "Zubr."

be extremely cautious and careful so as not to harm Armenians abroad, especially those living in Turkey, we answer: yes, there are.

For the same reasons, we believe that our letter should be delivered to Vratyan by someone we can trust 100%.

Now, in these days of anti-Soviet hysteria and ill will, attempting to deliver our letter to Vratsan through someone he does not know would mean suggesting to him that someone wants to involve him personally or his party in a provocation. It is possible that in such a case he might turn to the police in order to prevent the "provocation" in a timely manner.

Knowing the psychology of the Anglo-Saxons, we are convinced that if our letter is intercepted in America, they will begin to persecute the Armenians.

And the Turks are waiting for an excuse to "destroy every last Armenian," as the Turkish newspaper Van Sesi puts it, with the consent of their patrons.

2. The letter they are asking us to sign was drafted without taking into account the atmosphere of savage persecution and terror that reigns in America, where they currently do not consider it necessary to respect even the diplomatic immunity of Soviet citizens.

Contrary to this, our letter clearly states that "we have appealed to the Soviet authorities" to "allow us," that "the secrecy of our initiative is guaranteed by our leaders," and so on. Does all this not prove that in this case we are talking about "secrecy"? After all, this is nothing less than self-exposure! In such circumstances, no amount of caution, however great, can guarantee the necessary security.

Therefore, it is necessary to act not through such letters, but through a trusted and respected person. In order to avoid possible failure, I specifically emphasise in our last letter that Devedjian must first meet with V. so that

prepare him – i.e. to convince him that neither he personally nor his party are in danger of "provocation", that in this case there is only one goal – to preserve Armenia and our people.

Lieutenant Colonel<sup>1</sup> told me that I wrote the last part of our letter only because I wanted Devedjian to be sent at all costs. To prove that in this case I was guided by the desire to ensure the success and safety of our event, I refuse Devedjian's candidacy if you are against his trip.

3. A personal request.

From the first day of my arrest, your authorities declared me dead. Recently, Lieutenant Colonel Melkumov informed me that, according to information received from Sofia, only two or three people know that I was transported to the Soviet Union at the time and that the Armenian community is completely convinced that I was killed on Bulgarian territory.

Seven years ago, at my first meeting with a representative of your ministry, I was warned that from now on I would be called not Nzhde, but Ter-Arutyunyan. Your representative also warned my wife. She was instructed to refer to me in her "letter" not as Nzhde, but as "my husband."

Contrary to your laws, I am not allowed to correspond with my relatives, not even my own brother.

All these facts prove that the authorities of your ministry sought and continue to seek to convince the Armenian people that I am long dead. Why is this being done? To what end? The goal is clear: so that, as logic dictates, if I am ever killed, the Armenian people will not attribute my death to your authorities.

People of my disposition are not prone to agonising thoughts about death. I have often encountered...

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<sup>1</sup>This refers to Vartan Melkumov.

face death. I knocked her down long ago and defeated her. Will they kill me? What can you do? Until then, we will try to be useful to our Motherland and think about our people.

*La patrie avant tout!*  
*The motherland above all else!*

4. By declaring me dead, your authorities have granted me the rights of a dead man – that is, they have deprived me of all rights and means without which the life of a prisoner becomes a long agony. While Russians, Georgians, Jews, Tatars and Balts enjoy the legal right to correspond with their loved ones and receive material assistance from their relatives, I am deprived of everything.

I was not allowed to use my gold ring. I am deprived of the opportunity to receive medical treatment. Your hospital is not for me. Suffering from arthritis, sclerosis and liver disease, accompanied by blood pressure of 240, I need a special diet, but I am forced to eat herring – that is, I am forced to consciously exacerbate my illnesses, poison myself and contribute to my disability. Is this not bloodless murder?

Does depriving an extremely emaciated, exhausted patient of his legal right to receive financial assistance from his brother not mean condemning him to prolonged agony and death?

5. In order not to die in a Soviet prison, to the delight of the Turks, I am writing down my thoughts. This gives me the strength to overcome my tragedy.

In 1947, before my transfer to Vladimir, I asked the deputy minister to speak to the prison warden so that he would be more favourable towards my literary work. I was promised this, but the promise was not kept. On the contrary, for four whole years I was persecuted by various shady characters among the prisoners. You know the fate of my seven literary notebooks: they were not returned to me here.

6. Your authorities, knowing about my physical condition (illness

and exhaustion), they do not consider it necessary to inform the convoy commander so that I am treated a little more humanely.

Throughout my journey north and back, I am subjected to the worst treatment. How else can such inhumane treatment be explained, if not by hostility? Is blind malice towards a man who knows only one hatred, hatred for the Turks and their patrons, not senseless?

And this at such a serious moment in history, when the insolent Turks are threatening death to "half of the Russian people" and "the last Armenian"...

7. The attitude of your authorities towards my family, which is politically innocent, is blatantly unjust. My wife and child have been exiled, deprived of everything necessary for their modest existence.

For them, the victims of my patriotism, it would be a saving consolation if they had real grounds to believe that I am indeed still alive. But from my wife's letter, it is clear that your man has instilled in her not belief that I am alive, but terror. She was told that I was alive, but at the same time warned not to tell anyone about it. Does this not mean that I am, at the very least, in a terrible situation and that, even if I am alive, I am doomed to an inhuman existence? Yes, it means letting my innocent child know that I am being mistreated and humiliated as a person whose existence is forbidden to speak of. Human history has never known a case where a person has been in the same situation as I am now, at the will of your ministry. After all, I did not ask for compassion: I only wanted to know the whole truth about my family.

8. Given the possibility of a new war, we turned to you and your centre, wishing to carry out the patriotic mission known to you. To this end, we were transferred to Yerevan prison. We have been here for almost a year, but, to the delight of the Turks, nothing has been done.

We are tragically aware that anyone who does not act against Turkey at this moment is unconsciously working for the Turks. The recent demonstrative calls by the Turks in Van (we are talking about calls for a new massacre of Armenians "to the last man") have confirmed our fears and concerns about the fate of Armenians living in Turkey (and only in Turkey?).

Once again, I ask you to allow us to contact V. (or another responsible Armenian figure) in the safest way possible in order to convince him of the need to implement the measures we have outlined.

It would be terrible if we were refused. This is not about us, but about the existence of two hundred thousand Armenians in Turkey.

I think it is worth adding that the attitude of your authorities towards me personally and towards the fate of my family does not in any way diminish my eagerness to sacrifice everything, even my family, for the happiness of my people.

I am sure, Mr Minister, that you have no doubt about this.

*Ter-Harutyunyan G.E.  
25 December 1952.*

The fairness and irrefutability of Nzhde's demands and arguments put forward in the above letter are so obvious that I do not consider it necessary to comment further.

In connection with the development of measures to utilise Nzhdeh's capabilities abroad, in March 1952, a request signed by the leadership of the MGB of the Armenian SSR was sent to the First Main Directorate<sup>1</sup> of the MGB of the USSR regarding the situation of Nzhdeh's wife, Sukiasyan Epime, and son, Sukias, who were living in Bulgaria.

At the same time, they asked to find out whether Bulgaria was aware of the arrest and whereabouts of Ter-Arutyunyan-Nzhde. At the end of August 1952, a response was received from the First Main Directorate of the MGB of the USSR:

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<sup>1</sup>That is, the intelligence department.

"Epime Sukiasyan (married name Nzhde) lives in Pavlikeni (Bulgaria), 43 Dundukov Boulevard. Her husband, Garegin Nzhde, was a manufacturer of luxury goods (gold items) before the liberation of Bulgaria, and he also worked as a journalist for some time. He often travelled around Europe and visited America.

Epime Sukiasyan told her friends that after 9 September 1944, her husband was arrested and, as she assumes, shot.

E. Sukiasyan lives in Pavlikeni as an administrative deportee from Sofia in connection with her husband's arrest. Sukiasyan is currently unemployed and lives on the proceeds from the sale of her husband's remaining gold items (jewellery).

She supports her son, Sukias Gareginovich Nzhe, born in 1936, a native of Sofia and a student at Pavlikeni Secondary School, who lives with her. Sukiasyan Epime told her neighbours that Sukias is her biological (not adopted) son, that he is her second child, and that her first child, a girl, died.

Her cousin, Kostanyan, lives in California (USA). Her other cousin, Karents, lives in Detroit (USA) with his wife Victoria Karents, from whom Sukiasyan allegedly received a parcel in 1950. Sukiasyan's uncle, a priest, died in America in 1947 or 1948.

The whereabouts of Nzhdeh are unknown to Armenians living in Bulgaria.

At the same time, the leadership of the MGB of the Armenian SSR sent another letter to the same address with the following content:

"Ter-Arutyunyan G.E. (Nzhde) and Devedzhyan O.A., who were transferred to the disposal of the MGB of the Armenian SSR, repeatedly appealed to us with requests to obtain any information about their relatives, given the lack of data about their families.

In particular, Ter-Arutyunyan (Nzhde), whose health condition

is currently very poor due to a number of illnesses, is in a state of moral depression.

Taking this circumstance into account, we consider it advisable, if possible, to obtain from the wives of Ter-Arutyunyan Nzhde and Devedzhan O.A. short letters written by them about their family situation and photographs of their family members.

There is no need to inform them of the whereabouts of Ter-Arutyunyan and Devedzhan. If any questions arise, the employee who requests the letter may claim ignorance. Ter-Arutyunyan's wife, Sukiasyan Epime, lives in Pavlikeni (Bulgaria).

Devejian's wife, Ripsime Devejian, lives in Bucharest at 8 Vasilora Street.

In October 1952, a reply was received from the centre:

"In accordance with your request, we are sending you a letter written by Sukiasyan Epime to Nzhde.

*The text of the letter*

"My dear husband!

I am very calm, as is my son. He has grown up, is in third grade and is doing well in school.

Do not worry about us at all. We are feeling well. We do not need anything.

Kisses from me and your son.

*Signed*  
*14 October 1952."*

The letter and photograph were handed over to Nzhdeh.

It was known that Devedzhan O.A.'s wife, Devedzhan Ripsime, and daughters, Anna and Victoria, had left Romania for Argentina in April 1952. Therefore, it was not possible to receive a response from them.

As for the indignation over the deprivation of his right to

correspondence with his relatives and receive parcels from them, I offer the reader two documents for consideration.

In August 1953, the head of the prison administration of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs sent a letter to the Minister of Internal Affairs of the Armenian SSR:

"The Vladimir prison of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs holds prisoner Ter-Arutyunyan Garegin Yegishevich, who was sentenced by a special council of the USSR Ministry of State Security under Articles 58-4, 58-6, 58-10 and 58-11 of the RSFSR Criminal Code to 25 years of imprisonment.

According to the existing regulations, the aforementioned prisoner has the right to correspond with his relatives and to receive material assistance from them, but due to the lack of his relatives' address, he is unable to exercise this right. Ter-Arutyunyan submitted a statement informing that the address of his brother and daughter, who live in Tbilisi, is known to the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Armenian SSR, as he was informed in 1953 when he was summoned to Yerevan.

I am forwarding the statement of prisoner Ter-Arutyunyan and request that you provide an appropriate response.

This was the response from the leadership of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Armenian SSR:

"Returning the statement of prisoner Ter-Arutyunyan Garegin Yegishevich, we inform you that disclosure of the fact that Ter-Arutyunyan was arrested and convicted would be undesirable for operational reasons, especially since he was arrested and secretly taken out of Bulgaria. Since his escape from Soviet Armenia together with the Dashnaks, Ter-Arutyunyan has had no contact with his brother's family or his daughter. At present, his aim is apparently not to obtain material assistance, but to make known through them that he is in prison.

While in Yerevan prison, he received additional food from us and was under daily medical supervision, but

subsequently, apparently with the above-mentioned goal in mind, refused the additional food and asked to be allowed to receive it from his brother and daughter.

All materials concerning Ter-Harutyunyan in connection with the measures taken in his case were sent by us to the Second <sup>Main</sup> Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs (No. 2/666 of 2 June 1953), to which we request that you refer for a final decision on his petition.

*Signed:* Abovyan,

*Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs of the  
Armenian SSR  
Colonel Agekyan*

I leave the conclusions to the reader. I would just like to note that any document related to the Nzhde case was almost personally drafted by Agekyan and other high-ranking officials.

Colonel Kuznetsov, a Russian who was the head of the prison administration of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, showed more love for Armenians than the Armenian Agekyan.

It is no coincidence that at the end of his last statement (dated 26 February 1954) to the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, K.E. Voroshilov, regarding the review of his case, Nzhde wrote: "Please bear in mind, Mr President, that former officials of the MGB of the Armenian SSR cannot be objective towards me. They are capable of inventing thousands of false motives and arguments to prevent the 'resurrection' of a man whom they have declared dead for their own dark purposes."

I will write about this statement later.

For greater clarity, I would like to mention another initiative by Nzhdeh. Agreeing with the authors of the idea to keep his whereabouts strictly secret, Nzhdeh himself suggested writing on his behalf to his brother Levon, who lived in Tbilisi, and presenting...

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<sup>1</sup> Counterintelligence Directorate.

<sup>2</sup> Former liaison between Nzhdeh and the MGB.

the case as if he were still living in Bulgaria.

Here is the text of one such letter:

"Dear brother Levon!

During the last world war, our house was completely destroyed by bombing by the British Air Force – we lost almost everything.

Recently, I fell seriously ill and now need long-term treatment.

If you are able to help me, please send me one hundred to two hundred roubles every month. You can also send me a parcel of food.

I would be very grateful if you could send me a parcel with the following items:

1. A pair of valenki boots (with blunt toes, wide shafts and leather soles).
2. One woollen jumper and one quilted jacket.
3. Two pairs of woollen socks and a pair of gloves.

I am sure that you are all in good health. I feel that my dear mother has probably passed away. Kiss her grave for me.

I kiss you all.

Epime and Sukias send their regards.

In the second version, he himself removed from the text the lines about food and clothing parcels, which could have led his brother to believe that Nzhde was in prison somewhere in northern Russia.

Nevertheless, even his request for financial assistance was not granted due to "operational considerations".

Nzhde reacted sharply to this. On 20 October 1952, he requested a meeting with a representative of the MGB of the Armenian SSR, who was in constant contact with him on everyday matters, and informed him that the letter he had sent to his brother with our consent had not been delivered (as reported by Melkumov).

He also added that the letter from his wife that had been given to him was clearly written under dictation, and that the appearance of an unfamiliar person asking her to write a letter to her husband, whom she had considered dead for many years, had most likely caused his wife great confusion. All this, according to Nzhde, was evidence of insincerity towards him, while he had been honest with them and expected reciprocity. Being extremely exhausted, he demanded that no more food be brought to him, otherwise he would not touch it. At the same time, Nzhde stated that all this should not be linked to the undertaking, because he was ready to do anything for the sake of his homeland and did not demand anything in return.

For your information: from March to October 1952, we regularly purchased various additional food items for Nzhde and Devedzhian.

For example, from 4 to 18 March 1952, 198 rubles 40 kopecks were spent on additional food and other items.

1. Bread – 3 rubles 70 kopecks each – 10 kg – 37 rubles
2. Sugar (refined) – 7 rubles – 5 packets – 35 rubles
3. Cheese – 36 kopecks – 0.5 kg – 18 kopecks
4. Toilet soap – 4 rubles – 1 bar – 4 rubles
5. Socks – 6 rubles each – 1 pair – 6 rubles
6. Sour milk – 3 kopecks each – 2.5 kg – 8 kopecks 05 kopecks
7. Jam (apricot) – 14 roubles 80 kopecks – 1 jar – 14 roubles 80 kopecks
8. Apples – 30 kopecks each – 1 kg – 30 kopecks
9. Lemon – 3 rubles 60 kopecks each – 2 pieces – 7 rubles 20 kopecks
10. Butter – 40 kopecks each – 0.5 kg – 20 kopecks
11. Sour cream – 24 kopecks – 0.5 kg – 12 kopecks
12. Cheese in packs – 2 rubles 95 kopecks each – 2 packs – 5 rubles 90 kopecks.

Or, on 3 June 1952:

1. Cigarettes – 2 packs (Kazbek) – 8 rubles 30 kopecks
2. Lavash – 10 kopecks

3. Sugar – 6 rubles 30 kopecks
4. Garlic – 3 rubles
5. Onions – 4 roubles
6. Brynza cheese – 14 roubles.

29/VII-1952:

1. Lavash – 2 kg – 14 roubles
2. Tomatoes – 3 kg – 15 roubles.
3. Cheese – 0.5 kg – 12 roubles 50 kopecks
4. Carrots – 3 bunches – 3 roubles.
5. Peppers – 0.5 kg – 5 rubles.

18/X-1952:

1. Bread (lavash) – 2.5 kg – 20 roubles.
2. Onions – 2 bunches – 5 roubles
3. Cheese – 0.5 kg – 12 roubles.
4. Garlic – 1 kg – 5 roubles.
5. Tomatoes – 3 kg – 9 roubles
6. Peppers – 1 kg – 3 roubles
7. Grapes – 3 kg – 21 roubles.
8. Peaches – 1.5 kg – 14 roubles. Etc.

Thus, I have 39 receipts for similar purchases, organised by month and day.

Meanwhile, Armen Sevan-Devedjian's book contains the following interesting lines:

"...<sup>A</sup> young <sup>officer</sup><sup>2</sup> who was in contact with us once entered our room tired, sweaty, carrying a large bag containing cherries, tutu, cheese, sugar – in short, such

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<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that these isolated incidents did not play a significant role, and this was not what Nzhde needed.

<sup>2</sup> This refers to Konstantin Abovyan.

products that we had not seen for years.

We refused to accept them, arguing that we would accept whatever other prisoners received on an equal basis with us. The officer placed the goods he had brought on our table and left in a huff.

These coveted products lay on the table for several days. The fruit began to spoil, and only the sugar remained. Our attitude caused dissatisfaction in the ministry and was perceived as an insult. Were they not human beings themselves, without human feelings, unable to put themselves in our position and treat us with a little more consideration? We were forced to throw away the fruit and accept the sugar. After that, we were once again honoured with such attention.

According to my observations, apart from a single incident that took place on 20 October 1952, there are no other known cases of Nzhde refusing to accept additional food.

As for Nzhde's prison attire, he wore worn-out prisoner's clothing. His outer clothing and underwear were worn out. Taking this into account, with the permission of the Minister of State Security of the Armenian SSR, Colonel S.A. Korkhmazyan, the following items were purchased for him for 1,100 roubles:

1. Suit – 1 – 704 rubles
2. Shirts – 2 pcs. – 175 rubles
3. Underwear – 85 rubles
4. Long johns – 2 pairs – 73 roubles
5. Socks – 5 pairs – 37 roubles 25 kopecks
6. Handkerchiefs – 5 pieces – 28 roubles 25 kopecks.

This entire set was presented to Nzhdeh on 28 March 1952 by our <sup>officer</sup><sup>1</sup>, who maintained contact with Nzhdeh and Devedzhan on everyday matters.

It should be noted that on 20 October 1952, when Nzhdeh, as is well known

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<sup>1</sup>This refers to Konstantin Abovyan.

already refused to accept food from us, Devedzhan approached Officer Abovyan with a request to help replace his worn-out shirt and shoes. He explained his request by saying that at a recent meeting with the ministry's leadership, he had been informed that he and Nzhdeh would be summoned for a conversation in the coming days. Nzhdeh also asked for his prison shoes to be replaced, citing the approaching cold weather as the reason.

As for showing Yerevan to Nzhdeh, he himself told our representative at the time that Devedzhan, as a direct participant in the undertaking, also needed to have an idea of the new Yerevan. After that, a decision was made to show Yerevan to Devedzhan.

It is interesting to read Devedzhan's description of the prisoners' appearance in his book:

"...In summer, our clothing consisted of blue striped linen shirts and trousers, which lost their original appearance after the first wash, turning blue and white. The linen from which the prisoners' clothes were made wore out quickly and tore due to its fragility.

Garegin Nzhdeh's trousers were torn.

One morning, before visiting the officer on duty, my comrade further enlarged the torn area and, when the officer entered, appeared before him in such an unsightly state.

Giving free rein to his anger and eloquence, Nzhdeh remarked that it was unbecoming of the rich and great Soviet state to keep him in such indecent clothing.

In such situations, either the trousers and shirt were replaced, or a piece of fabric was given along with thread and a needle so that the prisoner could repair his own clothes.

Several days passed, but no one replaced the trousers, and we did not receive any other means to repair them.

A week later, the young officer who had supported

the liaison between us and the ministry, came into our room with Melkumov, carrying a neatly folded package in his hands. He opened the bag and, on behalf of the authorities, handed Nzhde a complete set of clothes: a jacket, waistcoat, trousers and a green silk shirt. Under the collar was embroidered "Made in Czechoslovakia".

In addition to the set of clothes, he also handed over a light blue shirt, a dark blue tie and two pairs of woollen socks for the winter.

I also received two pairs of socks, which I did not want to accept, but in the end I was forced to give in to Melkumov's insistence in order to avoid complicating the situation.

Garegin carefully kept the items he received to wear after his release from prison.

Over his prison clothes, Nzhde wore his own worn khaki jacket.

Without commenting on the lengthy quotation, I will say that, apart from the above, I have no other information about Nzhdeh's behaviour in his dealings with the prison administration. However, I remember that his clothing size was, I think, 52.

In his communication with us, Nzhde demanded sincerity and mutual trust. This is confirmed by a quote I offer from another of his letters, addressed to the Minister of State Security of the Armenian SSR (10 July 1952):

"You continue to treat me as an enemy of Armenia. Yes, I was an enemy when the Soviet Union was in a 'brotherly union' with the Turks. Fortunately, this issue has been resolved, and today I see the Soviet Union as a real force that responds to the national dream of reuniting the two Armenias. However, despite my attitude, I do not see the atmosphere of mutual trust that is so necessary for the success of the planned undertaking. I see a certain dissatisfaction with me for a trivial reason – because I refused to wear clothes bought by your department. I do need clothes, it is true. But to wear them means

to attach importance to something that has long since lost its meaning in my eyes. It would mean that I still have an attachment to life, which contradicts my state of mind – the state of a martyr.

Trust, sincerity, reliability, honesty... Of course, these must be mutual and based on a common platform.

For Nzhde, this platform was his dream and goal in life, as he wrote in an unsent letter to Vratsa, i.e. to die – if not as a warrior with a weapon in his hands, then at least as a martyr in the name of saving his people from extermination in the coming war.

However, for the other side, i.e. representatives of the state security agencies of the Union and Armenia, this issue was more complicated.

All important and serious proposals from intelligence and counterintelligence coming from below – from the republics, regions and provinces – were evaluated by the Centre from the perspective of the interests of the great empire. Moscow did not care about the reunification of Armenian lands. It needed the stability of the USSR. Strict secrecy in general, and in this case in particular, was necessary given the specific circumstances. For example, if the Azerbaijanis living in Armenia (and there were some among the intelligence department staff) had learned about the measures against Turkey involving Nzhdeh, not to mention Azerbaijan itself, trouble would have been inevitable.

Therefore, while trusting them in words, the Centre always checked the activities of its local branches, regularly sent commissions and teams, punished and dismissed them for the slightest mistake or omission.

"Reasonable initiative" for the benefit of the Centre was encouraged, but at the same time, no independence was allowed.

And so, in the summer of 1952, a large commission from the USSR Ministry of State Security, headed by Deputy Minister General A.A. Epishchev, arrived to conduct a comprehensive inspection of the agentural and operational activities of the Nzhde case.

of the Armenian SSR, there was a representative of the First Main Directorate with the task of inspecting our department, including the state of affairs regarding the operation involving Nzhdeh and Devedjian. Here is an excerpt from his documentary report:

"...Two months have passed since Nzhdeh was transferred, but the department has not developed any serious proposals for using him to reach the Dashnaks and the Turks. The selection of agents or connections from Nzhdeh to the Dashnaks abroad requires exceptional preparation and caution. The selection of suitable individuals from among his contacts and their vetting requires comprehensive study and a lot of time for preparation."

Although Sparapet Nzhdeh was seriously ill, his unrivalled intellect, focus, subtle analysis and foresight remained with him. In one summary of his conversations with Davedjian, he made the following judgements about our intentions:

"...These dogs are apparently more interested not in the fate of the Armenian nation, but in using my name to infiltrate their people into the ranks of foreign Dashnaks for subversive purposes."

As always, he guessed everything correctly this time too.

In interpersonal relations between official representatives of state security agencies and individuals with whom they are working in the interests of intelligence or counterintelligence, psychological factors play a significant role.

In this particular case, I mean the following.

The fact is that some senior officials acted in different ways in their relations with Nzhdeh at different times. Thus, from 1946 to 1948, when Nzhdeh was transferred from Moscow to the internal prison of the MGB of the Armenian SSR as a suspect, accused person, they took an active part in his interrogations and "exposures," bringing the case to a special meeting of the USSR MGB with a proposal to sentence Nzhdeh to 25 years in prison.

Now these representatives of the MGB of the Armenian SSR came into contact with Nzhdeh, showing him favourable attention in the name of implementing a large-scale rational initiative that belonged not to them, but to Nzhdeh.

At the same time, under any pretext, they avoided satisfying Nzhdeh's purely human and legitimate requests to establish contact with his family and friends.

All this caused Nzhdeh to feel justified indignation. Therefore, he tirelessly sought his legitimate rights, both verbally and in writing, but to no avail. That is why Nzhdeh felt worse in his native land than in a foreign country and insisted on being returned to the Vladimir prison.

However, none of this prevented Nzhdeh from rushing into battle, sacrificing everything, even his life, not for glory, but for the sake of preserving his nation. Naturally, in this situation, Nzhdeh could not afford to dress up in formal attire.

After completing the laborious work, the final version of the letter of recommendation written by Ter-Arutyunyan G.E. and Devedzhan O.A. to Simon Vratsan (20 March 1953), along with other materials, was sent to the centre for review and final decision.

The response arrived only in February 1954. It stated that the centre had decided to refuse to use Ter-Arutyunyan and Devedjian abroad. No more, no less. Before sending the letter of recommendation to Moscow, the intelligence department of the MGB of the Armenian SSR, taking into account Nzhdeh's urgent demands to return him to the Vladimir prison, sent a letter to the head of the internal prison, which read:

"According to our N2/1102 dated 6 December 1951. on 6 March 1952, prisoners Ter-Arutyunyan Garegin Yegishevich and Devedzhian Hovhannes Akopovich were transferred from the Vladimir prison of the USSR MGB to the internal prison of the MGB of the Armenian SSR.

As there is no longer any need for Ter-Arutyunyan G.E. and Devedzhian O.A. to remain in the internal prison of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Armenian SSR, we request that they be transferred back to the Vladimir prison of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. Please exercise caution during the transfer.

Before departure, at our request, Nzhdeh and Devedzhian wrote a joint handwritten statement, written by Devedzhian, with two signatures, stating that their manuscripts were with them and nothing had been left in the internal prison of the MGB of the Armenian SSR.

They could not have known about the centre's decision to refuse to use Nzhdeh and Davedjian, since, as I mentioned, we received the response only in February 1954, after they had been transferred from Yerevan. I cannot say which route Nzhdeh and Davedjian took to return to the Vladimir prison.

Armen Sevan-Devedjian writes about this in his book, in the chapter "Return to Vladimir." Without accurate data, I cannot comment on what has been written.

Nevertheless, I would like to note that on his way to Vladimir, Nzhdeh ended up in Tashkent (the capital of Uzbekistan) and not in Taishet, as some writers and journalists mistakenly claim.

As proof, I will cite the contents of two encrypted telegrams between the KGB of Uzbekistan and Armenia.

*First:* In coded telegram No. 565 dated 5 October 1954, Deputy Chairman of the KGB of the Uzbek SSR, General Ruzmetov, informed the KGB of the Armenian SSR about the plausibility of our plans to send a letter to Simon Vratsan on behalf of Nzhde, as the latter had recently stated to them.

Resolution of the Chairman of the KGB of the Armenian SSR, Lieutenant Colonel G.A. Badamyants, to the Deputy Head of the 1st Department, Colonel Gyurdzhanyants:

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<sup>1</sup> Badamyants Georgy Artashesovich was born in 1910 in Moscow. From 1948, he worked in the security services, from 1950 to 1954 as head of the MGB department of the Latvian SSR, and from May 1954 to November 1972 as chairman of the KGB of the Armenian SSR. Lieutenant General. He died in 1988 in Moscow.

"Report."

Deputy Head of the 1st Department, Colonel Gyurdzhanyants, assigned the task to the Deputy Head of the 2nd Division of the 1st Department of the KGB of the Armenian SSR, Captain <sup>Ovesepyan</sup>. Ovesepyan compiled the encryption reference.

*Second report:* "In response to encrypted telegram No. 565 from the KGB of the Uzbek SSR, we confirm Ter-Arutyunyan's statement that Devedzhyan also participated in the letter and that the operation was terminated on the instructions of Moscow, reference No. 1/985.

*Deputy Head of the 2nd Division of the 1st  
Department of the KGB under the Council of  
Ministers of the Armenian SSR  
Captain Ovesepyan."*

I do not know how long Nzhdeh stayed in Tashkent or when he was transferred to Vladimir.

Before commenting on the motives behind the centre's refusal to use Nzhdeh abroad, I would like to write about the following.

After receiving our coded telegram, the Uzbek security officers undoubtedly informed Nzhdeh of the bitter truth about Moscow's refusal to proceed with the planned event involving him. I can judge his reaction based on the wealth of materials at my disposal, but I think it is necessary to highlight two quotes:

1. In a letter to Stalin dated 10 January 1948, Nzhdeh wrote:

"...Citizen Generalissimo!

...I would not want to live if I did not feel that there were still tasks ahead for which it was worth living.

To die? What could be easier than death for an old patriot and soldier? I am not concerned with life or death, but with my last wish in this world – to take part in the destruction of feudal Turkey."

The reader will also recall the lines from Nzhdeh's letter to the Minister of State Security of the Armenian SSR dated 25 December 1952, in which he writes about how terrible it would be to refuse to take the measures he specified in order to prevent...

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<sup>1</sup>That is, the author of this book, V.M. Ovesepyan.

the onset of a new massacre of Armenians.

I think that the fatal blow dealt by Moscow's refusal hastened the death of the great patriot in prison.

As for the refusal to implement the decision to use Nzhdeh and Davedjian abroad, the reasons, in my opinion, could be as follows:

*Firstly:* After Stalin's death (5 March 1953), L.P. Beria, who was also the Minister of Internal Affairs of the USSR (the MGB was renamed the MVD), came to power as the second most powerful person in the Soviet Union. This meant that the USSR's state security agencies refocused their efforts on the country's internal affairs, i.e. against their own people, leaving international imperialism "alone". The Main Intelligence Directorate, which had always been on the right flank of all the directorates of the former MGB, now gave way to counterintelligence, i.e. the First Main Directorate was considered to be counterintelligence, and the Second Main Directorate was considered to be intelligence. This meant a reorientation in foreign policy towards capitalist countries.

The entire leadership of the central apparatus of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs was replaced, and Beria's former colleagues from the Transcaucasus region in 1938, when he replaced Yezhov, returned to high positions, along with personnel loyal to him personally: Kobulov, Goglidze, Tsanova, Meshik, Mamulov, Dekanozov, and many others.

Thus, those officials who had given their approval and supported Nzhdeh's initiative were essentially out of the picture. Those who were at the forefront of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs were primarily "persons of Caucasian nationality" who themselves had been involved in the destruction of the Dashnaks within the country and had a negative attitude towards the Armenian question.

The same Armenian, Bogdan Zakharovich <sup>Kobulov</sup>, before transferring from Tbilisi to Moscow following Beria, worked in the NKVD of Transcaucasia.

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<sup>1</sup> Bogdan Zakharovich Kobulov was born in 1904 in Tiflis. From 1922, he worked in the security services, and from 1945, he was the first deputy chairman of the NKGB of the USSR. Colonel General. After the arrest of L. Beria, he was arrested and shot.

For many years, he headed the SPO, a special political department whose tasks included combating the counterrevolutionary underground in the form of various banned parties, including the Dashnaktsutyun, nationalism, and anti-Soviet organisations. He was undoubtedly familiar with the names of Dashnak leaders, and Nzhdeh even more so.

Kobulov B.Z., as head of the 2nd department of the Main Security Directorate of the NKVD of the USSR, sent a letter signed by him to three addresses in October 1938: Goglidze, People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of Georgia; Raev, People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of Azerbaijan; and Khvorostyan, People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of Armenia, with the following content:

According to information from the 5th Department of the NKVD's Main Directorate for State Security, one of the active Dashnak leaders, Garegin Nzhdeh, who was in Bulgaria, travelled to the cities of Varna, Ruse, Shumen, Burgas, Plovdiv, and others in 1938.

In these cities, Nzhdeh held public meetings dedicated to the 20th anniversary of "Armenian independence," at which he delivered anti-Soviet speeches.

This year, the Dashnaks in Bulgaria tried to make the celebration of this anniversary more solemn. Bulgarian military and civilian officials attended the meetings dedicated to the 20th anniversary of "Armenian independence."

Due to the fact that Dashnak organisations in Bulgaria split into two factions: the so-called "socialists" – who are supporters of the Dashnak central bureau abroad – and "racists" oriented towards German fascism, the celebrations took place in separate groups: the "socialists" celebrated only in Sofia and Burgas, while the "racists" celebrated in Plovdiv, Varna, Ruse and other cities.

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<sup>1</sup> Ukrainian by nationality.

<sup>2</sup> Main Directorate of State Security.

Recently, there has been a noticeable increase in Nzhde's activity. His racist movement is beginning to spread among Armenians in Bulgaria. In this regard, the 5th Department of the GUGB is taking measures to more thoroughly identify the racist movement among the Dashnaks and, in particular, the combat groups organised by Nzhde.

Undoubtedly, "racists" will try to transfer their fascist activities to anti-Soviet segments of the Armenian population in the USSR. It is also certain that there will be attempts to use their connections in the USSR to organise militant insurgent and terrorist groups on the territory of the Soviet Union. Therefore, it is necessary to:

Direct the attention of agents working on the Dashnaks to the identification of Dashnak "racist" counter-revolutionary formations and their combat groups.

Establish all of Nzhdeh's family and other connections in the USSR and actively investigate them with a view to uncovering their connections abroad and the racist formations they are creating.

Please inform us of the names of Nzhde's established connections and their locations for record-keeping and investigation purposes.

*Head of the 2nd Department of the Main  
Directorate of State Security of the NKVD of the  
USSR, Senior Major of State Security Kobulov  
Deputy Head of the Main  
Directorate of State Security of the  
NKVD, Captain of State Security Fedotov.*

For reference, the rank of senior major of state security is roughly equivalent to the rank of lieutenant general in the army.

And when, after Stalin's death, Kobulov B.Z. became Beria's first deputy in the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, he had already held the military rank of colonel general for a long time.

The response to this document from Armenia was as follows:

*To the Head of the 2nd Department of the Main  
Directorate of State Security of the NKVD of the USSR,  
Senior Major of State Security  
Comrade Kobulov  
Moscow*

All agents working on the Dashnaks are focused on uncovering the connections between Nzhdeh-Nashbyan<sup>Garegin1</sup> and the counter-revolutionary Dashnak "systemic" formations of combat groups on the territory of Armenia.  
" formations of combat groups on the territory of Armenia.

The measures taken so far have identified one of his relatives – Mnatsakanyan Gegham Kirakosovich, born in 1885, a native of the village of Koznar, Nakhichevan ASSR, residing in Yerevan at 48 Lenin Street, working as a procurement agent for Soyuzprodmag, to whom we have agent access. We will report further on the results of the investigation into Nzhdeh's connections.

*People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the  
Armenian SSR, Major of State Security  
Khvorostyan  
Acting Head of the 4th Department of the NKVD  
Senior Lieutenant of State Security Ilyin*

I do not know what the responses from the NKVD in Georgia and Azerbaijan were. I would like to add that in the post-war years, Kobulov was nominated by the Armenian SSR as a deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR as a "loyal" son of his people. And Nzhdeh was still languishing in prison with a bag of his native soil under his arm.

Thus, with the change in personnel at the centre, Beria and his associates came to power – with their old views and style of fighting against internal and external enemies of the Soviet state. This was well known to both central and local officials. Therefore, it is unlikely that the initiative

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<sup>1</sup> As stated in the document.

<sup>2</sup> Kznut is Nzhde's native village.

It was unrealistic for Nzhde to achieve his cherished goal.

After Beria and his team were arrested, completely different people came to power, who appeared to be more progressive, but in essence were Khrushchev's people, trained in Beria's school.

In 1954, after the reorganisation of the Ministry of Internal Affairs under the new name of the Committee for State Security, its first chairman was also one of Beria's deputies, I. Serov, who was also a close associate of N. Khrushchev. Army General Serov headed the state security agencies until 1959. He knew nothing about Armenia or Armenian history and did not want to know anything about it. Eyewitnesses said that once, at a hearing of representatives of the KGB counterintelligence of the Armenian SSR in Moscow, Serov behaved like a tyrant, confusing Mount Kazbek with Mount Ararat.

So the fate of Nzhdeh, and not only his, was in the hands of such people, and it was hopeless to expect a positive outcome from them.

And what about Armenia?

In connection with the formation of the USSR State Security Committee in March 1954, Lieutenant Colonel Georgy Artashesovich Badamyan replaced the former Minister of Internal Affairs of the Armenian SSR. His deputies for operational matters were colonels: Mikhail Ivanovich Aghayants, an experienced officer who had worked in Moscow for many years and later contributed to the tragic fate of Nzhdeh, and Martiros Agekyan. All of them later returned to where they had come from, i.e. Moscow, where they died and were buried.

The intelligence department was already headed by Grigory <sup>Pavlovich</sup> Kasparov, an Armenian from Rostov who had arrived from the centre. He did not speak Armenian at all, but in addition to Russian, he knew Japanese and English. He had extensive experience in intelligence work abroad and was a typical PGU agent. He was a man

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<sup>1</sup> Before his appointment to Armenia, Grigory Pavlovich Kasparov was a resident of the PGU in Japan.

was not a bad man; he suffered from heart disease, but did not show it. Personally, I never saw anything bad in him.

Speaking about the ministry's assessment of our work at that time, I must note that, despite our modest achievements, the leadership evaluated our work positively and supported our initiative. For example:

*Minister of Internal Affairs<sup>1</sup> of the Armenian SSR  
Major General  
Comrade Martirosov G.I.*

### *Report*

In connection with the successful completion of the operation known to you, I would consider it possible to reward those who participated in the preparation and conduct of the operation. Deputy Head of the 2nd Department, Lieutenant Colonel Melkumov V.A., Head of the 2nd Division of the 2nd Department, Major Madakyan N.Y., and Deputy Head of the 2nd Division of the 2nd Department, Captain Ovesepyan V.M.

I request your approval.

*Head of the 2nd Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Armenian SSR  
Lieutenant Colonel Kasparov  
1.03.53*

All of these officials were directly involved in the proceedings against Nzhdeh in 1952-1953, but Lieutenant Colonel Melkumov V.A. also participated in the interrogations of Nzhdeh in 1946-1948.

Currently, the following individuals are still alive: Melkumov V.A., who retains his former rank of lieutenant colonel, and the author of this article, who left Armenia with the rank of captain and returned home with the rank of colonel.

Abstracting from the facts and examples listed above, I would like to

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<sup>1</sup>At that time, the MGB and the MVD were merged into the MVD.

write about the following. Currently, there are many published materials on Nzhdeh's views on saving the Armenian nation from physical destruction.

I also have materials relating to the period of his imprisonment in the internal prison of the MGB of the Armenian SSR: a document written by Nzhdeh.

This document was not intended as a justification, but was written with the aim of making those in power, who were obliged to care deeply for their people, think.

"...As a patriot who has studied the history of his people in depth and is familiar with the reasons for their unparalleled suffering, I was preoccupied with a single question: ensuring the physical existence of the Armenian people.

The centuries-old history of the Armenian people, with its bloody facts, has long proven that Armenia, due to its geographical location, cannot enjoy self-governing independence.

As a buffer state, against its will, it would be forced to serve as a military route, a springboard, and often

a "bone of contention" between powerful neighbouring states. No amount of brilliant diplomacy or wise politics can help or save such a country. In short, its fate and role are predetermined by the presence of neighbouring conquerors. It is not destined to enjoy

lasting peace, security, or neutrality.

Armenia's centuries-old tragedy is due to its nature as a buffer state.

By adopting Christianity, it became a demarcation line between two worlds – Christianity and paganism. And with the October Revolution, it simultaneously became a social demarcation line between the two parts of the world – capitalist and socialist.

Thus, for the Armenian people, a possible

to determine their orientation.

With whom? Naturally, it could not be with the murderer of half of the Armenian people, with the enemy of its existence and with the protector of the latter. It joined the great force that is trying to create a more humane world, which the Armenian people so desperately crave.

By joining the Soviet Union, Armenia put an end to its disastrous status as a buffer state.

Today, for me, there is only one issue – the reunification of part of the Armenian territories in Turkey with Soviet Armenia.

*G. Ter-Arutyunyan*<sup>1</sup>.

I find it impossible to comment on this document. It is Nzhdeh's historical testament from prison, a sacred warning to all politicians.

And what exactly was Nzhdeh accused of?

*"I affirm"*

*Minister of State Security of the Armenian SSR*

*Colonel S. Korkhmazyan*

*10 March 1948*

### *Indictment*

*In investigation case No. 111278*

*On charges against Ter-Arutyunyan Garegin Yegishevich (Nzhde)  
of crimes under Articles 58-4, 58-11 and*

*58-6, Part 1 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR*

*To the Ministry of State Security of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*

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<sup>1</sup> This document is not included in the four-volume case file on G. Nzhde in the archives of the RA State Security Committee; it was taken from the six-volume operational case file "Zubr," the location and fate of which are currently unknown.

A number of materials have been received indicating that Ter-Arutyunyan Garegin Yegishevich, one of the leaders of the Dashnaktsutyun party and a general in the Dashnak army, emigrated from Soviet Armenia in 1921.

Living in Bulgaria, Ter-Harutyunyan, as leader of the Dashnak party, carried out activities hostile to the Soviet Union. In 1941, he established contact with German intelligence and, on their behalf, recruited agents for German intelligence among nationalists in the Balkans.

Ter-Harutyunyan was a member of the "Armenian National Council" created by the Germans in Berlin, and as a member of this council, he carried out activities hostile to the Soviet Union among Armenians living abroad.

Based on this information and a number of other documents, on 2 November 1944, Ter-Arutyunyan Garegin Yegishevich was arrested and brought to trial.

The investigation established that the accused, Ter-Arutyunyan G.E., was a member of the Dashnak Party from 1908 to 1937.

