

## Stalin e os Armenios

LEVON YACURIAN

«Quem quer que seja, a melhor parte de vossa decisão está nas mãos desse pobre homem que vive também sobre todos, o que trabalha — o homem que tem a cabeça do sabão, o rosto do operário e o traje simples do soldado.»

(HENRY BARBUSSÉ)

No dia 21 de Dezembro corrente, os povos democráticos do mundo inteiro festejaram, sob múltiplos nomes, o 70º aniversário de Jozef Stalin.

A imprensa, das mais variadas cores partidárias, registou sua data natalícia: ora atacando aversamente como o «Times», de Londres, o «New York Times», de New York, e a totalidade da imprensa venal de burguesia e de capitalismo, através de suas agências monopolísticas de informação. De outro lado a imprensa popular do mundo inteiro trouxe justas considerações sobre o super-estrela do Social e da significação histórica do desenvolvimento das circulares direções do recém internacional.

ABRAM, o Voz do Povo Armenio, o órgão popular da ciência democrática e patriótica dos armênios do Brasil, também registou, com a maior das reverências, esse dia, que é



### Viva a Armenia Sovietica

Yerevan, a bela capital da Republica Arménia vive, como todas as demais cidades soviéticas um grande desenvolvimento em todos os setores da actividade humana, graças ao Poder Sovietico e a sã orientação staliniana.



# ARMENIAN RESEARCH CENTER UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN - DEARBORN



## ARMENIANS & THE COLD WAR

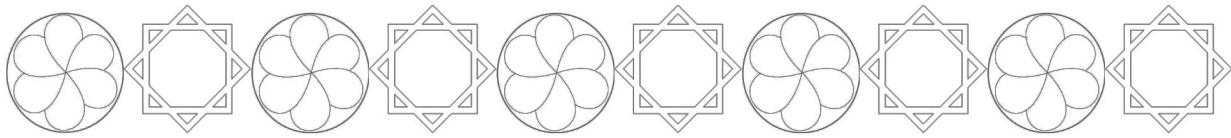
### International Academic Conference

April 1-3, 2016

Friday, 6:30 PM to 9:30 PM  
Saturday, 10:00 AM to 6:30 PM  
Sunday, 10:00 AM to 8:00 PM

Kochhoff Auditorium, 1030 CASL Building, University of Michigan - Dearborn  
4901 Evergreen Road, Dearborn MI 48128





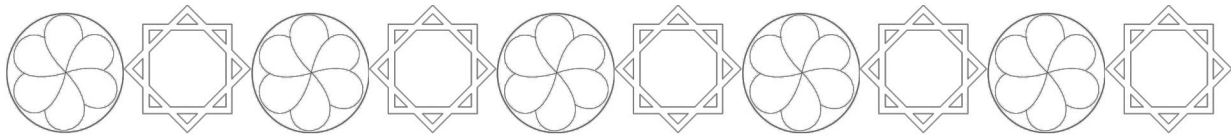
## *FROM THE DIRECTOR*

The Armenian Research Center at the University of Michigan-Dearborn is honored to welcome you at the “Armenians and the Cold War” conference. It is arguably the first time that an academic conference is being organized anywhere in the world to study this specific period in modern Armenian history, focusing on events both in the homeland (then, a union republic of the Soviet Union) and the post-genocide Diasporan communities in the Americas, Europe and the Middle East.

The Cold War was global in nature and, therefore, it could not have left the Armenians untouched. If the Cold War is interpreted as a competition or struggle between the free market/capitalistic and the government-controlled/socialist systems, then Armenians were obliged to take stands in this regard as early as the 1920s. The eastern sector of their ancestral homeland had been incorporated into the Soviet Union, while the survivors of the World War I genocide had been prevented from returning to their homes and had thus been obliged to set new roots in a number of host countries in the Americas, Europe and the Middle East. Under these conditions, the existence of pro- and anti-Soviet political blocs was well evident in the nascent Armenian Diaspora in the inter-war period.

The Soviet territorial claims on Turkey at the end of World War II were welcomed by Armenians of all political persuasions. However, the West’s stiff opposition to these demands dashed Armenian expectations and turned this particular post-war episode into one of the first salvos of the ensuing Cold War. Under the new, tense and polarized international political climate, intra-Armenian differences were again accentuated from around 1947. The growing interest of the post-Stalin Soviet government in the Third World, including the Armenian Diaspora, added a new dimension to the Cold War-era intra-Armenian struggle outside the homeland. The 1950s are now seen as the apex of the Armenian Cold War. They were followed from the early 1960s by a gradual *détente*, which ironically outlived the global *détente* and did not relapse into a “Second Cold War” as it occurred on the world stage in the early 1980s. The issue of the Armenian Genocide and demands for its international recognition and compensation from Turkey gradually brought Armenian factions in the Diaspora closer together. Their decades-old differences as regards the legitimacy of the Soviet regime in Armenia were correspondingly pushed to the background. The antagonism between the Communist authorities in Armenia and their Diasporan critics also softened little by little from the 1960s. Finally, New Thinking, a relatively little known component of Mikhail Gorbachev’s reforms, helped bring the Armenian Cold War formally to an end. This approach called for a new Soviet foreign policy based on shared moral and ethical principles to solve global problems rather than on earlier Marxist-Leninist concepts of irreconcilable conflict between capitalism and communism. Thereby, it paved the way for Communists in Yerevan to also call for cooperation among all factions in the Diaspora to solve problems of national importance. This new policy was formally proclaimed in Soviet Armenia toward the end of 1989, but the Communists lost power the next year, while the Soviet Union itself disintegrated in 1991.

This summary outline of the trajectory of the Cold War among Armenians is acceptable to almost all people interested in the topic. However, the Cold War era itself remains manifestly understudied in modern Armenian history. Moreover, there is evident reluctance among Armenian institutions and organizations to push for more research in this direction. The reasons appear to be twofold, yet interrelated. First, the stark rivalries in the Diaspora during the Cold War era go against the desired ideological principle among modern-day Armenians to call for national unity against real and perceived challenges from outside. Armenians today generally feel that they are now more united in this regard than was the case at the height of the Cold War. Hence, the Cold War era is not considered to be a positive example to encourage the younger generation to get more committed to the ideal of preserving and deepening national unity. Moreover, even though intra-Armenian tensions and rivalries have abated in the past fifty years, no commonly agreed interpretation of the Cold War era has emerged, especially in the Diaspora. Indeed, some people argue at times that



discussing the fine points of the Cold War era is tantamount to unnecessarily scratching old wounds which are in the slow yet steady process of healing. For those who make this argument, the Cold War era is the skeleton which should remain securely locked in the cupboard. Secondly, the genocide issue brought Armenians together in the 1960s and made them more assertive toward Turkey. In response, Ankara hardened its established policy of denial, which in turn pushed Armenian organizations and Armenian Studies scholars to spend more time and attention to uncover the various facets of the Armenian Genocide during the First World War. They hoped and continue to strive to make the rest of the world better informed about the genocide, have the latter formally recognized at the international level and thus leave denialists in Turkey isolated. However, since manpower, time and money are not limitless, much of this necessary research on the Armenian Genocide occurs at the expense of studying other periods in Armenian history.

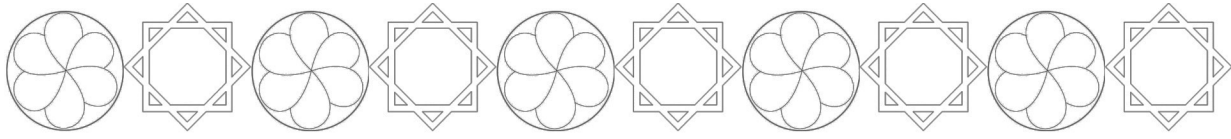
Yet, analyzing the Cold War era is also relevant to understand the Armenian present. In the post-genocide Diaspora, many of the institutions, organizational dividing lines, prejudices, and stereotypes, which still persist, were crystallized during the Cold War years. In Armenia, since the country regained its independence in 1991, historians have published a number of interesting works on the Soviet era. Nevertheless, even in Yerevan, the seventy years of Communist rule still constitute an underprivileged topic, compared to other periods in Armenian history. Moreover, even in the studies dedicated to the Soviet period, the focus is primarily on the internal political, socio-economic and ideological evolution of the system. The impact of the global Cold War on developments in Soviet Armenia is accorded much lesser importance.

This conference cannot provide, of course, answers to all the questions that have lingered for years in the minds of interested individuals – scholars and laypeople alike. At its best, it can only be a first step on the long road ahead, perhaps setting a research agenda, raising a host of new research questions and taking tentative steps to answer some of these, existing and new, queries. The special issue of *The Armenian Review*, which we have promised, will hopefully provide a good summation of what we will do and a stepping-stone for the next level of research in the future.

At this first-ever academic conference on this topic, papers on political and intellectual history will predominate. That was perhaps to be expected. However, from the first moment, the organizers cast their net widely by seeking proposals from various disciplines. We are happy that we received and accepted abstracts which look at the impact of the Cold War on the Armenians also from the disciplines of historiography, international relations, art criticism, and popular culture. We also hope that papers concerning literature will also appear prominently in future gatherings of this kind.

I hope you will all enjoy the next three days. We look forward to your active participation and honest feedback. I also have to express the Center's and my own personal gratitude to all the organizations and individuals who provided some financial supported for this conference. Finally, big thanks go to both Ani Kasparian and Gerald E. Ottenbreit, Jr., without whose devotion the Center would have never been able to put together this ambitious gathering.

Ara Sanjian  
Director, Armenian Research Center  
University of Michigan-Dearborn



## **Armenians and the Cold War**

International Academic Conference

Mary Kochoff Auditorium, 1030 CASL Building

**FRIDAY, APRIL 1, 2016**

**Opening Session, 5:00-7:30 p.m.**

5:00-6:30 pm: Meet & Greet with the Participants of the Conference

6:30-7:00 pm: Words of Welcome

**Marty Hershock**, Dean, College of Arts, Sciences, and Letters, University of Michigan-Dearborn

**Asbed Kotchikian**, *The Armenian Review*

**Gregory Aftandilian**, National Association for Armenian Studies & Research

7:00-7:30 pm: Conference Introduction

**Ara Sanjian**, University of Michigan-Dearborn

Why This Conference?

**First Panel, 7:30-9:30 p.m.**

**An Armenian “Cold War” before the Global Cold War?**

Chair: **Cam Amin**, University of Michigan-Dearborn

**Garabet K. Moumdjian**, Independent historian, Pasadena, CA

ARF Collusion in the Kurdish Rebellions of the 1920s and 1930s in Republican Turkey: In Search of the Origins of Islamized Armenians in Turkey

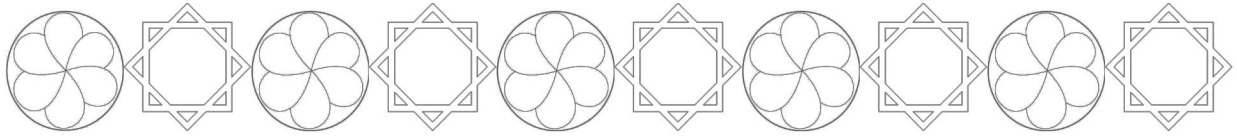
**Vahe Sahakyan**, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

Negotiating Politics in a Time of Crisis: The Changing Course of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation during WWII and Its Aftermath (1941-1947)

**Hazel Antaramian-Hofman**, Fresno Community College

Missing Ethnographic Opportunities: Post-WWII American-Armenian Repatriation to Soviet Armenia, 1947-1956

Discussant: **Astrig Atamian**, École des hautes études en sciences sociales, Paris



**SATURDAY, APRIL 2, 2016**

**Second Panel, 10:00 a.m.-12:00 p.m.  
Armenian-Americans in the 1950s**

Chair: **Pam Pennock**, University of Michigan-Dearborn

**Levon Chorbajian**, University of Massachusetts, Lowell  
Roily Exchanges: Newspaper Wars at the *Hairenik Weekly* and the *Armenian Mirror-Spectator* in 1951

**Gregory Aftandilian**, American University, Washington, DC  
The Cold War Writings of Reuben Darbinian in *The Armenian Review*

**Benjamin F. Alexander**, New York City College of Technology (CUNY)  
The Cold Wars of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation

