

GAREGIN NZHDEH

SELECTED WORKS

**TRANSLATION INTO ENGLISH FROM THE ARMENIAN ORIGINAL
AND COMMENTARIES**

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Nzhdeh, Garegin (1886-1955)

Selected Works

Translation from the Armenian original and Commentaries by Dr. Eduard Danielyan

Notes: Political and philosophical writings of Garegin Nzhdeh, an Armenian public, military and philosophical figure of 20th century.

Includes chronological survey of his life and work, bibliographical references and glossary of place names.

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THE 125TH BIRTHDAY ANNIVERSARY OF
GAREGIN NZHDEH

*To the beloved memory of my late husband Neshan Krikorian,
a community activist and a patriot.*

Shnorhik Krikorian, Montreal, Quebec, Canada

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The Executive
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July, 2011

INTRODUCTION

These *Selected Works* of Garegin Nzhdeh have been chosen for an English translation for the first time. The texts represent his thoughts as well as his political and philosophical approaches. They cover the period from the early 1920s till his prison writings, in a Soviet prison camp, in the mid-'50s. They also include an interview (1943) with Nzhdeh by "Razmik" newspaper of Sofia and a testimony by Nzhdeh. A chronological survey of his life and work, bibliographical sources and a glossary of place names complete this volume.

The selected writings reflect the evolution of his thoughts shaped by the turbulent political events and the intense ideological battles that characterized most of the 20th century in the Armenian and international political scene. The Armenian national liberation struggle of late 19th and early 20th centuries, the worldview of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (*Dashnaktsutiun*), the struggle for survival of the First Republic of Armenia, and subsequently, its forced partition and sovietization had their impact upon the development of his political thinking and philosophy. Nzhdeh witnessed the collapse of the Ottoman Turkish and Tsarist Russian Empires, faced the destruction and the dispossession of Western Armenians during the First World War. He participated in the struggle for the independence and territorial unity of the first Republic of Armenia, and saw its forced partition, sovietization and its incorporation into the Soviet Union. Finally, as part of the Diaspora, he joined the struggle for national survival, experienced the Second World War and always focused on Armenia's preservation and territorial unity. His fame was kept alive in the popular memory of Armenia, despite the prohibition of his name during the Soviet era (1921-1990).

Nzhdeh possessed a strong personality and embodied three prominent talents: that of an orator, military strategist and philosopher. These attributes made him one of the outstanding Armenian political and military leaders of the first half of the 20th century. His political and intellectual achievements acquired significance, his legacy spreading during his lifetime and after.

As a political and military leader, Nzhdeh played an important role in shaping the outcome of some of these events of modern Armenian history. He played a major role in organizing and leading the Armenian forces into reversing the trend in the battle of Gharakilisa in 1918, which became pivotal along with the decisive battles of Sardarabad and Bash-Abaran fought against the Ottoman Turkish army (Hambardzumian, 2005). The victorious struggle for Zangezur (1920 to 1921) under his leadership against the combined forces of the Red Army and Turco-Tatar reinforcements, secured for Armenia her southern territories in Siunik (Zangezur), bordering Iran thus creating a wedge between Turco-Tatars of eastern South Caucasus (subsequently identified as Azerbaijanis) and Turks of Turkey (*Lernahayastani goyamarte*, "Mountainous Armenia: the Battle for Survival", 1923). His organization of the National Covenant ("*Tseghakron*") movement, which constituted later the basis of the founding of the Armenian Youth Federation of the United States and Canada, affiliated with the A.R.F., prevented the assimilation of thousands of Armenian youth.

According to R. Hampardzumian (2007), the texts point to his ideology: Christian Armenianism whose self-defence system focuses on David Bek's, St.Vartan's and the Mamikonian Covenant, revived by him in the '20s and the '30s.

In this volume Nzhdeh raises many political, strategic, historical and social issues pertaining to the Armenian people in particular and to international developments in general. His *Prison Writings* and *Self-Testimony* reflect the culmination of his thoughts, reinforced by his experience. The selected texts also indicate Nzhdeh's acquaintance with his contemporary European political, military and philosophical currents of thought. Certainly, Nzhdeh approaches many of these issues with clear perspective of his own and formulation.

The debate between spiritualism and materialism; the role of the state in politics; the relationship between the individual, the nation and the state; the role of history, culture and ancestral territory in nation-building; the value of social justice in human societies; the interrelationship between national and universal values; the role of intellectual, spiritual and military elites in shaping the national life of peoples are issues discussed by Nzhdeh. They are all relevant today. Indeed, today the debate around these issues is conducted within the interwoven and multifaceted relations of the world and within the parameters of new theoretical approaches and empirical results.

The strengths and weaknesses of the Armenian people; education, self-knowledge and the spiritual renewal of Armenian generations; unity among various Armenian currents of thought; the emancipation of the Armenian homeland forcefully incorporated into the Republic of Turkey (Western Armenia) are also issues addressed by Nzhdeh. These also are presently part of the discussion agenda among Armenians, albeit, under more complex objective and subjective conditions. Moreover, his thoughtful and realistic analysis of Armenia's strategic priorities and security threats has a contemporary significance in light of recent geopolitical transformations in the South Caucasus.

His philosophical inclination is best reflected in his aphorisms, characterized by its fragmented, but deeply reasoned style.

Nzhdeh's style is fragmentary, but his reasoning is powerful and complete. Few, very few people speak, write or act with "blood and vein". His writings are the psychological features of a distinctively temperamental and powerful individuality, which are remarkable for their unique style and pious qualities of expressed ideas and truths (Hayk Asatrian, philosopher and one of his closest companions-in-arm).

The texts reveal a talented writer, who with newly-coined words and with new styles of representing them, enriched the Armenian language. "His colourful thinking reminds us of Yeghisheh, the 5th century Armenian historian; the mystic Grigor Naregatsi among ancient writers; Hakob Oshakan and Avetis Aharonian, among modern writers"(Hambardzumian, 2007).

Aphorisms of Nzhdeh preserve a value of reflection for the new generations of Armenians and inspire them with patriotism, self-knowledge, self-confidence and self-reliance. By singling out a few of them, their contemporary relevance can be seen outright:

"History, it is not an unfinished novel but an unfinished battle." What an eloquent way to prepare the Armenian long-term struggle for the recovery of the lost homeland!

"The more socially just, the more powerful is the fatherland." Here is a guiding idea upon which to anchor the state-building processes of the post-soviet Republic of Armenia and Artsakh!

"Sword or pen? As one as well as the other - both I liked and used.

But I appeared before an alternative and I had to choose the first because there are times when to advance, pen, word and truth need a sword.

I like the pen, which at the same time is a sword that knows how to raise thousand arms with swords to defend justice." This resumes Nzhdeh's life, but it also describes the hard and complementary choices facing the Armenian people in their historical journey to their homeland.

Finally, this publication of *Selected Works of Garegin Nzhdeh* makes available to scholars, researchers, students and general readers the political, military and philosophical reflections of a great 20th century Armenian patriot, while paving the way for further studies into his worldview and his relevance to posterity. Comparative links between European political, military and philosophical currents of thought and his approaches can be explored further.

Antranig Bedrossian

President

'Nakhijevan' Institute of Canada

Montreal, Quebec, Canada

July, 2011

AN INTERVIEW WITH GAREGIN NZHDEH

“RAZMIK”: There is a war and dark forces are again plotting against our existence and national reputation. Nonetheless, Armenians in the Diaspora don't show the necessary national alertness even at these circumstances. Why?

G.N.: "They sting and slander each other". The history of Armenia characterized with those words the psychological state during the period of Nerses the Great¹. It is necessary to state with embarrassing bitterness that essentially there is almost no difference between the psychological state in that period and among the present-day Armenians living in the Diaspora. The psychology is the same, only the forms of expression are different.

“RAZMIK”: What are the reasons for this state of mind?

G.N.: Psychological distresses caused by centuries of lack of freedom that the Armenian revolution would not be able to cure. The latter, alas, didn't grow into a revolution that would change inner psychology. Because of this, the majority of our people remained passive and often against our political parties, without renewal and regeneration.

The influence of the foreign yoke has made Armenians considerably unfamiliar to their essence and weakened their national image.

Massacre and persecution have always accompanied our lack of freedom, since the king Artashir Sassanid² to the newest Genocide of Armenians. Although alien to each other by their tribal origin, religion and times, all the enemies reigning in our homeland tried to endanger our biological future and make their reign everlasting. They destroyed periodically our elite and its most vital and leading elements. We know quite well that because of lack of the elite, after each defeat peoples easily become defeatist. Such are the present-day Armenians, and it explains their present condition. They are overwhelmed by political and psychological pessimism.

As a result of massacres and persecutions, periodic deportations have taken place, depriving Armenian of his natural home environment, forcing him to adjust to alien environment. Biology has long proved that every adjustment is detrimental to the adaptable ones. At present Armenian lifestyle is pale.

There are no flawless peoples. Armenians are not an exception, too. Some features of our image should be partially attributed to our country's position, which in the historic past made it impossible for the Armenian noble families psychologically to unite and realize the cause of composition of the national entity...

Among other peoples, Armenians also, more or less, had to yield to the harmful influence of contemporary civilization. At present their vitality is weakened.

¹Nerses I the Great, the Armenian Catholocos (353-373).

²Artashir I (226-240), the founder of the Sassanid dynasty in Iran.

So, almost these are the main drawbacks which being analyzed in the light of the laws and principles of psychology and sociology it will be possible fundamentally to understand the psychological state of the present day Armenians.

“RAZMIK”: How can we define the state of our national question? That’s to say, all problems related to our people’s destiny and their solutions which are called to serve as the National Creed for the Armenianhood.

G.N.: The defence of our people’s physical existence, our national image, our national honour. These are the main problems and only through their positive solutions we can retain our place, image and morality in the family of mankind.

“RAZMIK”: Which measures may help to solve the problems related to our existence?

G.N.: Regeneration—and only regeneration. It means we should once again become what we used to be and we are not today. It means to be self-realized, to become self-possessor, the master of our nation's essence. The regenerator does not add essentially a new thing to his ethnic essence: he restores what is deeply rooted in his people as the national heritage. For the regenerator it is essential the existing communion among Armenians, the connector, i.e. the national, -and not anything that separates, divides the nation and the individuals constituting it.

The spiritually fallen is led by his passions and reckonings. A non-renovated people – that is to say a people captive to daily trifles and weaknesses. Today's Armenian speech and publicism are deprived of the regeneration spirit, which is why it is destructive and schismatic. Harmful are those who speak of friendship and are themselves against the regeneration movement. If you are against this movement you are against life, you are in the service of death. It is time to comprehend that only broad-minded and decent individuals are capable of solidarity. And we can become such ones by regeneration. Armenians out of Armenia provided life-saving regenerators to different countries – Loris Melikov for Russia, Nubar Pasha for Egypt, Ephrem for Persia...

The following truth is scientific to us: only the regenerated individual can effectively and unselfishly serve his compatriot, nation and homeland.

“RAZMIK”: What can make this regeneration possible?

G.N.: It is possible by means of our nation, national values, and a deep feeling of national attachment. In other words, through national religion, which means devotion, first of all, to our national essence, and then to past generations and the blood and values that we inherited from them. It is high time to realized that those who act against the nation sin not only against their native people but also against life's sanctity, generally.

For the national religion essential is not the classified and trivial surface, but the depth

where lives the all-Armenian. It is just the all-Armenian that makes Armenians to perceive each other as brothers and kin by blood and destiny.

My nation, my inherited essence, my pre-spirit – here is the only key of the perception of the universe.

Only the nation is capable to subdue foreign value, doctrine and religion. In contrast, people who are unable to adopt foreign borrowings, become self-estranged. People are the sum of living individuals, nation - the past and present generations, it is a communion of destiny. Ethnicity is the communion by blood that is in everlasting struggle against foreign influences, as well as the sculptor of our spirit and body. It is that divine potter who created our body from the Armenia's soil and our spirit from the Armenian history.

The punishment of non-ethnic-religiosity is the degeneration that accelerates the peoples' downfall. If you are against the nation then you are for your people's denationalization, and, therefore, for their death. The only factor of the people's organic unity is the ethnicity. To accept its priority over the people means to accept the superiority of immortality over everyday life, and of the spirit against the material. And only in this way it is possible to make psychologically homogeneous and holistic a disintegrated people, such as the Armenianhood, and turn it into a nation. Immortality gives a meaning to the passing—the trivial, and renovates it. Let's not forget it.

“RAZMIK”: What makes it difficult and what can make Armenian regeneration easier?

G.N.: It is a vain principle to look for scientificity in our life where you can hear only opinions and nothing else. I want to say that our nation still lives without Weltanschauung. It is obvious that an organic integrative idea about the world and the meaning of the nation's own existence would have made easier its periodic regenerations, and as a consequence, its self-defence.

By specifying our attitude towards our inner being, our person, we essentially specify our attitude towards those who are like us, our nation and our Creator. Only a person with the philosophically well-grounded world outlook is capable for such an act. Peoples are creative and self-defensive as much as they have a unified and sublime world view. It gives meaning, it harmonizes and expediently directs peoples' actions.

To create philosophy and to build world outlook with its help: this is an on-going movement of the human thought. As a result of the lack of the world outlook – the source of light, Armenians continue to remain a victim of evil incidents and, in consequence, often run into disasters. The world outlook will make us re-examine ourselves and give new meaning to a series of concepts, and quicken our regeneration.

“RAZMIK”: Which are those concepts?

G.N.: Religion.

Deficiency of religiosity means a lack of divinity, and the absence of the feeling of holiness. This causes spiritual confusion in today's humanity. Notwithstanding the created great civilization, a human being is still more like clay than spirit. That is why he is often apt to rebel against all those restricting values, truths and sanctities that are called to keep the animal and beastliness subdued in him. A morally depressed man has always looked for some theory, belief or philosophy to justify his fall. Today's anti-religious inclinations can be explained by the spiritual imperfection of the human being. A lack of religiosity is not a sound state of health. At first, a human being estranges himself from others, then - from God. The person who apostates suicidally cuts his spiritual pulse. Those who act against their Creator will not be ashamed to act against others like them. In a philosophical context religion is not only the relationship between a human being and God, but also the relationship of one human being to another, an individual and society, an individual and the truth.

The origin of the universe is not a result of mere contingency, and I am not alone in the boundlessness of the universe; this heartening belief comes to us through religion. Generally, anyone having an idealistic understanding of life is religious. The person admitting the God's existence is also admitting his responsibility toward the supreme realities, such as nation, motherland, and state. If you want to know someone more deeply, talk to him and make him talk about God and he will betray the level of his religiosity through his demigod and disbelief. If you don't believe in God, you are deprived of sacred dedication and a sense of responsibility and you are bound to betray others sooner or later. Armenian political parties, captive to false Europeism, brought in our people a religious coolness. Every "scholar" who parrots "science has neither religion nor homeland" is an enemy of humanity. Human weakness and inferiority are the only things on the Earth that have neither homeland, nor nation, nor God.

Science and religion are not enemies; they are brothers in arms, the former works through the mind, the latter through the heart. Every non-religious person radiates wickedness. The human being is as much social as religious. Has humanity become religiously weak? He lost heaven. The world of his dreams has collapsed and death is acting there against him.

Culture

The saint looking at the sky, the triumphant soldier coming back from war, the minstrel singing his people's pains and joys, the artist worshipping beauty, the philosopher, the statesmen, the benefactor, the scholar, all of them contribute to their people's culture with their creative endeavours. Scientific, artistic, and moral values make up the culture. To be more exact, culture is a hierarchical, organized entity of values.

Let's correct the greatest misunderstanding, according to which there is only one - international, common to all mankind culture. Civilization is both international and

non-religious, and this is the reason why it strangles culture. Such a culture is a falsification and non-existent. True culture always carries the given people's seal of individuality.

Every nation, as a unique individuality, has its own ways of development: its self-construction and self-revelation. The adoption of foreign cultural values, particularly, its external brightness and negative sides, weakens the adopter's national spirit. There is no culture without religious feeling. Its sources of creative zeal dry up as soon as it becomes materialistic.

Armenians should profess the priority of spirit more than materialistic priorities and try to do so that Armenian culture is celebrated not once a year, but lives every day as a whole unity of spiritual values. Peoples bring into their culture their desire for perfection. Human being is spiritually the same as the culture created by him.

Another delusion: can we say that each nation is culturally developed because it has language and literature? Certainly, not! To be considered truly and culturally developed, writers and books, scholars and science are not enough.

The culture, the creator of which has had more thorns than flowers of kindness in his spiritual life, is mistrustful. Culture implies warmth of heart, humanity, vigilance of conscience, honesty of thought and relationships, sublime goals—these are values, the absence of which turns the life of today's Armenians into a hell.

Until honesty of thought, feelings and work are not joined with our two saints, Sahak and Mesrop, I should be unable to call us a cultural nation without mixed feeling of embarrassment and pain.

Education

The differences in national characteristics and destinies imply differences in teleology. There isn't and can't be one universal ideal for education. Every nation has its own educational ideal, which springs from its spirit and needs. Education doesn't admit dead uniformity. Nations prepare their future generations in accordance with their psychology and needs. Education which is called liberal is not national. The person with strong patriotism is going to be the ideal of the Armenian school out of the motherland. Enlightenment without great national dedication makes the person pessimistic, egoistical and nationally vain. The diasporian school doesn't take the most important thing into consideration—the precondition for cultivating and possessing the land and the soul is their profound knowledge. Are our present teachers knowledgeable of our nation? I am not talking about exceptions.

Humanity

Try to empty the national soul of the content that history has accumulated in it you'll turn the nation into a faceless mass.

The ideas of *human being* and *humanity* generally become meaningful only through

their national spirit. National genius makes the common to all mankind meaningful to some extent. True culture can't blossom on the basis of the ruins of nations. A human being and mankind are false out of a given nation.

The harmony between the human and the national is beneficial to both. And vice-versa: the sacrifice of the national for the "common to all mankind" can be harmful for both. I don't mean the individual in general who is nonexistent, but the person with a national image who thinks through his nation, the person who comprises the nature and history of his home country. Today's person is liable to lose his real spiritual image, natural national essence under the influence of estranging geopolitical doctrines. We need a fundamental revolution, a return from abstract bloodless humanity to an organic one, to a national man – a real human being who has attached himself to both land and nation, with all bonds of his essence.

"European mankind" (in the 18th and 19th centuries), "Universal mankind" (in the 20th century). I don't believe in them. If European mankind had existed, the unprecedented massacres shouldn't have taken place against our nation that was at war for European ideas against dark Asian forces.

The individual

By preaching love towards the remote ones the class socialism put the individual and the collectivity in opposition, because the majority of their kinsmen were deteriorating in misery. Thus, the nation's spiritual unity was violated.

Individual, you are free to build your own happiness even on misfortunes of persons like you. This was what we had in the past and partially still have today. In this unnatural and immoral state of things, the human moral mind adopted the worship of universalism as an antipode to the cult of the individualistic liberalism.

Individual, unite your power with the power of your kinsmen for the sake of the great entity's happiness. This is the social imperative for today and tomorrow. In other words, any individual should look for his well being in society's well being. Someone who opposes the individual towards the communion is trespassing against both. The individual is nothing beyond the content of the nation's life.

Universality is bridging different individuals' essences. Only spiritually joining with others does an individual become a spiritual personality and a value-creating power. Class doctrines disuniting the nation, are turning it into an impersonal masses. The mass kills the feeling of nation, without which dies the feeling of nationalism as well. This is the reason why on the one hand we deny person and class who think and act liberalistically and on the other, profess the nation as a valuable entity.

Social issues

Not the socialist but the social man; liberalism, a poisonous product of the French Revolution to the detriment of the human spiritual conceptions. It legalized poverty and consequently disguised social immorality. The act of throwing "crumbs" to

the kinsmen in the bosom of the same people was announced as charity. My individual right is your right, as your responsibility is mine too.

My natural right to live and reach perfection freely is conditioned by my own responsibility—to respect the same right of others. Individuals and social estates which claim “I am everything,” or “I am nothing,” are equally anti-social. In the life of nations only the great entity is “everything” and nobody has the right to be “nothing”. Not the socialist, but the social individual, that is a new morality. It resolves the social issue and puts an end to the uncompromising inner struggle of peoples.

Thinking

“The person from our country first thinks and then speaks.” This Armenian saying is enough to prove the Aryanism of our nation and of our mentality. In a nationally sound Armenian, respect towards mentality is profoundly deep. His thought is organic and moral at its roots. It is nourished from the roots of existence and therein is the secret of its endless richness in the variety of expressions. Unfortunately, different influences have put their seal on our mentality, particularly out of Armenia. Our liberation from foreign mentality came late, too late.

In fact, the Armenian thinking is not poor, but over the past decades the Armenianhood didn't give birth to great wise and learned persons – the Khrimians³. The Armenian thought is spiritually cool, which makes it difficult to penetrate into the depth of things and substances. His thinking takes place under the emotions' influence. The narrow-mindedness of political parties is leading in coming to conclusions. Very often you can encounter falsification in our lives within the “cloak of truth.” Political parties have mostly developed that imposture of reason.

Today Armenians are more imagination and emotion than cognition, and such ones being unable to perceive the objective truth, are easily cut from reality and build everything in the air.

There is only a single way for nations to improve their destiny—through etiological thinking. Today's Armenian lacks such way of thinking and it conditions our misfortune. This kind of thinking is scientific. Individuals and collectives influence the course of events by its means and keep themselves free from the blows of incidents.

The spiritually exhausted thinking is contradictory. Such is today's Armenian one. It is unpardonable for one, who speaks with and in front of his nation, to have an abjection of thinking.

“Learn to think well—this is the basis of morality.”

Learn to think in Armenian spirit —this is the basis of national morality.

History

A nation's self-consciousness is possible only through its history.

³ Mkrtych I Khrimian (Khrimian Hayrik), Catholicos of All Armenians (1892-1907).

religion, arts and philosophy is due to them. It is a link between the eternal and everyday life, a true leader, without which the government and governors are nothing.

The most sacred of titles and the greatest responsibility belong to the elite. Nations have only one true nobility—that is the elite. Nations rise and fall by means of the elite. A lot of people in society can sin against the law, morals, public interests, but public morals will not be violated and society will not become immoral because of these deviations. But, it is enough for any member of the elite to transgress against his calling you may consider it as a destruction of the people's faith, esteem and morals. The elite leads people with vital examples of his own life.

If the clergy are religiously indifferent, people are anti-religious.

If the teacher is spiritually as a member of a guild, there is no greater misfortune to befall his nation.

If the writer is devoid of the breath of eternity, he will inevitably become the preacher of meanness.

If the soldier is a defeatist, he is already far from his sacred object—the homeland and tomorrow his defection will bring him to betrayal.

If the public figure is self interested, you can find less patriotism and devotion in the wide layers of the nation.

On the other hand, the elite is acting in accordance with the examples from its life.

Clergymen, teachers, writers, scientists and military figures comprise the elite. Their calling imperatively demands a holistic and internally strong life.

The elite is unpolitical organically, which is why it should be absolutely non party.

If it deviates from its calling then the nation's fall becomes inevitable.

National morality

This is a necessary base for the spiritual structure of the nation. It represents the real strength of the nation. Where there is such morality, there is the nation, its absence lessens the importance of such natural factors as ethnicity, homeland, and the nation creating other complementary factors. It is necessary to look for the roots of the national morality in our attitude towards our biological creating ethnicity which is the supreme law-writer in the sphere of morality. National morality implies a law order and a publicly mandated course any deviation from which is considered a spiritual suicide against the nation. According to an ancient philosopher, this course plays the same role for the world as a river crossing does for the river. Can we say that today the morality of the Armenians of Diaspora is not infringed? In order to answer this question we need to clarify to what extent are the mind, feelings and will present in a contemporary Armenian. To be more exact, we need to clarify what kind of feelings prevail in his soul. In this regard, a moral and social analysis will sadly overwhelm us. What were we in

the past? From the depth of centuries let the Armenian speak: "We were not from the same house but had the same voice." Armenians nationally used to be moral people: "Hand in hand we'll upend mountains." Armenians used to be socially sound: "Our daily bread is given by God. First come, first served." They used to be socially just: "One who believes in God is never poor." They used to be nationally proud: "Eat earth and ash (i.e. starve), but never beg anything from a dishonest person."... They used to be laborious: "Unless an Armenian is tired, he will never sit down." They used to be morally sensitive: "One who waters his neighbours tree instead of his own will see neither Resurrection nor Remission." They used to be nationally prudent: "I won't let a cat smother a lion." Armenians used to be manly. This is what we used to be - the nation of quality.

I quoted a small selection of Armenian proverbs in which our people put centuries old national and moral philosophy. It is enough to prove that even being deprived of liberty, under a foreign yoke, we have always been morally a powerful nation. Isn't this the secret of our survival through ages and our existence today?

Consider, that about many nations that were our coevals only stone memory is left. This means that if our past generations had thought, lived and acted like contemporary Armenians, today we would have only an epitaph under the sun. We have seen what we used to be in the past, we feel what we are not in the present, and know what we must become in the future in order not to disappear as a nation.

From the point of view of national morality, one Gulbenkian is no more than a peasant of Armenia or a general or a school principal or even a modest craftsman. What is essential here is the eternal Armenian spirit, which the nation is consecrating in every its member.

National morality is first of all conditioned by the people's creative solidarity. Those who live in Diaspora or in Armenia, philosopher or illiterate, neutral or party member—all of them are Armenians and coolness to them equals to "cainism." In intra-national relationships, not only swords and venom kill people, so does indifference. Every Armenian is the brother of destiny. Moreover, you should see yourself in every Armenian. This should be an unbreakable law of national morality. Anyone who sins against that law destroys the nation's basis. He is the enemy of his nation.

In the past we used to be a nation of quality. If we don't want to be destroyed and lost we must become imperatively the same again. All nations are in the endless qualifying process of becoming nations. As a nation of the spirit it is easier for us to get qualified. Let's try to become "a precious stone" so as "to weigh heavy and value much." This requires national morality from us, in particular, out of our native homeland.

Propaganda

Be careful, careful, and careful, since you have a lot of enemies and they are plotting against you. This is the imperative of the present political moment for us - Armenians. Our nation has a larger number of enemies today than half a century ago. There are no

reasons to suppose that tomorrow our enemies will stop being hostile towards us. I am not talking about the perpetrators of the Armenian Genocide, but about foreign state political, public, and scholarly figures, who by defaming us as a nation put a sword and an axe in the slaughterers' hands. Their number has increased these days and their venom is even more powerful than it used to be at the threshold of the past war. Today they are defaming us again. Why do foreigners see such features in us that we don't possess at all?

During the past two decades, the following deadly sins were attributed to us – “passion of vagabondism”, “inability to fight”... and the like, the bearers of which have no moral right of existence, according to the European concept. Not one of these characteristics is Armenian, but, anyhow, they have been ascribed to us. Why? Because during the past decades Armenians have carried on propaganda of their weaknesses...

Propaganda is self-discovery and self-exposure...First of all, propaganda demands a deep feeling of self-esteem, the birth of cognition of one's own values and awareness of self-dignity—a psychological state that only regeneration can create in Armenians.

It is also necessary to be aware of the fact that those who don't know and understand us thoroughly, can't get to know us at all. One may get only approximate knowledge about Armenians through dead linguistics and poor historiographical commentaries. In order to be just towards us it is necessary to know us completely, because Armenians are the nation of spirit; such one is the possessor of deeper and more complex essence...

“RAZMIK”: Your final words.

G.N.: Let us nationally think, live and do good for Armenia.

"Razmik", Sofia, 1943, no. 169-174.

TESTIFYING PERSONALLY

I am the Armenian bearing the sign of Nature and the history of Armenia.

But by thought and experience I am a man, a human being.

I am the friend of those who are deprived of legal rights, the brother of the persecuted and the brother-in-arms of the fighters who battle from one pole to the other for a fairer world.

* * *

I am the man of spirit, and as I am absolutely unsuitable for functions that demand subordination it is not easy for me to walk in the tracks of a man—even if he is king.

It is not proper to humiliate a spiritual man even in front of his God.

* * *

Along with my conscience, I recognize two other supreme judges - God and the people. Perhaps I erred from the first but never from the second.

* * *

The heroic death is no less inspiring than heroic deeds. Thus, die so in order your death also to serve Your Motherland.

This is my professed patriotism.

* * *

Forgive me, Lord. Forgive me, if one day I sin mentally against your will--to help my Motherland.

It is fair to serve the Motherland by all means, with all one's might.

* * *

My mind and heart at my life's spring had been nurtured by:

—Ararat which was taken away several times from us, but never belonged to the foreigners and never will it belong;

—The Armenian language that didn't recognize the foreign yoke and remained creative even in the darkest ages of history, when foreigners ruled Armenia;

—And the fervour to build of the Armenian which compelled friend and foe to express respect and admiration towards Armenians;

—The Holy Trinity.

Now, while I complete the fall of my life in a dungeon, the same idealistic values again feed my love and pride in the Armenian man.

* * *

I think man is unaware that he is a Prometheus—every human essence a chained power.

Only those, who like me, mostly use their potential forces, succeed in setting free their essence by the spirit's strain.

* * *

The passion of the national mind is a characteristic of mine and a result of deep belief and principle that the Armenian, as an original creative stimulus, is as much necessary to mankind as the most numerous and politically mighty of nations.

* * *

"How would you like to be treated?" they asked me.
As a military man, who doesn't consider ignoble men--even the victorious--worthy of his enemies.

* * *

Someone threatened me.
I replied, "As you know, he who is often frightened by death, can't be threatened by it." Silence sealed our short conversation.

* * *

I don't like mediocrity of objective, sacrifice and suffering.
One can't grow and become spiritually powerful by mediocrity.
He who goes by the road of supreme duty becomes a hero.

* * *

I cursed the great ones destroying the world.
-There are no great personalities, but there is greatness--the greatness of soul. If you are an emperor, be Aurelius; if a philosopher, be Socrates; if a general, be Vartan of Avarayr.
"Great names without the greatness of soul are like clay idol put on the golden pedestal," Masis said to me.

Sword or pen? One is as well as the other--both I liked and used.
But I appeared before an alternative and I had to choose the first, because there are times when pen, word and truth need a sword to succeed.
I like the pen, which at the same time is a sword that knows how to raise thousand arms to defend justice.
I like the Armenian king's sword which "didn't fall on the ground," but like a fiery lamp icon remained hanging in mid-air, above the Sepuh Mountains, and in the starless nights of history illuminated the age-long passage of the Armenian.
Sword and pen--divine weapons, given to man to defend righteousness and sanctity in the world. They often replaced each other in my hands.
And... my sword was not defeated and "didn't fall to the ground."

* * *

On one victorious day my eagle-like brothers-in-arms of Siunik said to me:
"When you die we'll put under your head your sword and carve on your grave, "Here is buried he who acted like a living sword".

* * *

My soul is again thirsty for just power. I repeat, with unspeakable pride, a line of a Stoic philosopher, "The king of the forests of Armenia – the raging lion with the golden mane."
What was at one time Troy? Was it a shadow of a great past or mere literary memory?
No, no, even today, looking from the height of history, I see in Armenia more than a territory and a number of people.
We are natives of lion-inhabited regions; the leonine nature peculiar to the Armenian essence remains and must remain.
The lion is killed, too, but the nature of lion never does.

A FIGHTER DOESN'T DIE

* * *

Man knew the order of things. He knew that when there is life, there is no death. He knew it and would placidly enjoy days and the sun that were granted to him.
But I was destined to live the life and death.
It has been long time since the world thought that I was dead, though I continue to trample the Earth, of this boundless globe I am given a space, a blind cell of a prisoner, which would hardly be enough for two graves.
I died not being dead, more shadow than a living creature. I am and I am not. Though there is the vessel of life – the form of existence, there is no life, no feeling of life.
I live with the feeling of the mixture of life and death. Ah, man can change the order of nature. Life without life... Who lived it?
I am and I am not... And, indeed, I would like to die in such a state, like a martyr, and stand at the threshold of Eternity with my wounds not cicatrized... No, the fighter does not die. To die...but am I alive, do I still live?

* * *

I say:
--Time is the heaviest load in the world and, at the same time, the lightest.
Like ether, it is light for those who smile with blessing at the clear ocean of the sky or at the blooming flower. In another psychological state, it presses with the weight of the Universe on each atom of our essence.
I am a prisoner, and now I hear my heart beat – one, two... No, no it is not my heart, but the heavy hand of time, which strikes with its iron hammer on my skull – one, two...
I exist for those who have reason to feel my presence, to count my days, hours, minutes, says time. I exist, says time.

There is Prometheus suffering; there are also Oceanides¹ healing its pains.
Pain is given to man, together with it the possibility to soften it.
To overcome the material, to deprive time of its lead, pain of its sharpness, liver-tearing griffon of its claws: this is the supreme art, the mother of all arts that were born by man.

¹ The three thousand daughters of Oceanus and Tethys were the nymphs of the great river Oceanus (Dictionary of Classical Mythology by J.E.Zimmerman, London, 1980, p. 178).

Stoic
and
ence
"Ataraxia-calmness," would say the Greek of classical ages. "Creative jealousy," says the art-critic of our days. Inner splitting apart when you are separated from the biting pain and mentally you consider it as a philosophical material, I say.