In 1918, he was sent by the Dashnak government to Zangezur to form nationalist military units. As commander of the armed forces and, from 1921, prime minister of the Dashnak government in Zangezur, he fought against the Soviet Army. On his orders, a number of communists and Red Army soldiers were shot, and hundreds of Red Army soldiers, communists, revolutionary workers and peasants were thrown from Tatev Rock into a ravine (Volume II, case file NN 251-253, 257-259, 263-266, 355-359, 360, 364-369).

The defendant Ter-Arutyunyan G.E. was one of the main organisers of the Dashnak adventure in Armenia in February 1921. After the Dashnak uprising was suppressed, at the end of July 1921, he emigrated to Iran, then to Turkey, and in 1922 he left for Bulgaria, where he lived until the day of his arrest.

The defendant, Ter-Arutyunyan G.E., was involved in journalism while in exile and, until 1937, headed the Dashnak organisation in Bulgaria, actively promoting propaganda against the Soviet Union and the Communist Party both in the press and at meetings.

In 1933, the accused Ter-Arutyunyan G.E. made a special trip to America, where he organised the Dashnak youth organisation "Tsegakron", which preached racism and was essentially a fascist youth organisation.

The accused, Ter-Arutyunyan G.E., being an irreconcilable enemy of the Soviet Union, in 1941 through his close acquaintance, German agent Burev Semyon Ivanovich, established contact with the head of German intelligence and counterintelligence agencies in the Balkans, Wagner Otto, nicknamed "Doctor Delius," on whose orders he travelled to the cities of Bucharest, Varna, Plovdiv, Sliven, and Shumen to select and recommend individuals to the Germans for use against the Soviet Union (Volume I, case files NN 22-29, 31-33, 37-44, 45-48, 66, 68-88, 93, 157, 208-

302, Volume II, case files NN 192-195, 311, 318, 320, 327, 332, 352).

Later, in the autumn of 1942, the accused Ter-Arutyunyan G.E. travelled to Berlin on the orders of German intelligence officer Major Drum. Through his assistant Asatryan Aik (arrested by the SMERSH), he recruited 30 Armenians living in Bulgaria and sent them to Berlin, where they were trained at a school for intelligence agents and saboteurs in the village of Hohenbinde and later transferred to the Crimea with the aim of dropping them into Soviet Armenia for espionage and sabotage work and to organise an uprising in the event of German troops approaching the borders of Armenia (Volume 1, case files NN 1574, 155, 158-165; Volume II, case files NN 49-51, 59-62).

In August 1943, Ter-Arutyunyan G.E. came to Crimea and addressed the above-mentioned intelligence agents and saboteurs, calling on them to carry out the Germans' orders (volume II, case files NN

309, 310).

The defendant Ter-Arutyunyan G.E. in 1942 joined the "Armenian National Council," created by the German Ministry of Eastern Occupied Areas and designed to assist the Germans in their fight against the Soviet Union and in establishing a bourgeois-nationalist government in Armenia under the protectorate of Germany (Volume I, case files NN 69-71, Volume I, case files NN 245-248, 352).

The investigation into the case was completed on 20 December 1947 and sent to Moscow on 30 December for a special hearing at the USSR Ministry of State Security, but was returned by the prosecutor of the special cases department of the USSR Prosecutor's Office for reclassification of the charges.

Based on the above, Ter-Arutyunyan Garegin Yegishevich: born in 1886, a native of Nakhichevan, Azerbaijan SSR, a member of the Dashnaktsutyun party from 1908 to 1937, a former general of the Dashnak army, an emigrant, a journalist by profession, residing in Bulgaria, is accused of the following:

In 1920-21, as commander-in-chief of the Dashnak military forces and prime minister of the counter-revolutionary government in Zangezur, he waged an active armed struggle against the Red Army, persecuted and shot Red Army soldiers and communists, and was one of the instigators of the Dashnak adventure in 1921. As an irreconcilable enemy of Soviet power, he actively engaged in propaganda against the Soviet Union abroad.

During World War II, he established contact with German intelligence agencies with the aim of waging armed struggle against units of the Soviet Army. He was involved in recruiting and training people to carry out tasks for German intelligence and counterintelligence agencies, was a member of the "Armenian National Council" created in Berlin in 1942, i.e. committed crimes under Articles 58-4, 58-11, 58-6, Part 1 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR.

He partially admitted his guilt. He is exposed by the testimony of the arrested: Davedzhyan Ovanes Akopovich, Burev Semyon Ivanovich, Plev Hristo Dmitrovich, Pastandyan Krigor Andranikovich, Asatryan Aik Kirakosovich, Dogramadzhian Martyn Mkrtichovich, Davydian Nshan Akopovich, Tomasyan Mkrtich, Astvatsaturyan Nerses Srapionovich, Sargsyan Gurgen Semenovitch.

The testimony of witnesses: Janunts Avag Tevosovich, Khoi-lunts Arsen Arutyunovich, Paronyan Asatur Avetisovich, as well as documents from the state archives, handwritten notes and brochures by Ter-Arutyunyan himself.

Finding the preliminary investigation complete and the charges proven, in accordance with Article 200 of the Criminal Procedure Code of the Armenian SSR, I would consider:

Investigation case No. 11278 on the charges against Ter-Arutyunyan

Garegin Yegishevich should be referred through the Military Prosecutor of the Armed Forces of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Armenian SSR to a special meeting of the USSR Ministry of State Security for a hearing. The punishment for the accused Ter-Arutyunyan

G.E. should be 25 years' imprisonment.

*The indictment was drawn up on  
10 March 1948. Head of the 3rd Division of  
the 1st Department  
of the Armenian SSR  
MGB, Major<sup>Melkumyan1</sup>*

The reader will find it interesting to learn about the military prosecutor's reaction to the quality of the investigation in the case of G. Ter-Arutyunyan.

<sup>1</sup> Melkumyan Martiros Sarkisovich was born in 1914 in the town of Zurnabad, Khanlar District. From 1939, he served in the security services. In 1946-1950, he was head of the Third Section of the First Department, in 1950-52, head of the Secretariat, in 1953-54, deputy head of the Second Department, and in 1952-53 and 1954-59, deputy head of the First Department. From 1959 to 1962, he was head of the First Department of the KGB. From 1962 to 1967, he was in charge of the consular department of the USSR Embassy in Syria, and from 1967 to 1974, he was deputy chairman of the Committee for Cultural Relations with Armenians Abroad. and from 1974 worked in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Armenian SSR, where he headed the political information department and the protocol and consular department.

*To the Head of the 1st Department of the MGB of the Armenian SSR*

*Colonel Comrade* <sup>Aroyan1</sup>

The investigation period in the case of Ter-Arutyunyan Garegin Yegishevich expired on 2 September 1947.

Considering that it is not expedient to extend the investigation period further, since the evidence gathered sufficiently incriminates Ter-Arutyunyan in the crime he committed, I request that you instruct investigator Comrade Melkumyan to expedite

*Ref. No. 20280*

*dated 20 August 1947.*

*Military Prosecutor*

*Lieutenant Colonel*

*Kalashyant*

*s Incoming*

*No. 1116*

*1.09.47.*

the investigation and complete it no later than ten days.

Inform me of the date of presentation of the investigation materials to the accused Ter-Arutyunyan so that I may be present.

The investigation into Nzhde lasted no less than four years and two months, i.e. from 12 October 1944 to 20 December 1948. During this period, according to my rough estimates, he was summoned for additional questioning and interrogated 105 times, and the investigation was extended 27 times.

He was held in Moscow, at Lubyanka, from October 1944 to November 1946, where he was interrogated approximately 27 times.

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<sup>1</sup> Arutyunovich Ambarzum Aroyan was born in 1905 in Tiflis. He graduated only from the Tiflis Labour School. From 1928, he worked in the State Security organs. In 1939-41 and 1943-44, he worked as head of the investigation department, in 1941-42 – head of the economic department, and in 1944-47 – head of the First Department. In 1947-52, he held the post of second deputy minister of the MGB, and in 1952-53, he was chairman of the Supreme Court of the Armenian SSR. From 1944 to 1954, he was an external student at the law faculty of Yerevan State University, which he never graduated from, passing only 37 out of 41 exams. On 13 April 1954, he was dismissed from his job for gross violations of investigative methods and personal involvement in the beating of arrested persons. He personally beat and tortured arrested persons, forcing them to give the testimony he wanted. On 19 May 1954, he was expelled from the CPSU and brought to trial "for anti-party behaviour, manifested in gross violations of the rules of investigation, extortion of testimony, beating and use of unlawful methods of coercion against suspects, as well as for participating in the arrest and deportation of innocent people."

Nzhdeh was held in the internal prison of the MGB of the Armenian SSR from November 1946 to March 1948, where he was interrogated 80 times.

In connection with the above, I think it is worth presenting another document to the reader.

*Top secret*  
*"Approved" Head*  
*of the 1st Department*  
*Colonel Aroyan October*  
*1947*

#### *Decision*

I, Major Melkumyan, Head of the 3rd Section of the 1st Department of the MGB of the Armenian SSR, having examined the materials of investigation case No. 11278 on the charges against Ter-Arutyunyan Garegin Yegishevich – Nzhdeh for crimes under Articles 58-3, 58-11 and 58-13 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR,

found that

That the anti-Soviet documents, articles and books written by the accused Ter-Arutyunyan Garegin Yegishevich-Nzhde in exile, newspaper articles exposing him for conducting hostile activities against the Soviet Union, as well as documents obtained from the state archives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Armenian SSR on Ter-Arutyunyan's anti-Soviet Dashnak activities in Zangezur during the period from 1920 to 1921, expose him as an enemy of the Soviet Union, and therefore

Decided:

All of the above-listed documents, articles, and books, with a detailed description, shall be attached in separate packages (see packages N4 and 5) to the investigation file N11278 of the accused Ter-Arutyunyan Garegin Yegishevich as material evidence.

*Head of the 3rd Division of the 1st Department of the MGB of the Armenian SSR  
Major Melkumyan I*

cited the "decision" to attach these materials to the investigation file as "material evidence of Nzhdeh's hostile activities against the Soviet Union" in order to demonstrate the short-sightedness, narrow-mindedness, and myopia of the of the Armenian SSR MGB who made this decision.

Let us assume that, given the political psychology of those post-war years, it was somehow possible to come to terms with such formulations. But in the process of "investigating" Nzhdeh's statement to Voroshilov seven years later, when Stalin was gone and Beria had been exposed and shot, was it not possible to evaluate everything related to Garegin Nzhdeh fairly and justly? That is why I want our people to know who decided Nzhdeh's fate and how.

Now let us look more specifically at what material evidence was seized from Nzhdeh and his apartment during the search at the time of his detention and arrest in October 1944.

*Act*

We, the undersigned employees of the 2nd Department of the SMERSH Counterintelligence Directorate of the 3rd Ukrainian Front – Senior Lieutenant Filippovich and Comrade Nagibin – have drawn up this report stating that among the items seized from the arrested Ter-Arutyunyan (Nzhde) the following were found:

1. Identity card No. 903
2. Legitimation No. 5/1925
3. LAVOA Dumonde employee ID
4. Pocket watch, brand "Musteria"
5. Automatic pencil with "A.R.C. CORP" inscription
6. Automatic pencil with "A.R.C. CORP" inscription
7. White bone comb
8. Wristwatch strap

9. Pocket watch chain
10. Two knives (penknife and simple knife)
11. Two keys
12. Two badges, one of them "For Bravery"
13. Safety razor blade
14. Leather wallet
15. Glasses case
16. Pencil tip
17. Tie
18. Notebook
19. Bread card
20. Explanatory note on 10 sheets
21. Charter of the Congress of Nationalities
22. Excerpts from books on 4 sheets
23. Various correspondence on 12 sheets

In which they drew up this document

*Lieutenant Filippovich  
Nagibin  
20 October 1944*

### *Conclusion*

Moscow, March 1945.

I, S.T. Yeghyan, translator for the Investigation Department of the Main Directorate of SMERSH, having reviewed the materials in Armenian seized during a search of the arrested Ter-Arutyunyan Garegin Yeghishevich (alias Nzhdeh),

found the following:

The following items were seized during the search of Ter-Arutyunyan G.E.:

1. 28 books in Armenian of a nationalist nature.

Among them:

- Pages from My Diary, author Nzhdeh – 1924 edition – 5 copies
- "Open Letter to the Armenian Intelligentsia" by Nzhdeh – published in 1929 – 4 copies
- "The Bloody Book" – published by the government of Nagorno-Karabakh in 1921 – 2 copies
- "Defence of Nagorno-Karabakh," author Vartan Gevorgyan – published in 1923, Bucharest – 3 copies
- American Armenians, by Nzhdeh – published in Sofia in 1935 – 1 copy.
- "Armenian Spelling," by Yeganyan – published in Plovdiv in 1941 – 1 copy.
- "Will We Be Able to Make Peace with Turkey?" by Shahin <sup>Nataly</sup>1 – published in America in 1926 – 1 copy.
- "Armenian National Organisation" – published in Paris in 1935 – 2 copies.
- "Calendar in the Armenian Language" – 1 copy.
- "The Movement of the Spirit of the Tribe," author Nzhde – published in Sofia – 3 copies.
- "The Elimination of the Armenian Revolutionary Dashnaktsutyun," Author: V. Navasardyan – published in Cairo in 1924 – 1 copy.
- "What our path was and what it should be," author V. Navasardyan – published in Cairo in 1923 – 1 copy.
- "The Armenian Question," author Kraft Bonar – published in Geneva in 1923 – 1 copy.
- "The Charter and Programme of the Armenian Red Cross" – published in Boston in 1936 – 1 copy.
- "Programme of the Armenian Nationalist Organisation
- "Tegakron" – published in 1935 – 1 copy.
- Newspaper "Azg" (Nation) – 15 copies.
- Newspaper "Ayrenik" (Motherland) – 8 copies.
- Newspaper "Razmik" (Fighter) – 9 copies.

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<sup>1</sup> Author of this book: Zarevand.

Newspaper Usaber (Hope) – 7 copies  
Newspaper Paak (Sentinel) – 7 copies  
Map of Old Armenia – 1 copy. Map of Transcaucasia – 1 copy.  
Droshak magazine (Znamya) – 11 copies.  
Various manuscripts with nationalist content in notebooks – 38 notebooks.  
Separate handwritten sheets, literary notes – 1 package.  
Blank certificates with the seal of the Armenian-Bulgarian Red Cross Society – 4 items.  
Newspaper articles from various Armenian newspapers – 1 package.  
Notebooks with various notes – 5 pcs.  
Letters addressed to Ter-Arutyunyan – 534 pcs.  
Certificate of Ter-Arutyunyan's appointment as general of the Dashnak army – 3 sheets.  
Circulars and minutes of the Dashnaktsutyun party – 89 sheets.

All of the above materials indicate that Ter-Arutyunyan was an active member of the anti-Soviet Armenian Dashnaktsutyun party, but no documents confirming specific facts of his subversive activities against the Soviet Union, with the exception of anti-Soviet articles he wrote in newspapers, were found in the materials reviewed.

There are also no documents of scientific value in the materials reviewed.

On this basis, I conclude that the materials seized from Ter-Arutyunyan are of no value or significance to the investigation of the case.

*Translator of the  
Investigation Department of the Main Directorate of  
Counterintelligence "SMERSH"  
Yeghyan*

At the same time, I would like to add that since Nzhdeh was accused of having ties to German intelligence, which served as the "basis" for his detention by the Bulgarian police and subsequent transfer to the Soviet military counterintelligence service "SMERSH," I would like to note that nothing was found in the seized documents about Nzhdeh's espionage or other hostile activities against the USSR in favour of German intelligence.

As a result, a document appeared:

*Protocol*

On the basis of an order from the Main Directorate of the NKVD<sup>1</sup> of the USSR "SMERSH" No. 476 dated 2 November 1944, a search was conducted at the reception of arrested persons at the Internal Prison of the NKGB of the USSR at Ter-Arutyunyan G.E.

According to the warrant, the following person was arrested: Ter-Arutyunyan Garegin Yegishevich

*The search was conducted by Ivanov  
2 November 1944. Signature*

For the purpose of analysing and accurately remembering the dates of the beginning of the Nzhdeh tragedy, I consider it appropriate to include copies of some documents.

*"Approved"  
Deputy Head of  
SMERSH of the 3rd Ukrainian  
Front  
Colonel Vul  
10 October 1944*

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<sup>1</sup> People's Commissariat of Defence.

*Arrest report*

*10 October 1944*

*Sofia*

Deputy Head of the 2nd Division of the 4th Department of the SMERSH Counterintelligence Directorate of the 3rd Ukrainian Front, Guard Major Stepanov, having examined materials in regarding Garegin Ter-Arutyunyan,

"alias" Nzhde, born in 1888, a native of Nakhichevan, Erivan Province, member of the Dashnaktsutyun Party, former general of the Dashnak army, citizen of the Bulgarian state,

Found:

Garegin Ter-Arutyunyan – "Nzhde" was detained by the Bulgarian police on charges of having ties to German intelligence agencies.

Considering that Garegin Ter-Arutyunyan is suspected of actively fighting against Soviet power, he has been handed over to us by the Bulgarian police.

Guided by Article 100 of the Criminal

Code of the RSFSR, I have decided:

Garegin Ter-Arutyunyan, alias "Nzhde," shall be detained.

*Deputy Head of the 2nd Division of the 4th Department of SMERSH*

*3rd Ukrainian Front*

*Guard Major Stepanov*

*Signature*

The protocol was hastily written by hand.

After his arrest on 31 October 1944, an arrest warrant was issued:

*"I approve"*  
*Acting Head of the*  
*Main Directorate*  
*Counterintelligence "SMERSH"*  
*Major General*  
*Rogov*  
*31 October 1944*

*"I authorise the arrest"*  
*Chief Military Prosecutor of the Red Army*  
*Lieutenant General of Justice Nosov*  
*1-November 1944*

*Decision on arrest*

I, Deputy Head of the Investigation Department of the Main Directorate of Counterintelligence "SMERSH," Major Sedov, having reviewed the materials received regarding Ter-Arutyunyan Garegin Yegishevich, born in 1886, a native of Nakhichevan Armenian SSR<sup>1</sup> an Armenian of Bulgarian nationality, a journalist by profession,

found that:

Ter-Arutyunyan, being one of the leaders of the Armenian Dashnaktsutyun party and a general in the Dashnak army, emigrated from Russia in 1921.

While living in Bulgaria, Ter-Arutyunyan, as leader of the aforementioned party, carried out hostile activities against the Soviet Union.

In 1941, Ter-Arutyunyan established contact with German intelligence and, on their behalf, recruited new agents among nationalists in the Balkans, whom he sent to sabotage schools.

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<sup>1</sup> As in the text.

German intelligence.

In addition, Ter-Arutyunyan was introduced by German intelligence in Berlin to the so-called "Armenian Committee" organised by the Germans, and as a member of this committee, he carried out activities hostile to the Soviet Union among Armenians living abroad. On the basis of the foregoing, pursuant to Articles 146 and 158

of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR

it was decided:

Ter-Arutyunyan Garegin Yegishevich shall be arrested and searched.

*Deputy Head of the Investigation  
Department of the Main Directorate of  
Counterintelligence "Smerch"  
Major Sedov*

*"Agreed"  
Head of the Investigation  
Department of the Main Directorate of  
Counterintelligence "Smerch"  
Colonel Leonov*

Then a ruling on the chosen preventive measure appeared.

### *Decision*

I, Major Sedov, deputy head of the investigative department of the Main Directorate of Counterintelligence "Smerch", having examined the materials received on the criminal activities of Ter-Arutyunyan Garegin Yegishevich, born in 1886, a native of Nakhichevan Armenian SSR<sup>1</sup>, an Armenian, a Bulgarian subject, a journalist by profession, leader of the Dashnak party "Dashnaktsutyun",

found that:

That Ter-Arutyunyan is guilty of the crime provided for

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<sup>1</sup> As in the text.

*Garegin Nzhde and the KGB*

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Article 58-1 "a" of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR, and taking into account that Ter-Arutyunyan, being at liberty, may evade investigation and trial, guided by Articles 145 and 158 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR,

Decided:

As a measure to prevent Ter-Arutyunyan Garegin Yegishevich from evading investigation and trial, to place him in custody, which shall be announced to the arrested person in accordance with Article 146 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR, against receipt, in this ruling.

In accordance with Article 160 of the Criminal Procedure Code of the RSFSR, a copy of the ruling shall be sent to the prosecutor and forwarded to the prison governor for inclusion in the prison file.

*Deputy Head of the Investigation  
Department of the Main Directorate of  
Counterintelligence "Smerch"  
Major Sedov*

*Head of the Investigation  
Department of the SMERSH  
Counterintelligence Directorate  
Colonel Leonov*

Reference: The ruling was announced to Ter-Arutyunyan Garegin on 3 November 1944.

*USSR People's Commissariat  
Main Directorate of Counterintelligence "SMERSH"  
Order No. 476*

*2 November 1944  
Issued to Comrade Ivanov  
For execution: Arrest and search of Ter-  
Arutyunyan Garegin Yegishevich At the  
address: at the place of residence.*

*Deputy Head of the  
Main Counterintelligence Directorate "Smerch" Seal V. Rogov*

Arrest authorised by the prosecutor. The warrant was presented to me on 2 November 1944. Ter-Arutyunyan, Garegin Yegishevich.

Of course, all these documents were drawn up retroactively, after Nzhdeh was taken to Moscow. I do not consider it necessary to comment on them.

*Arrestee questionnaire*

1. Surname: Ter-Arutyunyan
  2. First and middle names: Garegin Yegishevich
  3. Year and place of birth: born in 1886, Nakhichevan, Armenia
  4. Permanent place of residence: Sofia, prior to arrest – 92 Tsar Boris Street
  5. Profession and speciality: journalist
  6. Last place of employment or occupation before arrest: editor of the newspaper Razmik, magazine Svetoglas, journalist
  7. Nationality: Armenian
  8. Citizenship: Bulgarian
  9. Party affiliation: non-partisan
  10. Education: higher
  11. Social background: son of a priest
  12. Criminal record: none
  13. Criminal record: none
- Father: Ter-Arutyunyan Yegishe Saakovich – died in 1888.  
Mother: Ter-Arutyunyan Tirui Nazarianovna – died in 1940.  
Wife: Ter-Harutyunyan Epime Sukyasovna – 1902, Sofia, ul.

Вопросы	Пер. Гурганян С. С. 1884	с. 10
Ответы	Пер. Гурганян С. С. 1881	"
	Пер. Гурганян С. С. 1880	"

Место для фотографии

Описание указанного  
периода

Пер. Гурганян С. С. 1880

Личная подпись  
(протокол)

В. Гурганян С. С. 1880



Prison cell

Tsar Boris, No. 92

Son: Ter-Arutyunyan Sukiyas, born in 1936, Sofia, Tsar Boris Street, 92

Brother: Ter-Arutyunyan Levon Yegishevich, born in 1884, place of residence unknown

Sister: Ter-Arutyunyan Anna Yegishevna, born in 1881, place of residence unknown

Sister: Ter-Arutyunyan Tsolina Yegishevna, born in 1880, place of residence unknown

Two photographs of Nzhde (arrested) – profile and full face Fingerprint

*Personal signature (of the arrested person)*

*Ter-Harutyunyan Garegin Yegishevich*

*Verbal portrait of the arrested*

1. Height – 171 cm
2. Build – overweight
3. Shoulders – horizontal
4. Neck – short
5. Hair colour – grey
6. Eye colour – brown
7. Face – rectangular
8. Forehead – high
9. Eyebrows – straight
10. Nose – large
11. Mouth – large
12. Lips – thick
13. Chin – straight
14. Ears – large
15. Distinguishing features – none
16. Other characteristics and habits – none
17. Date of arrest – 11 October 1944, warrant No. 476

18. Basis: decision on the election of preventive measures by the Main Directorate of the NKVD of the USSR, Article 58-1a of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR.

19. Assigned to: SMERSH

Where V.N. is being held: NKGB prison, Moscow

*By whom: Deputy DPN Junior Lieutenant g/b  
Signature*

As someone who communicated with Nzhdeh on numerous occasions, I object to the description of his nose and mouth as "large" in the verbal portrait – he had a completely normal nose and mouth. In general, he was pleasant in appearance. Nzhdeh had regular features.

I think that my other comrades who served with me in the former 1st Department of the MGB of the Armenian SSR, who communicated with Nzhdeh in the line of duty, will agree with me.

Before the investigation was completed on 20 December 1947 and Nzhdeh was presented with the indictment, he wrote to the following individuals in search of the truth.

*Nzhdeh's letter to Stalin<sup>1</sup>*

*To the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet  
Socialist Republics, Stalin Copy: Minister of State Security  
of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics  
General Abakumov  
Minister of Security of the Soviet Army  
Korkhmazyan.  
From Garegin Ter-Arutyunyan*

1. My case has been sent to Moscow. I did not expect two things:

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<sup>1</sup> This document is missing from the four-volume case file on G. Nzhdeh in the RA National Security Service archives; it was taken from the six-volume operational case file "Zubr," the location and fate of which are currently unknown.

First, that after I stayed in Sofia with the aim of finding common ground with the Soviet authorities, I would be arrested. Second, that I would be brought to trial.

In addition to the legal codes, there is an unwritten law of chivalry, the violation of which destroys all trust between people and nations.

After analysing the psychology behind my chivalrous step, one cannot deny me justice. For anyone who has taken such a step as I have proves two things:

a) That he no longer feels himself to be an enemy of the authority he trusts, and

b) that the authority to which he entrusts his life and dignity cannot fail to respond to chivalry with a similar chivalrous gesture.

I do not think that there were many people who behaved as I did, even if there was more than one.

If I viewed life as a means of personal enjoyment, I too would have left Sofia. The reason for my decision not to leave Sofia is also confirmed by the following psychological truth, namely: given my capabilities, I could (if I had not ceased to feel like an enemy) have allowed myself to commit hostile acts against my opponent, which he, unaware of my state of mind, would have expected from me.

However, the fact is that not only did I not allow myself to act in a hostile manner (given my skills and capabilities), but, on the contrary, I took actions that my enemy, unaware of my state of mind, did not expect from me.

Risking my life, I thwarted the plans of Dro, a traitor to his homeland, who was plotting against Armenia. I dissuaded the saboteurs he had trained from going to Soviet Armenia (and I arranged for one of them, Grair from Meghri, to escape to Bulgaria so that he would not be forced to go to Armenia).

I did not go to the eastern front, I did not allow my re-

boys, trained for action against Turkey, be used on the anti-Soviet front. I no longer appeared among the legionnaires or visited the concentration camps, thereby making it clear to the Armenian prisoners of war that they should not fight for Germany.

And before all this, before the war, I made unsuccessful attempts to contact your diplomatic mission.

Finally, I took a negative stance towards the White Guard's "ROVS"<sup>1</sup>, which was looking for terrorists to assassinate you. All these steps explain and confirm each other.

2. The fact that we (not only me, but also Bulgarian cultural figures) appealed to the German ambassador in Sofia to protect the Armenians in Bulgaria proves how serious the danger to the Armenians was. Having witnessed anti-Jewish persecution, I could not remain indifferent to the danger threatening the Armenians in the Balkans. Göring's 1941 order to German troops to "take into account the enmity of the Armenians" is also repeatedly mentioned in the literary organs of Soviet Armenia (the magazine *Soviet Literature and Art*, No. 5, 1945).

This danger and the racial discrimination applied to the Armenians compelled me to go to Berlin and join the stencil committee, which, after a short and meaningless existence, resorted to self-liquidation.

My connection with the Germans was based on anti-Turkish sentiment, even in those days when Soviet-German friendship was still in force. On this matter, there is testimony from Semyon Burev, who travelled with me to Berlin and took part in our negotiations.

3. Regarding my activities in Zangezur (about which I have been told repeatedly that, due to political pressure, there can be no question of this), I must say the following:

If it weren't for the Turkish factor, there would be no Zangezur

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<sup>1</sup> Russian All-Armed Forces Union.

confrontation. At the time, the Soviets, acting in their own national interests, provided Turkey with significant assistance. This pro-Turkish policy could not fail to upset those who thought as I did.

The dark and sinister machinations of the Pan-Turkists on the Ankara-Nakhichevan-Baku line and the appearance of Turkish battalions in Zangezur in the same year inevitably created an atmosphere of suspicion and mistrust, which provoked confrontation.

The plenipotentiary representative of the Red Army, Gekker, partially clarifies the conflict in the following paragraph of his official letter to me: "A shameful event did indeed take place in Zangezur, for which we do not praise ourselves." He is referring to the Turkish regiment, etc.

#### *Citizen Generalissimo!*

4. You know something about me from rumours. I would not want to live if I did not feel that there were still tasks worth living for. To die? Is there anything easier than death for an old patriot and revolutionary? Is it not contempt for death that explains why I did not leave Sofia? I am not interested in life or death, but only in my last desire in this world: to take part in the destruction of feudal Turkey.

Therefore, I would not want thousands of my followers and friends to say: "Lucky Turks, for one of their enemies is killing their other enemy!"

I would not want to die in your prisons.

Armenians abroad will say, "The Bolsheviks have killed Turkey's historical enemy."

Your enemies will benefit from my death. I did not leave because I trusted you and was confident that my chivalrous and patriotic gesture would be understood and appreciated. Certain individuals abroad are aware of this.

Anti-Turkish elements among Armenians abroad – (the most active

part of the Armenian emigration) – will consider my death to be the result of your foreign policy, your political advance to the Turks.

Now, when the enemies of the Soviet Union are patronising the huge anti-Soviet masses, sacrificing one sworn enemy of Turkey, without considering the effect that this fact will have, cannot but be seen by the Turks as a sign of weakness.

Let me state another truth. Partial repatriation will not resolve the problems in relations between the Armenian emigration and the Soviet authorities.

The main thing is not the repatriation of several thousand Armenians, but the creation of pro-Soviet sentiments among the Armenian emigration and the use of the latter in the interests of the Soviet Union and Armenia.

I do not believe there is anyone more suitable than me to carry out this predominantly patriotic mission.

Nor do I think you will underestimate my past experience, my capabilities, and the determination of my comrades-in-arms with regard to feudal Turkey, which is demonstratively turning into a springboard against the Soviet Union.

*Citizen Generalissimo!*

By not leaving Sofia, I have shown great patriotism and a sincere desire to reconcile with the Soviet authorities. I stayed because I trust you.

Those who trust a truly great man, a true leader, do not regret it.

I believe that my chivalry will be answered with chivalry.

*G. Ter-Arutyunyan  
16/10 December 1947.  
Signature – Nzhde*

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<sup>1</sup>There are two dates on the document.

*1<sup>0</sup> January 1948.*

Of course, this document, like many others, was not sent to its intended destination and remained in the files without any response.

Nzhdeh has now been posthumously rehabilitated legally. In fact, the Armenian people constantly sing his praises.

As for Nzhdeh's closest associates and like-minded comrades in the joint struggle in Bulgaria, the most prominent figure is Asatryan Aik Kirakosovich, who was also arrested by the SMERSH counterintelligence service shortly after Nzhdeh.

I offer the reader a reference to archival investigation case No. 277/arch No. 460310:

### *Reference*

#### *Archive investigation case No. 277/arch No. 460310 against Asatryan Aika Kirakosovich*

Asatryan Aika Kirakosovich, born in 1900, a native of the village of Yeric, <sup>Bagravinsky</sup><sup>1</sup> district (now Alashkert district) of Turkey, Armenian, Iranian subject, Doctor of Philosophy, held in special camp <sup>No. 32</sup> of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs.

After his father's death, in 1908, Asatryan enrolled in the Karakilis (Turkey) progymnasium, which he graduated from in 1914. Due to the persecution of the Armenian population in Turkey, he moved to Yerevan, where he enrolled in an Armenian gymnasium, which he graduated from in 1919. In 1915-16, Asatryan organised a student union called "Science Lovers" at the Armenian gymnasium. During these same years, Asatryan joined the Dashnaktsutyun party.

In the autumn of 1917, when Russian troops left Turkish Armenia, Asatryan took the initiative among students

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<sup>1</sup> Bagrevandsky.

<sup>2</sup> In the Urals.

Armenian students to form military units of volunteers to fight against the Turkish troops that had entered Armenia. This movement was led by an "Executive Committee" chaired by Asatryan.

After the Dashnak government was established in Armenia, Asatryan began publishing the nationalist student newspaper <sup>Shant</sup> in the summer of 1918. (<sup>Lightning</sup>), in which he occasionally published articles criticising the activities of the Dashnak state apparatus, as a result of which the publication of Shant was banned by the government.

At the end of November 1920, Asatryan was sent by the Dashnak government to <sup>the</sup> Aragats <sup>region</sup> with the aim of rallying the local population, in particular migrants from Turkish Armenia – the regions of Sasun and Mush – to fight for the liberation <sup>of Alexandropol</sup>, which had been occupied by the Turks.

After the Sovietisation of Armenia, while in Yerevan and fearing arrest, Asatryan left for Zangibasar, where he took part in the preparation and then in the armed uprising (the Dashnak February adventure) against Soviet power in Armenia. After the Dashnak troops entered Yerevan, Asatryan created a student guard to assist the Dashnak government in its fight against the Bolsheviks.

During the hostilities, Asatryan was in <sup>the</sup> Kamarlin <sup>district</sup>, and then left for the <sup>Vagharshapat</sup> and Ashtarak districts, where on 2 April 1921 he learned that Yerevan had been occupied by Soviet troops and the Dashnak government had fled to Zangezur. Fearing responsibility before the Soviet authorities, Asatryan fled via Zangezur to Persia (Iran) in April 1921 and settled in

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<sup>1</sup> The organ of the Dashnaktsutyun Student Union, Shant, was published in Yerevan in 1918–1919, edited by A. Asatryan.

<sup>2</sup> Now the Aparan district.

<sup>3</sup> Now Gyumri.

<sup>4</sup> Now the Artashat district.

<sup>5</sup> Now Echmiadzin District.

Tavriz.

Asatryan lived here until November 1921, when he obtained a passport as an Iranian citizen and left for Berlin (Germany) with the intention of continuing his studies.

Upon arrival in Berlin, he enrolled in a higher political school, where he studied for three semesters and lived on money received from the former finance minister of the Dashnak government in Armenia, Araratian Sarkis, in the amount of two hundred American dollars. Due to the difficult financial conditions, Asatryan, with the permission of the Czechoslovak government, arrived in Prague in November 1923, where he enrolled in the Faculty of Philosophy at Prague University.

After graduating from university, Asatryan defended his dissertation and received a doctorate in philosophy, after which he left for Bulgaria in September 1930. During his studies from 1923 to 1930, Asatryan was a member of the Dashnak student union. From 1930 to 1932, while in Sofia, Asatryan was elected a member of the central committee of the Dashnaktsutyun party in Bulgaria. In the same year, Asatryan took the initiative to publish the philosophical monthly magazine *Krovk*, in which he put forward his "reformist" ideas, but the Dashnak party did not support him in this, and after a while he closed the magazine. During 1932-35, Asatryan took an active part in the party's struggle for the existence of Armenian churches, schools, and newspapers in the Armenian language. As a result of disagreements within the Central Committee of the Dashnaktsutyun party in Bulgaria in 1935, Asatryan was temporarily expelled from the party by the party bureau representative Kanyan Dro. At the same time, Asatryan announced that he would not return to the party and, on his own initiative, without the knowledge of the bureau, began publishing an Armenian-language magazine, *Tseg and Ayrenik*<sup>1</sup> (Tribe and Motherland), in 1936, in which he preached his views, as a result of which

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<sup>1</sup> Only three issues of this magazine were published in Sofia.

which led to the formation of a movement called "Taronakanutyun".

Nzhde supported him in all this, which is why Asatryan and Nzhde were the leaders of this movement. This served as a reason for the Dashnaktsutyun party bureau to officially announce Asatryan's expulsion from the party in its press release in 1936.

The main task and goal of the Taronakanutyun movement were as follows:

1. The need to renew the spiritual and moral life of Armenians living in Armenian colonies.
2. Rejection of the existence of Armenian parties or their remnants in the colonies.
3. Armenians abroad should not forget their homeland, and their return should be ensured.

In 1937, Asatryan began publishing the newspaper Razmik<sup>1</sup>, in which, until 1944, he published anti-Soviet articles criticising the Soviet government's policy towards Soviet Armenia, as well as articles proving the Aryan origin of Armenians and articles praising the successes and power of German weapons.

In September 1939, Asatryan, together with Nzhdeh, sent a memorandum to the German embassy in Sofia, in which he requested that:

1. The Germans take Armenians living in Europe under their protection.
2. Assistance in resolving the Armenian question.
3. The German government petition the Soviet government to strengthen the position of Soviet Armenia in the Caucasus.

However, this attempt yielded no results.

Even before Germany's attack on the Soviet Union, as well as after the attack, the German-Bulgarian press began to intensively conduct propaganda against Armenians, whom they equated with Jews.

In order to prevent this trend, Asatryan in August

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<sup>1</sup>The newspaper was published in Sofia and Plovdiv from 1937 to 1944 and was a mouthpiece for Taronism.

In 1942, he contacted representatives of the German command, and in October 1942, he travelled to Berlin on a visa, where he established contact with German intelligence agencies. Carrying out the Germans' assignment, in 1942 he recruited 30 young Armenians from Bulgaria, who were trained at the German intelligence school in Hohen Binde, near Berlin, and in 1943 were sent to Crimea to be dropped behind Soviet Army lines, but the drop did not take place due to the Soviet Army's offensive operations.

On 27 January 1945, Asatryan was arrested by the SMERSH counterintelligence department of the 3rd Ukrainian Front, and on 20 October 1945, he was sentenced by a special council of the NKVD of the USSR to 10 years' imprisonment in correctional labour camps.

In the camp, Asatryan communicates mainly with prisoners of Armenian nationality, among whom he enjoys authority. He seeks to illegally contact his acquaintances living in Armenia, whose names he does not reveal to those around him.

He is distressed by the lack of contact with his family living in Bulgaria and expresses dissatisfaction with his arrest and imprisonment.

*This report is based on Asatryan's testimony.*

*Basis of arch. investigation case 460310.*

*Head of the 2nd Division of the 1st Department of the MGB of the Armenian SSR*

*Major Zakaryan*

*"Agreed"*

*Deputy Head of the 1st Department*

*MGB of the Armenian SSR*

*Lieutenant Colonel Melkumov*

Asatryan Aik Kirakosovich served his sentence in special camp No. 3 of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. Upon request of the 1st Department of the MGB of the Armenian SSR, ref.

N4858 dated 23 July 1952, regarding the possibility of transferring Asatryan to Yerevan for the purpose of using him in operations against Dashnaktsutyun members abroad and against Turkey, together with Nzhde, a reply was received stating that it was impossible to comply with the request of the MGB of the Armenian SSR due to Asatryan's poor health.

At the same time, the First Department of the MGB of the Armenian SSR sent a request to Moscow to check on Asatryan's family and their whereabouts, with the following content:

*Deputy Head of the USSR MGB PGU*

*Colonel A.M. Korotkov*

*Ref. No. 2/824*

*dated 8 July 1952, Moscow*

The Asatryan family resides at 155 Tsar Boris Street in Sofia, Bulgaria. lives the family of Asatryan Aika Kirakosovich:

Wife – Khandzhikyan Siranush Zakharovna, born in 1909. Daughter – Asatryan <sup>Elena</sup><sup>1</sup> Aikovna – 18 years old.

Daughter – Asatryan Arazani Aikovna – 13 years old.

Asatryan Ayk K., born in 1900, a native of Tabriz (Iran), an Iranian citizen with higher education, holds a doctorate ( ) in philosophy ( ) and science ( ), is a former member ( ) of the Dashnaktsutyun party ( ). "Dashnaktsutyun".

In January 1945, he was arrested by the SMERSH and sentenced by a special meeting of the NKVD of the USSR to 10 years in <sup>the ITL</sup><sup>2</sup>.

In connection with the fact that we are developing operational measures to utilise the capabilities of G.K. Asatryan, we request your order to establish the whereabouts of G.K. Asatryan's family and to inform us of his family's situation.

*Deputy Minister*

*Colonel Aroyan Deputy Head of  
the 1st Department*

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<sup>1</sup> In the Armenian tradition of Eglise.

<sup>2</sup> Correctional labour camp.

*Lieutenant Colonel Melkumov*

This was the response received:

*MGB USSR*

*First Main Directorate Ref. No.*

*N1/7/1-3777 dated 17 September  
1952.*

The Bulgarian security services have identified Asatryan G.K.'s wife, Asatryan Siranu Zakharovna, in Pavlikeni (Bulgaria). born in 1909, a native of Burgas, Armenian, citizen of Iran, formerly an agent of the Bulgarian police and the German Gestapo, hostile to the democratic government, a woman of easy virtue, in an unregistered marriage with Bulgarian watchmaker Anton Gyurdev. Asatryan Siranush lives with her two daughters, Asatryan Arazani Aikovna, 18, and Asatryan Elena Aikovna, 13, both of whom are students. No other information is available.

*Colonel of State Security  
Most Honourable*

The attitude of the state security organs of the Armenian SSR towards Nzhdeh's first wife and daughter, who lived in Yerevan, deserves attention.

Here is a copy of the archive file on:

1. Ashot Tigranovich Alaverdyan – born in 1893, a native of Yerevan, non-party member, former officer of the Dashnak army, worked as an accountant at Soyuzunivermag, lived at 30 Alaverdyan Street.
2. Melik-Dadayan Goar Poghosovna – born in 1899, native of Yerevan, non-party member, unemployed, secondary education, resided at 30 Alaverdyan Street, former wife of Dashnak general Nzhdeh.

3. Melik-Dadayan Siranu Poghosovna – born in 1893, native of Yerevan, non-party member, citizen of the USSR, pharmacist by profession, resided at 30 Alaverdyan Street.

4. Melik-Dadayan Lyusya Poghosovna – born in 1903, native of Yerevan, non-party member, citizen of the USSR, worked as a pharmacist at an evacuation hospital, lived at 61 Stalin Avenue, apartment 13.

5. Melik-Dadayan Liliya Gareginovna – born in 1919, native of Yerevan, non-party member, resided at 30 Alaverdyan Street, daughter of Dashnak general Nzhde.

6. Shushanik Nazarovna Kazarian – born in 1910, non-partisan, worked in a kindergarten, arrived from Kislovodsk, lived at 91b Gnuuni Street.

According to our information, Shushanik Kazarian, a resident of Yerevan, travelled to Kislovodsk to visit her relatives and on her way back brought with her letters from Dashnak Kanyan Dro, left there with a woman with whom Dro was staying during his time in Kislovodsk during the German occupation, to send these letters to Yerevan.

Among these letters, Shushanik Kazarian brought several letters from Dro to his former Dashnak wife, Nzhde-Melik-Dadayan Goar, in which he asked her to pass them on to his acquaintances in Yerevan. During the investigation, Shushanik Kazarian received information that one of the recipients of the letters was Artavazd Rubenovich Kanyan, who was concealing his connection with Dro. The agents assigned to investigate Artavazd Kanyan did not achieve any positive results.