Discussant: **Khatchik DerGhougassian**, Universidad de San Andrés, Argentina

*Coffee Break, 12:00-12:15 pm*

**Third Panel, 12:15-1:30 pm  
The Armenian “Cold War” in France**

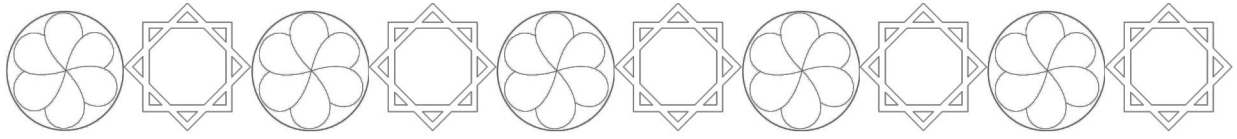
Chair: **Richard G. Hovannisian**, Professor Emeritus, UCLA, and Adjunct Professor of History, University of Southern California

**Jirair Jolakian**, *Nor Haratch*, Paris  
The Cold War in the Pages of the Newspaper *Haratch*

**Astrig Atamian**, École des hautes études en sciences sociales, Paris  
Between Soviet Armenia and the French Communist Party, the “Garmir” Movement in France

Discussant: **Asbed Kotchikian**, Bentley University and *The Armenian Review*

*Lunch break, 1:30-3:00 p.m., Fourth Floor*



**Fourth Panel, 3:00-5:00 p.m.**  
**The Armenian “Cold War” in South America**

Chair: **Kevork Bardakjian**, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

**Vartan Matiossian**, Armenian National Education Committee, New York  
Fighting for History: An Unknown Polemics in Argentina at the Beginnings of the Cold War

**Heitor Loureiro**, São Paulo State University (UNESP)  
Communism in the Armenian Community in São Paulo and Repression by the Political Police

**Khatchik DerGhougassian**, Universidad de San Andrés, Argentina  
The Diffusion of the Cold War in the (Southern) Periphery of the Armenian Diaspora: The Pro/Against Soviet Divide in the Argentine-Armenian Community 1947-1987

Discussant: **Simon Payaslian**, Boston University

*Coffee Break, 5:00-5:15 pm*

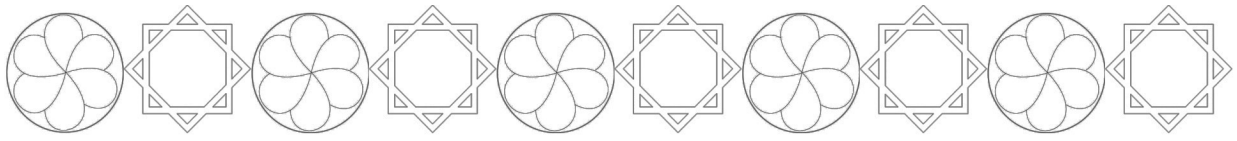
**Fifth Panel, 5:15-6:30 p.m.**  
**Armenians: Between a Soviet Homeland and the Diaspora**

Chair: **Anush Hovhannisyan**, Institute of Oriental Studies, National Academy of Sciences, Armenia

**Nélida Boulgourdjian**, Universidad Nacional de Tres de Febrero, Argentina  
Soviet Armenian Policy toward the Armenian Diaspora before and During the Early Cold War: The Armenian Communities in France and Argentina (1930-1950)

**Gevorg Petrosyan**, Institute of Oriental Studies, National Academy of Sciences, Armenia  
The Impact of the Cold War and Turkish-Soviet Relations on Armenians in Turkey and Their Relations with Soviet Armenia (1945-1964)

Discussant: **Eldad Ben-Aharon**, Royal Holloway, University of London



# Armenian Research Center 30th Anniversary Reception

The Armenian Research Center  
University of Michigan-Dearborn  
cordially invites you to its

THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY RECEPTION

Honoring

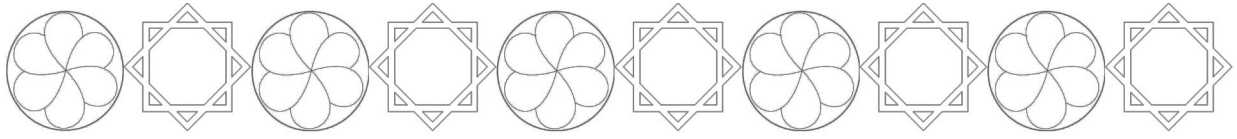
Gerald E. Ottenbreit, Jr.

&

Alice Nigoghosian

for years of dedicated service

Fourth Floor, CASL Building  
Saturday, April 2, 2016, 6:30-9:00 p.m.



**SUNDAY, APRIL 3, 2016**

**Sixth Panel, 10:00 a.m.-12:00 pm**  
**The Armenian “Cold War” in the Arab World from 1945 to 1970**

Chair: **Levon Chorbajian**, University of Massachusetts, Lowell

**Hratch Tchilingirian**, University of Oxford  
The Armenian Church During the Cold War Era and the Chasm Between Ejmiatsin and Antelias

**James Stocker**, Trinity Washington University  
An Opportunity to Strike a Blow? The United States and the Struggle in the Armenian Apostolic Church, 1956-1963

**Khatchig Mouradian**, Rutgers University  
The Cold War of Genocide: April 24 Editorials in the Lebanese-Armenian Party Political Press, 1945-1970

Discussant: **Benjamin F. Alexander**, New York City College of Technology (CUNY)

*Coffee Break, 12:00-12:15 pm*

**First Roundtable Discussion, 12:15-1:00 p.m.**  
**The Chronologies of Global Cold War and the Armenian “Cold War” Compared**  
Opening remarks by **Ara Sanjian**, University of Michigan-Dearborn

*Lunch Break, 1:00-2:30 p.m. Fourth Floor*

**Seventh Panel, 2:30-3:45 p.m.**  
**The Middle East in the 1970s and '80s: The Era of ASALA and JCAG**

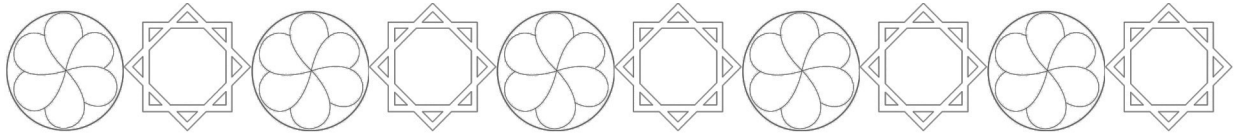
Chair: **Nélida Boulgourdjian**, Universidad Nacional de Tres de Febrero, Argentina

**Eldad Ben Aharon**, Royal Holloway, University of London  
An Israeli-American-Turkish Alliance in 1982: The Cold War and Political Violence by ASALA

**Emre Can Dağlıoğlu**, Clark University  
The Re-Shaped Identity of Armenians in Turkey under Cold War Conditions in the 1980s

Discussant: **Vahe Sahakyan**, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

*Coffee Break, 3:45-4:00 pm*



**Eighth Panel, 4:00-5:15 p.m.**  
**Soviet Armenian Historiography and the Cold War**

Chair: **Vartan Matiossian**, Armenian National Education Committee, New York

**Samvel Grigoryan**, Independent historian, Moscow

*T'agawor, Korol' or Czar: The Impact of Soviet-Western Relations on the Historiography of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia*

**Anush Hovhannisyan**, Institute of Oriental Studies, National Academy of Sciences, Armenia

Remembering the Genocide in Soviet Armenia During the Cold War Era: "Private Stories"

Discussant: **Richard G. Hovannisian**, Professor Emeritus, UCLA, and Adjunct Professor of History, University of Southern California

*Coffee Break, 5:15-5:30 p.m.*

**Ninth Panel, 5:30-6:45 p.m.**  
**Arts and Popular Culture during the Armenian "Cold War"**

Chair: **Sally Howell**, University of Michigan-Dearborn

**Neery Melkonian**, Independent researcher, critic and curator, New York City  
*A Third Space: Armenian Diaspora Artists and the Cold War*

**Tigran Matosyan**, American University of Armenia

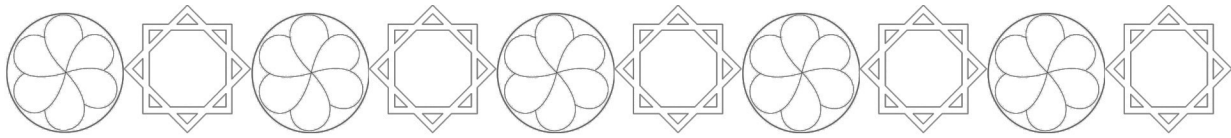
*Sheepskin Vests in Yerevan: The Story of Soviet Armenian Hippies*

Discussant: **Kevork Bardakjian**, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

*Coffee Break, 6:45-7:00*

**Second Roundtable Discussion, 7:00-8:00 p.m.**  
**The Legacy of the Armenian "Cold War" Today; Recommendations for Future Research**

Opening remarks by **Hratch Tchilingirian**, University of Oxford



## **CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS** *(Biographies in alphabetical order)*

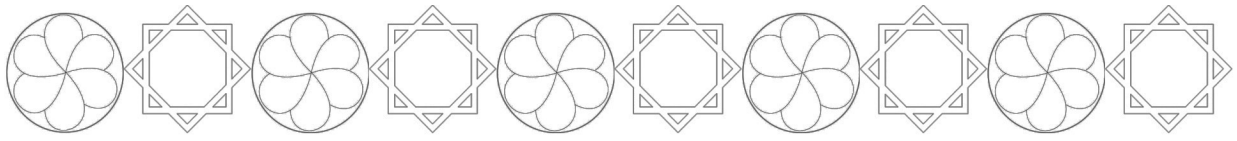
GREGORY L. AFTANDILIAN is an adjunct faculty member of American University and Boston University, and an associate of the Middle East Center at the University of Massachusetts Lowell. He worked for the U.S. Government for more than twenty years in such capacities as a Middle East analyst at the State Department and a professional staffer on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. He is a specialist in Middle East politics, U.S. foreign policy, and Armenian-American history. He received a B.A. in history from Dartmouth College, an M.A. in Middle Eastern Studies from the University of Chicago, and a M.Sc. in international relations from the London School of Economics. He is the author of *Armenia, Vision of a Republic: The Independence Lobby in America, 1918-1927* (1981), another book, and several scholarly monographs and articles.

BENJAMIN F. ALEXANDER teaches American history at the New York City College of Technology, in the City University of New York (CUNY) system. He received his Ph.D. in history from the CUNY Graduate Center in 2005 and has also taught at Towson University in Maryland and the University of Cincinnati, Blue Ash campus. He has published two academic journal articles on Armenian Americans and contributed a chapter on Armenians to *Anti-Communist Minorities in the U.S.: Political Activism of Ethnic Refugees* (2009), edited by Ieva Zake. He is also the author of a book, *Coxey's Army: Popular Protest in the Gilded Age* (2015). He is working to make his dissertation, *Armenian and American: The Changing Face of Ethnic Identity and Diasporic Nationalism, 1915-1955*, into a publishable book.

CAMRON MICHAEL AMIN is Professor of History at University of Michigan-Dearborn. He earned his Ph.D. in Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations at The University of Chicago in 1996. His research interests include modern Iran, gender studies, media, oral history, and Iranian-Americans. He is the author of *The Making of the Modern Iranian Woman: State Policy and Popular Culture, 1865-1946* (2002), and coeditor of *The Modern Middle East: A Sourcebook for History* (2006). His most recent articles have been published in *Iranian Studies* (2015) and *The International Journal of Middle East Studies* (2016).

ASTRIG ATAMIAN is an associate researcher at Le Centre d'études des mondes russe, caucasien et centre-européen (CERCEC) in École des hautes études en sciences sociales (EHESS) in Paris. She received her Ph.D. in 2014 from Institut national des langues et civilisations orientales (INALCO) in Paris. Her research interests focus on the communists and the pro-soviets of the French-Armenian community and on their role in the Franco-Soviet relations.