To overcome time till it is not felt. Being devoted to that divine art, every day my mind goes through the roads that were trampled by the ancient gods. I visit Hellas, walk with the philosophers of Athens and appear in the historical battlefields. I stretch my hand to a soldier who is ready to disarm, to the wounded and, finally, leaning on my sword and Masis (Ararat) vigilantly watch the frontiers of Armenia.

G.N.

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P.S.

Not to understand someone who was wounded for Armenia means to be neither Armenian nor a patriot.

* * *

The fate of the native people is the most sacred and, at the same time, the heaviest of all crosses. Woe and seven-fold honour to the man who bears it. If you are a hero, provide proof that you are more powerful than the world, life and death.

May 1955

THE CREATOR WAS PONDERING

To our immortal Ashot*¹

The angel guarding the gates of heaven waited in vain. That day the Creator of the Universe did not appear.

That day, as every morning, He did not approach the gates of heaven to listen to the prayer of the freshly awakened Earth.

And for the first time day began without dawn because that day God didn't smile on our Earth.

At that hour the Creator of the Universe pondered alone near His throne. He was sad, as the silence of the sandy deserts of Arabia.

"Our Lord is begetting new worlds," whispered in awe the angels surrounding the Creator.

And they were sad as their once rebel friends who were banished from the heavens.

"It seemed to me..." in the mysterious silence the Creator's voice was heard. "It seemed that endless caravans of seconds and millennia going to eternity were always loaded with the tender blessings of my creatures... The man, and reptile, and bush, and bird, that every creature, every hour breathed gratification and blessed my name. But he spoke about the buried dead, the blood of innocent people, about tears and curses – he spoke of imperfection of the earth created by me..."

The Creator became silent.

And again deepened wrinkles on His forehead and sadness, like a thick shadow covered His face.

"No," exclaimed the Creator almost in anger. "The world created by me cannot be imperfect, bring him to me. I want to listen to him once more."

A little later, a man, who had newly left our criminal world, came, led by angels, in front of the Lord.

"Oh, man," sounded the voice of the Creator. "Didn't you sin, speak of imperfection in the world created by me?"

Instead of answering, the new guest of the Heaven bitterly smiled and withdrew.

Pondered the Creator...

And He was sad; sadder than thousands years ago, when He alone passed over waters and chaos.

"Armenia", Plovdiv, 1925, N7

¹ Is possible, G.Nzhdeh means Ashot Melik-Musyan, the commander of Goghtan.

OPEN LETTERS TO THE ARMENIAN INTELLIGENTSIA

A

To criticize means to suffer spiritually.

The events of the last decade – the Genocide of the Armenians in Turkey¹, the formation of Armenia and its loss², a new drawing of the Russian-Turkish border, and as its consequence hard conditions which arose for us in the Middle East, the anxious state of the Armenians in Western colonies³, who were deprived of their Motherland--put us before new realities.

Our life together with all its essential sides was shattered. Immense and noteworthy changes took place. It is well known that all these events developed, absolutely contrary to our moods, under the influence of outside realities. We were unable to direct them. It means that we were not inwardly ready to understand the meaning of the events and to turn them in the direction of our political aspirations.

We had a horrible psychological incompleteness and its natural result is that we have today's inconsolable state.

But this state acquires such a tragic character because while on the one hand in the course of the history our people, owing to disasters and trials matures and the idea of independence becomes for them a psychology, on the other hand they became weak, small and imploring from the viewpoint of the numerical force to form an independent state in the conditions of the Middle East.

It is natural, that the Armenian state's nucleus must be Soviet Armenia with its 28,000 sq. km and approximately one-million population. Were it not for the conditions in the Muslim East and interrelations of the Muslim peoples, their intolerance as a result of the psychology formed of the bloody realities of centuries, the political aspirations of the Turkish-Tatar peoples, perhaps the gradual development of Soviet Armenia would be possible and our anxiety would be unnecessary.

A glance at the map is sufficient to understand what to expect.

This small Armenia is deprived of all strategic points. Armenia is besieged by its age-old enemy. That siege is based on a calculation that makes obvious sense: at the opportune moment to exterminate Armenianhood in the shortest time, with the smallest losses.

¹ It refers to the genocide of the Armenians living in Western Armenia and in other parts of Turkey.

² The first Republic of Armenia that existed from May 28, 1918 till December 2, 1920.

³ They are communities of the Armenian Diaspora in western countries.

Armenia is vulnerable from several different points. In just a few hours Turkey⁴ may cut these points, separate the small Armenian regions from each other and join with Azerbaijan.

The enemy is determined to exterminate us. We have neither a program nor a weapon for self-defence.

Years pass and not a single attempt is made in that direction.

It is a very sad case that deserves attention. It means that our people have a wrong concept, not only about war and peace, but they are also hopeless in their negligence towards their own existence: they are deprived of the ability to admonish and instruct, unable to understand one elementary truth--that pacifist and non-courageous peoples pay incommensurably more because of war.

Moral-material progress, that is, potential self-defence. The imperative of progress is self-defence. No one, except our people, believes that it is possible to stop the victorious chariot of progress by the moans of the defeated and the weak lying flat on the ground. It is no secret that states are natural adversaries, each trying to expand, become stronger to advance at their neighbour's expense. Who feels himself strong and ready to attack does so, considering a preventive attack as the best defence.

Who sees a weakness in front of him attacks.

People prepare and do whatever is necessary, prompted by a strong need.

Every weak state is afraid of being swallowed by a strong one. It also keeps an eye on his adversary so that the latter not to excel him.

Pacifist and non-courageous people become weak and turn into the prey of those whose strength grows and expands irresistibly.

It is necessary to understand also the following:

- Treaties are concluded not for the sake of peace but for the daily essential interests of states. States take into consideration international law and respect treaties signed by them as long as they gain from the existing situation. But as soon as another situation or paper friendship seems to be more profitable, they spit on treaties, abandon their former brothers-in-arm and create a threat to world peace.

This is the real state of affairs; this is the real world and not that which false and deceptive imagination has been lulled and is being lulled into by our sentimental nation.

⁴ Treaties live for as long as live conditions that gave them birth. Only those may rely on the Turkish-Bolshevik treaty whose ignorance is not excusable in our age.

B

It is the people--industrious and gifted with many talents for the material future--who know how to accumulate and put together material goods in all seasons. It is considered ridiculous if someone admires only summer beauty and does not think about winter. It is surprisingly idealistic as far as it concerns peace, prays to its sun and believes not at all that there is a winter of war.

But war comes in defiance of our wishes because the law of antagonism rules the world.

Our people do not want to understand this truth. That's why the goods accumulated during peaceful years, by laborious work, they give to the enemy and as beggars they become a burden on foreigners.

We should like our people to understand at last that peace is not eternal, but it is only a temporary truce.

Peace is not even a normal state; there is no peace on our globe; and it may not be in history.

War is an inevitable moment in the life of peoples. It is not waged only for conscious calculations, but it is one of the most vigorous expressions of human evolution. War is an instinct: that's why people wage war almost instinctively, acting against the demands of consciousness and moral laws. They consciously go back to its results after giving short shrift, victory or defeat.

Peace for the present mankind is only weariness.

People are defeated when they quickly get tired.

Those who strive for war are made healthy.

War is a desire of the recovered and the healthy, as peace is the craving of the weak, and a dream of the tired one.

Surely, peace would be a blessing for tired peoples, if those who were winners in war didn't know how to abuse peace.

Abuse of peace is more disastrous for defeated peoples than even war.

There are few cases of exterminations in history, while enormous numbers of peoples have slowly disappeared in unfavourable peace conditions, without bloody strokes.

For us it is a peace of slow annihilation in the contemporary dominating conditions of the Middle East.

The enemy controls the peace of not only Turkish-Armenia that has been turned into a grave, but also of Soviet Armenia. Every moment it may hinder that peace. If to the present day it hasn't tried to do that, it means peace is more favourable for its political goals.

Besides that unfortunate circumstance, there are psychological and other reasons which make us more pessimistic regarding the future of our people.

In the first place, contemporary Armenia is extremely narrow and poor.

It is a self-deception to hope that Armenianhood would culturally and economically prosper become a political force, form a state in the specific conditions of the Caucasus, under foreign influence, surrounded by hostile peoples.

Present-day Armenia constitutes only 1/19th of our historic Motherland. It is not the Motherland but a native corner.

In its present borders it can't include the Armenians dispersed all over the world. Their wandering state is disastrous from two viewpoints. First, it is definitely subject to disappearance (in Turkey through massacre and in other places by peaceful extermination and assimilation.)

A native corner and the wandering people: a fate that condemned our people to hesitation, i.e. national pessimism. Woe to the people who are infected with that disease. Such people stand on the grave's brink.

Let's not be horrified, but let's accept without vain illusion and unnecessary prejudice the bitter truth that our future is endangered.

C

It would be senseless to accept this truth, if it only horrifies but does not shake us. Shocks are levers of salvation in a peoples' life. Peoples are immoral and lost when not disposed to deep shock for safeguarding their existence.

Only people who are able to bear psychological shock may be reborn. It is not disastrous to have losses, i.e. not to learn by experience to be edified and sobered up by the events of the past. Clearly speaking, it is disastrous to be unable to undergo revaluations.

Quest without revaluations is a senseless pastime. Without quest not only peoples' mind's die, but the peoples as well.

We must reevaluate not only the subjective character of events, but also the subjective elements of our spiritual life.

We must look for and find real causes of our misfortunes and recognize our real wounds, diagnose our people's soul and only after that can we speak about treatment.

Indeed, why were the Armenian people defeated and abandoned by their friends? Whose fault was it? Was it the geographic position of the country? Christian Europe? Muslim East? Fate?

--All of them, except us. This will be the logic of our hopeless middle-class reasoning.

Yes the mood of thinking... it complains, expresses dissatisfaction, curses fate and repeats endlessly that we lie on great roads of the world and that geographical roads are bad.

Here is a miserable truth which has splendid privileges. Our highland is unassailable and our mountains invulnerable barriers to invaders. To neglect this reality and mourn for our fate is, at the least, the self-justification of the weak and the timid. Self-justification is the psychology of the feeble. Here is present not only prejudice but also lack of virtue.

It would be unjust to trust sick persons when they complain of the world.

The world is an image and the source of the image is one's own soul.

Peoples have illness of soul when they complain of their Motherland.

Perhaps each people, enthroned on the most unassailable highland of the world, are not worthy of their fate, but fate is never ungrateful.

Armenianhood, if it were mighty, would work wonders on that splendid bridge of the world. It was feeble, grew weak. It became unworthy of its native land.

Up to now, the ill, unhappy people had two traits—*to ascribe their misfortunes to external causes and to expect their salvation from external forces.*

Here is the cause of our strange belief and enthusiasm when a foreigner keeps his promise and our as strange disappointment and desperation when he breaks his promise.

Disastrous self-rejection made us psychologically so valueless that we failed to blame ourselves in our misfortunes. We seem so worthless in our own eyes that we do not suppose that we may be the cause of something—even of a misfortune—in the political world. Perhaps everything happens for us, but outside of us, regardless of us. A political blind opportunism that darkened our intellect and prevented us from seeing even a rough, crying truth—*that not everyone else is to blame for our misfortunes, but first of all ourselves.*

D

It is strange, judges middle-class reasoning, our belief in Europe was a blind feeling, our leniency was Christian towards our enemy. Anyhow, we were broken and abandoned.

There is nothing strange. We were broken down and abandoned because we were quite unfamiliar with European's psychology.

We had a Christian feeling towards Europe and owing to our strange mysticism—our national illness—we installed our own moods in the European's soul and deeply believed that all Christian peoples had the same feeling toward us and that all wars were waged for our salvation.

This self-deception pushed us to political begging and as we were poor we yielded to tearfulness.

Begging and tearfulness—the psychology of the whole period—are our only political weapons. But tearfulness is a proof of spiritual inferiority or cowardice. Begging is absolutely loathsome. It may offer the beggar some sympathy, but more often with loathing, too.

Political begging is the most horrible, because politics contains no sympathy, but a very small portion of loathing.

Begging is an impossible thing in politics.

The impudent beggar's selfishness considers it quite natural that people, even the most degraded, take pity on him.

The beggar is more impudent and exacting if he at the same time is a disabled person.

This egocentricity of the beggar and insistence of the disabled turned into psychology.

These two psychological moments, inspired by the Gospel, acquired a political meaning and the character of a diplomatic weapon.

It is a marvellous virtue for a Christian flock, but only for a Christian flock.

Today we curse political philanthropists, but we forget that the beggar and the disabled person are given a poor house and not an independent state.

Yesterday we were such, when we were a religious flock, today we have a possibility to consider ourselves a political force, but we are not free of the herd psychology that got into the thinking of the political movements, which owing to it unconsciously cling to the idea of orientations.

To tell the truth, a step forward is observed – from the Christian prejudice to orientation – but there is a confession in all that, i.e. some elements of our people apparently are not ready for political life-- they are unripe, powerless, cowardly and absolutely dependent on the former thinking.

It is the second period in the wanderings of the Armenian political mind – the period when the mind becomes half-independent.

In a short time this period had so many disastrous consequences and it seems that it continues to grow darker, staining our fate with blood, splitting, and weakening our people inwardly.

These movements have already got their expression in our life as political groups tending to Russian- or Western- or even a Turkish-orientation. As a consequence of their reckless, absurd clashes the fall and division of Armenia between Russia and Turkey was easily achieved.

But the consequence of such thinking is not only a political loss.

The most horrifying is that it will endlessly reinforce our people's conviction that they are weak, needing the protection of others and thus they'll lose their will and become weak, even unable to organize self-defence by their own forces.

Those peoples that have the possibility to have independence first of all must free themselves from that thinking.

Those peoples that are deprived of independence can not form a state. The state foresees an independent political thought, self-confidence to fight, initiative to govern, because victory is a fruit of self-confident initiative.

There were cases when this or that region of ours remained alone, but due to the psychology of the resolute lonely, successfully led its hard fight of self-defence.

On the contrary, in those cases when our politics did calculations on the outside forces – we were defeated severely.

We were defeated because to rely on such calculations means to be deprived of the psychology of the resolute lonely. The policy of orientation is the horror of loneliness.

Any people seized with that horror is defeated and lost.

Here is another cause of our misfortune; let's accept this truth as well.

Owing to the xenophile moods of our several movements, our lack of self-confidence and horror of our loneliness, our people, who would be able to organize successfully their self-defence in other cases became a weak-willed mob and were defeated.

Our defeats were psychological, we were defeated not because of our numerical and technical weakness and feebleness, but because of our spirituality.

The Armenian is a unique and militant fighter, but under his own flag—often non-courageous and defeatist.

We had the natural and artificial superiority of positions in Kars, the numerical superiority, better provisions, but anyhow we were defeated because we didn't have the psychology to stand resolutely alone and the belief to do something independently. We were defeated, because, as a nation, we realized only partially our duty, partially understood real conditions of the world. We tried to stand up, but neither wholly, nor by the urge of our inner forces.

We were defeated because instead of using the whole force of the spirit of our nation we looked for protectors.

Tomorrow we'll be absolutely lost if we remain with such thinking. We'll be saved, if we free ourselves from prejudice, if we try to stand up, but not by external stimulus or the wish of foreigners but by our inner, natural, unrestrained impulse.

Any people will be liberated and become free only in this way.

If there are subordinate forces on that road, we must use them as brothers-in-arms and a friend.

To use and not to implore, if the Armenian grasps this difference it means that he is standing on the right way of salvation.

Till now we have looked for philanthropists and patrons—we are ill, weak and mentally and psychologically unripe.

From now on we must speak about brothers-in-arms, because we desire to be cured in soul and become courageous.

Brothers-in-arms and not philanthropists – it means that the Armenian is courageous and looks for a friend in self-defence and battle. That is the right of the brave, of the one who would decide to win alone and be in an alliance in order to win easier.

Courageous people...only with them must states enter into alliance, stretch out their hand. Let's understand this truth, too.

It is necessary to become courageous to be saved, i.e. to overcome one's own horror.

Only a soul free of horror is able to see the world subjectively and to imagine.

Fear always begets monsters, far-fetched monsters.

Often, such monsters kill peoples.

Our three-headed enemy is formed of an inferiority of political consciousness, non-confidence, and the psychology of horror.

While we are unable to kill this inner enemy, it is impossible to get rid of the external enemy.

It is said, "Man is the thing that must be overcome."

Thus, it is impossible while the Armenian man is unable to overcome himself – to kill the animal of horror in him, to be inspired by a new thinking, changed spiritually, in short,

while he does not become a people of courage, having the Aryan name, it is impossible to be able not only politically to free himself, but to escape the danger of extermination.

The courageous and courage-worshipping Armenianhood, and not the present-day one, may live in the conditions that have been created for us in the East.

In wars the courageous win – it means that those win who tame their own fear and, before fighting, erect the building of victory in their soul.

War is not a mechanical clash of rough forces, but a clash of the spiritual abilities of peoples.

What is more, war is the battle of the peoples' gods. Technique is the weapon; the means is the spirit – the blacksmith of the war.

The weapon is necessary, but in courageous hands.

People going to wage war first arm themselves psychologically.

If this condition is neglected, both the defeat and surrender of technical means to the enemy are inevitable.

It is necessary to overcome one's own defeat.

To overcome one's own defeat means to be prepared for self-defence, which means the enemy's defeat.

Self-defence – this is what time and progress dictate.

Self-defence – that is our new religion.

Self-defence – the only means that guarantees the existence of a people as well as its gods.

Never is it egocentricity when a people declare their self-defence as a religion. On the contrary, a bloody tragedy pushes peoples to that conviction and the most just peoples have a right to act in such a way.

Self-defence is not only the natural right of every people, but also an obligation towards mankind.

Peoples live for themselves but create for mankind.

Someone who lives for himself does not deserve to live.

Peoples have an obligation to create, thus they have the right to live.

People unable to engage in self-defence are thus deprived of those elementary virtues – virtues the measure of which is only the ability realized for self-defence. If a people are lacking the ability of self-defence, it means that they are deprived of any virtue and moral right to exist.

For a long time we were yearning for the security of life, property, honour – at that time we were not only feeble, but we were deprived of virtue as well.

The life of people is not the grace of despots; they cannot live begging and must not live.

A people, relying for their self-defence only on the mercy of a foreign force, are parasites. The parasite is immoral in life and there is no place for such entities in history.

Let's accept also this truth without anger.

Self-defence is not a present from others, but it is a thing from him to him, an influence from subject to subject.

Self-defence is the inner effort of the people. Till now this effort was expressed as a prayer, entreaty, begging. The result was thousands and thousands of passive victims. Now effort must be the expression of our inner force.

Our old weapons are rotten, old parchment manuscripts which are distorted. Now we must listen to the word of a new Evangelist – the Evangelist of courage.

Now we must speak with Vahagn – the god of the ancient Aryan Armenianhood. A new bible must be put into the hands of our people - the bible of the Aryans.

Courage must be the vocation of our generations because that high quality saves peoples from physical and moral degradation, since courage is the only divine value that enables people to buy their independence and secure it.

That is why all the leaders of Armenian mental and spiritual life must become the oracles of courage.

School, church, political parties, media, non-party organizations – all must be imbued with the new thinking, they must repeat new truths, repeat endlessly, unceasingly, till the idea of courageous self-defence becomes the national thinking, honest passion, psychology and until the new Armenianhood becomes capable of self-defence.

E

The Church.

It must revalue its wrong understanding of Christian love in order to cease to consider weakness as a virtue, killing the will of our people.

It has misunderstood the mystery of Christian love and because of that, during the centuries, it became the cause of the incomparable tragedy of our people.

Love is the one who is strong, which has the abundance of soul, whose cup of force is full to the brim.

The love of the weak is not productive.

Flattery is the forgiveness of the weak.

Christ loved because he was strong. He loved because he was as mighty as love and forgiveness.

His private life had to become a guide for the Church.

The mystery of his death - a heroic sacrifice.

He sacrificed, because he was the hero of the idea.

Only the courageous, brave, only the hero may sacrifice himself.

The weak is as incapable of love as of sacrifice.

A people who are not able to have these virtues are dooming their existence to accidents.

He is not Christian who understands the element of Christian teaching wrongly, falls into a net of prejudices and is extremely weakened, but he who bears a bit of Christ - a spark from the soul of the mightiest God-man.

He was the most efficient and powerful – we, at least, should be efficient and powerful in order to be able to love and sacrifice.

Our Church was very wrong, preaching the morality of the “homeless” and the “bankrupt.”

From now on it is necessary to speak about a courageous people - able to love and sacrifice - if we want the traces of Christianity in Asia Minor and Armenia.

To be a powerful and Aryan people means to be able to neglect death for the sake of its own existence.

Thus will live the Armenian people as well as the Armenian Church.

Self-defence of the Armenian people – that is the new creed of the Armenian Church.

If it does not accept this truth, to preach every day and spread this saving idea with all it means in order to contribute to our self-defence – it will perish.

* * *

The Press.

Its duty is to give brief truths to the people.

Its goal is to enlighten the way of the people towards the future by the truths.

If the press does not have that vocation, it is an unnecessary parasite and peoples feed it in vain at their expense.

Unfortunately, with some exceptions, such is our Armenian press.

Journalism--but not the press –means that we are yet unripe and we can't find the inner problems of our life, enlighten them and we occupy our mind with external events and news.

We are still interested in external things or things which are only outwardly related to us.

This mode of thinking has dominated our press almost from the day of its beginning.

The salvation is from outside – it is enough for the press to be inspired by the external favourable signs, a compassionate smile of a diplomat, the Armenophile expressions of a famous European, the efforts of a missionary organization devoted to Armenians, a pro-Armenian resolution of a pacific congress, a sensitive speech of a parliamentary figure after a massacre and after all such things which have no real significance for the self-defence or salvation of peoples.

Thus during decades... and no one felt that he was becoming a collaborator in the Armenian tragedy, diverting the people's attention from the only weapon of their salvation – self-defence.

There were journalist expressions, often even the agitation of self-defence, but all these were unripe, with prejudices towards outside forces, i.e. not wholly true and useful.

It is journalism that during decades was unable to show the real causes of the tragedies of its people, after thousands and thousands of victims to find a general truth and to turn that truth into the psychology of the masses.

It is a journalism whose several organs were not hard on external forces, cringing before them, burning incense for them, but in internal life they are splitting, intolerant and arrogant.

It is a journalism that stirs up conspiracy passions and is unable to understand an elementary truth that the self-defence of a people is the cause to which people belonging to different movements and directions must be unanimous.

It is a journalism that after years of enthusiasm towards foreign hopes, today expresses disillusioned curses right and left to all nations and in languages and is unable to understand that it is not foreigners that should be blamed, but the Armenian people who were not encouraged to self-defence and didn't turn to it. That's why they were defeated.

It is a journalism that every day shouts that Armenianhood fell prey to the policy of conquering peoples and unconsciously plunged into diplomatic problems. It speaks about orientations because of its ridiculous diplomatic amateurishness.

This kind of journalism is unnecessary for the Armenian people.

Like the Armenian Church our press must be revolutionized.

We have many newspapers, even unnecessary ones, now it is necessary to have a re-educating journalism:

A journalism, which would unmistakably make a diagnosis of the needs of our nation and offer radical means, revalue our past and seek new truths for enlightening the problems of our people and revealing their clandestine virtues, guess the danger threatening its people and thus becoming an alarm bell for its spiritual armament.

At last a journalism that will be free from the alien mode of thinking and propagate courage, speak about heroic people instead of feeble persons and thus in that way until Armenianhood will stand up in intimidating attitude on his Highland and prove to the world that he is courageous – the owner of his Motherland and fate.

F

Parties.

It is imperative that our parties be spiritually changed, too. Our inner holding out against each other helps the outside enemy against our peoples and country.

It is difficult to believe that ugly struggle between parties emerges only from a love of the native people, about whose salvation struggling sides have different conceptions.

The only “military means” of our parties is the moral rebuke and no more: neither deception and slander, nor distortion of reality, nor such immoral and blameful faces.

Those parties are infantile in denying the *moral* in political struggle, supposing that they can preserve moral purity in their ranks.

Moral poverty means the poverty of moral forces.

On behalf of a part of the people to curse another part- the opponent, and childishly to deny the right of its existence, it does not mean to bring up its ranks.

Criticism is senseless and sordid, if it is not a creative work

He who is busy the whole day criticizing his opponent’s faults, at the very least he is compromising himself.

Such may gain, but he will gain at the expense of his moral health.

The same may harm his opponent, but he will gain nothing.

Meanness remains meanness even in a case when it is committed on behalf of the most cherished interests. First of all it demoralizes and weakens those who make use of it.

It is as ridiculous, as well as unjust to speak endlessly good things about one’s own party and fault the others’ party.

Such a person is spiritually ill.

Governing as a hooligan, abusing the dark feelings of the masses and creating blind hatred towards an opponent is not the same as waging an ideological struggle.

It’s like pushing one’s own ranks to degradation: such a person is evil to himself, his opponent and his people.

Being ill with blind hatred, some of our parties have forgotten the sacred cause of the Armenian people’s self-defence for whose sake they were ostensibly called to life.

They continue an irritable and contradictory struggle, weakening themselves and weakening our people, distort its collective soul acting in a way which benefits the enemy's needs.

And all that they naively call loving the people, while things that are taking place may be essentially characterized as killing the people.

Yes, killing the people.

* * *

It is a mental short-sightedness not to understand that life is an endless and perpetual reformation.

Spiritual immobility means moral death, dying.

Indifference, pessimism, moral dying - are the slow forms of self-slaughter of people.

People unable to be reformed die every hour, every minute.

Yes, those peoples agonize who spiritually live idly and are led by chance, becoming involved in political delusions and psychological mistakes.

Our parties either do not understand or have no time to understand it.

They need salutary truths. There is no strain of mind and spirit; it is not observed. The truths may be understood only through such a strain.

There is no creative work, no effort of moral forces. On the contrary, there is a chaos of concepts and anarchy, moral stagnation and parasitism, a psychologically catastrophic atmosphere in which moral forces do not grow and prosper.

In such an atmosphere only the coward, the craven and defeatist generations will be brought up, non-courageous people, whose power is exhausted in fear and anxiety.

There is an overestimation of foreign orientations and their crazy opposition towards each other, which is the result of the psychology of the weak.

The irresolute and weak nation precipitates and intensifies the attack of the enemy.

Everything that is done in this way is hopeless and endangers the future of our people.

Briefly speaking, the present situation is deadly dangerous for our people.

* * *

He – an individual or a community – who morally is improving, directly or indirectly contributes to the moral development of its environment.

Our parties, in giving up their Byzantine disputes and the senseless desire to pin each other down, as well as their vain efforts to disguise their defects by the daily exhibition of the adversary's faults, must be concerned with self-education.

An individual or a people – can always be stronger than the need, danger, enemy, can always surpass themselves, rise higher than themselves, if they have will to get on their own feet.

This can be achieved through spiritually rousing our people, to correct the soul of our people by self-correction.

Realizing that *peoples are not defeated if they don't want to be defeated*, realizing that truth, our parties must inspire our people with that very truth in order to encourage

them spiritually. Our parties and through them the people must realize profoundly the following:

- There is no need to help the people, while they bewail, implore and cry, because such people willingly renounce their right of existence.
- It is not worth and it is impossible to help the fallen if he lacks the will to stand up by himself.
- Who does not work with all his strength, has no right to wait for help from others.
- Peoples unable to defend themselves by their own forces are doomed to death.
- *Right is a concept of power and not of logic*; the same is true about the struggle for the sake of right.
- The moral basis of a peoples' existence is not a curse but a blessing.

A people is doomed if it sacrifices right for the sake of its immoral society and not the contrary.

- *It is the fault of the weak that he is weak.* Weakness is immoral. Force devours it. Peoples atone for their sins of weaknesses as defeat, slavery and ignominious existence.

- *People who are invincible are those who are led by the hand of spirit.*

Where there is proof of the spirit, i.e. moral forces, there is numerical superiority, stone, metal almost lose their significance. Who associates with the spirit, associates with moral forces. His possibilities grow immeasurably, becoming inexhaustible.

- *The main role in the history of peoples is not played by outside conditions, political orientation, incidents, but by their psychological representation.*

- *The outside conditions of a people are related to their psychological state.* That's to say, every people *reaches there, where it is by the impulse of its moral forces.*

Realizing all this, our parties, our Church, our schools and press must spiritually change our people.

Realizing this, becoming related to and applying those saving truths our intelligentsia must psychologically raise our people by re-education. It must succeed to secure our people's invincibility by their spirit's invincibility – their physical and moral existence.

* * *

Re-education is needed – a wise re-education which is the last card of the peoples whose future is endangered.

Education that would revolutionize our concepts about political and morally right Christianity, strength and weakness, war and peace which until now were the concepts of the weak is necessary.

An education, that would arm Armenianhood with a mighty national sense and consciousness, make him courageous and become the mother of high patriotism and the worship of this idea, make people prefer the common interest to the personal interest, make the individual look for his personal happiness in collective happiness, make everyone disposed mentally to consider themselves more in possession of obligations

than of rights, that would prompt the Armenian man *to die for living and giving birth to life and not to live to die, realize the possible social justice among our people. Such an education is the only means of abolishing the timid, the indigent and the bad, that is to say, the only way to achieve the invincibility of the Motherland.*

This salutary education would give us the necessary virtues of those peoples who are courageous and look surely to their future: an education that would raise people up to *the highest consciousness and sensibility – the qualities which will increase one hundred-fold the moral energy of peoples.*

An education that would change our people spiritually and bring us salvation!

* * *

To the creative and salutary work of this new education all collective forces must unreservedly and decisively harness themselves *under the control of a supreme national organ selected from all movements.*

Making the problem of the necessity of our people's spiritual reconstruction public, I should like to believe that our intelligentsia is spiritually anxious about the future of our people and, after our horrible losses, the continuation of the old will be considered equal to the murder of the people and being pushed by an iron necessity it will be a virtue not to belong to any party, at least in the question of the self-defence of our people.

From now on, our history must not be a repetition of tragic mistakes, but of their correction.

None of those things that have been done or are being done to make easy our external enemy's actions – that must be our present-day cry inviting us to be sober and look after our salvation.

If it develops and our intelligentsia behaves like that – tomorrow the whole of our nation will become what we desire it to be.

The human eye has not yet seen that greatness which may be reached by individuals and nations by the development of their spiritual forces.

Tomorrow belongs to those peoples who realize and apply this truth.

Tomorrow the one who will win, before that tomorrow, is the one who bears that victory in his soul.

Let's understand that truth and be related to it and let's work for tomorrow – if we don't want to be lost as a nation.

Beirut, 1929.

THE ETERNAL WEAPON OF A NATION

I ask in such a way as nobody has asked yet:
– “Where are we going? Is there a place for us in history? Does anybody know that we have been left quite alone, that we have no present? Does anybody know that if we cease to exist, not a single atom will move in the universe?”

Every patriotic and intelligent Armenian who knows the philosophy of the Armenian history, will confess that Armenia at the epoch of the Mamikonians, though often divided, half-independent, half-destroyed, was more Armenian, more Motherland and more insistent on being worshipped than it was in the era of Tigran the Great or Artashes.

Where to look for its secret?

The first of the reasons, psychologically, is the fact that many of the values created by Taron¹ bear the all-Armenian sign. The second reason is their authentic and eternal character. The third reason is the covenant of the Mamikonian Armenian to live with the idea of Armenia's eternity, act disinterestedly and die bravely.

Yes, almost all the spiritual weapons of our nation that win eternity--the lucid alphabet, courageous brevity, aspiration for the sacrifice of ephemeral for eternity, biological, moral worship of the Motherland--all these, almost all, were given to us by Taron.

In what corner of Armenia did Armenian so worship, fought like a lion in battle, learned to die for his Motherland, as in Taron?

That land of ours historically has value of a unique world, owing to its spiritual capacity and great strategic significance.

It is true that each handful of native land is sacred, but it is also true that Motherlands have the most cherished and important region from their historic-strategic point of view, where the nation shed the most of its blood, accumulated cultural treasures, created heroic history--the region, without which the Motherland would unable to be powerful and independent, preserve its existence and defend itself.

The significance of Taron is destined to be great in the defence of our nation and Motherland.

While Taron remains cut off from the geographical body of our country, the future of our Motherland will remain in danger.

Each country has its Taron.

Ask any nation and it will pronounce the name of its “Taron” with sacred excitement.

Yet it was yesterday, when the minister of internal affairs of Kemalist Turkey in his speech, made in Shyukri Gaya-Thrace, while underlining the significance of

¹ It was one of the fifteen regions (in Armenian *ashkharh* - world) of the Kingdom of Great Armenia.

Adrianople from the point of view of Turkey's self-defence, declared, "Every Turk must feel himself an Adrianoplian, first of all an Adrianoplian." Why, because while Adrianople is Turkish, the Turk one foot will remain in Europe; because of the loss of Adrianople Turkey will weaken and perish.

"First of all the Adrianoplian"--only two words, which give unerring formulation of the self-defence of the Motherland.

What a deep psychology? What a military-political wisdom and enviable worship of the Motherland is in that behest-formulation of the Turkish state figure?