In connection with the arrest of Shushanik Kazarian's brother – Mirzoyan Semen Nazarovich, with whom Kazarian Shushanik was staying in Kislovodsk, we sent a request to interrogate Mirzoyan Semen about the letters sent by Kanyan Dro to Armenia.

According to the Kislovodsk City Department of the NKGB, they are agents

have no information about Dro sending letters to Armenia, and the arrested Mirzoyan denies this circumstance.

Melik-Dadayan Goar and her second husband Alaverdyan Ashot were taken into agent development with the aim of identifying their connections with Dro, but the agents assigned to develop them reported only Alaverdyan's anti-Soviet activities.

Shushanik Kazarian was interrogated and categorically denied delivering letters to Dro in Yerevan, stating that in 1943, while she was in Kislovodsk, persons unknown to her, having learned of her departure for Yerevan, gave her three letters addressed to her relatives living in Yerevan.

Upon her arrival in Yerevan, Sh. Kazaryan allegedly kept these letters for a long time and subsequently destroyed them. She claims not to remember the addresses on these letters.

Based on the above, the materials related to the case of Melik-Dadayan Goar and Alaverdyan Ashot have been separated, case files have been opened, and the case has been taken under investigation.

The case has been submitted to the archives.

The report was compiled by the operative officer of the 2nd department of the 1st of the MGB of the Armenian SSR, Senior Lieutenant <sup>Abovyan</sup><sup>1</sup>.

*18 December 1951*

### *Reference*

*According to archive case file No. 1638*

Melik-Dadayan, also known as Dadayan Goar Poghosovna, born in 1899, a native of Yerevan, Armenian, citizen of the USSR, non-party member, married, with secondary education, unemployed, residing at 30 Alaverdyan Street or 4 Asriev Street.

Goar's first husband was a well-known Dashnak leader, Khmbapet

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<sup>1</sup>This refers to Konstantin Abovyan.

Nzhde.

Her second husband is also a Dashnak officer.

She has two brothers abroad with whom she keeps in regular contact.

One brother, Levon, lives in Romania, and the other, David, lives in Czechoslovakia.

Her third brother, Melik-Dadayan Grisha Poghosovich, born in 1902, lived in Yerevan at 3 Telman Street. In 1938, he was arrested by the NKVD and exiled.

*This information was  
compiled by Senior  
Lieutenant Abovyan.*

To clarify the truth, I am providing copies of the interrogation reports of Nzhdeh about his relatives living in the Soviet Union.

*Excerpt from the interrogation report*

*of the accused Ter-Arutyunyan Garegin Yegishevich  
From 10 December 1947.*

*The interrogation began at 13:45.*

*The interrogation ended at 16:10.*

*Question:* Name your relatives living in the USSR.

*Answer:* I have the following relatives in the USSR:

Brother: Ter-Arutyunyan Levon Yegishevich, born in 1883, a native of Nakhichevan, a paramedic by profession, residing in the Georgian SSR, in the suburbs of Tbilisi. Married, has two sons who serve in the Soviet Army. Last saw his brother in 1916, after which contact between them was lost.

Daughter: Melik-Dadayan Lilia Gareginovna, born in 1920,

born in Yerevan, as far as I know, she now lives in Yerevan. She is the child of an illegitimate wife.

Sister: Movsesyan Anik, 70 years old, married until 1916, she lived in Nakhichevan near Araks, after 1916 I have no information about her.

Sister: Ter-Movsesyan Anofia, 65 years old, married, lived in Tbilisi, after 1916 I have no information about her.

I have no other relatives.

*Question:* Are you in contact with the above-mentioned relatives?

*Answer:* No, I have not kept in touch with any of my relatives. Knowing that I could put them at risk of persecution by the Soviet authorities.

Recorded correctly from my words, read by me.

*Signed – Ter-Arutyunyan G. Yegishevich.*

*Interrogated*

*by: Deputy Head of the 1st Department of the*

*MGB of the Armenian SSR*

*Major Melkumov*

*Head of the 1st Division of the 1st Department of the MGB of  
the Armenian SSR*

*Major Geghamyan*

*Excerpt from the interrogation report*

*of the accused Ter-Arutyunyan Garegin Yegishevich*

*From 11 December 1947*

*The interrogation began at 12:10 p.m.*

*The interrogation ended at 14:30.*

*Question:* What is the surname of your common-law wife and where does she currently reside?

*Answer:* My common-law wife's surname is Melik-Dadayan

Gohar (I don't remember her patronymic), about 50 years old, a native of Yerevan, lived in Yerevan, I last saw her in 1919. In 1920, while in Zangezur, I learned that she had given birth to my child; I testified about her earlier.

*Question:* Name your brother's sons and tell us how you found out that they are serving in the Soviet Army.

*Answer:* As I said earlier, my older brother has two sons: the older one is named Grant Ter-Harutyunyan, about 28 years old, I don't remember the other one's name, I think it's Artavazd, about 25 years old. I learned that they were serving in the Soviet Army from Soviet prisoners of war in Berlin.

This has been correctly recorded from my words and read by me.

*Ter-Harutyunyan Garegin Yegishevich  
Interrogated*

*by: Deputy Head of the 1st Department of  
the MGB of the Armenian SSR  
Major Melkumov*

*Head of the 1st Section of the 1st Department of the  
MGB of the Armenian SSR  
Major Geghamyan.*

In 1951, in order to clarify previously available information about Nzhdeh's family ties, a decision was made through the 7th Department of the MGB of the Armenian SSR to update the data regarding his daughter. Here is a copy of the order.

*Assignment No. 8091*

*2-1st Division of the 1st Department of the MGB of the Armenian SSR  
14 November 1951*

The task required:

Establish Melik-Dadayan Lilia Gareginovna, full identification data, family composition, her mother, father, relatives on

father, lifestyle, and the existence of compromising materials on all of them.

Established:

Melik-Dadayan Lilia Gareginovna, born in 1920, a native of Yerevan, Armenian, citizen of the USSR, non-party member, married, unemployed, residing at 26 Commissars Street, No. 29.

According to Melik-Dadayan, she has been living at the above address with her husband since August 1951; previously, she lived at 32 Lenin Avenue.

Melik-Dadayan leads a modest lifestyle and has good neighbourly relations with her neighbours (Russian border guards).

No compromising materials on her or her husband have been found in the house. Lilia's relatives living in the city include:

Mother: Melik-Dadayan Goar Poghosovna, born in 1899, native of Yerevan, Armenian, citizen of the USSR, non-party member, widow, unemployed, residing at 32 Lenin Avenue. She has relatives who have been arrested and exiled. One of them is Melik-Dadayan Gurgun – "Gumedyn", who was arrested and exiled in 1947, and the other is Melik-Dadayan Grigor Pavlovich, who was exiled before the Great Patriotic War, has now returned and lives in Sevan, and his family lives in Yerevan on Kamo Street, No. 9.

Melik-Dadayan Lilia's maternal aunt is Dadayan Siranu Poghosovna, born in 1893, a native of Yerevan, Armenian, citizen of the USSR, living in Moscow, a pharmacist by profession.

Another maternal aunt, Melik-Dadayan Lyusya Poghosovna, born in 1912, a native of Yerevan, a pharmacist by profession, lives in Yerevan.

From document No. 2816 for 1948, produced for the 2nd department, it can be seen that Lilia's biological father was Arutyunyan Garegin, who fled Armenia abroad in approximately 1920, after which her mother remarried Alaverdyan Ashot Tigranovich, born in 1893, who died in 1949 in Yerevan, at

Lilia's husband, Melik-Dadayan, is Trdatyan Bakhshi Oganessian, born in 1920, a native of Tbilisi, Armenian, citizen of the USSR, non-party member, working as an artist at the TYA-1.

*Head of the 7th Department of the MGB of the Armenian SSR  
Colonel Simonyan Head  
of the 1st Division of the 7th Department of the MGB of  
the Armenian SSR  
Lieutenant Colonel Golovlev*

Considering my task in further publishing the valuable materials at my disposal, which testify to Nzhdeh's reflections and concerns for the fate of the nation, I bring to the reader's attention another letter addressed to him from the internal prison of the MGB of the Armenian SSR on 21 July 1947.

*Minister of State Security of Soviet Armenia<sup>2</sup>  
Krimyan*

I. When I decided not to leave Sofia, I had in mind that the strategic moment, conditioned by hysterical military psychosis, would not be favourable to my decision. That my action might not be immediately understood, and in that case I would have to go through another tragedy.

I was deeply aware of this, and the advice urging me to be sensible was in vain.

Should I stay? Yes, replied my inner voice of patriotism.

When it came to the benefit of Armenia – as opposed to the Turks, no danger could prevent me from staying, and I stayed.

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<sup>1</sup>Theatre for Young Audiences.

<sup>2</sup> This document is not included in the four-volume file on G. Nzhdeh in the RA National Security Service archives; it was taken from the six-volume operational file "Zubr," the location and fate of which are currently unknown.

II. There would be no chivalrous deeds or heroic gestures in the world if there were no belief that there are people who admire chivalrous and heroic deeds, who understand and appreciate them. When performing a courageous act, a hero knows in advance that even his opponents will treat him with respect. I thought that the fact that I had not left Bulgaria would be enough for the past to be forgotten – without mutual accusations and explanations.

For more than two decades, we and the Armenian communists abroad engaged in pointless discussions, which benefited a third party – the Turks and only the Turks. The insinuations had to be put to an end. This was required by the new political situation and truly realistic patriotism.

III. Undoubtedly, on the issue of Turkey, it would have been possible to try to reach an agreement with the Soviet authorities outside the Balkans, in some European country. But I considered it unworthy of a revolutionary to flee Bulgaria and then try to negotiate. Besides, it would have been a huge waste of time, which my impatience to start working against Turkey a day, an hour, a minute earlier could not accept.

It was in this frame of mind that I remained in Bulgaria. The result is well known – my new tragedy.

In stating this new fact, I am far from complaining.

It would be a shame and disgrace for the Armenian people if the agonising pain of one and a half million murdered Armenians did not give rise to patriots ready to endure any suffering and death at any moment.

My misfortune today is not due to my arrest and imprisonment, but to

The realisation that what the Turks want is happening – that is, to their delight, I am rotting away in prison day after day, while the enemies of the Armenian people are acting against Armenia.

The fact that the uncertainty of my fate abroad will cause outrage among my supporters and anti-Turkish elements of the Armenian people in general, and that your and my enemies will take advantage of this outrage to use my prison martyrdom for their anti-Soviet purposes.

IV. I repeat once again: the enmity of a true patriot is never blind.

You know that my hostility towards the Soviets was due to the lifesaving assistance you provided to the Turks at the time.

An Armenian may not be a Bolshevik, but he cannot be against the Soviet Union if he is a true and politically mature patriot.

An Armenian must be pro-Soviet with all his heart and mind, because in the post-war world there is one significant force which, for political and humanitarian reasons, is interested in reuniting part of our territories in Turkish Armenia with Soviet Armenia. This sole force is the Soviet Union.

America? A simple analysis of political events is enough to convince us that America favours Turkey and, based on its aggressive interests, will undoubtedly be unfair to the Armenian people.

England? Albion, which has turned the blood of nations into a commodity, will undoubtedly continue to rely on Muslims, based on elementary truths. The creation of Pakistan in India (a clear patronage of Muslims in India) indicates, first and foremost, that in the coming war, the Muslim world will side with the Anglo-Saxons.

With this balance of power, the Armenian people can expect only injustice from the Anglo-Saxon bloc. Thus, looking at things and phenomena in their true essence, an Armenian patriot cannot but be against the Anglo-Saxons, who, by politically patronising and strengthening Turkey, will have to

de jure and de facto nullify the territorial claims of Armenians to Turkey.

That is why I consider Anglo-Americanophilia to be equivalent to Turkophilia and treason against the Motherland – Armenia.

V. I am not free, but I know what can happen in the world I left behind about three years ago. The trend in the current political situation was clear to me, so it is not difficult to guess what exactly is expected in the near future. This, coupled with political necessity, forced me to reconsider my political orientation. Time is working in favour of war. The Anglo-American bloc is preparing for it. Turkey, thanks to its geographical position and maniacal anti-Sovietism, has become the darling of the enemies of the Soviet Union. It goes without saying that Turkey's friends will want to reconcile foreign Armenians with the Turks through empty and deceptive promises.

The latest statements by the Dashnak bureau in Syria confirm that this body has taken on certain obligations towards the Anglo-American bloc.

To work against repatriation means to act against the Soviet Union and Soviet Armenia. Opponents seek to:

By creating complications in the repatriation process, they aim to hinder the strengthening of the Soviet Army, i.e. the most important front of the Soviet Union. By hindering the mass repatriation of Armenians living abroad (to Armenia), they aim to prevent the maximum utilisation of this part of the Armenian people. As a result of the activities of anti-Soviet forces among Armenians abroad, a polarisation of forces is now taking place. They are forced to clarify their political orientation, and political naivety and misconceptions spread by anti-Soviet forces play a decisive role in determining the position of most of them.

anti-Soviet forces play a decisive role in determining the position of the majority of them.

In these crucial days, I must be free to shake the minds, consciences and consciousness of Armenians abroad in order to hold back

their conscious and unconscious renunciation of their homeland.

VI. Minister!

Time is not on the side of peace. The later it is, the more difficult it will be to solve the problems I have discussed with your relevant authorities.

The later it is, the more difficult it will be to travel to Istanbul: the Istanbul student body in Berlin and Vienna may already have been disbanded, and it may no longer be possible to accept people from America and other countries in Central Europe, etc.

On the other hand, my health, which requires serious treatment, is deteriorating every day. Based on this, I ask you to expedite the resolution of my issue. Otherwise, contrary to you and your Moscow comrades, the Turks will be given the opportunity to ridicule my martyrdom.

*G. Ter-Arutyunyan*  
*21 July 1947*  
*Yerevan*

Nikita Arkadyevich Kryman, a pupil and student of Kobulov, a native of Kars, arrived in Yerevan from Tbilisi on the recommendation of his high-ranking patrons. He was considered to be Beria's man.

I have in my possession a document prepared with his signature, but unsigned and not sent. However, I believe that this document could not have come into being without his knowledge.

*Minister of State Security of the USSR<sup>1</sup>*  
*Colonel General*  
*Comrade Abakumov V.S.*  
*Moscow*

2 November 1944. Main Counterintelligence Directorate

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<sup>1</sup> This document is not included in the four-volume case file on G. Nzhde in the RA SNB archives; it was taken from the six-volume operational case file "Zubr," the location and fate of which are currently unknown.

*Garegin Nzhde and the KGB*

"Smerch" was arrested in Bulgaria (Sofia) and brought to Moscow, one of the top leaders of the Dashnaktsutyun party Ter-Aru-Tunyan Garegin Yegishevich, born in 1886, a native of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, an Armenian, a Bulgarian subject, with higher education, a journalist by profession, known under the pseudonym "Nzhdeh". According to your order, Ter-Arutyunyan in November 1946 was transferred from Moscow to Yerevan, and from 15 November of that the same year, the investigation of the case has been conducted by the MGB of the Armenian SSR.

During interrogations and in special statements to investigators, Ter-Harutyunyan offers his services in establishing a mass organisation in Armenian colonies abroad with the aim of fighting for the rejection of Armenian lands in Turkey and their reunification with Soviet Armenia. To accomplish this task, Ter-Harutyunyan requests to be transferred as a Bulgarian citizen to the Bulgarian government, where he will create conditions for the deployment of the work.

Given Ter-Arutyunyan's popularity among nationalist elements abroad, Dashnaks, opposition to the "Foreign Bureau," and certain regional associations, we believe that he will be able to implement his proposals, also using the nationalist organisation "Tsegakron" that he has established in a number of foreign countries and a similar organisation, "Taron", founded by his colleague, Professor Asatryan Aik.

I await your instructions.

*Minister of State Security of the Armenian SSR*  
*Colonel Kryman*  
*(unsigned) 4*  
*January 1947*  
*Yerevan*

The note attached to this document states: it should be noted that prominent leaders of the Romanian-Armenian

Dashnak organisation: Siruni Akop, editor of the Dashnak newspaper Araz; Kazarian Gevorg, former Minister of Education of the Dashnak government; Sargsyan Gurgen, Israelyan Ruben, and Kasparian Vazgen, who may also be used in conjunction with Ter-Arutyunyan.

It is difficult to comment on the documents written by Nzhdeh and Kryman's unsent letter to Abakumov. Nzhde wrote with historical and scientific indisputability, proving the inevitability of decisive action. An Armenian wrote to an Armenian in the interests of the Armenian nation. Kryman, on the other hand, addressed Abakumov with all due protocol, asking for his instructions. Nzhde was eager for freedom in order to fight.

I remember Nzhdeh as always preoccupied, often agitated, sometimes irritable, physically weak, but I never remember him as submissive or spiritually defeated.

Nzhdeh's activities were constantly monitored by the state security agencies of the Centre and Armenia – from the day he emigrated abroad until the last days of his life. I bring the following document to the reader's attention.

*Top*<sup>secret1</sup>  
*IN ZAKCHEKA*  
*Tiflis copy*  
*of ARMCHek*  
*Eriwan*

According to available information, the former commander of one of the Dashnak detachments, Nzhde, arrived in Tiflis from Paris, from where he sent messengers to inform the Dashnaks of Erivan-Tiflis, Armavir and Rostov-on-Don that they had begun to organise...

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<sup>1</sup>This document is not included in the four-volume case file on G. Nzhde in the RA National Security Service archives; it was taken from the six-volume operational case file "Zubr," the location and fate of which are currently unknown.

of Dashnak detachments, which, under the guise of Turks, would attack border posts and villages and, if successful or conditions were favourable, would cross the border and even capture Erivan. These actions would, on the one hand, discredit the Soviet government of Armenia and, on the other, undermine Russia's good-neighbourly relations with Turkey and Persia. In Armavir, he contacted his brother (surname unknown), and summoned another brother from Rostov-on-Don to Tauris, who lives here under the surname Avakyan Arutyun, to assist him, Nzhde, in organising the above-mentioned detachments.

Please provide any information you have about the Dashnak's activities abroad in recent months, particularly regarding Nzhde and the organisation of Dashnak detachments.

*Deputy PP1OGPU in South-East Russia  
Frinovsky*

*Deputy Head of the Eastern  
Department*

*Abulyan  
30 May 1924  
N022062/c*

This <sup>Abulyan2</sup> was later chairman of the ArmCheka, then, it seems, repressed. From this and the previous briefing (signed by Kobulov), it is not difficult to understand that without specific verified data, every random rumour about Nzhdeh was elevated to the level of a potential threat to the existence of the Soviet Army, and therefore the higher authorities demanded intensified work among the Dashnaks inside the country and abroad, and together with them stirred up the entire Armenian people.

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<sup>1</sup> Plenipotentiary Representative.

<sup>2</sup> Abulyan Armenak Gerasimovich was born in 1895 in Tiflis. From 1920, he worked in the security services, and from 1930 to 1934, he was chairman of the ArmGPU (State Political Administration). He died in a car accident in Tiflis.

Kobulov rose to the position of Beria's first deputy. Abulyan moved from Rostov to Armenia with his appointment as chairman of the Armenian Cheka. Subsequently, both Kobulov and Abulyan were executed. The people remember them with contempt, but remember Nzhde with admiration.

Nzhdeh's determined and sincere struggle against the Turks for the return of Armenian lands was the main goal of his life, even more precious than life itself.

Here is an example.

*Excerpt from the interrogation report*

*Witness Sargsyan Gurgen Samsonovich  
From 16 April 1947.*

*Question:* Do you know Nzhde and what do you know about him?

*Answer:* I have known Ter-Harutyunyan Garegin Nzhde since 1937, when he arrived in Bucharest on his way to Egypt. I know the following about him: Nzhdeh is a native of the Caucasus, 62-63 years old, married, has a son, his family and he lived in Sofia (Bulgaria), one of the oldest members of the Dashnak party.

In 1937, at the Dashnak Party congress, Nzhdeh was expelled from the party for the second time for disagreeing with the party's work against the Turks.

Nzhdeh accused the foreign bureau of the Dashnak Party of inaction against its enemies, the Turks, while the bureau, in turn, accused him of indiscipline.

After his expulsion from the Dashnak Party, he organised his own party called Tsegakronutyun, and many members of the Dashnak party in Bulgaria left the party in Bulgaria and united around the party created by Nzhdeh. The Tsegakronutyun party conducted propaganda against the Dashnak party, against the Turks, and for the reunification of the former Armenian lands with Armenia. His programme was also based on the education of Armenian youth in the colony.

in the national spirit and the fight against the assimilation of Armenians.

*Question:* What do you know about Nzhdeh's activities against the Soviet state?

*Answer:* Absolutely nothing is known about Nzhdeh's activities against the Soviet state. I know that he wanted to fight against the Turks his entire life.

Sarkisyan G.S. added the following to the question posed regarding Nzhdeh: "In 1942, in Bucharest, Nzhdeh personally told me in conversation that the Germans had asked him to write an appeal to the Armenians living in Zangezur to rise up against the Soviet state, but Nzhdeh refused, considering such a step to be a betrayal of his people..."

*Signed by Sargsyan  
Interrogate  
d by: Head of the 1st Department of the MGB of the  
Armenian SSR  
Captain Gukasov*

In August 1952, the First Department of the MGB of the Armenian SSR received a report from the First Main Directorate of the MGB of the USSR from Lieutenant Colonel Agayan G., later a general.

### *Report*

#### *On Garegin Asatur* <sup>Nzhdeh<sup>1</sup></sup>

Nzhdeh lived in the Caucasus until 1909, then left for Istanbul in 1909 or 1910 with the aim of organising the Dashnaks. He stayed in Istanbul for seven months, then arrived in Bulgaria as an employee and inspector of the Dashnak Central Committee in the Balkans. In Bulgaria, he established contact with Macedonians and, at the same time, on the recommendation of Radko Dimitriev, enrolled in the Sofia Military School (in the suburb of Knyazhevo). He graduated from the school with the rank of second lieutenant.

After graduating from military school he was involved in organizing

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<sup>1</sup>As stated in the document.

of military units consisting of Macedonians and Armenians living in Bulgaria, who, under the directives of the Dashnaks and the Macedonian organisation, are preparing for action in Turkey. At the same time, Nzhdeh contacts Andranik Pasha and, using the latter's authority, creates an Armenian detachment of about 500 Dashnaks and their sympathisers in 1912 to participate in the Balkan War. With this detachment, Nzhdeh takes part in the Balkan War as part of Radko Dimitriev's division.

During this period, conflicts often arose between Nzhdeh and Andranik Pasha, leading to a split between them. The main reason for this split was that, having used Andranik Pasha's authority, Nzhdeh subsequently began to disregard his authority, attempted to limit Andranik Pasha's influence, and spoke ill of him, hoping in this way to eliminate his rival in the person of Andranik Pasha. In these actions, Nzhdeh received support from the Dashnak and Macedonian organisations.

At the end of the Balkan War, Nzhdeh left his detachment and joined other units in their campaign against the Serbs. After the armistice, he returned to Sofia, travelled around Bulgaria, spoke out against Andranik Pasha, raised funds and stirred up the nationalist sentiments of naive patriots for his own personal gain and that of his organisation.

The volunteers exposed Nzhdeh's dishonest policies, causing unrest among the Dashnaks, so Nzhdeh strengthened his ties with the Macedonians and worked in favour of the Macedonian movement, receiving support from Alexandrov. In 1913, he travelled to the Dashnak congress in Paris. After the congress, he returns to Bulgaria (Varna), and after a short period of time leaves for Romania, where he gathers his like-minded people and soon leaves for Tbilisi via Poti. Here (in Tbilisi) he takes part in the work of the Dashnak military commission and in 1914 organises

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<sup>1</sup>This information does not correspond to historical facts.

detachment, with which he fought against Turkey as part of the Russian army, resulting in Nzhdeh being awarded the rank of captain. In 1918, he took part in the work of the Caucasian United National Forces Commission. During the counter-revolutionary uprising of the Dashnaks, as a representative of the organisation's headquarters, Nzhdeh carried out mass arrests and executions of progressive people. He initiated the looting of the Armenian population and the destruction of the homes of tax defaulters. In 1920, Nzhdeh's military detachment shot about 18,000 residents of Erivan and other cities. In the same year, he fled to the mountains and, with the support of the interventionists, attempted to organise resistance against Soviet power.

After suffering defeat, he fled to Persia, then from Persia to France, and from France to America. In America, having failed to gain support from the Dashnaks, Nzhdeh returned to Paris, but finding no help there, he went to Sofia (Bulgaria) in 1924. In Sofia, he re-established contact with the Macedonians and, with the help of Russian White Guards, attempted to create a military-terrorist organisation.

In 1925, with the full support of the Bulgarian government, Tsankov reappeared on the political scene, acting as a provocateur and traitor to progressive elements. During this period, he married the daughter of the famous Armenian jeweller Sukias Sukiasyan, and at the same time was authorised by the Dashnak organisation abroad to be its representative in the Balkans.

Nzhdeh was actively involved in anti-Soviet activities in Bulgaria. In 1941, he contacted the Nazi occupiers in Sofia and negotiated with them to convene a conference of Dashnaktsutyun members in Berlin with the aim of establishing an "Armenian Liberation Committee under the Nazi Army." This conference was convened in April 1943, with Nzhdeh and Karo Kazarosyan as delegates from Bulgaria. The conference decided to begin recruiting

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<sup>1</sup>This information does not correspond to historical facts.

volunteers to fight against the Soviet Army.

Upon his return to Sofia, Nzhdeh, in accordance with the decision of the above-mentioned conference and with the support of the Bulgarian authorities and the Gestapo, actively recruited volunteers and created a women's organisation called "The Merciful Cross" for the same purpose.

After the Nazi occupation of Romania, Nzhdeh travelled twice to Bucharest, where he recruited volunteers for the above purposes and sent them to the Caucasus.

With the approach of the Soviet Army, Nzhdeh went underground. He hid for some time in Panagyurishte, in the house of the carpet maker Bedikyan, and on the eve of 9 September 1944, he moved to Plovdiv, where he stayed at the "Commercial" hotel, then returned to Panagyurishte to Bedikyan's house, from where he travelled to Sofia in Bedikyan's car. There he was arrested by the Soviet authorities. The whereabouts of Nzhdeh are currently unknown to the Bulgarian security services and the Armenian community, the latter considering Nzhdeh a political adventurer.

Information received by the First Main Directorate of the USSR Ministry of State Security from Sofia.

*Head of the 4th Division of the 3rd Department of the USSR MGB*

*Lieutenant Colonel* <sup>Agayan1</sup>

The above quotations I have cited about Nzhdeh's heroic life and struggle, with references to specific historical figures were not made by chance.

Nzhdeh needs neither protection nor guardianship. The legacy he left us is imbued primarily with concern and thoughts about the fate of his people. This is his enduring greatness.

So, a few clarifications.

First, about Nzhdeh's relationship with Andranik.

I can state with full responsibility that throughout

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<sup>1</sup> Agayan Gurgen was later a resident of the PGU in Italy.

eight months of communication with Nzhdeh, in the course of joint conversations, discussions and debates, I never once heard him say anything inappropriate about Andranik. In Nzhdeh's autobiography, written by him in Armenian, the following is stated:

"... 2. In 1912, he organised a company of Armenian volunteers and, together with Andranik, participated in the Balkan War for the liberation of Macedonia and Thrace. In the final stage of the war, we, as revolutionaries, refused to participate in the internal civil wars of the Balkan peoples and disbanded the Armenian company. I was wounded in this war. The Armenian flag and the chests of many Armenian soldiers were decorated with crosses for bravery."

As you can see, there is no evidence of a quarrel between Nzhdeh and Andranik. There is no need to pit Andranik and Nzhdeh against each other; we should be proud of them.

And finally, here is another irrefutable proof of Nzhdeh's respectful and reverent attitude towards Andranik. In January 1947, while under investigation in the internal prison of the MGB of the Armenian SSR, Nzhdeh wrote a work entitled "The Historical Conditions of the Emergence of the Dashnaktsutyun and Its Characteristics."

Nzhdeh, sharply criticising the Dashnaktsutyun party of those years for its lack of effective propaganda in favour of Armenian values, writes: "...If, over the last quarter of a century, any pro-Armenian book has been published in any European language, its author was a foreigner. Dashnaktsutyun has also done nothing for so-called Armenian-phile propaganda.

And further: "He had no time. He was busy with the thankless task of denigrating Andranik: in order to discredit the latter, a two-volume work of 1,000 pages was published on behalf of Dashnaktsutyun against Andranik. Sepu's memoirs, devoted entirely to Andranik, are a reprehensible attempt to knock this national hero off his pedestal of glory. As soon as Andranik left Dashnaktsutyun, he was immediately

declared a "drunkard," an ignoramus, a coward, someone who bargained in advance for his participation on one front or another, a master at reaping great laurels through insignificant actions, and so on.

Every effort was made to "embellish" Andranik with Kajanazarov's (quixotic) characteristics, without realising that, in doing so, they were essentially mocking the Armenian liberation movement, for the people consider Andranik a symbol of the Armenian liberation struggle.

And further, concluding his thought, Nzhdeh writes: "All those nations and parties that treat their heroism and heroes lightly are degenerating. This spiritual vandalism has had the most corrupting effect on our young generation."

In the same year, under the same circumstances, Nzhdeh wrote his memoirs, "Dashnaktsutyun in Bulgaria."

Here is an excerpt from the document:

"III. In 1907, by decision of the Bulgarian Ministry of War, I was admitted to the officer training school in Sofia, despite the ban on admitting foreign nationals.

*The goal* was to devote myself to the anti-Turkish struggle after graduation. In 1912, the Bulgarian government entrusted me with organising an Armenian volunteer company, which, under my command and the military leadership of Andranik, would fight side by side with the Bulgarian army in the Balkan War. This company achieved great success, which was echoed in laudatory articles by Trotsky, who was then living as an emigrant in Sofia, about the exploits of the Armenian volunteers.

This Armenian company was not political in nature. It was created by Bulgarian Armenians. However, Dashnaktsutyun took advantage of the company's authority to a considerable extent.

On the eve of the First World War, having received amnesty from the tsarist government, Andranik and I, together with a large number of volunteers, returned to the Caucasus to take part in the brewing

war against Turkey. Andranik lived in Bulgaria, in a village near Varna, in seclusion and deeply dissatisfied with the Dashnak leadership. He communicated with Dashnak leaders E. Aladzhadzi and Gukas Minasyan, who were also dissatisfied with the Dashnak leadership. It was already noticeable that Andranik was gradually distancing himself psychologically from Dashnaktsutyun. He arrived in the Caucasus as an irreconcilable opponent of the Bureau. His subsequent anti-Dashnak statements and struggle can be explained by the deep disappointment he experienced in Bulgaria.

Doesn't everything Nzhdeh said in Andranik's defence refute the silly fabrications in the report from the PGU MGB USSR?

As for the other facts mentioned in the reference in line with the indictment, I do not consider it appropriate to dwell on them, since I intend, for the sake of completeness in covering the life and activities of Nzhde, to include other documents, including his last statement requesting a review of his case addressed to the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, K.E. Voroshilov. There, the reader will find answers to many questions that have not yet been addressed.

Slanderers have been engaged in their dirty work at various times, but Nzhde, despite everything, fought fearlessly and tirelessly for the honour and dignity of his people throughout his adult life. In this regard, his letter addressed to the Minister of State Security of the Armenian SSR on 19 May 1952 (translated from Armenian) is very characteristic.

*To the Minister of State Security of the Armenian SSR<sup>1</sup>*

*19 May 1952*

I. It was with joy and surprise that I read about the celebration of the 75th anniversary of the liberation of Romania and Marshal Stalin's congratulatory telegram in this regard.

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<sup>1</sup> This document is missing from the four-volume file on G. Nzhdeh in the RA SNB archive; it was taken from the six-volume operational file "Zubr" mentioned above.

The current Romanian government, led by the Communist Party, celebrated the anniversary of the restoration of Romanian statehood.

This is what every self-respecting civilised nation does. This event prompted me to draw your attention to a glaring injustice that, for some reason, continues to exist.

Having taken upon itself the leadership of the Armenian people, the government of Soviet Armenia did not act as the current Romanian authorities have done. It removed the day of the restoration of Armenian statehood from Armenia's political calendar.

To do so would be to ignore historical reality and act against justice.

Not celebrating the holiday of Armenian statehood for the simple reason that another party celebrates this holiday outside Armenia is frivolous and unjust.

It is the Armenian people, not this or that party, who restored Armenia's independence.

The homeland is an eternal category. It belongs not only to today's Armenians, but also to all the generations that have come and gone, and those that are yet to come and will pass, adding something to the common achievements called the homeland.

It is wrong and unfair to equate Dashnaktsutyun with the Armenian people of the pre-Soviet period and their struggle for liberation.

The struggle of the Armenians for their independence is not unique to the 19th century. It had its long and difficult preparatory periods. No party can claim to have initiated and carried out the centuries-long struggle that led to the battles of Karakilis and Sardarapat, thanks to which the Republic of Armenia was born.

Of course, one can criticise one's predecessors, criticise their mistakes and the policies they pursued, but to remove an integral part of history, to tear out the most tragic and

page, which captured the reality of the restoration of Armenian statehood, and even to prohibit any mention of it in current history, literature and journalism, is unfair.

Such a policy, which upsets Armenians abroad, will only please the Turks – today's ardent enemies of the Soviet Union.

II. For some time now, certain European countries – and recently the United States – have been directing the Pan-Turkist aspirations of the Turks against the Soviet Union. With their pro-Turkish policy, these states are essentially pursuing a clearly hostile policy against Armenia and the Armenian people. And as long as there is a desire to use the Turks against the Soviet Union, the anti-Armenian policy of certain forces will continue.

There are serious reasons to take the above-mentioned trends seriously, which are likely to persist and develop among the Turks for the following reasons:

1. Turkey is also not among the states that are allowed to pursue an independent policy.
2. For Turkey and its allies, the Soviet Union represents not only the threat of communism, but also a "powerful Russian force" that worries both the West and America to varying degrees.
3. "According to the Turks and their political advisers, the road leading south from Russia passes through Turkey, while the Pan-Turkic route through Armenia leads to the Caucasus, Crimea, Central Asia and the Volga region," writes <sup>Miller</sup> in his work published by the USSR Academy of Sciences.
4. Therefore, the Turks, who dream of seeing all Turkic tribes under their roof, can never be with the Soviet Union. For the same reason, the Armenian people cannot live within the framework of statehood without a powerful friend – the Russian people.

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<sup>1</sup> A well-known pro-Turkish historian.

Even Kemalism was not free from Pan-Turkism.

Even under Kemal, the Turkish intelligentsia reconsidered the relationship between the new Turkey and related and co-religious peoples and took the view that Kemalist Turkey could not remain indifferent to the fate of Muslims.

It should not be forgotten that the monument erected to Kemal in Ankara, symbolising the conquering aspirations of the Turks, faces the East, Armenia and the Caucasus.

With the help of a fictitious friendship, the Turks received "enormous assistance, which the Soviet Union provided to the Turkish people in their struggle for independence" (Soviet Book, No. 2, 1949). Moreover, according to Kemal himself, this Kemalist movement – – "is consistent with the highest interests of Europe and America" (Kemal, "The Path of New Turkey").

Fictitious friendship – that is where the Turks are brilliant. It is thanks to this trait that they manage to bribe cautious and incorruptible Europe with their outward submission.

In 1914, in order to gain time, the Turks proposed an alliance with Russia and, at the same time, allowed two German destroyers into the Dardanelles.

In 1920, at the Congress of Eastern Peoples, the ardent Pan-Turkist Enver, kissing Zinoviev, hurled thunderbolts against Armenian nationalists, and a little later sought to raise the entire Turkish nation against the Soviet Union.

Then came the ungrateful gesture of the Turks in <sup>Montreux</sup>.

Then there were their manoeuvres during the last war: to benefit from everyone and be everyone's enemy – that's the Turk, whose inhuman traits are reflected in his ancestral folklore as follows: "If you meet a snake, look for the infidel's fist and crush its head with it. Whoever kills whom – the giaour the snake, or the snake the giaour – it doesn't matter. In

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<sup>1</sup> During the conference in Montreux (Switzerland) from 22 June to 21 July 1936, a new convention on the status of the Black Sea straits was signed, which was disadvantageous to the USSR.

In both cases, Islam wins.

Such is the primitive Turk (by origin). According to Ludendorff, due to their despicable traits, Turks are psychologically incapable of being allies or working together.

Here is the opinion of Count Paskevich, immortalised by the immortal Pushkin in his Erzurum notes: "That is what the Turks are like. They can never be trusted."

Turkish democracy: in essence, nothing of the sort exists in Turkey.

In this cursed country, there was not a single intellectual who expressed, if not protest, then at least condolences regarding the Armenian pogroms.

Today, Turkey is ruled by a so-called independent "democratic party" that is also imbued with "hatred for the USSR and admiration for foreign gold" (Soviet Book, *ibid*).

Such was the Turk, such is he today — haughty, solitary, criminal, ungrateful. Lenin called his internal opponents "internal Turks."

III. I am opposed to the policy of the Soviet Union, which does not recognise the restoration of Armenian statehood.

I want to believe that this is the result of the treaty of "brotherhood and friendship" concluded between Turkey and the Soviet Union in the year of Armenia's Sovietisation, which created a new situation beneficial to Turkey and Turkey alone.

However, today, when an impassable gulf has formed between the time the treaty was signed between the Soviet Union and Turkey and the present day, when the political world has changed to such an extent that the Turks do not even need a fictitious friendship, to ignore the day of the restoration of Armenian statehood means to make the work of the enemies of the Soviet Union easier.

As long as the well-known alliance existed, the non-recognition of historical

date of 28 May was considered a diplomatic move from certain points of view.

Today, when this alliance has collapsed and Turkey is literally breathing anti-Russian hostility, Armenian patriots find it difficult to agree with your non-recognition of the fact of 28 May.

The time has come to convince the Armenian population living in the colonies that, following the collapse of the alliance between the USSR and Turkey, the USSR's attitude towards Turkey and the Armenian population has changed.

In this way, you will dispel the opinion that has formed over the years that the Soviet Union is opposed not only to the Dashnaks, but to all Armenians who are not Bolsheviks.

This is also necessary for the success of the joint venture you have embarked upon.

This is all the more necessary for the self-defence of our country: the greater the military activity, which is a source of inspiration for the people, the more militant their sense of dignity and self-respect, the more courageous and patriotic they are.

### *Citizen Minister!*

In an effort to mark the day of Armenian statehood, we, the Armenians of Spyarka, annually remind Europe, loyal to the struggle against inhuman policies (but often forgetting the threat to our existence), of the usefulness of this struggle in the countries where we live.

The Soviet Union must change its attitude towards the great deeds of the Armenian people, born in the cruel conditions of world history – at a time when our country was ravaged by famine, epidemics and the tragedy of loneliness and isolation. I have spoken the truth. From an ethical point of view, it is not good to say what is called the truth.

In this case, I am also obliged to speak the truth by my

patriotic concern for the interests of Armenia, which is also beneficial to the Soviet Union.

patriotic concern for the interests of Armenia, which is also beneficial to the Soviet Union.

I told the truth – perhaps a bitter truth, but the truth nonetheless.

Let us not forget to quote Marshal Stalin here:

"God forbid we should be infected with the disease of fear of the truth, however bitter it may be."

*G. Ter-Arutyunyan  
15 May 1952*

As we can see, Nzhdeh remained true to his noble patriotic principles – "Motherland above all" – not only when he was free, but also in prison.

One of the lesser-known aspects of Nzhdeh's biography is his activities abroad after his emigration in 1921. In this regard, for the sake of completeness (in addition to the information and guidelines from the GPU, NKVD, and MGB that I have already provided), I would like to refer to the first interrogation report of Nzhdeh after his detention and arrest.

*Interrogation report*

*of the detainee Ter-Arutyunyan Garegin – pseudonym  
"Nzhde"  
dated 12 October 1944.*

*Ter-Arutyunyan Garegin – alias "Nzhde" born in  
1886, a native of Nakhichevan, Erivan Province, member of  
the Dashnaktsutyun Party from 1909 to 1937. Former  
general of the Dashnak army,  
emigrated from Russia in 1921,  
Bulgarian citizen, journalist by profession, resided at 92  
Tsar Boris Street, Sofia.*

*Question:* How long have you lived in Bulgaria?

*Answer:* I have been living in Bulgaria, in Sofia, since 1922. After emigrating from Russia in 1921, I stayed in Iran for a short time, then moved to Constantinople, and in 1922 I left Turkey for Bulgaria, where I have lived until recently.

*Question:* What did you do while living in Bulgaria?

*Answer:* While living in Bulgaria, I was constantly involved in journalism for the Sofia literary newspaper Svetoglas and the Armenian newspaper Ayrenik in America.

Before leaving the party, I worked for the Dashnak newspaper, and after leaving, I worked for the Armenian newspaper Razmik.

*Question:* What position did you hold in the Dashnaktsutyun party and what were the reasons for your departure from the party?

*Answer:* I held a prominent position in the party, worked as a journalist, and was a member of the central committee of Dashnaktsutyun. I left the party in 1937 due to personal animosity towards Ruben Ter-Minasyan, the head of the Dashnaktsutyun bureau. Since then, I have been outside the party, but I am involved in public work.

*Question:* In which countries, apart from Bulgaria, did you live after emigrating from Russia?

*Answer:* After emigrating from Russia, I lived in America for some time – about 20 months – where, in 1933-34, I worked for the Red Cross.

In 1926 and 1941, I lived in Romania and travelled as a journalist. In 1933, before leaving for America, I lived in Paris for about two months. In Paris for about two months.

In 1937, before I left the Dashnaktsutyun party, the bureau summoned me to Cairo, where they tried to reconcile me with Ruben Ter-Minasyan.

I stayed in Cairo for two months.

In 1942-1943, I visited Germany twice – Berlin. I lived there for about six months.

*Question:* Who travelled with you from Bulgaria?

*Answer:* The first time, in October 1942, I flew from Sofia to Berlin. My good friend Semen Ivanovich Burev flew with me. On the plane, I met a Russian émigré named Zavzhalov, who was also flying to Berlin. That time, I stayed in Berlin for two or three months and then returned to Sofia. The second time, I left for Berlin alone, around the autumn of 1943, and stayed there for three months.

*Question:* Who is Burev and why was he travelling with you to Berlin?

*Answer:* Semen Ivanovich Burev is a well-known public figure in the Balkans. I had known him for a long time, about 20 years. Burev flew with me to Berlin at the request of German intelligence to connect me with them. Although at that time I did not yet know that I would be meeting with representatives of the intelligence service. The meeting was intended to establish contact with representatives of the National Socialist Party.