KEVORK B. BARDAKJIAN studied at Yerevan State University and received his D.Phil. from the University of Oxford. As a Senior Lecturer and Armenian Bibliographer he taught Armenian literature, language, culture, and history at Harvard University and at the Harvard Extension from 1974 to 1987. In 1987, he became the first holder of the Marie Manoogian Chair of Armenian Language and Literature at the University of Michigan, Ann

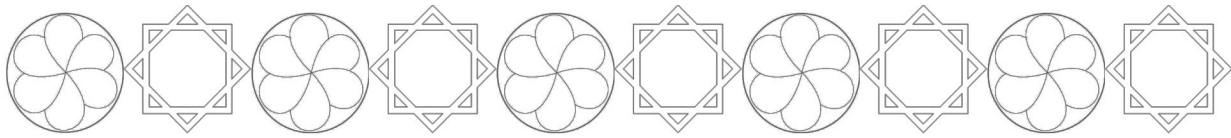


Arbor. He founded, directed, and taught at the University of Michigan Summer Armenian Institute in Yerevan (1988-2009). From 1995 to 2007, he was also Director of the Armenian Studies Program at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. He has been active in, and President of, the Society for Armenian Studies and a number of other professional societies. He is a Fellow of the National Academy of Sciences in Armenia, and the recipient of a number of awards and honorary doctorates. He has published many books and articles, including *A Reference Guide to Modern Armenian Literature, 1500-1920, with an Introductory History* (2000) and *The Armenian Apocalyptic Tradition: A Comparative Perspective* (2014), co-edited with S. La Porta. He has also served on the editorial boards of some Armenian studies journals.

ELDAD BEN-AHARON is a first year Ph.D. candidate at Royal Holloway, University of London. His doctoral dissertation, entitled: "Israel: A Unique Foreign Policy?" addresses Israel's foreign policy and the Armenian Genocide non-recognition factors from 1982 to 1988. He obtained his M.A. in Holocaust and Genocide Studies from the University of Amsterdam (2014) and a B.A. in Political Science and International Relations from the Open University of Israel (2012). He has received two awards from Royal Holloway, University of London: the College Research Scholarship, and the Crossland Maintenance Award. He is the author of "A Unique Denial: Israel's Foreign Policy and the Armenian Genocide," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 42, no. 4 (2015), pp. 638-654, an academic article based on his M.A. thesis. His research interests focus on genocide and mass violence, the Armenian Genocide, diaspora studies, political violence, and Israel's foreign policy.

NÉLIDA BOULGOURDJIAN is Professor and Researcher at Maestría de Diversidad Cultural, Universidad Nacional de Tres de Febrero, Buenos Aires. She is member of the National Council of Scientific and Technical Research (CONICET). She received her Ph.D. in history and immigration from École des hautes études en sciences sociales (EHESS) in Paris. From 1997 on she has been the holder of the Chair of Armenian Studies, Faculty of Philosophy and Literature, University of Buenos Aires. His research interests focus on Armenian immigration to Argentina, the Armenian diaspora in comparative perspective, and the Armenian genocide. She is author of books, book chapters, and scholarly articles about those subjects. Her most recently published works are *Inmigración armenia en la Argentina. Perfiles de una historia centenaria a partir de las Listas de Pasajeros (1889-1979)*, with co-author J. C. Toufeksian (2013), and "Armenia, Rusia/URSS y la diáspora: vínculos complejos y cambiantes (1920-1950)", in *Rusia y la URSS, Procesos políticos y vínculos sociales*, co-edited by S. Masseroni and V. Domínguez (2014).

LEVON CHORBAJIAN is Professor of Sociology at the University of Massachusetts Lowell. He received his Ph.D. from Brandeis University in Waltham, Massachusetts. He is the Director of U.S. Operations for the Zoryan Institute for Contemporary Armenian Research and Documentation, Toronto, Ontario and Arlington, Massachusetts. His scholarly interests are in ideology, political sociology, and ethnic and racial minorities, and he currently works on Armenian Genocide denial. His publications include, as translator and co-author, *The Caucasian Knot: The History and Geopolitics of Nagorno-Karabagh* (1994), and as translator



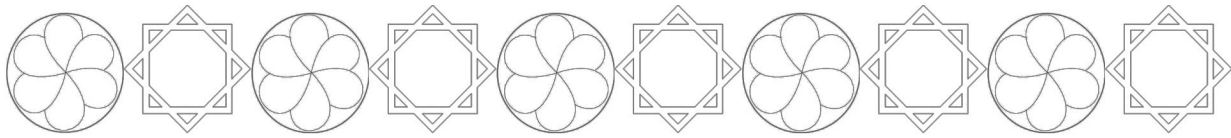
and editor, *Armenia in Crisis: The 1988 Earthquake* (1995). His most recent publications are “Globalization and Neo-Liberalism: Their Opponents and Their Application to Armenia,” in Sven Eliaeson, Lyudmila Harutyunyan, and Larissa Titarenko, eds., *After the Soviet Empire* (1995), pp. 273-295, and “‘They Brought It on Themselves and It Never Happened’: Denial to 1939,” in Alexis Demirdjian, ed., *The Armenian Genocide Legacy* (2015), pp. 167-182.

EMRE CAN DAĞLIOĞLU is a first-year doctoral student and Agnes Manoogian Hausrath fellow in the Strassler Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies at Clark University. He has two master’s degrees, from Exeter University in Tremough, UK and Bilgi University in Istanbul. He has served as journalist and editor for the bilingual Turkish-Armenian *Agos Weekly*, based in Istanbul, and is working as deputy editor-in-chief of *Modus Operandi*, a peer-reviewed journal on relational social science. He has published a number of articles and book chapters on the late Ottoman history, Turkish-Armenian relations in the Republican era, and “minority issue” in Turkey. He is the co-editor of *Arabs and the Armenian Genocide* (forthcoming). His current research examines the impact of the Armenian reform process in the Ottoman Empire during the era of Sultan Abdülhamid II on the decision-making processes of the central government and local notables with regard to the policy of massacre against Ottoman Armenians in 1895-96.

KHATCHIK DERGHOUGASSIAN is Professor at Universidad de San Andrés and Universidad Nacional de Lanús in Argentina. He also teaches at ISEN – the Argentine Foreign Ministry’s school of diplomacy. He was born in Lebanon and lives in Argentina since 1987. He has a B.A. in Computer Science from Haigazian College (now, Haigazian University), an M.A. in International Relations from FLACSO/Argentina, and a Ph.D. in International Studies from the University of Miami (Coral Gables, FL). His field of expertise encompasses international politics and security studies. He is the author of books, book chapters, academic articles and op-ed columns about international security, genocide studies, regional conflicts in the Caucasus and the Middle East, Latin American issues, diaspora politics and other topics.

SAMVEL GRIGORYAN is an independent historian, based in Moscow. His research interests focus on the history of the Armenian medieval kingdom of Cilicia, in particular the Coronation List in the Chronicle attributed to Smbat the Constable, the kingdom’s historical geography and prosopography, and its foreign relations, as well as Armenian heraldry, symbolism, and vexillology. His scholarly articles have been published in *Patma-Banasirakan Handes* and *Handes Amsorya*.

HAZEL ANTARAMIAN HOFMAN is an adjunct art historian at Fresno City College, and an artist represented by Fig Tree Gallery in California. She received her M.A. in Art at Fresno State University and her M.Sc. in Environmental Studies at CSU, Fullerton. Her M.A. thesis received the Outstanding Thesis Award from the College of Arts and Humanities in 2012. She is currently a Board Member of the National Association for Armenian Studies and Research, representing the Fresno area. Her research interests include the interface of East and West in Medieval Spanish architecture and Renaissance Venetian paintings, in particular, the orientalizing of Western art. As an extension of her master’s thesis in art, she authored several scholarly articles on the eleventh-century royal family manuscript

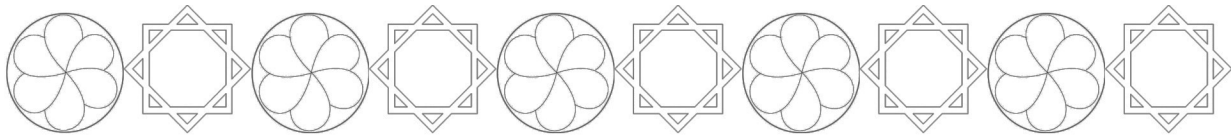


portrait of King Gagik of Kars, Manuscript J2556. Her current independent project encompasses a five-year study of the post-WWII repatriation to Soviet Armenia. She has presented her illustrated lectures on the topic nationally and internationally, and published parts of her work in *Nouvelles d'Arménie* (Paris) and a special edition of the Spanish publication, *ISTOR, Armenia Una Historia*. Her Armenian repatriation project culminates in an art and ethnographic exhibition this summer.

RICHARD G. HOVANNISIAN is past Holder of the Armenian Educational Foundation Chair in Modern Armenian History at UCLA, a Chancellor's Fellow at Chapman University, and an Adjunct Professor of History at the University of Southern California to work with the Shoah Foundation on Armenian survivor testimonies. A native of California, he received his B.A. and M.A. in history from the University of California, Berkeley, and Ph.D. in history from UCLA. A member of the UCLA faculty since the 1960s, he organized both the undergraduate and graduate programs in Armenian history and served as the Associate Director of UCLA's Center for Near Eastern Studies from 1978 to 1995. He is a Guggenheim Fellow and has received many honors for his scholarship, civic activities, and support of individual and collective human rights. He is a founder and six-time president of the Society for Armenian Studies, represented the State of California on the Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education (WICHE) for sixteen years, and served as a consultant to the California State Board of Education, authoring the chapter on the Armenian Genocide in the State's Social Studies Model Curriculum on Human Rights and Genocide. He has authored and edited 30 books and numerous scholarly articles, including five volumes on the Armenian Genocide and thirteen volumes on historic Armenian cities and provinces in the Ottoman Empire.

ANUSH HOVHANNISYAN is a senior researcher in the Department of Turkey at the Institute of Oriental Studies, the National Academy of Sciences in Armenia. She is also a lecturer at Yerevan State University and at the International Education Center of the Armenian National Academy of Sciences. She graduated from Leningrad (now, St. Petersburg) State University and then received her Candidate of Science degree in Turkish Studies from the Leningrad branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences. She also has a Diploma from the Department of Peace and Conflict Resolution in Uppsala University in Sweden. Her research interests focus on Ottoman history, the history and regional politics of modern Turkey, and the Armenian Genocide. She is the author of *Turkey: Cultural Genocide* (in Armenian, Russian, English and French, 2005), *The Process of the Armenians' Wealth Seizing in Turkey* (in English, 2012) and over 40 other academic publications. She has also co-authored the textbook *The History of the Republic of Turkey* (in Armenian, 2014). She is a contributor to the forthcoming *Turkey's Policy towards Armenia in the Years of the JDP (AKP) Rule*.

SALLY HOWELL is Associate Professor of History in the Center for Arab American Studies and the Department of Social Sciences at the University of Michigan-Dearborn. She received her Ph.D. from the Program in American Culture at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor in 2009. Her books include *Citizenship and Crisis* (co-authors Wayne Baker et al., 2009), *Arab Detroit 9/11: Life in the Terror Decade* (co-editors Nabeel Abraham and Andrew Shryock,



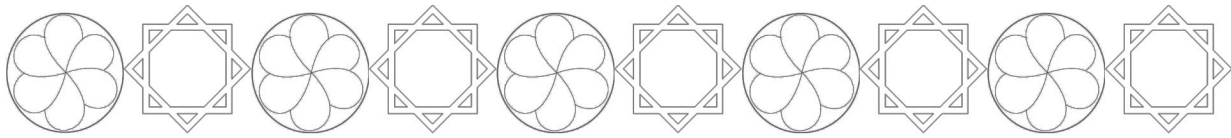
2011), and *Old Islam in Detroit: Rediscovering the Muslim American Past* (2014). *Old Islam in Detroit* was named a Michigan Notable Book of 2015 by the Library of Michigan and awarded the 2015 Evelyn Shakir Award for non-fiction by the Arab American National Museum. Her current research explores the relationship between mosques, markets, and community development in Michigan and the mutual constitution of local publics and religious minorities across the urban and suburban landscape.

JIRAIR JOLAKIAN is a co-founder and the editor-director of the Armenian-language newspaper *Nor Haratch* in Paris from 2009. He is also a co-founder of *Peniche Anako* multi-ethnic cultural center, a riverboat situated at the Bassin de la Villette in the heart of Paris. He graduated in economics from the Sorbonne Paris-I University. He has authored numerous articles on theater, arts and education in the “Thought and Arts” (*Mitk ew aruest*) supplement of *Nor Haratch*.