"First of all the Adrianoplian" – it is said by a Turkish man, be vigilant, because sooner or later two destinies are going to fight in the fields of Thrace – of Turkey and that of another state. From it follows, that if the Turk is defeated he will be also defeated in all other battlefields. And it also means that each Turk will consider himself a soldier—always ready to turn into shield at that very important front of Turkey.

And as a reflection of the Turkish minister's declaration the Turkish students answered the French journalist in the following way, "All of us are the nation-worshippers, extreme nation-worshippers, which are for us a spiritual food, as bread and water for the human organism."

The same is said on another occasion: The most sacred obligation for us— is to die in the name of Turkey, for its honour and independence."

The Turk thinks, acts and prepares in that way, in that manner he organizes his nation at the threshold of danger.

And what are doing we, the Armenians?

Who can deny that Taron is seven-fold more for us, than Thrace is for Turkey.

Isn't it fair for the Armenian to be more worried about Taron, than the Turk about his Adrianople? Isn't it expected that today not only the Taronian, but also each Armenian, notwithstanding his political position and progressing circumstances, to have an ardent worship of the values created by Taron and bear the sign of the nation, virtue and sacred things.

Isn't it time for every Armenian to be recruited for "The Mamikonian Covenant" from which, unfortunately and gradually became estranged the Armenianhood, more because of internal than external reasons and that's why as a nation it weakened and was inhumanly punished? Nowadays, when the world community has put us in front of the fact of impossibility of living and creating as Armenians, in this raging world and dangerous times, isn't it wise politically for the Armenian, who is the most endangered from national point of view, again to rely upon THE TARONAKANUTIUN, the nation's eternal weapon?

* * *

Our days are mainly revolutionary, and contemporary events are fatal.

For a long time mankind has felt as if sitting on a volcano. The old world is mined. Man – individual or community – today feels himself in unprecedentedly insecure and alarmed.

Shocks are horrible in all spheres of life. State, economy, religion and philosophy face crises.

All problems of life are re-examined. Peoples with unprecedented revolutionary rage crush the tablets of false values, ideas and truths, and instead write new ones.

The course of history has broken and the acute-angled turnover has begun.

The new has begun -- new world, new history, the creator of which is the new, regenerated man – the man of risk, heroism and fate.

Everywhere—East or West, both in old and new worlds--are pushed by the future's horror, old peoples revive, rejuvenate spiritually, the young people activate. Never were people such ardent worshippers of power. Everyone tries to expose his concealed forces, overcome his inner weaknesses, keep in check, and chain his centrifugal from nation "Ego"-s, envy, malice.

All – the victorious and the defeated, the great and the small – rose to conquer the inner desert, so that it disappears not only from the map of their country but also from their souls. Three-headed danger—Bolshevism, war and national degradation--is more stressed by the reigning alarm. In order to oppose it successfully people must rely on the force of their national instinct and the biological morality of their faultlessness.

Everywhere—individual or class—willingly restrict their personal rights and many of them do it for the sake of their nation and Motherland. Such a self-restriction--that supreme act of self-sacrifice does not humiliate, depersonalize a human being, on the contrary, it greatly strengthens and enriches his spiritual life.

For all peoples, especially those who came out of war badly wounded and defeated, the matter of the centralization, organization and activation of their forces acquired a character of national faith. They make superhuman effort on the one hand to heal the wounds inflicted by drastic international treaties and on the other make preparations to oppose future danger.

Ratenau inspired the German people that "potato" was its fate. A humiliated Germany, as a defeated country would daily have to pay the victors four million. But since the day, when an injured lance-corporal came back from the front and took over the leadership of the German people (which considered its fate to be the nation and the Motherland) international relations have changed: the defeated became victorious without fighting.

Hungary – a tragic victim of Trianon – was not late to include revisionism in its schools as a compulsory subject – the demand of revision of unjust treaties. "Trianon? Never" – today it is a political prayer for every Hungarian.

And what to say about the Motherland of Crali Marco, about Bulgaria, which was deprived of the right to keep an army? Victors treated Bulgaria meanly. But this little country, owing to its biological powerful moral force, gave birth to a visible labor army, which today has to become its fighting force.

In such a way acted those who were defeated, but whose national spirit remained invincible.

What do the victors do?

Listen to one of them, a French intellectual.

"We, the writers, in the face of the danger threatening our country, and regretting that the French unity is not yet an accomplished reality, have decided to end all kinds of discord to demonstrate the people an example of the brotherhood."

“Let’s unite for the sake of the renovation of France,” - is declared in their second manifesto. “Let’s create a new France that will be more powerful than all dangers” is said in their third manifesto.

This is the patriotic bearing of the people belonging to quite different ideological and political directions and who represent the superior thought of France.

That is the psychology, the dynamics of nations and events everywhere.

Thus were shattered foundations, demolished and reconstructed the whole world – the old.

It is clear, that under existing conditions of general alarm – an alarm that painfully touches our collective fate - the question of the Armenian future had to be on the agenda long ago. What will be the present and future the Armenian intellectuals’ point of self-defence of their people and Motherland?

* * *

Before battles some people are defeated in advance who are unable to look directly into eyes of the world and say, “We understand you.”

“Keep an eye on the world and be like it,” - says the classical wisdom.

The Armenian keeps the world around him under observation, but it seems that he does not understand things that happen around him.

During years that we, together with a part of intellectuals who feel their national roots, repeat that the mankind is in the process of regrouping, based on the idea of ethnicity. Peoples return to the sources of their essence because they already scientifically have no doubt that “in history ethnos is organic.” The Armenian man, unfortunately, does not understand that liberating truth. The idea of ethnos gives a meaning to the right of our existence, as well as to our duty to die for the Motherland. All present nations are powerful because of this morality. We are weak enough to die because we lack that high morality. We are in horrible state because Armenianhood, as a whole, does not understand the present conditions of the world. The Armenianhood does not understand that having such a neighbor as the Turk and continuing the old way means to commit national suicide.

Armenianhood is not self-cognizable. It is shameful for us that a foreigner, Franz Werfel had to come and say – “The Armenians are a people of spirit.” Yes, we are the people of spirit and that’s why all those doctrines born of impersonal spirit, for example socialism, Bolshevism, cosmopolitanism remain undigested and strange for the spirit of the Armenian.

Christianity was inspired and that was the reason the Armenian was the first to rush into its arms. We must understand that the most powerful weapon of our nation always was the spirit.

Every truthful hero first of all is the hero of spirit. Without the power of spirit an Armenian man may be brave, and accidentally victorious, but not a hero. The Mamikonyan fighters were heroes of spirit. And that is the secret. The tiger of the strength and will of the nation would roar in their voice. They, like biblical David, would fight against the enemy and defeat him at one blow with “three stones” alone.

The Armenian fighter is inspired and that is the reason why he was the best guerrilla in the East and he is such today. That’s why very often the Armenian fighter,

with few forces, fought against the enemy's armies far above surpassing him in number and weapon. The Armenian fighter fought in the most severe conditions, half-starved, needing minimal technical means and allies, alone and very often absolutely cut from the rest of the world.

Centuries ago hostile Shapuks envied the spirituality of our fighters: "He is blessed who is the lord of the Armenian regiment, so much devoted to their lord, unified and ingenious that from their regiment and badges fire and flame ascends," he said.

All Mammikonian generals were men of spirit and with their will bent every difficulty and danger. Danger was an old and domestic acquaintance. They were inspired. That's why, at that time, they became a watchful instinct of the nation, its eyes, path, prophets, lawmakers, and, particularly unique leader of their people. Let's say another truth: only the man of spirit may be the head of our people.

To say the man of spirit is the same to say the man of nation. The Armenian people and the country may be entrusted only to such a man.

How many losses and shames would Armenia prevent if the Armenianhood brought together and liked to apply this truth?

* * *

The Armenianhood has no comprehension about the evil called pseudo-intelligentsia. The Armenian uses the word *intellectual* and understands its meaning in a wrong way. For him, every educated person is an intellectual. It is his disastrous mistake. Education and scientific resource are necessary, but yet, they are not enough to make anyone an intellectual. One may be very strong in knowledge, but without any right to be called "intellectual."

The truthful intellectual, first of all, unites within his intellectual potential a deeply moral image, high ideas, ability of creation new ideals, values, forms of life, sacred feeling, theoretical conscience, spiritual courage, the love towards the whole people, the boundless ability to suffer for him.

Doubtless such an intellectual, due to circumstances, may find his place in any political organization, but his devotion and work will not bear the class or partial character. For him the only existing thing is the nation, as an entity, which is the object of his disinterested service. Truthful intellectuals, whose work is continuous in the life of the nation, is the spiritual power without which mobs will live under the name of people, without which nation cannot be created. Owing to generations, intellectuals are in organic connection with one other; they do not negate, but enrich and improve each other. From this point of view, the work of the true intellectual bears the sign of eternity. The Armenianhood is not deprived of true intellectuals, but it is unable to use them. Our pseudo-intellectuals got used quicker to the conditions of the Diaspora and placed it in their service.

Thus our people and the true intellectuals remained apart from one other. The elite of nations began a fight for dear life against pseudo-intellectuals, who thoroughly took the possession of life and now dominate in a non-selective way and tyrannically.

Our pseudo-intellectuals are the only cause of the horrible spiritual poverty, banality, and deformities of the present Armenian life.

The traces of the pseudo-intellectuals' soul may be seen in malicious slander, a fight for a piece of bread, parasitism of position, verbal patriotism.

The pseudo-intellectuals are without spirit, so they are spiritually unable to rise above every day vanity and trifles. Being uncreative, they pursue mainly negative and insignificant goals, remaining disgustingly mean-spirited, schematic and malicious. Today it is much easier to satisfy the hunger of seven jackals than the fury of an Armenian pseudo-intellectual who is without national spirit. The vitality of our nation, its biological impulse and aspiration are proved by the testimony of centuries, but remains low thinking, foreign adoring, defeatist. As a national official, he is the publican -- lazy, unfaithful, bread worshipping, immortalized by the Holy Bible. As a figure, he is a scribe. As a teacher he is an *esnaf*² – unable to explain the visions of power and might to the learning generation.

If today our children turn pale nationally, it is because of the uninspired state of pseudo-intellectuals, which is more harmful than foreign environments.

That part of our intellectuals, infected with jaundice, didn't wish to make use of the fresh example, the national religion of our Armenian intellectuals solicitous for the nation. The pseudo-intellectuals only slandered: "The national religion stinks of Hitlerism." They slandered in this way, knowing that the national religion was born at a time of great peril hanging over our Highland, long before mankind had heard of Hitlerism. The national religion, as the Davit-Bek covenants, began to act and became victorious in 1920. The pseudo-intellectuals know that all – the intellectuals of Armenia, Armenian Revolutionary Federation (*Dashnaktsutjun*), and the Siunik country - connect their salvation with the national religion. The Armenian pseudo-intellectuals knowing that, slandered, "The national religion is convenient only to the American environment."

This is taking place in our days, when every courageous Armenian knows quite well, that the new generation is equally endangered in Paris and Tabriz, as well as in Syria and the Balkans – in all our communities of the Diaspora and that the new generation, in order to get rid of the feeling of humiliation, needs a national *idée force* – a national invigorator – the national religion."

The pseudo-intellectuals were successful in minimizing the high ideas of our people. They killed and buried many things in our unburied life. Let's take one of their victims--the Armenian Church, whose clergymen are clever enough to understand that the Church that is busy with dead rituals and funerals will bury its people and God.

And what's about our school? long abandoned by "falcons," the impersonal, the bloodless, the uninspired by national feeling Armenian school, where may study children of every nation. That establishment can give everything to the Armenian generation of pupils, except the Motherland and courage to defend it and sweetness to die for the Motherland.

The pseudo-intellectuals are hard-edged. The epic national calls of Alishan and Raffi, Aharonian and Varuzhan and of others were in vain, the heights of heroism remained unattainable. They didn't like danger. They run away from the noble danger teaching heroes and often endangered their people's future by their timidity. Yesterday they were defeatists, today likewise – preachers of shyness. For them the hero is an adventurer; the idealist, a fool; the coward, a reasonable man; the scoundrel, a man of action.

In terms of the civic consciousness, they are disgustingly cowardly, and it is impossible even officially to see them near the just and the good. And that is the reason

² "A guild master", (in Turkish).

nowadays, in the Armenian reality, at every step evil has made an ambush, foxes strangle lions, scoundrels crucify the *Christs*.

Knaveishly thinking is our pseudo-intellectual; passionless, he sometimes talks profusely, covers with writing papers about the national discipline, but without reflection that this high virtue is seen only there where are present supreme authority and will – the will of the nation. As though he dreams of a generation with healthy spirit and body, but he does not confess that the nation is an eternal improver and intensifier.

He babbles also about the inner solidarity, not knowing that without supreme arbitrator--such as nation--only the grave soil may make a truce to the spiritless Armenianhood.

He wants to preserve a new generation as Armenian, but he is doing absolutely nothing to keep Armenia for the Armenian. Thus he fails to solve the problem of education of the new generation for the sake of the self-defence of the Motherland as it is done everywhere. He knows, but does not confess that the power of each nation is its youth. He knows that unity, the ability of preserving Armenians nationally, an Armenian out of Armenia, the necessary military force for securing the Motherland's defence—all that, and even more, the new generation will give us, if, doubtless, the old generation turns the cause of the defence of Armenia into spiritual necessity of novelty, if both generations are controlled by the nation, if both rely on the nation—our nation which like Masis is with eternally “formidable heated crater inside volcano.”

* * *

Who represents the Armenian will (does such thing exist)? Who expresses it? Who leads it?

These are needless questions. Long ago the rotten liberalism of the Armenian pseudo-intellectuals descended to anarchism. The process of degradation of the nation's spirit began long ago.

Today, the Armenian Diaspora is neither a society, nor a people. In terms of spiritual sense, it is a human dust; in the political sense, only a shade.

Where spiritual and ideological relations have made way for materialistic-egoistic calculations, there, in terms of political science, cannot exist a society or a people. What we have is the Armenian mass – forsaken, without an ideal and future, and nothing more. In its contemporary state the Armenian Diaspora can fairly master the words of Narekatsi and repeat for itself, “My barns are full of nonentities and my stores—of coolness, I resemble shadows and my appearance is ridiculous.”

The only reason of today's “ridiculousness of the appearance” of the Armenianhood without Motherland is its pseudo-intelligentsia, for whom the world does not revolve and change. An unrelated Asiatic, a false European, or rather, a caricature of stupidities and mistakes of the West—that is the accented type of the non-inspired by national feeling Armenian intellectual. For years he pretended to be a Western, but he didn't become one. He didn't get the European biological morality and couldn't understand that the heroic feeling specific to European nations was due not only to their biological conditions, but also to a high philosophical *Weltanschauung*. He does not understand that the human being suffers with loving care, sacrifices, dies for the sake of eternal values and not for paper stupidities, resolutions and articles.

Psychologically, he remains with one foot in the East, and the other in the West. He remains divided, or rather, neither this, nor that.

Even today, in the most dangerous times for our globe, the pseudo-intellectual runs away from all those problems that closely touch the fate of our Nation and Motherland, the problems in which is felt the pulse of our time's heart.

Even today, the Armenian pseudo-intellectuals don't have enough patriotism and courage to hate their weaknesses.

And what is the consequence? As a consequence the river of the Armenian life is so silted in its bed that the stream finds it very difficult to change its direction.

The Diaspora Armenianhood is doomed to a spiritual catastrophe by its pseudo-intellectuals who are not inspired by national feeling.

In such a situation dies the people's spirit.

Where is the way out?

Who will save the Armenian soul from real death?

Who will make ozonation of our life's firmament that was not ventilated for such a long time?

- Ethnos, only ethnos.

Our true intelligentsia sounded the alarm long ago. We are too late. As soon as possible, it is necessary to define more exactly that feature of our nation's image that became victorious against the past centuries and storms and periodically made possible our national revivals and revolutions. As soon as possible, it is necessary to define more exactly that victorious feature of our nation's spirit and from now on structure our cause of building Armenian Motherland on its basis, and again to rely only on it in order to fight successfully against the present and coming dangers.

* * *

The victorious feature our national image is TARONAKANUTIUN. It is the supreme virtue of our nation, the eternal rebellion of the Armenian spirit – the passion of his immortality, his yearning for great deed, his spiritual nobility.

TARONAKANUTIUN – that is to say along the way of the Mamikonians.

We resort to TARONAKANUTIUN--the eternal weapon of the nation--because the world convinced us that in the present conditions Armenian may survive only owing to the man acting bravely in peril of his life and ready to die.

TARONAKANUTIUN--an eternal feeling the sacred subject of which is the ethnos.

That is also to say, the sense of ideal property--the subject of which is the Motherland.

TARONAKANUTIUN means duty, a religion of might and courage.

TARONAKANUTIUN means the military alliance of intellectuals and fighters full of the Taron spirit--for the sake of the Nation and the Motherland.

That's to say; from now on two things occupy the Armenian mind the must – heart and arm – Armenian and its self-defence.

We are forced to follow this national religion because of the geographic position of Armenia, numerical weakness of our people, the present and future dangers threatening us.

TARONAKANUTIUN also forces us, like the inspired Mamikonians, to serve disinterestedly the Motherland and to educate a generation ready to die bravely for it.

We need a new generation – a generation of danger, that would like to look at the world and things with the eyes of the will which knows how to command its fate.

It is necessary to understand that yesterday it was not the Turk that punished us but our weakness acting by Turk.

It will defeat us tomorrow, too, if before that tomorrow we do not overcome our weakness by TARONAKANUTIUN.

Tomorrow those will be able to defend the Motherland alone, those who will be able to arm spiritually with TARONAKANUTIUN, i.e. they will learn from our fire-spitting Mamikonian fighters, to live and act only for such a thing which is worth to die for, and which was worth to live for.

Ready always to fulfil the requirements of the Motherland.

For the Nation and the Motherland, like the Mamikonians, to wish to die and to know how to die – this is what we call TARONAKANUTIUN.

Today all nations propagate “TARONAKANUTIUN”. With TARONAKANUTIUN – this first weapon of a nation – we must step over the dead bodies of old ideas that feed the Armenian’s weakness. Otherwise, the new, that began its crushing attack against the old world, will tomorrow step over our people’s dead body.

“The Eagle of Taron”, Sofia, 1938, N 1-2.

THE PROBLEM OF FORCE

(An extract from a speech on spiritual renewal by Garegin Nzhdeh)

Today nations are resolutely facing the problem of force. A people will perish when it escapes from that problem or has difficulty solving it.

The problem of force is set and solved in connection with the problem of spiritual renewal of peoples. To be able to become strong, faithful, and fighters like individuals, peoples must also renew themselves. When they lose the ability for renewal, people lose their faith in living, in creating, and in fighting.

The Armenian is unhappy publicly because a part of his intelligentsia has not understood that the most essential element in the life of today's inwardly turbulent nations is not an administrative system, but the revival of the individual and of the masses--the renewal of their souls. All people are spiritually renewed or make an effort to do so. That is the reason in the minds of today's Italian, German and Hungarian a revolution took place. It is also because contemporary man is more active, productive, and enthusiastic.

Go from country to country and you will see there is unmixed joy of life, a fighting spirit, and of sacrifice in peoples led by national inspiration, as they do systematized work to overcome inner and outside challenges of their existence. Everything that yesterday seemed unclear, obscure and illogical has now become definite for the renewal--clear and comprehensible. From now on the creature has found his creator--his inner support. That's why today he is more reliable and quiet. This is the state of soul of contemporary nations. The only exception is our people or its largest part that continues to remain as weak and hopeless as to be called ill. Evil, envy, roughness dominate absolutely over its life because lack of effort, jealousy and joy turned it into a victim of early old age (evil), fear (insidiousness), scepticism (nihilism). Today's Armenian is incurable of his pessimism. Evil, unhappiness, and the loss of Kars--these are eternal things for him. An Armenian who is not renewed is like a blank wall. He is not able to give in, to understand the opposite and become reconciled because he continues to remain an old, fossilized Adam. It is true that the Armenian saw a revolution in his country, but he didn't make any effort for renewal to overcome his weaknesses. He didn't understand that revolution means a creation of a new from old, a creation of a new man, a new consciousness, a new feeling of life. Only an active renovator can be a revolutionary. Each true revolution is a renewal. Only a re-born individual is able to serve truly the Motherland and his nation. First of all, what is needed is a spiritually-renewed Armenian.

The national religion conspired against a serious renewal experiment. Only those who have a hard heart and are ignorant do not know that the renewal of a people is possible with the aid of new generation or its ancestors alone.

TARONAKANUTIUN renews; it is a principle of conformity. It says: Be like the Mamikonian Armenian, who was mighty both with his sacred feeling towards the Motherland and nation and with his persistent will to die for their sake.

Renewal means molding of our inner man according to our favorite image. TARONAKANUTIUN is the molding of the Armenian man in accordance with the image of the Mamikonian Armenian.

A people acquainted with the power of its ancestors and ashamed of its daily weaknesses is able to go through renewal.

In these hard and responsible days, full of shame and responsibility, whom can we appeal? Let Armenia forgive us for our weaknesses and ignorance? Let the Mamikonian forefathers forgive that these weaknesses and ignorance keep the Armenian diverted from his cause?

Our people which has lost faith to remain Armenian and master the Motherland, and unable to see any way out in the world, pursues his daily bread, may be saved by the way of true renewal alone. That is the way to resemble the Mamikonians—that's TARONAKANUTIUN.

“The Eagle of Taron”, Sofia, 1939, N 11.

“You are clothed and fed”– b

PRISON WRITINGS

REFLECTIONS

Armenia and the truth – these are my divinities.

You are not a patriot if your life is not put in service to them: it is possible to serve one of them only by means of the other.

For me a *symbol* does not mean only to think. At the same time it is self-deepening, birth-pains that makes possible inside vision.

I like the idea that emerges into the world by the inner way of Golgotha or flashes in one's brain – like a lightening revelation in one's thought.

I

REFLECTIONS ON HISTORY

“Stay away from falsehood and
be filled with all that's against it.”¹

Khorenatsi

History, it is not an unfinished novel but an unfinished battle.

And its pages are battlefields stained with the blood of generations that come and go.

* * *

The lives of nations, as a matter of fact, are wrestling matches with death.

Nations are viable and creative to the degree that they survive and comprehend their past, their history.

* * *

To write a history means to engage in battle with time, not to allow it to kill the past of the human race. History is the monument of the immortality of a people.

Woe to the people who have a past that is only a silent grave for them. There is no greater service for one's own people than writing down a history of its past life. Let fate give us new Khorenatsis² and new Eghishes³.

¹ Cf. Movses Khorenatsis' words addressed to Sahak Bagratuni: “What then is your delight in the obscene and ridiculous fables of Biurasp Azhdahak; and why do you trouble us for those absurd and incoherent Persian stories, notorious for their imbecility? What need have you of these false fables; what use are these senseless and stupid compositions? Surely they are not Greek fables, noble and polished and meaningful, which have hidden in themselves allegorically the meaning of the events? ”.

² Movses Khorenatsi, the Armenian historian of the 5th century, was the founder of Armenian historiography. His famous work “History of Armenia” is the first complete history of Armenia and its native Armenian people, reflecting historical phenomena that took place on the Armenian Highland from the dawn of civilization (VII-III millennia B. C.) to the beginning of the 40s of the 5th century.

³ Eghishe belongs to the Pleiad of Armenian historians of the 5th century. He is the author of a historic work “About Vardan and the Armenian War” and a theological treatise “Commentary on Genesis”, etc.

* * *

We transgress against true historiography in two ways: First, by ignoring the role of analytical, coordinate and generalized thinking in our search of events, we give it an epic coloring and in that way turn history into a long historic novel. Secondly, by disregarding the role of heart, we turn history into a description of excavations and of fossils; that is to say, we drain the source of inspiration of the people, which is what history must be. The historian must be able to philosophize. At the same time, in order to justify its name, historiography must be a philosophy of history. It is necessary to penetrate into the events with philosophically analytical mind and speak about them with the heart's tongue. Such was *Michelet*⁴. History, derived from human life, is neither an affair merely of the heart nor of the mind - it is a synthesis of both.

In order to understand events and individuals theory is not enough, it is also necessary to feel with them.

We must also accept that the significance of history is not only cognitive but also educational and reconstructive.

* * *

Deficient is the Armenian who, in attempting to understand the philosophy of his native history and the ways of its future development, has not gone through the whole past of his people.

The Armenian nation – would have avoided much suffering, blood and losses- if from the second half of the last century the Armenian intelligentsia had adequately armed themselves with the knowledge and understanding of history, in general, and the philosophy of Armenia's history, in particular.

* * *

It is necessary to go through and re-comprehend the whole course of our national history. It is necessary to rise up with Haik⁵ against Nebroft⁶, broaden Fatherland with Tigran⁷,

⁴ Michelet, Jules (1798-1874) is French writer and historian of the romantic school. In his works - "History of France" (many volumes, 1833-1867) and "History of the French Revolution" - he tried to bring to light the psychology and spirit of the French people. According to his conception, in history, the hero is the people.

⁵ Haik, according to Movses Khorenatsi's "History of Armenia", was the eponymous ancestor of the Armenian people. He symbolized the spirit of freedom and justice of the Armenian people. Haik was an embodiment of light-worship and he fought against Bel-Nimrod who came from the south. Bel wanted not only to conquer Armenia but also to impose the worship of idols, particularly, the stone figures depicting his image. The battle took place at the district of Hayots Dzor in the valley of the River Khoshab, to the south of Lake Van. Haik defeated Bel and killed him. It was the first war in Armenia against the invaders who wanted to enslave the Armenians and to impose idolatry. But dark forces were defeated and dispersed by Haik. Reflected in the Bible as the land of the Paradise of God and of the descending of the Ark of Noah and the establishment of the Eternal Covenant, Armenia was the country of the witness of the true worship of God. Movses Khorenatsi showed the genealogy of Haik interwoven into the biblical pedigree, considering him as a descendant from the line of Japeth. Haik versus Bel according to a religious perception symbolized the true God worship versus idolatry. One of the reflections of the true worship of

improve it with Artashes⁸ and build the magnificent Ani with Bagratids⁹ and then to grieve over its fall... On the whole, it is necessary to go through all the fatal events of our history – its rises and falls, glories and sufferings, its unyielding revolts and rich cultural construction.

All the way to our own days.

This is how are truly shaped the Armenian heart and consciousness in Armenia.

This is how is created the pan-Armenian, the whole Armenian.

* * *

The herald of grief is the most tragic figure among the actors of Armenian history, whose part in Rome performed the purple flag hoisted on the Capitoline¹⁰ during outside dangers. “Thus the herald of grief came... As a sign of mourning he tore his collar and showered his head with soil”¹¹. Who is that tragic creature and what does his sudden appearance symbolize?

The herald of grief is a rebellious incarnation of collective mentality and a vigilant instinct of his people, their will to live.

Danger is quite near, soon the thunder will blast, and so all over Armenia the terrible red news is spread, snow-storming and whipping everyone’s will.

“Get up, get up! Get ready for fatal battle... To whine? No, no, I have already lamented instead of every Armenian, and tearing my collar I felt the pain of the entire nation... Get up! It is wickedness when you have striking hands. Death! Death to those who threaten us with death! Get up for the sake of life, its reformation and perfection! Get up ... Life is more powerful than death, get up, get up!...”

God in Armenia was the worship of forefathers, i.e. ancestors, but not idols. Also, in Armenian pre-Christian religion there was no dualism.

⁶ According to Movses Khorenatsi (“History of Armenia”, I. 5), Bel=Nebroft, cf. Nimrod, whose father was Cush, the eldest son of Ham (Gen., 10:6-8).

⁷ Following Movses Khorenatsi, Garegin Nzhdeh mentions the name of Tigran in a general sense, combining the images of Tigran Ervandian and Tigran Artashesian, both Haykazuni (i.e. originated from Patriarch Haik). Tigran Ervandian (Orontid) lived and ruled in the 6th century B.C. At this time Armenia was a rather strong country. In the second half of the 6th century B. C. the latter together with Cyrus (the founder of the Achaemenid dynasty and kingdom in Iran) defeated the Median king Astiages (Azhdahak) and later, in 539 B. C, took Babylon. The Armenian Kingdom reached its highest point of political and economic power during the reign of Tigran II the Great (95-55 BC), the grandchild of Artashes I (189-160 B. C.). During the reign of Tigran the Great, for a certain period, the Kingdom of Great Armenia became the strongest state in Western Asia. It stretched from the Caspian and Black Seas to the Mediterranean Sea and the neighboring regions of the Persian Gulf. As a great civilizer, Tigran built several towns bearing his name and took under state protection international trade, particularly the main arteries of the Silk Road.

⁸ Artashes I carried out, during his reign, very important economic, military and political-administrative reforms, which served as the basis for the further development of the political system of the Armenian state. He built Artashat, the new capital of the Kingdom of Great Armenia.

⁹ In 885 A. D. the Armenian Kingdom of Great Armenia was re-established headed by the Armenian royal dynasty of the Bagratids. After some displacements (Bagaran, Kars), Ani became the Armenian Kingdom’s capital (961 A. D.).

¹⁰ Capitol is the Roman temple of Jupiter (the Roman king of gods), on the Tarpeian hill (later Capitoline hill or Capitoline).

¹¹ Cf. Eghishe, III.

In this way the Armenian has lived, survived and perpetuated.

Thus, every time, when the herald of grief appeared, Armenianhood rocked and shaken from its base, overcame in itself its inside weaknesses, and, proper to its old grandeur with an indomitable resistance took the roads of death, and even stronger than death...

II

THE PEOPLE

A people is like its country which by
the work of its inner forces overcomes heights.
Masis¹² or Mesrop¹³ both are equally sacred peaks
that are granted to keep at the heights of existence Armenian
thought and looks.

There are peoples who slowly grow old and die – those whose experience of past existence owing to their country's geographic position and other external factors had been less difficult. Those are thrived by history who possess average morality and having lost individuality continue to live only on credit of their past.

Every people bear on its shoulders the weight of its past destiny.

Less spirited and promising are people that keep getting older and lack the consciousness of its historic mission.

Refusing its respect to that kind of people, the world says – for the sake of living and creative work first cognize and let you be recognized.

* * *

Mutual is the influence between the land and the people that cultivates it. In ancient times as well as at the dawn of civilization, the influence of nature on man was mostly powerful.

The Russian soul with innumerable ties is bounded with its rivers, with its Volga.

The Greek was born by the sea and seashore.

The desert shaped the essence of the Arab. But the lion's share of the influence on the formation of the Armenian essence is from the Armenian mountains.

Masis is the nurse of the Armenian soul.

* * *

¹² Masis is the common name for both Great Ararat-Mets (Great) Masis or Azat (Free) Masis (5, 165 m./ 16, 946 ft.) and Minor Ararat-Pokr (Small) Masis (3, 990 m./ 13, 100 ff.). Great Ararat is the highest peak of the Armenian Highland, as well as in Western Asia. According to the Bible, Noah's Ark came to rest upon the mountains of Ararat (Gen. 8₄). According to Eghishe's "Commentary on Genesis", Mt. Ararat is Masis upon which rested Noah's Ark.

¹³ At the end of the 4th century St. Mesrop Mashtots (361-440) began and in 405 A. D. finished the work of invention of the Armenian alphabet. In the early Middle Ages, the Armenian people had the possibility to withstand the aggressive and assimilating policy of Sassanid Persia and the Byzantine Empire not by weapons only, but also by the pen, paving the way to the struggle for independence in the 5th century. The great illuminated work of the Armenian intellectuals of the epoch known as the *Golden Age* of literature left a huge creative heritage for future generations.

People are the sea. Like waves born by storms that do not expose the whole dynamics of the sea, its power, ordinary trivial actions of peoples do not exhaust everything that takes place in the depth of their soul.

There are deep rough waters that embrace the whole sea.

There are also quakes of soul: war, revolution, renaissance during which people exhibit its essence and power to a great extent.

Yes, people are the sea. It is a unity of soul. Who does not know and does not feel it, must keep away from it.

* * *

People are the divinity of our times. Though it is much spoken about and on behalf of its name by all its children, very few, still very few know it essentially.

A people as well as nature may be known in its wholeness and depth.

Only in this way and in no other!

There are two ways towards its depth - leading to the essence – its history and its eyes at the utmost moments.

The first bears testimony to its past and what could remain of it. The second speaks about its present state and what it'll become tomorrow.

The people's eye – its expressiveness is not given to the human word.

There are great moments – the hours of external peril threatening the existence and fate of the people when it widens and becomes deeper like the eagle's eye and when the latter sees the enemy's hand, fang, claw stretched out for its nest, its fledgling.

In similar cases the people completely turn into an eye looking at which only a few preserve manhood.

All those who before that would make a noise, act like hooligans at square – circus entertainers, impostors, ordinary persons run away and hide themselves from its eye.

Only strong ones remain in their positions at the moment of danger.

“... He is not my child who does not implore my order to die for me”, - unspeakably says the people awakened like a volcano and acts defining and charging the actions of super-obligation according to its age-long wisdom.

At such moments, people look for the strongest one among strong ones and put its fate in his palm.

In this way the true leader enters the world.