*Question:* What kind of relationship did you have with German intelligence? intelligence services?

*Answer:* I was connected with German intelligence through cooperation with the latter. Burev Semen Ivanovich connected me with the Germans in 1941.

This happened as follows: Even before 1941, before the war between Germany and the Soviet Union, when I met with Burev, I told him that the German press had begun to persecute Armenians and that the question of the ethnogenesis of Armenians was being reconsidered in Berlin. Burev said that I should discuss this issue with the Germans – the German embassy in Sofia – and prove to them the Aryan origin of the Armenians.

On this basis, Dr. Aik Asatryan and I visited the German consulate and contacted its representative, Dr. Levald, to whom I sent several memos on this issue.

We received no response from Levald.

After the war between Germany and the Soviet Union began in 1941,

Union, I met with Burev again – or rather, I specifically went to his home at 33 Evlogi Georgiev Street.

During our conversations on various topics, we again touched on the results of my negotiations with the Germans. I replied that I knew nothing about them. Then Burev said that a representative of the German command had arrived in Sofia who could help in this matter. I expressed my desire to meet with him. A few days after this conversation, Burev asked me to visit him at his home, and we went together to the German consulate, located at 57 Evtimia Street, where I met with Lieutenant Colonel Delius of the German army.

I request that my testimony be amended.

I first met Delius in the apartment. The meeting at the German consulate was the second.

*Question:* What did Delius talk to you about?

*Answer:* I told <sup>Delius</sup> that an unhealthy atmosphere was being artificially created around the Armenians and that, unfortunately, this was being supported by the German press. I also mentioned how this was being reflected in the Bulgarian press. I asked him to help us, the Armenians, in this matter. Delius said that there was nothing he could do here and recommended that I go to Berlin, where the issue should be raised. During the same conversation, Delius remarked that the Germans were interested in Turkey, that there were many Turkish subjects of Armenian origin in Constantinople, and asked me if I could help the Germans find someone in Turkey who could cooperate with German intelligence and provide the Germans with information of interest to them.

I replied to Delius that there was an Armenian woman living in Constantinople, a poet whose brother had fled from there and moved to Vienna. This poet wanted to leave Turkey, but the authorities would not give her permission. I also told Delius that this woman could help the Germans in carrying out their tasks.

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<sup>1</sup> Representative of German intelligence in the Balkans.

Delius told me that the Germans were interested in information about the combat readiness and morale of the army, the economic situation of the country, and the mood of the Turkish people.

If this girl assists the Germans in the matters mentioned, they will help her leave Turkey.

I promised Delius that I would give him the poet's surname and address. That was the end of our conversation.

When I returned home, I asked Dr. Aik Asatryan to contact the girl's brother, find out her address and pass it on to Delius, which Aik Asatryan did.

<sup>The girl</sup> (her surname is Dadaryan, I don't remember her first name), having completed the Germans' assignment, obtained an exit visa in Constantinople and left for Bulgaria, and then for Vienna, where she still lives.

*Question:* Did you meet Dadaryan after she completed the Germans' task?

*Answer:* Yes, I met her in Vienna on my way to Berlin.

In conversation with me, Dadaryan said that a man recommended by a representative of the German consulate came to her in Constantinople and told her that he could help her leave to join her brother if she carried out the Germans' assignment mentioned above.

Dadaryan agreed and passed on information about the state of the Turkish army, the economic situation in the country, and the mood of the population. As a result, the Germans helped her leave for Bulgaria.

*Question:* What was the outcome of your second meeting with Delius?

*Answer:* The second meeting with Delius took place at the German consulate at 57 Patriarch Evtimii Street. During the conversation, I asked Delius to allow me to collect donations for Soviet prisoners of war (of Armenian nationality) in Germany. Delius did not object, and on his instructions, the Bulgarian command allowed the collection of donations. I had no further dealings with Delius.

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<sup>1</sup>This refers to Dadrian Adrine.

*Question:* Who else from German intelligence did you meet in Sofia?

*Answer:* Some time after my second meeting with Delius, Semyon Burev invited me to his home. During our conversation, he told me that a man had arrived from Berlin and wanted to see me. I agreed to meet him.

*Question:* Where did this meeting take place?

*Answer:* The meeting took place at this man's flat, somewhere near Burev's house. I don't remember the exact address.

*Question:* Was Burev present at this meeting?

*Answer:* Yes, he was present.

*Question:* Please describe the content of the conversation.

*Answer:* This man, whose surname I do not know, told me that the German command was aware that the Armenians needed German support and asked me if I would like to go to Berlin for negotiations. I did not object. A few days after this conversation, I travelled to Berlin with Burev. I obtained a visa through the German consulate.

*Question:* Which representatives of German intelligence did you

Upon arrival in Berlin, Burev and I took a taxi to the city and stayed at a hotel on Unter den Linden.

*Answer:* Upon arrival in Berlin, Burev and I took a taxi into the city and stayed at a hotel on Unter den Linden. Zavzhalov was not with us. I later met Zavzhalov at the same hotel.

Burev and I stayed in different rooms.

That same day, after a short rest, Burev came to see me, and we went to another hotel. I don't remember which street it was on.

At this hotel, I had a conversation with a representative of German intelligence who called himself Major Drum. Drum introduced himself as a representative of the National Socialist Party.

*Question:* What did Major Drum talk to you about?

*Answer:* First, Drum asked who I was. I told him...

hall that I was a general in the Dashnak army, an old Armenian nationalist who had fought in the Balkan War and against Soviet rule. Drum then asked what we wanted from the Germans. I replied that it would be desirable for the Germans to stop the anti-Armenian propaganda that had begun. After listening to me, Drum stated that the German authorities would give us the opportunity to publish our newspaper in German in Berlin, as well as provide two seats on the Armenian Committee that would be established in Berlin.

Thus, the campaign against the Armenians would be stopped. I expressed my satisfaction with this statement.

In conclusion, I asked how we, the Armenians, could help Germany in this war. I suggested to Drum that we open a school for Armenians in Berlin, whose graduates we would select so that the Germans could train and use them as they saw fit.

Drum seized upon this proposal and instructed me to select a group of Armenians in Bulgaria – about 30 people – in Bulgaria and send them to Berlin, where they would be trained for sabotage and other purposes in Soviet Armenia when German troops approached the Armenian border, as well as to help the Germans from within to liberate Armenia from the Bolshevik troops as soon as possible.

Drum also said that during the retreat of the Red Army, many people from the population were leaving with the troops and that these people, who had been transferred to Armenia and knew Armenian, should launch appropriate pro-German propaganda so that no one would leave with the Bolsheviks.

Referring to the future war with Turkey, Drum said that when the offensive against Turkey began, these people would act as an organising force to raise the Armenians against the Turks.

*Question:* What did you actually do to carry out this task for the Germans?

*Answer:* I wrote to Aik Asatryan asking him to start recruiting Armenians in Bulgaria to study at German schools in Berlin.

and I myself came to Berlin to publish a newspaper and participate in the committee.

*Question:* What did Aik Asatryan do in this regard?

*Answer:* During my absence, Aik Asatryan organised the recruitment of Armenians who wanted to study at the Berlin school. About 31 people were recruited from the following cities: Sofia, Plovdiv, Burgas, Sliven, Ruse... They were taken to Berlin by a certain Astvatsaturyan, the owner of a hardware store in Sofia.

They left for Berlin in two groups: the first group consisted of 15 people, the second of 16. Before their departure, the German consulate informed Berlin of this, as a result of which they were met in Vienna and then in Berlin by representatives of the German authorities, who sent them to Hohen-Binde, 30 km from Berlin, where this school was founded.

*Question:* List the people who studied at the Hohen Binde school.

*Answer:* The school mainly taught young people. Therefore, the surnames of all the people are not known. I know them by sight. I was close friends with the following Armenians who ended up at this school: Marcos

Markosyan from the city of Sliven,  
Grigor Bostandjian from Burgas, Onik  
Petrosyan from Sliven, Abro Grigoryan  
from Sofia,

Martik (I don't remember his surname) from Plovdiv.

I don't remember the surnames of the others, but I know them all by sight, as I visited this school several times and met them.

*Question:* What subjects were taught at this school?

*Answer:* After visiting the school in Hohen-Binde several times, I learned that German language, marksmanship, and military drill were taught there. Later, I learned that sabotage was also taught. However, I did not see this myself. I do not know what other subjects were taught.

*Question:* How many times did you visit the school in Hohen-Binde?

*Answer:* I visited the school in Hohen-Binde 3-4 times.

*Question:* How many times did you meet with Major Drum while in Berlin?

*Answer:* I met with Major Drum three times while in Berlin. I met with his assistant, Gaupfman (I don't remember his surname), several times. All my meetings concerned the students at the school.

*Question:* Did you receive any other assignments from Major Drum?

*Answer:* I did not receive any other assignments from Major Drum.

*Question:* You mentioned above that a committee was set up by the Germans in Berlin. Who was on the committee?

*Answer:* The committee consisted of five people. The chairman of the committee was Dr. Abegyan Artashes, who was from Berlin. The members of the committee were: Vahan Papazyan from Van (Turkish Armenia), Davidkhanian (I don't know his first name) from Berlin, Baghdasarian Akop from Berlin, and myself, Ter-Arutyunyan. The first three were Dashnaks, members of the Dashnaktsutyun party.

*Question:* What is this committee? What are its goals and objectives?

*Answer:* The committee was created by the Germans in order to win over Armenians living within the Reich and direct them to fight against Soviet power.

The Germans also intended to use this committee to influence the Armenian legions serving in their army, claiming that there was a special committee in Germany that protected the rights of Armenians.

Our attempts to publish a newspaper in Berlin and to spread propaganda about the Aryan origin of the Armenians were unsuccessful, and as a result, the committee, which had existed for only six months, dissolved itself.

After that, the Germans created another committee called "Forbindux Staff," i.e., the liaison staff. This staff was headed by an Armenian, a former colonel in the Soviet Army who had been captured by the Germans, Sargsyan—<sup>1</sup> I don't remember his name either. I never saw him.

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<sup>1</sup>This refers to Vartan Sargsyan.

Two people from Dro's group, Jamalyan and Baghdasaryan, and two other legionnaires were elected as members of this committee.

*Question:* Was Semen Ivanovich Burev with you the whole time in Berlin?

*Answer:* No, he wasn't. Burev stayed with me for a few days, put me in touch with the Germans, and then left for Bulgaria. I moved from the hotel to a private apartment, where I lived the entire time.

*Question:* What prompted your second trip to Berlin?

*Answer:* My second trip to Berlin took place about three months after I returned home. It was prompted by the fact that, as a member of the committee, I had to be there. Secondly, I was concerned about the fate of the boys who were studying at the school.

*Question:* Which representatives of the German intelligence service did you meet this time?

*Answer:* Upon arriving in Berlin, I immediately contacted Aik Asatryan, who was still there translating one of his <sup>books</sup> from Armenian into German. Together with Asatryan, we went to visit the children at the Hohen Binde school. In a conversation with the headmaster of the school, a German named Robert Hofmann, I learned that Drum no longer had any connection with the school and that it had been transferred to another intelligence representative, Engelhaupt. Wanting to meet Engelhaupt, I went to see him in Berlin, accompanied by Hofmann.

*Question:* What did Engelhaupt discuss with you?

*Answer:* Engelhaupt told me about the progress of classes at the school and expressed the idea that some of the school's students might be transferred to the Armenian legions for the purpose of pro-German propaganda. That was the end of our conversation. I would like to add that Engelhaupt initially told me that he was now the head of the Hohen Binde school.

*Question:* What happened to the students of the school?

*Answer:* About a month and a half later, when I was still in Berlin working for the Armenian committee, I learned that all the students

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<sup>1</sup>This refers to the book Armenia – Aryan Outpost in the Near East, published in Berlin in Armenian in 1942.

The school's students were dressed in German uniforms and sent to Crimea, where they were stationed in the village of Simena. They remained in Crimea for about four months.

*Question:* For what purpose were they sent from Germany to Crimea?

*Answer:* All students of the sabotage school were sent to Crimea to be ready for transfer to Soviet Armenia with sabotage missions.

*Question:* Why was the transfer of saboteurs not carried out?

*Answer:* All this happened in the spring of 1943. By that time, Red Army units had begun their offensive on Crimea. So there could be no question of transfer to Armenia. The Germans were retreating.

*The interrogation was interrupted.*

The interrogation continued from 10 p.m. on 12 October until 3 a.m. on 14 October, with a break.

Recorded accurately from my words, the protocol was read to me in understandable Russian, which I confirm with my signature (signature).

*Interrogated*

*by: Head of the SMERSH Counterintelligence Directorate  
of the 3rd Ukrainian Front*

*Lieutenant General Ivashutin*

*Deputy Head of the 2nd Division of the 4th Department of the SMERSH Directorate*

*3rd Ukrainian Front, Captain*

*Belyenky*

It is noteworthy that this first interrogation was conducted by <sup>Lieutenant</sup> General <sup>Ivashutin</sup>, head of the SMERSH counterintelligence department of the 3rd Ukrainian Front.

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<sup>1</sup> Ivashutin, Pyotr Ivanovich, was born in 1909 in Brest. He was the first deputy chairman of the KGB of the USSR, and from 1963 to 1987, he was the head of the Main Intelligence Directorate of the General Staff of the USSR and an army general (1971).

At that time, Nzhde was 58 years old, and Ivashutin was only 35.  
The next interrogation of Nzhde took place on 17 October 1944.

*Interrogation protocol*

*of the detainee Ter-Arutyunyan Garegin  
From 17 October 1944*

*Question:* Please describe what you knew about the Dashnak's connections with the intelligence agencies of various capitalist countries during your stay abroad.

*Answer:* About two years ago, the German and Bulgarian press launched a discussion about the need to persecute Armenians both in Europe and in the Soviet Union, because (as they thought) all Armenians, in collaboration with the British and the Soviets, were preparing for military action against Germany.

The press also reported that after the election of the Catholicos of All Armenians in Echmiadzin, Archbishop Had, the leader of the Syrian Armenian Diocese, returned from Soviet Armenia to Syria. On the instructions of the Armenian Patriarch of Jerusalem, Mesrop-rop, began forming Armenian volunteer regiments in Syria for military operations against Germany. Allegedly, Had and Mesrop received large sums of money and directives from the Soviet Union for this purpose. At the same time, the press emphasised that Patriarch Mesrop was working for the British.

One of the telegrams published in the German press noted that, in addition to soldiers of conscription age, the Soviet Army had deployed up to 300,000 volunteers against the Germans on the Caucasian front. In connection with this, the issue of the racial affiliation of Armenians became a topic of discussion, and in Berlin it was decided to equate Armenians with Jews.

At the same time, rumours circulated among the Germans that they (the Armenians) intended to enter the Transcaucasus in alliance with Turkey.

The previously established Armenian-Bulgarian Committee wrote to the German consulate in Sofia with a request not to allow the persecution and destruction of Armenians in the Caucasus and other European countries.

This letter was signed by fifteen Bulgarian and Armenian public figures, namely:

1. Katsarov Gavril – professor of history, chairman of the Armenian-Bulgarian Committee,
2. I. Ter-Harutyunyan Garegin (Nzhde) – as Deputy Chairman of the Armenian-Bulgarian Committee,
3. Nuridjian Georges – professor and writer,
4. Penev – professor and educator,
5. Kosta Nikolov – General of the Bulgarian Army,
6. Totomyan<sup>Vaan1</sup> – professor and cooperator,
7. Zankov Georgi – Member of the Bulgarian National Assembly,
8. Oganessov (Oganessian) Onik – manufacturer,
9. Astvatsatryan<sup>Nerses2</sup> – merchant,
10. Kiremidjian Gevorg – manufacturer,
11. Asatryan Aik – Doctor of Philosophy. I do not remember the surnames of the others.

Thus, after a personal conversation with the commissioner of the German consulate, Levald, the latter suggested that we leave for Berlin to prevent the possible consequences of the anti-Armenian campaign in the German press.

Having been acquainted for about 10 years with the Bulgarian revolutionary and prominent businessman Simon Burev, and knowing that the latter had connections in the Bulgarian Ministry of War and with German intelligence agencies working against Turkey, which were unknown to me, Asatryan Aik and I turned to Burev

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<sup>1</sup>Totomyanets Vaan Tovmasovich (1875-964) – founder of the Armenian cooperative.

<sup>2</sup> Astvatsatryan Nerses – a loyal associate of G. Nzhde, a well-known public figure in the Armenian community in Bulgaria, together with Aik Asatryan, edited the magazines "Tseg ev Ayre-nik" and "Tarony Artsiv". Arrested by the SMERSH in Bulgaria, he died in a camp in the Urals.

with a request to help us contact Berlin to resolve the Armenian issue that had arisen.

Burev repeatedly told me that he had extensive connections in Germany and was working for the Germans against Turkey. However, he did not tell me anything about who he was personally connected to or which intelligence agency he was working for.

*Question:* Continue your testimony about the trip to Berlin.

*Answer:* Upon arrival in Berlin in October 1942, we – that is, Semen Burev and I – stayed at the Adel or Odem Hotel. The next day, we were visited by Major Drum of the German intelligence service, with whom we had a conversation about the Armenian question.

During the conversation, I asked him a number of questions:

- about the possibility of creating a propaganda organ in Armenian and German;
- the publication of brochures aimed at shaping public opinion about the truly Aryan origin of the Armenians;
- and, finally, about giving us two seats in the Armenian National Council that the Germans were setting up.

In addition, I expressed our desire to prepare a group of Armenians and use them against Turkey in the event of a war between Germany and the latter.

Drum promised to grant me rights in the matters I had raised. However, seizing on my proposal to prepare a group of Armenians for action against Turkey, he suggested that I present those willing to undergo training in Germany.

I wrote to Sofia Aik Asatryan with a proposal to select a group of 30 people and come with them to Berlin.

A few days after my letter arrived in Berlin, a group of young Armenians led by Hayk Asatryan arrived. I should clarify: Hayk Asatryan, Sedrak Jalalyan and S. Petikyan arrived in Berlin first, and the group selected for training in

in Berlin, arrived on two flights. Upon the group's arrival, Jalalyan and Petikyan left for the village of Hohen-Binde, where the group was stationed at a camp. Aik Asatryan and I remained in Berlin to continue our work on the Armenian question.

*Question:* List the names and surnames of the group of Armenians who arrived in Berlin for training.

*Answer:* The following persons were among this group:

1. Markos Markosyan, 25 years old, (from Western Armenia, refugee, lives in Sliven, profession, apparently a shoemaker).
2. Petrosyan Onik, 30 years old, Turkish Armenian, immigrant, hairdresser by profession, residing in Sliven.
3. Grigor Bostandjian, 30 years old, Turkish Armenian, has a bookshop, lives in Burgas.
4. Petikyan Srvasar, aged 30, Turkish Armenian, reserve officer in the Bulgarian army, son of a carpet manufacturer, lives in the village of Panaporitsa, near Plovdiv.
5. Jalalyan Sedrak, aged 60, emigrant from Soviet Armenia in 1920-21, teacher from the city of Varna, currently in Berlin, where he joined Dro's group.
6. Tamazyan Aram, aged 25, a Turkish Armenian, a merchant from Varna, remained in Berlin with Jalalyan and joined the Dro group.
7. Grigoryan Abram (Abro), aged 60, Turkish Armenian, labourer, lived in Sofia on Safroni Street. From the very first days of his stay in Berlin, he fell ill and was admitted to hospital, where he is currently, I do not know.
8. Minasyan (first name unknown), aged 27, worker, Turkish Armenian, lives in Varna.
9. Martik (surname unknown), aged 50, Turkish Armenian, immigrant, locksmith, owner of a locksmith's workshop in Plovdiv.
10. Onik (surname unknown), aged 25-30, Turkish Armenian, lives in Sofia, shoemaker by profession.

I do not know the surnames of the others. Dr. Asatryan Aik, who lives in Sofia with his brother-in-law, the owner of a café, knows them well. His address can be obtained through the Armenian church.

Dr. Asatryan compiled a list of the entire group that travelled to Berlin.

*Question:* What kind of training did the group of Armenians you represented undergo in Germany?

*Answer:* The group underwent military combat training and, at the end, sabotage training. The training lasted about eight months.

*Question:* So, this group was trained as saboteurs?

*Answer:* The entire group was trained as saboteurs to carry out actions in favour of the Germans.

*Question:* Against whom was this group intended to be used?

*Answer:* Although, according to an agreement between Major Drum and SS Major Engelhaupt, this group was to be used against Turkey, the entire group was sent to Crimea during the German occupation of the latter to be used against the Soviet Union.

*Question:* How was this sabotage group to be used against the Soviet Union?

*Answer:* As far as I know, the group was to be used by the Germans on the territory of the Soviet Army when German troops approached its borders. The group's tasks included establishing contact with the population in order to preserve food supplies and prevent the people from fleeing with the retreating Red Army divisions and the theft of livestock. After the German troops entered Soviet Armenia, the sabotage group was to be used against Turkey on the latter's territory.

However, after my protest, the entire group was returned from

Crimea to the town of Zamber, where they were placed in a camp.

*Question:* What was the camp in Zamber like?

*Answer:* The camp was called SS-ovsky, and according to the account of group member Grigor Bostandzhyan, there were several groups of representatives of Caucasian nationalities there, namely Georgians, Azerbaijanis, Dagestanis, Tatars, and others. On the fourth day after the group's arrival in Zamberk, the Armenian group was first transferred to Vienna, then sent to Bulgaria and dispersed to their homes. I would like to add that in early 1943, I received information that within my group, which was preparing for action against Turkey, incitement was taking place. This work was carried out by the recruited Dro Sedrak Jalalyan. The goal was to win the group over to his side and send it behind the lines of the Red Army units to be used for his own and German interests.

Dro had been engaged in this since the beginning of the war.

This caused an uproar against Jalalyan within the group. He was arrested by members of the group, and his correspondence with the German command was confiscated, in which Jalalyan accused me and Aik Asatryan of sabotage against the Germans and demanded that the group be transferred to Dro's control.

All correspondence is in the possession of Dr. Asatryan.

When I arrived in Berlin to investigate the conflict described above, Major Engelhaupt invited me to visit the Eden Hotel, where, as it turned out, Dro had also arrived in Berlin and was staying.

As it turned out later, the initiative to invite me to the hotel came from Dro, who was seeking reconciliation with me. During our conversation, Dro asked me to forget our old feud and, given the current political situation, called on me to create a united front of my supporters in favour of Germany in order to intensify the activities of Armenians abroad against the Soviet Union. Dro noted that the Germans were unhappy with the disagreements between us.

These words were confirmed by Major Engelhaupt, whose wife was present at the meeting as a German-Russian interpreter. Engelhaupt noted that my group, which was undergoing training, should be divided into three parts. One part should be dismissed from further training due to unsuitability. Another, the most educated, should be used in the legions, and the third part, as scouts, should be transferred to Dro's disposal.

There was no reconciliation between us.

*Question:* Please describe what you know about Dro's activities on behalf of German intelligence agencies.

*Answer:* In the early days of the war, Dro, as a member of the foreign bureau of the Dashnaktsutyun party, who was entrusted with the leadership of Dashnak organisations in the Balkans (Greece, Bulgaria, Romania), convened a congress in Bucharest. At this congress, Dro proposed a programme of action for Dashnak organisations in favour of Germany. In particular, the question of how to recruit forces against the Soviet Union was raised.

A five-member political commission was elected at this congress.

1. Vahan <sup>Papazian</sup>, 65, a Turkish Armenian, formerly a member of the foreign bureau in Paris. Currently residing in Berlin.
2. Davidkhanian, name unknown, aged 60, emigrant from the Soviet Union, currently residing in Berlin.
3. Sarkisyan Efrem, aged 60, emigrant, currently residing in Bucharest.
4. Araratyan <sup>Sarkis<sup>2</sup></sup>, aged 60, emigrant, deceased.
5. Kanyan (Dro).

The functions of this political commission included negotiations with the German fascist government and establishing contact

<sup>1</sup> Vahan Papazyan (Koms) (1876-1973) – political figure, member of the Dashnaktsutyun party. He fully supported the central line of the Dashnaktsutyun leadership's policy, in particular against G. Nzhdeh.

<sup>2</sup> Sarkis Araratyan lived in Romania from 1921 to 1941, was a well-known public figure, and supported the policies and ideology of G. Nzhdeh.

between Fascist Italy and the Central Committee of the "Dashnaktsutyun" in Paris. This commission was in charge of recruiting the forces needed by the German command and intelligence agencies. It was also involved in collecting funds from wealthy Armenians in Romania.

After the death of commission member Araratian, former member of the foreign bureau in Paris Devedjian Hovannes left for Italy, where he presented a report on the work done to the Dashnak organisations.

After the fall of fascist Romania, Devedjian arrived in Bulgaria from Bucharest and remained there on some kind of political mission. He currently lives in Varna with his sister.

Devejan is aware of all of DRO's activities and is one of DRO's most active and direct collaborators in recruiting forces to use against the Soviet Union.

The interrogation is adjourned.

The minutes of my statements have been correctly recorded and read by me.

*Ter-Arutyunyan*

*Interrogated*

*by: Deputy Head of the 2nd Department of the SMERSH*

*Counterintelligence Service of the 3rd Ukrainian Front*

*Lieutenant Colonel Korotkov*

*Employee of the 2nd Department of the SMERSH Directorate of*

*the 3rd Ukrainian Front*

*Lieutenant Kharitonov*

*Continuation of the interrogation protocol*

*of Ter-Arutyunyan Garegin Yegishevich (Nzhde)*

*From 18 October 1944*

*Question:* Continue your testimony about Dro's activities on behalf of German intelligence agencies.

*Answer:* I personally know that Sargsyan Efrem, a member of the political commission based in Bucharest, travelled to Berlin twice on intelligence and recruitment business, as well as to participate in a congress. Sargsyan is one of Dro's close friends and is aware of all of the latter's activities on behalf of the German intelligence services. One of Dro's confidants is Saruni Sarkis, a member of the Dashnaktsutyun party committee in Romania, who lives in Bucharest. In 1938, Saruni travelled to the Dashnak congress in Cairo, Egypt, on Dro's behalf. Dro's chief of staff is Tigran Baghdasaryan, an emigrant from Soviet Armenia, a former second lieutenant in the Turkish service, who currently presents himself as a colonel.

The Germans call Tigran Baghdasaryan "Tigris." Baghdasaryan travelled around the occupied regions of Ukraine and, according to rumours, was very active in intelligence work for the Germans. I do not know where he is at present.

The Dro group also included an old Dashnak, an old Dashnak-Mauserist activist named <sup>Arutik</sup><sup>1</sup>, whose surname I do not know. Arutik travelled with Dro throughout the occupied regions of Ukraine and the Caucasus, actively participating in espionage for the Germans and organising Dashnak cells in German-occupied territory. These cells were organised through Dro's old connections in the Dashnaktsutyun party. It is not known exactly where these cells were organised. I am inclined to believe that Dro's activities in this area were exaggerated for propaganda purposes. I personally know that while in the occupied areas of the Caucasus, Dro found an old Dashnak from the Tiflis organisation "Ashkhatavor" (left wing), a certain Minas, whose surname I do not know. Minas remained in the occupied territory and was taken by Dro to Berlin in a sick condition.

It is noteworthy that Minas, in conversation with me and others

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<sup>1</sup>Subsequently, in 1955, he was released from prison and sent to Romania.

Dashnaktsutyun, expressed anti-German sentiments, stating that Germany's victory over the Soviet Union would mean the enslavement of the Armenian people. Minas also openly expressed his disbelief in Germany's victory. Minas is currently believed to be in Berlin, while his wife works as a midwife somewhere in the Caucasus.

One of Dro's confidants is Dashnak, an emigrant from Armenia named Arto, who served as a bailiff or assistant bailiff in Ashtarak under the Dashnak government in Armenia. Like Arutik, he travelled with Dro throughout the occupied territory, engaging in espionage on behalf of the Germans. Arto is currently believed to be in Bucharest, where he is known to all Armenians.

Aram Hakobyan is a member of the Central Committee of the Dashnaktsutyun Party in Bulgaria, a supporter of Dro's group, and a participant in the <sup>p/D1</sup> congress in Bucharest, which took place at the beginning of Germany's war with the Soviet Union. Akopyan seems to have taken part in the p/D congress in Berlin, which was being prepared in 1943. At the same time, Akopyan is the editor of the Dashnak newspaper Azat Khosk (Free Word), published in Sofia.

In Berlin, the Zargaryan brothers (one of whom is an engineer and the other a businessman who travels between Paris and Berlin) told me that Dro's group includes the sons of former Baku tycoons, whose names were not mentioned and whom Dro promised to use to the Germans' advantage. Dro promised to return all their wealth once German troops entered Baku. Devedjian and Davidhanyan, who now lives in Berlin, should know these people well.

Muradyan Arutyun, a Dashnak living in Ruschuk, told his friends that Kazandzhyan Levon, a Dashnak living in Sofia, had received some kind of assignment from the Germans and intended to send Muradyan under a false name in a certain direction. Muradyan is one of Devedzhyan's close associates.

Kamtsarakyan Petros (Peter) came from

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<sup>1</sup> Dashnaktsutyun Party.

Vienna to Bulgaria and Romania and, as far as I know, acted as an intermediary between the Germans and Dro. Kamsarakan made no secret of the fact that he was working for the Germans.

Subsequently, Kamsarakan left Dro and visited Bulgaria twice on business, while also taking an interest in White Guard organisations, in particular their activities, sentiments, etc.

Kamsarakan is the son of an Armenian general, resides permanently in Vienna, and is an engineer by profession.

At the end of 1941, Miansaryan Jean arrived in Sofia on a Greek passport, giving the impression of an adventurer. Declaring himself in need of financial support, Miansaryan collected a small amount of money for his journey in Sofia and Plovdiv. Twenty days later, Miansaryan reappeared in Sofia and, contacting Dr. Asatryan Aik, offered to subsidise the newspaper Razmik (Warrior) that he published. I reported this case to the Bulgarian police, who arrested him. However, the Germans intervened in the matter, took him under their protection and took him to Berlin.

I would like to add that Dr. Asatryan contacted the German legation in Sofia to ask whether Miansaryan was a German agent, but the legation denied any connection between the Germans and Miansaryan Jean. I do not know where the latter is currently located. Incidentally, the legation stated that Miansaryan is a dangerous international adventurer.

During his stay in Sofia, Miansaryan tried to open an Iranian consulate there, for which he contacted the Iranian diplomatic mission in Romania. What Miansaryan's involvement in this was is unknown.

I would like to add that Davidhanyan, a member of the Political Commission organised by Dro at the beginning of Germany's war with the Soviet Union, was a secret informant for the German Foreign Ministry long before the war, while working as a businessman. His secret collaboration is known to many Armenians in Berlin.

The interrogation is interrupted.

The minutes have been recorded correctly from my words and read aloud.

*Ter-Harutyunyan*

*Interrogated*

*by: Deputy Head of the 2nd Department of the SMERSH of  
the 3rd Ukrainian Front*

*Lieutenant Colonel Korotkov*

*Employee of the 2nd Department of the SMERSH Directorate of  
the 3rd Ukrainian Front*

*Lieutenant Kharitonov*

*Continuation of the interrogation protocol*

*Ter-Arutyunyan Garegin Yegishevich (Nzhde)*

*From 18 October 1944*

*Question:* What agents did you supply to the Germans for use in Turkey?

*Answer:* About two years ago, during my stay in Berlin, a student named Dadaryan, who had arrived from Vienna, approached the editorial office of our newspaper in Sofia with a request to assist his sister, Dadaryan EGINE or Elena, in obtaining a German visa to leave Turkey. He was received by Dr. Asatryan Aik, who petitioned the Germans to issue a visa, but the latter shifted the issue to the possible use of Dadaryan for intelligence purposes in Turkey. An agreement was reached. A letter was sent to Dadaryan in Turkey, where she contacted the Germans, provided them with the information they were interested in, and, having obtained a visa, left for Vienna via Bulgaria. I do not know of any other agents working for the Germans.

*Question:* Please describe what you know about the agents and intelligence organisations of other powers?

*Answer:* I categorically and with full responsibility declare that I am not aware of any agents or intelligence agencies from other countries.

*Question:* Where are your personal weapons?

*Answer:* All weapons belonging to me personally were handed over to the military commission of the Bulgarian Ministry of War at the beginning of the war in accordance with the order issued.

*Question:* In your previous testimony, you stated that in 1943, a congress of the Dashnaksutyun party was held in Berlin. Please provide details of this congress.

*Answer:* About 14 months ago, in view of the mass discontent expressed towards Dro for his pro-German activities and, in particular, for his cooperation with German intelligence and counterintelligence agencies, Dro, as a member of the Foreign Bureau of the D and representative of the bureau for Dashnak organisations in the Balkans, convened a secret congress in Berlin. As far as I know, the delegates who took part in this congress were: Mkhitarian Onik, representative from Bulgaria; representatives from the Greek organisation, whose names I do not know; representative from Bulgaria Akopyan Aram; Misakyan Shavarsh; and representatives from the Paris organisation. I do not know what issues were decided at this congress, but I heard that the Paris delegates expressed dissatisfaction with Dro's policies and pro-German activities. However, representatives from Balkan organisations supported Dro and passed a resolution justifying Dro's activities and policies.

I believe that this decision was necessary for Dro, on the one hand, as an excuse to the foreign bureau in Cairo, and on the other hand, Dro thus demonstrated to the Germans both his authority among the Dashnaks and that the majority of them were on his side.

I must state that the Foreign Office in Cairo took the side of the Anglo-Saxons from the very first days of Germany's war. The office, aware of Dro's activities in the ranks of German intelligence and counterintelligence, was dissatisfied with his work. Thus, the decision of the congress justifying Dro's actions (his pro-German policy and work in the intelligence services

Germany) justified Dro and, before the foreign bureau p/D, as acting on the instructions of the Balkan Dashnak organisations.

In order to have a complete picture of the congresses convened by Dro during the German war and held in Romania and Berlin, I recommend questioning the delegates of these congresses, Sargsyan Efrem and Devedjian Hovhannes. These two individuals should provide a complete account of the events at the congresses, their agenda and decisions.

*Question:* What do you know about the location of the arsenal of the "Dashnaktsutyun" in Bulgaria, Romania and other countries liberated from German occupation?

*Answer:* I know nothing about the existence of secret Dashnaktsutyun party arsenals in the Balkans, and I think that there are none.

*Question:* What do you know about Dashnaktsutyun terrorist groups in the Balkans?

*Answer:* I categorically state that there were and are no terrorist groups or individuals assigned to terrorism in the Dashnak organisation. As for other Balkan countries, I know nothing about whether there are terrorist groups or individuals assigned to terrorism there.

The interrogation is adjourned.

The minutes have been recorded correctly from my words and read aloud.

*Ter-Arutyunyan*

*Interrogated*

*by: Deputy Head of the 2nd Department of the SMERSH*

*Security Service of the 3rd Ukrainian Front*

*Lieutenant Colonel Korotkov*

*Employee of the 2nd Department of the SMERSH Security*

*Service of the 3rd Ukrainian Front*

*Lieutenant Kharitonov*

And then, on 19 October 1944, during another interrogation, Nzhde was asked the following questions.

*Continuation of the interrogation protocol*

*Ter-Arutyunyan Garegin Yegishevich*

*From 19 October 1944*

*Question:* When and where did you travel from Bulgaria in the last three years?

*Answer:* Between 1940 and 1941 and in 1943, I travelled to Romania twice. In 1942, I visited Thessaloniki (Greece) once and Vienna twice, and in 1944, I travelled to Crimea once.

*Question:* Did you visit any other places in the Soviet territory occupied by the Germans?

*Answer:* I did not visit any other German-occupied Soviet territory.

*Question:* Why did you go to Berdyansk?

*Answer:* On my way back from Crimea, I stopped to visit my old acquaintance Manucharyan Gaspara, whose real surname is Gasparyan, originally from Nakhichevan. I know him from serving a joint prison sentence with him in 1909. In terms of his political convictions, Gasparyan-Manucharyan is a former Dashnak. He is currently supposed to be in Berdyansk, where he ran a canteen near the market during the German occupation. Gasparyan-Manucharyan is married and has two daughters.

Around the beginning of 1943, Gasparyan-Manucharyan sent me a letter through Abegyan Vache, who worked in Dro's group, informing me that he was living in Berdyansk under the name Manucharyan M. In the same letter, Gasparyan wrote that Dro was active in the Caucasus region and about his people who visited Gasparyan's canteen.

I know that while in Berdyansk, Dro twice had a conversation with five Soviet prisoners of war, of whom I know

A certain Grair, whose surname I do not know, is originally from the village of Megri, Zangezur District, Armenian SSR. Grair himself told me in Plovdiv, where he currently lives and works in the police force of the Bulgarian Fatherland Front, that Dro convinced him and his comrades of the need to work in the Zangezur and Karabakh regions to organise an underground movement, sabotage, diversions, etc. against the USSR. However, I do not know whether Dro transferred these people to the rear of the Red Army. In my opinion, Grair should know about these transfers.

While in Berdyansk, I also learned from Gasparyan that a group called Dro, consisting of several young Dashnak students studying in Berlin, was active in the occupied part of the Caucasus. This group included: Abegyan Vache, son of Dr. Abegyan; Tsolak Arutyunyan, an Iranian subject and son-in-law of Davidkhanian, a member of the political commission; and the son of a carpet merchant from Van in Berlin, whose surname I also do not know. I am not familiar with the other students in the Dro group.

This entire group travelled around the camps and recruited Armenian prisoners of war for the ministry, as well as for Dro's group. This group of students is well known to many Armenians in Berlin. I do not know where it is currently located, but I think it is in Berlin.

*Question:* Why did you travel to Romania in 1940-41 and 1943?

*Answer:* Before the war between Germany and the Soviet Union began, I travelled to Bucharest to visit the late Dr. Araratian Sarki-su in order to obtain information about the situation within the Dashnaktsutyun party and its position in relation to the war that had begun in Europe.

Araratyan told me that Dro, who was connected with the Romanian <sup>Siguranța</sup><sup>1</sup>, had made contact with naval intelligence in the person of Captain Bățșbain. There I also learned that Dro had sent one of his men to Odessa, who, upon his return, delivered

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<sup>1</sup> Romanian Security Service.

valuable information for the Germans. This service served as a reason to raise Dro's authority in the eyes of the Germans.

I also remembered one of Dro's closest associates, Garegin, an old Mauserist who lived and traded in Bucharest. Garegin, like his other accomplices, travelled around the occupied territory with Dro.

From Araratyan, I also learned that, in connection with the war in Europe, the Foreign Bureau in Egypt had instructed all foreign organisations of the party that Dashnaks outside their homeland should side with the country in which they lived. The second time I was in Bucharest was on my way from Berlin, and due to Araratyan's death, I had no connections there.

*Question:* What was the purpose of your trip to Croatia in 1943?

*Answer:* In 1943, I travelled to Croatia for the 50th anniversary of a political organisation in Macedonia.

*Question:* What was the reason for your trip to Thessaloniki (Greece) in 1942?

*Answer:* The purpose of my trip was, first, to organise a group of my supporters. Second, to study the situation of Armenians living in Greece with the aim of inviting Gevorgyan Karo to edit our newspaper.

The interrogation is adjourned.

The minutes have been recorded correctly from my words, read to me,  
*Ter-Arutyunyan*

*Interrogated  
by: Deputy Head of the 2nd Department of the SMERSH  
Security Service of the 3rd Ukrainian Front  
Lieutenant Colonel Korotkov  
Employee of the 2nd Department of the SMERSH Security  
Service of the 3rd Ukrainian Front  
Lieutenant Kharitonov*

Протокол допроса. 247

Обвиняемого Тер-Арутюняна (он же НЖЗЭ)

от 16 ноября 1946 года.

Допрос начался 20.30 м.  
Допрос окончен 24.30 м.

Вопрос: Изложите следствием кратко историю возникновения "Дашнакцутюн" в Болгарии, ее деятельности до вашего ареста и причины вашего ухода из этой партии.

Ответ: "Дашнакцутюн" в Болгарии - одна из старейших общественных организаций этой партии. "Дашнакцутюн" в Болгарии - одна из старейших общественных организаций этой партии.

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Aik Asatryan

**РАЗМИГЬ**  
РАСЧЕТЫ ВЕСИМЫХ  
ТА ВЕСЕЛЫХ ЖИЗНИ  
СОФИА

КАРТИНКИ  
ЧУЛСЯ ОЧУЛОСЬ  
ВООБРАЖЕНИЕ

# ՌԱԳՄԻԿ

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As can be seen, the main focus of the interrogations was (naturally) on the involvement of Nzhdeh and, through him, the Dashnak-Tsutyun party in the special services of foreign powers, terrorism, sabotage, etc.

But it is one thing to obtain interesting and noteworthy information, and quite another to evaluate and use it.

It would seem that Lieutenant General Ivashutin and Lieutenant Colonel Korotkov should have established operational contact with Dadaryan on behalf of Nzhdeh in order to continue using her against the Turks in the interests of Soviet intelligence.

This information should have been used by the Centre's intelligence services. Nothing of the sort happened.

Even when Nzhdeh was transferred to Yerevan in 1946-48 for further investigation, no one was interested in this information. Although Nzhdeh persistently asked to use his potential and capabilities against the Turks.

And only later, when Nzhdeh was transferred to Yerevan in 1952 for an event known to the reader, did the idea of searching for this woman arise again at his insistence (already 10 years after she had come into contact with the Germans).

This was followed by a letter to the First Main Directorate of the USSR Ministry of State Security with the following content:

*First Main Directorate of the USSR Ministry of State Security*

"Dadarian Eghine-Elena-Adrine, aged 33-35, a native of Istanbul (Turkey), an Armenian a Turkish citizen, a writer, who, on the recommendation of Ter-Arutyunyan Garegin – "Nzhdeh," was recruited by the Germans in Istanbul.

After completing the Germans' assignment against the Turks, Dadaryan, with the assistance of the latter, moved via Bulgaria to Vienna to

brother and enrolled at the University of Vienna. Her brother, Dadaryan Vahagn-Vah, aged 25-30, a native of Istanbul, studied at the Faculty of History and Philosophy of the University of Vienna in 1942-43.

Ter-Harutyunyan G.E. – "Nzhde" stated that with the help of a letter of recommendation on his behalf, Dadaryan EGINE and Dadaryan Vaag could be recruited for intelligence work against the Turks and Americans. He knows Dadaryan EGINE and Dadaryan Vaaga personally and describes them as anti-Turkish and Armenian patriots.

We request your instructions to establish and collect data characterising them. Depending on the results of the materials obtained, we will present our considerations on the use of Dadaryan EGINE and Dadaryan Vaag.