ASBED KOTCHIKIAN is a senior lecturer of Political Science and International Relations in the Global Studies Department at Bentley University. Before joining Bentley in 2008, he was the Assistant Director of the International Affairs Program at Florida State University. Moreover, he was a visiting professor at Yerevan State University between 2000 and 2002. His research interest focuses on socio-political change in the Middle East and the former Soviet space. He is the author of *The Dialectics of Small States: Foreign Policy Making in Armenia and Georgia* (2008) and has also published articles and book chapters in various venues including *Demokratizatsiya*, *Insight Turkey*, and *Central Asia and the Caucasus*. He is the editor-in-chief of the academic peer-reviewed journal, *The Armenian Review*.

HEITOR LOUREIRO is a Ph.D. candidate in History at São Paulo State University (UNESP). He was CAPES Foundation visiting scholar at the Institute of Ancient Manuscripts (Matenadaran) in Yerevan and received a short-term grant from the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation to conduct research in Armenia between April and August 2015. He is the 2015-2017 Emerging Scholars representative and member of the Advisory Board of the International Association of Genocide Scholars (IAGS). His research interests focus on the Armenian Diaspora in Latin America. He is the author of “Beyond the Brazilian Vote: Three Decades of Activism and Counting,” published in *The Armenian Weekly* (Watertown, MA) in June 2015, and a number of book chapters and articles published in Brazil.

VARTAN MATIOSSIAN is a historian and literary scholar based in New Jersey. He is the executive director of the Armenian National Education Committee, co-sponsored by the Eastern Prelacy (New York). He was born in Montevideo (Uruguay) and lived in Buenos Aires (Argentina) before moving to the United States. He graduated from the University of Buenos Aires and earned a Candidate of Science degree in History from the Institute of History, National Academy of Sciences in Armenia. His dissertation was on the history of the Armenian community in Argentina until 1950. He has published extensively in Armenian, Spanish, and English on topics ranging from Armenian history to literature and current affairs. He is the author of six books (five, in Armenian and one, in Spanish), of which two deal with the past and present of Armenians in Latin America. He has also translated sixteen books from Armenian into Spanish and English.

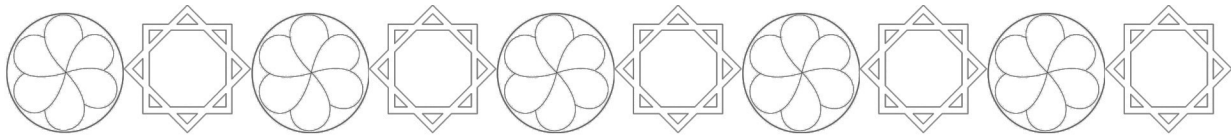


TIGRAN MATOSYAN is Adjunct Lecturer of Armenian History at the American University of Armenia. He also works as a Researcher at the Caucasus Research Resource Center-Armenia. He received his Candidate of Science degree in History from the National Academy of Sciences in Armenia in 2004 and his Master of Social Science degree from Tbilisi State University in 2007. His research interests include value transformations in post-Soviet Armenia as well as the socio-cultural history of Armenia. He is the author of *The Armenian Genocide and the Jewish Holocaust: An Attempt at Comparison* (in Armenian, 2005), as well as of several articles which explore how dominant values interact with public policymaking in contemporary Armenia.

NEERY MELKONIAN is a New York-based independent researcher, writer, curator and lecturer in modern and contemporary art. Art Historian by education, she is the founding director of *Blind Dates*, which involves artistic collaborations that deal with the traces of the Ottoman rupture. Co-curated with Defne Ayas, the first installment of this project, an exhibition entitled *New Encounters from the Edges of a Former Empire*, opened at Pratt Manhattan Gallery in 2010. She organized a related conference, *Strategies of (Un) Silencing*, at the American University of Armenia in 2012. The project's next iteration is currently being developed for Ghent, Belgium. She also ran workshops on *Global Feminism's Others* at the Summer School for Curators in Yerevan (2011), a topic she had first introduced at the Hrant Dink Memorial Workshop. Her research has since evolved into a curatorial project called *Accented Feminism: Armenian Women Artists from Representation to Self - Representation*. Her recent exhibition catalog essays include "Undoing Denials," "Traversing the Intimate yet Infinite Universe of MF Husain," "On the Front Line: Photographs of Hrair Sarkissian," and "Elective Affinities" (forthcoming). Her new long-term pursuit involves transforming a 55-acre donated land in upstate New York into artist residencies, research, education, and exhibition space.

GARABET K. MOUMDJIAN is an independent scholar. He holds a Ph.D. degree in History from UCLA. After teaching at several institutions of higher education, he started working as a security analyst for U.S. federal agencies. He currently consults in the field of Middle Eastern Security. He has written two volumes and has numerous book chapters and academic articles. His dissertation, dealing with the topic of "Armenian-Young Turk Relations: 1895-1914," is currently under the process of publication.

KHATCHIG MOURADIAN is a visiting assistant professor at the Division of Global Affairs at Rutgers University and the coordinator the Armenian Genocide Program at the university's Center for the Study of Genocide and Human Rights (CGHR). He teaches courses on imperialism, mass violence, and concentration camps in the History and Sociology departments at Rutgers. He is also adjunct professor at the Philosophy and Urban Studies departments at Worcester State University, where he teaches courses on urban space and conflict in the Middle East, genocide, collective memory, and human rights. He holds a Ph.D. in history from the Strassler Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies at Clark University.



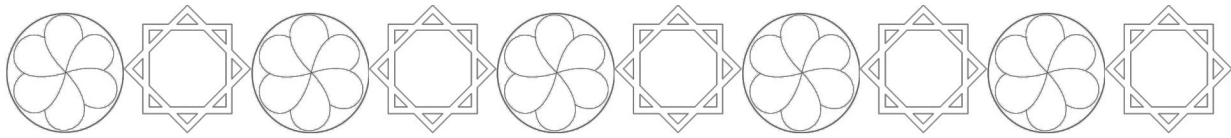
SIMON PAYASLIAN is holder of the Charles K. and Elizabeth M. Kenosian Chair in Modern Armenian History and Literature at Boston University. He is the author of a number of books, including *The Political Economy of Human Rights in Armenia: Authoritarianism and Democracy in a Former Soviet Republic* (2011); *The History of Armenia: From the Origins to the Present* (2007); *United States Policy toward the Armenian Question and the Armenian Genocide* (2005); *International Political Economy: Conflict and Cooperation in the Global System* (co-authored with Frederic S. Pearson, 1999; Chinese translation, 2006); and *U.S. Foreign Economic and Military Aid: The Reagan and Bush Administrations* (1996). He has co-edited (with Richard G. Hovannisian) *Armenian Constantinople* (2010) and *Armenian Cilicia* (2008). His articles and book chapters include "Diasporan Subalternities: The Armenian Community in Syria," *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* (2007 [2012]); and "Imagining Armenia," in *The Call of the Homeland: Diaspora Nationalisms, Past and Present*, edited by Allon Gal, Athena S. Leoussi, and Anthony D. Smith (2010).

PAM PENNOCK is Associate Professor of U.S. History at the University of Michigan-Dearborn. She received her Ph.D. from The Ohio State University in 2002. Her research interests are post-World War II social and political U.S. history. Her first book focused on the political and social debates surrounding alcohol and tobacco advertising in the United States from the 1950s through 1990s. Her next book, *Linkages on the Left: Arab American Activism, 1960s-1980s*, is forthcoming from University of North Carolina Press.

GEVORG PETROSYAN is pursuing a Candidate of Science degree at the Institute of Oriental Studies, National Academy of Sciences, Armenia. He received his Master's degree from Yerevan State University. His research interests focus on modern Turkish history, media, politics and the military, Turkish-Armenian relations, and the denial of Armenian Genocide. He is the head of Euphrates Research Center, the only youth think-tank in Armenia. He is also the founder of the *Turkological Portal* academic-oriented website (allTurkey.am). He writes columns and articles for several Armenian analytical journals and newspapers. In 2014, he was named "The Best Expert on Regional Affairs" by the Academy of Sciences in Armenia.

VAHE SAHAKYAN is Manoogian Post-Doctoral Fellow at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. He received his Candidate of Sciences degree in Sociology from Yerevan State University in 2003 and his Ph.D. from the Department of Near Eastern Studies, the University of Michigan in 2015. From 2003 to 2008 he was Assistant Professor of Sociology at Yerevan State University. Between 2012 and 2014 he conducted fieldwork in Lebanon, France and the United States as part of his doctoral program at the University of Michigan. His research focuses on modern Armenian history (19th-20th centuries), identity construction, and negotiations in diasporas from historical and sociological perspectives. Currently he is revising his dissertation for publication.

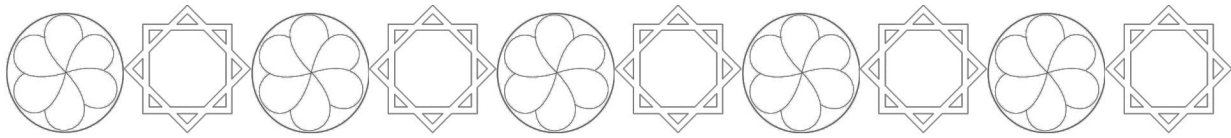
ARA SANJIAN is Associate Professor of Armenian and Middle Eastern History and the Director of the Armenian Research Center at the University of Michigan-Dearborn. He received his Ph.D. from the School of Oriental and African Studies, the University of



London. From 1996 to 2005 he was the Chairman of the Department of Armenian Studies, History and Political Science at Haigazian University in Beirut. His research interests focus on the post-World War I history of Armenia, Turkey and the Arab states of Western Asia. He is the author of *Turkey and Her Arab Neighbors, 1953-1958: A Study in the Origins and Failure of the Baghdad Pact* (2001), as well as two monographs and a number of scholarly articles.

JAMES STOCKER is Assistant Professor of International Affairs at Trinity Washington University. He received his Ph.D. from the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies in Geneva. He has published articles in *Cold War History*, *The Journal of Cold War Studies*, *The Middle East Journal*, and *The Digest of Middle East Studies*. His research interests are in the history of U.S. foreign policy and of the Modern Middle East. His book, *Spheres of Intervention: US Foreign Policy and the Collapse of Lebanon, 1967-1976*, will be published by Cornell University Press in May 2016.

HRATCH TCHILINGIRIAN is a sociologist and associate faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Oxford. From 2002 to 2012 he taught and held various positions at the University of Cambridge. He received his Ph.D. from the London School of Economics and Political Science and his M.P.A. from California State University, Northridge. His main research interests are in the field of sociology, religion, diasporas, and inter-ethnic conflicts, with particular focus on the Middle East, the Caucasus and the wider Eurasia region. He has authored numerous academic and popular articles, published in Europe, the United States and the Middle East.



## ***ABSTRACTS***

FIRST PANEL

**Garabet K Moundjian**

**Independent historian, Pasadena, CA**

### **The Kurdish Rebellions of the 1920s and 1930s in Republican Turkey and their Armenian Connection: In Search of the Origins of Islamized Armenians in Turkey**

The history of Armenian-Kurdish relations extends over centuries. In the 1800s, Armenians were involved in the Kurdish rebellions in Kurdistan proper. The Ottoman military crushed these rebellions. However, after the Armenian Genocide of 1915, there was a new phase of Armenian involvement in the Kurdish rebellions that ensued in Ottoman-cum-Republican Turkey from 1921 to the 1940s. The main aim of this policy by the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF) or Dashnaktsutiwn was to repatriate Armenian refugees from the Middle East back to their historic homeland, for the party believed that post-Genocide Armenian dispersion was only a temporary sojourn. This agenda was based on its knowledge that many pockets of Armenians still existed in the eastern provinces of the Turkish Republic. Moreover, at the end of the Second World War, a possibility arose that the Soviet Union could re-annex some of the historical Western Armenian lands and could incorporate them into the Soviet Armenian Republic. The ARF, regardless of its ideological opposition to the Soviet Union at the time, established a détente with the Communist regime. Having access to archival material from Republican Turkey, the Soviet Union, France, and Britain, as well as the memoirs and letters of some prominent ARF leaders involved in the Kurdish rebellions provides a unique opportunity to present a more detailed account of this period. It was only after 1947 that this policy was totally abandoned. By 1965, the fiftieth anniversary of the Armenian Genocide, Armenians still living in Turkey had been forgotten. The ARF announced that there were no Armenians left behind in Turkey and that its main policy objective now was the international recognition of the Armenian Genocide.