To the call of depth echoes depth, the people and the leader both find each other, they unite and form the wholeness in the essential unity.

That is the way that a collective heart is created.

In such an atmosphere, heroes originate and heroic deeds spring up.

* * *

I have seen our people in such a state of mind, I have seen it in its pupil, I have seen the alarmed marching of its generations and I have seen Vardans¹⁴ and Vahans¹⁵... - its saints and wolves of war.

¹⁴ Here is used the plural form of the name of Vardan meaning the followers of Vardan Zoravar (General). In his book “About Vardan and the Armenian War”, Eghishe has expounded the history of the rebellion of the Armenian people against the aggressive and assimilating policy of Sassanid Persia. The Sassanian court tried to turn Eastern Armenia into a simple subordinate province of Iran and impose Mazdeism

And anointed with the mighty breath of the people, twice I led its sons to unequal battles: in fatal days of Gharakilise¹⁶, when death, together with Turkish hordes, was crossing the Akhurian¹⁷ and two years later in Siunik¹⁸, where pan-Turanians¹⁹ longed to turn the

(Zoroastrianism) on the Armenians who were Christians. Vardan Mamikonian, the Commander-in-Chief (Sparapet/General) of the Armenian army, was heading the struggle for the freedom of the Motherland and the Christian faith. It was a defensive war of the Armenian people against foreign oppression and domination in the political, economic and religious spheres. This war is known by the general term *Vardanank*. The decisive battle took place on the 26th of May in 451 (A. D.) at the Avarayr field near the river Tghmut. The Armenians fought heroically but were overwhelmed by the superior number of Persian troops. Vardan and his brothers-in-arms died valiantly. The Persian side lost three times as many dead in the battle. The Armenian people have preserved the memory of the Armenian heroes. The Armenian Apostolic Church, in commemoration of their self-sacrifice, canonized them as martyrs of the faith, establishing a special holiday (in February) devoted to St. Vardan and these martyrs in the Armenian Church calendar.

¹⁵ They are the followers of Vahan Mamikonian. He was the son of Mamikonian Vardan's brother. Thirty years after the battle of Avarayr, Vahan Mamikonian headed another uprising of the Armenian people against the political and religious oppression of the Sassanid Persia. After several successful battles the Armenians were victorious and the Persians were obliged to give up their aggressive policy towards Eastern Armenia. In 484 (A. D.) the Armenians concluded the *Treaty of Nvarsak* with the Persians. It was a document of very important secular and spiritual significance in the history of Armenia. The Treaty of Nvarsak guaranteed from the Sassanid court's encroachments upon the Armenians' basic human rights, freedom of the Armenian Apostolic Church and independent self-government in Eastern Armenia. There was also another Armenian warrior by the name of Vahan whom Garegin Nzhdeh meant here. It was Vahan with the nickname Wolf. At the beginning of the 7th century he fought against the Persian invaders in his native district of Taron to the west of the Van Lake. The Persians were so much frightened of his courage that they called him Wolf. Defending his Fatherland, Wolf Vahan fell as a hero. He was called the "Defender of the Church" and was buried at the threshold of St. Karapet church in Taron.

¹⁶ "Black Church", in Turkish "Gharakilise". Nowadays Vanadzor. It is situated in the Armenian province of Gugark, in the Lori district.

¹⁷ Akhurian is one of the left tributaries of the river Araxes. After the defeat of the Turks at Sardarapat (22 May 1918) and Bash-Aparan (27-29 May) on 24-28 May, the battle at Gharakilisa raged where in a rather desperate situation the struggle of the Armenian forces heroically headed by colonels Bay Mamikonian, N. Ghorghanian, Garegin Nzhdeh. Generally, the May heroic battles ended with the victory of the Armenians and brought about the proclamation of the Republic of Armenia (28 May) as a free and independent state.

¹⁸ It is one of the fifteen provinces of the Kingdom of Great Armenia. It is called also Zangezur. Sunik is situated in the neighbourhood of Artsakh, also a province of Great Armenia. Garegin Nzhdeh means the time when Zangezur became a key point in the political developments in the south of Armenia. Yet since 15 October 1919 Garegin Nzhdeh, who was sent by the government of the Republic of Armenia to Zangezur, had taken over command of the joint military forces of Kapargoght (Kapan, Arevik and Goghtn). In April 1920 the Turkish troops supported by the forces of the Caucasian Tatars (later called "Azerbaijanis") tried to capture Kapan, but were defeated by the Armenian forces in the Vorotan canyon. After this victory, Nzhdeh together with Dro moved to Artsakh (Karabakh) to help the fighting Armenians in their heroic struggle. But after Azerbaijan became a Soviet Republic (28 April, 1920) it began to use the 11th Red Army against Artsakh and Zangezur. At the end of May and the beginning of June, the 11th Red Army entered Karabakh and Goris (in Zangezur). Nzhdeh was ordered to fight against the Red Army units to whom many "red" Azerbaijanis and Kemalist Turks had joined. Nzhdeh fought against the invaders with small forces and had to establish his forces on the Khustup mountain. Soon a Revolutionary Committee, which was formed in Goris, began the policy of terror against the local Armenian population. Many Turks who entered the region began to plunder and kill the people. At the beginning of October the Armenian population rebelled in Sisian. Nzhdeh joined it. The 11th Red Army was defeated at the village of Zeyva. Soon the whole region of Kapan was liberated. On the 21st of November the liberation of Goris followed. On December 2, 1920 the Dashnak government resigned. The establishment of Soviet power in a part of

Mountainous Armenians²⁰ into the bridge of corpses between Turkish and Tatar motherlands²¹.

And in two cases the Armenian man performed a feat of arms because the people's eye ordered and led us.

* * *

The people are more than its state, its power, even its culture.

Because of many obstacles complicating the revelation of its soul, it succeeds in realizing only an insignificant part of its potential capacity. The role of the state, the true state, built on reason and humanity is in just gradual removal of these obstacles.

People are legendary Antaeus²². He is defeated, as soon as he is held off the ground. And the latter – the native land symbolizes all those cultural-national values and sacred things that have been created only by the people.

* * *

The individual is obliged to justify his course of actions before his people and the people – before its history.

* * *

All victories emerge from the people and all defeats – from the unskillful leader.

* * *

“I write by one hand and fight by two”.

Thus, behave like Victor Hugo when you defend the greatest benefits of the people. For people, by both hands! And thus, in all cases!

* * *

In my life, besides my conscience, I got to know two other judges – the God and the people. I sinned against God but never against the people.

Eastern Armenia did not bring to an end Nzhdeh's struggle against the Communist regime because he knew that the Soviet power backed the Azerbaijanis.

¹⁹ Pan-Turanism is an extreme Turkish nationalistic ideology. The chief Turkish ideologist Ziya Gökalp, who proclaimed “All the Turks are one army”, held that the country of the Turks was broad country called Turan. This pan-Turan idea was a terrible threat to other nations, particularly, the Armenians, because of its aggressive plan leading to the union of all Turkic peoples.

²⁰ On 25 December 1920, at the all-national Armenian congress held in the Tatev monastery Zangezur was proclaimed “Self-governing Siunik” (“Mountaineous Armenia”) as long as the political situation would allow it to join with the rest of the Armenian state. Nzhdeh was recognized as the Sparapet (Commander-in-Chief) of Siunik.

²¹ Here Garegin Nzhdeh means the pan-Turan ideological conception.

²² He is son of Poseidon and Gaea (Ge, Gaia). He is the Giant and wrestler of Libya, invincible while he touched the earth (his mother Gaea). Heracles strangled him while holding him off the ground (Dictionary of Classical Mythology by J. E. Zimmerman, Bantam Books, Toronto, 1980, p. 23).

III

FATHERLAND

It was born with the first thought of man about the sanctity of the native land. It originated the day, when man for the first time, became conscious and smiling, died for the native land. Mere land is not the Fatherland; it becomes the Fatherland owing to those spiritual values with which the people granted to it. The land is the geographical armour of the Fatherland. The Fatherland is the spirit of the people who cultivate that land, its culture.

* * *

The Fatherland is the spiritual creation of the people together with its folklore, manuscript-books, saints, light-bearers, heroes and primary traditions. The land of Armenia was made a Fatherland by the Mesrop alphabet, the Mamikonians covenant²³ and the Bagratids' building feat.

* * *

As a concept, Fatherland includes not only the past and present, but also the future. It is the people's historic mission according to its final goal. Fatherland is a developing eternity. It is the immortality of coming and passing generations, which the people, as an idea and a deed, mark in material, word, and maintain it as an immortal recollection, as a history.

* * *

Fatherland is not an empire. Fatherland is a deepening essence. It is not an external conquest, but a self-achievement, self-elaboration. The conquest – here is the enemy of Motherlands – native or foreign. After all, every conquering country perishes – Babylon²⁴, Rome²⁵, Byzantium²⁶ – because it kills its own Motherland.

²³ In the 5th century, the Mamikonian prince's family led the liberation struggle of the Armenian people. The Mamikonian Covenant was based on the ideology of fighting for dear life for the sake of the freedom of the Fatherland.

²⁴ Babylon was taken by Cyrus, King of the Persians and became a part of the Persian Empire.

²⁵ Rome (the Western Roman Empire) had to abandon its imperial ambitions and at the beginning of the 5th century call back all its troops from the provinces to defend the vital centers of the empire. In 410 (A. D.) Alaric (the leader of Visigoths) captured Rome.

²⁶ The Byzantine Empire (the Eastern Roman empire) during several centuries realized the policy of expansion towards Great Armenia. It had disastrous consequences for Armenia as well as for the Byzantine Empire itself. At the threshold of the Seljuq conquests, the Armenian Bagratid Kingdom had to fight against the aggression of the Empire which by its aggressive policy weakened generally the eastern frontiers of Christendom against the attacks of the nomadic tribes from Central Asia. Almost three decades later after the fall of the capital of the Armenian Bagratid Kingdom Ani (1045 A. D.), the imperial army headed by Romanus IV Diogenes (1068-1071 A. D.) was defeated by the Seljuqs at the battle in Manazkert (Manzikert, town in Western Armenia, north of lake Van) (1071 A. D.) and the emperor was taken

The conquest is a crazy suicide, a murder of soul.

* * *

The country's defence is the most sacred of human deeds.

The patriotic war is as much cherished as the Fatherland. All other kinds of war are collective robbery and murder.

And the true heroes are only those who perform a feat and become virtuous at the time of the defence of their threatened Fatherland.

A hero's name must not be given to any participant of the war of conquest. The army committing murder and robbery may produce killers and robbers but not - heroes.

* * *

Fatherland is not given as a paternal legacy rather it is inherited. Each generation and its individual members acquire it through the Fatherland's knowledge, the Fatherland's worship and the aspiration to be worthy of it. It is possible to be present in the Fatherland but at the same time not to be part of it; it is possible to live in Fatherland but spiritually not to associate with it.

Finally, it is possible indeed to be a patriot, but spiritually to be without Fatherland.

You are not worthy of your Fatherland, if you do not confess it as a supreme goal and submit your individuality as a means of achieving it.

* * *

Socially, Fatherland is as just as mighty. Very happy is the man who can say: "The sun rises for all and everyone, I have freedom in the cultivation of land and spiritual cultivation there".

* * *

To create the Fatherland means to discover it piecemeal, comprehend and fill one's own country with a historic essence. It means to intermingle so much with one's own country as not to leave anything unknown, unspoken, lifeless in it. It means to get hold of the whole country step by step, giving it breath and sense.

On the whole, to create the Fatherland means to intermingle with one's own country and become related to it. Thus, the people's spirit and Fatherland are identified. Fatherland is the fruit of their age-long interaction.

* * *

A country, a people's patriotism is as powerful as the people's idea of the Fatherland is lofty.

* * *

prisoner. The malicious role played by Byzantium in the fate of Great Armenia turned into a real tragedy for the empire itself, which was finally defeated by the Ottoman Turks and its capital, Constantinople, was conquered by them in 1453 A. D.

My Fatherland - it is humanly the best that exists in Armenia.

* * *

Caesar would like to be the first in the village and not the second in the town.
Heathen vanity. I should like to be the last one in Armenia, if only all its sons were free and not homesick.

In a Fatherland like this, all conceits would be satisfied and the happiness of all guaranteed.

* * *

Forgive me Lord, forgive me, if one day to be useful to my Fatherland I shall sin against you. It is just to serve the Fatherland by all means except meanness.

* * *

Die in such a way that your death also serves your Fatherland. So, this is my professed patriotism.

Heroic death is more inspired than heroic deeds.

IV

OUR FOREFATHERS

At one time God was the forefather – God of His tribe, kindred and His worship – the religion.

Though once man stopped to call his forefather God; however, the forefather continued to preserve his sacred essence.

Separate the remains of the forefathers from the native land and you will have a cultivable and habitable land but not a Fatherland.

Fatherland is created only by overcoming the soil and material, as well as by appraising and comprehending the land, and imparting mysteriousness and holiness to it. And the holiness also emanates from the forefathers in this world.

Supreme bravery and heroism emanate from those whose laurels never fade.

Supported by their spirit - the warrior in the battle and the toiler for culture in peace, both know no fatigue.

They are our history's creator, our script and book are from them, they are the mental light of our life, they have in their possession supreme power, which is eternal and without which the crown, the president of the republic, the dictator or any other secular power remain void and powerless.

Like the truth, unconcerned with old age, they symbolize not only the past of their people but also the future reappearing in every newly born Armenian being. Being themselves immortal, they are the source of our nation's immortality.

They are the initiators of Armenianhood. That's why the lack of worship of forefathers means the lack of love and respect towards Armenianhood.

* * *

Surpass your predecessors. Fight so that by your action you make the work of fighters, for the same goal, easier. That is the moral imperative of battles and fighters.

The Mamikonian generals were mainly led by this morality in our history. Avarayr was psychologically prepared by the heroism of Mushegh, Vasak and Manuel²⁷. In their turn Vardan and the *Vardanank* prepared, and made easy the struggle of Vahan Mamikonian, who had to make Tizbon (Ktesiphon)²⁸ give up the idea of Iranization of Armenia.

As a rule, excel your predecessors by bravery, devotion and patriotism.

Surpass, it is the spirit's imperative, the imperative of its growing development and improvement.

Those, who do not surpass their predecessors, disgrace their name and sin before the law of the spirit's development.

* * *

Every time when I look at the Masis mountains, the majestic foreheads of our forefathers rise in front of my inner sight. And I repeat after the rhyme of the Gothic²⁹ - "I should like to be with them" – together with my forefathers crowned with glory.

* * *

If I have shortcomings, I blame myself, and what is good and best in me, I owe to my forefathers.

That is why every laurel gained in battles I put with veneration on their known and unknown graves.

²⁷ All these three were of the Mamikonian prince's family. In the fifth and sixth decades of the 4th century Vasak Mamikonian was the *Sparapet* (Commander-in Chief) of the Armenian army at the period of the reign of the Armenian Arshakid King Arshak II. Vasak Sparapet bravely defended Armenia against the aggression of the Persian troops. Mushegh Mamikonian was his son. Like his father he was brave warrior. He replaced his father after the latter's tragic death (he was severely killed by the order of Shapur in a Persian prison, where he was treacherously locked up by Shapur II, the Persian King). Mushegh fought side by side with the Armenian King Pap, son of the late King Arshak II, who was also treacherously locked up by Shapur II in a Persian prison where he committed suicide. Mushegh liberated all the Armenian lands occupied by the enemy. Sparapet Manuel Mamikonian acted at a very difficult time for Armenia when the Roman Empire and Sassanid Persia planned to divide the country. He enthroned the two young sons of Pap, Arshak III (379-385) and Vagharshak and did his best to realize his plan of defending Armenia based on the garrison system in strategically important places. But he died soon (385 A. D.) and the country was divided between two states. In the western part Arshak III (385-387) continued to reign and, in the eastern part Khosrov IV (385-388) was enthroned.

²⁸ Tisbon (Ktesifon) was situated on the river Tigris, near modern Bagdad. Since the 3rd century B. C. it was a stronghold of the Parthian kingdom. In 226 (A. D.) it became the capital of the Sassanid kingdom. In 637 (A. D.) it was conquered and destroyed by the Arabs. After the foundation of Bagdad (762 A. D.) Ktesifon finally lost its significance.

²⁹ The East-Germanic tribe primarily lived in southern Scandinavia. In 150-200 A. D. they moved to the northern and north-western shores of the Black Sea. West-Goths, around 270 A. D., inhabited the territory of present-day Transylvania. East-Goths founded an empire on the north shore of the Black Sea. In 376 A. D. West-Goths crossed the Danube and attacked emperor Valens at Adrianople. In 395-410 A. D. they moved to Greece and Italy and in 410 A. D. captured Rome.

V

THE ARMENIAN³⁰

Independence of image, that is essential.
When it lacks, it means that there is
a lack of constancy without which peoples
do not create a specific culture.

The star of the peoples' fate must be looked for not in the sky but under their breast – in their character.

The character is that which is created by the geographical position and history of the given country. The people's spirit is the character, which each subject expresses through his spiritual creation.

Each character has its main feature that shades and emphasizes the subject's qualities and dominates them.

What is the main feature of the Armenian character?

-Seriousness, the Armenian's mental and moral seriousness that first of all supposes sedateness.

Truthfulness of my word resolutely confirm:

The millenia-long witness of the deeds of the Armenian people, their history and epic, whose heroes' ways and deeds inspire deep respect,

Its heathen gods whom it endowed with high spiritual features,

Eventually, its specific architecture, the standing or ruined monuments of which are like those giants who sitting under the Armenian sky, with their hands under their chins, as if pondering over the affairs of the world.

Yes, the Armenian is serious mentally and morally.

And that fatal spiritual feature determined its political destiny.

* * *

The Armenians are the people of spirit, and suffering is a characteristic of that spirit.

Its Vahagn³¹ was born of flame, confinement, pain, these are its feeling of life and the understanding of the world.

The joy of mere existence is not for him. For the Armenian it is not enough to be sated in order to be on peaceful and joyful terms with the world.

There are peoples who accept the life and world so, as they are given naturally and as they exist objectively.

³⁰ This is an extract from Garegin Nzhdeh's manuscript "The Main Features of the Armenian Image".

³¹ Movses Khorenatsi wrote about Vahagn: "Heaven was in birth-pains, earth was in birth-pains, the purple sea was also in birth-pains; in the sea birth-pains, also had the red reed. From the tube of the reed came forth smoke, from the tube of the reed came forth flame. And from the flame a fair, curly-headed young boy ran out. He had burning hair, and a flaming beard, and eyes were suns". Vahagn's prototype was of the sunny essence: "Some worshiped the Sun and called Vahagn" (Gh. Alishan. Ancient Faith, Venice, 1895. p. 294, in Armenian). Due to one of his archaic hypostases Vahagn was considered to be the god of thunder and lightning in the Armenian pre-Christian pantheon. He was an embodiment of Light who fought against the forces of the darkness represented by dragons and killed them. That's why he was also called Vahagn the dragon-killer.

According to his essence the Armenian gives some sanctity and object to his existence trying to comprehend and improve it.

The Armenian is people of ideals, and the ideal supposes the anxiety of the spirit, purposefulness, and anguish for the best.

The world is given not only for getting pleasure but also for its improvement, remaking. That is the world perception of the Armenian, his ethical high understanding because of which he incarnated very early, anticipating almost all his neighbours. The Armenian equally suffers as from the impelling pain of the hardest struggle for his existence as well as from the awareness of the imperfection of the world and human race.

For him the world is not yet what it may be and must be.

The Armenian epic's hero is satisfied, the rest is soil" – says the medieval Armenian poet Naghash³².

"He is rich, who from the dawn gets to work in his cornfield", - says an Anonymous philosopher – the people itself.

"If you have guests serve them some bread and when they eat it go to the door with them", says Dzenov Ohan³³.

"We are from God, both me and my bread, who ever needs let him taste".

We know that the Armenian villager's first bread taken out from tonir³⁴ belongs to the passer-by. Here is the Armenian and the bread for the Armenian, the bread in the most Armenian meaning of the word.

* * *

The Roman knew only one mission – to put his life at his state's disposal, to deify it and be proud of it.

For a classical Greek the supreme thing in the world was his polis, working for the glory and might of which would make an individual virtuous.

By the fact of the loss of Armenia's independence, nationality for centuries had to perform the role of the state for the Armenian.

The question of national survival – that is the pivot of Armenian history.

That is why Armenianhood as a comprehended essential unity must become the supreme value, sanctity and authority for the Armenian.

We know that at one time Islam crossed Asia Minor as a natural torrent, mixing all other rivers on its way and rolling to the sea. Almost all peoples were converted to Islam. But, Armenia was isolated like an island and was besieged by the sea of Islam. In this way the Armenian nation remained as a granite rock in the sea that tried to drown him.

And then how many crimes and massacres, carnages of ferocity fell to Armenia's lot.

A country that suffered many disasters and, according to an Arab historian, was beaten and trampled during centuries by "foreign hooves and lightning". In these conditions the Armenian nation survived.

³² Naghash Hovnatan (1661-1722), the late-medieval Armenian poet, painter, scribe, manuscript-illuminator, the founder of the famous Hovnatan family. The source of his inspiration was nature.

³³ Dzenov Ohan- one of the heroes of the epic "Sasna Tzrer". He was the uncle of Sasuntsi David. He had very strong voice, which is why he was called "Dzenov" (with voice) (dzain=voice).

³⁴ "Tonir" is the name of a clay oven in the ground. It is used for preparing a special kind of thin, unleavened bread called "lavash".

It is an inexcusable mistake to explain the faithfulness of the Armenian to Christianity as a product of religious passion. Fanaticism is an unknown feeling for the Armenian soul. Witnesses of it are the Tondrakian movement³⁵, our invigorating poetry of Middle Ages and our contemporary Armenian clergy who act in accordance with present-day circumstances. For a long time the dominant consciousness is national in the Armenian, and not religious as with some peoples. Long ago, he Armenianized Christianity. Armenianhood is the true religion of the Armenian.

That's why I say:

- ...There is The Armenian.

I ponder on Armenianhood and my thought rests upon its most noble vessels.

Here are our Light-worshiping ancestors – Great Nerses³⁶, Sahak³⁷, Mesrop, then the heroic ranks of the Mamikonian generals – Mushegh, Vardan, Vahan – the living shield of Armenia's defence, Ashot who became iron in the flames of battles³⁸, and in new and modern times – Abovian³⁹, Khrimian⁴⁰, Alishan⁴¹, Patkanian⁴², Zavarian⁴³ ... Finally, the revolutionary and the fighter are always ready to die; for them Armenia is a deity, Armenianhood – a religion.

If beauty corresponds to the idea of its gender-type, in that case, the meaning of Armenian is akin to the one who being a representative and bearer of the Armenianhood, expresses the latter to the most extent.

³⁵ The sect took its name from the village of T'ondrak situated in the region of Apahunik' to the North-East of Lake Van. The founder of the sect, Smbat Zarehavantsi, from T'ondrak spread his heresy (the 9-11th centuries). "The Tondrakian movement was not simply a religious dissension but a movement that raised deeper issues with respect to the interrelation of social and political factors." (V. Nersessian. *The Tondrakian Movement*, Pennsylvania, 1988, p. 80).

³⁶ Catholicos of Armenia Nerses I the Great (353-373 A.D.) is St. Grigor the Illuminator's great great grandson. He did great church and cultural works that were directed to the strengthening of Armenian nationhood. He called the first Armenian ecclesiastical council at Ashtishat in Taron (354 A. D.).

³⁷ The son of Nerses I the Great, Sahak I Parthev Catholicos (387-438 A.D.) together with the King of Great Armenia Vramshapuh (388-414 A. D.) supported St. Mesrop Mashtots (360-439 A.D.) in the creation of the Armenian alphabet.

³⁸ Ashot II Erkat'(=Iron) Bagratid (914-928) led the struggle of the Armenian people against the Atrpatakan's Sadjid rulers and defeated them in several battles. The famous one was on the shore of Lake Sevan where Ashot, sailing from the island, defeated their commander (925 A.D.).

³⁹ Khachatur Abovian (1805-1848) is a great Armenian illuminator and writer. He was the author of the famous novel *Verk Hayastani* ("Wounds of Armenia") a patriotic work, the first to be written in modern Eastern Armenian (*ashkharabar*).

⁴⁰ Mkrtich Khrimian, Archbishop (1869-1873) and Catholicos (1892-1906), known as *Khrimian Hairik* (the term of endearment for "father").

⁴¹ Father Gevond Alishan (1820-1901) is the famous Armenologist, historian, geographer and poet.

⁴² Serovbe Patkanian (1769-1836) was the principal of an Armenian school in Astrakhan (Russia), which was opened in 1810. His son Gabriel Patkanian (1802-1889) was of that generation of Armenian enlighteners to which belonged Khachatur Abovian. Gabriel's son was the patriotic poet Rafayel Patkanian (Kamar-Katipa) (1830-1892).

⁴³ Simon Zavarian was one of the founders (the other two were Kristapor Mikayelian and Stepan Zorian-Rostom) of the Federation of Armenian Revolutionaries (*Hai Heghapokhakanneri Dashnaksutiun*) (in the summer of 1890 at Tiflis).

The perfect in its kind – that is the true Armenian as a spirit and character.

* * *

The Armenian had his Vahagn – the god of courage. He is brave and a courage-worshiper.

The Armenian's perilous existence owes to this spiritual pathos.

The peoples of spirit are generally courageous. One of them is the Armenian *par excellence*. The heathen Armenian's courage didn't weaken also in Christian Armenia. Parallel to the passion towards heroism, it acquired one new form of expression – voluntary martyrdom, which in its depth is an aspiration for becoming immortal through comprehensive death. As a matter of fact, it is an audacity of the spirit that denies death – courage or martyrdom.

The Armenian called courageous his most beloved and sanctified hero and thus he gave his supreme appraisal not only of the brave man, but generally of courage, too.

* * *

For peoples who have lived for a long time under foreign yokes it is natural to have a feature, which in psychology is known under the name of “servile fear”.

The Armenian essence is free of that shameful defect and evil, because together with bearing the yoke of foreign powers, he did not cease to feel himself higher than those who forcibly held his country.

From the Trdats to the Mamikonians, and from David Bek⁴⁴ to Babgen Siuni who with a mere handful of revolutionaries took the Ottoman Bank⁴⁵, courage for the Armenian was the same as taste for fruit – natural. I shall perform such a feat of arms that it will be spoken about even in heaven, - says Vardan in the Sassanid palace. It is also a knightly courage, proper to the Armenian. The hero of the Armenian epic ceded the first blow to Msramelik⁴⁶ without thinking that it would be fatal for himself. Now it's the turn of David⁴⁷ to strike but the adversary's sister interferes and the Armenian hero spares his first two blows directed at Msramelik.

⁴⁴ David Bek led the liberation struggle of the Armenian people against the Turks who violated the 1639 Turkish-Persian Treaty and invaded Armenia in 1723. David Bek defeated invading Turkic tribes and since 1724 he headed the struggle against the Ottoman army in Siunik-Zangezur, while Avan Yuzbashi lead a similar struggle in Artsakh-Karabakh. David Bek successfully fought against the Turks till his death in 1728.

⁴⁵ In order to bring the European states into action against the massacres of Armenians (1895-1896) committed by the Turks, the *Dashnaksutiun* authorized the capture of the Ottoman Bank, which since 1892 had been placed under the joint administration of the European creditor states. The Ottoman Bank was located in the Galata quarter of Constantinople. On August 26, 1896, twenty-six Armenians led by Babgen Siuni stormed the bank, took hostage the European personnel, and threatened to blow up the money vaults, hostages, and themselves if their terms were not met within 48 hours. Babgen Siuni was killed in the initial assault. The siege was quickly brought to an end (The Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times, vol. II, New York, 1997, p. 224-225).

⁴⁶ Msramelik was the enemy of David of Sasun whom the latter defeated and killed.

⁴⁷ David of Sasun, the main hero of the Armenian epic “David of Sasun”, the embodiment of the Armenian freedom-loving spirit.

Hey, hey, - calls David, warning the enemy of his coming. Msramelik is an old thief, but the Armenian giant is so noble as to be called credulous.

Such is the Armenian man of courage, justly proud, but never ambitious and haughty. Strike only those who are able to answer to your blow – this is the moral of the Armenian.

* * *

Peoples also think and act according to their world outlook, which is just their theoretical image, the description of their thinking.

One of the main definitions of the Armenian's general character is a constructive passion, which is inextinguishable, inexhaustible.

What is the cause of such pathos, what is it fed by and what are its psychological prerequisites?

First of all, his ethical comprehension constructed about the world, man and life.

True to history's aim, the Armenian feels that he is a creature more inclined to obligation than to personal happiness. That's why the Armenian's morality is not eudaemonistic, i.e. not happy-worshipping⁴⁸.

He has the awareness of his mission in the gradual realization of which he sees the right of his happiness. He is of a voluntary type. If he liked philosophy he would prefer Fichte – his philosophy of the worship of will⁴⁹. The heaviest struggle, perils, and as their natural consequence – perennial suffering. That is the content of Armenian history, that's the trinity of the Armenian will's instructors. Labour is the law of laws for the Armenian. Not to obey his cruel fate, but to fight against it, to fight by constructing. This is the way by which only the peoples with an Armenian morality act.

For the Armenian the greatest of the fights is the construction that immortalizes victories. To build means to strive to overcome his sufferings. When external political freedom is broken off, a certain type of peoples replace it by an inner one, a thing that gives to the subject a construction. In such a case the law of spiritual compensation also plays a role, for the subject being deprived of the right to act in one sphere appears in other. Unable to find a field of application for its abilities and might in the native land, the Armenian talent and courage found their place and for a long time remained on the Byzantine throne.

* * *

⁴⁸ Eudaemonism – a system of ethics basing moral obligation on tendency of actions to produce happiness (The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English, Oxford, 1970, p. 416).

⁴⁹ German philosophers Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762-1814), Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche (1844-1900) and Scottish essayist and historian Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881) were the philosophers of a movement which developed in opposition to liberalism. It acquired strength from the Romantic Movement and the principle of nationality. Fichte was a German philosopher and Immanuel Kant's (1724-1804) immediate successor. Fichte abandoned the idea of "things in themselves" and carried subjectivism to the highest point. He held that the Ego was the only ultimate reality. By his *Addresses to the German Nation* (1807-8) he intended to rouse the Germans to resistance against Emperor of the French (1804-1814, 1815) Napoleon I Bonaparte (1769-1821) after the battle of Jena (1806). "To have character and to be a German", says Fichte, "undoubtedly mean the same thing" (quoted in Bertrand Russell. *A History of Western Philosophy*, New York, 1966, p. 718).

Only the peoples suffering from feebleness to create are vicious and disastrous. Unfortunately only a few of Armenia's neighbours and future enemies were free of such malicious weakness.

That's why there was no lack of blood, destruction and plunder in Armenia. Even in such conditions, true to his essence, the Armenian constantly had to be pushed to construct and reconstruct. He who once said: "Ani comfortable, the country wrecked", would not resign himself to the dilapidated state of the country. Within the limits of possibilities of his history, the Armenian repaid his enemies in the following way: "They destroyed, I'll build much better". To build better than the destroyed – historically this became the Armenian's motto. And, seeking to build more perfectly the Armenian had to become more inventive, and he had to improve his constructive talent. Witness the Bagratids great capital, Cilicia's Sis, Tarson⁵⁰, which in a comparatively short period of time became culturally mature.

It was already not a simple construction, but a cultural miracle.

* * *

Spiritually of adult age and nationally of an identical type - this way the Armenian introduces himself still at the dawn of the history.

There is no faceless art, if there is one – it is dead. The Armenian has a particular image, emphasized individuality and his construction – an original style.

In the process of constructing, creating, he likes **ex ipso fonte bibere** ("to drink from his own source").

The Light-longing people, who have lived, struggled, constructed with the book in their hand. They acted and created with their thought in the heavens, with their hand on the earth, - Alishan would say.

Two forces do not get tired on our globe – time and the Armenian, the one ruining, the other one restoring.

* * *

The aim of history is to lead peoples and human individuals to an inner moral freedom without which external freedom is of little value.

When a people possess moral freedom by the might of spiritual culture, the foreign yoke may only prevent their historical flight, but not weaken, strangle their spirit. This inner freedom is gained only by construction and creative work.

How much poetry, how much mystery there is in the life of the Armenian peasant; he imparts the spirit of sanctity to his work even when he cultivates the soil.

Even today, to till the land for the Armenian means to exert an elevating influence on nature and spread a joyful fertility.

The very Mihr-Mithraic⁵¹ majestic concept of labour comes from the depths of heathen centuries.

⁵⁰ Sis was the capital of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia (1198-1375) and Tarsus - one of its important cities.

⁵¹ Mihr=Mithra reflects the Aryan reflective idea of Covenant and at the same time is the god of the Sun. Covenanted function of Mihr=Mithra explains such motives according to which he regulates and organizes life on earth. Mithra is not only the builder of the social but also of the natural cosmos (The Myths of the World's Peoples. Encyclopaedia, vol. II, M., 1992, in Russian, p. 155- 157).

And to construct architecturally, in the Armenian as well as the in Hegelian senses, means to clean and sanctify some spots on the earth, in order for God and the divine to dwell there.