*Minister Kormazyan  
Ref. No. 399  
dated 11/14 April 1952.*

*The response followed:  
Ref. No. N1/8-1826 dated 11 July  
1952.*

"Dadaryan EGINE and her brother Dadaryan Vaag are not registered in Vienna. According to our information, they left Vienna in 1946 for the United States, where they currently reside."

These were the "experts" who dealt with Nzhdeh. During interrogations, the "experts" pried information out of Nzhdeh about individuals of Armenian nationality whom, on his instructions, Asatryan Aik had selected in Bulgaria to be sent to Turkey for sabotage purposes under German command.

Nzhde consciously took this step after he became convinced that the Germans really did not trust the Turks. Evidence of this is the proposal made to the Germans by Dadaryan Elena, who was essentially

controlled the channel of communication between the Germans and the Turks in Istanbul at her level.

Convinced of this, he took a second logical and strategically important step to use German funds and capabilities to train a legal team of Armenian patriots to be used in the fight against the enemies of the Armenian people, taking into account the specific situation.

It was no coincidence that in his letter to the Minister of the MGB of the Armenian SSR regarding the cancellation of the Armenian state's Independence Day, Nzhdeh quoted the words of the famous German general Ludendorff about the unsuitability and unreliability of the Turks as allies.

The Germans also held this opinion, and Nzhdeh took this nuance into account with precision in his intelligence work against the Germans.

Thus, Nzhdeh, without leaving Bulgaria when Soviet troops entered the country, remained there in the hope of being useful in the fight against the Turks. After all, this was not only his desire. As early as 1944, he had specific opportunities to achieve this lofty goal. Through two unique actions (which I wrote about above), he managed to avert the German attack on Armenians living abroad. This was a strategic victory for the preservation of our nation.

As a commander, Nzhdeh did not have a mobilised and trained army at his disposal at that time, as he did during the defence of Zangezur. He was a wanderer, but he rightly considered the Armenian diaspora, among whom he had lived in exile for many years, to be his army.

However, he was well aware that in these circumstances he had to act by other means – as on the secret front of the war – through classic setups (as in the case of Dadaryan) for German intelligence.

Having neutralised the Germans' anti-Armenian strategy, Nzhdeh simultaneously managed to penetrate their plans regarding

Turkey. Was this not a victory won without battle or bloodshed by a great commander? Continuing to study and clarify Nzhdeh's activities during World War II and the specific reasons for his establishment of contacts with German intelligence, I consider it necessary to present the reader with the transcript of his interrogation on 22 March 1947, in the internal prison of the MGB of the Armenian SSR.

*Interrogation transcript*

*of detainee Ter-Arutyunyan Garegin*

*From 22 March 1947*

*Question:* Tell us what reasons prompted you to establish contact with the Germans and cooperate with them during World War II?

*Answer:* Armenians in the Balkans and throughout Europe were in immediate danger from the Germans. It was psychologically impossible for me to stop caring about the fate of the Armenians.

The threats made against Armenians by the High Command and the German press were known both abroad and in the USSR.

While Soviet Armenians, backed by one-sixth of the globe, found the strength to treat German threats with contempt, Armenians abroad – completely defenceless and deprived of any political support – were already in a state of panic. The bloody hand of the Germans could easily turn them into a handful of ashes, and no state would even think of protesting. Since the First World War, Armenians knew very well what European society was like. In such a situation, my passivity would not only be unjustifiable, but also, on my part, would be at least cowardly.

The Germans accused the entire Armenian people of hating Germany. This means that they were also convinced that the Armenians

could only get close to them in order to act against their mortal enemies, the Turks.

Therefore, they offered the Armenians to cooperate with them on the anti-Turkish front. That is why our negotiations in Berlin were conducted on an anti-Turkish basis, and young Armenians were recruited exclusively from among Turkish Armenians and from those areas of European Turkey where, after training, they were to work.

There were enough Armenian White Guards in Bulgaria, and it would have been possible to recruit people from among them if the matter had concerned the Eastern Front. Finally, at the time when we submitted a petition on behalf of the Armenians through the German embassy, the anti-Soviet front did not yet exist. Therefore, political sympathies could not have been a factor.

We Armenians have always been accused of political romanticism and a lack of diplomacy, and catastrophically one-dimensional policies. In short, we have been accused of being hot-headed and unprofessional. Ninety per cent of the Armenian people lived in the sphere of influence of Germany's enemies, and 10% in territories occupied by the Germans. From this, the Germans concluded that 90% of Armenians were acting against Germany. Therefore, they threatened to subject the Armenians to the same fate as the Jews. It was necessary to take measures, and the Bulgarian-Armenian committee, with the aim of protecting the Armenians, initiated a well-known petition. This marked the beginning of relations with the German embassy in Sofia. This happened in days when the German-Soviet bloc still existed.

I must admit that, along with many thousands of people, I was convinced that sooner or later this war would affect Turkey, drawing it into its flames. How did Turkey manage to remain neutral, which England took full advantage of?

Why did England protect Turkey from the destruction of war? This becomes clear only in the light of the current Anglo-American

policy.

Turkey should not have been weakened. It was necessary to preserve it as a military and economic power, as a living shield against the Soviets.

Turkey needed to be preserved for England's future – that is why English diplomacy saved Turkey

The German army, which had occupied Yugoslavia and Greece, would have captured European Turkey without firing a single shot. Visitors arriving from Turkey in those days spoke of the panic that had broken out there. Istanbul's resistance would have been no longer than Yugoslavia's.

As soon as German troops entered Bulgaria, the Turkish press began to extol the traditional German-Turkish brotherhood in arms. A trade agreement was signed.

The Germans realised too late that this agreement had been dictated to the Turkish government by England in order to protect Turkey from the horrors of war at any cost.

Months later, when Turkey's double-dealing became clear to the Germans, it was too late to think about striking it. They believed that Turkey could switch sides to the Germans' enemies at any moment.

Reports unfavourable to the Armenians, disseminated by the foreign press and radio stations, immediately had an impact on those elements of the Bulgarian people who hated foreigners. These elements (mostly merchants and government officials), having seized the wealth of the Jews, did not hide their joy at the prospect of soon getting their hands on the shops and other property of the Armenians.

Bulgarian legionnaires forbade Armenians from speaking Armenian, demanding that they speak Bulgarian.

In some places, they refused to supply Armenians with food and fuel. Oppression began.

In these circumstances, Eddy Papazian, a delegate from the Armenian colony in Vienna, arrived in Sofia from Germany, bringing with him a proposal to the diocesan council to provide assistance to Armenian prisoners of war.

For obvious reasons, this proposal was widely welcomed by all Armenians in Bulgaria. They began to collect clothing, food and tobacco for the Armenian prisoners of war.

A committee was set up to collect money. The Bulgarian authorities initially banned this initiative, considering it pro-Soviet.

To ensure the success of the cause, the committee informed the German consulate and the Bulgarian Ministry of War that the money would be given to the families of Bulgarian soldiers in need, wounded German soldiers, and Armenian prisoners of war in Germany.

After this clarification, the fundraising was permitted.

*Question:* Tell us specifically about the nature of your relationship with the German authorities.

*Answer:* In response to the appeal of the Armenian Committee, the German embassy informed us that the Armenian problem could only be resolved in Berlin and that detailed explanations regarding the Armenians should be submitted there. Some Bulgarian statesmen who were friendly towards the Armenians held the same view. I was forced to go to Berlin.

In Berlin, I was told: "Have you come to defend your Armenians? All right, bring us proof that Armenians around the world do not hate Germans and are not acting against Germany."

With typical German military brusqueness, they made it clear to me that if Armenians in Europe and the Balkans did not want to be exterminated, they had to defend the Germans. I promised to provide them with about 50 people who understood Turkish psychology, after which they (Major Drum and someone else whose name I do not remember) obliged...

to clarify the issue for the relevant German ministry and exert the necessary influence so that Armenians would not fall victim to anti-German provocations.

I wrote to Sofia asking them to send people. The Armenians who arrived from there were housed in the village of Hohen-Binde near Berlin. A month later, Major Drum invited me to his office and informed me that before sending our people to Thrace, he wanted to use them in the Caucasus.

He added: "While in the Caucasus, when the German army occupies Tbilisi and approaches the borders of Armenia, your people will be able to be of use to your nation by warning them not to leave the country with the Red Army, not to destroy food supplies, etc., and after the occupation of Armenia, joining the new Armenian forces, they will be sent to Turkey."

I replied that when we brought our people here, we promised them that they would work in Turkish Thrace, that they were trained for this territory and were completely unsuitable for work in the conditions of the Caucasus. Then, expressing the wishes of the men, I asked if it was possible to return them to Thrace.

Druma's last word was, "All right."

Two weeks after this meeting, our people were transferred to the new institution headed by Dr. Engelhaupt.

After meeting him, I reminded him of our conditions and informed him of our people's desire to return to Bulgaria as soon as possible and start working against Turkey. He completely agreed with me that our people could only work under Turkish conditions.

I returned to Sofia again.

*I questioned: the head of the first department  
of the Ministry of State Security of the Armenian*

*SSR*

*Major Melkumyan*

Nzhdeh's article "Why the Cegakron Movement Was Created," written by him while imprisoned in the internal prison of the MGB of the Armenian SSR in 1946-48.<sup>1</sup> In the indictment in the Nzhdeh investigation case (case No. 11278), his creation of "Tsegakron Uht" is elevated to the rank of a crime and formulated as follows:

"In 1933, the accused Ter-Arutyunyan G.E. made a special trip to America and other countries, where he organised the Dashnak youth organisation "Tsegakron", which preached racism and was in essence a fascist youth organisation."

One of our intelligence officers gave a similar description of Nzhdeh's activities. Here is an excerpt from his report (July 1945):

"Tsegakron Ukht" is an organisation of Dashnak youth. It was formed in 1933 on the initiative of the "Commander-in-Chief" Nzhdeh while he was in America, modelled on the ideology of Hitler's youth organisation. The Dashnaks established the Armenia camp in the East, modelled entirely on the German-American Bund camps. There, special attention is paid to training young people in military affairs. The purpose of these military training exercises was that, in the event of the outbreak of World War II, when Hitler succeeded in surrounding the United States and invading it, the "Tsegakron Uht" would take up arms and join forces with the German-American Bund to hasten the surrender of the United States. In the event of Hitler's capture of the Soviet Union and Armenia, the Cegakrons would form an assault squad of Dashnak quislingists, forcing the population to submit to the occupiers.

When war broke out and the German-American Bundists began to be persecuted, their camps were confiscated and their leaders sent to prison, the Dashnaks deemed it necessary

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<sup>1</sup>See *Appendix*.

<sup>2</sup>This refers to the eastern United States.

<sup>3</sup>Quisling was the leader of the Norwegian nationalists.

rename "Tsegakron Ukht" to "Youth Dashnaktsutyun." Although even now, the Dashnak press refers to them as members of "Ukht."

In the operational materials at my disposal, I found the following lines from Nzhdeh, addressed from prison to the higher authorities:

"For the sake of foreign interests, one orientation or another, or low vanity, a person does not put his life in danger. He consciously risks death in only one case: when the object of his adoration is of greater value to him than his life. And for a true patriot, only his homeland and his people are worth his own life."

Such is the greatness of Nzhdeh and the level of those who, instead of learning patriotism from him, slander him. Nzhdeh himself responded best to these attacks: "...only an Armenian who is pro-Turkish, defeatist and ignorant of historical sciences can speak ill of the Tsegakron movement."

I have quoted this passage specifically because I would like to present the testimony of one witness to the reader.

### *"About Garegin Nzhdeh and the Tsegakron Movement"*

"...I first met Garegin Nzhdeh in late 1922 or early 1923 in Bucharest, where he had come from Bulgaria for medical treatment. Taking advantage of his stay in Bucharest, Garegin Nzhdeh commissioned a young Armenian writer, Vardan Gevorgyan, who was living in Bucharest at the time, to write the story of his battles and published it at his own expense under the title "Heroics of Mountainous Armenia"<sup>1</sup> after which he returned to Bulgaria. He rarely visited Romania for treatment.

I personally had no dealings with him, and our relationship was normal. He was considered a Dashnak, although he had many clashes with the Dashnak leadership, as he

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<sup>1</sup> This book was published in 1923 in Bucharest.

He himself stated this in the above-mentioned book.

During his time in Bucharest, he maintained friendly relations mainly with Sarkis Araratyan. I never had any personal disputes with him. I just didn't like his manner of writing and speaking. In his writings and conversations, there was a certain

"Panchunism" (Panchun is the hero of Yervand Otyan's humorous novel "Tsaplvar", a funny type of "revolutionary"). When he speaks, he makes an impression with his gestures and phrases, but when he tries to summarise or draw conclusions from what he has said, he fails. His writing is of exactly the same nature, namely a jumble of phrases from which it is impossible to draw a conclusion. For example, he wrote "The Struggle of Sons Against Fathers" against the backdrop of general ideas, but it is unclear what his main philosophy is, and despite all intellectual efforts, it is impossible to clearly define his views. This is true of almost all his books and newspaper articles. The Dashnak Central Committee in America has a habit of inviting a new figure from abroad every year, primarily as a propagandist, who visits all Dashnak committees in America and gives lectures to both Dashnaks and the public. This figure changes every year in order to present a new propagandist and thus arouse interest.

In general, people who are respected in the Armenian community in America are chosen.

We unexpectedly learned that in 1932 or 1933, Garegin Nzhdeh was invited to the United States by the Dashnak Central Committee in America. Of course, Nzhdeh's name was well known from his books and from what had been written about him, especially since Nzhdeh himself had published a detailed history of his activities in the (Dashnak) magazine "Arenik" in Boston.

Nzhdeh's arrival in America caused great enthusiasm among the local Dashnaks, as we read in both Dashnak newspapers, Ayrenik (Boston) and Asparez (Fresno). He made

a triumphant tour from one Dashnak committee to another, and thanks to his oratory skills, which made a great impression at first glance, he charmed the youth in particular.

Suddenly, we learned that Nzhdeh had begun to establish a large youth organisation in America. First of all, he published a series of articles in the newspaper Ayrenik outlining his goal.

In his usual pompous tone, he praised the race and pointed out the need to create a large youth organisation called "Tsegakron".

In every American city where Nzhdeh spoke, he organised a branch of this organisation. Thus, it was observed that Garegin Nzhdeh was active in three areas:

1. He promoted the Dashnaktsutyun, inspired committees, reorganised or created new ones.
2. At the same time, he inspired branches of the Armenian Red Cross in America and reorganised those that had weakened.
3. He established branches of the Tsegakron organisation in almost all cities where there were Dashnak committees and a certain number of Armenian youths and young people.

This organisation, created by Garegin Nzhdeh, had no organic connection with the Dashnaktsutyun. Nzhdeh created it both from within the ranks of the Dashnaktsutyun and outside it, as an independent organisation that was to become the governing centre to which all branches created in America would be subordinate (of course, under the general control and supervision of the Dashnak Central Committee in America). We also received a summary of the speeches delivered by Garegin Nzhdeh during his propaganda tour of various cities.

From everything that Nzhdeh wrote and said, as well as from this summary of his speeches, it was impossible to understand anything meaningful about the philosophy and theoretical structure of the organisation he was creating. His speeches were rather crude, full of flowery phrases and quotations from aphorisms.

and sayings of great people, and pompous sentences.

One thing was clear to us: Nzhdeh based his movement on the idea of race, recognising it as the core of the Armenian people and the Armenian homeland.

And since he would not have been able to inspire young people, most of whom were boys and young men who did not know the Armenian language or the history of the Armenian people and had been raised in an American environment, with theoretical explanations, he mainly emphasised the ostentatious part of his Tsegakron Movement.

All the meetings he held with the Tsegakrons ended with the singing of songs and a procession under the tricolour flag. On the other hand, it was known that he pampered these young people, creating a position for them in this organisation. The Dashnak Central Committee of America began publishing the weekly newspaper "Ayrenik Weekly" under the newspaper "Ayrenik" – the organ of the Tsegakrons.

During Garegin Nzhdeh's stay in America, unrest began to brew among the Armenian community. The statement by the head of the Armenian diocese in America, Bishop Gevond Durian, at the Chicago Exhibition that he would refuse to speak at the exhibition podium as long as the tricolour flag was flying there further inflamed passions. The mutual hostility reached its peak when, at the end of 1934, a group of reckless individuals killed Gevond Durian<sup>1</sup> in the Armenian church in New York under very suspicious circumstances. It was impossible to determine whether Nzhdeh had any connection to the attacks against the bishop and whether he had instigated the murder. On the contrary, later, when Nzhdeh was expelled from the ranks of the Dashnaktsutyun, those accused of murdering Bishop Durian were canonised.

When I first read in the newspaper "Ayrenik" about the Cegakron

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<sup>1</sup> Gevond Duryan (1879-1933) was murdered in the Church of the Holy Cross in New York on 24 December 1933. G. Nzhde had nothing to do with this murder.

Movement, I could not hold back my laughter. In my eyes, it was a quixotic movement, alien to Armenian reality and Armenian life. It was a distorted echo of experiments conducted among other peoples with the aim of organising young people on the basis of a narrow nationalist ideology that did not correspond to the real demands of the Armenian people, and therefore it was bound to disappear sooner or later, like a soap bubble.

Without regard for possible reprimands from the party, I immediately published my views in the newspaper *Raz*, taking a negative stance towards the Tsegakron Movement and warning against the spread of this movement to other colonies. Soon, a written reprimand was received from the Dashnaktsutyun bureau through the Dashnak separate (Mekusi) committee in Romania. The bureau criticised me for publicly speaking out against a movement that was, in one way or another, recognised by the party organisation of one region. I immediately sent a reasoned protest to the bureau, in which I wrote that the idea of "race" is a concept inherent in savage and nomadic peoples, that it is a mistake to classify nations on the basis of blood or skeletal similarities, that there is no such thing as a pure race, and that peoples have organised and strengthened themselves, created their own culture and taken their place in the history of civilisation. I added that the Tsegakron Movement is particularly alien to the Armenian people, that there is no racial danger within the Armenian people that would necessitate defensive measures against it, and that those who impose such a movement on the Dashnaktsutyun are simply Don Quixotes. I subsequently proclaimed these views more substantiated at meetings, in the press, and in books, not hesitating to call the Tsegakron Movement dirty-religious instead of racial-religious.

It seems that Nzhde returned from America to Bulgaria in early 1935<sup>1</sup>, just as the Tsegakron Movement was experiencing

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<sup>1</sup> More precisely, in 1934.

its victorious period in America, and when, on the other hand, the Armenian colony in America was split into two camps.

Nzhde recorded his experiences of this period in two volumes entitled *Armenians in America: Race and Scum* and *The Devil Conspirator Against the Race*, books written in pompous language.

Upon Nzhdeh's arrival from America, attempts were made to establish cells of the Tsegakron Movement in Europe as well, primarily in the Armenian colonies of the Balkans, with which he could personally communicate.

A similar attempt was made in Thessaloniki, where the newspaper *Horizon* was published, whose editor, Karo <sup>Gevorgyan</sup>, sympathised with Garegin Nzhdeh.

This movement began vigorously in Bulgaria because Nzhdeh lived there. His initial plan was to convert all Dashnak organisations in Bulgaria to the Tsegakron movement. However, his plan met with internal resistance, as a result of which Nzhde rallied numerous sympathisers around him, led by Aik Asatryan, and split the Dashnak-Tsutyun into two parts, which fought a silent battle against each other in Bulgaria for several years, until the Dashnak bureau, which had repeatedly sent arbitration or investigative commissions, punished Nzhdeh's supporters, and the general assembly expelled him and the Dashnaks who had collaborated with him directly from the party. After that, Nzhdeh formed his own separate organisation, mainly from former Dashnaks, which existed until the last war, with its own press organ, the newspaper *Razmik*. Nzhdeh attempted to create the Tsegakron Movement in Romania as well, even visiting Bucharest several times for this purpose and giving lectures. However, these attempts proved fruitless. Thus...

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<sup>1</sup> Gevorgyan Karo Rubenovich (1892-1975) – national movement activist, well-known publicist. In 1937-44, together with Aik Asatryan, he edited the newspaper *Razmik*. In the annuals he edited in Beirut in 1954-1966, he objectively presented the activities of G. Nzhde and A. Asatryan for the first time after a long silence.

Taken together, it can be said that the Tsegakron Movement did not take root either within Dashnaktsutyun or outside it. Only here and there did separate youth groups emerge, which, rallying around various newspapers, followed the fashion of fascism, repeating like parrots the words of foreigners, without caring whether foreign slogans were appropriate to the Armenian reality.

For example, a group that rallied around the Azg newspaper existed for some time, considering itself a harbinger of Armenian fascism. Another group of Armenian fascists also gathered around the Armenian edition of the newspaper Kavkaz at one time. Supporters of Garegin Nzhdeh in Bulgaria published not only the newspaper Razmik, but also the fascist magazine Rasa i Rodina (Race and Motherland)<sup>1</sup>. And in America,

Taronakanutyun<sup>2</sup>, which in turn preached something akin to Armenian fascism.

However, none of these groups managed to transform themselves into a single organisation.

Siruni<sup>3</sup>

Having presented the full text of the testimony of the arrested Choloyan-Siruni Akop Arakelyan, interrogated by the MGB of the Armenian SSR during the investigation of the Nzhde case, my goal was to document Nzhdeh's activities abroad before World War II, his role in the creation of the Tsegakron movement, and the fact that, despite this witness's hostility towards Nzhdeh and the opportunism and confusion of his arguments, one thing is clear: his testimony completely lacks any evidence of Nzhdeh's criminal activities against the Armenian people.

Unfortunately, such "testimony" served as the basis for bringing charges against Nzhdeh. Now all that is behind us.

<sup>1</sup>This refers to the magazine "Tseg ev Ayrenik", published in Sofia in 1936.

<sup>2</sup>This refers to the magazine Taroni Artsiv, published in 1938-39 in Sofia, and later in Detroit and New York.

<sup>3</sup>Siruni (Choloyan) Akop Arakelyan (1890-1973) was a renowned Armenian and Oriental scholar and editor. He lived in Romania from 1922 onwards. He was the author of numerous books.

All witnesses, prosecutors, defendants, and their names and deeds belong to the court of history. The name Nzhdeh occupies a special place in the history of the Armenian people.

Nzhde masterfully wielded both the sword of a commander and the pen of a writer-philosopher, pursuing a single goal: to defend and save Mother Armenia and his people from Turkish oppression. Therefore, he has no equal.

One of the outstanding documents penned by the legendary Nzhdeh is, in my opinion, his statement written on 26 February 1954 from Vladimir Prison and addressed to the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, K.E. Voroshilov.

Nzhde wrote this statement when Stalin was no longer alive and Beria had been exposed and shot.

During this period, an active process of reviewing the cases of unjustly convicted persons began. Therefore, by writing his historic statement, Nzhde hoped for a fair decision on his fate. But first things first.

*To the Head of the Office of  
the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the  
USSR*

*Ref. No. 24, 5 March 1954. We*

are also sending a confidential letter addressed to Comrade Voroshilov K.E., Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, from prisoner Ter-Arutyunyan Garegin Yegishevich, born in 1886, convicted on 24 April 1948 by a special council of the former USSR Ministry of State Security under Articles 58-4, 58-11 and 58-6, Part I of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR to 25 years' imprisonment.

*Warden of Prison No. 2  
Ministry of Internal Affairs of Vladimir Region  
Lieutenant Colonel  
Begun Prison Secretary  
Captain Rodionov*

Here is the full text of the statement from Vladimir.

*Confidential*

*To the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the*

*USSR*

*Citizen K.E. Voroshilov from z/k*

*Ter-Arutyunyan G. Yegishevich*

### *Statement*

#### 1. Citizen President!

A flagrant injustice has been committed against me, one that is unprecedented in the history of judicial proceedings among nations.

Before discussing this, I feel it is necessary to say a few words about how I voluntarily ended up in a Soviet prison.

My life has been a struggle against feudal Turkey, the historical executioner of cultures and peoples. All my activities have been motivated by an irreconcilable and justified hatred of Turkey, which destroyed half of my people.

As a soldier, I am not a professional, but a patriotic revolutionary... Therefore, I took up arms only when there was an opportunity to strike a blow against Turkey, whose existence I considered and continue to consider evil. My struggle was not directed against the Turkish people, but against their state.

I took part in the following wars against Turkey: in 1912, in the ranks of a volunteer detachment of the Bulgarian army; in 1914, with a volunteer detachment under the Russian flag; in 1918 – with the people's forces against Karabekir Pasha, whose army, taking advantage of the absence of Russian troops in the Caucasus, invaded Baku; in 1921 – against Zavala and Nuri Pasha, etc.

I continued my relentless struggle against Turkey even in exile, replacing the sword with the pen in the West.

In gratitude for my anti-Turkish activities, an organisation of 12,000 Armenian mothers presented

an honorary sword in 1936.

I was the only Armenian politician who was periodically attacked by the Turkish press.

In my struggle, I naturally had to feel sympathy for the states that were enemies of Turkey and be critical of its patrons. At one time, I criticised the pro-Turkish policy of the Soviet Union, but in my heart I reconciled myself to it when the Soviet-Turkish pact was annulled. Today, Turkey is the insolent favourite of Western states. That was enough for me to hate them with all my heart.

Anyone who sides with Turkey is an enemy of my people and their right to their historical territory. An enemy with whom even God cannot reconcile me. That is the basis of my political behaviour.

2. In 1944, when the Red Army was already in Romania, I, guided by the demands of duty, did not leave Sofia, even though thousands of others were leaving Bulgaria.

I stayed, even though as a journalist I had excellent opportunities to move to Switzerland at any moment. I decided to repeat my patriotic act of 1914, when, as a political émigré who had fled Russia, I went to the Russian ambassador in Sofia and asked for permission to return to Russia unhindered to take part in the war against Turkey.

In 1944, guided by the same feeling, I stayed to offer my strength and abilities to the Soviet Army command in the fight against Turkey. At that time, the entire Bulgarian public expected that the Russians, taking advantage of their victory, would take Constantinople and the Dardanelles.

On 9 September 1944, Soviet troops entered Sofia. I wrote a letter to General Tolbukhin. By that time, it had become clear that England and America were opposed to the Soviets occupying Turkey, whose defeat I saw as the solution to the Armenian question.

A month later, on 9 October, I was summoned to Soviet

and informed me that I had to go to Moscow to make my proposal to the leadership in person.

On the third day, I was taken to Bucharest, and from there by plane to Moscow and... imprisoned in the Lubyanka. Thus began my tragedy. On the fourth day in Moscow, I was taken to General Abakumov.

After an hour-long conversation, I told him: "Guided by my highest patriotic duty, I did not leave Sofia and, by doing so, entrusted my fate as a patriot who had grown grey in the struggle against Turkey to the Soviet government." Then I pointed out the incompatibility of my noble deed with my imprisonment.

"We will discuss this matter again," replied the general. Having learned from his fellow prisoners that inmates were subjected to horrific torture during interrogations, in order to avoid trouble during my first meeting with my investigator, Major Putintsev, I warned him that the slightest display of physical violence towards me would provoke an equal response on my part, and he would be forced to

kill me.

"Is that so?" he exclaimed. "You speak as if you were not in the MGB."

I made it clear to him that the dignity of an old revolutionary would never leave me under any circumstances.

"Well," he added, "it looks like we'll have to spend a long time with you."

Returning to my cell, I saw that my belongings had been moved to another bunk, almost right next to the door, and that the mattress had been replaced with an empty sack. This was a sign of the inquisition that was coming my way. The most horrible torture imaginable by a sadistic mind began. So that they could see whether my eyes were closed or not, I was deprived of the right to wear glasses and a hat. Every five minutes, the guard would shout threateningly, "Are you asleep?" During the day, I was not allowed to lie down or doze off. So I was forced to sit on the bunk all day, facing

door peephole, in a state of numbness.

To deprive me of sleep, they took me for interrogation at night and deliberately kept me there until dawn. Instead of asking me questions and recording my answers, he made up the protocols himself and read them out (they didn't give me my glasses). Major Putinsev clearly distorted the facts and changed the meaning of my testimony with his own "embellishments".

To lull me into a false sense of security, he resorted to sophistry, stating that the phrase "the protocol was drawn up from my words" did not mean that these words belonged to the prisoner, but that this was how the investigator understood them.

He assured me that, according to Soviet law, preliminary testimony is not decisive and that I have the right to verify my testimony myself or through my lawyer. Not believing him, I repeatedly requested a meeting with the prosecutor to obtain some clarification from him.

I also asked to be put in touch with representatives of the leadership. But each time the investigator replied: "I am the prosecutor and the leadership." Before giving me the protocol to sign, my second investigator, Major Shishkov, deliberately provoked a "scandal" and, taking advantage of this, resorted to cheating. He gave me one sheet to read and another, falsified one to sign. I had long since noticed that he was switching the sheets. Once, when I asked him why he was making two copies of the protocol, he replied, "It's my business." Overcome with indignation, I called him a cheat. He flew into a rage, began to swear and threaten, and said in a fury:

"Your behaviour would be completely different if you knew that we destroy the families of our opponents... So know this." Having said this, he called the senior lieutenant on the phone, said something to him, and left the office.

I asked for the prosecutor to be called. "There's no need," replied the lieutenant. I had a high temperature and terrible pain in

joints. I asked for a doctor. They did not call one. From extreme nervous tension, I lost consciousness. This time my torment lasted 19 hours.

My interrogators, Putinsev and Shishkov, resorted to a psychological method which, like some poisons, works when repeated. Once, after a deliberately provoked scandal, he said to me: "I've achieved my goal. It's been decided to cut out your tongue. When? I won't say. But soon you will be left without a tongue and will rot alive in prison." For this, I called him a Turk.

As usual, we exchanged barbs. He continued his threats: "I give you my word that I will drive you to the madness you fear so much." He smelled of vodka. I said that I did not want to talk to such an investigator and asked him to let me go: "I'll let you go when I want to." That's how investigator Shishkov mocked me, a sick political prisoner.

Should I continue the story of my torment? No, because I don't have the strength to do so. My investigators distorted my case through systematic torture, gross falsification and mutual insults. Is even basic objectivity possible when there is such hostility between the investigator and the suspect?

No, in such a psychological atmosphere, the investigator cannot be objective. They, the investigators, kept me in such hellish conditions that within a year they turned me, a man in excellent health, into a living wreck. I developed hypertension and high blood pressure. My eyesight deteriorated to such an extent that I saw everything through a fog. I went deaf in one ear. My mental state was even worse. I was going mad, seeing the corpse of my only seven-year-old son before my mind's eye. Fearing half-death, i.e. paralysis or insanity, I longed for death, but I

denied this "act of mercy." In this state, after experiencing all the torments equivalent to Japanese torture

"A Hundred Deaths." At the end of the first year, I was transferred to a prison in Yerevan.

Although I knew that political psychology categorically denies the possibility of an objective attitude towards a person whom we consider our enemy, I was nevertheless struck by the investigative arbitrariness that reigned in Yerevan. Very soon I became convinced that Melkumyan differed from Shishkov only in degree and tact, but not in quality. What was done to me in Yerevan was a violation of justice that crossed all boundaries of legality. On my first day in the prison warden's office, a representative of the Armenian Ministry of State Security handed me an order from the minister stating that I would be known in prison not as Nzhde, but as Ter-Arutyunyan. When I asked what this meant, he replied, "It means that you are not allowed to bear the name Nzhde." I then said, "Tell the minister that I will remain Nzhde even in death." On the third day, I was taken to the deputy minister. I protested against Minister Kryman's order. He tried to justify his boss, saying that for some political reason it was undesirable for the Turks to know that I was alive and in Yerevan. A week later, I was taken to the minister. I repeated my protest against his illegal order. "The minister knows why he is doing this," he said. "Apparently, Minister, you are not at all bothered by the ghost of a buried Armenian patriot. With this attitude towards me, you will only please the Turks."

"You have remained the same in prison as you were at liberty. This is not good for you." "The royal court and the royal prison taught me to speak with moral dignity," I replied.

"You have three days. Think about it. You are putting your life at risk in our prison."

"You are too generous. I don't need a deadline. There,

where the minister threatens with an axe, it can only be about a murderer and his victim.

From this moment on, I, one of those who in 1918 led an almost unarmed people against the Turkish hordes and created the Armenian state, declare myself a martyr. But know that the axe is not a force, but an instrument of powerlessness and violence.

Know also that Soviet power in Armenia is not determined by your ministry, but by the Armenian people's awareness that without the protection of the great Russian people, they cannot live and create freely.

After this dialogue, I returned to my solitary confinement, refused food and medical assistance, and resigned myself to my position as a martyr. On the fifth day, I was again taken to the deputy minister.

"We," he said, "are not going to judge you. You will only be questioned for the purposes of historical research. You will be questioned by Major Melkumyan."

Expressing the idea that a revolutionary who conceals even one fact concerning his activities during an investigation or trial can dishonour his name and past, I began to answer questions. During almost all of the interrogations, the deputy minister and Colonel Melkumov were present and asked most of the questions. They distorted the events of our days so much that I thought it appropriate to call a spade a spade here as well.

"You are falsifying history, which means that you want to fabricate a formal indictment at all costs." I was shown a photocopy of one falsified document, and I asked to see the original. They refused. Before questioning

Devedjian about me, they convinced him that I was dead. I asked for a confrontation, but they refused

I requested an expert examination to expose my witness, Khoilunts. Melkumyan laughed and replied, "The substance

evidence has long since turned to dust."

This is how cynically Melkumyan mocked Lenin's understanding of legality.

Remaining true to my principles, I did not defend myself during the investigation, because in my entire life I have never taken on a case that required moral defence.

I protested only when the issue concerned other innocent people. Medieval methods were used against me. I was threatened with the destruction of my family. For four whole years, I was kept in fear that my tongue would be cut out. I was illegally deprived of the right to correspond with my brother and daughter, who lived in the Soviet Union, and I was forbidden to use my name. Seven of my notebooks (a book of philosophical reflections) "disappeared" at the MGB in Armenia. Finally, in order to conceal their shady dealings, I was declared dead in both Bulgaria and Armenia. In 1946, a group of Armenian figures – Gazaryan, Siruni, Kazarosyan, Devedjian and others – were transferred to Yerevan to be used against Turkey.

They wanted to use my abilities for the same purpose. At the request of the Armenian Ministry of State Security, I prepared several projects for anti-Turkish activities.

Then, at the request of the same ministry, I wrote a large monograph: "The Turk as a Warrior, Commander and Politician". Naturally, in such circumstances, I could not allow myself to be interrogated for the purpose of fabricating a "criminal case." But I was convicted, with the motive for their actions being (in their own words) that the international situation had changed unexpectedly. So I became, in essence, a victim of politics, and in detail, a victim of

"blackmail, deception and slander" by Beria's organs.

I was tried for the defence of Zangezur without any moral or legal right to do so, since I had been amnestied by a declaration of the Soviet Armenian government back in 1921. In the spring of 1921, representatives of Soviet Armenia and the Autonomous

Zangezur and reached an agreement. After that, a declaration recognising Zangezur as an integral part of Soviet Armenia was published in the official organ "Khorurdaine Hayastan" and signed by five People's Commissars of Armenia. The same declaration granted amnesty to all participants in the defence of Zangezur. Thus, the Zangezur affair was consigned to the archives of history. The entire history of the defence of Zangezur has been maliciously distorted, and the chronology of events has been falsified. The defence has been attributed with goals and characteristics that were completely foreign to it. In light of these two documents, both the purpose and nature of the self-defence operation I led become clear. Speaking about Turkey, the official organ of the Communist Party of Armenia confirms that "the Kemalists waged an aggressive war of conquest against Armenia" (N28, 1952). Yes, from the very first days of the Armenian Republic's existence, Turkey sought not only to hinder its development, but also to threaten the physical existence of the Armenian people. It was for this purpose that well-known Turkish military units continued to remain in the Caucasus – in Ordubad, Nakhichevan and Shusha.

It is well known that in 1919, the Turkish detachment of Edif Bey carried out a massacre of Armenians in Gokhtan (Agulis). This barbaric act was an ominous sign of the real danger threatening the population of Nagorno-Karabakh. In the summer of that year, the Azerbaijani army, led by Pan-Turkists, attempted to destroy Zangezur in order to establish territorial contact between Turkey and the Muslim population of the Transcaucasus.

Soviet Book (Moscow, 1951) quotes the Turkish newspaper "Çınar Altı": "The Turks will soon create a great Turkey, which will include Dagestan, Crimea, Kazan, and the Caucasus" (p. 58).

Thus, taking advantage of the absence of Russians in the Transcaucasus, the Turks sought to realise their pan-Turkic dreams. The obstacle in their way was the Armenian people, who were faced with a choice: to defend themselves or be exterminated. Having occupied Agulis and

After massacring the Armenians, Edif Bey blockaded the remaining Armenian villages.

The people of Gokhta asked for help. The entire population of Armenia was agitated and alarmed and demanded that assistance be sent to Gokhta as soon as possible. That is why, in the summer of 1919, the Armenian parliament decided to send me to Zangezur. As you can see, I arrived in Zangezur a year before the Red Army entered the region. Throughout 1919 and the first half of 1920, Zangezur heroically repelled massive attacks by Crown Prince General Kajar, General Mehmedov, Nuri Pasha, and others.

In those days, when the Red Army occupied Baku, "95% of Azerbaijani forces were sent to Zangezur as mercenaries." This historical fact is confirmed by the Chairman of the Parliament of Azerbaijan, Agayev, in his letter to Enver Pasha, published in the foreign magazine Prometheus. The arrival of the Russians in the South Caucasus, for obvious reasons, pleased only the Armenians, who were threatened with a new massacre. But thanks to the machinations of Turkish emissaries Enver Pasha, Khalil Bey and others invited to Azerbaijan, the command of the 11th Army declared Zangezur to be Azerbaijani territory. This served as a reason for disagreement between the command of the 11th Army and the population of Zangezur, who could not come to terms with the loss of their territory, which had historically and ethnically belonged to Armenia for thousands of years. An even more fatal mistake was made. In the autumn of 1920, Turkish hordes under the command of Zavala Pasha arrived in Zangezur from Baku.

The appearance of Turkish troops caused a storm of indignation among the peasantry. The Turkish askars, true to their wolfish nature, began to rob and kill civilians. "Zangezur has become Turkey," they wrote to me from Goris and Tatev. In the winter of 1920, Zavala Pasha's troops attacked Sisian. My people's militia rose up against the Turks.

In the battle that took place near Tatev Monastery, the Turks suffered a catastrophic defeat and left Zangezur. After

defeated Zaval Pasha, Zangezur declared itself an autonomous region and was governed by its own people's government.

In connection with this event, Gekker wrote to me on behalf of the command of the 11th Army: "We do not praise ourselves for sending Turkish battalions to Zangezur. But who could have thought that the Turks, under the red banner, would take up arms against the peasantry?" Gekker's frankness does credit to the Soviet commander. He does not "approve (praises) the dispatch of Turkish battalions to Zangezur," i.e., he acknowledges his mistake, made again under the influence of the provocative desires of Enver and other Turkish pashas who kissed Zinoviev at the Congress of Eastern Peoples. A quarter of a century after these events, Beria's authorities, by distorting the history of the Zangezur tragedy and using the false testimony of a certain Khonunts, passed off the bodies of Askars killed in battle as peasants killed outside the field of military operations. Hundreds of innocent peasants subsequently suffered because of this malicious legend.

### *Summary*

Zangezur's struggle was purely defensive in nature.

In 1919, Zangezur defended its physical existence, because "the Kemalists waged an aggressive war of conquest against Armenia" (official organ of the Communist Party of Armenia).

In 1920, the peasantry of Zangezur sought to annex their territory to Soviet Armenia.

Both I and our peasantry were alien to division and discrimination on ideological grounds.

Maliciously attributing an ideological and class-based character to the defence of Zangezur means insulting the centuries-old tragedy of the Armenian people. A people who have had to live alongside the Turks will not allow themselves to be divided by ideology.

5. The misunderstanding that arose between me and the command...

of the 11th Army was caused by the provocative machinations of the Pan-Turkists.

6. I demanded the highest morality from my people's militias, even towards the Musavatists and Turks who were trying to destroy the Armenian people. All my orders said: "Be humane to the unarmed."

If desired, this statement of mine can be verified in my books, which are kept at the MGB of the Armenian SSR.

This is the truth about Zangezur. The rest is Beria's slander, fiction, and propaganda that has nothing to do with the real history of Zangezur.

During World War II, Armenians, aware of the Germans' hatred of Armenians, were concerned that the German command – this time in favour of Turkey – might push the Turks to carry out a new massacre of Armenians.

About this possibility says "Green folder Gerin-ga" (published by the Soviet government after the war), in which the German army command is informed about "Armenian hatred of Germans." The German press was clearly inciting hatred against Armenians.

*Winner Tageblat*, justifying the massacre of two million Armenians during

World War I, psychologically prepared the ground for a new massacre.

To justify the persecution of Armenians, German racialists classified them as "non-Aryan peoples." In this extremely dangerous situation for Armenians, the Bulgarian-Armenian Committee for Cultural Rapprochement decided to appeal to the Reich Foreign Ministry in order to avoid further disasters.

A memorandum was drafted and signed by the most prominent representatives of the Bulgarian intelligentsia.

In Sofia, at the German embassy, we were told that it would be advisable for our committee to send a delegation to Berlin to deliver our memorandum. The committee entrusted me with this mission. In Berlin, they conditionally promised to suspend the persecution of Armenians,

if we, in turn, did them a certain favour. It turned out that they needed people who were familiar with the coastal areas of Spitak and Marmara.

I promised to provide them with people from European Turkey. Thirty volunteers responded to our committee's call. Some of them immediately began operating in the neutral zone between Bulgaria and Turkey, as well as in Istanbul, while the rest went to Hohen-Binde with Dr. Asatryan. They were to be transferred to European Turkey on the eve of Germany's invasion there.

The fact that all the volunteers who came to Germany were exclusively Turkish Armenians from European Turkey, that there was not a single Russian Armenian among them (despite the fact that there was a "Charitable Brotherhood of Russian Armenians" in Sofia, of which I was the founder and representative), that they were kept in Germany for a whole year awaiting military action against Turkey, and finally, that, at my request, they were returned to Bulgaria in 1943 – all these facts irrefutably prove that our committee's initiative was exclusively anti-Turkish in nature.

It is true that our people were temporarily transferred to Crimea, but this was not done with the aim of using them against the Soviet Union, but, as the Germans said, to make the premises occupied by our people available to other groups. And what about my anti-Turkish speeches, which I delivered during my visits to Hohen-Binde, as indicated by the witnesses in their testimony? And Dr. Burev's testimony that I left for Berlin and lived there at my own expense? To my question, "What specific anti-Soviet activities are you accusing my people of?", I was told, "None. Only that they were in Crimea." It turns out that it was up to my people to decide where to be.