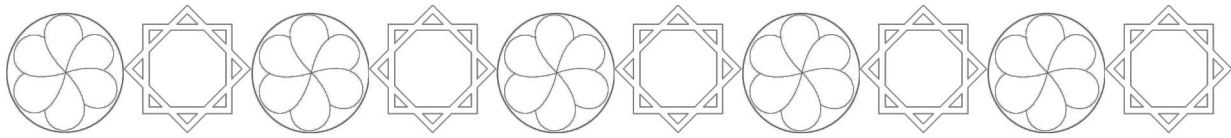
**Vahe Sahakyan**

**University of Michigan, Ann Arbor**

**Negotiating Politics in a Time of Crisis:**

### **The Changing Course of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation during WWII and Its Aftermath (1941-1947)**

Scholarly and polemical works addressing institutions and politics in the modern Armenian Diaspora often essentialize the anti-Soviet orientation of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF), attributing it to the activities of its leaders in the 1920s and 1930s. Such approaches have often portrayed the ARF as a transnationally coherent organization with less regard on how its committees and chapters negotiated their place and politics in different countries and how they responded to the changing political conditions throughout the twentieth century. The brief period of the ARF's pro-Soviet stand in 1945-1946 has, therefore, remained mostly unaddressed as well. This paper focuses on the period of WWII and its aftermath and explores the process of the ARF's retreat from anti-Soviet propaganda. By examining the activities of ARF leaders in Europe and the United States, it argues in particular that this process was decentralized, uneven, and developed under the influence of varying political conditions in different countries and occasionally in response to accusations by the ARF's opponents. This shift in ARF politics even briefly acquired a pro-Soviet expression after the Nazi defeat. In the immediate aftermath of WWII, many of the fiercely anti-Soviet leaders of the ARF, who used to be vehement about their goal, an independent



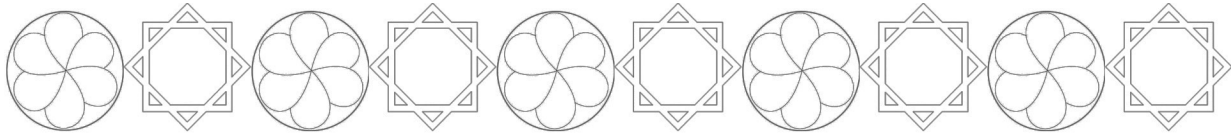
Armenia, now began expressing support for Soviet territorial demands from Turkey and for the reunification of the historic Armenian homeland within the Soviet state. While in the United States the ARF leaders launched this campaign in competition with their pro-Soviet Armenian opponents, in Europe this was often done in cooperation with their former Armenian rivals. The paper concludes that the Soviet abandonment of territorial demands, the Truman Doctrine and the Cold War ended this brief shift in ARF policies and laid the ground for the resumption and transnationalization of its anti-Soviet propaganda.

**Hazel Antaramian-Hofman**  
**Fresno City College**  
**Missing Ethnographic Opportunities:**  
**Post-WWII American-Armenian Repatriation to Soviet Armenia, 1947-1956**

Against the tsunami of displaced people immigrating to the United States after World War II were the Americans of Armenian descent emigrating to Soviet Armenia. As part of the Great Repatriation of 1946-1949, over 300 joined nearly 100,000 Armenians from the Diaspora to return to their perceived homeland. Why did many economically established Armenian-Americans leave during the midst of the Cold War? Their distinct voyage ran contrary to the migration desires of the DP Armenians who were offered the same repatriation journey but unwaveringly declined. A number of reasons are assumed based on the propaganda material operating at the time. However, the most sincere explanations of the ensuing events are those proffered by survivors. Ethnographic research of repatriate survivors reveals unrecognized departure scenarios. Studies of Cold War repatriates are those of the second generation rather than the first, whose grave decision initiated the move. Nonetheless, much can be acquired from the second generation: the young adults aged 12 to 20, who departed with their parents. Nearly 70 years later, the advanced age of survivors has become a potential risk of missed ethnographic opportunities in the acquisition of unpublished information. This paper presents informational gains in the collection of ethnographic-related material. Furthermore, it examines gaps in the historiography of the American-Armenian repatriation in an effort to guide future academic research within the scholarship of Soviet Armenia and the diaspora during the Cold War.

SECOND PANEL  
**Levon Chorbajian**  
**University of Massachusetts Lowell**  
**Roily Exchanges: Newspaper Wars at the *Hairenik Weekly* and the**  
***Armenian Mirror-Spectator* in 1951**

Decades before U.S. cold warriors were asking "Who Lost China?" Armenians were asking "Who Lost Armenia?" This and its sister question, "How should Diasporan Armenians understand and relate to the Armenian S.S.R.?" were emblematic of the deep and bitter divide that separated Diasporan Armenians in their respective Dashnak- and Ramkavar-associated communities. This multi-faceted conflict is analyzed through a content analysis of one Dashnak and one Ramkavar newspaper, respectively the *Hairenik Weekly* and the *Armenian Mirror-Spectator*. Both papers are published in English, at that time one in Boston and one in an adjacent suburb. Both papers serve as the main party outlets in the eastern third of the United States. Issues from 1951 are chosen first because James Mandalian's well-known six part series "Armenian Pro-Soviets in the United States" appeared on the pages of the *Hairenik* in the summer of 1951 along with Reuben Darbinian's pieces on the



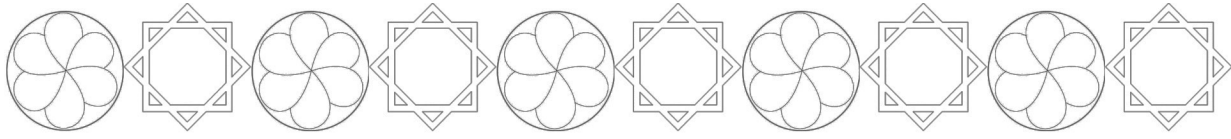
Armenian Church early in the year. 1951 was also the first full year of the surrogate war between the United States and the Soviet/Chinese bloc in Korea and the heady high noon of McCarthyist investigations, purges, black-listings, and, in two instances, executions which provided encouragement and traction for Dashnak attacks on Ramkavar ideology and political practice. Meanwhile the *Mirror-Spectator* provides full access to extensive Ramkavar rebuttals and counter-attacks. Both papers functioned as community newspapers with most of the coverage devoted to weddings, concerts, graduations, Korean War service, youth conventions, obituaries, and the like. In addition to this standard fare, the papers had a political mission, which was to socialize their respective communities in party ideology and world view through politicized news articles and editorials. It is these latter materials that are the focus of this study. To situate the work theoretically, it is an exercise in geopolitics and political economy and not cultural studies.

**Gregory Aftandilian**  
**American University, Washington, DC**  
**The Cold War Writings of Reuben Darbinian in *The Armenian Review***

The launch of *The Armenian Review* by the Hairenik Publications in Boston of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF) in 1948 coincided with the emergence of the Cold War. The Editor-in-chief was Reuben Darbinian, an ARF intellectual and a member of the ARF Bureau who had been Minister of Justice in 1920 during the independent Republic of Armenia (1918-1920). He was also a strong anti-Communist, having witnessed Bolshevik rule in Russia and was one of the ARF leaders imprisoned by the Bolsheviks in Armenia after Sovietization, before being freed during the anti-Bolshevik February Revolt of 1921. From 1945, Darbinian saw Armenia's salvation as part of the Cold War struggle, and worked to place the ARF on the side of the United States against the Soviet Union, believing the combination of outside and inside pressure would bring about the break-up of the USSR. From the early 1920s until his death in the 1960s, Darbinian also believed that only an independent Armenia, free from Soviet rule, would be in a position to promote Armenian nationalism and retrieve lost territories. Darbinian's ideological mission in the Cold War was reflected in his own writings in *The Armenian Review*, which at the time combined literary, scholarly and polemical articles. His writings not only represented the ARF's ideological stances during the Cold War from the late 1940s to the late 1960s, but also helped to deepen the divisions in the Armenian community by labeling all anti-ARF elements in the diaspora as dupes of the Soviet Union and Communist sympathizers. This paper will analyze the Cold War writings of Darbinian in the issues of *The Armenian Review* from 1948 to the 1960s to not only discern the ARF's public positions during this period but also to show how one of the ARF's most prominent leaders had such an effect on Armenian diaspora politics during the Cold War.

**Benjamin F. Alexander**  
**New York City College of Technology (CUNY)**  
**The Cold Wars of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation**

When the Cold War began in the aftermath of WWII, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, or Dashnak party, which from the start maintained a stance of hostility to Soviet rule over eastern Armenia, heightened the intensity of its rhetoric. In concert with nationalistic spokespersons for other immigrant groups whose ancestral homelands were under Communist rule, the Dashnak party in America, especially through its press, sought every opportunity to exhort constituents to feel a sense of membership in a struggle to liberate Armenia from the Soviet yoke and to be visible



to American political leaders as part of the global anti-Communist crusade. This included creation of what are now called “photo ops” with ethnic nationalist leaders like Lev Dobriansky, president of the Polish American Congress, and strong anti-Communist American lawmakers like Representative Charles J. Kersten of Wisconsin. In so doing, the Dashnaks were able to paint being good patriotic Americans and being good diasporic nationalists as compatible, and even synonymous. This also help fuel their unceasing rivalry with the other political parties which accepted Soviet rule in eastern Armenia and cultivated friendly relations with the Soviet state. While this occurring openly, some very cloak-and-dagger episodes were being playing out in the deepest of secrecy. Declassified files of both the CIA and the FBI show that the legendary and controversial Drastamat Kanayan, popularly known as General Dro, was having deep-secret meetings with U.S. government officials, where both he and they were making grandiose promises to each other for a hypothetical next war. In exchange for espionage and sabotage services to the U.S. government, Dro appeared to be anticipating U.S. help in liberating eastern Armenia from Soviet rule.

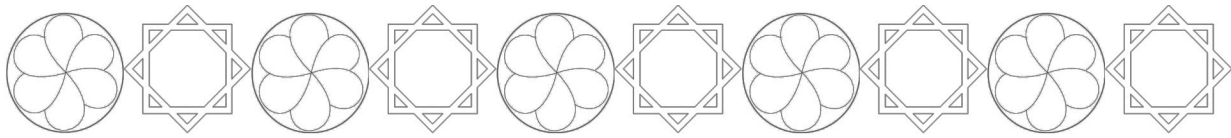
### THIRD PANEL

**Jirair Jolakian**

***Nor Haratch, Paris***

#### **The Cold War in the Pages of the Newspaper *Haratch***

Chavarche Missakian, the founder of the newspaper *Haratch*, was an intellectual and an Armenian Revolutionary Federation activist. From 1925, he inextricably linked his fate to journalism, the preservation and development of the Western Armenian language, the creation of a youth movement, and the energizing of the Armenian community in France – all through *Haratch*. In a nutshell, he made his mission to save the remnants of a nation that had just suffered genocide. Missakian was on the list of the intellectuals the Ottoman authorities had planned to arrest in April 1915. He managed to hide for a while and send clandestine reports about the persecutions to the outside world. After having been betrayed by a person he trusted, he was arrested and tortured. These events influenced his life so profoundly that he remained hostile to Turks throughout his journalistic and party career. He considered the Soviet regime as an enemy only when he thought that it was causing divisions in the Armenian Diaspora and was resorting to violence and mass murder against the Soviet Armenian citizens. Missakian’s conflict with the Soviet Armenian regime was primarily cultural, literary, and linguistic, rather than purely political and ideological. It is within this framework that we come across Cold War themes in the pages of *Haratch*. For example, between 1945 and 1949, the newspaper enthusiastically covered the great hopes generated by the Soviet territorial claims on Turkey for Kars and Ardahan and the grand plans for the repatriation of Armenians of the Diaspora. However, it also covered the immense disillusionment caused by Soviet Armenia and the political parties which supported it in the Diaspora, the attempts to annex Kars and Ardahan to Georgia rather than Armenia, and the various disappointing aspects of the repatriation.