In this way, with that end in view, the Armenian has built temples the domes of which not only point high into the air, as gothic as well as antique, but also silently speak about him.

To border on the ideal, the saint and the eternal, mix their breath with his everyday life and nourish his creative inspiration by them, this is the spirit of the Armenian.

To be immortalized by constructing and creating, that is the Armenian, the most Armenian.

Only a people like this who like to observe the world and things **sub specie aeternitatis** – *from the height of eternity*, could in the most difficult conditions of history not only wage an unequal battle for survival, but also open a glorious page of rich creation in the history of world culture.

The Armenian is a natural hero of the constructive.

VI

PHILOSOPHICAL THOUGHTS

No my friend, do not be absolutely reckless,
moreover concerning the sea of philosophy.

What can man do and what cannot do? Before giving an answer to this question it is necessary to be clear to whom it applies.

There is no abstract man; there is generally a concrete man, a particular man. Not only one man differs from the other one, but also the same person – in himself according to his various states of mind. Thus, here is a man who has managed to overcome his inner obstacles – emotional laziness, blind ability to enjoy life, mortal fear etc.

And here is the other one whose soul is still under the pressure of the yoke of inner obstacles. A whole sea of difference divides two of them.

When our soul is a prisoner of inner blind forces – obstacles, often what is humanly possible, seem to us impossible.

Try, however, to overcome your inner obstacles. In that case external obstacles and intricacies will seem less difficult to overpower.

The spirit draws the limits of man's ability - of his moral power.

* * *

From understanding the truth till its acceptance and from the latter till its realization is, at least, the seven-day path.

* * *

The society that killed Socrates⁵² never gave birth to *socratism* again, it became barren spiritually. Just punishment.

* * *

Truthfully the only person who is free is the one who does not feel the presence of violence.

Only an individual may be free who is the master of the mighty spirit.
Freedom is not digestible for those who have a feeble spirit.

* * *

To feel one's spirit, just at that moment opens, speaks, smiles the truthful, kind, beautiful.

* * *

Heartless, - say the common people and by that characterize correctly those who are able to bring their evil acts and cruelties to Neroism⁵³.

For the soul, a lily competing with the heaven's blue is not simply a plant, or the mountain-terrestrial heap of stones that every day the first kisses the sun is not simply an elevation. The soul for which every depth, height, horizon is accessible – the soul is the universe's key, the interpreter of nature.

To feel the soul, - that humanizes us.

* * *

The historical figure belongs not only to his epoch, the past, but is an essence also to the future.

As a developing spirit, he emerges in all coming-passing generations, that's why he is the one who is always up-to-date.

The historical figure is not a monument of stone; he is not a petrified essence, but a spirit of eternal breathing.

If historic figures are approached in another way it will mean sinning against their spirit. The fifth century Mamikonians, who were religiously inspired, in our day would become virtuous as political heroes.

Do you want to act truthfully? In that case stop every one whom you meet on your way and say:

“Friend! It is better to be content with the Diogenes⁵⁴ tub than to be like Aristippos⁵⁵ dragging oneself behind kings and sponging off their tables”.

⁵² The trial and death of the Greek philosopher Socrates (469-399 B.C.), an Athenian citizen, took place in Athens. The main reason for the prosecution of Socrates was that he was supposed to be connected with the aristocratic party. But the charge was that “Socrates is an evil-doer and a curious person, searching into things under the earth and above the heaven”. In his final speech made in court Socrates said: “And now, O men who have condemned me, I would fain prophesy to you; for I am about to die, and in the hour of death men are gifted with prophetic power. And I prophesy to you, who are my murderers, that immediately after my departure punishment far heavier than you have inflicted on me will surely await you... If you think that by killing men you can prevent some of them censuring your evil lives, you are mistaken; that is not a way of escape which is either possible or honorable; the easiest and the noblest way is not to be disabling others, but to be improving yourself” (B. Russell, Op. cit., p. 84, 88-89).

⁵³ Nero Claudius Caesar Drusus Germanicus is a Roman Emperor (37-68 A.D.).

You will perform a fine action if you often succeed by the power of your thought to elevate the humble foreheads of people to the heights of their being.

And if you desire to do kindness don't miss the opportunity to fasten the wing of every wounded eagle met by you.

Act like this, at least in your mind. And you will serve the human race as well as mankind.

* * *

I don't forgive in human beings two things - his mean actions, by which is nourished his moral feebleness and then his feebleness from which emerge his mean actions.

* * *

Either the throne or the spirit's greatness – in the face of this alternative, I had to choose the latter. Are the thrones worth anything, if the most miserable representatives of human race hold them?

* * *

It is said that the satiated lion loses its ferocity.

But the more insatiable man devours and becomes rich, the more he wreaks his fury.

No, you can't make man kinder by increasing his food.

* * *

Losing the feeling of sanctity, man inevitably becomes a prodigal and misanthropic person.

* * *

The human individual does not cease being a means even in the case when he appears to be a genius.

“Gods” are not God.

* * *

Avoid meeting anybody who does not feel disgust for any desecration, be it tangible or moral.

Such a one is unscrupulous in life and also a desecrator.

* * *

⁵⁴ Diogenes, Greek Cynic philosopher (412-323 B.C.) rejected all conventions and preferred to live in a tub. When Alexander the Great, King of Macedon (356-323 B.C.) visited him, and asked if he desired any favour; “only to stand out of my light”, Diogenes replied (B.Russell, *Op. cit.*, p. 230-231).

⁵⁵ Aristippus (435-355 B. C.) is a Greek philosopher, Socratic and rhetorician, the elder of Cyrene. Influenced by Protagoras of Abdera (c. 490/85-421/411 B.C.), Aristippus' theory of cognition takes into limits comprehension and sensibility (The Classical Greeks by Michael Grant, Phoenix, 1997, p. p.70-75. 304). According to his philosophical concept, satisfaction of momentary pleasure is the supreme aim of life and the only expression of being happy.

Any teaching is false in its depth, be it religious or social, which demands mental blindness from its believers. Yes, such a one is false, antihuman, otherwise, unacceptable.

* * *

The most vicious form of violence is mental violence that turns a human being into an animal and disgraces him. It mutilates human beings not only mentally but also spiritually by charging them with a certain form and direction of mentality.

* * *

Meanness, cowardice and cruelty - these are triple passions, blind monsters that give birth to each other. When one is a coward, sooner or later he'll become famous for his mean deeds. And the mean inevitably will become cruel. Nero, the monster of cowardice, meanness and cruelty, had no courage to commit suicide in his most contemptible state. The dagger by the slaves' hand put an end to his life.

* * *

Curse! Let the splendid table around which there are only places for those who laid it be sevenfold cursed.

Is not that table like contemporary social life?

* * *

Man also knows how to use poisons against diseases. It is long since he opposed death just by its weapon - the poison, by moderating it.

Poisonous evils are of a different kind in the spiritual world. They remain morally murderous in all cases.

No, it is impossible to moderate the evil. As a matter of fact the evil has no limits; it is big in all its forms.

The life of both the conqueror and the beggar, who lives on the mercy of others, follows the same path - to the cemetery. Your coming to the world will not be in vain whether you add one flower to it or remove one blackthorn from it.

Believe! Man and world gain more by the humble, but humanely kind deeds of many people than by the feats of a few individuals. There is no small kindness either. As a matter of fact it is always big in all its expressions. Buddha⁵⁶ saving a swan's life founded the heart's religion, the love's philosophy.

* * *

Look for a friend on the road of suffering, truth and perfection. Be friends with every sufferer, pursuer of the truth and open the doors of your essence only for them.

But out of these roads, be as a lock as well as a key for your environment.

* * *

Truthfully that individual is only free who is free of fear of death.

⁵⁶ Buddha, the Enlightened, title of successive teachers past and future of the Indian religion, but applied especially to Sakyamuni, Gautama, or Siddartha who is considered to be the founder of Buddhism, a religion in North India in the sixth-fifth centuries B.C.

* * *

I don't like the obligations that are defined only by the formal law. What would the world lose of its spiritual values if such obligations remained unfulfilled? Formal law, at the best, increases only negative virtues, which didn't add a single line to world history. What kind of formal law demands that a human individual die for an ideal, sanctity, Fatherland. "You shall not steal"⁵⁷ – that is the formal law which man speaks of ironically since the first day of his existence. The inwardly liberated man dies willingly for the supreme values not for formal law.

* * *

Though each people have its Fatherland, mankind still remains without a Fatherland. Humanity is mankind's Fatherland that yet does not exist.

* * *

Possessions clashing with bigger and impersonal things deprive us of them and become evil.

* * *

To be just, among people, even if they are your enemies, look for their bright features. If you begin with their negative features you'll not notice the positive ones, that's why you must not have desire to notice them.

* * *

If you can do any duty, no matter how hard it is, you'll do it if you find that it is your duty to do it.

* * *

Be less busy with the shortcomings of others, otherwise you'll cease to notice your own defects.

⁵⁷ One of the Ten Commandments (Exodus 20:15) is characterized by Nzhdeh as "the formal law". Such a definition has a fundamental theological background. According to the New Testament, "Indeed, when Heathens, who do not have the law, do by nature things required by the law, they are a law for themselves, even though they do not have the law, since they show that the requirements of the law are written on their hearts..." "When we were controlled by the sinful nature, the sinful passions aroused by the law were at work in our bodies, so that we bore fruit for death. But now, by dying to what once bound us, we have been released from the law so that we serve in the new way of the Spirit, and not in the old way of the written code..."; the Heathens have attained "righteousness through faith; but Israel, who pursued the righteousness which is based on law did not succeed in fulfilling that law. Why? Because they did not pursue it through faith, but as if it were based on works. They have stumbled over the stumbling-stone..." (Romans, 2:14-15; 7:5-6; 9:30-32); "The sting of death is sin, and the power of sin is the law" (1 Corinthians, 15:56); "Our sufficiency is from God, Who has qualified us to be ministers of a new covenant, not in a written code but in the Spirit; for the written code kills, but the Spirit gives life"(2 Corinthians, 3:6); "God would justify the Heathens by faith... All who rely on observing the law are under a curse... Clearly no one is justified before God by the law, because, "The righteous will live by faith" (Galatians, 3:8,10-11)

* * *

Only a man free of base passions is able to contemplate brightly. Vicious persons are obtuse.

* * *

National collective happiness is possible only in the fatherland where Ego is overcome, not just tamed.

* * *

To be intoxicated by power is the most tempting of intoxications. Such a one easily passes the boundaries of his authority and often puts himself at evil's service, and one day, inevitably, becomes, according to a Latin saying: *malorum claras patrator* – the dictator of evil.

* * *

It is always just to give the last word to science. But, acting in this way, we must not forget that only naivety bordering on ignorance waits for the last word of science, pronounced by this or that scientist. Not everything is known to science either. It also does not have the last word.

* * *

Know the sense of proportion, moreover, in vanity. It is true that the world applauds those who are crowned with glory, but an ignominious eye, an envious eye, bears with difficulty the brightness of glory. Do your best to make your glory walk behind you like a shadow and never in front of you.

* * *

From the heights of sanctity to the vulgarity of existence is the path of the world where the human spirit wanders, often polarizing – between the majestic and the vulgar. The existence of saint and scoundrel in the world must be explained by that polarization.

* * *

I can't observe man in his humiliation without moral horror. I wouldn't like to see even my enemy in that state. It is better to be unhappy than to be in a humiliated state of mind. By humiliation the subject disfigures his human image, kills his inner man. Not to be humiliated, the Spartan boy broke his skull on a stone. Do not be humiliated even in front of your God.

* * *

Immoral is all that decreases our spiritual courage.

* * *

He who at the same time is a teacher and a social figure has neither depth nor height. He is a spiritual plain.

My mind was alarmed that day when I met him and I tried to speak about eternal mysteries.

I had been waiting for his word, but he stretched his hand to his cap and said lifelessly: "Lately my sleep became irregular"... And we separated.

Poor people, woe betides you, woe betides your children and threefold woe betides your future.

* * *

It is more difficult to have a carriage proper to a hero than to become a hero in battles. If you are a hero then do your best to be worthy of your name in all circumstances.

* * *

He, who realizes that he is a hero, is not a hero at all. The hero, being a giant of the spirit, is a child who does not recognize old age. Even acting heroically he thinks that he does a very ordinary thing and no more.

* * *

A great man is like a ship. Woe betides those who are a target of his blows.

He is mighty when he competes with the mighty man.

But woe betides him when he tries to defend himself even from insignificant adversaries.

* * *

When your word is about sacred or tragic high things, try to have it bear traces of blood – the blood of your heart and your mind.

* * *

Each new pain makes me repeat:

"You won't overcome me. You, that overcome the weak, must steel my spirit more. That's why I greet you. Only because of you do the mighty become the mightiest. Now my spirit is like that".

* * *

There are centuries that do not accept mediocrity.

If you are an emperor, be Marcus Aurelius⁵⁸.

If you are a philosopher, be Plato⁵⁹.

If you are a general, be Vardan of Avarayr.

Important posts without spiritual greatness are like a clay statue, laid on a golden pedestal.

⁵⁸ Marcus Aurelius is Roman Emperor and philosopher (121-180 A. D.). One of his maxims is "Consider frequently the connection of all things in the Universe".

⁵⁹ Plato is Greek philosopher (428/7-348/7 B.C.). Plato's philosophy embraced the following important matters: his Utopia (the earliest of a long series), theory of ideal forms (a pioneer attempt to deal with the still unsolved problem of universals), his arguments in favor of immortality, his cosmogony, his conception of knowledge as reminiscence rather than perception (B. Russell, op. cit., p. 104-105).

* * *

National spirit is the supreme hero, the only one who turns the wheel of history, the hero that leads our collective fate.

Essentially only it acts in history and for history.

Individual heroes are just the personal embodiment of that spirit.

Heroes – Manuels, Musheghs, Vardans die but their spirit remains which finding its embodiment in other Armenians continues to live and act.

And just that is the heroes' immortality. No, the hero does not die; he only changes his vessel and name.

* * *

The hero is the spokesman of his people's spiritual might but not its measure. The hero does not express people's spiritual potential and nor its potential forces.

The people means more than its most glorious hero.

* * *

The hero's life is not always the difficult raising of greatness and glory, but also its Golgotha.

Only a few, very few can taste their glory - a few who during their ascent succeed in walking around Golgotha.

* * *

Do your best by your word to be completely light and truthful - the lightening that illuminates things before flashing.

* * *

There are things the essence of which is expressed by a feeble word, just as much as a drop reflects the infinity and grandeur of the starry sky.

Mainly we impress not by getting a chance to express ourselves, but by our word's pain that comes from our feebleness to express the things that we feel.

To be able to make the reader, the audience feel what we are not able to express – the truthful writer and orator impresses precisely with that inexpressible feeling.

That is their high ability, their supreme art.

They possess the word's spirit, its entire energy and its expressiveness - with the feeling of their effort and pain, also with their longing for the mighty word to express the inexpressible.

The most expressible of the word...

Ah, the whole of my life I felt its pain.

Maybe it is given only to the gods of the word. Perhaps.

* * *

Sometimes the hour works for bad ones too, but the time always and absolutely works for the man of merit. The hour sometimes smiles, inspires the merited too, but one day such a man is thrown to the ground from its false height and is defamed by time.

Every adventurer is an outcome of the hour.

You, my friend, don't consider great what gives you the hour, the second. Act for the times.

* * *

Do you want to overcome your pain? Make of it a monument and then stand in front of it and say: 'Yes, my friend, we are not strangers. I knew others before you, who were greater than you'.

* * *

There is only one remedy to cure our own pains and forget them. That is to think about the pains of others.

* * *

Any disarmed passion is a new brother-in-arms, any handled pain is a new source of spiritual power. You know, the gods of Olympus⁶⁰ were suffering from pain when the bolts of lightning of Aramazd⁶¹ plunged onto them from either side. My friend, it does not become you to express pain in that way, because you are a man, a fighter.

Thus, learn how to smile even in sufferings or privations. In such moments our spirit grows, becomes powerful and majestic. Stand higher than fate and you'll remain inaccessible to feebleness. Remember, man is able and it is given to him to be mightier than the world.

Here is the supreme blessing that is desirable for my soul.

Go a long way, my friend.

* * *

Which is the most instructive lesson of history?

To retain a sense of proportion, when a chance hands us our enemy. Tomorrow history may appoint our enemy as a judge in order to judge us. Be fair, because that is the best policy. Know, we are the first to gain from our justice. No one has yet regretted being just.

Truthfully, the mighty are just.

Only the just are truthfully powerful.

* * *

Happiness, who is happy?

⁶⁰ A Thessalian mountain, the highest in Greece, on which dwelt the chief Greek gods. The Twelve Great Olympians were: Zeus (Jupiter), Hera (Juno), Poseidon (Neptun), Demetr (Ceres), Apollo (Apollo), Artemis (Diana), Hephaestus (Vulcan), Pallas Athena (Minerva), Ares (Mars), Aphrodite (Venus), Hermes (Mercury), Hestia (Vesta) (Dictionary of Classical Mythology, p.182).

⁶¹ According to Armenian mythology Aramazd was the supreme god among the gods of the third generation, the creator of heaven and earth, the god of fertility. Functionally he is identified with Iranian Ahuramazda and Greek Zeus. His main temple was in the region of the Upper Euphrates, in the province of Bardzr Haik' (High Armenia), in Western Armenia.

For the sick it is the healthy; for the poor it is the rich; for the latter it is the richer.

The prisoner, from whose cell blind window the sun sometimes sends in one or two of its dim rays, is also happy

No, there are no happy people even in a secular sense.

There are people whom the unhappy consider happy.

But, there are very happy people: those, who succeed in crowning their life's work with heroic death.

* * *

By my life I proved the word of Herodotus: "It is dangerous to desire beyond measure".

I wished, that during my lifetime, the enemy of our race's existence to sit on the ruins of his Fatherland and to weep envying the fate of my people that he sevenfold violated.

* * *

Do you see the child running after a butterfly? Perhaps he will succeed in catching the flying flower that attracts him, but alas, his joy will be short. He must either kill him or scare him away unwillingly.

Doesn't the same thing happen to adults pursuing the butterfly called happiness?

As the butterfly of happiness is ethereal, as hard is the human essence. Simultaneously only the century of spiritual culture will also be the century of happiness, specifically for the soft hearted. Without doubt, among them the first place belongs to the symbolist Maeterlinck⁶².

* * *

Indeed, it is impossible to reconstruct nature without science: But it is also true, that you can't spiritually change and renovate man.

Science has no human qualities; it is used for both good and bad goals. That explains the lack of moral cultivation of human beings in our century of science. To become human it is necessary to follow, in the first place, Socrates, then – Darwin⁶³.

* * *

The moral feature of man, first of all, is the result of his big and small goals that he pursues.

Every goal, according to its quality, awakens a certain spiritual state in the subject that moulds his image, the spiritual aspect of his essence, his inner fight. The motive power of life is the goal, purposefulness. A new purposefulness means a new movement of inner forces, a new direction of thought, a new fire of the fight.

Each goal gives birth to power, and as a principle is also productive, but not in an equal sense.

Individual goals take up only the slightest part of our power.

⁶² Maurice Maeterlinck (1862-1949), a Belgian writer who lived in France and wrote in symbolic and nature-philosophic style.

⁶³ The theory of English naturalist Charles Darwin (1809-1882) consisted of two parts: the doctrine of evolution and the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest.

Man spiritually grows mainly in those cases when he puts into movement the maximum and the best. Aimlessness is a misfortune, a spiritual catastrophe, turning into stone, death during which the subject suffers from psychological spasm, triteness and a small-mindedness that kills the soul.

Egoistic, otherwise mean goals are disastrous which cannot be followed unpunished. Such goals are killing the soul, particularly among the youth.

Young boy, tell your goal and I'll tell about your youth.

* * *

Youth, you are the unrivalled beauty of the world, when you have a high goal.

Indeed, there is no beauty that can shadow your heroic carriage, when you stand on the throne of your eminence with the crown of competition in your hand.

* * *

For the Armenian it is characteristic to possess the feeling of mighty sanctity, which is a source of inexhaustible spiritual power, devotion and worship. The higher categorized things – native land, forefathers and motherhood – being abstracted from human, become sacred. Attitude to this kind of thing – is another stumbling block on which may be tested the metal of a peoples' image.

"My mother's eyes are the most beautiful in the world", - said Nietzsche near to his death.

I say: "My mother's face is the kindest in the world".

Mother, the Armenian mother, she is *mater dolorosa* – the mother of homesickness, Khandut⁶⁴, who gave birth to Mher, threefold be blessed.

"A mother's heart is always there where her offspring are. Though a mother dies, her heart continues to beat for her offspring, a mother's heart dies on the day of her last offspring's death..."

My mother would speak in this way in the hours of her tenderness.

* * *

At the time of the tsar I was a prisoner and my mother every Sunday would visit me from a far-off village; she would come on foot.

Being touched by her Niobe⁶⁵ grief I would be angry with her that she martyred herself. "What", she would answer, "shall I get on a coach and enjoy it, when you are in chains and in hardships?... "

⁶⁴ According to the Armenian Epic "Sasuntsi David" ("Brave men of Sasun") Khandut was the wife of Sasuntsi David. Their child was Little Mher named after his grandfather Big Mher, who was the son of Sanasar.

⁶⁵ Niobe was the daughter of Tantalus, son of Zeus by a nymph (Oceanid), and Dione, mother of Aphrodite by Zeus. Greek epic poet Hesiod (IX century B.C.) says Niobe married Amphion and had ten sons and ten daughters (according to others seven or six sons and seven or six daughters). She taunted Leto (a daughter of the Titans) for having only two children and the outraged mother appealed to the gods for revenge. As a result, all Niobe's children were killed except Chloris, wife of Neleus and mother of Nestor; and Niobe was turned into stone (Dictionary of Classical Mythology, p. 175-176).

“Before leaving for town”, my sisters would tell, “mother stands in front of the Holy Virgin, weeps bloody tears, rubs up her breast against the church stones till it is in blood. The poor woman wants the stones also to feel her pain”. Such is my mother and all Armenian mothers are like her.

* * *

Since the day, when for the first time the thought lightened in man, that the world may be and must be more comfortable, more fair than it is, and that the cause of such imperfection is just the human race, man has got to know what suffering is.

* * *

Mankind is indebted to suffering for its whole spiritual culture.
Who runs away from suffering is running away from perfection.
Who did not suffer did not grow and become powerful in spirit.

* * *

There is a sufferer, a deep sufferer in every true artist.
And it is just the suffering that creates.

* * *

There is also a moral victory – to smile, to be able to smile even during the most inhuman sufferings, bearing the smile as the highest badge of honour, as the lion-skin that in ancient times was given to heroes.

* * *

Don't think you are what you are not. Don't exaggerate your abilities and don't deceive yourself. One day, life will test your power. Try to be what you would like to think of yourself.

* * *

You may defeat your inner enemies, your bad passions today, just today. If you leave it for tomorrow your victory becomes suspicious.

* * *

Political saints are those who, for the sake of their people's best future, take a heavy load humanly beyond their power. Threefold glory to them!

* * *

Who chooses death as his leader, remains invincible.
It is necessary to act in such a way, i.e., to turn death into inner power, potential life and the victory's principle.
Martyrs and heroes act in this way.

* * *

Often historians are bribed, history – never.

* * *

The sun is reflected both in the sea and in an insignificant drop. And the truth – the sun of the spiritual world is reflected both in the big and small deeds of man.

* * *

There is as much kindness in our deeds as there is truth in our words. Thus kindness is just truth's embodiment and truth is abstracted kindness.

* * *

There are things in the universe about which man knows as much as the insect living one-day is acquainted with the pre-eternal ideas of Plato.

If in the sea of violence there remains only a secret core, the truth for man, the absolute truth will continue to be like an invisible deity. Only through possessing that last secret of the construction and nature of the universe will man know the truth. Before that, scientific hypothesis and faith will constitute the fate of man.

* * *

He who carries the truth's load alone is a threefold martyr.

* * *

Man deeply strays from the truth when the idea of death is linked with the idea of eternal loss.

* * *

There is no loss in the cosmos - there is a continuous movement during which everything flows and is transformed. *Nauta Dei* - would say the dialectic philosopher. To die, does not mean to be annihilated, lost, but means to be transformed leaving its material vessel to the earth, the spirit – to mankind. Without the soul's eternity there wouldn't be its aspiration for perfection, its progress; on the way of which any reasoning creature's life is a step forward. If death were essentially real in the meaning of eternal loss, mankind's past would not live, which is the support of every coming and passing generation.

If death existed, the past would be as dead as a dark night, an empty and unspeakable abyss.

Every human deed and movement is immortal and imperishable.

Long ago Beethoven sank as a vessel, he doesn't exist, but his divine works live.

It is centuries since Michelangelo⁶⁶ left the world but his *Moses* lives.

Bonaparte⁶⁷ came, flashed like a meteor and astonished generations, but an ambition not recognizing boundaries, an unquenchable thirst for greatness and the possibility of new Bonapartes remained.

⁶⁶ Michelangelo Buonarroti, Italian artist (1475-1564).

⁶⁷ Napoleon I Bonaparte (1769-1821) was the Emperor of the French.

The spirit's dialectics act this way. There is no death and no loss in the universe, there is gradual spiritualization of matter, boundless development of the spirit, its perfection. My friend, when your parting becomes inevitable leave the world as the sun leaves. There is no death but transition to another sphere. The Almighty-Logos-Spirit that gave us birth and breath is immortal.

Does the ray of light die returning back to the sun, its creator?

* * *

Death is given to man to overcome it.

* * *

Only the voluntary martyr enjoys absolute freedom.

It is given to him to feel himself higher than human laws and beyond human boundaries. The awe of death is unknown to him. It is impossible to frighten him, they are afraid of him though he is unarmed and not unkind.

* * *

Every man has his visible or invisible tutor whose role and influence on him continues up to his grave.

Instead of one I had two – the Mamikonians and Masis. The first inspired in me the passion to die for the Fatherland, the second – the love of spiritual heights.

* * *

Every musical noise is not music, stone cutting is not sculpture and every poetical writing, is not poetry.

Creation, that is art.

But man creates urged on by the abundance of inner power, moreover by the joy of his inspiration.

In other words he creates stirred by the necessity of expressing his inner world.

* * *

Each true artist is an observer. In a few seconds ideal images appear in his inner field of vision, in the horizon of his soul. Thus, arts are the result of immortalizing just those attractive images and visions.

* * *

I was reflecting on humanity's future and my thought stopped on the atom.

- This is the symbol and vessel of the future.

The future fate of mankind is hidden in its heart.

The evil and good of tomorrow's life... potentially will be determined by it.

Atom, you heartless deity, who will put into action your elemental force – war which is evil's hand, or peace?

Oh, I already hear the death thunder, and at the same time the jubilant shouting of thousands and thousands...

I see blood and destruction desecrating the surface of the earth, and... lilies, lilies, lilies of a more magnificent culture... And I say for the future:
- Be blessed, but also be cursed atom if you must serve evil and war.

* * *

No, my friend, nature is not a mother.

It is, as one of the philosophical schools would say, a blind game called "cause-and-effect"⁶⁸, during which the existence of one of the creatures is determined by the death of the other one. I say an uninterrupted madness, sensuality, vampirism of construction and destruction.

It is mythological Cronus⁶⁹ devouring his children – that is nature.

It is an image, and at the same time, a deformer, invigorating and killing, cleansing and desecrating.

Look, it adorned with the most sacred flowers even rubbish-heaps, but time will pass, perhaps hours and it will turn blue-eyed lilies into garbage.

Here is a face, the whole a living marble, blood and sun, that tomorrow it can desecrate by ulcers - the signs of the most loathsome illness. In a desert only seconds ago it placed a weak fallow deer at the tiger's fangs to assuage the latter's hunger. In the same natural way it will hand this beast, as food and carrion, to another more powerful one.

For it dog, insect and genius have equal value and right. It was necessary to raise worms – it is not known why- and it cut the thread of Alexander the Great's⁷⁰ life.

Blindness, cruelty, absurdity – these are its characteristics. Thousands of years ago one of the most sensible sons of mankind, Buddha, after reading nature's codex of laws, rebelled against it.

No, my friend, nature's embrace is not maternal. You look for it out of nature, for that is not the kind of thing that nature gives to man.

On the breast of eternity, like me, very often, rest your tired head...

* * *

⁶⁸ According to Immanuel Kant's theory of *a priori* possibility of synthetic judgments expressed in his *The Critique of Pure Reason*, distinction between "*a priori*" and "empirical" propositions, there are *a priori* concepts constituting twelve "categories" derived from the forms of the syllogism. These categories are divided into four sets of three: (1) of quantity: unity, plurality, totality; (2) of quality: reality, negation, limitation; (3) of relation: substance-and-accident, cause-and-effect, reciprocity; (4) of modality: possibility, existence, necessity (B. Russell, op. cit., p. 706-708).

⁶⁹ Also Cronos, Kronos; Saturn (Roman) was a Titan; the youngest son of Uranus and Gea. Cronus and Rhea were parents of six of the twelve Olympians – Zeus, Hades, Poseidon, Demeter, Hera, Hestia, Apollodorus (Dictionary of Classical Mythology, p. 75).

⁷⁰ Alexander the Great (356-323 B.C.) was King of Macedon. In 343 B.C. he became a pupil of Aristotle the Stagirite, Greek philosopher (384-322 B.C.). Aristotle's father had inherited the position of family physician to Philip II, King of Macedonia (382-336 B.C.). Aristotle, coming to Athens, became a pupil of Plato (428-348/7 B.C.) and remained in the Academy for nearly twenty years. Alexander, then thirteen years old continued his studies under Aristotle's tutorship until the age of sixteen, when he was pronounced by his father Philip II to be of age, and was appointed regent during Philip's absence. In 335-323 B.C. Aristotle founded his philosophical school and wrote most of his books. At the death of Alexander, the Athenians rebelled, and turned on Aristotle's friends, but unlike Socrates, he fled to avoid punishment. In the next year Aristotle died (B. Russell, Op. cit., p. 160-161).

And I spoke about vanity:

“Man creates the world and leaves the world without any share”.

“The value and dignity of man are in creativeness and not in possession. And as far as nothing is taken by anyone from the world, it’s better for man to leave something in the world, at least, like a lion, the blood traces in the human desert” – Masis told me.

VII.

THE BEST OF THE ARMENIAN

It is necessary for the cultural value of peoples to be adjusted according to those features that are specific to their spiritual work.

And what is common to mankind, humanly that model constitutes the best of each nation.

And it is the share of the nation’s intellectuals to work, in order that best to become common to mankind like the globalized word “every”.

Such features I see in the folklore of the heathen Armenianhood, in its stories, myths and songs.

If the majestic ruins of Ani tell us about architectural genius and the high artistic taste of the Armenian, the fragments of our heathen epics bear testimony to the unsurpassed humanity and high chivalric spirit of the pre-Christian Armenian. I see such spiritual features in the Armenia of Vahagn and Anahit, virtues that are so much needed in our arrogant and spiritually impoverished epoch.

Which great and conquering nation of the world would not wish to have the following meaningful fragment in its folklore⁷¹:

I say to you, brave man Artashes,

That you have defeated the brave nation of the Alans,

Come, approve of the words of the beautiful-eyed daughter of the Alans

Give up the youth.

For it is not the law of heroes to take the life

Of the progeny of other heroes for the sake of revenge,

Or by subjecting them to the rank of slaves

To establish hostility between two brave nations...

⁷¹ According to the epic about Artashes, the Alans, coming from the Caucasian mountains together with other tribes, invaded Armenia but were defeated by King Artashes who took prisoner the son of the Alan king. The latter promised to give whatever Artashes liked in order to set free his son. Artashes refused and the Alan princess, the sister of the imprisoned prince came to the bank of the river and through interpreters asked Artashes to set free her brother.

Do you hear, reader, it is not the law, says the heathen Armenian, the heroes are not allowed (a) to take the life of foreign heroes, (b) to enslave and subjugate them to service, (c) to create eternal hostility between two nations. In our shameful days of ideological intolerance and widespread persecutions, how humanly proud sounds the word of the ancient Armenian.

“Yes, it is not the law...”

The Armenian is against the extermination and enslavement of brave progeny, and himself being courageous, he treats with respect even his brave enemy.

That is the spiritual image of the heathen Armenian, by whose human ideas must be stocked the spiritual bread of the Orient.

* * *

It's a pity that foreign nations do not know us, it's a great pity and it is bad that contemporary Armenianhood does not know itself.

Yet in the first half of the 19th century one of the visitors of Ani – the French architect Texient had difficulty finding a likeness between the builder of any formerly majestic city and the Armenianhood of his time. He said by the way: “... It's hardly possible in these memoirs - which express Greek taste and gentleness – to recognize the birth of thought of that nation, which in our days has lost every sense of art, and even absolutely does not remember what kind of people were his ancestors”.

Contemporary Armenianhood lacks self-knowledge. Being in such a state it deeply sins against its future as well as against mankind. Every nation is obliged to give mankind its best as a spiritual leaven.

The best of the Armenian – touching on the magnificent ideas of the Goghtan songs expressing high humanity, their propagation by Armenian intellectuals is not only Armenian and patriotic, but is also a human obligation.