And so, in the name of Beria's lawlessness, about 50 completely innocent Armenians from Bulgaria were arrested and convicted. Those

who condemned me did not take into account the moral and patriotic motives behind my activities both in Zangezur and in exile.

My political reputation has never been questioned, even by my sworn enemies. During the difficult days of Zangezur's self-defence, it never occurred to me to turn to any foreign anti-Soviet state. And in 1942, in order to be able to travel to Berlin to deliver a memorandum in favour of the Armenians, I was forced to sell the gold from the ceremonial sword given to me by thousands of Armenian mothers for my anti-Turkish activities.

Two services rendered by my people's militia to Soviet Russia were also not taken into account:

a) "During the capture of Baku by the Red Army, 95 per cent of the Musavat forces were sent against the Armenians in Zangezur" (quote from a letter by the chairman of the Azerbaijani parliament, Agayev Enver Pasha, published in the foreign magazine Prometheus).

b) Thanks to the defence of Zangezur, the Pan-Turkists failed to establish territorial contact between Turkey and the Muslim communities of the Transcaucasus.

### *Mr President!*

For ten years now, I have been buried alive by Beria's organs: I am alive and dead. I am alive for the administration of the Lefortovo, Baku, Yerevan and Vladimir prisons, but dead for my child. Is my only son alive? This is the voice of one crying out from a prison coffin, the cry of a patriot who has experienced the fullness of suffering. Does my family exist, is it alive?

After I was denied justice, I became convinced that all my loved ones had suffered the fate that Shishkov and Krymian had threatened me with.

For a whole decade, to the delight of the Turks and Beriev's men, I have been experiencing the terrible torments of a patriotic martyr, waiting every minute for

the most terrible of punishments – suffocation. Is my child alive? This tragic question is addressed to the conscience of Lenin's disciples and the 200 million people of the Soviet Union. If my relatives are alive, why am I denied the legal right to correspond with my brother and daughter, who live in the Soviet Union?

"Do not create martyrs," warned M. Gorky. Yes, martyrs are dangerous.

Their ghost disturbs the conscience of humanity. By turning martyrdom into a mystery, Armenian Berievites wanted to convince Armenians abroad that Soviet power had killed me. It logically follows that everything bearing Beria's stamp must be destroyed, that the spirit of blackmail, lies and slander (in the words of the newspaper Pravda) must cease to operate. Now that the great union of peoples is ruled by Lenin's true disciples, one wants to believe that the voice of the patriot buried alive

will be heard by his family.

Therefore, I ask you to instruct the relevant authorities to look into my fate.

My physical condition is in a dire state and I require assistance. Perhaps the prosecuting authorities, given the exceptional nature of my situation, will deem it necessary to review my case out of turn, after hearing me out.

I also request that:

a) Allow me, at least once, to write to my family and receive a reply, so that I can be sure that my child is alive.

b) That instructions be given to provide me with the addresses of my brother, Ter-Arutyunyan Levon Yegishevich, and his wife, Parandzem Ter-Arutyunyan, who live in Tbilisi.

*Ter-Arutyunyan G. Yegishevich*  
*1954, 26 February*

P.S. I ask the President to bear in mind that former MGB careerists of the Armenian SSR cannot be objective towards me. They are capable of inventing thousands of false reasons and arguments to prevent the "resurrection" of a person whom they have declared dead for their own dark purposes.

I hope that I will be notified when my statement is delivered to you.

*Yours sincerely.*

Nzhde's application was sent for consideration to Yerevan, where the MGB (as throughout the former USSR) had already been transformed into the Committee for State Security (KGB). The first chairman of the KGB of the Armenian SSR was Lieutenant Colonel G.A. Badamyan.

He was sent to the state security services through party recruitment with the aim of strengthening and restoring order in the KGB after the exposure of Beria and his accomplices. By that time, many former leaders of the MGB of the Armenian SSR – K.A. Kryman, S.A. Korkhmazyan and others – had been dismissed and brought to criminal responsibility.

Colonel M.I. Aghayants, acting head of the state security organs of the Armenian SSR, became the first deputy to G.A. Badamyan.

Nevertheless, there were no changes in the fate of Garegin Nzhdeh. Here are the results of the review of Nzhdeh's historic statement by the State Security Committee of the Armenian SSR.

*Ref. No. 7/521 of 15 July 1954  
(investigation file No. 5231, volume 3, p. 204) To the Head  
of the 2nd Sector of the Records and Archives Department  
MGB under the Council of Ministers of the USSR  
Mr. Sedov,  
Moscow  
No. 16/42-186544 dated 13 May 1954.*

In your statement, the former Minister of Defence and Commander of the Armed Forces of the counter-revolutionary Dashnak government in Armenia, convicted in 1948 by a special council of the USSR Ministry of State Security to 25 years' imprisonment, Ter-Arutyunyan Garegin Yegishevich (Nzhde), petitioning for a review of his case as wrongfully convicted, complains about the biased conduct of the investigation by MGB officers of the Armenian SSR.

He stated that, contrary to his wishes, the MGB of Armenia changed his surname, blackmailed him, threatened him in various ways, wanted to use him against Turkey, etc., in connection with which he went on hunger strike and refused medical assistance.

In November 1946, the case against Ter-Arutyunyan was transferred from the USSR MGB to the MGB of the Armenian SSR for further investigation. It was handled by the former head of the 1st department, later Deputy Minister of State Security of the Armenian SSR Aroyan, former deputy head of the 1st department Major Melkumov V.A. and former head of the 3rd section of the same department Major Melkumyan M.S.

Given that Aroyan has been dismissed from the authorities and is currently absent from Armenia, and Comrade Melkumyan M.S. is on a business trip abroad, it is not possible to question them on the merits of the case.

Comrade Melkumov V.A., denying Ter-Arutyunyan's statement that coercive measures were used against him, indicates in his explanation that for the sake of secrecy, Ter-Arutyunyan was registered under a different surname in the internal prison of the MGB of the Armenian SSR, since he is widely known abroad, while the case was conducted under his real surname.

In 1952, according to the plan of action, Ter-Arutyunyan was transferred a second time to the MGB of the Armenian SSR for use by the 1st Department. No investigative measures were taken, and he was placed under special surveillance.

The former head of the internal prison of the MGB of the Armenian SSR, Lieutenant Colonel Arutyunyan A., and the doctor, Lieutenant Colonel of the Medical Service Okoev, stated in their explanations that during his stay in the internal prison, Ter-Arutyunyan never complained to them about the investigation. On the instructions of the ministry's leadership, he was held in the internal prison under extra-prison conditions, was given additional food, was allowed extra walks, underwent daily medical examinations, and was given assistance when necessary.

In order to reach a conclusion on the Ter-Arutyunyan case, it is necessary to investigate the facts he cited in his statement about the former head of the investigation department of the Main Directorate of the SMERSH, Major Putintsev, who allegedly committed abuses in the Ter-Arutyunyan case.

Therefore, in sending Ter-Arutyunyan's statement and the investigation file on him, we request that they be returned to us together with the results of the investigation into the facts concerning Shishkov and Putintsev so that a conclusion can be reached on the case of Ter-Arutyunyan G.E.

Appendix: investigation file in two volumes, statement and other documents on 10 pages.

*Deputy Chairman of the State Security Committee  
under the Council of  
Ministers of the  
Armenian SSR  
Colonel Aghayants*

As was to be expected, if the Armenians were the initiators of the liquidation of their great son, Garegin Nzhdeh, then even taking into account the change in the political climate in the country, they did not change their cruelty towards him. Why should Moscow take on the trouble of dealing with him?

As a result, the following conclusion was reached regarding Garegin Nzhde's statement.

### *Conclusion*

*28 January 1955*

*Moscow*

Lieutenant Colonel Yarmak, an employee of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, having examined the materials of archival investigation case No. 242804 on the charges against Ter-Arutyunyan Garegin Yegishevich, found that:

Ter-Arutyunyan G.E. was arrested on 2 November 1944 by the Main Directorate of SMERSH.

During the preliminary investigation, Ter-Arutyunyan admitted his guilt but denied ordering the shooting of Red Army soldiers and communists. He also claimed that the Armenians among Bulgarian citizens whom he had handed over to German intelligence in 1942-1943 were handed over to German intelligence in 1942-1943 were not to be used against the Soviet Union, but against Turkey, and that none of them were sent to Soviet Armenia ( vol. 1, p. 979 and vol. 2, pp. 254-256, etc.).

In his complaints, Ter-Arutyunyan points to the bias of the investigation into his case by the Main Counterintelligence Directorate "SMERSH", the investigative department for particularly important cases of the USSR MGB and the MGB of the Armenian SSR (on the part of Putintsev, Shishkov and Mel-Kumyan) and does not admit his guilt.

The State Security Committee under the Council of Ministers of the Armenian SSR, which was completing the investigation into the Ter-Arutyunyan case, refused to issue a conclusion on the case, justifying its refusal by stating that the facts of bias in the investigation of the Ter-Arutyunyan case by Putintsev and Shishkov should first be verified.

Based on the foregoing, it should be considered proven that Ter-Arutyunyan Garegin Yegishevich, being a prominent figure in the Dashnak Party during the civil war in the USSR, took an active part in establishing a bourgeois-national

and in the Dashnak adventure in February 1921.

While in exile from 1921 to 1944, he was actively involved in anti-Soviet activities against the USSR, and during the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union against Nazi Germany, he was used by the latter's rulers and intelligence services for anti-Soviet purposes.

I would suggest:

The case against Ter-Arutyunyan Garegin Yegishevich should be submitted to the Central Commission with the following proposal:

1. The decision of the special meeting of the USSR Ministry of State Security of 24 April 1948 in the case of Ter-Arutyunyan Garevich Yegishevich should remain unchanged.

2. To deny Ter-Arutyunyan Garegin Yegishevich's request for a review of his case.

*USSR Ministry of Internal  
Affairs officer Lieutenant  
Colonel Yarmak*

*"I agree"*

*Senior Assistant to the Chief Military Prosecutor  
Colonel of Justice Renev  
29 January 1955*

Reference: At that time, Ter-Arutyunyan Garegin Yegishevich was being held in prison in Tashkent.

*Excerpt from Protocol No. 40*

Meeting of the Central Commission for the Review of Cases of Persons Convicted of Counterrevolutionary Crimes, Held in Camps, Colonies, and Prisons of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, in Exile, and in Settlement.

*From 7 February 1955.*

Heard:

§58 Case No. P-242804 on the charges against Ter-Arutyunyan Garegin Yegishevich, born in 1886, convicted on 24 April 1948 by a special council under the USSR Ministry of State Security for hostile activities against the USSR and espionage under Article 58-4, Part 1, Article 58-6 and Article 58-2 of the RSFSR Criminal Code to 25 years of imprisonment.

Decided:

To deny Ter-Arutyunyan Garegin Yegishevich's request for a review of the decision of the special council of the USSR Ministry of State Security of 24 April 1948 in his case.

*Head of the Secretariat of the Central Commission*  
*Signature*

*"Approved"*  
*Assistant Chief Military Prosecutor*  
*Colonel of Justice Vanchevsky*  
*20 May 1956*

*Decision*

*On refusal to review the case*  
*19 May 1956,*  
*Moscow*

The military prosecutor of the 7th department of the Main Military Prosecutor's Office, Major of Justice Shkaruppa, having examined archival investigation case No. 11-242804 on charges against Ter-Arutyunyan Garevich Yegishevich, born in 1886, a native of Nakhichevan, Armenian SSR<sup>1</sup>, and the complaints of Ter-Arutyunyan G.E. himself and his brother, Arutyunov L.E., requesting a review of the case,

Found:

By a decision of a special meeting of the USSR Ministry of State Security, Ter-Arutyunyan G.E. was convicted on 24 April 1948 for hostile activities

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<sup>1</sup>As stated in the document.

against the USSR and espionage under Article 58-4, Part 1, Article 58-6 and Article 58-2 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR to 25 years' imprisonment.

Taking into account the above, I believe that Ter-Arutyunyan G.E. was correctly convicted by a special council and there are no grounds for reviewing his case, and therefore

I have decided:

To refuse to review the case against Ter-Arutyunyan G.E. and to dismiss the appeals of the convicted person and his brother, Ter-Arutyunov L.E.

*Military Prosecutor of the <sup>GVP1</sup>  
Department, Major of Justice  
Shkaruppa*

Before proceeding to analyse Nzhdeh's statement and the response to it, I would like to state in all sincerity that the staff of the 1st Department of the KGB of the Armenian SSR were unaware of the existence of such a document. I personally learned about it only in 1992, during an additional review of archival materials.

First, let us examine the arguments and facts that Nzhde put forward in his statement in support of his claims that his arrest, indictment and conviction were unfounded, that the investigation process itself had been distorted, and that he therefore insisted, in a letter to the head of the Soviet state, K.E.Voroshilov, insisted on a review of his case by the prosecutor's office with the mandatory participation of the applicant himself from beginning to end.

1. Nzhde categorically protested against the bias and prejudice in the actions of investigators in both Moscow and Yerevan in their dealings with him, citing specific facts of abuse against him and the falsification of interrogation reports and other investigation materials.

2. At the Ministry of State Security of the Armenian SSR, on the very

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<sup>1</sup> GVP – Main Military Prosecutor's Office.

assured him that it was not a question of bringing him to justice, but of using the information he had on matters of interest to the MGB, from the standpoint of the struggle against Turkey. He sincerely agreed to this. He was given the same assurance at the very beginning, when he voluntarily appeared at the Soviet representation in Sofia (Bulgaria) in October 1944, offering his services, i.e. to fulfil his patriotic duty in the supposed war against Turkey.

In particular, he was told at the time that this issue should be discussed in Moscow. However, he was immediately arrested and sent to prison in Lubyanka.

3. Since none of the facts presented by Nzhdeh to the investigation in his defence had been verified, he insisted and demanded that they be thoroughly and rigorously checked.

4. Throughout the investigation, Nzhdeh constantly demanded that all the witnesses who, in his firm belief, had given false testimony against him be brought in for confrontation, with the aim of exposing them.

5. During interrogations at the Ministry of State Security of the Armenian SSR, Nzhdeh demanded that expert examinations be conducted on specific facts incriminating him as criminal acts on the territory of Armenia – Zangezur and abroad after his emigration.

6. In his statement, Nzhdeh emphasised: "I was tried for the Zangezur struggle without any moral or legal right to do so, since I had been amnestied by a declaration of the government of Soviet Armenia back in 1921. In the spring of 1921, representatives of Soviet Armenia and Autonomous Zangezur met in Sisian and reached an agreement. As a result, a declaration recognising Zangezur as an integral part of Soviet Armenia was published in the official organ "Khorurdaine Hayastan" and signed by five people's commissars of Armenia. The same declaration granted amnesty to all participants in the defence of Zangezur."

Nzhdeh further wrote on the same issue in a statement:

"The entire history of the defence of Zangezur has been maliciously distorted at its root, and the chronology of events has been falsified. The defence has been attributed with a purpose and character that were completely foreign to it."

7. Garegin Nzhdeh finally appealed to the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR with a humane request to give instructions to provide accurate information about the fate of his family living in Bulgaria and to allow correspondence with them.

The political moment when he made his decision to write a deeply reasoned and scientifically substantiated statement was of great importance to Nzhdeh, since Stalin was no longer alive, and Beria and many of his associates had been arrested and shot. In this regard, high-profile trials of individuals involved in past atrocities and abuses of the law were taking place throughout the USSR. Taking all this into account, Nzhdeh hoped and expected that his letter would perhaps achieve its goal, and he eagerly awaited the triumph of justice. He knew that completely new people had come to power at all levels.

And what was the result of the "investigation" into Nzhdeh's truly historic letter addressed to the head of the Soviet state?

1. No prosecutor's office dealt with this statement. No one was questioned in this case. Although, by and large, the following should have been questioned:

P.I. Ivashutin – former head of Military Counterintelligence of the 3rd Ukrainian Front, who arrested Nzhdeh in October 1944 in Sofia.

Former Chief Military Prosecutor of the Red Army, Lieutenant General Nosov, who authorised Nzhdeh's arrest and signed the arrest warrant retroactively on 1 November 1944.

Former Deputy Chief of the Main Counterintelligence Directorate "SMERSH" Major General Rogov, who approved the post-

Update on the arrest of 31 October 1944.

Former Head of Main Directorate of the Counterintelligence Colonel General Abakumov V.S., who conducted the first interview with Nzhdeh in Moscow.

Investigators Shishkov and Putinsev, former Minister of the MGB of the Armenian SSR Krymian N.A., his former deputies Korkhmazyan S.A. and Aroyan A.A., who buried Nzhdeh alive in the MGB prison of the Armenian SSR for two years.

Former head of the 1st department of the MGB of the Armenian SSR Melkumyan M.S. and many others.

2. None of the witnesses in the criminal case, on whose testimony the unsubstantiated indictment was based, were re-examined.

3. There was no mention of confrontations or expert examinations.

None of the high-ranking officials in Moscow and Yerevan at the time, who had replaced the old violators of the law in order to "put an end to arbitrariness and lawlessness once and for all," as was constantly trumpeted in party circles and the media at the time, no one deigned to look into the substance of Garegin Nzhdeh's statement.

Even the most inexperienced person can see that the response to Nzhdeh's statement is the most cynical, criminally bureaucratic form letter.

Pay attention to the beginning of the response itself: "In his statement, sent to you by the former Minister of Defence and Commander of the Armed Forces of the counter-revolutionary Dashnak government in Armenia, convicted in 1948 by a special council of the USSR Ministry of State Security to 25 years' imprisonment, Ter-Arutyunyan Garegin Yegishevich (Nzhde)..."

Was Nzhdeh the Minister of Defence and Commander of the Armed Forces of the counter-revolutionary Dashnak government in <sup>Armenia?</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>G. Nzhde did not hold these posts in the Armenian government, but in the Zangezur government.

The response goes on to say that the former Deputy Minister of the MGB of the Armenian SSR, A.A. Aroyan, who headed the entire investigation into the Nzhde case, was not located or questioned due to his dismissal from the authorities and departure from Armenia. Meanwhile, Aroyan had indeed been dismissed by the new leadership of the KGB of the USSR and the Armenian SSR for abuse of office and perversion of justice, and he was subsequently prosecuted and convicted. However, Aroyan was deliberately not questioned in the Nzhde case. Moreover, he did not leave the republic and lived in Yerevan until his arrest.

The head of the 1st department, Melkumyan M.S., who conducted the interrogations, was also not questioned because he was on a foreign business trip at the time. And Nzhde sat in prison and waited for a fair decision on his case. It should be noted that Nzhde's case brought Melkumyan many dividends – he was repeatedly sent on long business trips abroad as a specialist on Armenian issues. He later became the head of the 1st department of the KGB of the Armenian SSR. Therefore, it was not expedient to stand in the way of a promising and growing employee. For this reason, Melkumyan M.S. was left alone.

In accordance with the regulations on state security agencies and the law on preliminary investigation, preliminary investigations into cases involving state security agencies are conducted only by the investigative department (division, group, etc.), which is the main investigative body. The first department, which deals with foreign intelligence, has no connection with the investigation. This work is absolutely not within the competence of intelligence. Employees of investigative units must be highly qualified lawyers who are well versed in the profession of investigator.

In Moscow, the investigation into the Nzhde case was conducted by representatives of the investigative unit of the military counterintelligence department, Shishkov and Putinets, although, according to Nzhde, they were also card sharps.

But that is another matter. However, for some reason, the investigation into the Nzhde case was not assigned to the investigative department of the MGB of the Armenian SSR, but to the intelligence department, represented by Melkumyan Martiros Sergeevich, who was completely inexperienced in this very responsible work.

Taking into account Nzhde's statement, it becomes clear that, contrary to basic ethics and legality, he was misled in order to force him to be frank and extract confessions from him, which were then turned against him as evidence.

All activities related to the investigation and prosecution of the Nzhde case were conducted under the constant supervision of the USSR Ministry of State Security. It was no coincidence that Melkumyan M.S., a trusted individual and experienced expert on the Armenian diaspora, emerged as a key figure. At that time, Agayan Gurgun Semenovitch, Agayants Mikhail Ivanovich, and his older brother Agayants Ivan Ivanovich held responsible positions at the Centre and were aware of all matters and activities concerning Garegin Nzhdeh. Therefore, all the statements, protests, petitions, and requests of the great Sparapet were shattered like a wave against a rock. Nzhde intuitively understood this, but as befits a fearless fighter and insightful thinker, he fought stubbornly, without retreating or panicking. He knew and understood that a negative outcome at that stage would ultimately turn into a just victory over those who preferred their personal glory, careers, and base interests to the interests of the Armenian people.

Now let us turn to the testimony against Nzhdeh.

*Interrogation transcript*

*Witness Arsen<sup>1</sup> Arutyunovich Khoilunts1*

*From 16 September 1947.*

*Question: Are you familiar with Ter-Arutyunyan Garegin (Nzhde)?*

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<sup>1</sup> Khoilunts Arsen Arutyunovich worked in the State Security Service from 1942, with the rank of senior lieutenant. From 1939, he worked as the supply manager of the Armenian oil sales office.

*Answer:* Yes, I know Garegin Nzhde from Zangezur from late 1919 to July 1921. Nzhde was the commander of the Dashnak armed forces in the Kapan region of Zangezur.

*Question:* What do you know about Nzhdeh's anti-Soviet activities in Zangezur?

*Answer:* In 1919-20, under the leadership of Nzhdeh, who commanded the Dashnak armed forces in the Kapan district, dozens of Azerbaijani villages in Kapan and neighbouring districts were destroyed and thousands of civilians in these villages were exterminated.

*Question:* Tell us what measures Nzhdeh took against the communist revolutionaries in Zangezur?

*Answer:* On 27 May 1920, an underground communist organisation in the village of Khndzoresk staged an uprising against the Dashnaks. It was suppressed by the Dashnak armed forces under the command of Nzhdeh and Dro.

During the suppression of the uprising led by Nzhdeh, its active participants, Ittibaryan Iskandar and Karagozian Makich, were shot.

*Question:* How did you learn about this, and who can confirm it?

*Answer:* I myself was an active participant in this uprising and was captured by the Dashnaks. On the day of the execution, I was under arrest in a building next to the school and saw through the window how Ittibaryan and Karagozian were taken out of the room where I was sitting and shot.

I remember that at the moment of the execution, Nzhdeh approached the soldiers, said something, and after he left, the execution was carried out. The execution of Ittibaryan and Karagozian was carried out publicly in the presence of the residents of Khndzoresk, who were brought there ostensibly for a village meeting.

This was done so that none of the villagers would leave and see

execution, they were immediately surrounded by armed soldiers and released only after it had been carried out. This fact can be confirmed by: Janunts Avag, a member of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and a resident of Yerevan; Martirosyan Sergey, secretary of the Krasnoselsky District Party Committee; Asatryan Matevos, a member of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and a resident of Yerevan; and others. *Question:* What else can you tell us about Nzhdeh's activities?

*Answer:* In 1920, under Nzhdeh's leadership, about two companies of Russian Red Army soldiers from the 83rd Brigade of the Red Army were destroyed in the Kapan district. The Red Army soldiers were killed in the Kapan mines, in the district centre of Kapan, in Artsvanik and in the Karmir Kara district (July-August 1920).

Along with these Red Army soldiers, peasants from the Goris district who had been mobilised by the Red Army and who supplied food and ammunition to Red Army units were also killed. Among these peasants were Mansurian Tigran, Khoilunts Baba and others – 20-25 people in total.

Due to the fact that at that time I was commanding a communist detachment and acting with the knowledge of the Red Army command, all this information came to me. This circumstance can be confirmed by: Agababyan Makar, member of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), working at the Kapan Medical Combine; Gazaryan Artem, member of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), head of the Kapan District Department of Internal Affairs; Babayan Ovesep, employee of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Armenian SSR.

Furthermore, in December 1920 and January 1921, six Armenian communists were shot in Khndzoresk under the leadership of Nzhdeh: Baloyan Hovhannes, Martiros (I do not remember his surname), a woman named Sonya, and others. These six communists were buried in the courtyard of the Khndzoresk village school.

This fact can be confirmed by: Agababyan Makar, Dilavyan Martiros, member of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), Comrade Mikhail, member of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), Telunts Mirak, member of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks). All of them live in Goris.

In early 1921, under Nzhdeh's leadership, the following individuals were executed in Kapan: Sayri, chairman of the Zangezur District Committee of the Communist Party, and the head of the Kapan Party organisation, Garegin Nzhdeh.

*and KGB*

district, Bagrat Arutyunyan, and other prominent communists whose names I do not remember.

These facts can be confirmed by: Manucharyan Gerasim, member of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), working at Ararat Trust, Petrosyan Makich, member of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), head of Alumina Production Supply, and others.

*Question:* What do you know about the brutal murders in Tatev committed by Nzhdeh?

*Answer:* At the end of 1920 and the beginning of 1921, in the Tatev monastery, where Nzhdeh's headquarters were located, under his leadership, more than 400 Red Army soldiers, Russians, communists, and revolutionary-minded Armenian peasants and workers were killed by shooting and throwing them alive from a cliff into a ravine.

In June 1921, i.e. after the establishment of Soviet power in Zangezur and the liquidation of the Dashnak army, I was appointed secretary of the Tatev district party committee, i.e. the district committee. Under my leadership, the bodies of those killed in Tatev were collected from the ravines and buried. According to rough estimates, there were about 400 bodies.

The events in Tatev can confirm this: Khurshudyan Asatur, member of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), deputy chairman of the Supreme Court of the Armenian SSR, Karapetyan Sogomon, member of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), chairman of the Goris City Supreme Court of the Armenian SSR, Karapetyan Sogomon, member of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), chairman of the Goris City Executive Committee, Paronyan Asatur, b/p<sup>1</sup> works at Armvodkhoz, Garibyan Ruben, member of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), resides in Yerevan, and others.

*Question:* What else can you add to your testimony about Nzhdeh's activities?

*Answer:* I have stated all the facts about Nzhdeh's crimes that I am aware of. I must say that the population of Zangezur, both peasants and workers, know Nzhdeh as the executioner of the Armenian people.

*Signature*  
*Interrogate*  
*d by:*

*Head of the 3rd Division of the 1st Department of the MGB of the Armenian SSR*  
*Major Melkumyan*

<sup>1</sup> Non-party member.

*Interrogation report*

*of witness Janunts Avag Tatevosovich*

*From 17 September 1947*

*Question:* Are you familiar with Ter-Arutyunyan Garegin (Nzhde)?

*Answer:* Yes, I know Ter-Arutyunyan Garegin (Nzhde) from Zangezur. During the Dashnak rule in this region, where I was in hiding in 1920, Nzhdeh Garegin was the authorised representative of the Dashnak government in Zangezur, the absolute ruler and sparapet (commander-in-chief) of the Dashnak military forces in Zangezur.

*Question:* Tell us what you know about anti-Soviet activities in Zangezur?

*Answer:* On 28 May 1920, an uprising against the Dashnaks began in the village of Khndzoresk and nearby villages in Zangezur, which was suppressed by Nzhdeh. As a result, some of the rebels, including myself, Janunts Avag, fled into the forests, while others were arrested by Nzhdeh. The leader of the uprising, Ittibaryan Iskandar, and the father of the communist Makich were publicly shot by Nzhdeh himself in the village of Khndzoresk at noon by the walls of the village school.

The story of the execution of Ittibaryan and Karagozian's father is as follows: Nzhde lined up a platoon of soldiers and ordered them to open fire on them. The platoon fired two volleys, but into the air. Seeing that the soldiers were not carrying out his orders, Nzhde, enraged, approached Ittibaryan and Karagozian's father and shot them at point-blank range with his Mauser.

*Question:* When and where did you learn about the shooting of Ittibaryan and Karagozian's father by Nzhde himself?

*Answer:* I learned about this in July, i.e. after the Sovietisation of Zangezur. I was told about this by residents of the village of Khndzoresk. Moreover, from 1921 to 1924, as the head of the police in the Degh district, which includes Khndzoresk, I personally investigated this fact, which was confirmed by

officially recorded.

*Question:* Who can confirm the fact that Ittibaryan and Karagozian's father were shot?

*Answer:* The fact of the shooting of Ittibaryan and Karagozian's father can be confirmed by Khoilunts Arsen Arutyunovich, a member of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), who works at the State Bank in Yerevan, and Asaturyan Matevos Khachaturovich, a member of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), who works at the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR. On the day of the shooting of the two aforementioned individuals, Khoilunts and Asaturyan were in the village of Khndzoresk.

*Question:* Please continue your testimony about Nzhdeh's activities in the village of Khndzoresk.

*Answer:* On 6 January 1921, on Nzhdeh's orders, three communists – Hovhannesyan Stepan, Taryan Sona and Tevunts Tatevos – were publicly shot in Khndzoresk. I also learned about this from my fellow villagers. The fact that three communists were shot on Nzhdeh's orders has been confirmed and recorded. The fact of Nzhdeh's atrocity will be confirmed by the chairman of the Khndzoresk collective farm, Tevunts, a member of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks).

Nzhdeh's most terrible atrocity was the following:

During December 1920 and January 1921, on Nzhdeh's orders, 263 Russian Red Guards were thrown into the Tatev Gorge, some of them alive and the rest after being shot. This can be confirmed by:

1. Tovmasyan Arutyun, member of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), working in the Ministry of Food Industry. During this period, he was in Tatev.

2. Khurshudyan Asatur, member of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), works as deputy chairman of the Supreme Court of the Armenian SSR.

3. Khurshudyan Arshak, a native of the village of Shinar in the Goris district. I am also aware of the following facts:

In December 1920, in Kapan, in the mines, on Nzhdeh's orders, many Armenian revolutionaries and Red Guards were drowned in deep pits filled with water. I personally verified this fact. From 1924 to 1927, I was the chief of police in

Kapan, and this can be confirmed by the people of Kapan: Martirosyan Artashes, a member of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), who works as deputy director of an oil mill in Yerevan, and Martirosyan Martik, a member of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), who works as head of the ORS of the Ministry of Forestry.

Furthermore, at the end of November 1920, in Goris, Nzhde captured the secretary of the Goris City Committee of the Communist Party, Seili, who had studied with Nzhde as a child.

After a month and a half in prison, Nzhdeh ordered his assistant, Gerasim Atadzhanian, to shoot Seili. Atadzhanian immediately carried out Nzhdeh's order. This fact can be confirmed by the aforementioned Martirosyan Artashes and Martirosyan Martik. I found Seili in the basement of the building where he had been shot.

In March 1921, on Nzhdeh's orders, the father of the communist Tevos Shahnazaryan, Sevi Shahnazaryan, and the communist Vedan Oganjanyan were shot.

This is known and can be confirmed by Khoilunts Arsen Arutyunovich and Asaturyan Matevos Khachaturovich.

Furthermore, in 1920, Nzhdeh organised and, together with Dro Kanyan, led the looting of more than 100 Azerbaijani villages in the Kubatli district. After the looting, these villages were burned down by Nzhdeh and Dro. The largest of these villages were Shornukhi and others. Before fleeing to Persia, Nzhde ordered the confiscation of the property of all communist families in Zangezur, which was carried out by his subordinates.

*Question:* What else can you add to your testimony about Nzhdeh's activities?

*Answer:* I have stated everything that I personally know about Nzhdeh's activities. I have nothing to add to the above.

*Signature*

*Interrogate*

*d by: Head of the 3rd Division of the 1st Department of the MGB of the  
Armenian SSR  
Major Melkumyan*

Now let us hear from Nzhde himself.

*Interrogation transcript*

*of the accused Ter-Arutyunyan Garegin Yegishevich*

*From 19 September 1947.*

The interrogation began at 12:00 p.m.

The interrogation ended at 2:15 p.m.

*Question:* Where was your headquarters located at the end of 1920 and the beginning of 1921?

*Answer:* At the Tatev Monastery.

*Question:* What position did you hold during this period?

*Answer:* Starting in the winter of 1920, i.e. after the first All-Zangezur Congress, I was elected commander-in-chief (Sparapet) of all the armed forces of Zangezur. I held this position until mid-April 1921. After that, at the second All-Zangezur Congress, I was elected a member of the government of Nagorno-Armenia, and the government elected me Minister-Chairman and Commander-in-Chief. A month and a half later, Simon Vratyan, chairman of the "Committee of Salvation," who was in Tiflis at the time, declared himself Prime Minister of all Armenia.

On 15 July, we left Zangezur and emigrated to Persia.

*Question:* The investigation has information that, on your orders, hundreds of people – communists and Red Army soldiers – were thrown into the Tatev Gorge in late 1920 and early 1921. What is your response to this?

*Answer:* I repeat my previous testimony. Only two people were thrown into the gorge from the Tatev Monastery, brought there by Vratyan's "Rescue Committee" from Yerevan in April 1921. This murder was committed on the orders of the "Rescue Committee".

*Question:* You continue to give false testimony. The investigation has witness testimony about the shooting and throwing of hundreds of people from the Tatev Monastery. You are presented with the testimony of Khoilunts: "At the end of 1920 and the beginning of 1921, at the Tatev Monastery, where Nzhdeh's headquarters were located, under his leadership, more than 400 Red Army soldiers, communists, and revolutionary-minded Armenian peasants and workers were killed by shooting and throwing them alive from a cliff into a ravine. In July 1921, i.e. after the establishment of Soviet power in Zangezur and the liquidation of the Dashnak army, I was appointed secretary of the Tatev district party committee, i.e. the district committee. Under my personal supervision, the bodies of those killed were collected and buried. According to rough estimates, there were about 400 bodies. What do you say about the substance of this?

*Answer:* I deny it.

*Question:* The testimony of witness Janunts Avag is presented to you: "The most terrible atrocities committed by Nzhdeh were as follows: during December 1920 and January 1921, on Nzhdeh's orders, 263 Russian Red Guards were thrown into the Tatev Gorge, some of them alive and the rest after being shot." Will you deny this again?

*Answer:* Yes, I deny it.

*Question:* The testimony of Janunts and Khoilunts specifically indicates that during the period when your headquarters was stationed in Tatev, on your orders, hundreds of people – communists and Red Army soldiers, both Armenian and Russian – were executed by shooting and thrown into the Tatev Gorge. The investigation once again demands that you give truthful testimony.

*Answer:* I once again deny that I committed any murders. in Tatev. I consider the testimony of witnesses Khoilunts and Janunts to be incorrect. However, I believe that witnesses Khoilunts and Janunts may be referring to those who were shot and thrown from Ta-

Tatev rock, about 200 Turks from Zaval Pasha's detachment, whom the Soviet authorities used against us.

I would like to note that I defeated Zaval Pasha's detachment, and he himself, wounded, along with his officers and soldiers, was taken prisoner. I gave orders to release the soldiers and publicly execute Zaval Pasha and his officers. But my bodyguards, together with the peasants, shot them in Tatev and Darbas and threw them from the Tatev fortress.

*Question:* It was not Turks who were shot and thrown from the Tatev fortress, but communists and Red Army soldiers who fell into your hands. The investigation once again demands a truthful answer.

*Answer:* I insist that those killed were Turks dressed in Red Army uniforms, and perhaps the witnesses Khoilunts and Janunts believed, based on this, that the Red Army soldiers were Russians and Armenians.

Recorded from my words, read by me.

*Ter-Arutyunyan G. Yegishevich*

*Interrogate*

*d by: Head of the 3rd Division of the 1st Department of the MGB of the  
Armenian SSR  
Major Melkumyan*

I am trying to be as objective as possible and present Nzhde without any embellishment. I am not defending him; he himself wrote and said that he did not need defending. So, here is another witness statement.

*Interrogation report*

*Witness Paronyan Asatur Avetisovich*

*From 22 September 1947*

*Question:* Tell us where you were in 1920 and 1921.

*Answer:* In 1920, I was part of a Red Army brigade under the command of

I served in Nagorno-Karabakh and was taken prisoner by the Dashnak military forces under the command of Khmbape-ta Tevan. This was in November or December 1920. I and seven other captured Red Army soldiers were taken to Goris, where we were held in prison for four and a half months, and in March 1921 we were taken to Tatev Monastery.

*Question:* Who commanded the Dashnak forces in Zangezur in 1920-1921?

*Answer:* During this period, the Dashnak military forces in Zangezur were commanded by Nzhdeh, who was called Sparapet.

*Question:* What do you know about the murders of Red Army soldiers and communists in Tatev committed by the Dashnaks?

*Answer:* In 1921, when I was imprisoned in Tatev Monastery, there were 23 people with me, seven of whom were Russian Red Army soldiers, while I and the rest of the communists were Armenians. Of the 23 people, 15 were shot, thrown from Tatev Rock into a ravine, and 8 people, including me, were released. Of those who were shot, I remember the names of Aleksan from the village of Sisian, Kostanda from the village of Shinuyair, and Ivan Markaryan from the village of Karashen. I do not remember the names of the others. I must say that all seven Russian Red Army soldiers were shot.

*Question:* On whose orders were the 15 people mentioned 15 people?

*Answer:* The shootings were directly supervised by Khmbapet Kurd Efrem, and the orders for the shootings came from Sparapet, i.e. Nzhde. I saw from the window of my cell how they were led to be thrown off the cliff.

*Question:* What other facts do you know about the executions in Tatev?

*Answer:* During the last retreat of the Dashnaks from Yerevan in 1921, the Dashnaks brought arrested communists to Tatev – about 500 people – who were to be shot. This order by Nzhdeh was cancelled by Ruben Pasha, and out of 500 people, about 40 were shot in Tatev.

*Question:* How did you find out about this, and who can confirm it?

*Answer:* I learned about this from the peasants who guarded us, who had been forcibly mobilised into the Dashnak army. This fact can be confirmed by Ruben (I don't remember his surname), a native of Akhsid in the Sisian district, a member of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), who lives in Yerevan.

*Question:* How many people were killed in Tatev in 1921 by the Dashnaks? by the Dashnaks?

*Answer:* By order of Sparapet Nzhdeh, about 400 communists and Red Army soldiers were killed in Tatev.

*Question:* Perhaps there were not only Red Army soldiers and Armenian communists, but also Turks among them?

*Answer:* No, there were no Turks among those killed. All those killed in Tatev were Red Army soldiers and communists.

*Question:* How do you know this?

*Answer:* The peasants who were mobilised into the Dashnak army and guarded us expressed their dissatisfaction with the Dashnak command, saying that the latter were committing crimes by killing Armenians. These peasants told us about the events that took place in Tatev.

*Question:* What other murders of communists in Zangezur are you aware of?

*Answer:* By order of Nzhdeh in 1921, dozens of communists were killed in Goris, one of whom was my fellow villager Arakelyan Maksudian. I learned about this while I was in Goris prison. This fact can be confirmed by Janunts Avag, Gazaryan Ego, a member of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) who lives in Yerevan, and others.

I am also aware of the murders of communists in Khndzo-Reske (three people), in Karashen (Arzumanyan Khazar), in the village of Algu-Lishen (two people), and in other villages. These murders were carried out with Nzhdeh's knowledge, and the direct perpetrator was Captain Amirdzhanov, one of Nzhdeh's assistants.

Recorded correctly from my words.

*Signed  
Interrogate  
d by  
Head of the 3rd Division of the 1st Department of the MGB of the Armenian SSR  
Major Melkumyan*

Let us return to Nzhde's testimony.

*Interrogation report  
of the accused Ter-Arutyunyan Garegin Yegishevich.  
From 2 September 1947.*

The interrogation began at 9:35 p.m.

The interrogation is over...

*Question:* Tell us about the victory in the Alagaza and Shivan Gorge that you wrote about in your ultimatum of 27 September 1920.

*Answer:* In 1920, Turkish emissary Edif Bey and one of the Nakhchivan khans, among whom was a certain Var-Tanov, surrounded the Armenian villages located at the foot of Mount Alagaz. A battle ensued between me and them, which lasted one day, and as a result, Edif Bey's troops were defeated. There were dead, wounded, prisoners and trophies.

*Question:* In your ultimatum of 27 September, you wrote: "I destroy Turks and Russians with the same pleasure with which I destroy in battle and outside of battle." They said: "My attitude towards Russians was more humane, because I could not tolerate the Red Army soldiers being treated inhumanely." As you can see, the documents speak of your insincere behaviour during the investigation. The investigation requires you to give sincere testimony about the murders committed on your orders in Zangezur.

*Answer:* The psychology behind my words is that "I destroyed the Turks and Russians

with the same pleasure with which I destroy them in battle and outside of battle" is that, wishing to avoid conflict with the Red Army and to intimidate the saboteurs who had arrived in Kyurdkend, I suggested that they leave Kyurdkend.

*Question:* How many people were killed on your orders "outside of battle"?

*Answer:* Not a single person was killed outside of combat on my orders.

*Question:* Tell us what prompted the convening of the "General Zangezur" congress on 25 December 1920 in Tatev, what decisions were taken and what was your role at this congress?

*Answer:* I did not play a role at this congress, but was elected sparapet (commander-in-chief). The congress was convened with the aim of establishing a normal situation within Zangezur and waiting for the moment of joining the Motherland – Armenia. An autonomous government was formed at the congress, and I was subordinate to this government.

*Question:* Which Armenia was Zangezur supposed to join according to the decision of the congress?

*Answer:* Soviet Armenia.

*Question:* No, that is not true. The work of the congress was directed exclusively against Soviet power and the Red Army. The congress was convened with the aim of intensifying the struggle against the Red Army and Soviet power.

*Answer:* All the activities of the autonomous government after the congress were aimed at making it clear why it was against the annexation of Zangezur to Azerbaijan and that it sought to join its native territory, Soviet Armenia. That is why it held negotiations with the government of Soviet Armenia.

*Question:* Are you saying that?

*Answer:* Yes.

*Question:* In that case, why did you rebel and fight against the Red Army after the congress in 1921?

*Answer:* The Dashnak uprising in 1921 (18 February) was organised by Vratyan's "Rescue Committee" in Yerevan.

*Question:* Were you not connected to and subordinate to the "Rescue Committee"?

*Answer:* No, I had no connection with the "Rescue Committee".

*Question:* Were you in contact with the Dashnak government in Armenia, and were you subordinate to that government?

*Answer:* As a member of parliament, I was sent to Zangezur to organise the self-defence of that region in early 1919. Before the Sovietisation of Armenia, I was subordinate to the Dashnak government. After Sovietisation, since there was no longer a parliament or government, I was not subordinate to anyone.

Recorded from my words, correct, read by me.

*Ter-Harutyunyan G. Yeghisheвич*

Interrupted 1 hour 15 minutes. 3/11-1947.

Continued from 10:30 a.m. to 2:15 p.m. 4/09-47.

*Interrogate  
d by: Head of the 3rd Division of the 1st Department of the MGB of the  
Armenian SSR  
Major Melkumyan*

*Interrogation report*

*of the accused Ter-Arutyunyan Garegin Yeghisheвич  
From 18 September 1947.*

The interrogation began at 22:45. The  
interrogation ended at 00:45.

