

of Internal Affairs of the Armenian S.S.R. comprised of militants from illegal militarized cells (*humb*) of the Krunk movement, the Astvatsatsin, Aydat, Tigran Metz, and White Crusaders militant groups, the Armenian National Army, and the Yerkrpah Volunteer Union. Razmik Petrossian, Murad Petrossian, Arkady Karapetian, and Samvel Akhaian were among the organizers of the first volunteer groups. It reached its full development in the fall of 1991 during the collapse of the Soviet Union (under the name of Karabakh Self-Defense Forces). It has had its current name since 9 May, 1992.

It took part in military operations during the intensive phase of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict (the Karabakh war) of 1988-1994. According to several parameters, the NKDA is actually a component of the Armenian armed forces. It plays a key role in the political and economic system of the self-proclaimed Nagorno-Karabakh Republic. The military and political leader of NKDA is Major General Samvel Babaian (who has been in prison since December 1999). Seyran Oganian, a colonel general, who replaced him as commander, is currently the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Armenia. The second president of the Republic of Armenia, Robert Kocharian, and the current president, Serzh Sargsian, were members of the NKDA command during the Karabakh war of 1988-1994.

Unit No. 33651 of the Armenian armed forces carries out operational and tactical coordination of the interaction between the NKDA and the Armenian armed forces.

By the mid-1990s, the NKDA consisted mainly of Karabakh and Azerbaijani Armenians, as well as volunteers from Armenia and foreign states where the Armenian Diaspora lives. At that time, a high percentage of the NKDA's arms were those seized from the Azeris, or left by the Soviet troops. A large amount of weapons and material-technical support came from Armenia, frequently at the expense of the regular army. By 1994, the NKDA had created an infrastructure that included five fortified areas of regimental structure with artillery and air defense force.

It was staffed by 18,000 people (including 8,000 citizens of Armenia and states of the Diaspora), plus up to 40,000 reservists who had served in structures of the NKDA and lived in the territory of Armenia and other countries of the Diaspora. The Yerkrpah Volunteer Union carries out recruitment and training of volunteers from among Armenian and foreign citizens of Armenian nationality for service in the ranks of the Nagorno-Karabakh Defense Army (Artsakh), as well as the formation, registration, and maintenance of mobilization readiness of the reserves in peacetime, and mobilization of staff for replenishing the Nagorno-Karabakh Defense Army in wartime.

Its organizational and regular structure is comprised of one mountain division, a tank regiment (in Khojali), separate motorized rifle regiments, and five fortified areas. Its heavy machinery and armaments comprise 316 T-55/-72 tanks; 324 ACVs (armored combat vehicles) (AICVs [armored infantry combat vehicles]-1/-2, APCs [armored personnel carriers]-70/-80); 322 artillery and mortar systems and MLRSs (multiple rocket launcher systems) (D-44, 102 D-30, 53 D-20, 2S1, 2S3, 99 2A36, KS-19, 44 BM-21); Krug (Circle) and Osa (Wasp) anti-aircraft missile systems and Strela (Arrow) and Igla (Needle) short-range man-portable air defense systems. Data on the number of units of military equipment require revision due to losses in battle and breakdown due to natural wear and tear.

The Association of Veterans of the Artsakh War chaired by Vahan Ishkhanian is the NKDA's political support organization.

### **The National United Party of Armenia**

A party extremist organization in the Soviet Union, created in 1966 in Yerevan on the initiative of Aykanuz Khachatryan as an underground anti-communist, anti-Soviet, and Rus-

sophobic party of Armenian nationalists in favor of the withdrawal of the Armenian S.S.R. from the Soviet Union. Since the time it was founded, Stepan Zatikian was member No. 2 in this party. He was the author of the brochure *Terror and Terrorists* and organized and carried out a series of explosions in Moscow on 8 January, 1977, including the explosion in the Moscow subway (at the time the terrorist act was organized, he was no longer participating in the party's activity). Recruitment and training of candidates for party members were carried out by the youth organization Shant (Lightning) under the leadership of Paruyr Hayrikian.