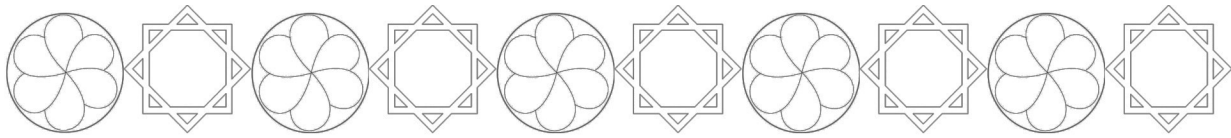


**Astrig Atamian**  
**École des hautes études en sciences sociales, Paris**  
**Between Soviet Armenia and the French Communist Party:**  
**The “Garmir” Movement in France**

In the French Armenian community, relations between the Dashnaks and Communists - or pro-Soviets - had been quite violent during the 1920s and the 1930s. After World War II, these two groups continued to be in confrontation, but not in a physical way anymore. By now, their battles had gradually moved from the political to the cultural arena. Moreover, at several moments during the Cold War era, even a convergence of their causes could be observed. World War II allowed the pro-Soviets and Communists in the Armenian Diaspora to appropriate patriotic elements of the Dashnak discourse. The pre-war Ankara-Moscow axis came to an end. Soviet diplomacy demanded the return of Kars and Ardahan, while the Armenian refugees were encouraged to settle down in Soviet Armenia. At the beginning of the Cold War, the French Communist Party (PCF) was the leading political party in France. The anti-Communist repression by the French authorities in the early 1950's did not marginalize the Communist movement. Armenian members of the French Communist Party came together in the Armenian National Commission. The pro-Soviets and Communists in the Armenian community were also assembled in two so-called “mass organizations”: the UCFAF (French Armenian Cultural Union) and the JAF (Armenian Youth of France). While the UCFAF was under the influence of the French Communist Party, the JAF followed the watchwords of the Communist Party in Soviet Armenia. However, the rest of the French-Armenian community considered the UCFAF and the JAF as one and the same organization, and many French-Armenians ignored the existence of the French Communist Party's Armenian National Commission. This paper will study these Armenians, whom the Dashnak party members and supporters used to call “garmir” (red), as well as their relations with both Soviet Armenia and the French Communists.

**FOURTH PANEL**  
**Vartan Matiossian**  
**Armenian National Education Committee, New York**  
**Fighting for History: An Unknown Polemics in Argentina at the Beginnings of the Cold War**

Historian Haroutiun Astourian (1880-1950) was a member of the Armenian Catholic Mkhitarist Congregation in Venice until his resignation from the order in the 1920s. As a scholar, he is known primarily as the author of the first monograph on relations between Armenia and the Roman Empire, which was his doctoral dissertation, published in 1911-1912, both in its German original and in Armenian translation. He settled in Buenos Aires (Argentina) in the early 1920s, and later moved to Cordoba, where he lived for the rest of his life working as a teacher. Astourian made a return to the field of Armenian Studies in the 1940s, and as a result, he published a one-volume history of Armenia addressed to the general public (Buenos Aires, 1947). This book covered the entire span of the nation's history from the earliest times to the establishment of the Soviet regime in 1920. His views about the first Republic of Armenia (1918-1920) and Soviet Armenia became the target of a lecture in 1948 by an ARF intellectual, Sahag Barceghian, who had been active during the first Republic. The lecture was later published as a book in Buenos Aires. It constituted one of the first polemics around Soviet Armenia in the Cold War era. Astourian's book, posthumously reprinted (Beirut, 1960), is relatively known, while the critique that it generated at the time has remained ignored. This paper will present the controversy within the context of the beginnings of the Cold War.



**Heitor Loureiro**  
**São Paulo State University**

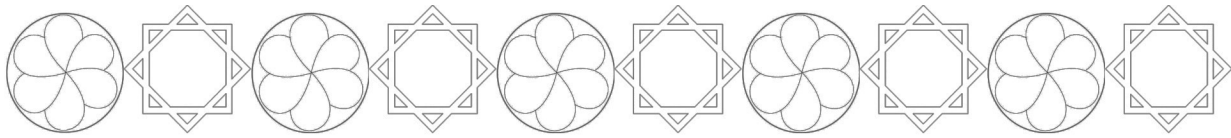
**Communism in the Armenian Community in São Paulo and the Repression by Political Police**

The critical objective of this paper is to explore the tensions within the Armenian community in São Paulo between the 1940s and 1960s through the analysis of the criminal records of the Political Police of the State of São Paulo. After 1945, Brazil briefly experimented with democracy, but this was interrupted by the *coup d'état* in 1964. However, the authoritarian instruments established during the pre-WWII decades were not eliminated. Even during the democratic period, the Political Police remained active in chasing the “red danger” and disseminating intense propaganda against Communism, which it said would jeopardize the moral values of Brazilian society. In the interim, Armenians in São Paulo tried to be accepted by the local society and sought social prestige that would equate them to the wealthy – a status many Armenian families reached between the 1940s and 1960s. During this process, Armenian individuals and institutions made an effort to be acknowledged as “good Brazilian citizens” and tried to dispel the image of Communists, which haunted Armenians in Brazil. On the other hand, another faction in the Armenian community organized itself through cultural unions by exalting the Bolshevik contributions to the progress of Armenia, publishing newspapers, magazines, books, and screening movies about the Soviet Union. This paper examines the primary sources on political tensions between the Communist Armenians in Brazil and the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF). It also focuses its attention on the role of the Political Police within these tensions. It analyzes the publications issued by the rival Armenian organizations and institutions in order to identify and explain the discordances and denunciations within the Armenian community, which also resulted in the Brazilian police mediating the struggles among the Armenian organizations and institutions in São Paulo.

**Khatchik DerGhougassian**  
**Universidad de San Andrés, Argentina**

**The Diffusion of the Cold War in the (Southern) Periphery of the Armenian Diaspora:  
The Pro/Against Soviet Divide in the Argentine-Armenian Community 1947-1987**

The Cold War is known as a global confrontation of two ideological worldviews under the leadership of the United States and the Soviet Union, the two post-WWII superpowers. It also implied tremendous “local consequences” that Jeffrey A. and Katherine Carté Engel study as the way that “foreign affairs and geopolitics affect[ed] communities and lives.” However, Odd Arne Westad has argued that it was not always the strategic clash of the two superpowers that shaped the worldwide diffusion of the East/West paradigm of rivalry and conflict. Particularly in the Third World, where Washington and Moscow aggressively competed for the expansion of their influence in a zero-sum game logic, the diffusion of the Cold War paradigm was much a process of internalization of the conflict according to the interests and alliances of the dominant elites. The “local consequences” of the Cold War in the Third World, therefore, bear also the mark of this particular dynamic. This essay proposes an International Relations disciplinary perspective to the study of the interaction of the Cold War paradigm and the Armenian Diaspora, focusing on the case of the Argentine-Armenian community. Using Jeffrey A. and Katherine Carté Engel’s “local consequences” thesis, it aims to highlight the way the pre-Cold War divide of the community regarding Soviet Armenia was affected by the diffusion/internalization of the East/West paradigm in 1947-1987 through the internal political convulsions of the country and the generational succession within the leadership of the community. It also aims to find out if the community, or any



sector of the community, assumed any role related to the Cold War dynamics within the local or international context.

#### FIFTH PANEL

**Nélida Boulgourdjian**

**Universidad Nacional de Tres de Febrero, Argentina**

#### **Soviet Armenian Policy toward the Armenian Diaspora before and During the Early Cold War: The Armenian Communities in France and Argentina (1930-1950)**

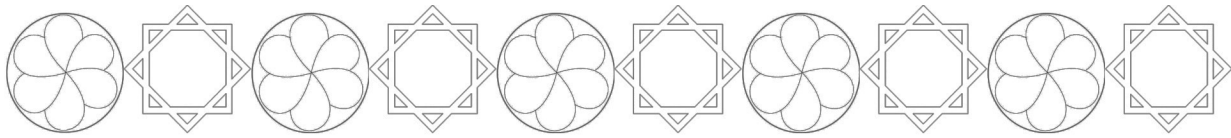
The aim of this paper is to investigate a complex period in the history of the Armenian Diaspora: the years before the beginning through the early years of the Cold War, between 1930 and 1950, with special reference to the Armenian Diasporas in France and Argentina. Although for most historians the Cold War began after the end of WWII, this paper supports the position of those who mark its beginning at the end of the First World War. From this paper's perspective, the history of the Cold War among Armenians is linked to the tension emerging after the sovietization of Armenia (1920) and the erosion of relations between the Soviet and European blocs, which hardened in the following decades. The focus of this paper is on three questions: a) the tools adopted by the Soviet Union to expand Bolshevism in areas where there were numerous Armenians such as in France and in smaller communities such as Argentina; b) the policies adopted by the French and Argentine states aimed at these groups who recognized a republic under Soviet rule as their "mother country"; c) the divisions in both communities due to their, at times, complex links with the "mother country" as well as the internal struggle for community leadership. To achieve these objectives, different archives were consulted; for the French case, the National Archives, the Police Prefecture Archives, and those of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as well as the Armenian press. For the Argentine case, the archives of the Administrative Institution of the Armenian Church, the archives of the General Inspection of Justice and the Armenian press were researched.

**Gevorg Petrosyan**

**Institute of Oriental Studies, National Academy of Sciences, Armenia**

#### **The Impact of the Cold War and Turkish-Soviet Relations on Armenians in Turkey and Their Relations with Soviet Armenia (1945-1964)**

This paper discusses the impact of the Cold War and Turkish-Soviet relations on the life of Armenians living in Turkey, as well as the impact of the Cold War and Turkish-Soviet relations on Armenians in Turkey and their relations with Soviet Armenia (1945-1964). It attempts to periodize these developments from the end of WWII to the dismissal of Nikita Khrushchev from power in the Kremlin. After WWII, Turkey came under heavy Soviet pressure – demands for the revision of the treaty governing passage through the straits, plus territorial demands concerning Kars and Ardahan. As a counterweight to Soviet pressure, Turkey deepened its relations with Great Britain, the United States and other Western countries. It eventually joined NATO in 1952. As a consequence of this confrontation between NATO and the Eastern Bloc, Armenians living in Soviet Armenia and Turkey (both in Istanbul and the remnants in Historic Western Armenia after the 1915 genocide) became deeply separated because of the "Iron Curtain." As a result of the Cold War, Armenians living in Turkey and the USSR had very limited opportunities for active social and cultural contacts with one another. After 1954 there was a noticeable deepening in the USSR's relations with the Armenian Diaspora, but it was still not enough for creating active connections between Armenians living in the USSR and in Turkey. This paper is based on archival documents,



interviews with Armenians who lived in Turkey during this period, as well as secondary literature related to this topic.

#### SIXTH PANEL

**Hratch Tchilingirian**

**University of Oxford**

#### **The Armenian Church during the Cold War Era and the Chasm Between Ejmiatsin and Antelias**

“Secularization” of the Armenian Church continued in the post-WWII period, especially as the Church became a battle ground for ideological and political battles against the background of the Cold War. Whereas the *Polozhenie* had put Armenian Church administration in the Russian Empire in the hands of the clergy and the National Constitution in the Ottoman Empire, in the hands of the laity, the Soviets took away the administrative independence of the church in Soviet Armenia from both the clergy and laity and put it in the hands of Communist Party *apparatchiks*. In turn, during the Cold War, political parties in the Armenian Diaspora embroiled the Church in the wider politics of “superpower” rivalries. In this wider context, this paper will present a discussion of the political processes related to the catholicossal election at the Cilician See in Antelias, Lebanon in 1956 and the agency of high ranking clergymen (both in the Ejmiatsin and Cilician Sees) who became the main actors in the political high drama played out under the canopy of the Armenian Apostolic Church. The election of the Catholicos of Cilicia, initially expected toward the end of 1952, was postponed for three and a half years. The issue was not the candidate for the Cilician See, but rivalry over political influence on the Cilician See, which was seen as influence on the Diaspora communities.