*Question:* Do you know Seili?

*Answer:* Yes, I know Seili from Tiflis, when we jointly edited the literary almanac "Patan" (Youth) in 1911. For reasons unknown to me, he ended up in Zangezur, where I met him in the Goris prison. I entered Goris after the Soviet troops had withdrawn and, while walking around the Goris prison where people arrested by the Soviet authorities were being held, I saw Seili among them. He told me that he was a communist. He told me the reason for his arrest some time later in Kapan. According to him, he had come to Goris with the Red Army units with the task of conducting underground work against me, but, being a person close to me, he refused to do so, for which he was arrested. I released Seili, and after that he lived in Kapan, where my headquarters was located. In the winter of 1920, Seili was killed. According to one version, Seili's murder was committed by the Dashnak Minister of War, Ter-Minasyan Ruben, according to another – by local residents, allegedly while attempting to escape.

*Question:* You are not telling the truth. When you found out that Seili was a communist, you shot him.  
a communist, you shot him.

*Answer:* I stand by my testimony.

*Question:* Why did Ter-Minasyan shoot Seili if he knew that he refused to speak out against you, i.e. the Dashnaks? *Answer:* Because Ter-Minasyan was hostile towards communists and killed Seili as a communist, and Ter-Minasyan was against me for sheltering Seili, i.e. a communist. He committed this murder in retaliation for the fact that a number of Dashnaks had been shot by the Soviet authorities in Yerevan.

*Question:* You are presented with the testimony of witness Janunts Avag that in November 1920 in Goris, you captured Seili, the second secretary of the Goris City Committee of the Communist Party, and after a month and a half of imprisonment, you ordered your assistant, Gerasim Atadzhanian, to shoot him, which was done.

*Answer:* I deny this.

*Question: You are presented with the testimony of witness Khoiluntsa Arsen that in early 1921, in Goris, you*

*Question:* You are presented with the testimony of witness Khoilunts Arsen that in early 1921, you had the communist Seili shot in Goris. Will you again deny that Seili's murder was carried out on your orders?

*Answer:* Yes, I deny it.

*Question:* The investigation notes that you are constantly evading giving truthful testimony. The investigation urges you to give truthful testimony.

*Answer:* I insist on my testimony.

Recorded from my words, correct, read by me.

*Ter-Arutyunyan G. Yegishevich*  
*Interrogated*  
*by: Deputy Head of the 1st Department of the*  
*MGB of the Armenian SSR*  
*Major Melkumov*  
*Head of the 3rd Division of the 1st Department of the MGB of the*  
*Armenian SSR*  
*Major Melkumyan*

It should be noted that if such monstrous accusations are brought against any person, they are called the executioner of the people, the destroyer of people, the organiser of mass pogroms, and many other serious crimes are attributed to them, then these accusations must necessarily be preceded by serious measures involving specialists in the organisation of a high-quality investigation with the aim of identifying specific evidence in favour of the prosecution: documents, expert materials and much more. But here we have only unsubstantiated, stereotypical statements by witnesses such as Hoilunts and Janunts, who were apparently instructed in advance, and these statements refer to the words of others and contain nothing concrete.

Wasn't Nzhde right when he pointed out in his statement:

"...I was struck by the investigative lawlessness in Yerevan. Very soon I became convinced that the Melkumyans differed from the Shishkovs only in degree and tact, but not in quality. What was allowed to happen to me in Yerevan was a violation of justice that transgressed all boundaries of legality..."

After Nzhdeh was transferred from Moscow to the Yerevan internal prison of the MGB of the Armenian SSR on 14 November 1946, the investigation into case No. 8386 against Ter-Arutyunyan Garegin Yegishevich was resumed by a decision dated 16 November of the same year. During this period, until the investigation was completed and the indictment was drawn up on 10 March 1948, under the new case number 11278, Nzhdeh was summoned for official questioning more than 80 times over a period of approximately 17 months, and during all this time of seemingly intensive work, the quality of the investigation was under the constant supervision of the military prosecutor, who considered that the materials collected were sufficient to convict Nzhdeh of crimes.

And now I would like to bring to the reader's attention a poem in my possession dedicated to Nzhe's feat. The author is a certain Kuzmenko V.P., who served his sentence together with Nzhe in the Vladimir prison.

*Native Land*

I saw a small bag with the earth  
In the old man's cell,  
He brought it here from  
freedom, As part of his  
country.

He kept it like a balm, And often  
touched it:  
- Antaeus would envy you,  
He said to him once.

- I have suffered, my dear, I  
fought for forty years,  
And now... a bag of my native soil,  
He said to me in reply.

The prison regime is harsh, Even  
the walls here are a sign of sorrow,  
Soldiers came with a search warrant, They  
took the bag of soil.

I saw the old man's tears -  
He cried like a child. What  
does homeland mean, To  
which life is bound?

*Kuzmenko V.P.  
September 1951.  
Vladimir*

Nzhde, with a bag of sacred Armenian soil – "as part of his country" –  
continued to languish in prison.

After emigrating, he lived abroad for over thirty years and was  
constantly under the scrutiny of Soviet intelligence. However, it is necessary  
to continue to acquaint readers with the interrogation transcripts in order to  
establish the truth from the perspective of "who is who?"

*Excerpt from the interrogation protocol*

*of the arrested Asaturyan Aik Kirakosovich*

*Question:* What specific goals did the rebellious Dashnaks set for  
themselves?

*Answer:* Through an armed uprising, the Dashnaks intended to

decision to seize power in Armenia. In 1932, on my own initiative, I began publishing a monthly philosophical magazine in Armenian called "Hrovk" ("Quarrel"), where I put forward my new ideas. But the party did not support me in this, and after a while I closed the monthly magazine.

As a result of disagreements within the party's central committee in Bulgaria, in 1935 I was temporarily expelled from the party by the representative of the bureau, General Dro.

At that time, I announced that I would not return to the party and, on my own initiative and without the knowledge of the bureau, began publishing a magazine in Armenian called "Tribe and Motherland" in 1936. In this magazine, I preached my views, which subsequently led to the formation of a movement called "Taronakanutyun". Nzhde supported me in all of this, so Nzhde and I were the leaders of this movement. This served as a reason for the Dashnaksutyun party bureau to officially announce my expulsion from the party in its press. By this time, the Dashnak organisations in Bulgaria were largely divided and had joined our movement.

*Question:* Could you clarify the name of the movement led by you and Nzhde?

*Answer:* The movement led by me and Nzhde since 1935 was called "Taronakanutyun".

*Question:* What were the goals and objectives of creating such a "Taronakanutyun"?

*Answer:* My main task and goal is as follows:

1. The need to renew the spiritual and moral life of Armenians living in Armenian colonies. Denial of the existence of Armenian parties or their remnants in the colonies.
2. Armenians abroad must not forget their homeland, and their return must be ensured.

*Question:* Tell us about the connections between you and other leaders of "Taronakanutyun" with similar organisations abroad.

*Answer:* The Taronakanutyun movement had its own organisations in many countries, headed by:

*In America – Akron*

1. Ter-Israelyan <sup>Aris<sup>1</sup></sup>
2. Maloyan Aik
3. Semershian

*In New York and Boston*

1. Geghamyan Geghak
2. Hanikyan Araksi

*In California – San Francisco*

1. Markaryan
2. Azhmarian
3. Mamikonyan

*In Syria*

1. Arutyunyan Artashes

*In France, in Marseille*

1. Boroyan Smbat – <sup>khmabpet<sup>2</sup></sup>
2. Nersisyan
3. Khoaryan
4. Poloyan

*In Bulgaria – Sofia*

1. Astvatsaturyan

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<sup>1</sup> Aris (Aristakes) Ter-Israelyan – one of the main ideologists of the Taronakanutyun movement, one of the founders of the Taron-Turuberan regional union, lived in difficult material conditions until the end of his life. He died in the United States in 1942.

<sup>2</sup> Boroyan Sambar (Makhluto) (1881-1956) was a prominent figure in the national liberation movement from the late 19th century. He emigrated in 1921 and participated in the diaspora movement against the Dashnaksutyun leadership in the 1920s and 1930s. In 1947, he repatriated to Soviet Armenia and lived and worked in Yerevan.

*In Plovdiv*

1. Davydian Nshan
2. Dogramadjian Martik
3. Tomassyan Mkrtich
4. Bangian Bedros
5. Postadzhyan

I had no connections with other organisations.

*Question:* Tell us about how the struggle against the Soviet Union was conducted.

*Answer:* After the split within the Dashnaktsutyun party, I fought against the latter with the aim of getting it to abandon its partisanship and think more about the Armenians living in the colonies. I do not deny that in the newspaper Razmik, which I published, I repeatedly published articles against the Soviet Union and the Bolsheviks concerning the expansion of Armenia's borders. I do not remember any other methods of fighting against the Soviet Union. On the contrary, we advocated providing assistance to Soviet Armenia in the event of an attack.

*Question:* That is not true. As an ideological enemy of the Soviet Union, against whom we fought for decades, you could not have been on the side of Soviet Armenia. Tell us more about the facts of your anti-Soviet activities.

*Answer:* I do not deny that when I was a member of the Dashnaktsutyun party and fought against the Soviet Union through the press, but when I became the leader of the Taronakanutyun movement, I stopped this fight against the USSR.

*Question:* Who did you travel to Berlin with?

*Answer:* I went to Berlin alone, and a few days later Sedrak Jamalyan and Petikyan Dzvovasar arrived there. Jamalyan and Petikyan, together with Nzhdeh, began to visit the camps where Armenian prisoners of war were being held.

*Question:* For what purpose?

*Answer:* We intended to separate the Armenian prisoners of war and thereby create a force to use against Turkey. Incidentally, the Armenians who arrived later from Bulgaria were intended for propaganda work among the Armenian prisoners of war.

*Question:* How did you manage to carry out these plans?

*Answer:* We could not do anything, because the German military authorities began to organise legions.

*Question:* When and how many Armenians arrived in Berlin from Bulgaria?

*Answer:* I cannot say for sure, but I believe there were 30 people. They arrived in Germany in two groups in October or November 1942 and stayed in the village of Hohenbinde.

*Question:* Please name them individually.

*Answer:* The following people known to me arrived in Berlin as part of this group.

*From Sliven*

1. Markosyan Markos
2. Petrosyan Onik
3. Kaserian Karo

*From Varna*

1. Minasyan Aram
2. Davydian Harutyun
3. Altunyan Zare
4. Takhmizyan Aram

*From Burgas*

1. Postandzhyan Krikor
2. Gulazyan Mkrtich
3. Martirosyan Jirair
4. Khachikyan Matevos

*From the city of Plovdiv*

1. Dogramadjian Martik
2. Vaskinyan Aykaz
3. Takvor Davydian
4. Minasyan Stepan
5. Keovlyan Sarkis
6. Papazyan Poghos

*From Ruschuk*

1. Suren (surname unknown)
2. Pogos (surname unknown)

*From Sofia*

1. Grigoryan Abro
2. Agonyan Onik

I don't remember the surnames and first names of the others.

*Question:* The group mentioned stayed in Hohen-Binde until May 1943. They underwent military combat training and spent some time engaged in subversive activities. Consequently, was this group being trained as saboteurs?

*Answer:* Yes, it appears that the entire group was being trained as saboteurs for the Germans.

*Question:* Against whom was this group intended to be used?

*Answer:* I cannot say for certain, but in the spring of 1943, when I met with one of Major Drum's assistants, Captain Schmidt, I learned from him that this group of Armenians was to be used by the Germans for their own purposes. When I pressed him to explain exactly how the Germans intended to use them, Schmidt refused to answer. At the time, I thought that the entire group from the village of Hohen-Binde was to be moved to another location. It later became clear that they had all been transferred to the German-occupied territory of Crimea.

apparently to be used in the war against the Soviet Union.

*Question:* Tell us how this sabotage group was to be used against the Soviet Union.

*Answer:* From General Nzhdeh, I learned that the Germans were to use this group on the territory of Soviet Armenia. I am not aware of any other details on this matter. For this reason, at Nzhdeh's insistence, the entire group, with the exception of a few individuals, returned to Bulgaria in December 1943.

The minutes of the interrogation based on my words have been compiled correctly and read aloud in my native language, which I understand.

*Signature*

*Interrogate*

*d by: Head of the 3rd Division of the 1st Department of the MGB of the  
Armenian SSR  
Major Melkumyan*

Every nation has its saints and heroes, whose lives and deeds inspire subsequent generations to new feats and achievements. Nzhdeh is one of the most prominent and worthy figures in modern Armenian history. His heroic life and selfless service to his homeland, even to the point of martyrdom, have been and will forever remain an example for grateful descendants.

## Appendix

### *Autobiography*

1. I joined the Armenian revolutionary movement at the age of 17, while still a high school student. Later, I left university and fought against tsarism and sultanism. In 1906, I moved to Bulgaria and, with the assistance of the leaders of the Macedonian liberation movement, Boris Sarafov and Lyapov Gurina, enrolled in the officer training school in Sofia under the name of Dmitry Nikolov. After graduating from the school (first level), I returned to the Caucasus to cross into Armenia with Murad's haidouk detachment. I then operated in Persia. In 1909, I returned to the Caucasus and was arrested.

I spent more than three years in prisons from Julfa to St. Petersburg. After the famous trial of 163 members of the Dashnaksutyun, I moved to Bulgaria to avoid exile to Siberia.

2. In 1912, I formed a company of Armenian volunteers and, together with Andranik, participated in the Balkan War for the liberation of Macedonia and Thrace. In the final period of the war, we, as revolutionaries, refused to participate in internal conflicts between the Balkan peoples and formed an Armenian company. I was wounded in this war. The Armenian flag and the chests of many Armenians were decorated with crosses for bravery.

3. On the eve of the world war, having received amnesty from the tsarist government, I returned to the Caucasus on condition that I participate in hostilities against Turkey.

At the beginning of the fighting, I was deputy commander of the 2nd Armenian volunteer battalion, and in the final stage I commanded a separate Armenian-Yazidi unit.

4. In 1917, with a small force, I rushed to the aid of the besieged Kochbu and saved the Armenians in that area. During those same days, I went to Abbas Gel, made contact with the Yazidis, and, taking their leader Ivo Beg with me, returned to Tiflis, where I introduced him to the Armenian National Council.

5. On the eve of the proclamation of Armenia's independence, I fought battles near Alaj, thanks to which the Armenian units retreating along the Erzurum-Sarikamish-Kars line were given the opportunity to reach Alexandropol without losses, and I crossed the Arpachay only when

My people managed to smuggle valuable antiques, obtained in Ani during excavations conducted by Professor Marr, with the last retreating Armenian soldier.

6. At the end of May 1918, I commanded the battle at Karakilis. I was wounded and nominated for the highest award for bravery.

It must be acknowledged that without the Battle of Karakilis, not only would there be no Armenia today, but there would be no Armenians living there.

The three-day heroic battle at Karakilis saved the Armenians of the Ararat Valley from complete destruction and laid the foundation for the Armenian state.

7. During Armenia's independence, in the autumn of 1919, I saved the 2nd Armenian regiment, which was surrounded between Davalu and Vedi.

8. In the second half of 1919, I moved to Syunik to help Gokhtan, which was besieged by the troops of Edif Bey and doomed to starvation and destruction. Both the region itself and its Armenian population were saved.

9. Then I devoted myself to defending and saving the Armenians of Kapan and Arevik from destruction, repelling periodic attacks by Musavatist Azerbaijan and the Turkish pashas Nuri and Khalil.

10. In mid-1921, after Dro's units left Zangezur and Karabakh, I took over the leadership of the self-defence forces of the entire Syunik region.

On this circular front of ours – in a mountainous region completely cut off from the outside world, without sufficient food and military equipment, without officers and any outside help, in political isolation – Syunik, which, according to the agreement concluded between the Armenian government and Legrand, the representative of Moscow, was transferred to Azerbaijan, dictated its will to the Soviet authorities for more than a year of unequal and victorious battles and, under Myasnikyan, was recognised by the June 1921 declaration as having been annexed to the Motherland – Armenia. Thanks to the heroic epic of Syunik, the Armenian intelligentsia, the Dashnaktsutyun, and the revolutionary and militant elements of the people were also saved.

11. My life and my activities testify to the following:

– I always appeared in moments of danger. In peacetime, I did not seek positions of authority, as I had no attraction to them.

I always commanded the people's forces (militia) and felt

a certain coldness towards the so-called "regular" units. I selected commanders from among the people and moulded them, so to speak, in my own image and likeness. In battle, I remained human, more than human, even towards the Turks and Tatars – as evidenced by my orders and appeals to the units under my command.

What the Soviet authorities attribute to me is ordinary slander, typical of propaganda that seeks to discredit its opponents at any cost. I have never sought help from outside forces, not even from my own country. I followed the vow of Mamikonyans, was a man of deep faith and morality, and therefore often had to drink from the cup of bitterness. In my temple of faith and worship, God and the Motherland always came first.

Armenia was the highest shrine on earth for me. I lived and breathed it, always ready to suffer, sacrifice and die for it. It was my sacred pain, joy, longing, the meaning of my existence, my immortality, my highest right and duty. At the same time, the people of my country were passionately attached to me and followed me blindly. I was opposed by semi-intellectuals, devoid of any sense of sanctity, and mediocre warriors, guided by paper laws. I never received a salary in my entire life. I even refused a pension assigned to me by a foreign state. (Only once, in America, did I violate this principle, agreeing to receive a weekly salary as a public figure. I broke it and was justly punished. Since then, human baseness has followed me everywhere like a shadow.) I had every opportunity to live in luxury, but I lived like a man of the people — modestly, one might say poorly. I considered everyday materialism to be one of the worst abominations for a revolutionary, a warrior, and a patriot.

Leaving Armenia, I took with me the skin of a tiger killed by my warriors on the Armenian bank of the Araks River – (my only reward). Javall Pasha's dagger (my only military trophy), the undefeated banner of Syunik (let it be placed on my chest in my grave), and the old Aikazian dictionary (my only consolation in exile).

12. An Armenian outside Armenia is doomed to degeneration.

Only with the help of deep knowledge and awareness (experience) of national values, virtues and sacred things can one fight against

this evil, for which I created a movement called "Tsegakron-tyun". Its goal was to restore the Armenian people's sense of homeland, saving them from spiritual and political rootlessness and homelessness. It is a patriotic movement, and only by renewing it can all parts of the Armenian people unite. Because of this, imbued with concern for the nation, the sermons and the splintered, rootless and defeatist part of the Armenian people began to plot against me.

I forgive everyone. I forgive them for two reasons. First, my national creed does not allow me to feel enmity towards any Armenian. Second, I deeply understand these unfortunate people who have not yet overcome their slavery and therefore remain pitiful and malicious.

Today, as an exile longing for my homeland, I have only one desire: to die in my native mountains.

13. A coup d'état has taken place in Bulgaria, brought about by military and political events.

The Red Army is expected to arrive. Knowing what awaits me, I have decided to stay, despite the opportunity to fly to Vienna. I am not leaving so that our organisations are not persecuted. I have even more compelling reasons to stay, which are known to two of my friends.

The Soviet army arrived and what I expected happened. Taking advantage of the confusion, several Armenians – degenerates, not nourished by the milk of their race – have already set to work. They are mainly shoemakers, but they act as police agents, accompanied by armed Bulgarian militiamen, going from house to house looking for me.

These are forever repulsive slaves who have always used external forces to satisfy their impotent malice and destroy their "enemies" among their compatriots.

However, nationalists, who are only nationalists in name, are no less repulsive. Creatures with market morality, they have sunk to the level of cattle. Acquaintances, friends, relatives – no one will open the door to you, even if you seek their protection with the cross of Nazareth on your shoulders and a crown of thorns on your bleeding forehead. They have forgotten, forgotten everything, that it was only thanks to my efforts that they avoided the fate of the Jews and grew richer and richer for four whole years. Those who yesterday

sought your gaze and your greeting, today flee even from your name, from your shadow.

The Reds are waiting for me. Seven times low is he who, in all circumstances, prefers life to death. Let the inevitable happen. Today, I am attached to life only to the extent that I still feel obliged to serve Armenia.

Where are you, where are you, the royal and beloved people of Armenia, whose spirit has always been able to rise above danger?

Diaspora! Once again, you have made me relive the tragedy of shame.  
Shame on you!

*Nzhde  
h September 1944, Sofia  
Archive of the Ministry of  
National Security of  
Armenia Case No. 11278,  
vol. 4*

### *Why the Tsegakron movement was created*

For years, I studied the mood of the Armenian diaspora and their political trends, scientifically researching their psychology in light of the unprecedented disaster of the Armenian people – multiple massacres.

I was particularly concerned about the sentiments of our younger generation. A generation born outside the homeland or, from an early age, by force of circumstance, found themselves abroad.

Scientific psychology has long proven that peoples who have survived catastrophes and suffered devastating disasters and upheavals (especially small peoples) begin to suffer from spiritual regression, which manifests itself in various forms of defeatism.

Having suffered a catastrophe and become extremely demoralised, they consider everything lost, renounce their historical mission, and passively and submissively accept the political fate imposed on them.

First of all, they are overcome by a painful feeling of inferiority, as a result of which they become pessimistic in political matters and uncreative in cultural matters.

In his soul, he becomes an anarchist, denying all values, authority, and power, turning into a repulsive egoist — cowardly and alienated from society — and begins to pursue only one daily goal: to secure his bread and peace.

As a "renegade" (defeated person), he abandons his positions across the entire front. He transfers his struggle for survival from the external front to his inner world, which causes him to "break down" and become even more exhausted.

In this way, he forgets the danger threatening him from outside – the enemy. In short, he becomes incapable of new struggles, efforts, sacrifices, falls out of the mainstream of history and begins to lead a non-creative and meaningless existence, arousing the disgust and pity of nations.

Armenian defeatism also manifested itself in the form of morbid religiosity.

In the conditions of general decay in the Armenian colonies, a variety of absurd sects arose:

- The "rukhchi," who called for renouncing

national and public life.

- "Andenakani" (otherworldly), who, considering the earthly homeland of the Armenians to be unreal, persuaded them to devote themselves to the otherworldly – the heavenly homeland.
- The "veramkrtchakans" (cross-breeds) were equally cosmopolitan, anti-social and unhealthy.

And in Istanbul, the "Armenian Committee", organised on the advice of the Turkish authorities, called on Armenians to consider themselves "Gregorian" (Iusavorchakan) Turks.

This picture was complemented by Armenian parties, whose internal disagreements caused discord among Armenians and cooled the national spirit. Thus, the Armenians of the diaspora, succumbing to blind defeatism, began to pour water on the mill of the enemies of the Armenian people, striving – in a mad rush – to make their defeat and misfortune final.

In short, an atmosphere was created in the diaspora colonies in which about one million Armenians attempted suicide, much to the delight of the Turks.

Such is the reality of the Armenian diaspora today. There, I experienced a profound tragedy – the tragedy of national shame. However, my many years of reflection and research have also led me to another truth: peoples suffering from defeatism are not incurable; life is eternal rebirth. The Armenian diaspora can also recover.

And this can only happen through renewal, which is possible only by rethinking (re-experiencing) the true values of one's own history.

Based on this analysis, with the deep concern of a patriotic idealist, I set about organising our younger generation, considering it to be the most effective transformative factor.

Since most Armenians abroad live in the United States, where our generation faces the greatest danger (due to the all-consuming, assimilating nature of the American environment), I began to form the Tsegakron movement in America.

The Tsegakron movement has nothing to do with foreign teachings, nor could it ever have anything to do with them, because it is, first and foremost, a reformist movement of revival, which is only possible on the basis of its own values, not borrowed ones.

Only a Turkophile and a defeatist, an Armenian ignorant of historical science, can speak ill of the Tsegakron movement.

The Tsegakron movement is not a party, but an Oath (Uht). Its organisations are called "Oaths" ("Uhters").

Anyone who is familiar with Armenian history to any degree will immediately understand that the Tsegakron movement, like Obet, is similar to the Obet of Mamikonyan's knights. Just like the Mamikonyans, the Tsegakron movement professes selfless devotion to the nation and a determination to bravely accept death in the name of the Motherland.

The necessity of my movement was also dictated by a number of other important reasons.

From the very first days of the establishment of Kemalist rule, the Turks – a barbaric nation, but one endowed with a keen political instinct – attempted to destroy us morally as well.

In order to justify or at least make understandable the massacre of Armenians in Turkey, the Turks, with the support of a number of corrupt European writers and public figures, launched an anti-Armenian propaganda campaign.

The Armenian massacre was followed by a moral massacre – the discrediting of the Armenians.

From American and European platforms, non-Turks often declared: "Because of their despicable character, the Armenians became victims of the disgust they provoked, but not of the enmity of the Turks."

In this way, millions of victims were condemned and discredited, while the murderers were justified.

Anti-Armenian propaganda claimed that the victims were to blame, not the murderers, and attributed to the Armenians flaws that were not inherent to them:

- a) nomadism (i.e., Armenians do not love their land),
- b) in the economic sphere – an unscrupulous and predatory attitude towards their "victims",
- c) an innate lack of morality, resulting in an anti-social attitude, etc.

This is how the Turks portrayed Armenians to the American and European peoples. This anti-Armenian propaganda was carried out by Turkish embassies and consulates, together with their military, trade and newspaper henchmen. Turkish students abroad also played an active role in this. The writer Halide Hanim, Vehib Pasha and the Turkish ambassador to the United States, Mukhtar Bey, were particularly notable for their anti-Armenian propaganda. Such massive Turkish propaganda was naturally bound to provoke anti-Armenian sentiment in some countries.

(Kraft Bernard, known for his pro-Armenian views, bitterly notes in one of his books on the Armenian question that Armenians in Europe are considered a "robber people." And in 1914, the ardent Armenophile Nansen, in his book *The Deceived People*, painfully reminded us that Armenians, despite their high spiritual virtues, are incapable of fighting). In this situation, when Armenian parties and religious communities, instead of countering Turkish propaganda, rose up against each other, our renewed Tsegakronov Uhtas began anti-Turkish propaganda in defence of their disgraced race.

They collected opinions expressed about Armenians and Turks by various philosophers, historians, anthropologists, writers, and geographers, and presented them to the American and Canadian peoples for their consideration.

There was another important circumstance that emphasised the necessity of the Cegakron movement: the political retreat of the older generation with regard to Turkey. Our old parties began to distance themselves from the Armenian question and resign themselves to the idea that we should give up the Armenian territories remaining in Turkey and draw closer to the Turks. Such betrayal would have made us, in the eyes of the younger generation, a people worthy of contempt.

The Tsegakron movement was called upon to help Armenians realise their responsibility for their territorial claims against Turkey.

The slogan "Lausanne? Never!" adorned the title page of the first edition of the Cegakron Uhtov programme.

For us, the history of the Armenian question was not exhausted by the Treaty of Lausanne, which was advantageous to the Turks.

In contrast to the older generation, the Tsegakron Uhts do not renounce their demands on Turkey.

Wherever a Tsegakronian may be, whatever social position he may occupy, he remains a subject and soldier of Armenia. The enthusiasm generated by the Tsegakron movement and the success it achieved were unprecedented phenomena for our colonies.

In a year and a half, it rallied about 6,000 young people under its banner, who swore to remain Armenians even outside Armenia.

The movement had branches in North America, California, and Canada, and on the initiative of local youth, branches were also established in Harbin, Syria, Iran, Thrace, Jerusalem, and Bulgaria.

Almost all of our colonies approached me with a proposal to visit their countries in order to unite the local youth and involve them in the Tsegakron movement.

That is why Dashnaktsutyun, which, for fear of losing its position, was hostile to any new force that arose in Armenian life, opposed Tsegakronism.

Rejecting the politics of lamentation and appeals for mercy, as well as the defeatist tactics employed by the old parties, the new generation spontaneously threw itself into the arms of its homeland.

The Tsegakron movement is a living protest, a demonstration against the old parties that have distorted the political will of our people.

For the Cegakronist, the only natural ally of the Armenian people is the great Russian people. For him, there is no such thing as Armenians, there is only Armenia. If Armenia is Soviet today, then, according to the laws of historical development, it could only have become so.

Cegakron's attitude towards England, Turkey's protector, is equally logical and clear. It is impossible to be an enemy of Turkey and a friend of its protector.

The people of Cegakron are friendly towards the enemies of their enemies and hostile towards the friends of their enemies. We understand perfectly well that England, under whose protection hundreds of millions of Muslims live, will not give preference to a handful of Armenians.

As an imperial people, the English are cruel and immoral (as were the Romans). If their interests so require, they will sacrifice not only the Armenian people, but dozens of such peoples.

We have nothing – no large territory, no large population, no great economic opportunities – for which England

would want to recognise us as an equal member of at least the family of Transcaucasian peoples.

For many years now, with England's blessing, Pan-Turkism has been at work, and Armenia stands in its way, easily becoming a bridge built of corpses between Ankara and Baku.

This explains the hostility of the Gegakron Uhts towards England as well.

Both the Turks and the English are aware of this. That is why, in recent years, the Turkish press has only levelled accusations against me and my activities, and not against the Dashnaktsutyun.

At a time when Dashnaktsutyun leaders Amo Oganjanyan, Jamilian, and Karo Sasuni enjoyed the right of free entry and residence in countries friendly to Turkey, the Greek government refused me a transit visa to travel to Egypt in 1937, on the grounds that I was an "irreconcilable and dangerous enemy of Turkey." Similarly, as in the case of my trip to Egypt, I was denied an entry visa to Palestine. I managed to obtain an Egyptian visa at the cost of considerable effort and a large bribe. Moreover, I was made to sign a pledge that "I would not give any public lectures or convene any meetings in Egypt."

*Ter-Harutyunyan Garegin*

*1946-48*

*Internal prison of the MGB of the Armenian SSR*

*Historical conditions surrounding the emergence of Dashnaktsutyun  
and its characteristics*

1. In the second half of the 19th century, Western Armenians experienced the most turbulent period in their history. Condemned to periodic enslavement, forced conversion to Islam and physical extermination, they became helpless and defenceless slaves, deprived by monstrous Sultanism of their basic rights to life, property and human dignity.

Europe and civilised humanity not only failed to provide any assistance, but did not even offer the usual expressions of moral outrage.

In such a political situation, the Armenians had two choices: either to adapt in order to survive, or to revolt.

They chose the latter path. The Armenians were also forced to follow the revolutionary path that all nations who had tasted the bitterness of Turkish rule had taken in the recent past.

At that time, the prevailing view was that "opinion rules the world."

The Europe of that time demanded "additional blood" as the only proof that a given people was worthy of a better fate. And the Armenian people slit their own throats. The Armenian liberation movement began – as a requirement of the historical moment.

2. The revolutionary movement of Western Armenians was soon joined by Russian Armenian university students. In the 1890s, the Dashnaktsutyun party was formed. It was founded by Christopher Mikaelyan, Rostom Zorian and Simon Zavaryan. At first, they wanted to bring together the revolutionary predecessors of Dashnaktsutyun – the Armenakan and Gnchakist parties, whose activities were scattered. They tried to create a union of all the existing liberation forces of the Armenian people. However, this did not succeed, and thus Dashnaktsutyun, instead of becoming a union of Armenian revolutionaries, remained an Armenian revolutionary union.

At the beginning of its existence, this organisation, by its very nature,

It remained so until 1907. Its programmatic goals were as modest as they were clear: to protect the lives, property, and dignity of Western Armenians. In other words, reforms.

She chose Haiduk raids, terror and propaganda as her tactical weapons. Her terrorist weapons were particularly effective. In a short time, it achieved several effective results: for example, the capture of the Ottoman Bank in Istanbul, the Khan-Sor campaign, the assassination attempt on Sultan Abdul Hamid, etc.

"The struggle of the Armenians has shaken European public opinion," wrote French newspapers in connection with the assassination attempt on the sultan.

The Dashnaktsutyun also took a decisive stand when the tsarist government was about to confiscate church property. It played a saving role during the Armenian-Tatar clashes, when tsarism tried to keep the working masses of the Caucasus away from participating in the looming Russian revolution by provoking interethnic strife.

The revolutionary haiduk was tempered in the revolutionary struggle and became the embodiment of selflessness and self-sacrifice. The haiduks of the early period can be placed on a par with our classical patriots without betraying our heroic past.

Armenian revolutionary intellectuals enjoyed no less authority: they were sons of the people who shared its sorrows. For them, as for the hayduks, the national cause was sacred, and they considered it their duty and honour to serve it.

The Dashnaktsutyun owed its popularity and heroism in its early period to these two categories of revolutionaries, whose presence was due to the exceptional morality of the founders of the Dashnaktsutyun.

They were truly great: known for the almost military asceticism of their lifestyle, they looked danger straight in the eye and enjoyed unquestionable authority. Self-sacrifice was the highest law for them. All of them were deprived of a personal life and died in the dangerous revolutionary struggle.

It is impossible to draw a parallel between the original and current leaders of Dashnaktsutyun, between the haidouks of that time and the Mauserists who replaced them, without feeling admiration.

the former and a deep aversion to the latter.

Indeed, what comparison can there be between Nikol Douman and the bandit Dro, the legendary Serob and the skinflint Ter-Minassian (Ruben Pasha)?

3. However, the death of the party's founders and the destruction of its highest intellectuals – theorists and leaders (during the days of the great Armenian tragedy in Istanbul and Turkish Armenia) – spiritually decapitated the Dashnaktsutyun, which degenerated beyond recognition.

The spiritual poverty of the new leaders soon left its mark on the image and activities of Dashnaktsutyun. Being people of small moral calibre, the new leaders proved unworthy of their predecessors, for whom the main principle of life – both in the historical past and during their lifetime – was the sanctity of the ideas to which they had devoted themselves and with which they had embarked on the Armenian liberation movement. To their inability to lead the revolutionary movement, the new leaders added a hypocritical (two-faced) mentality, as a result of which Dashnaktsutyun no longer produced skilled leadership. Its bureau never rose to the occasion. Mediocre bosses became the successors of the ideological leaders.

The Dashnaktsutyun became a "patronage" party, and since "patronage" always leads to factionalism ("clanism") due to well-known psychological laws, Dashnaktsutyun thereby lost its ideological and organisational unity and monolithism.

The unified Dashnaktsutyun party ceased to exist: Dashnaktsutyun factions emerged, and a deep split occurred.

"Patronage" is always accompanied by careerism, greed and pettiness.

"Patronage" is incapable of devoting itself entirely to an idea, incapable of generating the enthusiasm without which no revolutionary undertaking is possible; it is the enemy of conscience, i.e., those typical traits without which leadership becomes a mere caricature of itself.

This is what Dashnaktsutyun became after the death of its founders, this is what it was like during the First Republic, and this is what it is like now, when it has been stripped of all its revolutionary, militant and national attributes.

4. Deprived of a historically and philosophically grounded worldview, the Dashnak leadership did not understand the dialectics of social

phenomena, nor did it understand the laws of society in order to act accordingly.

It surrendered to chance and acted detached from reality, without taking into account the specific conditions of place and time.

In 1907, it adopted socialism, which was not only a utopia, but was also intended to be merely propaganda. Dashnak socialism did not become a living reality, as the necessary (appropriate) conditions were lacking.

It did not stem from our social environment and, having turned into social quietism<sup>1</sup>, served only as a convenient topic for the caustic satire of the prominent Western Armenian writer and satirist Yervand Otyan.

The ideological rebranding of Dashnaktsutyun, its "salon" socialism, did not benefit the Armenian labourer in any way, but caused great harm to the Armenian liberation struggle.

The political confrontation between the Armenian parties deeply divided the Armenian people, weakening their resistance at a time when, in connection with the revolutionary events taking place in Turkey, the Armenian people needed to be united, cohesive and capable of self-defence.

The active part of the Armenian community, to the delight of our external enemies, wasted its time and energy on the internal front, while the Armenians of Western Armenia, fighting against the Sultan's tyranny, begged them to send leaders and ammunition.

Engulfed in internal strife, they gave the enemy the opportunity to relentlessly and with impunity continue its policy of exterminating the Armenians.

The Armenians of the Caucasus should have acted as a political rear and a reserve force for the struggling Turkish Armenians. Instead of further strengthening their rear and making the most of it, the Dashnaktsutyun raised the banner of socialism, thereby significantly complicating the vital task of transferring combat forces and weapons to Western Armenia.

Having launched a revolutionary struggle against Sultanism, Dashnaktsutyun should at the same time have tried to at least ensure the delivery of material aid provided by the Armenian bourgeoisie.

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<sup>1</sup> An indifferent and speculative attitude towards reality.

Internal strife among Armenian parties and the Dashnaks' socialism made this impossible.

Revolution and revolutionary struggle are not just topics for propaganda: they must be prepared for. And Dashnaktsutyun did not prepare for the struggle. In short, Dashnaktsutyun grossly violated the basic requirements of revolutionary strategy.

Even before the struggle began, it failed to organise it psychologically and materially. That is why the revolutionary battles in Turkish Armenia were tragically heroic but ineffective.

5. Both the worldview and the policies of Dashnaktsutyun have always been contradictory, but the most glaring contradiction is the fact that, even after adopting socialism, it harnessed itself to the chariot of European imperialism to resolve the Armenian question (as Grigor Artsruni and the Mshakists had done in their time).

It was expected that, after its failures, the Dashnak leadership would thoroughly review the pros and cons of its own activities in exile.

Yes, this was expected, but it did not happen, although all national and public organisations with a sense of responsibility resort to analysing the path they have taken in order to avoid further mistakes and disasters.

Unfortunately, the Dashnak leadership has always lacked a sense of responsibility.

That is why its mistakes took on the proportions of a national disaster. Dashnak congresses dealt with trivial issues, but did not review the nature of the party's actions. Some revisionist attempts by intelligent Dashnak youth were unsuccessful.

Attempts were made to clarify responsibility for the massacre of Armenians in Tarun (1915 – Shusha), Nakhichevan and Shusha (1920) and for the Karasun disaster. Even during the Dashnak rule in Armenia, attempts were made to identify and punish the murderers and, in particular, the instigator of the murder of Interior Minister Karchikyan (who at that time was trying to subdue the Mauserists).

Cases were opened into the murders of the leader of the Persian revolutionary movement, Yeprem Khan, and the legendary hero of Taron, Gevorg Chaush.

However, these attempts were stifled in their infancy by the Dashnak leadership.

The Dashnak Bureau does not recognise any judicial authority other than itself and brutally persecutes all those who, out of patriotic motives, raise any question of responsibility.

All the rebellions that periodically arose within the Dashnaksutyun party included the anti-party demonstrations led by Vard Patrickyan and Safo in 1906–1907 in the Balkans, the Migranakan movement in 1908 in Tiflis, Levon Atabekyan's separatist movement<sup>1</sup> in 1909 in Baku, the movement of Andranik<sup>2</sup> and Smbat<sup>3</sup> in 1917 in Tiflis, the movement of Ferakhyan and Shaan Natali<sup>4</sup>, the Martkozakan rebellion<sup>5</sup>, a similar rebellion led by Nikola Agbalyan<sup>6</sup> and Levon Shanta<sup>7</sup> in 1936-37 in Syria, and finally, the movement I started in 1937 in Bulgaria – all these are manifestations of patriotic and revolutionary consciousness. And some individuals, who are responsible for national disasters, not only remain unpunished to this day thanks to their membership in the Dashnak party, but also continue to hold leading party positions.

Contrary to its formalism and ostensible democracy, the Dashnak leadership does not tolerate criticism from party comrades. However, instead of constructive criticism, intrigue, slander and factionalism (clannism) have taken on monstrous proportions in the leadership circles.

The relations between the members of the Bureau are indescribably intolerant and cold when it comes to a mixed Bureau, which includes leaders from two camps. In this case, the internal conflict is completely

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<sup>1</sup> Levon Atabekyan (1875-1918) was a political figure who was initially a member of the Dashnaksutyun party and later became a social revolutionary. He was a member of the Transcaucasian Commissariat and the Transcaucasian Seimas.

<sup>2</sup> Andranik Ozanian (1865-1927) – a well-known figure in the national liberation movement, one of the leaders of the Haidouk movement. During the First Balkan War, together with G. Nzhdeh, he led an Armenian volunteer company, and in 1914-18 he was commander of the First Armenian Volunteer Detachment. From the beginning of the 20th century, he had ideological differences with the leadership of Dashnaksutyun.

<sup>3</sup> This refers to Smbat Boroyan.

<sup>4</sup> Matevos Ferakyan and Shaan Natalie were leaders of a socio-political movement in the diaspora in the 1920s and 1930s, whose goal was to fight against the leadership of the Dashnaksutyun.

<sup>5</sup> The newspaper Martnots was published in Paris in 1932-33.

<sup>6</sup> Agbalyan Nikol (1873-1947) – renowned literary scholar and public figure. From 1930, he lived in Beirut and served as director of a seminary. He had disagreements with the leadership of the Dashnaksutyun party.

<sup>7</sup> Levon Shant (Sekhbosyan) (1869-1951) – renowned writer and public figure.

paralyse the work of the Bureau. This was precisely the situation in Dashnaktsutyun until the 12th party congress in Paris, where a unified Bureau was elected. Now the highest body of Dashnaktsutyun is once again divided into two camps. Dro participates in it as a representative of Simon Vratyan's group. Ter-Minasyan's Bureau hates Dro.

In the eyes of Dr. Oganjanyan and Navasardyan<sup>1</sup> Dro is the embodiment of a "gyad" capable of any crime. In a letter addressed to me, Ter-Minasyan called Dro a "traitor to the Armenian people" who "provoked the massacre of Armenians in Turkey with his voluntary attacks." Despite this, Ter-Minasyan's Bureau included Dro in its membership in 1938 in order to "buy" the silence of Vratyan, who, for his part, raised the issue of the massacre of Armenians in Taron (Mush) in the magazine "Vem", which he edited.

In fact, in this case, Ter-Minasyan behaved towards Dro exactly as he had at the end of 1919, when he needed to secure the post of Minister of War, which Dro was also seeking.

The best way to remove Dro from Yerevan at that time was considered to be sending him to Nagorno-Karabakh with a mission to organise an uprising there against Musavatist Azerbaijan. We know the consequences: the massacre of Armenians by Musavatist forces in Shusha and more than a dozen Armenian settlements. Everyone was outraged by Dro, the Karabakh people demanded that he be brought to justice, but Dro continued to "revel in the gardens of Yerevan" without a care in the world.

Thus, Ter-Minasyan became minister at the cost of the blood of the Karabakh people. And this time, in order for Ter-Minasyan to continue to sit quietly in his post at the Bureau, Dro was given the opportunity to plunge our people into the abyss of new disasters.

During the last World War, Dro would have been less active if he had not been a member of the Bureau. Those who included him in the Bureau knew this. They knew that Dro could easily have betrayed his homeland. Nevertheless, they gave him a place in the Bureau so that Simon Vratyan would not completely lift the veil on the reasons for the massacre of Armenians in Taron. A veil behind which Ter-Minasyan hides.