“It is not the law...”, yes!

But the East didn't learn the high humanity of the heathen Armenianhood, it stayed inhuman, it was led and continues to be led by the law of the jungle.

And that is the reason why during World War One, to the shame of both East and West, the greatest part of the Armenian homeland was devastated.

Acharyan² in his work “The History of the Armenian Language”, speaking about the fragments of our unwritten folk-lore, with unmatched scholarly experience made more accurate their entire lexical material, reducing words to their root forms, and finally drew attention to their Armenian and foreign origin. Our unsurpassed linguist⁷² likewise scrupulously studying the language of our Goghtan songs' fragments didn't find it

⁷² Acharian Hrachya (1876-1953), Armenian linguist, philologist, the author of more than 200 research works on all branches of Armenology.

necessary to tell two words about their ideological meaning and cultural capacity. This defect, it is necessary to say that is specific to all Armenian philologists. How may it be explained? By weakness of the Armenian philosophical thought? Or, by psychological defeatism of the contemporary Armenian intelligentsia? Those who suffer from the latter, in general, are humble and instinctively run away from anything that reminds them of their ancestors who lived full-bodied, courageous and glorious lives.

The forefathers oblige us, let us listen to them in order to recognize us as a nation.

It is necessary, as intellectuals, to be aware of our national and human vocation common to mankind.

“It is not the law...”. Yes!

VIII

MILITARY REFLECTIONS

Be a pupil of the really great ones – the military geniuses, but do not forget that danger is the best teacher and tutor of a military man.

In all epochs of history, from the Iliad of epic times to Rome, and from Hannibal to Napoleon, man was thinking persistently about the ways and means of gaining victory. And longing to give a reply to that question, he has given birth to several theories each containing only grains of truth, but not the whole truth.

We shall add one more grain to the fund of truth if we say that the essential thing in war is battle, the most essential one is death, invisible, but the real third factor – the third actor, is power.

In battles, other conditions being equal, the side, that makes use of the “third factor” more than its enemy, usually wins. To make use of death means to deprive the adversary of the ability to do the same. We guarantee our victory by dooming the latter to that state because we essentially disarm our enemy.

* * *

To win in battle means to force by the threat of death one’s will upon the enemy.

To threaten with death – that is war’s whole essence and at the same time its cruelty.

From simple reconnaissance work to complex and fatal battles fighting sides actually compete in the horror strategy.

The advantage of such a method of fighting is that the horrifying side as the more active one stays out of fear of death, or the latter’s influence is minimized for it.

The human being is disposed only to a certain level of psycho-physical strain – an effort which may not be overstepped without punishment, an acute sense of losing courage which precedes capitulation and defeat.

Horrifying each other, the competing sides are pursuing only the adversary’s sense of losing courage.

* * *

A modern inventor contriving a new weapon or a savage who before fighting acquires a horrifying expression as if becoming the embodiment of death are both led by the same psychological calculation: to paralyse the enemy's psycho-physical power by a horror strategy and thus, to compel him to give himself up. Hannibal, Bonaparte's storming cavalry and the apologist for the sword, Suvorov, were perfect classics, perfect artists in the work of the embodiment of death.

Do you know, when wild beasts meet each other they use horror through the power of instinct.

* * *

It is necessary to proclaim the falsification of all those theories that grant victory to the side that has one soldier, one cannon, one fortification more. No, no, the power of a hundred soldiers is not always equal to one hundred's power. That power has its increase and decrease, depending on by whom, how and psychologically in what atmosphere that squadron is led. In battle we deal with living, constantly changeable, dynamic, and non-mechanical dead forces, which do not stay still on the same spot. Quantity and fighting equipment play a decisive role only in cases where they are used as a means of horror strategy. Victory normally inclines to the side that succeeds in keeping his enemy under the horror of death longer, trying to crush his resisting spirit. Yes, actually, strategy is nothing other than horror strategy. And because death is awesome we'll not sin at all against the spirit of the tongue, if we define strategy in this way: psychologically it is the strategy of death.

* * *

Every general who prefers the sword to firearms is not a Suvorov. To be a Suvorov it is necessary to be Suvorov, i.e. at the same time a genius of war, hero and soldier.

Caesar, Hannibal, Napoleon were geniuses and soldiers.

Generals Mamikonian Mushegh, Vasak, Vardan were perfect types of heroes. But, it is possible to have military talent and to be genius but anyhow not to be a hero.

The hero is a moral genius, the heart's genius, and always the most courageous and ready to die.

For the genius, war first of all is the work of thought. To guarantee the victory of his army he correlates all the factors in military work, at the same time skilfully using his enemy's mistakes.

The hero's spiritual power, by contrast, crowns his victory and feeds his courage and readiness to die.

The genius is the army's brain but the hero is its heart.

It is possible to gain victory without genius, but without heroes, never.

* * *

Man of spirit, here is the leader able to act heroically. Spartacus was a such one, who released from chains the hatred of the slaves against the conqueror Rome, inspired

humanity with the magnificent truth that man must enjoy the world, and not only the one with a mighty authority to suppress and exploit the ones like him.

Such a one was the indomitable son of Carthage who with the whole army laid an ambush allowing the Roman legions to take in the rear of his positions. His blows made the ambitious nation of the Caesars confess that there was greatness outside of Rome and the Roman soul.

And at last, fire-breathing Mamikonian, who on the banks of Tghmut showed, by realized death, the way of being immortalized. He proved by his blood that it was impossible to extinguish the Armenian spirit that is essentially inextinguishable.

* * *

You are not a general, if first of all you are not a soldier. This truth, moreover, suits the psychology of the Armenian who during battle likes to see his leader on the first line of fire, facing death. He likes equality in death. And his demand is just. A cowardly, covetous, self-seeing general is a horrible absurdity. Often officer's insignia deceive. Armenians know it quite well. They do not always correspond to inner abilities, his spiritual power. Rank is not always the measure of spirit or talent.

The falcon is a bird, but every bird is not a falcon.

Yes, every officer is not a leader.

* * *

Power, more power, that is necessary and essential on the battlefield. It is necessary to have in order to give, to spend. The battle absorbs all. Abundance of power is needed there. Fullness of power instigates man to generous sacrifice. It is necessary second by second to feel the presence of new manpower that was unknown before that. And just this influx of new forces is courageousness.

The spiritual power is courageous, the power that is born of these high ideas, which is called *force idée* in psychology's terminology.

Sacrificing our limited life we gain eternity - the crusaders used to say. It is a force-breeding idea. Such ones are the ideas of honour, glory and greatness.

The idea of Fatherland is stronger than these.

Napoleon's marshals were inspired by glory and ambition. Their idols were the Emperor and Order of the Honorary Legion. Though mighty, with time ambition loses its strength as an incentive. It is possible to be satisfied with glory. Only the thirst for eternity is insatiable. That's why the Murats⁷³, Davouts⁷⁴, Neys⁷⁵, who surprised but did not charm the world, like eagles aged in the storms of wars one day hung up their wings and pined for a peaceful life.

And precisely on that day the great Corsican's star declined, because his armies' commanders were no more the lightening generals.

* * *

⁷³ Murat, Joachim (1767-1815).

⁷⁴ Davout L.N.

⁷⁵ Ney, Michel (1769-1815).

The self-defending side also attacks, kills, wounds, hurts and destroys, but it does not commit crime.

As much as the aggressor's sword is cursed, so much is it blessed in the hand of the self-defender.

To counter-attack, to kill unwillingly, not becoming a killer – that is the consciousness produced by our spiritual forces.

* * *

When a capable leader is present, the Armenian is sarcastic about death and sacrifices his life sweetly. And by contrast, when there is the lack of such a leader, he loses his might and courage. That's why the question of leadership mainly is of a moral-patriotic character for the Armenian. It is not patriotic and immoral, when worthless, weak and selfish one challenges the leadership. In order to be a general first of all it is necessary to be mighty. But to be such a one it is necessary to be able to despise wealth, delight and death.

No, it is not enough to be a general only by rank; it is also necessary to be mighty. That is the demand of the Armenian from his leaders.

* * *

General, if you lead the first battle, yes, then get drunk with patriotism, glory, madness, become a warrior, an incarnate god, concentrate on multiplying your spiritual forces in order to win in battle.

Woe betide thee, disgrace will cover thy future, if thou are defeated. The peaks of military glory – Alexander, Hannibal, Caesar, these fiery names perhaps would be unknown to the world if they were defeated in their first decisive battle.

Yes, in many cases the first battle's result mostly determines our future fate.

* * *

I reject that immoral concept according to which the Fatherland's interest sanctifies any means.

Meanness does not cease to be meanness even when it is done for the sake of the Fatherland.

The General capable of meanness is a privileged murderer, violating, plundering. Every kind of meanness is born of moral weakness. Who is ready to die for the Fatherland does not use meanness. The unpatriotic self-seeker uses meanness. The Fatherland is not protected by meanness.

The Fatherland deserves what is highly human, chivalrous and courageous.

Man spiritually is polarized mostly at times of joy and horror.

The soldier is extremely polarized at the moment of attack, the traveler – at the moment of shipwreck.

That spiritual phenomenon, with less acuteness happens also in prisons.

The most kind and malicious people I have met in battlefields and prisons.

Spiritual joy, horror and penal servitude play the role of psychological reactive for the human essence. The subject exposes his essence by positive or negative polarization, stressing the main features of his image. Peoples mostly give away their essence during war, which offers many chances of living in joy as well as in horror. With the first fire of

the cannon the socially virtuous elements of the army – altruistic, fighting, patriotic, being spiritually polarized - become complete love, friendliness, brevity. And just they constitute the real power of the army, its moral spine and its “elite cavalry squadron”. They expose their lives to danger, exhibit great courage, become heroes and very often dye the road leading to victory with their blood.

And socially cool elements – selfish, cowardly, non-patriotic - according to the same law of polarizing, become the weak and vulnerable side of the army, turning into deserters, horrified, battle-falsifiers, shirking their participation in battle.

Woe betides the army that lacks psychological and capable generals. In such a case, weak elements often succeed in demagnetizing, demoralizing even the most fighting elements. The leader who is acquainted with the laws of the masses’ psychology contributes to his soldier’s positive psychological polarization by the infectiousness of his living example and in this way he makes impossible the negative one. And in fact, just this is half of the work of leadership and it’s the most important part.

* * *

Prefer to have as an adversary Nemean Lion⁷⁶, than a fox. To compete with a mighty one is easier and more honourable, than with one who behaves treacherously.

* * *

I am my brother-in-arms in battle, I, first of all.

* * *

The Armenian fights without retreat and performs a feat of arms more in cases when he is a volunteer, than in active service.

He does not like to act by order, and moreover, to die by order.

Even in active service he feels himself as a volunteer.

This psychological reality is a result of the fact, that for a very long time because of his historical fate the Armenian took part in the defence of his Fatherland not as his nakharar’s (prince) slave, serf, but as an Armenian man, who was obliged to fight for Armenia (According to historian Leo, Zoravar (General) Vardan, appointing his brother as the commander of the rearguard, ordered him not to coerce those who did not want to fight).

This positive and blessed psychological feature of the Armenian must be preserved with care because the idea of volunteering is more majestic than that of active service.

Volunteering is vowing – that is its mystery, its force. And not a single power can force anyone to die who is not vowed and ready to die for Fatherland. It is possible to push forward even a self-seeker, it is even possible to sacrifice them, but victory is not gained by their passive, unwilling deaths.

⁷⁶ Nemean Lion, according to Greek mythology, was born of the hundred-headed Typhon, the most monstrous of Giants. Heracles found the skin of the animal impenetrable; his arrows and club useless against the animal, Heracles seized it in his arms and squeezed it to death (Dictionary of Classical Mythology, p.173).

One who becomes a volunteer acts heroically, and when he dies voluntarily, he wins.

* * *

Whether a soldier, every soldier accepts battle – that is the question that must be answered by the commander.

To accept battle, without that psychological act, the soldier remains a simple man with a gun, a dead number.

One may be in the army's ranks under the flying colors, but anyhow not feeling oneself a ready fighter. A fighter awakens in a man with a gun yet before the battle. That awakening takes place at the moment when the soldier accepts battle, i.e. when he reconciles himself to the thought of endangering his life for the sake of a sacred value. In equal conditions, the side that wins is the one who has fewer fighters who psychologically do not accept battle. First of all it is necessary to accept battle.

This psychological act gives birth to the soldier, the army and victory.

* * *

Our leadership is only active and wise, to the extent that we succeed to interfere with the actions of the adversary's leadership.

Victory begins to smile on us just at the moment when we paralyse the hostile forces' command. In such a case, the outside communication between its forces, also the courage of fighters and vigilance that are invisible, let us say like an electric current, which connects essences and creates the thing which I call collective heart, breaks off.

In such a psychological atmosphere the soldier is demagnetized, he feels himself disarmed and lost without leadership. One attack, one more strike and the only thing left for the enemy will be to cry over his defeat.

* * *

Who leads me? Pondering over it the soldier often psychologically wins or loses before the fight.

Who will lead into battle, a modern Mamikonian or a simple officer, whose rank, as we know, never supposes inner force and dignity? That is the question that very often alarms soldier's mind.

That general, who thinks that his order is enough to order his soldier to fight, does not justify his name. One cannot throw oneself to death or die only by an order, especially in our times. A soldier fights, dares, exposes his life to danger, when his regiment appears in a torrid state, when in his rear, on his side everything stimulates his courage, when a firing flood of overflowing passions push him forward. In such a psychological atmosphere the fighter is awakened in man. And a capable commander can create such an atmosphere.

The commander leads his regiment in battle, forwarding essentially his innate man and innate world.

(Yes, leadership always means self-leadership, at the same time). His every word, manner, appearance acquires fatal significance.

The soldier is inclined to see more in his commander than a simple wearer of insignia of rank.

Bonaparte's soldiers saw a halo around their emperor's head when they began to speak with him.

* * *

As a human expression of will and activities, battle also has its dialectics, the laws of which give us grounds to predict the course and end of military actions.

As unerring analysis of past events helps us to understand modern events and the perspective of their development, similarly a correct analysis of the stages of a given battle makes us guess the forms of its development. Otherwise, dialectical application while assessing military actions allows us to predict different ways of the battle and it is a prediction without which it's impossible to command the battle. To command means to inflict decisively at the necessary moment the next blow. The battle is like a rising tide and a falling tide. Its image is unspeakably changing. It is necessary to understand at the time, which side is changing its place in order to correct our decisive action. If half of the victory is the passion of battle and victory is a precondition of success, the other half of it is dependent on the prediction of coming and preparing military actions.

* * *

There are two kinds of soldiers - those that fight in battle, the others, which are made to fight.

* * *

Let number worshippers not go to the battlefield – those, who accept that power and might are only in the number. Spirit pushes the soldier to fight. Those who count are never brave.

* * *

In the battlefield be like a lion, which sleeps with open eyes.

* * *

They say that the lion while flying away from its pursuers sweeps its traces with its tail.

Fighter, don't be like a lion, in that, only in that.

* * *

Recognize only one grain of boundary – the impossible one.

* * *

What would you like to have of the eagle?

- Its wings, answered the artist.

- Its instinct, added the fighter.

The first needed an impulse, a creative imagination.

The second – externally and internally keen eyesight.

One pursues beauty, the other – victory.

* * *

One man asked me to define my military experience.

Here it is, I said:

- First, not to give the adversary a chance to think that he is more powerful than us, and that must be done just at the beginning of battle.
- Second, from the very beginning of battle to make the adversary feel that we are more powerful.

* * *

- What do mountains say in their formidable silence - I asked an old mountaineer who became known as a wise man.

He turned his glance upon the native peaks, for a moment kept silence, as if awaiting an answer from them, and then philosophized:

- Mountains say, defend us in order that we can defend you.

* * *

Those who lose time in battle lose a victory.

* * *

Always have more than you need – bravery, kindness and devotion.

If you do not need to moderate your courage, it means that you are not courageous enough.

Do you know that real wine is drunk mixed with water.

* * *

Let us be just, General, even if you are a genius, you only prepare the victory that is won by the soldier.

* * *

It is much easier to cultivate than to defend the native land.

Be a good toiler and the best fighter. Only the Fatherland of such ones can curb outside greed.

* * *

Fighter, fight so as to be able to tell your brothers-in-arms: “Fight like me”.

* * *

An army is both a flint and a thunderous cloud; it depends on who is its leader. It is possible to get sparks out of the first and to wring lightning out of the second. An army is the very thing that the leader succeeds in making of it. An army is nothing, but the soldier and the leader are everything. Armies try their strength on each other, but the soldier and, first of all, the leader wins or is defeated.

* * *

Fight so as not to be ashamed of your victory.

Your victory is just when it is considered just by even your enemy.

* * *

It is a great evil to be defeated on native land.

* * *

It is not a courageous combat, when the strongest of the fighting sides, taking advantage of weakness of its adversary, dictates its will. There may be no word about victory. Look for a truthful victory where the brave spirit tries its strength not on human weaknesses but on death.

He is the victor who without inner falsity may repeat the words of Firdousy in their spiritual meaning: "The blade of my sword devours the lion's brains and drinks the dark blood of a brave one".

Yes, where the lion is not smashed there are no truthful victories and heroes.

* * *

Death has no other great enemy than man, the fighter and the candidate of eternity.

* * *

The basis of all victories is the victory over us.

* * *

General, share your victory and always leave the lion's share to your soldiers, more exactly, to that mysterious force that led you and your troops in battle.

How just were the heroes of the Gallic epic when they shared their sword together with their names, glorifying also the name of their sword.

* * *

Every success gained by unscrupulousness desecrates and spoils the human moral world.

The unscrupulous one is the first enemy of humanity.

* * *

Meanness is also defeated but it is never disarmed.

* * *

Don't even kill your enemy if it is possible to kill both his fighting efficiency and his desire to continue the struggle.

The one who acts otherwise is simply a murderer and not a fighter.

* * *

There is only one staircase to go up to the peaks of glory. Its first step is called bravery and the last one – again bravery, a bravery refusing death.

* * *

Are you seeking glory? Search for danger. There is nothing heroic when the jackal and the fox fight.

The fight of tiger against tiger is worthy of heroism.

* * *

I greet you and fight against you because you are a king. It is proper for every fighter who does not spare his life for his native land to say the words which centuries ago were addressed by a Greek fighter to Xerxes⁷⁷, because such a fighter, not being crowned himself, is a king in his devotion.

Before the attack, greet the adversary. In ancient times, that was the conduct of fighters who had the knightly spirit.

But today?...

* * *

Do not forget to offer the weak ones your condolence, even your love, but, like Heracles⁷⁸, let only the mighty one be worthy of your wrath.

Respect the law of courage – remain a human being in all cases. And strike only those who can answer to your stroke.

⁷⁷ Xerxes I Xsayarsa (486-465 BC.) was King of Achaemenid Persia.

⁷⁸ Heracles; Hercules was Son of Zeus and Alcmena.

* * *

Always staying the first in personality, do not consider the last even the biggest of your sacrifices.

Leave to death the concern for putting the end to your sacrifices.

* * *

My scars, count my scars that I got for my Fatherland.

A man who freely speaks such things has no ability for meanness and humiliation.

* * *

Whoever never fought in a battle, very often does not know himself and remains unknown to his environment.

Man exposes his inner forces, inclinations and features of his image, mainly in the atmosphere of peril.

If not for battles, how many heroes and deserters would remain unknown to the masses.

Fight in order to know yourself and to be known by others.

* * *

In the end, the extent of readiness to sacrifice determines the end of this or that battle as well as of the whole war.

When I win it means that I excel my adversary in sacrifice. That is the first letter and philosophy of military doctrine.

* * *

Sometimes man has to live in the world more than that which is called tragedy.

For example, when a wounded man beseeches his killer, as Hector⁷⁹ of the *Iliad*, not to desecrate his body.

Yes, that is more than simple tragedy. In such cases the awful thing is not death, but a torturing awareness that a person who was the cause of your death would not have courage to be a human being after your death.

Dying, a human being ceases to be linked with a certain country, nationality, ideology.

He is abstracted, humanized and becomes spiritual. Dying he becomes free of all kinds of obligations and ties and turns into an absolute human being.

One spiritually becomes a jackal if he desecrates his adversary's corpse.

* * *

⁷⁹ Hector was the captain of the Trojan forces in the Trojan War and their chief hero. Achilles killed him.

There are positions - called unassailable - which determine the end of not only present but also future battles, the positions - the significance of which is a strategic one. Around such positions and for them, fighters try their strength on each other to the death. I want to say that the degree of fighters' readiness to die predetermines the end of the fight.

And the unassailable positions are overcome only by death.

* * *

The retreat of a Jewish general in the face of the Roman legions caused deep dissatisfaction to his army.

To his soldiers' question why he did not fight, he answered that he was not free to shed blood for an insignificant place because he had to think of the defence of the temple of Solomon.

And he continued his retreat. History tells that this general did not stop even at the walls of Zion. And the legions of Titus crushed Jerusalem.

No, no, general, you were not speaking the truth and thus were undermining something sacred. You did not want to die; you were frightened and so not honest.

The defence of the most important places is guaranteed by a hard defence of less important ones. In this way and not any other. Every position is a "temple" by its importance and it must be defended as such a one. There are neither insignificant positions, nor insignificant deeds on the battlefield. Everything is important and significant there. And if there is something insignificant that is human blood, even the general's blood.

* * *

There are writers who in fact preach spiritual bestiality, undoubtedly an educated, beautiful bestiality.

Here is one great writer – Anatole France, whose opinion about man and the fighter is not higher than the savage's comprehension of God.

"People", he says, "are ruled by their most powerful feeling. The most powerful feeling of the soldier and the masses is fear. They attack the enemy as the smallest danger...".

It is a horrible slander.

This is a man, a fighter, who running away from the utmost danger, unwillingly walks towards the "smallest danger".

Did fear lead the immortals of Marathon, or the almost unarmed revolutionary masses with fists attacking the Bastille? No, no.

The highly talented writer was not acquainted with the joy, aspiration and beauty of bravery. That is his great tragedy.

The fact of the existence of courageous and brave men and heroes is that living protest-answer to all kinds of preachers of spiritual bestiality.

* * *

I believe in the greatness of the Armenian spirit.

My belief is not an epic one. It is the result of a rich life experience.

I have seen and known Armenian man in battles, I have seen and enjoyed the beauty of his courageous impulses.

The Armenian always acts bravely when his commanders succeed in the creation of a unified heart during battle.

Avarayr and in our days the Gharakilisa battle have been the deeds of such a heart. Speaking in Movses Khorenatsi's style, when such a "small bud" as Armenia finds an inner force to oppose the mighty Sassanian state, in that case simple concepts and ideas lose their meaning.

What is Avarayr? An adventure? Don't swear against the spirit. And do not look for words in vain, because you will not be successful to qualify it. The deed of the Armenian spirit – let's repeat these simple words with profound veneration and be satisfied.

There are great deeds of the spirit, but there are no words for a closer definition of their sense and value.

Avarayr was one of the great deeds of the spirit, the Armenian spirit.

* * *

To arms!

How much might is there in these strained expressions? A few languages have the expressive power of this pair of words of the Armenian language.

Hearing or repeating in mind that military call-sign which is sounded for an attack: it sounds for an eagle which flaps its wings before flight and for a purposeful rider whose horse's hooves make lightning.

To arms – it is a Wagner symphony, a crazy heroic march, which rouses armies, moves them, storms and leads them to decisive victory.

It is an exciting call and being subjugated to its sacred sense, how many times Armenian armies, intoxicated with rage, moved towards the borders of Armenia and turned into rocks against death.

A formidable echo of far away battles and victories, which piercing centuries come again to sound the military trumpet.

- Stand up, stand up to fight again!

This is the enraged storm of our classical generals' spirit whose force moved our Armenian fighters to seek death in order to make it kneel down in front of their banner.

It is a threatening cry, the cry of the Armenian land, which awakens the Armenian's just hatred and arms against the mortal enemy.

It is a storm, a lightning that comes blown off the Armenian heart's sky.

A fatal order which makes the Armenian soldier forget his life and the whole world as he becomes permeated with Armenia and the thirst of victory.

- To arms...I should like to die with that military call-sign on my lips.

IX

INDIVIDUAL AND STATE

The social attitude of an individual, his treatment of his state – by that is determined the latter's destiny – the state's fate.

The following attitudes are possible:

- First, the individual loves his state, and in that case he acts selflessly, sacrifices, suffers for it, and thus he contributes to its strengthening and defence.
- Secondly, he is estranged from his state, becoming indifferent to its fate, thus the state becomes weak and frail.
- After all, he, the individual turns into his state's enemy and acts in the way of its destruction.

History has proved the following truths:

- Man does not fight for a thing that is not considered by him to be his own from legal and moral viewpoints.
 - Those who fight bravely are inclined to act selflessly for that community to which they belong.
 - Every individual who is not inclined to sacrifice, regardless of his social position, temperament and age is not acting courageously.
- That's why, conclude some sociologists who belong to a certain disposition, that the individual must be put in such a state in order for him to become devoted to his state and not to separate his fate from its fate.

* * *

Is the conduct of an individual justified when his actions are intended to destroy his state in the case of outside peril?

- No, a thousand times no.
- Because the defeated state is the same as an unhappy people.

* * *

According to a new theory - for which the individual is an end in itself - patriotism is in accordance with the calculation of life interests. Where these interests are not taken into consideration there patriotism disappears, giving up its place to the individual's indifference or his inner enmity. According to these materialistic sociologists, patriotism, like any other virtue, is a conditional one. Give me in order for me to give you. That is patriotism of such ones. As much patriotism as is the measure of my bread and the measure of my property. No more and no less. Is there a need to say that it is not patriotism, but a desecration of its understanding?

There may not be a word about love and devotion where egoistic interest dominates. Love towards a native land and people, supposes absolute devotion to the Fatherland. Patriotism is high ethics. There is a grain of social feeling that does not accept egoistic mercenary spirit. And that is patriotism. That cherished

feeling is the mother of heroic deeds' history. Because of it there lived and survived peoples small in number. Patriotism subordinated to the individual's love of gain – what a disgrace directed against the most devoted patriots. To what do we ascribe that vulgar comprehension – weakness of the mind or the heart's poverty?

* * *

The one whom the 18th century incomprehendingly called a philosopher – dissatisfied with his government, wrote against his country: “The humiliated French nation now gained the contempt of the whole of Europe. No revolution is able to free it. It will die because of its own feebleness. Foreign conquest will save it. And it depends on a case and circumstances”.

Loathsome patriotism. The subject wants his country to become a floor covering for the foreigners' foot, and do you know the reason? Because he has not been valued by his government. An unnamed, unqualified bad action, a bad deed *in gradu heroico*...

Woe betides the Fatherland whose defenders' patriotism is materialistic and thrifty at its basis.

MODEST, BUT NOT HUMBLE

- The decline of the word - a sad phenomenon, the result of an unhealthy psychological state, called defeatism.
- Don't you feel how choked is the Armenian word of Armenia. First of all there is a lack of the creative fertilizer's fervour of mind and heart. Today the Armenian word is as pitiful as an emigrant.
- Let's be modest, my friend, it is proper that the present Armenian word both in Armenia and at our place, in the Diaspora, corresponds to the limits of contemporary Armenia.
- A shore, the north and south of which you know, may be touched even with the naked eye.
- Yes, modest, but if it means humble, mentally humiliated, I decisively reject such modesty. Armenia in its present horizons, no, no. Armenia is much larger than its geographical boundaries. Don't you know that there are Motherlands whose political and spiritual boundaries do not coincide, let's say the Greek and Jewish Motherlands? As to the Armenian Motherland, its spiritual and geographical capacities are in such a relation as Ararat is to a modest hill located in the Ararat valley. It may be said that our present Motherland is a pressed essence.
- I cannot understand you.
- And so listen, in order to understand.

There are historic sites which being captured by the foreigners are not estranged and do not cease to remain our own, even if centuries passed over them, e.g. Ararat, Ani, Taron *ashkharh* (world) - begetter of the Armenian mind and geniuses of heart, and ...

- From this viewpoint, of course, the Armenian Motherland is large.
- My friend, it will eternally remain large notwithstanding its geographical boundaries. Trdat and Tigran the Great, Sahak and Mesrop, fire-breathing Mamikonian and builder Bagratids, the Tzimisces decorating the Byzantine throne and then, according to Gelzer, the Armenian generals installing "talent and ability" in their armies, then Narekatsi and Kuchak, the magnificent architecture of Ani, which, according to western science "influenced greatly the birth and development of two European styles – Romanesque and Gothic", then the dazzling brilliance of the 9th century Armenian mind- the Paulicien teaching and, finally thousands of Armenian miniatures of which the capitals of the greatest states of the world would be proud – the Motherland of the people which begot all these can be considered great in the eyes of mankind. It is enough for the Armenian to be a connoisseur and worthy of his past cultural greatness, i.e. to be self-knowing and self-respecting.
- From this viewpoint I also see the greatness of our Motherland and I share completely your valuation.
- I am glad. Let's conclude. The greatness of our Motherland and people must be measured not according to the present narrow boundaries, but in accordance with the horizons of the influence of the Armenian intellect and art. Historically speaking,

everything that the Armenian gave to the world belongs to us. Things created by us at any time of history or at any place on the globe will remain the property of the Armenian spirit. We have our just share in the glory of some people, e.g. the Iranian, Byzantine, Arab and etc. The products of the Armenian mind and hand will remain out of Armenia as spiritual colonies. Yes, besides human Diaspora we have the Diaspora of values created by us.

The influence of foreign environments alienating us from our nation and views may be neutralized only by such a consciousness and self-feeling.

- My friend you are just. Now I understand you. Outside of Armenia, the Armenian, in order not to be lost as a national individual, must be armed by consciousness, as you stated.

XI

THE ELITE

The people are more than it seems. It has more power than it feels and expresses. The people are a warrior who is not acquainted with his own strength. It often acts bravely, almost subconsciously.

It is an unexcavated land which hides more values than are brought into light.

To discover these hidden and yet unconscious values and powers means to open new sources of force in its essence.

And just in that is the role of the elite – of the truthful intelligentsia. Historian, linguist, philologist, archaeologist play that exclusive and responsible role in their special spheres, contributing to their people's self-recognition.

Retrospectively to reconstruct this or that epoch's spiritual history of its people, to define both its culture's stages according to the material of archaeological excavations and the age of its language, i.e. its consciousness and spirit by comparative linguistics and then its place in mankind's large family, its traditions and epic to consider in the light of modern philosophy, to be brief, to get the people to know its whole past – means to create for it prerequisites to live and create with full-blooded life.

XII

SPIRITUALISM

Pessimism – no, no, it is inappropriate for mankind's future, because man may become Socrates by self-perfection. Our modern world needs Socratic culture.

I

Provide man with courage and you will make him more than a mere mortal.
Give him wisdom and he will become morally more enviable.

And if you provide him with the spirit's grandeur, it will be sculptured before you – Socrates that is the perfect one.

Such was he, whose appearance revolutionized the spirit of his epoch.

Being the first he dared to lift Isida's⁸⁰ veil in order to possess the truth's secret.

From the heights of metaphysics, he brought philosophy down to earth in order for man to notice the world and things. The first moralist of mankind refining the ideas of kindness and morality, he awakened in man a conscience – the inner deity – before which every verbal creature must legalize his each action.

There was a pre-Socratic individual who would be led by outside power, formal law and habit.

The existence of a self-ruling individual or person began with Socrates.

He was not a state leader, Solon⁸¹, Lycurgus⁸², Pericles⁸³. He made the law for the human moral world, becoming the teacher and tutor of those who would aspire to lead the fate of the people and the state.

* * *

Heracles of the mind and spirit – he became one such a philosopher.

Once, they say, he remained absorbed in the sea of thought and only the rising sun brought him to reality.

What a potential of living with the spirit's life, self-concentration to the extent of being inwardly freed.

The giant of thought and will, whose word, life and destiny, being in accordance with each other, made of him the perfect one who yet had no equal in the world.

He accepted battle, but of a Socratic kind – a battle without passion, hatred and enmity.

His only weapon became the truth, imperturbability and his position - formidable and unassailable. He was fearless, when it was necessary to strike a blow at the tyrants of

⁸⁰ Isida-Isis was the principal Egyptian goddess of fertility; sister-wife of Osiris.

⁸¹ Solon was an Athenian lawgiver (638-559 B.C.).

⁸² Lycurgus was mythical lawgiver of Sparta.

⁸³ Pericles was an Athenian statesman (495-430 B.C.).

Athens. He was so unshakeable when it was necessary to tell the most of bitter truth to the masses, used to the demagogues' falsity.

"What is God? I don't know, I only know what is not God" – that was the word that was destined for a new epoch in order to open a new page in history, the word of a sage and philosopher, before the light of whom the gods of Olympus disappeared as ghosts.

The perfect one among people lived in such a way, he learnt how to ignore life, when it was necessary to die for the sake of the sacred rights of conscience.

* * *

Socrates, secular saint, praise... to you. Praise? No, no, once you rejected the living praise – the crown that would be given to you for your courage at the battle of Poteidaia⁸⁴. You demanded to decorate wounded Alkibiades⁸⁵ who was saved by you.

Giant of spirit! You didn't need others to testify to your greatness.