It initially had all the organizational attributes of an illegal armed group: symbols, a trial period for candidates, mandatory committing of an extremist public illegal act in order to become a full member, taking an oath of fidelity to "independent Armenia" and an oath of allegiance to the organization's leadership, etc. Its primary activities included educational and training campaigns into the mountains to develop fighting and terrorist activity skills, distributing leaflets titled "We Can Keep Quiet No More," and writing slogans of nationalist and Russophobic content on building walls. It attempted, in a homemade way, to publish a newspaper called *Paros* (The Lighthouse) and a magazine titled *In the Name of the Homeland* (the total circulation amounted to 343 copies). In 1968, it was thwarted by the Soviet KGB. The main party activists were sentenced to four years of imprisonment under Arts 65 and 67 of the Criminal Code of the Armenian S.S.R. ("anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" and "participation in an anti-Soviet organization").

It was revived in 1972 on the initiative of Aykanuz Khachatrian and Paruyr Hayrikian after its members had served their punishment terms. The second edition of the NUPA program was characterized by a conscious rejection of the ideas of anticommunism and Russophobia, which defined it as nationalist. Its members amounted to a total of 40-50 people.

After its members Stepan Zatikian, Zaven Bagdasarian, and Akop Stepanian were sentenced to execution for committing a series of terrorist acts in Moscow in January and making an unsuccessful attempt to set off a bomb in the Kursk station in Moscow in October 1977, it ceased its activity due to the threat of persecution of its other members.

It was revived for the third time in 1988 by Paruyr Hayrikian, and currently operates under the name of the National Self-Determination Association. Many of its members belonged to armed groups of Armenian separatists of Nagorno-Karabakh and participated in the Nagorno-Karabakh war of 1988-1994.

### **The Yerkrpah Volunteer Union (YVU)**

A nonparty extremist political movement of Armenia. It was established in the late 1980s as a set of illegal armed groups of Armenian nationalists in the territory of the Armenian S.S.R. (Tigran Mets, Astvatsatsin, and the Armenian National Army). It was subsequently reduced to a special regiment under the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Armenian S.S.R. for participation in military operations in Nagorno-Karabakh. After 1993, some of the militants, retaining their internal corporate ties, were integrated into the government and economic institutions of Armenia under the name of the Yerkrpah Volunteer Union (YVU). A total of only 20% of the veterans of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict from the Armenian party were part of the YVU. The first leader of the YVU Vazgen Sarkissian (in 1990-1992 a warlord, since 1993, the chairman of the union) is considered the founder of a political regime of military oligarchy in Armenia and the initiator of subordination of Armenian political and economic life to the elite of the self-proclaimed Nagorno-Karabakh Republic.

The YVU possesses an extensive network of local organizations and offices across the Republic of Armenia, especially in Yerevan, the Armavir Region, and Etchmiadzin. The YVU

has a total of around 10 thousand members. The Armed Forces of Armenia (AFA) and other militarized departments (the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of Emergencies) pledge to assist the YVU. The Yerkrpah Volunteer Union carries out recruitment and training of volunteers from among Armenian and foreign citizens of Armenian nationality for service in the ranks of the Nagorno-Karabakh Defense Army (Artsakh), as well as the formation, registration, and maintenance of mobilization readiness of the reserves in peacetime, and mobilization of staff for replenishing the Nagorno-Karabakh Defense Army in wartime.

Armed supporters of the YVU participated in putting pressure on political opponents, as well as ethnic minorities. Members of the YVU put pressure on electoral process during four national election campaigns (1995, 1996, 1998, and 1999). The YVU played the leading role in forcing President of Armenia Levon Ter-Petrosian to resign on 3 February, 1998 because of disagreements between the leaders of the self-proclaimed Nagorno-Karabakh Republic and the YVU regarding the plan of peaceful Armenian-Azerbaijani settlement.

After Robert Kocharian was elected president of the Republic of Armenia (in 1994-1997 he was president of the self-proclaimed Nagorno-Karabakh republic), the YVU became part of the Republican Party of Armenia, being the militarized bastion of the personal power of Robert Kocharian and the Nagorno-Karabakh clan. After the terrorist act in the National Assembly of Armenia on 27 October, 1999 as a result of which Chairman of the YVU Vazgen Sarkissian lost his life, some of the supporters of the YVU left the RPA and created their own political party.