6. It was also expected that Dashnaktsutyun would reconsider its worldview and methods of activity in exile, adapting them to the spirit of our

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<sup>1</sup>Amo Oganjanyan and Vaan Navasardyan were among the leaders of Dashnaktsutyun in the 1930s and 1940s.

But here, too, the hopes of those who suffered from the emptiness and facelessness

of Armenian life did not come true.

Instead of bringing a modicum of consciousness to his thinking and activities, and clarifying the party's ideological image, the secretary (clerk) of the Bureau, Ter-Minasyan, applied yet another layer of plaster to the party's worldview. In 1935, his pamphlet "The Organisation of the ARD" was published. This pamphlet gives the impression that its author is a sworn enemy of the Dashnaktsutyun and that he has decided to morally disfigure and kill the Dashnaktsutyun. Arguing that Dashnaktsutyun had no theorists and still does not feel the need for them, that the Dashnaktsutyun programme encompasses various doctrines, from petty bourgeoisie to communism, he makes an unconditional conclusion: for

Dashnaktsutyun, neither morality, nor theoretical training, nor party seniority matter.

What is most valuable? "Discipline," replies Ter-Minasyan. And what is discipline? In all cases: Ter-Minasyan and his ilk must remain unpunished, and ordinary members must remain silent.

7. In exile, Dashnaktsutyun – due to the vagueness of its worldview, political incompetence, and lack of responsibility – has become and continues to be a corrupting and destructive force.

Among the most unforgivable acts of Dashnaktsutyun are political assassinations, which further divided Armenians abroad.

The Dashnaktsutyun, like its political opponents, the Gnchakhyans and Ramkavars, indirectly encourages the assimilation of Armenians, particularly the younger generation. A people divided within itself tends to display its negative traits more prominently, becoming more repulsive in the eyes of the people of the country where it has found temporary refuge. When hatred of foreigners becomes a prevailing phenomenon, basic wisdom and national dignity require Armenian political parties to be as cautious as possible.

Our people have not only been politically deceived, but also morally slandered in Europe and America. Therefore, Armenians had to act as "racially conscious beings," that is, as Marx says, "beings who

who treats the race (the people) as he treats himself." This is required of a biologically moral people. A people that complicates its own self-defence is worthy of contempt, worthy of its fate, however difficult it may be. From this point of view, Dashnaktsutyun, as a powerful organisation of the Diaspora, bears the greatest guilt. What is called Armenian propaganda abroad is nothing more than whining, begging for mercy, and evoking only pity and growing contempt from foreigners.

The Dashnak leadership has no concept of true propaganda. It displays its current spiritual rags, calling it propaganda.

It failed to use the potential power of the Armenian people during the revolution because it did not know its own people, and now it is unable to promote true national values because it lacks a thorough knowledge of Armenian history and the philosophy behind that history.

Even if one or another pro-Armenian book has been published over the last quarter of a century, its author was a foreigner.

The Dashnaktsutyun did nothing for the so-called Armenian-Filian propaganda. It had no time for that. It was busy with the thankless task of denigrating Andranik. In order to discredit Andranik, Dashnaktsutyun commissioned the publication of a two-volume work (about 1,000 pages). Sepukh's memoirs, devoted entirely to Andranik, are a reprehensible attempt to knock this national hero off his pedestal of glory. As soon as Andranik left Dashnaktsutyun, he immediately became a "drunkard," a "coward," someone who "bargained in advance for his participation on this or that front," someone who "reaped great laurels through insignificant actions," and so on.

Every effort was made to "embellish" Andranik with Don Quixote-like qualities, without realising that this was actually mocking the Armenian liberation movement, as the Armenian people consider Andranik a symbol of their liberation struggle.

All those nations and parties that treat their heroism and heroes lightly are in decline.

This spiritual barbarism has had the most corrosive effect...

impact on our younger generation.

In 1921, the day after I left Zangezur, on the Persian bank of the Araks River, I committed an act of "tactlessness" by punishing two Dashnak ministers, Akop Ter-Akopian and Efrem Sargsyan, who were also members of the Supreme Body that replaced the Bureau. A few days after this incident, I received a letter from S. Vratyan, which said: "Stop your Andranik-like antics! Andranik behaved just like you, and now he is wandering helplessly around Europe. The party had high hopes for you. Listen to your old comrades. If you don't, it will be worse for you. I only know that people rise with great difficulty, over many years, but fall in a single second" (letter from S. Vratyan dated 24 July 1921, Tauris). Thus, I was already being treated ungratefully, threatened with being discredited in an instant, with being brought down, because I had whipped two cowards. Yes, I did not take into account that the Dashnak leaders enjoy some kind of privileged position and are free from any responsibility. I was threatened with the fate of Andranik.

On the day I received the above letter, I deeply regretted not shooting these two members of the Supreme Body of Dashnaktsutyun instead of flogging them.

"Dashnaktsutyun". On the same day, I felt myself distanced and detached from "Dashnaktsutyun".

8. "Dashnaktsutyun for Dashnaks!" Outside Armenia, the Bureau remained faithful to this slogan.

In exile, it did not have a definite consistent political line, or, more precisely, it was consistent only in terms of self-preservation, ideologically remaining on the old "rails" of the Russian populists.

Dashnaktsutyun did not base its political line on the exceptional situation of the Armenian people. With criminal carelessness, Dashnaktsutyun ignored the dangers threatening our people: Turkish (in Western Armenia) and assimilation (for Armenians abroad). Many of its members are convinced that the idea of Armenia's ostensible independence independence of Armenia could become its gravedigger.

They know this, but so far, self-serving partisanship and party egoism have prevented the Dashnak leadership from entering into a thoughtful relationship with the Soviet authorities.

A patriot who in all cases links his patriotism to one regime or another in his homeland is not a true patriot.

Personally, I campaigned against the Soviets, but my hostility towards Soviet power was not due to the existing system, but solely to the favouritism that the Soviets showed towards Turkey. Moreover, my propaganda was never anti-

Armenian in nature; on the contrary, I considered Armenians abroad to be subjects and fighters of Armenia, regardless of their social, political, and religious affiliation.

The teachings of Tsegakron bear witness to this truth.

This concept of our national morality did not allow me, while in exile, to ever send anyone to Armenia on any mission.

The Dashnaktsutyun did not officially join Prometheus (this was prevented by ordinary party members), but the urgent discussion – on the eve of the last war – by the Dashnak Bureau on the revision of Armenian-Turkish relations confirmed that it was incapable of learning from its own mistakes.

It is now attempting to build closer ties with the Turks, without considering that attempts to find common ground with the Turks in the current circumstances mean losing the Armenian question on moral grounds. This political act, prompted by its own weakness, deeply demoralises Armenians abroad and causes revulsion among civilised humanity.

The fact that England is now a friend of Turkey in no way justifies the apostasy (renunciation) of the Dashnaktsutyun.

As a first-class imperialist power, England continues to pursue its traditional colonial policy, and it has many reasons to patronise the Turks – at the expense of Armenian blood.

For more than a hundred years, England has periodically declared that its flag flies over the seas of the Middle East in order to protect the independence of its long-standing ally, Turkey.

"Wherever our guns reach, our allies must be respected," wrote English newspapers during the Russo-Turkish War.

If the Armenians wanted English cannons to reach the shores of the Araks, they, as the weaker side, would be forced to respect...

Turkey as an ally of England.

The Dashnaktsutyun now faces a dilemma: "with whom to be" — with the Turks or with the great Russian people. It would be a traitor if it did not respond decisively: "With the Russians — against Turkey."

It is precisely this political orientation that our national and human dignity and the interests of ensuring the physical existence of the Armenian people demand.

9. In the second war, the Dashnak Bureau presented a divided front. What was the reason for this: adventurism or a deliberately duplicitous policy?

On this issue, I am inclined to accept the second option: the Dashnak leadership is characterised by recklessness.

The fact that Dro repeatedly convened meetings in the Balkans, Paris, and Berlin and established a political committee demonstrates that he was unable to secure the Bureau's official approval for his adventurous undertaking. Both before and after his conflict with Sarkis Araratyan, Dro continued to try to secure his rear in case of failure. He did not even stop at attempting to provoke the Armenian people. As a result, he ended up betraying his homeland.

10. The reason for the unprecedented misfortunes that have befallen our people, both in the historical past and in modern times, is the notorious insurmountable Armenian individualism, conditioned by our history and geographical location, centuries of slavery. This spiritual trait, especially in a small nation like ours, becomes a source of evil, turning the individual into an anarchist in the most negative sense of the word. The Dashnak intelligentsia of the last period, captive to Europeanism, instead of overcoming individualism in themselves, proclaimed it a positive spiritual quality and tried to develop this individualistic-anarchistic element in themselves even more.

There is no greater evil for the people than a leader who professes individualism. He easily becomes an enemy of collective efforts and interests. Such a leader pursues his personal rights rather than his duties. His ideal is solitary personal happiness.

Today, these are the people who are called upon to lead the party of Christofoor and Rostom.

11. a) Uncertainty of worldview, b) political incompetence, and  
c) insufficient sense of responsibility – these are the three evils that have catastrophically affected our people and Dashnaktsutyun itself.  
The Dashnaktsutyun is now a dying phenomenon.  
Its existence is now useless, illogical, unnecessary. It is at odds with the current era. It must disappear.  
With this in mind, I left Dashnaktsutyun.

*Ter-Harutyunyan G.  
January 1947. Internal  
prison of the MGB of the  
Armenian SSR*

### *Dashnaktsutyun in Bulgaria*

1. Dashnaktsutyun in Bulgaria is one of the oldest organisations of this party in the region.

Its founders, Christopher Mikaelyan and Rostom Zorian<sup>1</sup> took their first revolutionary steps in this country. Bulgaria served as a base for Dashnaktsutyun's anti-Turkish activities. It was here that the Armenian-Macedonian brotherhood arose as a common front against the Sultan's Turkey.

All preparatory work for the armed invasion of the Ottoman Bank branch in Istanbul and the assassination attempt on Sultan Hamid was carried out in Bulgaria. It was during this period that the first split in the Dashnaktsutyun occurred. After the famous failed assassination attempt in Istanbul, two of its participants, Safo and Chris, dissatisfied with the party's actions, began to incite ordinary Dashnaks against the Bureau. In 1906, the newspaper *Sharzhum* (Movement), clearly directed against the Bureau, began to be published in Varna under the editorship of the well-known revolutionary figure Vard Patrikian. A significant number of rank-and-file members left

Dashnaktsutyun and joined Vardar Patrikian's movement. In 1917, the latter was killed by a Dashnak terrorist. Thus, a rift appeared in Dashnaktsutyun.

2. In 1906, Bulgaria was still a vassal state dependent on Turkey. With the permission of the Bulgarian government, Dashnaktsutyun organised military courses at the historic Rila Monastery, where Bulgarian officers began training about 50 young revolutionaries. The aim of the courses was to send them as military instructors to carry out preparatory work in the Armenian-populated areas of Asian and European Turkey.

One of the leaders of these courses Panov<sup>2</sup>, began to criticise the Dashnak leadership's style of activity among the cadets. He managed to completely divide them into two factions: supporters and opponents of the Bureau. An investigation established that Panov was collaborating with the Tiflis mshakakans, who at that time were waging a fierce struggle against the Dashnaktsutyun. The Bureau sentenced Panov to death. He left Rila and disappeared. During the First World War, acting in

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<sup>1</sup> Kristofor Mikaelyan and Rostom Zorian, together with Simon Zavaryan, were the founders of the Dashnaktsutyun party.

<sup>2</sup> This refers to Rashid Ter-Matevosyan, a fellow villager of G. Nzhdeh.

the ranks of the Bulgarian army, he proved himself to be a first-class tactician. After the war, he disappeared again.

3. In 1907, with the permission of the Bulgarian Ministry of War, I was admitted to the officer training school, despite the ban on admitting foreign nationals.

My goal was to devote myself to the anti-Turkish struggle after graduation. In 1912, the Bulgarian government entrusted me with organising an Armenian volunteer company, which fought in the Balkan War alongside the Bulgarian army (under my command and the military leadership of Andranik). This company achieved great success, which was reflected in laudatory articles about the exploits of the Armenian volunteers by Trotsky, who was then living in Sofia as an emigrant. This Armenian company was not political in nature. It was created by Bulgarian Armenians. However, Dashnaktsutyun took advantage of its prestige to a considerable extent.

During the preliminary Bulgarian-Greek negotiations in London, Tsar Ferdinand, taking into account the participation of Armenian volunteers in the Balkan War, made a pro-Armenian gesture – he also raised the issue of the safety of Armenians living in Turkey.

On the eve of the First World War, having received amnesty from the tsarist government, Andranik and I, together with a large number of volunteers, returned to the Caucasus to take part in the impending war against Turkey.

Until 1914, Andranik lived in Bulgaria, in a town near Varna, in isolation and deeply dissatisfied with the Dashnak leadership. He communicated with Dashnak activists E. Aladzhali and Gukas Minasyan, who were also dissatisfied with the Dashnak leadership. It was already apparent that Andranik was gradually distancing himself psychologically from Dashnaktsutyun. He arrived in the Caucasus as an irreconcilable opponent of the Bureau. His subsequent actions and struggles can be explained by the deep disappointment he experienced in Bulgaria.

4. In 1919, the first consulate of the Republic of Armenia opened in Sofia. Understandably, this was supposed to increase the prestige of the Dashnak-Tsutyun. However, this rise lasted only until the Sovietisation of Armenia, as a result of which anti-Dashnak elements in Bulgaria revived and became more active. Petty inter-party squabbles arose again over the church and school, the parish and board of trustees. The diocesan council contributed most to the incitement of group passions. Disputes began between the old-timers and the newcomers (refugees), Bulgarians

subjects and Nansenites (who were provided with passports from the Nansen Bureau at the League of Nations, which did not grant them citizenship).

Groups seeking dominance in a particular institution are not guided by any particular political doctrine, but think only of securing personal connections and interests. Thanks to their official status, diocesan and parish councils always know how to use their connections with the Bulgarian authorities to further their own social well-being. These elements are known in Bulgaria for their hypocrisy: pretending to be friends and ideological allies of any regime, regardless of the nature of its policies.

A prominent representative of this category is Grigor Zakaryan, an ignorant rich man who, as chairman of the diocesan council for 15 years, deprived the Armenians of the Bulgarian colony of their national passports, i.e. their basic right to participate in elections, thus making them appear politically unreliable in the eyes of the Bulgarian authorities.

Before the start of World War II, he tolerated the Gnchakists in the diocesan council, but as soon as the Germans appeared, he unceremoniously expelled the Gnchakists and invited the Dashnaks.

Armenians in Bulgaria also have their own cultural, sports and charitable organisations, a non-partisan society for the relief of the poor (around which women from the wealthy class have gathered), a union of women artisans, the Knar (Lyra) choir, formed from representatives of all movements, the Brotherhood of Caucasian Armenians, which strives to help its poor members, and the Armenian Physical Culture Union (including scouts), which is divided, not on ideological grounds, but as a result of rallying around one leader or another, regardless of his party affiliation.

5. The Dashnaktsutyun always had its own Central Committee and press organ in Bulgaria – a weekly or daily newspaper. The last one was the newspaper Azat Khosk, edited by Onik Mkhitarian. During this period, there was no end to internal discontent and strife.

In 1926, local party organisations split into supporters of Nzhdeh and the Bureau. This split in Dashnaktsutyun in Bulgaria was a signal for the party to split in other regions as well – America, France, Greece.

In those days, my book "The Struggle of Sons Against Fathers" was published as a response to Ruben Ter-Minasyan's book "The Armenian-Turkish Problem." In

In this book, the secretary of the Dashnak Bureau defends the following thesis: it is possible and desirable to find common ground with Turkey. I defend the diametrically opposite view, namely that from the point of view of the interests and future of our people, any reconciliation with Turkey will lead to catastrophic consequences.

This is how the cause of discontent, "boiling" inside the Dashnaktsutyun, manifested itself, as a result of which the question of orientation was publicly raised: with whom – with the Soviet Union or with Turkey, which has England as a powerful protective force behind it? Only Anglophile Armenians seek to find common ground with Turkey.

An Armenian who is opposed to Turkey takes the same position towards England. To find common ground and reconcile with Turkey means openly harnessing oneself to the imperialist chariot of England, declaring war on the Soviet Union at its instigation, i.e., driving a handful of people to suicide.

My book *The Struggle of Sons* was followed by the books *Pantura-ism* and *Can We Reconcile with the Turks* by Zarevanda. They also argue that rapprochement with Turkey is deadly dangerous for the Armenian people. The issues of Armenian-Turkish relations moved from books to the pages of the Armenian press. Has Turkey changed or not? This is the question our newspapers are trying to answer.

Those who believe that Turkey has progressed and changed significantly, that it is no longer the Turkey of old, advise making friends with it as soon as possible. Those who hold the opposite view warn the Armenian people to stay away from Turkey. For about two decades before World War II, Dashnak journalism discussed the same question: has Turkey changed or not?

6. I left Dashnaktsutyun in 1937, having made serious accusations against the Bureau at the party congress. In Sofia, the newspaper *Razmik* (Warrior) and the monthly magazine *Taroni Artsiv* (Eagle of Taron) began to be published by those who had left Dashnaktsutyun. The latter was the official organ of the Taron-Turubaran regional union, which had several tens of thousands of members. The propaganda carried out by both organs was clearly revisionist in nature, aiming to create a powerful mass organisation among Armenians abroad called "Armenian Iredentism," which, by taking upon itself the resolution of the issue of the Armenian territories of Turkey, would make the existence of the Dashnaktsutyun unnecessary and thus spiritually bind all segments of Armenians abroad to Soviet Armenia. "Dashnaktsutyun" superfluous and thus spiritually bind all segments of the Armenian diaspora to Soviet Armenia.

The Dashnak bureau began to carry out its usual threats: letters were sent to the editor of the newspaper Razmik and the magazine Taroni Artsiv, Hayk Asatryan, demanding that the publication of both of these organs be stopped, which, however, became even more active after that, conducting parallel propaganda.

I carried out certain practical work on preparing and convening the first congress of those who had left the Dashnaktsutyun and sympathised with our movement in the Balkans, Greece (Thessaloniki region), America, Iran, France and Romania. The Turkish press showed an understandable attitude towards our movement. The newspapers Cumhuriyet and Zaman attacked me: "The Serpent is at work," "General Nzhdeh is trying to create a Greater Armenia." In these articles, Turkish newspapers advised their government to appeal to the Bulgarian authorities to demand my expulsion from Bulgaria. With this state of affairs, World War II broke out.

7. In the first days of the war, an anti-Armenian movement began in Bulgaria. Some Bulgarian national organisations – Kurbat, the Legionnaires reserve officers, the Union of Non-Commissioned Officers, etc. – adopted anti-Armenian resolutions at their annual congresses, demanding that the laws adopted in relation to Jews also apply to Armenians. In the National Assembly, some deputies made anti-Armenian speeches (Professor Stoyanov and others). The most widely read newspaper

Zara attacked Armenians as Bolshevik elements. The magazine Voennaya Mysl wrote: "Expel the Armenians from the country!"

The situation was particularly critical for Armenians in Thrace, where they were given 150 grams of bread per day. Armenians were forbidden to move from one district to another. During those days, the Armenians of Romania organised peaceful mourning demonstrations in their churches, as President Antonescu ordered the expulsion of Armenians from Bucharest and other cities with large Armenian populations in connection with the arrest of several Freemasons.

In France, Professor Marshall demanded that "the Armenians be rounded up and thrown into the sea."

The German newspapers Wiener Tageblatt and Allgemeine Zeitung published articles that were extremely disparaging to Armenians, justifying the massacre and expulsion of Armenians during the previous war. Turkish radio broadcast insinuations that the Armenian Patriarch of Jerusalem and another clergyman, who had arrived from Soviet Armenia,

formed volunteer legions in Syria to fight against the German army under the banners of the Soviets and England.

In Germany, the question of the non-Aryan origin of Armenians was officially raised. Finally, as a result of these anti-Armenian provocations in Berlin, it was officially announced that the Armenians had finally sided with Germany's enemies and that the relevant ministry in Berlin was now investigating the matter and, if it turned out that all Armenians were opposed to Germany, the German government would take the most severe measures against them. To avert this danger, the Bulgarian-Armenian Cultural Committee (chaired by Professor Katsarov, with me as vice-chairman) drafted a memorandum favourable to the Armenians, signed by prominent Bulgarian statesmen and public figures, and presented it to the German Embassy in Sofia.

This memorandum spoke of the Aryan origin of the Armenians and their great contribution to world civilisation.

The memorandum asked Hitler to take measures to prevent the deportation and massacre of Armenians, which had taken place during the previous war.

The German ambassador and the Bulgarian authorities advised sending someone to Berlin to provide the necessary explanations on the spot and save the Armenians from the fate of the Jews. At the request of the Bulgarian-Armenian Committee and the Armenians of Sofia, I left for Berlin.

8. As soon as the German-Soviet war began, Dro Kanyan appeared on the scene as a member of the Bureau on behalf of Dashnaktsutyun. First of all, he convened a meeting in Bucharest, which was attended by delegates from Greece and Bulgaria. Aram Hakobyan and Hakob Injeyan were present at the meeting. After this meeting, Dro's closest associate, Hovhannes Devedjian, arrived in Bulgaria to work with the Armenian population from Romania. He began compiling lists of soldiers, craftsmen, doctors, and representatives of other professions, while simultaneously conducting pro-German propaganda. A political committee was established in Romania, which began collecting huge sums of money for the yet-to-be-created Armenian Corps (whose commander was appointed to be Kanyan). Having completed these activities, Dro left for Germany, where he soon added his characteristic fraud to his pro-German activities.

In order to give himself more weight, he took it upon himself to do more than the political committee had committed to doing. He did not take into account the situation of Armenians in the North Caucasus at the time. From the point of view

national interests, Dro continued to take steps that were dishonest and destructive for us.

In collaboration with some German officers, he became involved in large-scale robbery scams. Dro began collecting gold and silver and amassed millions. In addition, he presented a forged document with a fake signature from the Dashnak Bureau to some German institutions. Upon learning of Dro's shady dealings, Araratyan had a conflict with him and reported this to the Central Committee of Dashnaktsutyun in France, after which he returned to Romania, withdrew from the political committee and spoke out against Dro Kanyan's unprecedented adventure.

After some time, the majority of the Dashnak Central Committee in France also spoke out against Dro. For the sake of self-defence, Dro again "organised" a meeting in Berlin with the participation of delegates from three regional Dashnak organisations.

In those days, in order to restrain Dro, Dr. Aik Asatryan and I signed and sent Araratyan (who at that time had not yet left the Dashnaktsutyun) an indictment against Kanyan, threatening to bring him to public trial if he did not return from the Eastern Front. Our letter was delivered to Dro Kanyan by David Davidhanyan, a member of the political committee. In order to raise his standing with the Germans and with the base desire to destroy Araratyan and me with their hands, Dro passed our letter on to the SS.

Driven by a mad desire to amass wealth, Dro remained unbridled.

Araratyan left the Dashnaktsutyun.

*G. Ter-Harutyunyan*

*1947*

*Internal prison*

*MGB of the Armenian SSR*

*Investigation materials on Devedzhian O.A.*

Letter from Devedzhian O.A.

*After reading, send to V<sup>1</sup>.*

*Documentary translation from Armenian*

*19 March 1946*

*Bucharest*

Letter from Devedzhian, intended for delivery to the Vatican representative in Bucharest.

*Dear Sirs!*

Since the beginning of this second world war, communication with you has been interrupted. For over six years now, we have not known what stages the party has gone through. We are subjected to new trials and tribulations, and we do not know when this chain of misfortunes will end.

Here is a brief account of our life after the Red Army entered the Balkans. Both in the Balkan Central Committee and in the Carpathian region, from the moment the Red Army entered, Bolshevik elements seized national power by force, as well as public and party clubs with all their property, archives and money.

At first, some believed that this would end all hostility from the communists towards their ideological opponents, and indeed, for several months there was no persecution. But from the end of October 1944, arrests began among Bulgarian Dashnaktsutyun and Tsegakron members.

Our comrades were arrested in Sofia: Aram Akopian, Onik Mkhitarian, Levon Gazandzhyan (from the physical culture movement), in Philippopolis – Karo Kazarosyan, in Ruschuk – Harutyun Muradyan (editor of the newspaper Araks).

Also arrested in Sofia: Garegin Nzhdeh, Hayk Asatryan, Nerses Ast-Vatsatryan, Armenak Muratov, a total of 20 people. All of them were taken to Russia.

We have no information yet about the fate of our comrades arrested in Bulgaria. The party and the Bulgarian Central Committee have been dissolved, and everyone has gone into hiding.

After the arrests in Bulgaria, we warned our Carpathian comrades

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<sup>1</sup>This refers to Simon Vratyan.

to be cautious, but not everyone was able to escape the imminent danger.

On the evening of 28 December 1944, with the participation of Armenian and Russian security officers, the following comrades were arrested: A. Siruni, Ruben Israelyan, Pekhuti (a native of Vienna, factory owner and member of the church council), Khachik Yegheyan (teacher), Serop Suryan (merchant, former volunteer), Gevork Kostanyan (merchant), Vartan Arakelian, Vaan... (lawyer), Arutyun Apanak-chyan (former teacher, editor of the newspaper Nor Mamul).

These arrests had a profound effect on the Armenian population. A group of prominent comrades who had escaped arrest were nevertheless careless and, on the evening of 24 April 1945, were also arrested: Hovhannes Panikyan (a former teacher and national figure), brothers Sarkis and Zaven Saruni, brothers Yervand and Vagharshak Ovnian (merchants).

Also arrested as nationalists were Smbat Motindjian (merchant), Levon Harutyunyan (son of Dr. Harutyun), and Jirair Garashanyan (young teacher and editor of the newspaper Chakat).

The arrests show that the blow was directed against:

1. The Dashnak intelligentsia (teachers, editors, lawyers)
2. Those sympathetic to the Dashnak party (merchants),
3. The party's armed forces.

Our local activists have been arrested in Constanta: Apet Gasparyan (merchant), Hovhannes Sahakyan (teacher, former officer in the Armenian army), Grigor Oganessian (merchant) and Comrade Khosrov (merchant).

Some groups of comrades in both Constanta and Bucharest are being persecuted and are in great danger.

Comrades Suren (Orteyan), Efrem Sarkisyan, and Tate Petrosyan are staying with David, where "Koms" <sup>1</sup>is also located.

We know nothing about their fate. For over a year, we had no information about those who had been arrested, but a couple of months ago we received a postcard from Gurgen Sargsyan and the Saruni brothers, in which they write that they are in Moscow.

The rest of our comrades are also in Moscow. A month ago, I received a postcard from Comrade Siruni, in which he writes that he will soon send us his new address.

From this we conclude that he has been tried and convicted, that he owes...

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<sup>1</sup>This refers to Vahan Papazyan.

leave Moscow. This was confirmed by a postcard from Vartan Arakelyan, in which he wrote, "See you in 10 years." He was sentenced to 10 years of exile in Yekaterinburg (in the Urals region). Vartan Arakelyan was one of those comrades who had participated little in party life over the past 10 years; he was considered a staunch supporter of Russian orientation. This is what Bolshevik "justice" means.

Some of those arrested are not members of the Dashnak party and have not even been involved in political activity. Our comrades, however, have fallen victim to their ideology – their membership of the Dashnak party – even though throughout the war they did not work against Russia and were supporters of the Anglo-Saxon nations and their bloc, to which Russia also belonged.

This is a general picture of our life.

After some initial hesitation, on the initiative and under the responsibility of the signatory of this document, a compact body has been created with the following objectives:

1. If necessary, provide moral and material assistance to the families of those who have been exiled;
2. Try to keep up the spirits of your mates;
3. To follow political developments and keep comrades informed;
4. Seek a base among Romanian political circles for the future;
5. Establish contact with foreign political central bodies.

After the Russian army entered Romania, communist and "HOK"<sup>1</sup> elements in Bucharest created an organisation called "Aias-tani chakat", whose members also include neutral persons from all walks of life (merchants, craftsmen, intellectuals).

These individuals, wishing to preserve their physical existence, cooperate with this organisation in the hope of escaping the blows of the Cheka. All the more so because the leaders of this organisation are informers.

Dozens of Dashnaks also joined this organisation in the hope of escaping the fate of their leading comrades.

The black character of today is the editor of the newspaper Pak, Harutyun Papayan, who is most likely a traitor and the author of the list used to make arrests.

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<sup>1</sup>HOK – Hayastani Ognutyun Komite (Armenian Relief Committee).

He enjoys the trust of the Soviet embassy and appears to be he is the general secretary of Hayastani Chakat and retains this position as a result of direct support from the Russian embassy in the person of First Secretary Savva Dangulov (Saak Arutyunovich Dangulyan) and with Dangulov's direct participation in the general meetings of the Armenian Front.

In sending our first message for your information, we believe that it should not be published in the press, thereby exacerbating the already difficult situation of our arrested comrades.

The address written at the end of the letter in another comrade's handwriting is provided for communication with us. Please do not send letters by post.

We await detailed information about the political and party situation and directives.

*With comradely greetings from Marminyan Pirgor<sup>1</sup>*

P.S. Dear Simon, I am convinced that you have not forgotten Pirgor. Warm regards to my fellow countryman Amatuni, as well as to dear Ognyan and Madame Shushik. Ojan has obviously not forgotten the story of the glutton Vardapet.

*Arch. Case No. 11411, Volume 2, p. 22.*

*Decision on  
detention*

*"I approve"*

*Head of the Special Investigation Unit of the SKK  
in Romania, Lieutenant Colonel Belousov  
10 April 1947*

*10 April 1947  
Bucharest*

I, Major Soplin, inspector of the Special Investigation Unit of the SKK in Romania, having examined the materials concerning Devedzhan Ovanes Akopovich, born in 1886, a native of Aleppo <sup>2</sup>(Syria), from a family of poor peasants, ar-

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<sup>1</sup>This is O. Devedjian's pseudonym.

<sup>2</sup>As stated in the document.

, with secondary education, a teacher of Armenian language and literature, a Bulgarian citizen, formerly a journalist, married, residing in Bucharest at 8 Vaselor Street,

Found:

That Devedjian Ovanes has been an active member of the anti-Soviet nationalist organisation known as "Dashnaktsutyun" from 1918 to the present.

A staunch opponent of the Soviet regime, he emigrated to Bulgaria after the establishment of Soviet power in Armenia in 1921, and then moved to Romania in 1935.

While living in Bulgaria and Romania, Devedjian carried out anti-Soviet activities. Since 1943, he has been a member of the committee of the aforementioned organisation in Romania and has been conducting anti-Soviet propaganda.

*Guided by Article 100 of the Criminal Code of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic, it was decided:*

*To detain, search and interrogate Ovanes Akopovich Devedzhian.*

*Inspector Soplin*

### *Search report*

*10 April 1947*

*Bucharest*

We, the undersigned, Major Soplin, inspector of the Special Investigation Department of the SKK in Romania, and Captain Kopylov, inspector of the OI SKK in Romania, in the presence of Junior Sergeant Kachanov, duty officer at the detention centre, conducted a personal search of the detainee Devedzhian Ovanes Akopovich.

The search revealed the following:

1. A Bulgarian passport in the name of Devedzhian N005630, issued by the Bulgarian Embassy in Bucharest, in Bulgarian.
2. Bulgarian identity card in the name of Devedzhian N13383, in Bulgarian.
3. A Romanian passport in the name of Devedzhian N218063, in Romanian language.
4. Two certificates of registration with the capital city police as a foreigner.
5. Two rings made of yellow metal.

6. A white metal pocket watch, brand "Sima" N4/10/942, with a yellow and white metal chain.

7. Romanian currency in the amount of two million six hundred thousand 900 lei (2,607,900).

8. German currency worth two marks.

9. French currency worth two francs

10. Small change photographs – 5 pieces.

11. Leather wallet – 1 piece.

12. Black leather wallet – 1 item.

Nothing else was found during the search. No complaints were received regarding the impropriety of the search or the disappearance of items.

*Person searched – Devedzhan*

*Present during the search – Kachanov*

*The search was*

*conducted by the Inspector of the Special Inspection*

*Unit of the SKK in Romania*

*Major Soplin,*

*Inspector of the Special Investigation Unit of the SKK*

*in Romania*

*Captain Kopylov The*

*search was conducted in the presence of interpreter Preiger*

On 19 April 1947, he was taken to Moscow and placed in the internal prison of the USSR Ministry of State Security.

*Ministry of State Security of the USSR ORDER No. 3256*

*19 April 1947*

"Approved"

Deputy Minister of State Security  
of the USSR

Lieutenant General Fedotov

Arrest authorised by Deputy

Prosecutor General of the USSR

State Counsellor of Justice 1st Class

Safonov

*Issued to Captain Comrade Koptsov For  
the arrest and search of Ovanes*

*Akopovich Devedzhan*

*At the address: at the location*

*Decision on arrest*

"I approve"	Arrest authorised by Deputy
Deputy Minister of State Security	Prosecutor General of the USSR
of the USSR	State Counsellor of Justice 1st
Lieutenant General Fedotov	Class Safonov
19 April 1947	19 April 1947

*17 April 1947  
Moscow*

I, Colonel Martirosov A.A., head of the 3rd division of the 10th department of the First Main Directorate of the USSR Ministry of State Security, having examined the materials available to the USSR Ministry of State Security concerning Devedzhan Ovanes Akopovich,

have found that:

Devedjian Ovanes Akopovich, born in 1892, a native of the village of Mashkert in the Arabkir district (Turkey), Armenian, with higher education, lawyer, former Minister of Justice in the Dashnak government in Armenia, member of the Dashnaktsutyun party.

In 1920-21, he led the Dashnak uprising in Armenia.

During the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945, he was actively involved in anti-Soviet activities abroad.

He assisted General Dro Kanayan, a well-known Dashnak figure and head of the German intelligence agency, who led the armed struggle against Soviet army units.

He headed the Dashnak delegation at a conference in Vienna on the issue of the Dashnaks' participation on the German side in the fight against the Soviet Union.

After the end of World War II, he arrived in Romania, where he went underground and headed an underground Dashnak committee to organise active work against the Soviet Union.

He is associated with one of the foreign intelligence services, through which he is in contact with Dashnak centres abroad.

He established illegal connections with Dashnaks who had been arrested and deported from Romania to the USSR.

On the basis of the foregoing, guided by Articles 145 and 158 of the RSFSR Code of Criminal Procedure,

It was decided:

To arrest Davedzhian Ovanes Akopovich.

*Head of the 3rd Division of the 10th  
Department of the First Main Directorate of the  
USSR Ministry of State Security  
Colonel Martirosov*

*"Agreed"  
Head of the 10th  
Department of the  
Main Directorate  
of the USSR  
Ministry of State  
Security  
Colonel Gukasov*

*Archival reference*

*Secret copy  
No. 1*

1. Devejian (no first or middle name) – appears on the list of "Ministers and members of parliament who were in Tehran," document dated 1920.

2. Devedjian (without first name or patronymic) – in the section "Political Parties and Groups" of the information bulletin of the Extraordinary Commission of the SSR of Armenia from 15 October to 1 November 1921, the following is stated: "...Vratyan's sudden trip with the money left a heavy impression on the Dashnaks. The left-wing Dashnaks, i.e. those opposed to Vratyan, wanted to organise protest meetings and call Vratyan back, but the party's central bureau, represented by Ruben Pasha and others, prevented this. A few days before Vratyan's departure, a member of the government, Devedzhan, managed to gain Nzheda's trust and learn all his secrets. Nzhdeh showed him all his documents refuting the charges against him and incriminating Vratyan and other ministers in criminal acts and abuses. Having learned all this, Devedzhan told Vratyan and left with him. Vratyan did not take him (Nzhdeh) with him and, more importantly, he was left without any means of support.

*Date of document: October-November 1921.*

*Source: Fund 113, op. 3, d. 26, l. 100.*

*Head of the Central State  
Archives of the Armenian SSR Mkrtchyan Head  
of the Secret Funds Department Zamorina  
Investigation case No. 11411, volume 2, p. 92.*

### *Summary of the statement*

*To the Prosecutor General of the USSR*

Born in 1888 in Aleppo (Syria), Bulgarian citizen.

Arrested in 1947 in Bucharest (Romania) and brought to Moscow, then to Yerevan, where my case was investigated.

As a result of improper actions by the investigating authorities, coercion and threats, he was forced to give false testimony in the case.

I was convicted by a special meeting of the USSR Ministry of State Security on 5 June 1948 under Articles 58-4, 58-6 and 58-11 of the Criminal Code to 20 years' imprisonment.

I consider the conviction to be wrong on the following grounds:

1. I never in any way helped the bourgeois government. I am the son of a farm labourer, I grew up in difficult financial circumstances, I struggled to get an education, and until the day of my arrest I worked in education, teaching Armenian language and literature.

2. At the suggestion of the party in 1942, during the summer holidays, I travelled to Italy on behalf of the Red Cross to help children, and I was also tasked with publishing a book in Armenian by Professor Kherumyan, but I was unable to do so.

Thus, while in Rome, despite seeing the hopes and difficult conditions of the Armenian population and Armenian prisoners of war, I did not carry out any political work in Rome.

He also denies the charges brought against him under Articles 58-4 and 58-6. and 58-11 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR.

He states that Dro, as the leader of the Dashnak organisation, acted independently with the Germans and was not accountable to lower-level organisations. He was subordinate only to the Party Bureau. In this regard, he should not be held responsible for Dro's actions. He goes on to describe the circumstances and his relationship with Dro. He has known him since 1939. He asks that the case be reviewed, that Dro be summoned, that his explanations be heard, and that a fair decision be made.

*Ov. Devedjian*

*26 April 1954 Vladimir*

*Prison*

*Translated from Armenian (5 pages).*

### Reference

Devedjian Hovhannes Akopovich, born in 1886, convicted on 5 June 1948, on the basis of a decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR dated 30 July 1955, released early from prison on 7 September 1955.

After his release, he was repatriated to his homeland.

*Head of the 1st Special Department of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs  
Lieutenant Colonel Zherebtsov  
27 December 1956*

### Reference

In the newspaper Arach (the organ of the Dashnak Party, published in Paris) dated 17 January 1957, No. 7784, there is an article stating that Dashnak Davedjian Hovhannes, who had been detained in the Soviet Union for more than 10 years, recently moved to Buenos Aires (Argentina), where his wife and two children live.

Devedjian was recently invited to a dinner organised at the Armenia Club in honour of his arrival. Devedjian's appearance was greeted with applause. Speakers talked about his selfless party activities. At the end, Davedjian himself spoke, saying that only unity can preserve the Armenians scattered throughout the world. This unity will make it possible to avoid the current tensions in the international arena.

*Head of the 2nd Division of the 1st Department of the KGB under the Council of Ministers of the  
Armenian SSR  
Major Geghamyan  
25 February 1957  
Criminal case No. 11411, volume 2, p. 99.  
Archive No. 8882.*

### Reference

*"Approved"  
Acting Chairman  
KGB under the Council of  
Ministers of the Armenian SSR  
Colonel Agayants  
Signature  
12 March 1957*

11 March 1957  
Yerevan

I, Senior Investigator of the Investigation Department of the State Security Committee under the Council of Ministers of the Armenian SSR, Lieutenant Khachatryan, based on the statement of the convicted Devedzhian dated 24 April 1954 and the instructions of the military prosecutor's office of the ZakVO, having examined archival investigation case No. 11411/250606 on Devedzhian Ovanes Akopovich, born in 1886, a native of Aleppo (Syria), a Bulgarian subject,

Found:

On 19 April 1947, active Dashnak Devedzhan Ovanes Akopovich was arrested in Romania by the SMERSH counterintelligence agency for anti-Soviet activities.

The case materials show that Devedjian O.A. sympathised with the Dashnak Party from 1914 and became a member in 1918. In 1919, he joined the Dashnak Party Bureau, and in 1921, he was one of the organisers of the Dashnak adventure in Armenia, holding the positions of chairman of the "Save the Motherland" committee in the Akhtinsky district and then minister of justice.

After the suppression of the adventure, Devedjian emigrated to Iran. Living first in Iran and then in other foreign countries, he was repeatedly elected a member of the Central Committee of the Dashnak Party until 1945, twice participated as a delegate in the party's world congress, and in 1923 in Vienna in the party conference.

While abroad, Devedjian was the editor of the Dashnak newspaper, published anti-Soviet articles in the press, and made slanderous speeches against the Soviet government at émigré gatherings.

During the Great Patriotic War (1941-1945), Devedjian carried out anti-Soviet pro-fascist activities abroad and was associated with the head of the German intelligence agency and leader of the Dashnak party, Kanyan Dro. At the same time, he was a member of a political body organised by the Germans and participated in the congress of this body.

After the end of the war, Devedjian, hiding in the vicinity of Bucharest (Romania), carried out anti-Soviet Dashnak activities and organised a committee to provide assistance to the families of those repressed by the Soviet authorities.

, appealing to all Dashnaks in Romania, calling on them to remain loyal to the party and protect the Dashnak ranks from decay.

In the indictment, Devedjian pleaded guilty, denying only the charge concerning his connection with the German intelligence agency and Dashnak party leader Kanyan Dro.

This is also confirmed by the testimony of the well-known Dashnak figure Ter-Arutyunyan G.E. (Nzhde), Siruni A.A., materials from the state archives, and documents written by him personally, which are attached to the case file.

On the basis of the above, Devedjian O.A. was sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment by a special council of the USSR Ministry of State Security on 5 June 1948.

During the present investigation, it was established that Devedzhan O.A., having been released in 1955 from Vladimir Prison, where he was held in custody and served his sentence, repatriated to Bulgaria in the same year.

The Dashnak newspaper Arach, published in Paris, France, on 17 January 1957, reports that Davedjian currently resides in Buenos Aires, Argentina, where his family also lives. The same source indicates that at a dinner organised by the Dashnaks in honour of Davedjian's arrival in Argentina, he was greeted with applause, and speakers praised him as a staunch Dashnak.

Based on the above, I would conclude that

It is correct to consider that Davedjian Ovanes Akopovich was arrested and convicted in 1947.

Archive investigation case No. 11411/250606 on O.A. Davedjian should be sent to the Military Prosecutor's Office of the ZakVO.

*Senior Investigator of the KGB Investigation Department under the Council of Ministers of the Armenian SSR*  
*Lieutenant Khachatryan*

*"Agreed"*  
*Head of the KGB Investigation*  
*Department under the Council of*  
*Ministers of the Armenian SSR*  
*Lieutenant Colonel Piruzyan*

*Case No. 11411, volume 2, p. 89*  
*Archive No. 8882-56*

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Vache Hovsepyan

# **GAREGIN NZHDE AND KGB**

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