* * *

Socrates, again I called your spirit, and now through the haze of centuries, you are smiling at me as a sun of cognition and kindness, spreading the flood of light and warmth in the completely blind cell.

Today, again I mentally left my dwelling, coming to visit you, supreme prisoner.

Being slandered by sycophants and condemned to death, just standing at the threshold of the great unknown, the death's glass in your hand, you are philosophizing perfectly about the immortality of the spirit...

Superman appearance - say proper to divinity. Bewitched by its elevation, I endure easier my unspeakable pains beneath the weight of which even legendary Atlas⁸⁶ would sag. And my chains disappeared...

Socrates, the supreme of mankind's sons, praise to you, though you are beyond any praise and crown, extremely high.

2

Hannibal⁸⁷ – giant of spirit, whose military genius, glory and personal tragedy were equally great, but who did not have a Motherland worthy of his great patriotism. To you my hero, who was the terror of Rome, my admiration to you!

3

Caesar fell stabbed.

⁸⁴ Poteidaia was a town in Chalcidice. In 432 B.C. it rebelled against Athena.

⁸⁵ Alkibiades (450-404 B.C.).

⁸⁶ A Titan was son of Iapetus and Clymene. Held the heavens on his shoulders. Turned to stone by Perseus (Dictionary of Classical Mythology, p.37).

⁸⁷ Hannibal, Carthaginian general (247-183 B.C.).

And before closing forever his eyes, he covered his nakedness by the last movement of his glory, in order for his grandeur not to diminish, even in the state of becoming a corpse.

Great, being magnificently great at battlefields, he was great in death too.

To be Caesar, the staff is not enough, grandeur is needed. Truly grandeur is the breathing of great ones. *Ave, Caesar!* Greetings Caesar...

4

Scipio⁸⁸ – a brave and victorious soldier, I understand you.

Equally great were both your devotion to Rome and ingratitude against your person under the name of your Motherland. In history, General, your words of bitterness must live, by which you do not find the native land deserving to embrace your bones.

I am weighing the depth and feel your fair bitterness resulting from ingratitude committed against you, but, anyhow, I hesitate to proclaim unjust your Motherland.

Motherland is the Mother full of love. Her most beloved son is the soldier whose all-devoted worship and young blood are stipulated by her existence and greatness.

Motherland is always just and always grateful towards him whose affectionate name is soldier, which is higher than any title, appointment or order.

The soldier is more than a citizen who looks more for rights than his obligations.

Soldier, the first son of his Motherland-Mother, as a man and a fighter, recognizes only a grain of right – to fight and die for the Motherland. Do you know, that who is not such a one he is not a soldier.

Ingratitude, General, that fell upon you, is the shadow of your glory, the result of greatness and ambition of the struggle which is as old as human society.

Every truthful greatness, value and glory arouses envy in our imperfect world.

And that envy which became natural was always defeated by the greatness, because history would stand for the bones and heroic deeds of Scipio.

General, worthy of the Rome's name victories, my exaltation to you...

5

Vardan – here is a name more charming, more powerful, than the staff of all the kings who tasted the throne of Armenia.

It is a name in which the Armenian peasant heard the voice of his land and eternity.

An envious name to bear and to be called Mamikonian pushed the Byzantine emperors of Armenian origin to falsify their family descent.

A name is a whole belief, a covenant and a moral philosophy.

Belief – Armenia for the Armenian is the supreme value in this world.

Covenant – to die, but not to retreat, when they defend Armenia.

Moral philosophy – in peaceful conditions Mamikonian does not retreat in the face of bad action, either.

⁸⁸ Scipio, Publius Cornelius, Roman general.

Such were Mamikonians, taking care of the Motherland, heroic, knightly.

* * *

It is not difficult to be a General, but it is difficult at the same time be mighty. Every staff-bearer is not emperor, as every general is not mighty.

One crowned by Avarayr is as the one as well as the other.

Though a General leads the battle, he who rejects weakness, fear and defeat, wins the mighty one.

The Mamikonians were mighty by that touching reasoning which says that any other is Armenian of his own free will, because he is unable to be not Armenian.

Man, according to their understanding must unavoidably be a hero, because there are high values for which there is need to fight, win, because there is a world.

As family heroes, they accepted death as the last trial for man.

The eternal tries us by death and woe betide those who would be defeated by death, he does not deserve the Motherland, eternity.

The Mamikonyians were soldiers as of the one as well as of the other, deserving both.

In exchange for our devotion the Motherland gives us a chance to become immortal, therefore to die for the Motherland is a great honour and not a formal obligation.

That is the concept of the classical Armenian warrior about Motherland and patriotism.

The honour of the first covenant belongs to the Mamikonians in Armenian history. The source of the heroism of the Vardans is the covenant. The indomitable son of Carthage had a covenant and he became Hannibal terrifying Rome. Death is defeated by the covenanted and put into life's service.

The Mamikonians bequeathed their covenant as a legacy to future generations. And Armenia has lived owing to its covenanted children.

* * *

Centuries, centuries have passed, yet in my essence thunders Vardan Mamikonian's word directed to the Armenian army: "Fear is a sign of scepticism... Accept death with a joyful heart".

Centuries have passed and psychology has become richer. Nevertheless, today very few are the number of those warriors for whom the 5th century Armenian general's discovery of the great psychological truth is not a secret.

Scepticism – that is the real enemy. Not a single General can achieve a victory without defeating it.

First the spirit is defeated, and only then material weapons are.

Defeating death is a gained life and a saved Motherland.

Such were the Mamikonians who put their life and death into the service of the Motherland – the Caesars of realized death, those for whom military art was the art of death, that is the art of victoriously standing against death and becoming stronger than death, those whose foreheads were the most deserving to be crowned in the world...

* * *

Vardan, the General and the mighty of the Armenians, we glorify your Avarayr on behalf of the present and future generations, glories to your name...

Here are my supreme brothers by covenant – martyrs and heroes, who, one day, being unable to howl their unspeakable tragedy, made the following blessing:

“Blessed are those who in the flames of formidable battles were steeling their spirit and fighting as the young gods of obligation.

Blessed is the eagle that is spiritually floating in the heights with pupils staring into the stars.

Triple blessed is the royal lion that before its death mixes its last growl with the eternity of the deserts”.

APPENDIX

MY EPITAPH

Wayfarer, stop, stand still before this unknown tomb where I am not supposed to lie. And say, are there yet world and sun?

Why do Armenian hearts sleep, while the dead have no sleep, because they have no graves?

Oh, wayfarer, do you hear the alarmed voice of the dead, the call arising from the places of Armenian blood...? The call of thousands of our victims of the red genocide... Ceaseless call, that sometimes growls as a suppressed storm against the nations' deafness, and sometimes as a feeble storm lispings at the door of its dead conscience...

Wayfarer, the dead wish for a grave. Ah, blessed are those happy ones who sleep in the native land by earthly sleep, triple blessed...

The dead that are not buried and have no graves, want rest...

And, they must rest... At that time I also must rest, while three giants of the Armenian world Masis, Nemrut and Sipan will call each other, call exultantly: “Hey, hey, again we belong to the Armenian, again Armenian, again Armenia”...

* * *

Wayfarer, tell, is that day far away?

Babe, are you crying? Are you disarmed? While I fight yet, and continue my struggle.

To fight, wayfarer, to fight, in order that the repatriated Armenian is settled in the Motherland and our dead have a grave.

To fight...

NATIONAL VIGILANCE¹

My talk to the American-Armenian young generation

The First Word

WHAT IS NATIONAL RELIGION

The political moment being lived by the Armenianhood is historical and very important. This consciousness has agitated us.

It is acutely felt that the moment of the fateful about-face is approaching and our people's existence depends on it. Now it is deeply comprehended that by only being anxious for the present it is impossible to continue our existence without the Fatherland.

- What does the near future prepare for us? It is a tormenting question acutely faced by the Armenian.

This question must be answered by another question: what potential force is hidden in the essence of our nation?

Only those who know the nation can answer this question.

Without knowing the nation it is impossible to refrain from catastrophic mistakes, to underestimate or overestimate one's own forces.

Moreover.

Shady sides of the essence of our people not only stop, but also often make it impossible to develop their positive qualities, without which--to the joy of the enemies of Armenia--our political fate will continue to retain its unprecedented cruelty.

Yes, the most active reasons of feebleness and unhappiness of peoples are their ignorance of their essence, their lack of self-knowledge and national perception.

Contemporary Armenianhood is not acquainted with those psychological laws that govern awakening of peoples, that's why it does not mature spiritually.

The Armenianhood is still unaware of its depth and that's why it is defeatist.

It hasn't cleared its eyes yet to see the world, things and its own forces with its soul. It still it does not know the size of the potential of its forces and is unaware of the conditions of development and use of these forces.

The Armenianhood still does not feel its force and doesn't know that as a nation what it may become.

And that is the reason it still hasn't found its inner support and has no goal. It is pessimistic and unspeakably defeatist. But peoples mainly are optimistic, strong, resolute, when they acutely feel two things – their inner force and the sweetness of interchange of punches with the world for the sake of reforming their own fate.

Today's the Armenian lacks self-knowledge.

For him Armenian history is a sad picture of feebleness and defeat, massacres, deportations and no more.

But such an understanding of one's own history is a negative and pernicious self-inspiration.

¹ Several articles of the series "National Vigilance", though not completely, have been presented also in other writings of G.Nzhdeh, particularly the sixth, seventh, eighth and ninth in the publicistic-article "National Religion as a Force of the Victory" ("Rebellion", Sofia, 1932, N.1), and the tenth one ("The Belief of the National Religion") found its place in the book "American Armenians – Nation and its Dregs" (Sofia, 1935). In both cases they are not identical.

That's why we must deepen our historic memory, going through its whole historic path. For that purpose we must approach our history with deep and wise research. The fundamental problems of the existence and life of our nation must be researched in the light of historiography. Our further existence depends on their solution. Subsequently, let's be nation-cognizant – which produces active force, because peoples become masters of a certain *Weltanschauung* only by self-cognition and such ones are more creative.

People lacking nation-cognizance will give their new generation wrong education and have wrong policy and strategy.

Teachers, military men and political figures, not acquainted with the sense of ethnicity, may only act blindly, without scientific basis. But we know that the fate of nations depends on their education, foreign policy and strategy, of which the first trains their inner force – improving ethnos--the second and third afford an opportunity of gaining the capacity to use that force wisely.

In short, it is absolutely impossible to elaborate correct education, policy and strategy without basic knowledge of the soul of one's own nation.

That's why I preach the national religion.

The national religion means the comprehension of nation, the warmest worship of the nation's glorious past and then, a creative faith in the nation's great future.

The national religion is a new high tide of our national spiritual organism the same time that is a natural logical opposition to the foreign environments deadly threatening it.

That's why, standing at the threshold of tomorrow, with the belief in great future of our immortal nation, I direct my rebellious call to our new maturing generation dispersed in foreign countries.

- Be vigilant, vigilant nationally. Be the national religion's worshiper.

The Second Word

ARMENIAN AND TURK

During World War [WWI], the Turk pushed by the fear of his feebleness (understand it well, I said: of his feebleness) conceived satanic plans of extermination of an old nation that during centuries had spread the light and sweat around itself. The Turk conceived it and put it into action.

And one day, on the first day of the Holocaust of Armenians who lived in Turkey, the rising sun saw a real Gehenna instead of the country of Armenia. It saw a shadow of the cross on our four-thousand-year-old Motherland. It saw how a darkness-loving tribe, cowardly but aggressive, pusillanimous but ruinous - possessed by insanity of extirpation the people from their historic Motherland, massacred the unarmed and defenseless people. It saw how were reduced to ashes, our villages full of millennial blessing and desecrated thousands of monasteries, churches, libraries. It saw the bloody work of the axe, yataghan and lead – of all kinds of instruments with which is possible to kill and destroy. The rivers flowing through Armenia were full of blood, the canyons with corpses. It saw how women were forcibly taken away and raped in the presence of their parents and husbands. The Turkish licentiousness, surpassing even that of beasts, was put into action. Armenian men, unable to endure, committed suicide and our girls driven mad with terror threw themselves into the river Euphrates. The sun saw how a father gathered members of his family and burnt them alive, starving Armenian children stuck to the corpses of their slaughtered mothers, sucking their breasts. In many places the massacre of children turned into a "game"--Turks grabbed them by their legs and tossed the corpses at each other.

The sun saw houses, roofs and roads stained with blood. It saw wounded Armenians fighting against death on the tops of mountains, in valleys and ravines. It saw how "dogs and jackals were gnawing our darlings' hearts." It saw Armenian women and children on the

Golgotha road, put up for sale like animals, and it bathed the cross road of the old, lame and blind men in light...

The sun of Armenians saw all these and darkened that day.

And on the last day of the Genocide, when everything was completed, nature began to mourn on the ash heaps of the Armenian land.

And the Turk, with an unprecedented licentiousness, said to the Europeans "after a massacre I prayed and I was excused."² Meanwhile Moscow - a master of diplomatic intrigues, - in the person of Radek, without delay justified Turkey's policy of the total extermination of the Armenians³: "*Ittihad* did everything it could to preserve its country's independence. It decided to exterminate the whole Armenian people. It is above suspicion that *Ittihad* leaders, sitting in Polis⁴, acted basing themselves on the idea of the state necessity. The problem was posed acutely for the Turks - to live or to die. They preferred to live."

Thus spoke the red monster, shaking hands with Turkey, which exterminated Armenians. On its turn, the Christian world had the dissoluteness, as an expression of compassion, to cast at us a two-word sentence: "the martyr people."

And what's about the Armenian? It is yet expected that his sons, one by one, will become the *Nemesises*⁵ for punishing the butcher who struck their fair and all-constructive nation on the stone.

The Armenian saw and felt the very horror of the Genocide that exterminated and destroyed the Armenians. But, together with mankind we haven't measured grandeur of that divine manner yet, the greatness of that unprecedented - in the history of human-being and nation - superhuman deed by which our people made the burnt offering of its half in order to save the nation's soul.

The Armenian could also physically save himself subjected to weakness, becoming apostate from nation- that is specific to a number of foreign peoples, but seven-fold glory to him, he consciously doesn't have that weakness, though, he, not to sin against the essence of nation, sacrificed half of his body by passive heroism in many places. Simultaneously, he became his own sacrifice and the one who sacrifices.

And the nation has been saved.

Here is a new maturing generation, here is our nation in the name of which I call you and say: "Be inspired with the religion of nation, because an individual, who is cut from his nation, dies spiritually and also reconciles himself to the death of his nation, because only armored with the shield of the national nation that Armenianhood will be able:

To stand continuously as a barrier against lecherous influences of foreign environments;

To push the Diaspora Armenianhood to a salutary political confession-like unity by liquidating the inner disastrous front, - of which take advantage the Turk and the Bolshevik;

To keep the Armenian soul inaccessible to the attacks of the nation-destroying Leninism;

To disarm the existing and coming Turkish danger that threatens us with death.

Yes, the national religion, our confession that touches the idea of continuity by which individuals and generations are connected with their supreme parent - nation, the national religion is our hope.

² Words said by a Turk to Fon-Gordon, a German.

³ See in the Bolshevik "The New World", N 3, 1922, October, Tiflis.

⁴ Constantinople.

⁵ Nemesis - goddess of vengeance in the Greek mythology.

The Third Word

CONSEQUENCES OF THE CATASTROPHE

Turks tried to exterminate Armenianhood and they partially did it.

What? Was it all?

Only three-fourth of the western Armenianhood we lost: completely the heritage of this and hundreds of previous generations.

Is this our only loss?

The Armenian land that saw off thousands of years remained without Armenians and in ruin.

Is this the only horror of catastrophe that fell to our lot?

No. Unfortunately, no.

The catastrophe is more horrible than it is humanly possible to comprehend.

We haven't only lost people; the loss wasn't material alone. The Turkish blow was directed not only to the Armenian body but to the Armenian spirituality too.

And it had to have its resolute influence on the Armenian psychology.

And it has had.

It has been already scientifically proven that catastrophes influence human psychology.

It is proven that individuals oppose difficulties in different ways. Some fall victim to the sad state of mind that is called the psychology of degradation.

In that case the morally degraded consider everything lost and renounce with light heart all kinds of individual and national ideal and sanctity. Such people are possessed by the meanest instincts and passions--evil intent, envy and defeatism--that push them to corresponding actions. For example, the poor-minded who swear at the three-color, which symbolizes the Armenian political cause.

Some counteract their "shipwreck" positively by a high state of spirit known in psychology under the name of grandeur. Moral, social, patriotic and other honest passions are more stressed in such ones. They become spiritually more lively, friendly and firm owing to their positive counteraction. Particularly, in disgraceful days caused by tragic disasters they play the role of a lightning rod, saving and preserving national ideals and values. For example, members of *Dashnaktsutun* who are nation leading.

The April Genocide, the storm of which dispersed the survivors from pole to pole, naturally, had to bring the Armenian soul to polarization.

One of the survivors appeared in America and wrote from there to his friend:

"Here is one more painful news for you: we must serve as American soldiers. America also entered the war; wherever we go we can't get deliverance..."

It is horrible, isn't it? Equally, it is nasty – to think that even in those days an Armenian, who passed through the Turkish Gehenna, remained hating the weapon.

That psychological type had to become the defeatist of our days – our inner passive enemy.

Another man, also a survivor, on the contrary, adjured his brother in the following way:

"From now on the Gospel of revenge is left to you to kiss and put into action."

He is the antipode of the first one, the Armenian who wills to fight and sacrifice, whose life today also has a core of sense – to serve his own nation.

"All threw away their children. I shouldered my child and carried to Arabia and then brought him back" – here is the most holy Armenian mother, whose nation-rejecting child one day in communities - strayed by the retrograde teaching, - would shout at us in his horrible Turkish: "Lenin is my father."

A group of orphans found themselves in Arabian deserts and the eldest among them was ten years old. They became shepherds looking after camels and only one knew that he was an Armenian.

Once, when camels were chewing, lying in the baking sun, the eldest of the orphans – glory to our nation’s noble blood - wrote the light-begotten Armenian “Aib”⁶ on the sand with the end of his stick and said with a sacred trepidation that they were Armenians sold to a foreigner.

The eyes of unhappy youngsters became wet and the desert’s sand greedily sucked in their tears.

And then the Armenian alphabet shined and warmed the life of our orphans and one day showed them the way of exodus.

The Fourth Word

OPPOSITION OF THE ARMENIAN AND TURK

There is a tragic misunderstanding that must be cleared up as soon as possible to do homage to the martyred Armenianhood and the respect of truth.

It’s wrong and unrighteous to think that during Genocide the western Armenianhood, being taken by surprise, displayed only the martyr side of his soul.

No, no. If you scrupulously analyze the integrating events of the unprecedented Genocide, you’ll be deeply assured that the Armenians greatly excelled in the courage of spirit from the Turks.

In those tragic days it was possible to hear “the cry of the chained heroism” from Turkish Armenia⁷ and in some places the roar of entrapped lions.

Let’s understand the following.

In all times the will to martyrhood was and will be the supreme heroism of the soul. A passive hero is a martyr who can neglect death. And who is the hero? Certainly the one who has the will to become a martyr.

It is very essential to know the way to neglect death and smile at it. Both martyr and hero are able to do it.

Every Armenian is able to become a martyr, and every martyr may be a hero, a thing, that Turk is unable to do.

Ferocity--let’s well understand--has its deep roots in the human essence. According to Schopenhauer⁸, man hurts others to soften his own pain. In this case ferocity is a kind of medicine for one’s own pain.

Turkish brutality must be also explained by an individual or collective Turkish psychic weakness, as well as by a humiliating awareness of that weakness. The geographical skirts of Turkey have already begun to narrow because of the advance of the victorious armies of its enemies. That’s why Turkey, spurred up by its horror, as well as by the instinct to soften its pain, had to take revenge on the unarmed Armenians for its weakness, because Turkey considered Armenians dangerous to its existence. And Turkey, blessed by its government, organized the April Genocide. During the Genocide, all means put into action by Turkey, first of all, display the Turkish nation’s cowardice.

For a long the Turk has been notorious as a terrorist nation—a terrorist because of its cowardice.

Kill one and you will terrorize thousands, said Lenin.

Kill a thousand and you will terrorize the whole people, said the Turk long before the “high-priest” of Bolshevism.

⁶ The first letter of the Armenian alphabet is A.

⁷ Western Armenia.

⁸ Schopenhauer, Arthur was a German philosopher (1788-1860).

During centuries, terrorism was the only method and weapon of the Turkish government. The Turkish state ruled, giving paradisiacal promises to its own people and terrorizing other nations. That was the Turkish state wisdom.

History testifies that the Turkish leadership fed the fanaticism of the Islamic rabble with murder, robbery and devastation.

Massacre, before each war in order the Islamic masses become brutal; massacre, after each defeat, in order to keep away the masses from defeatist spirit.

Turks are barbarians, and barbarian means ignorance, immorality and cowardice.

They are coward and barbaric, with the only difference that they do not run away, but attack, because of their cowardice. They have a great inclination to hurt—they are sadists, and their psychological type always is coward.

Turks have been used to return to their crime, they are coward slaves, and they know only one thing—completely to be enslaved and to enslave.

Turks are more brutal; that's to say also coward collectively. The cowardice and religious falsification lulled to sleep the childhood of their state. Fear has been the basis and anchor of their upbringing and because of that they produce only tyrants.

Turks are deadly ignorant. Such people cannot be courageous. They are the laziest of all nations, that's to say the most cowardly. They are fatalists. The past of such people strangles the present and negates the future. That's why they are deprived of the idea of renaissance and perfection. They have not got the idea of social justice.

It is the most sex-centered people for whom adultery and sex are transferred to the heavens. Such people are unspeakably cowardly. That's why I say that the Turk may give birth to a lion-dog, a lion-monkey, but never lion. The Armenian has the sense of eternity, the Turk — instillation of his inevitable retreat, begotten in his soul by the prophet's legendary testament, which will be revealed after extinction of the Osman tribe. The Armenians have the grandeur conception about motherhood. The Turks are the only people without mother in the world — in past, present and future.

The conception of the Motherland is seven-fold sacred for the Armenian and the Turk has no Motherland and must not have, because he has got neither mother nor family. The state still doesn't mean the Motherland. Today's Kemalistan is only a country and not the Motherland. Such territories are not blessed and inaccessible, they have no future.

Like individuals there are nations which sometimes are successful not because of their virtues but owing to the weakness of their enemies. Such is the lascivious Turkish tribe, first of all the Turk.

Turkey has been restored and lives due to the second Russia and will be preserved for the third, future Russia.

That's why I believe that the future of the Armenian orphan writing luminous *Aib* on the sands of desert with the end of his stick is more reliable, than the future of Kemalistan.

The Fifth Word

THE SACRAMENT OF THE GREAT GENOCIDE

The profound sacrament of the April Genocide dictates us to have the national religion. To be inspired with the national religion means to live for the nation, in the name of which died thousands and hundreds of thousands; that means at any moment to be ready to die for the cause on behalf of which our nation made burnt offerings of its half; it also means to bear on our hearts all the wounds made by the Turkish hand on the body and soul of the Armenianhood.

The national religion—yes, only in this way our unprecedented suffering will serve the sense of our collective existence.

To be inspired with the national religion means to have a heroic will to accept the suffering and capacity to overcome it. That's to say our suffering is saving, and it will make ready our people to a great devotion for a happy future.

Humanly--let's understand it--we either run away from suffering or accept it humanly.

From now on the Armenian inspired with nation must resolutely accept it, but not in the Schopenhauerian sense.

The only desirable way out for the political or psychological pessimism is an inhuman escape from life, struggle and pain.

"Do not examine the past; let the black veil cover it. Let from those days, hours, seconds to years be covered with darkness without adding them to era," so wrote one survivor to his friend.

This man, losing valour, had to become the defeatist of our days, painting black the world and country.

Another scratched the following on a paper:

"We saw children whose hearts were gnawed by dogs... From now on how can we live in this world with calm hearts; mother, it is no more worth to live."

Yes, the new maturing generation, from now on it is impossible to live with calm heart, and there is no need to live quietly, even if it were possible. Anyhow, it is necessary to live. It is necessary to live with an active soul, to live with the whole memory of the Genocide committed by Turks, to live inspired with nation, to live, considering shameful an isolated and egotistic happiness, which out of Armenia is no more than a copy in the desert of life.

No, let's neither be like a pessimist nor treat life in Epicurean⁹ way. Let's not look for oblivion in futile pleasures, but accept suffering as a means for our collective revival and political salvation.

Let's accept it as "a flaming sword that defends life from death and decline." Let's accept the suffering in the context of Edmond Fled's nation-inspired words: "I am a Jew because wherever a pain cries, it means a Jew cries."

Thus the sacrament of the Great Genocide must revolutionize the inner life of the Armenianhood. It must determine individually and collectively the morality, philosophy and the world vision of the Armenian. It must decorate our spiritual life, nourishing our inner man and Armenian, eternal Armenian. It must lead us to the national religion.

- To the question: "What is the truthful in the Armenian sense?" the national religion must answer: "Armenia has existed and must be recovered by the breaking up Turkey."
- What is kind in the Armenian sense?
- Without hesitation to strike at Turk and Turkey.
- What is the beauty in the Armenian sense?
- To live in the legionnaires' spirit and mature for the future fights of the nation.

Turkophobia? Yes, our hatred is enormous because we suffer as Armenians and as human beings. The only psychological answer of the Armenian suffering is our great hatred, which had to be born of our great suffering.

If you are not inspired with the national religion and do not hate Turk, who wanted to wipe your nation's name from the book of existence, it means that you do not feel those wounds and outrages which has committed Turk to our nation.

That's why I proclaim false and disgusting the "anti-flag policy" in which the nation-apostatized Armenian is unable to distinguish a horseman from a knight. I preach the national religion, yes, because I consider defective an Armenian who does not know nation, does not believe in nation, and does not worship nation. From now on it is necessary to consider conceptually identical those who do not identify the nation to those who are not patriotic.

⁹ Epicurus (342-270 B.C.) was a Greek philosopher.

By the national religion, only by the national religion the Armenian soul will become bolder and hardy in struggle, disaster and war, as a lion when it sees its bloody wounds.
The nation, the national religion is our belief.

The Sixth Word

NATION AND PEOPLE

Today is a new day, those who know it they know the truth.

The meaning of the national criterion is unspeakably resolute in the act of the revival of a people, national wholeness and the nationalization.

We know this clear social truth, but it is very difficult, almost impossible, to touch the core of the question: "What is nation?"

Any definition, till now proposed by anthropology, is unacceptable for me. In order to define the idea of *nation* old formulations are not enough. It is impossible to cover the whole meaning of *nation*.

Yes, the criterion of *nation* is more complex reality than it is supposed.

It is difficult to define using the language of science. Here we may speak only about relative scientific nature.

Even without scientific deep analysis it may be said that *nation* is more soul than clay, according to our opinion.

* * *

In our century, particularly in our days, nothing weakens the fighting spirit of peoples as much, as that tragic wrong belief, that some outside forces are the improver of their fate and not their own efforts.

Let's be more explicit.

People that relies on outside forces, blindly prepares its defeat and decline.

Let's understand, that the power-weight of *nation* is greater and its capacity thousand times more than that of people.

That people that knows it knows the truth; it is saved.

The Armenian *nation* is the Armenian blood – entirely flame and might, which says mutely: "I feed on those whom I nourish."

Nation does not grow old, it does not turn its back, and it is not defeated, never.

It is the eternal Armenian, a witness of times and a servant of God.

Nation is a creator, people – the creature. Nation is a force-begetter of people and its force-bearer, in which it bears some cosmic and stimulating force.

It is that spiritual mortar without which the time easily atomizes peoples.

People may also be a builder, but the influence of nation always is creative. And that's the reason why nation is more capable of creating the culture.

When nation does not exist, the spiritual field of peoples produces more weeds than grain. People often suffer humiliation in thoughts and speech and nation always is a king who does not know abdication.

People are non-exhortative, unreliable and inglorious, when the voice of nation is weakened in it. People are denominative – Catholic, Protestant, Illuminator's¹⁰ and etc. – but nation always is unique and holistic.

¹⁰ The Armenian Church was established in I century AD by the preaching of St Thaddeus and St Bartholomew that's why it is called The Armenian Apostolic Church. In 301 AD took place the conversion of the Armenian people to Christianity and declaration of Christianity, the first in the world, to be the state religion by St Grigor Lusavorich (Gregory the Illuminator) and King Trdat I the Great, king of Greater Armenia.

People mean classes and class egotism, nation—social justice and potential equality.

People may know, nation always is capable, too.

One is coming into being, another – force-bearer.

People is a calculating brain, nation – a heart ready to sacrifice incalculable times.

Only nation has ability to do the sacrifice of “hundred of bulls”.

People’s ordinary life is to live day after day, with a thread and needle, patching up the situation.

Nation does not now the policy of patching up. People has always tendency to be against mobbing, nation keeps people’s will in unified and tense state.

Nation may be temporarily defeated, but it does not know defeatism.

Everything is new in it, but the new is the old mixed with wisdom.

It is able to predict, anticipate the danger, and despise it at the same time.

Very often people hesitate and vacillate; a nation intuitively knows its path.

While people ask for justice, nation applies it.

Very often, people mean weight without sword – helplessness of the right.

Nation is a sword, often a sword without weight. People may promise, but will not give much if it is not inspired with nation.

The psychological art of turning heavy chains of the people’s slavery into the wings of eagle is given only to nation. It does not lose its historic way even in slavery. People that are deprived of the sense of nation are not given that instinctive ability.

People are the martyr side of the Armenian spirit, nation – heroic.

People more often give death, a nation – epic heroes.

One likes to drag itself along the familiar ways, the other looks for the ways hard of access. Hellenic Thermopylae¹¹ and Armenian Vartanakert, Marathon and Avarayr, Bulgarian Shipka and our Siunik – all these battlefields were blessed by the spirit of nation.

People are that coward who had been sent to work, but it objected: “There is a lion outside.”

Nation does not recognize the lion out of itself.

Nation is our hope.

The Seventh Word

NATION AS SPIRIT

The unit weight of the nation is extremely important.

Nation is the permanently rebellious element of the people.

People realize their spiritual self-construction through nation.

Nation is a molding force.

People always start to fly by the wings of nation and by the force of the past and future.

When nation is not awake in people, it lays together its eagle wings. Such people suffer of spiritual infertility and political Hamletism.

Not only the present, but also the future is nourished by the past.

People are the present, nation – the past, the present and the future. People is often absorbed by the present; nation takes us out of the past and shows the past and future under the light of the ideal.

¹¹ The battle of Thermopylae (480 B.C.). Thermopylae was a narrow pass through the mountains on the border between Thessalia and Middle Greece, where it was hoped that the advancing army of the Persian army under the command of the king Xerxes could be held. Three hundred Spartans led by Leonidas repulsed all attacks of the Persian army. But at last the Persians with the aid of a traitor discovered a detour through the hills, and succeeded in attacking the Greeks on both sides at once. Every single Spartan was killed in the battle.

When nation is awake, it means that people gave its ear to the past and its eye – to the future. It means that its past is always present and its future is survived beforehand.

* * *

Nation is neither a living generation, nor an assembly of all past generations.

Nation is neither summed up, nor a sum.

Nation is the eternal living subject of the historic process, in whose life no one and nothing die.

All Armenian of past generations live in it; these include Tigran the Great, Artashes the Autocrat, Sparapet Mamikonian and etc.

Nation that has essence-cognitive core and is in everlasting struggle against the time instinctively craves for immortality.

That's why it has a religious depth. It is a truth that will not be understood by a nation-refuting Armenian who confesses Leninism.

He will not understand that those who left our world and those who still must come to the world are the ones who represent the nation.

When people live inspired with nation, their great dead persons, whose power is just, wise and mighty, mostly play a salutary role in their life.

To live inspired by nation means to survive the life of previous generations by historic memory, connecting our fate to their fate.

Nation, that's to say wisdom, rigor and force.

It is an Armenian Atlas¹² that holds the heavens of the Armenianhood on his shoulders.

Nation is the ocean of the Armenian power, which nourishes the sea and tributary of the Armenian essence.

Nationhood is the union of blood, the union is the religion of the fate, the language, the power of all that, without which may only exist a mob of egocentric individuals, but not the nation.

Everything we have, as a force, culture and influence is nothing compared with the thing that has and will give us the nation's inexhaustible spirit.

When the nation's consciousness is absent, the inferiority complex and the weakness of the people take their place in that consciousness – the bitterness of that consciousness.

Nation arms people with optimism and national failures do not seem to us incurable.

We do not follow the cognition of nation, thus we have almost a passive position in a strange land, in a foreign environment. It is a circumstance that nourishes our feeling of nonentity and pessimism. Pessimism means defeatism and escape from the struggle. The pessimist is a person who has absolutely lost belief to his own power and future; the one in whom little by little develops self-negation, turning into the psychology of decline.

Because of that worn-out psychology, political cynicism – that is called anti-Dashnakism in our reality, opens its flowers, which have the smell of death.

Such people give up their nation-born and creative will, values and dignity. They look for foreign forces. It is a kind of psychology that does not need an effort of its own forces.