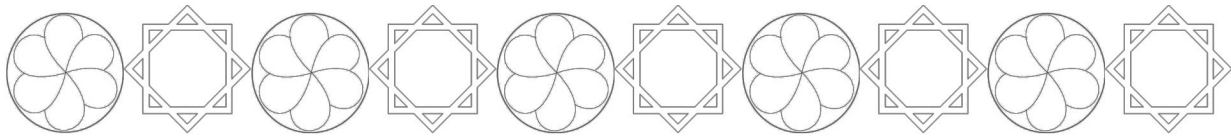
**James Stocker**

**Trinity Washington University**

**An Opportunity to Strike a Blow?**

#### **The United States and the Struggle in the Armenian Apostolic Church, 1956-1963**

This paper analyzes the influence of the U.S. government on the internal conflict within the Armenian Apostolic Church and the transnational Armenian community between 1956 and 1963. During these years, U.S. officials followed closely and occasionally intervened in this conflict among various Armenian political parties on one hand, and among different factions of the church on the other. This conflict concerned control over the Catholicosate in Antelias, the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, and the Armenian Church structures in many other countries around the world. The intervention helped to shape the outcome of the struggle within the Church and within the broader Armenian community. The events of this period provide insight into how a great power such as the United States intervenes in the affairs of diasporic communities, and sheds light on U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East during the Cold War. The paper is based primarily on documents from the U.S. National Archives, including many released in response to Freedom of Information Act requests.



**Khatchig Mouradian  
Rutgers University**

**The Cold War of Genocide:**

**April 24 Editorials in the Lebanese-Armenian Party Political Press, 1945-1970**

The Cold War years coincide with the gradual incorporation of the newly-coined term “genocide” in the public discourse of the Armenian diaspora, and the emergence of the politics of the international recognition of the crime and the attendant quest for justice, now broadly termed as *Hay Dat* (The Armenian Cause). Indeed, the fiftieth anniversary of the Armenian Genocide is considered a turning point in many respects, including a formal dividing line between the hottest period of the Armenian “Cold War” in the 1950s and the Armenian “thaw” and the emergence of a new, common Armenian diasporan political agenda, which followed from the 1960s. This paper focuses on the Armenian intra-communal politics in Lebanon within the context of the Cold War, as it analyzes April 24 editorials in the official organs in Beirut, Lebanon of three Armenian political parties, the Dashnaks (ARF), Hunchakians, and the Ramkavars—*Azduk*, *Ararat*, and *Zartonk*, respectively. In the 1950s, Beirut came to be accepted as the unofficial “capital city” of the Armenian Diaspora, a position it held at least until the early years of the Lebanese Civil War (1975-1990). This paper traces the terminology and discourse employed on the Armenian Genocide, its legacy, and the concept of *Hay Dat* at different junctures during the Cold War and across the Lebanese-Armenian diasporan political divide. Broadening the analytical aperture, the paper also examines the silent and salient in this discourse within the broader context of the Armenian “Cold War.”

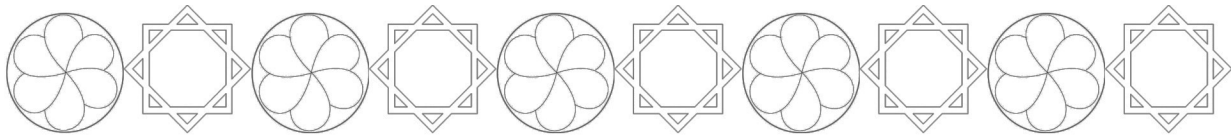
**SEVENTH PANEL**

**Eldad Ben-Aharon**

**Royal Holloway, University of London**

**An Israeli-American-Turkish Alliance in 1982: The Cold War and Political Violence by ASALA**

This paper focuses on the attitude of the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs toward the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA) in 1982. Since the mid-1970s ASALA had been attacking Turkish diplomats and other Turkish targets, mostly in Europe, in order to force Turkey into recognizing the Armenian Genocide and compensating its survivors and their descendants. During the same period the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) was shelling Israeli towns from their refugee camps in southern Lebanon. In the summer of 1982, Israel invaded Lebanon in order to secure its northern border and the conflict soon escalated into full-scale war. Between 1982 and 1988 Israel considered both Syria and Lebanon as nests harboring terror organizations that were sponsored by the Soviet Union. At the time Israel’s relations with Turkey were antagonistic – with Turkey almost severing relations. However, through the back channels of the Israeli lobby in the United States, the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs exerted pressure upon Turkey to join a united front against Soviet-supported mid-east terror which it claimed was behind the attacks on both countries. National security interests and the desire to save the deteriorating relations with Turkey propelled the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs to define terrorism as a widespread Middle Eastern phenomenon that included not only the PLO but also ASALA. Focusing on the cooperation between the PLO and ASALA, Israel hoped to rebuild bilateral relations with Turkey. Therefore, the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs found it behooved Israel’s national security interests neither to ignore ASALA activities nor to recognize the Armenian Genocide. Evidence for this paper is based upon recently declassified material retrieved from the Israeli National Archives and oral interviews conducted with former prominent Israeli diplomats.



**Emre Can Dağlıoğlu**  
**Clark University**

**The Re-Shaped Identity of Armenians in Turkey under Cold War Conditions in the 1980s**

Turkey chose unresponsiveness towards the year of 1965 when the Armenian Genocide was recalled to the global memory. This state of Turkish apathy led some Armenians to commit violence in the late 1970s and early 1980s to remind Turkey about “the forgotten genocide.” The Cold War acted as a great catalyst for that violence. The international political atmosphere provided a basis for the activities of both the pro-USSR organization, the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA), and the pro-Western Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide (JCAG). Between 1973 and 1990, these organizations targeted Turkish diplomats stationed across the globe. Whereas these political murders, responsibilities for which these organizations claimed, brought attention to the Armenian Genocide, Turkey counteracted by systematizing its nearly 70-year-old denialism. In this context, the Western-backed military coup of September 12, 1980, became a turning point for Turkey. The conditions of violence abroad and oppression at home, accentuated by the international Cold War political environment, determined the re-assertion of Turkish-Armenian identity. This paper tries to shed light on the renovated identity of Turkish-Armenians through focusing on the profiles of four Armenians that developed in Turkey in the early 1980s. The state’s denial of the Armenian Genocide, the absences of connections with the Armenian Diaspora, and the invisibility that Armenians in Turkey were forced to internalize, were major aspects of the new identity, which will be unfolded in this paper. The primary resources, which this paper is based on, are news reports on these four Armenian profiles, as well as oral history accounts.

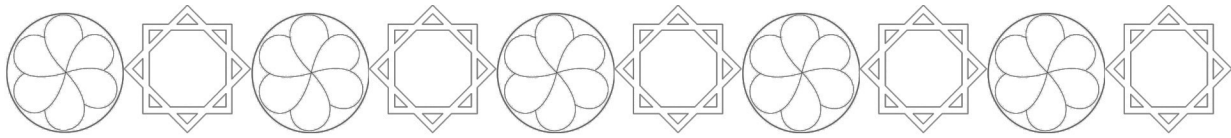
**EIGHTH PANEL**

**Samvel Grigoryan**

**Independent historian, Moscow,**

***T’agawor, Korol’ or Czar: The Impact of Soviet-Western Relations  
on the Historiography of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia***

The Cold War had its negative effect not only on the political prospects of the Armenian people, now divided by the Iron Curtain, but also on historical studies in the USSR, including the study of the history of the Armenian medieval kingdom of Cilicia in the 11th-14th centuries. This paper examines why this effect occurred, how it developed and what distortions and other negative consequences it caused. Narrating the genesis of Cilician Armenia, Prof. Sirarpie Der-Nersessian wrote: “For the first time in their history, the Armenians became masters of the country which had an outlet to the sea and *direct communication with the peoples of the West.*” The close and immediate contacts with the Franks of the Latin East and other Western Europeans favored the development of the Armenian kingdom along the Western-European model. To some extent, it was a “westernized” Armenian state, a European Armenia. That is why the historiography of Cilician Armenia came into collision with Soviet Cold War-era ideology, a major component of which was anti-Western propaganda. Before WWII and even by the beginning of the Cold War, the Soviet authorities and historians were mainly oblivious to the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia. However, the end of this “period of oblivion” would signify the beginning of the writing of the history of this kingdom “in light of Soviet propaganda.” This change in approach of the Soviet authorities towards the historiography of Cilician Armenia occurred in the 1940s due to three objectives: (a) to gain the sentiments of the Armenian public, including the sentiments of the Diasporan Armenians, during



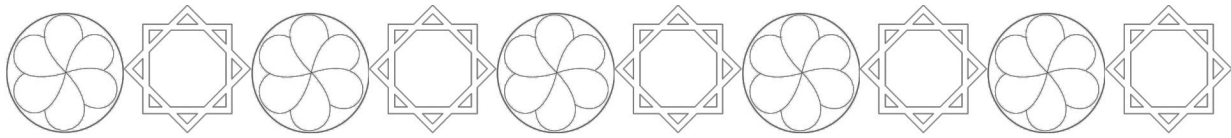
World War II; (b) to use the “Armenian factor” in Soviet relations with Turkey; and (c) to ensure the ideological backing of the Diaspora Armenians for the repatriation campaign which began in 1946.

**Anush Hovhannisyan**  
**Institute of Oriental Studies, National Academy of Sciences, Armenia**  
**Remembering the Genocide in Soviet Armenia during the Cold War Era: “Private Stories”**

After the sovietization of Eastern Armenia, Armenian Genocide survivors who had settled there encountered serious problems speaking about their tragic experience. Because of the friendly relations between Turkey and the USSR in the 1920s, there was no official discussion of the genocide in the Communist state. Under Stalin and partially under his successors, official propaganda defined even private conversations and stories about the Armenian Genocide as “Dashnak agitation” and “nationalism.” Therefore, the authorities tried to suppress them. This was probably one reason why the genocide was relegated in Soviet Armenia, for a long time, to the status of a private issue. Public/collective memories were “locked” within individual families. The later changes in Soviet policy as regards to the Armenian Question, should be viewed in the context of the Cold War. Moscow used it as a tool both to exert pressure on NATO-member Turkey and as a means to gain influence in the Armenian Diaspora. During Stalin’s post-WWII territorial claims from Turkey, Soviet historiography partially raised the problem of territories abandoned by Armenians. However, these discussions totally sidelined the actual genocide survivors. The latter were still prevented from openly expressing their views to the public. The problem of the Armenian Genocide remained in the domain of high politics, and the public remained mostly unaware of the sufferings of particular persons during WWI. The rallies in 1965, the construction of the genocide monument, and public processions on April 24 in the ensuing years permitted these memories to move partly “beyond families.” Finally, the younger generation in the eighties stopped being, even if again partially, the direct bearer of these “family memories.” It was also no longer the “prisoner” of these memories. This paper is based partly on the family memories of the present generation of descendants of genocide survivors based in Armenia, collected during an oral history project with this author’s participation.

NINTH PANEL  
**Neery Melkonian**  
**Independent researcher, critic and curator, New York City**  
**A Third Space: Armenian Diaspora Artists and the Cold War**

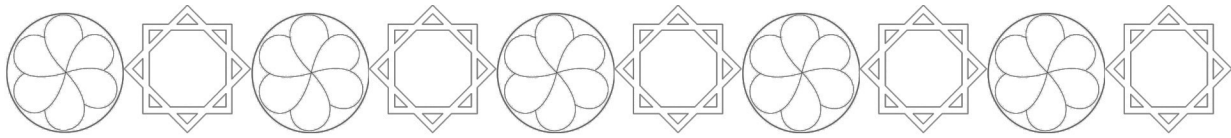
It can be argued that the effects of the Cold War on Diaspora Armenian visual artists began when Arshile Gorky, who was pro-Stalin, moved away from figurative work to abstraction. While this tendency towards abstraction, or self-erasure which included name change and reinvention of identity, can also be found among other immigrant artists from Europe, who, after experiencing the horrors and trauma of WWI, considered New York a safe haven for creativity, this presentation first explores how abstraction was reinforced as the prevalent mode of expression among the second or “silent” generation American-Armenian artists (i.e. Garo Antreasian, Charles Garabedian and Paul Sarkissian). It also argues that their “silencing” was not only due to the fact that their parents were genocide survivors, or that it was a purely formal development and the working out in (art) history of the seemingly autonomous logic of Modernism, but rather it was integral to how, after WWII, “Abstract Expressionism” was instrumentalized by the CIA and became the quintessential “American” brand in art making to represent “freedom” throughout the world. The subsequent part



of this paper focuses on parallel developments of modernities in the Middle East, beginning with Paul Guiragossian (1923-1993) and followed by often forgotten third- and fourth-generation artists from the region whose works have been influenced by leftist or socialist political thought and activism – filtered through Italian cinema, French literature, Chaos theory, Islamic geometry, Arabic poetry and theatre, as well as philosophies of spiritual transcendence. Interwoven with personal memories and anecdotes, or fragmented family narratives (related to the 1958 Armenian fratricide in Lebanon or the underground movements for liberation of the 1970s and 1980s) this paper addresses how the creative process for these artists draws from Western and Eastern influences to put forth a third space or a Diaspora aesthetics.