Since 2001, the name of YVU Chairman Lieutenant General Manvel Grigorian is constantly mentioned in connection with numerous corruption scandals and economic crimes. In February 2008, in protest against using the resources of the Armenian Armed Forces in the interests of the YVU, a group of generals of the Armenian Armed Forces, including Chief of the Main Staff Colonel General Seyran Oganian, Major Generals Arshaluys Paytian, Haykaz Baghmanian, Levon Eranossian, Kamo Agajanian, and Samvel Karapetian, and Colonels Koriun Egiazarian, Murad Abramian, Felix Pogossian, Artur Grigorian, Pogos Pogossian, Samvel Ovsepiyan, Sayen Hayrapetian, and Nerses Egoian, left the YVU.

In Armenia, Yerkrpah Day is celebrated annually on 8 May (it was instituted in accordance with the Armenian Law on Holidays and Memorial Days of the Republic of Armenia No. ZR-200).

Its leaders are Lieutenant General of the Armenian Armed Forces Manvel Grigorian (chairman and deputy minister of defense of Armenia), Miasnik Malkhassian (leader of deputy group Hayastan), Albert Bazeian (ex-mayor of Yerevan), Smbat Ayvazian, Razmik Martirosian, Aram Sarkissian, and Vahan Shirkhanian.

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### **THE GRAVEST CRIMES OF TRANSNATIONAL ARMENIAN TERRORISM**

#### **(Consolidated Analytical Table)**

This Table contains only those crimes (committed in the period from the end of the nineteenth century to the end of the twentieth century) that correspond to the following criteria:

- (a) it was committed by Armenian extremists, the responsibility for which was claimed by a specific terrorist or extremist group of Armenian nationalists;
- (b) it was investigated by the law-enforcement agencies of the corresponding country, and it was established that it had been committed by Armenian national extremists;
- (c) it was a crime of terror with no accompanying economic actions (extortion, racketeering, deliberate destruction of property, etc.);
- (d) the Armenian perpetrators considered the crime a link in the chain of the practical realization of their political and legal ideals and aims.

The Table presents the crimes in chronological order; it indicates the date and place of the crime, as well as the name of the Armenian extremist or terrorist organization responsible for committing it; it offers concise criminal and legal qualifications; and it describes the repercussions. This provides enough information for the interested reader to pursue further study in electronic sources or libraries. (It should be said, however, that the militants frequently used different names for their extremist groups when assuming responsibility for their crimes. For example, ASALA terrorists used the following operational names: Orly Group, the 3rd of October Group, the 9th of July Group, and France September. These names are placed in parenthesis after the name of the main structure.)

The Table is not complete, since individual crimes committed by Armenian extremists might have escaped my attention. Nevertheless, I aspired to demonstrate the scope of the crimes perpetrated by transnational Armenian terrorism rather than count them all.

**The Gravest Crimes of Transnational Armenian Terrorism  
(Consolidated Analytical Table)**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Location of Attack</b>	<b>Group/Name Used</b>	<b>Incident Description</b>
1896, 26 August	Istanbul, Ottoman Empire	ARFD	Hostage-taking in the International Ottoman Bank, lasted for 14 hours; two killed, four injured
1903, 14 October	Tiflis (Tbilisi), Russian Empire	Hunchak	Attempted murder of Chief Commander in the Caucasus Infantry General Prince Grigory Golitsyn (he suffered multiple stab wounds)
1904, 11 September	Elizavetpol (Ganja), Russian Empire	ARFD	Murder of Vice Governor of the Elizavetpol Gubernia Collegiate Councillor A. Andreev
1905, 1 May	Batum (Batumi), Russian Empire	Hunchak	Murder of Governor General of the Batum Region Major General M. Driagin
1905, 11 May	Baku, Russian Empire	Hunchak	Civilian Governor of the Baku Gubernia Privy Councillor Prince Mikhail Nakashidze killed by a bomb; two other people killed, one injured
1905, 21 July	Istanbul, Ottoman Empire	ARFD	Attempted murder of Sultan Abdul-Hamid II at the Yıldız Mosque by means of a mined car (or the sultan's carriage); more than 20 killed
1905, 20 August	Elizavetpol (Ganja), Russian Empire	ARFD	Murder of Governor General of the Elizavetpol Gubernia Lieutenant General Nikolay Lutsau
1907, 3 July	Alexandropol (Gumri), Russian Empire	ARFD	Commander of the 2nd Caucasian Cossack Division Lieutenant General Maksud Alikhanov-Avarskiy, his wife, and coachman killed by a bomb; two injured
1907, 21 September	Ekaterinodar (Krasnodar), Russian Empire	ARFD and the fighting group of the SR Party	Murder of Head of the Chancellery of the Commander of the Kuban Region and Appointed Hetman of the Kuban Cossack Host Collegiate Councillor Semen Rudenko
1933, 24 December	New York, U.S.	ARFD	Murder of Levon Turian, Primate of the Eastern Diocese of the Armenian Apostolic Church in the U.S. in the Armenian Church of the Holy Cross during a Christmas service
1973, 27 January	Santa Barbara, California, U.S.	Lone terrorist	Murder of Consul General of the Republic of Turkey in Los Angeles Mehmet Baydar and Vice Consul of the Republic of Turkey in Los Angeles Bahadır Demir
1973, 4 April	Paris, France		Explosions at the Consulate General of the Republic of Turkey and Turkish Airlines

**Consolidated Analytical Table (continued)**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Location of Attack</b>	<b>Group/Name Used</b>	<b>Incident Description</b>
1973, 26 October	New York, U.S.	ASALA (Prisoner Karekin Yanikian Group)	The Turkish Information Service received a parcel with a bomb inside and a letter addressed to the Consul General signed by the Yanikian Group
1975, 20 January	Beirut, Lebanon	ASALA (Prisoner Karekin Yanikian Group)	Explosion in the building of the World Council of Churches
1975, 8 February	Beirut, Lebanon	ASALA	Explosions at the Turkish Information Agency and Tourist Bureau, one policeman injured
1975, 20 February	Beirut, Lebanon	ASALA (Prisoner Karekin Yanikian Group)	Explosion in the Turkish Airlines office
1975, 22 October	Vienna, Austria	ASALA and JCAG	Murder of Turkish Ambassador to Austria Daniş Tunalıgil at the embassy
1975, 24 October	Paris, France	ASALA and JCAG	Murder of Ambassador of the Republic of Turkey to France İsmail Erez and his driver Talip Yener in a car
1975, 28 October	Beirut, Lebanon	ASALA	Rocket attack on the Embassy of the Republic of Turkey
1975, 28 December	Beirut, Lebanon	ASALA	Rocket attack on the Embassy of the Republic of Turkey
1976, 16 February	Beirut, Lebanon	ASALA	Murder of First Secretary of the Embassy of the Republic of Turkey Oktar Cirit in an office at the Consulate General
1976, 17 May	Frankfurt, FRG	ASALA	Explosion at the Consulate General of the Republic of Turkey
	Cologne, FRG	ASALA	Explosion at the Consulate General of the Republic of Turkey
	Essen, FRG	ASALA	Explosion at the Consulate General of the Republic of Turkey
1976, 28 May	Zurich, Switzerland	JCAG	Explosions at the Swiss branch of the Turkish Garanti Bank and the office of the Turkish Labor Attaché; bombing of the Turkish Tourist Bureau is averted
1977, 8 January	Moscow, U.S.S.R.	NUPA	Explosion in a Moscow subway train; 7 killed, 37 injured; explosions in two food stores in the center of Moscow
1977, 2 May	Beirut, Lebanon	ASALA	Explosions destroy cars of the Embassy of the Republic of Turkey in Lebanon belonging to Military Attaché Nahit Karakaya and Administrative Attaché İlhan Özbabacan
1977, 14 May	Paris, France	NAR	Explosion at the Turkish Tourist Bureau; one injured