**Tigran Matosyan**  
**American University of Armenia**  
**Sheepskin Vests in Yerevan: The Story of Soviet Armenian Hippies**

One of the 1969 issues of the Soviet Armenian satirical newspaper *Vozni* published an article which rebuked the weird habit of some young people in Yerevan to wear sheepskin vests in hot weather. This article represented an example of the crusade that Soviet state propaganda in general and Soviet Armenian propaganda in particular waged against hippies in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The sub-culture (movement) of Armenian hippies was an extra-ordinary phenomenon in the history of Soviet Armenia, which has been largely neglected by researchers. As a result, a number of important questions still await their answers: How did hippie ideas and hippie artifacts infiltrate into Soviet Armenia, penetrating the “Iron Curtain”? Did the Armenian hippies constitute a sub-culture with its underlying elements of counter-culture? What lifestyle did Armenian hippies follow and what ideas did they endorse? How did Soviet state propaganda fight the hippies? This paper will try to address these questions drawing upon the data collected in 2013 by a group of researchers from Yerevan State University for a research project funded by the Eurasia Partnership Foundation. In particular, the data collected include (a) materials from the Soviet Armenian newspapers *Avangard*, *Vozni*, *Yerekoyan Yerevan*, and *Grakan Tert*, published between 1968 and 1974, as well as (b) 10 in-depth interviews with individuals who either identified themselves as followers of the hippie movement in Soviet Armenia or who claimed to have closely observed it.



*ARMENIAN RESEARCH CENTER  
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN-DEARBORN*

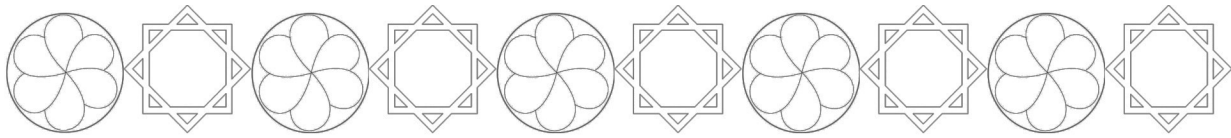
The Armenian Research Center at the University of Michigan-Dearborn was established in 1985 by Dr. Dennis R. Papazian, with financial support from the Knights of Vartan organization and particularly from the late Edward and Helen Mardigian. Papazian also became the Center's first director until his retirement in 2006. His successor and present director is Dr. Ara Sanjian. Gerald E. Ottenbreit, Jr., Research Assistant, has also worked at the Center since 1990.

The Center's mission is to document, research and publish materials in Armenian Studies. Its activities encompass members of the Dearborn campus community, academics and students in the United States and abroad, the Armenian-American community, members of the press, theater and arts companies, plus officials and various organizations interested in Armenian issues. Those activities can be broadly categorized into the following domains:

**Library:** The Center has arguably one of the fastest-growing Armenian Studies collections in the United States. It grew by over 240 percent in the past ten years and comprised, in June 2015, of over 25,000 titles, plus another 4,000 volumes of duplicates to be traded with other institutions and individuals. This collection grows through purchases, book exchanges with other libraries and generous donations by authors, publishers and friends of the Center from both the metro Detroit area and beyond. The collection's books are gradually being added to the University of Michigan-Dearborn Mardigian Library's online catalog, and over 3,000 of them were digitized by Google in 2011. The collection of periodicals is also impressive and is also growing steadily. The collection also includes audiovisual material (DVDs, VHS tapes, CDs, LPs, etc.) and microfilms of Armenian-related archival documents. The books and the audio-visual material can be borrowed by scholars across the United States via interlibrary loan. The whole collection is insured for one million dollars. The library also has a growing collection of archival material, mostly donated by local Armenian families. The Center is striving to have a locked, climate-controlled archival room inside its premises in the near future.

**Visiting Scholars:** Over the years the Center has hosted a number of visiting scholars, including Babken Harutyunyan, Ara Sarafian, Hilmar Kaiser, Taner Akçam, Tigran Sarukhanyan, and Marc Nichanian, who have spent considerable amounts of time conducting research on its premises. The most recent among such visitors was the anthropologist Dr. Nona Shahnazarian from Armenia who, for two months in the Fall of 2015, interviewed Armenian refugees from Azerbaijan, living in the metro Detroit area, Ann Arbor and Lansing since the 1990s.

**Teaching of the Armenian Language:** The Center sponsors the instruction of Armenian language courses, as part of the Modern and Classical Languages taught on the University of Michigan-Dearborn campus. Over the years these courses have been taught by Rev. Vahan Tootikian, Hourig Jacobs, and Ani Kasparian.



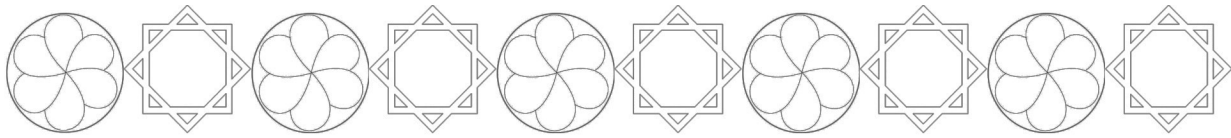
**Publications:** Over the years, the Center has published a number of books, like Harry Yessayan's *Out of Turkey, Armenian Studies Chairs, Programs, and Related Graduate Studies*, compiled by Dennis R. Papazian and Gerald Ottenbreit, Jr., Arman Kirakossian's *The Armenian Massacres, 1894-1896: British Media Testimony*, Robert J. Koolakian's *Struggle for Justice*, and the English translation of Nigoghos Sarafian's *The Bois de Vincennes*. It is now in the process of finalizing the establishment of a specialized series, called *Texts and Studies in Armenian History, Society, and Culture*, with Michigan State University Press.

**Conferences and Exhibitions:** In October 2010, the Center organized the "Armenia and Its Diaspora: Institutional Linkages and Cross Border Movements" international academic conference to mark the 25th anniversary of its founding. Two years later, it joined forces with the Alex Manoogian Museum in Southfield, MI to organize an exhibition focusing on the first 500 years of Armenian-language book printing. Earlier, in February-March 2010, the Center had hosted on the Dearborn campus the traveling exhibit "Légion Arménienne: The Armenian Legion and Its Heroism in the Middle East," developed and prepared by the Armenian Library and Museum of America.

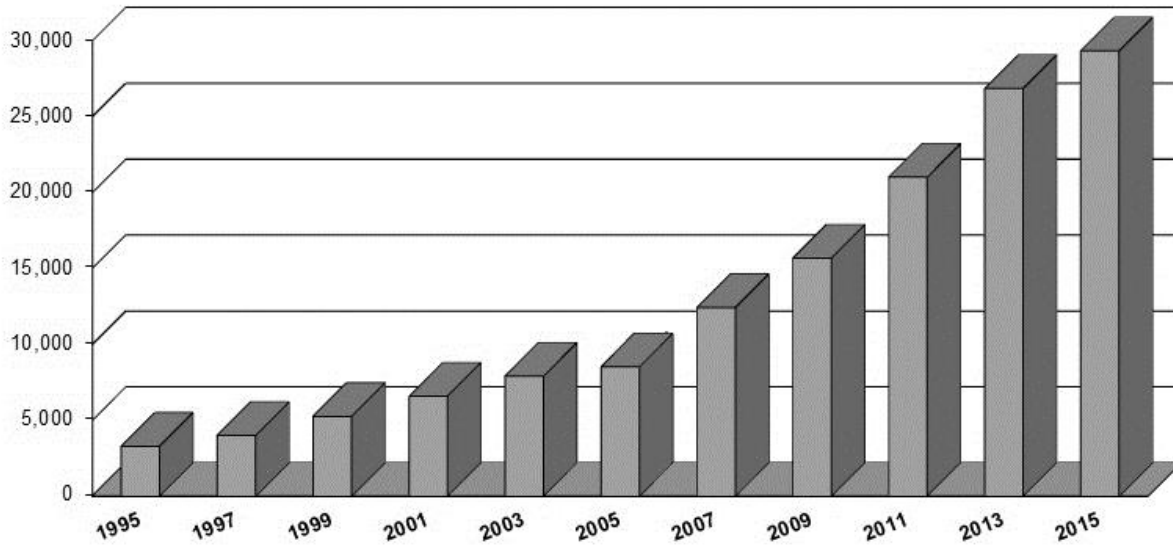
**Public Lectures and Other Outreach Activities:** The Center regularly holds public lectures on a variety of Armenian Studies topics, film showings, and other public outreach activities, usually at the rate of four to five events per academic year, often with the co-sponsorship of other local Armenians churches and organizations. Speakers at such events in the past few years include, among others, Robert Fisk, Azat Yeghiazaryan, Sebouh Aslanian, Roger Smith, Samuel Totten, Uğur Üngör, George Bournoutian, Taner Akçam, Levon Avdoyan, Robert Melson, Barlow Der Mugerdechian, and Richard G. Hovannisian.



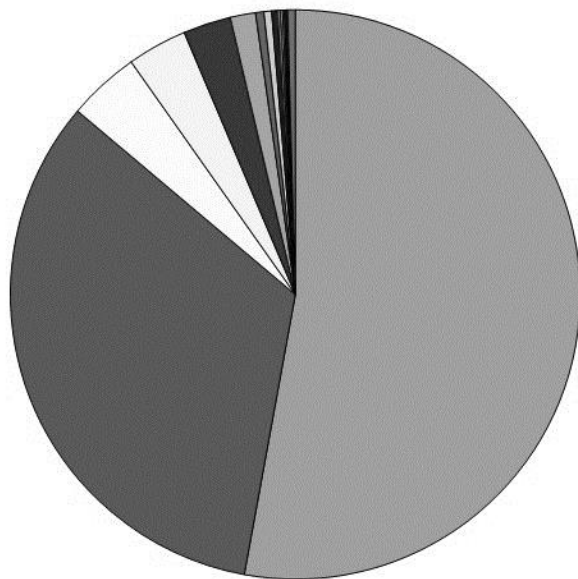
**Scenes from the "Légion Arménienne" exhibit in 2010**



### Number of Books in the Armenian Research Center Library, 1995-2015



### Language Breakdown of Armenian Research Center Books (minimum 25 in a language)



- Armenian 17,512
- English 11,022
- Turkish 1,350
- French 1,124
- Russian 898
- German 476
- Italian 155
- Arabic 144
- Bulgarian 107
- Spanish 58
- Greek 38
- Ottoman Turkish 33
- Georgian 30
- Persian 30
- Misc 144

Total number of books is 30,711, as of March 22, 2016. Some books are multiple language and are counted more than once.



## **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

The Armenian Research Center wholeheartedly thanks the following organizations and individuals who supported us in putting together this ambitious conference.

The National Association for Armenian Studies and Research is dedicated to advancing Armenian Studies through America's foremost institutions of higher education and through multi-faceted support for research, scholarship, public programs, and publications – building community worldwide to preserve Armenian culture, history, and identity for future generations.

The Armenian Communities Department of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, with its headquarters in Lisbon, Portugal, gives grants and scholarships, focusing on education, culture and civil society. Its major programs focus on the advancement of the Western Armenian language, Armenian Diasporan school support, higher education for Armenians, civil society assistance in Armenia, publications in Armenian and Armenian Studies, and Turkish-Armenian relations.

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Hagopian and Sons, Inc.

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