It opens its pale flowers and religious mystery on the weak-willed and vicious ground of psychology.

Contemporary Armenianhood is not nation-inspired, thus absurd religious sects appeared like numerous mushrooms in the Syrian-Armenian reality. Considering our world as a sad pilgrimage, they dream of the world beyond as their Motherland.

* * *

¹² According to the Greek mythology, a Titan; son of Iapetus and Clymene, brother of Prometheus. Held the heavens on his shoulders. Turned to stone by Perseus (J.Zimmerman. Dictionary of Classical Mythology, p. 37).

Nation is the lion of our righteous pride. All grandees of the Armenian weapon, arm and pen come from nation.

Let's live inspired with nation so as to be able to use the heroism and supreme honour--which have exceptional value for our nation--its religious brightness and cultural pathos, its whole capacity.

You must now, while peoples beget mediocrities, the nation's self-revelation will take place by means of heroes, saints and light-bearers.

While we live a life inspired with nation, it means that we are in strong communion with our great leaders of the past.

People non-inspired with nation can't have courageous and wise leaders.

Let's show the people the sunny face of their nation – their supreme parent. It'll help people to lift their humble forehead.

The role of the truthful intelligentsia, literature and liberation movement is right that.

If literature is not self-revelation of nation, if the spirit of nation doesn't sparkle in it, such a literature is worthless – it is not “the vanguard of nation.”

If the wing spanning of people is large it means that their literature is inspired with nation and that is a sign that nation is performing in people.

“Wake up, my glory,” would the Armenian writer sing like Shnorhali¹³, if he desires to intensify the process of passing to nation-feeling in the Armenian essence.

Not Europeanization, but nationalization because only nation can turn national values into universal values.

The foreign must be put into service only as a means to manifest and make luxurious our own.

People non-inspired with nation adopt the foreign culture to get denationalized. Nation nationalizes the adopted.

Copying is a useless gesture. Moreover, it distorts our nationhood. Peoples copy at the expense of their loss of individuality.

When nation is awake, people can see inexhaustible treasures of its soul and spread them in front of the world.

For people living non-nationally even the Motherland is dumb.

Such people may become alien even to the native land.

On the contrary, those who live nationally even if they may be doomed to a large Diaspora, as Israel, but always will be far from the inner psychological catastrophic shakes.

The Eighth Word

THE NATIONAL RELIGION IS OUR HOPE

The national religion is a panacea, without which Armenianhood will remain the most outcast and politically poorest part of the mankind.

The national religion is neither a worship of the past, nor a spiritual parasitism, nor a lazy hopefulness, nor a weak worship of future. It is a creative cohabitation of our glorious past and the great future hope, which nourishes the most luxurious ideas of the soul of people.

Those are inspired with the national religion and live nationally, devote themselves to the nation's life, its “final cause” and live for the sake of the nation.

Inner weaknesses of our nation must be dissipated by the national religion.

It is necessary to ash rubbish and futile things in the life of our intelligentsia by the national religion.

¹³ Nerses Shnorhali, Nerses IV Klayetsi (1100-1173), Armenian Catholicos.

Nationhood is the mortar that links generations, as cement joints the stones of a magnificent building.

For the people living the national religion life, even being small in number has a secondary significance.

For the people, the link between its different layers is very essential.

Nation activates people and it gives an active man, the precursor of the superman of nation.

That's why I say--let's follow the way of the national religion to the political salutary monotheism.

It is up to our nation-inspired intelligentsia to transform the national religion as the trinity form of the Armenian soul – its thought, its feeling and, particularly, its will.

The lever of the people's salvation is the mightiest will that we need to whip our wills.

* * *

While during centuries the Armenian cultivated humanity in his nation, the Turk cultivated wolfishness in his soul.

That's why the arsenal of Turk is rich with hatred, but the Armenian's arsenal is rich with love.

The Turk is an adder that is armed with poison still in its mother's womb.

If Turk is pardoned for one crime it means that he is given a privilege to commit two more crimes.

The Turk is "mighty" for our people and that is contemptuous for our nation.

The Turk is not still acquainted with the power of our nation's arm. He dealt with our people, but not the nation. The success of his weapon was conditioned not by the fullness of his own force, but by the lack of the opposition of our people.

Our people in its weakness may forget evils caused us by Turks. Nation will not pardon.

Let's live nationally so that there to be no lack of – great and mighty in heart - Vartans and Vahans in the Armenian land.

Nation is the spiritual arsenal of people.

First of all let's take from there our spiritual armor against the Turkishness.

Let's comprehend, that when nation acts, a carpenter from *Garahisar*¹⁴ becomes Andranik¹⁵ and a peasant from *Sebastia*¹⁶ - Murat¹⁷.

When we live nationally, instead of each Armenian victim, two avengers will be born in this world.

The hydra of revenge is nourished by nation in people's heart.

Nation sharpens the people's sword on the stones of the graves of heroes and martyrs in order to make it sharper, awesome and victorious.

Nation is a lightning cloud enthroned on the heart of people.

* * *

More dominant is the influence of nation in the people's life, easier the latter organizes its self-defence.

People is non-self-sacrifice, nation is a whipping will.

¹⁴ Shapin-Garahisar, a town in Armenia Minor, is the birthplace of Andranik Ozanian.

¹⁵ Andranik Ozanian (1865-1927), one of the great figures in the Armenian history of the end of the 19th century and the first quarter of the 20th century. Andranik was the outstanding Armenian general who led the Armenians in their national-liberation movement against the Turkish rule in Western Armenia.

¹⁶ Sebastia is a town in Armenia Minor.

¹⁷ Murat or Murad Sebastatsi (1874-1918), a famous commander of the Armenian national-liberation movement against the Turkish rule in Western Armenia.

People begets connoisseurs of books, nation – prophets. People are the soldier who always has an intention to retreat; nation always is Vahakn.

Nation is courage, as well as the worship of courage, that's why the wisdom of the heathen¹⁸, otherwise nation-religious, Armenianhood devoted to Vahakn the 27th day of all its months.

During peace, perhaps, it is possible to live without national religion, but during danger – it is impossible.

Nation is the thousand wounded general grayed in battles who always becomes younger during danger.

The indicator of people is nation, which shows the salvation of people by the graves of its great dead persons.

National is God-like Hayk who his boiling anger put in three-winged arrow directed towards enemy.

That is the pride of an Armenian general, who threatened the enemy: "If the stroke is mine he will not survive."

It is that deep mystic power that kept tensed the risen hands of Great Barteve¹⁹ up to the heavens until Armenians won.

The national religion is our hope.

The Ninth Word

NATION IS OUR HOPE

Any nation to be characterized in some degree of correctness must be considered in the mirror of its soul, i.e. religion, because the accented self-sculpturing is possible only by means of its gods.

Nation sets its psychological features and metaphysical essence in its religion, according to the level of its intellectual-moral development.

Armenian is existent, proves the heathen religion.

Armenian is existent, that is the spring of our great hope and might.

This is what the majority of the Armenian intelligentsia does not recognize.

- Nation must die, in order class to live, oracles Bolshevism.

- Let class die, in order nation to live, says fascism.

- Let both give up--individual and class-- and nation live, says Hitlerism²⁰.

You see, that Germany, influenced by the eternal philosophy of Hegel²¹, Fichte²², and Nietzsche²³, tries to set the nation on its feet. As to the Armenian intellectuals, unfortunately, even today they are not in communion with nation. They are not acquainted with the perfections of the soul of their nation, that's why they continue to cling to their meager love towards people, not being able to use their nation's dynamics.

Politically the intelligentsia of a people continues to remain legally incompetent, while historic moment demands from it to be the elite of the nation.

¹⁸ The Armenian word *heathen* is derived from the Greek word *ethnos*, which means *tribe, nation*, so in ancient times (B.C.) it had the meaning of *national*.

¹⁹ Catholicos Nerses Partev at the battle of Dzirav in 371 A.D. stood on the Npat mountain and with risen hands prayed for the success of the Armenian army led by King Pap and General Mushegh Mamikonian against the Persian army which was led by the Sassanian king.

²⁰ It is the misanthropic political system, aims, or methods of the German Fuehrer, Adolf Hitler (1889-1945).

²¹ Hegel, George Wilhelm Friedrich (1770-1831).

²² Fichte, Johann Gottlieb (1762-1814).

²³ Nietzsche, Friedrich Wilhelm (1844-1900).

Today there is a struggle, an unprecedented struggle of nations against each other, while peoples are helpless; not taking part in it with one's own blood is a sign of faint-heartedness.

It is a sign that Armenian intelligentsia have not yet become the master of a tragically experienced new wisdom, according to which they are alien to philosophical heroism, as well as are unacquainted with the truthful philosophy of the Armenian fate.

Let's understand that today is a new day. It is also necessary to understand that the Armenian intelligentsia never had larger and more responsible role.

The moment which is more than fatal, demands for an intelligentsia having heroic morality and reasoning, and able to do great deed and offer self-sacrifice.

-Excel and you will win, says the world to nations.

The Armenian can be predominating only by means of the national religion, because, you know, ardent nationhood is his weight.

Nation is our hope.

We must understand, that people only act, but nation is the doer.

It is not enough to act, it is also necessary to realize.

We must also understand that all kinds of victories first of all are achieved in the mysterious process of the nation's spirit.

People may adapt for humiliating state, but the decisions of the world are not final for the nation. Believe me, Lausanne is correctable for nation.

Lausanne, ah, never, never was heaped so much shame around the Armenian name as it happened during the last decades. The new maturing generation--exactly this is the crown of thorns in our situation, at the same time, the token of our salvation.

In fact, the consciousness of the political union of the German nation emerged and developed in the school of suffering and humiliation.

Nation is the spiritual gold reserve of people.

Today is a new day, those who know it they know the saving truth.

Today, while in our Motherland – in the eternal Motherland of nation – the red grave-diggers bury our nation and the sound of their pickaxes echoes out of the Soviet border, in our these tragic days, while the wolfish Turk, keeping under his bosom a "patent" for impunity granted by Lausanne, wanders openly, planning to exterminate the Armenians which escaped his yataghan, for us in these inglorious days, when ominous owls guide our collective fate, let the national religion's word sound as a healing call.

No, no, Masis – the volcano of the Armenian nationhood – has not yet been extinguished.

We are waiting for new vibrations of the nation, feeling the presence of the past and the tomorrow's victorious Armenianhood in our blood.

And we say that always it is righteous that the legislator and leader be the nation in our life, and not people.

If nation wakes up, we shall again hold of the hand of eternity and throw down a challenge to the time.

And we shall win because heathen deities of the nation – Haik and Vahakn must raise our lightning and lead our blows.

You, the new maturing generation, must understand that our hope is nation.

The Tenth Word

THE BELIEF OF THE NATIONAL RELIGION

I

I want to summarize what I said above:

- People, not yet gone through self-conquest (self-conquest is possible only by self-cognition), are not able and worthy to do great deeds.

There is another truth – the spiritual creative power of peoples is as great as their crystallized national consciousness and their national essence, soul are revealed. The Armenian soul has thousand mysteries, waiting for its enthusiastic prophet who must appear one day and reveal it to us.

The Armenianhood will be able to harness unrealized and incomprehensible forces of its essence to the cause of the unequal struggle of our nation only through the process of the nation's cognition.

Yes, we are not yet nation-cognitive, we are yet calling each other and looking for ourselves, but we haven't yet found ourselves, and we haven't comprehended ourselves as a nation.

We are looking for the eternal Armenian in his heathen centuries and Christianity, in the light of his literature, philosophy and battles, slavery and self-governing, massacres, migrations and building of the Motherland. We are looking for him in his native land and under the foreign horizons, but we haven't found him yet.

We have not found, but we know that only by self-cognition is possible to possess that element which is eternal in the Armenian's essence – our nationhood.

* * *

We are nationally non self-cognitive and still blind in the depths of the Armenian soul and that's why unable to solve contemporary problems, thus, as a people we continue to stay humiliated and martyr, while the world demands to be self-respectful and as strong as to compel others to respect us.

The Armenian essence is unspeakably mighty, but it hasn't yet understood anything of its self-overcoming, that's why it spends its inexhaustible constructing energy in vain and our people continue to pay a bloody tribute to their nationally non-self-cognition.

Ah, the Armenian tragedy yet continues, it is an unprecedented tragedy that nourishes our weakness and humiliation instead of the nourishment of our national force and pride.

Thus, proceeding from the biological truth while the spirit of nation weakens, the vitality of generations diminishes, individuals impoverish spiritually, their degradation is stressed, and old age untimely begins.

I bring you, the new maturing generation, your nation's voice proceeding from that truth. I preach you the national religion. The Armenianhood, which is being left without Motherland, owing to national religion, will put on the spiritual armor to repulse successfully the degenerating influences of foreign environments.

That confession - our only confession--has no correlation with other teachings, and if it is a religion, so it is the religion of the national pride, force and courage. The new maturing generation, it is your religion.

II

The national religion!

It is the product of the Armenian spirit that has been deadly wounded, shot in the dust of shame and shaken in its depth in Lausanne and after Lausanne.

No, from now on it is impossible to live in this way, to live without one's own right, consciousness of value and dignity, inner pride, personal life. No, the new maturing generation does not want to live like this.

The old Armenian is nationally non-cognitive, powerless and humiliated, but we need a new Armenian, whom we are waiting from the national religion. We need an Armenian inspired with the national religion who would have enough strength to bear the contemporary political world.

The national religion!

First of all it is the cognition of my nation, the cognition of a supernatural force – essence.

Second, that is my consciousness of being born of this force-essence.

Then, it is my covenant - up to the end of my life to remain faithful to this force-essence.

III

I am inspired with the national religion, and now I swear on the right hand of Vahakn, never to sin against my covenant, which means to live, act and die being inspired with the national religion.

IV

For me, the highest deed of the individuality and freedom is obedience to my nation.

V

I am inspired with the national religion, that's to say:

I recognize my nation.

I believe my people.

I worship my nation.

I am the nation-cognizable and know that my nation is great, it gave more to mankind than received from it and that the Armenian newest revolution was not the last word and deed of my nation's essence. I know the power of my nation.

I believe my nation, and thus I worship one more deity – the blood of my nation. The whole future of our people is in the chastity of our people.

I am nation-rooted, and now I feel that my person belongs more to my supreme parent – my nation, than to my parents.

VI

The national religion has a supreme obligation to nourish the political fate of its people, and so I am fighting for a great fate that my nation deserves.

VII

I am the national religion, i.e. wherever I am, whatever social position I have, I shall enthusiastically remain a subject and fighter of my nation.

VIII

Being out of Armenia, in the Diaspora, in any state--rich or a worker of daily earning, I did never consider my emigrant life as an irreversible wandering.

IX

Out of my Motherland I look at me as a nationally recruited subject.

X

I profess that my generation has a larger obligation than the passing liberating generation did have.

My share of the national religion is the lion's share – the greatest one in duty.

XI

The national religion, which has a motto “more and mightier” shows deference to the military power of its nation, i.e. the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (*Dashnaktsutjun*).

XII

I worship the victim, thus I, with trepidation, spiritually call those whose worship is eternal, who became lion-hearted in their devotion and deified in their brilliant ideology – and who like epic heroes sacrificed their blood for making eternal the existence and honor of our nation.

XIII

The national religion also has aspiration for happiness to see the growth of its nation's power and righteously Armenia will extend – that is its happiness.

XIV

People live, create and become eternal owing to nation.

Nationhood is a powerful force in the deed of the human culture.

That's why the distortion of the national individuality is considered by the national religion as a crime against humanity, and particularly – its people.

XV

The national religion despises all those movements and teachings that have tendency to keep away the new generations from the nation's healing breast – the milk.

It despises all those forces in the Armenian reality that, although in social antipodes, but psychologically have formed a united front against our bright nationalism and national cause.

Clearly speaking, the national religion, of two forms of nationalism – the worship of the national individuality and egoism –welcomes the first, which is the righteous and productive aspiration of the nation-individual for remaining faithful to its nation's spirit in order to perfect its historical type, and to protect the freedom of its collective individuality.

This aspiration of ours completely corresponds to the international and social moral and progressive high principles.

XVI

My enmity based on the national religion is as great, as great is my worship.

The enemies of my nation are Turk, Bolshevik and their collaborators who betrayed the nation under different names and disguises. I oppose to them my mighty national religion.

For me the question of questions is: what's about the Turk?

Yes, the construction of the Motherland must not be built on the rock of xenophobia. However, the Armenianhood must not excuse the Turks. Moreover, if of that bloody tribe, which became the robber and killer of half of the unarmed Armenianhood, only a handful of desecrated ash remains, the Armenian must litigate with it.

I despise the Bolshevism because it is antihuman.

Threefold I hate it, because it is anti-Armenian, because allied with the Turk, it entered Armenia because up to now only the Turk – the grave-digger of my nation--took the advantage.

XXIV

Those sciences, arts and crafts are preferential for it, which serve the power and victory of its nation.

The national religion is either a fighter, or prepares to be such one tomorrow.

XXV

The national religion supports the great strengthening of the Armenian soul by the improvement of the personal will.

It aims at deifying of the nation's will.

The national religion resolutely says: "Yes" and "Amen" to that undying will, which didn't die under the blows of dark ages and didn't allow the Mamikonian fighting spirit to die in people.

* * *

I am inspired with the national religion and thus standing at the threshold of tomorrow I throw a full-blooded word into the soul of our new maturing generation – I sow and wait for prolific harvest.

I call:

- Where are you the mighty men, come out, come out to the first rank where Tricolor flag – hoisted in the name of the nation and for the sake of the nation - is waiting for you. Gather army under its sacred folds. There is no place for weakness, retreat and evil.

Come and join our Great Covenant. The nation's voice is clearly, lordly and sweetly heard in its tight ranks.

Come, a day, hour, second earlier, come to join that new American Armenian generation, which crowned by national religion, covenanted to pass foreign worlds like the great American rivers – always keeping its direction and might; it covenanted to go along the path leading into the nation's immortality.

Nation, the national religion is our hope.

"Hairenik"("Fatherland") newspaper, Boston. 1933, N 6517, 6520, 6524, 6528, 6534, 6542, 6545, 6554, 6568, 6583

WHY TARONAKANUTIUN?

By accident, I've got an issue of the "Nor Or" ("New Day") newspaper (number 4,489), where the following is said about *Taronakanutiun*: "...The author of these lines until yesterday didn't pronounce the word *Taronakanutiun*, but anyhow he had fought bravely for the Fatherland."

These lines concerning me not only lack truth and respect – respect, as it seems, every Armenian man is obliged to show the fighters fighting courageously for Armenia – but especially nowadays create a trend of wrong belief. What is the basis and right of this paper to say: "Until yesterday" – my past, my well-known world conception or recently written my one or two articles about *Taronakanutiun*? During my life, as well as in all battles commanded by me – in the Balkans, Gharakilisa or Mountainous Armenia – I was led by that spirit which I call *Taronakanutiun*. What? Is it a new word? Though instead of me, Patriarch Torkom would say: "Though we haven't generally got the word on our lips or in written form, anyhow we have the idea of our deep conscience." Yes, the fact, that the word "taronakanutiun" has been put in use recently is not yet proof, that this idea--that spirit is also a new one in our life. Every Armenian, willing to fight courageously and die consciously for the Fatherland since the Mamikonians' times till our days, has been "Taronian" for that simple reason, even the book of Yeghishe was considered by all generations a gospel of the liberation of Armenians and because of the fact that our historian, with Taronian spirit, defined "conscious death" for the Fatherland and inspired generations with the mystery of "the Mamikonian Covenant."

Is it allowed to confuse the "word" with substance? *Taronakanutiun* is a substance and not a word. Essentially Dashnaktsutiun and *Taronakanutiun*, as well as *Taronakanutiun* and the national religion are no different and cannot be for every Armenian profoundly and philosophically feeling the fate of the Armenian nation. Any of these words would become impossible, without its spiritual preceding. Together with turbulences of time all these were begotten by one spirit, one of features of which – the Covenant to fight courageously and die for the Fatherland we call *Taronakanutiun*. In all my published books, articles and speeches you'll observe my indignation mixed with pain, that the Armenianhood does not recognize history. Yes, the Armenian has not yet gotten the philosophy of his history. And that is the reason that for some people *Taronakanutiun* seems new and incomprehensible. History always was a heroically tragic history. I want to say that nations legendary deepen and become philosophical in their misfortune and periods of danger. Do you think that our people ever suffered a greater and more horrible tragedy than the one enduring now? The horror of our banishment would pass in vain, if, whipped by our suffering and peril, we had not deepened into our history, aiming to underline and activate more our political organized will – Dashnaktsutiun.

- There was Zion, but there was no word "Zionism." That has thousands years of history, this – decades. Can you affirm that it was not "Zionism" that led the Jewishness during hundreds of years? Isn't political "Zionism" the result of centuries-long spiritual Zionism of the Jewishness? Why the Jew called "Zionism" his worship of Zion and himself "Zionist"? Don't you think that that "word" activated the contemporary Jew? Before "Zionism" was it possible to imagine that in our days, in order to protect Palestine, will emerge a new generation resembling ancient heroic Maccabees? Let's not play with words. It is not the word, name, theory that is essential, but the "heroic fighting" for the Fatherland.

Those who avoid the spirit and get hold of words, they show that they are enemies of depth and meaning of substance.

Is it possible, without understanding what is *Taronakanutiun*, to be called an Armenian intellectual and not to give moral death sentence to his mind, i.e. who knows nothing about Armenian history and its philosophy?

Dashnaktsutiun existed, but until recent years could anyone show that there was the word "dashnaktsutiun" in our party literature? But it does not absolutely mean that there was no

alliance between Dashnaktsutiun¹ and *dashnaktsakan*². The word is not essential, but from the point of view of social sciences it becomes obvious that after formation of the “word” inner emotion becomes more substantial, concrete and conscious. What was the name of that force, spirit and confession which before the Dashnaktsutiun’s birth moved the *Arabos*³ to the mountains? Those who died didn’t know that name, but one day their movement had to be baptized by the name “Dashnaktsutiun.”

We must confess that neither the word is new, nor its substance – they are taken from the Treasury of the Armenian History. “The Mamikonians Covenant” – is it a new name? If this spiritual movement, instead of the word *Taronakanutiun*, were called by that name, those who had catastrophically wrong comprehension about the party, would have a different attitude towards it?

Nowadays, when every Armenian finds the future of our Nation and Fatherland threatened, *Taronakanutiun* – “die courageously for the sake of our country” – this renaming of the Mamikonian spirit, particularly for us - the *dashnaktsakans*, would be welcomed. I called *Taronakanutiun* “the first spiritual weapon of the nation” because I am acquainted with those horrible conditions in which our people led their unequal struggle for survival and still will be obliged to continue it tomorrow. At the time of danger – let’s well understand it – “the sword do not rent.” That’s to say, our spiritual weapons and leading principles of our mind we must take not from the foreign teachings, alien to the essence of our nation, but from the spirit that leads the eternal movement of our history. This spirit – unspeakably felt or turned into a word – is for us *Taronakanutiun*. In my days what was the spirit of “*the Davitbegian covenants*” of Siunik? It, of course, was the same *Taronakanutiun*, but under another name. Indifference of an Armenian is a spiritual catastrophe – a betrayal. And what’s about love? There is no other unworthy thing than his love, his ordinary patriotism, but the Armenian man’s worship and devotion to the covenant are miraculous.

All great deeds of our people are the result of devotion to the covenant by some of its sons. Tomorrow only those will have soldiers ready to fight who today have a covenant. Once I formed “*the Davitbegian covenants*” which fully justified their name at the front of peril and duty. Based on the same psychological calculations I called “covenant” our religiously national unities in America. There is a difference between group and covenant. *Taronakanutiun* means the Covenant of courageous death for the Fatherland. There is no more useless *homo sapiens* than an Armenian man devoid of a covenant. Experimentally, I know the Armenian quantity and number cost nothing, if they are destitute of spirit. An Armenian without a covenant means to be spiritless. To be a spiritless Armenian means to be untruthful, timid and weak. I said: “cost nothing” not in the meaning that contemporary Armenianhood has not been given ability to try its strength on its external enemies by number, but because the spiritless Armenian community was and remains the most dangerous mob. Such a mob once surrendered our Kars to Kemalist bands, forcing one of its courageous commanders--Colonel Mazmanian--to commit knightly suicide. *Taronakanutiun* is the morality of covenant, without which the Armenianhood, particularly, today and tomorrow, will not have a truthful soldier and commander in order to be ready for self-defense.

* * *

“Nor Or” writes: “The leaders of the *Taronian* spirit demand to substitute the name of one Armenian district for the spirit of the whole Armenia.”

¹ Federation.

² A member of the Dashnaktsutiun party.

³ Arabo (1863-1893): a hero of the national-liberation movement in Western Armenia. Arabo and his brothers-in-arm (Nzhdeh collectively calls all of them - *Arabos*) were Armenian fighters-fidayins who fought against the Turkish oppression in the mountainous regions of Taron- Sasun in the south-western part of Western Armenia.

Here we see both an inexact usage of the word and inaccuracy of decent thinking. From what line of "Taroni Artzvi"⁴, or particularly my articles, have you concluded that we want to replace the spirit of Armenia with "a name of its one district." What is this rough and crying confusion - ignorance or a trend to create a wrong belief? Is it difficult for an editor to differentiate the name of "Taron" from *Taronakanutiun*. *Taronakanutiun* "a name of a district" or a spiritual substance? Were not the first lines of my article sufficient for those who would like to understand that two features of our nation's spirit (you say, "Armenia's spirit") I consider as *Taronakanutiun*: the passion of creation of eternal values and the covenant to die courageously for these values. Why do I preach covenant? Ask about it to all those--soldier or intellectual--who even if one single day faced the enemy on the borders of Armenia. The element of nations - their virtues and spiritual shortcomings--may be apprehended only at times of great perils, when these perils throw off the mask. I am a soldier and I know our people by a tragic experience. There is no Armenian man who will not be able to unmistakably innumerate weaknesses of his people, but few are those who know where is hidden the spiritual source of the Armenian might. What was the source of inspiration and power that led the heart and pen of the best men of letters who were the living conscientiousness of our people? Who among Armenian writers, truthful patriots and, particularly, fighters, at the moments of peril threatening Armenia, didn't spiritually call to die for the Fatherland following the example of the covenanted Mamikonians?

When did the Armenian sword act without uttering the name of Vartan and the pen move without uttering the name of Mesrob? Wasn't it yesterday that the most nation-inspired of Armenian writers - Aharonian⁵ called Gharakilisa, "New Avarayr" in the magazine "Hayrenik"⁶? And generally *Avarayr*, as a historic event, motto, mystery, is the deed of the *Taronian* spirit. Has it passed a long period since the day, when the government of Armenia named its first armoured train and Order "Vartan Zoravar"? To decorate the Armenian soldier with the Order of Vartan means to reward for the *Taronian* spirit. It will mean to pursue the goal of popularization of that spirit. And exactly that is the truthful upbringing - nationalization of the covenant to die for Armenia. Century after century, our Church with the utmost piety and worship celebrates two glorious deeds of *Taronakanutiun* - the Invention of the Armenian Script and *Avarayr*. Was all this done by the whole Armenianhood, as you allowed yourself to say, "simply to stir up local patriotism of our Taronian compatriots"?

What does it mean, when the Armenian Church sanctifies the Mamikonian spirit, the bearers of that spirit? Is it only a tribute of gratitude, or the deepest anxiety for the future of the Fatherland? Sanctifying and eternizing the Mamikonian covenant the Church gives our people the sharpest and the most victorious weapon - "conscious death." Exactly that is *Taronakanutiun*. The wise act of the Armenian Church, which fifteen centuries later had to adopt our government was the Taronian covenant. Wasn't it? To celebrate doesn't it mean to be like those whom we commemorate? "Look at a classic Greek man - a hero or philosopher - and look at you with shame," - said Herder⁷.

I say, "Armenian man, can you without deep shame compare yourself with one Mamikonian? Are you like him?"

Don't you know, that the church, school, family - all these have seen our people's salvation in breeding courageous and patriotic men - the Vartan type. And during centuries and "until yesterday" which unreasonable Armenian would dare to consider the national Armenian worship of the Taronian spirit as "a name of one district of Armenia" or "a local patriotism"? What a downfall of thinking? Today, when more than ever the Fatherland and Armenianhood are

⁴ "The Eagle of Taron "

⁵ Avetis Aharonian (1866-1948).

⁶ "Fatherland"

⁷ J.G.Herder (1744-1803), German philosopher, author of the voluminous book "Ideas About Philosophy of the History of Humanity" (1784-1791). He wrote also about Armenians and Armenia, considering Armenian as "a marvelous ancient language".

endangered, why has preaching of the Taronian spirit remained not properly understood? For centuries it was aroused and stressed by Armenianhood. Wasn't it? Don't you want to accept, that even today it is possible not only to preserve Armenian as an Armenian in banishment, but also to turn Armenian into a soldier for Armenia, which is sevenfold threatened? Don't you hear desperate cries that it is difficult to preserve Armenian as an Armenian in foreign lands? Those who have difficulty in preserving their Armenian nationality, will they tomorrow desire to defend the Fatherland? Would you like in the coming days to have nationally and humanly bloodless, discolored, powerless, a miserable generation? "Nor Or" wouldn't like us to have a generation that would say "yes" to the sanctities and values of their life, nation and the Fatherland, God and duties, and resolutely "no" to their "Egos" and pleasures, daily material worship and other kind of vulgarities.

The Mamikonians sacrificed according to the weight of their word and covenant. By what word we must characterize the covenant of sacrifice for Fatherland, such a spirit and morality, if not by the word "*Taronakanutiun*"? Shall we forget history? The holiday of the "Taronian" spirit - Vartanants is a nationwide celebration, marked by deep feeling among all Armenian national, revolutionary and ecclesiastical holidays. Isn't it a proof of the presence of that spirit and worship, though weakened, among our people? Things that we consider as threats of assimilation and degradation and desperately cry, aren't they a result of weakening of that spirit? The preaching of the Taronian spirit comes to renew and at the same time interpret the mystery why Armenianhood eternally must receive the nourishment of its heart, the force of its arm and the warmth of its faith from the Mamikonian spirit and covenant. If this psychological feature was not instinctively outlived and developed by the Armenian generations, and if it wasn't considered as a necessary weapon of the fight for survival, why after the uprooting of Mamikonians' family, the Bagratids, Rupenians and Siunis eternalized and nationalized the worship of Vartans? Considering all this to be truthful, I said: "It is true that each handful of native soil is sacred, but it is also true that each native land has its most important and cherished district from the military-strategic point of view – the district where nation shed blood the most, accumulated cultural treasures, created heroic history; the district without which the Fatherland can neither be mighty and independent, nor exist and self-defend. Significance of Taron is fatally great in the defense of our Nation and Fatherland." I can say this much about Taron.

"*Taronakanutiun* is the victorious feature of our national image. *Taronakanutiun* means to go along the way of the Mamikonians, i.e. to desire to live and know how to die for the Fatherland like the Mamikonians." I can say this much about *Taronakanutiun*.

Was it possible to come to such a conclusion as "Nor Or" did? When and who tried (no one would try to do such senseless thing) "to oppose" to the whole spirit of Armenia a name of its one district?" What is it a wrong belief of mind or a weakness of bringing about a wrong belief?

* * *

In order to know a people it is enough to listen to the words that are used by it. The logic of spirit leads the language, word. When the language modes are used without certain substance it is obvious that there is lack of correct comprehension of the spoken matter. And always the word is immoral, when it is not the indicator and expression of the inner spiritual reality.

Unmeaning and indecent usage of the words is equally horrible. The word of a certain part of the contemporary Armenian intelligentsia has lost as its clearness and definiteness, as well as mysterious force. It is an indication of mental chaos and lack of theoretical conscientiousness. An empty word is dangerous for an uncritical reader. It is a greater danger for a new maturing generation. It is necessary to confess that exactly such a word is one of the reasons of our peoples' disunity. Every falsehood in our life is a grave for the truth. And it is not enough that falsifier succeeds temporarily in burying the truth, but moreover, owing to the psychological law of a disguise, he appears in an image of the buried truth. It is not only an

attempt to kill the truth, but also an effort to defend his self in public, particularly as a disguised effort to be glorified victoriously.

In our reality the enemies of the truth come in legions – sometimes even law, canon, discipline, formal power etc. Anyhow, the greatest enemies of the truth continue to remain those, in whose inner life the truth is not a necessity and who know how to adapt themselves to all moral environments of the world. First of all the enemies of the spirit are the enemies of the truth, because the truth acts and operates only through the spirit. “Materialistic blind mysteries” are also among its main enemies, which are “without nation”, non-virtuous, coward, weak.

Truth is not only an anti-thesis of falsehood, but it is also kindness, its image, consciousness and willingness. I speak about moral truth. The spirit of peoples is nourished by this truth. Man remains uncreative, opportunist, with dead conscience without this truth, which is deeply survived individual truth. This is the only solidarity inspiring, redeeming, unifying force in social life. The spiritual image of man is shaped by this truth and all kinds of true leadership and power are justified by it.

Among Armenians, long ago, the Mamikonian generations survived this truth. And the mystery of their heroism – to die for the Fatherland and nation “with joyful heart” and conscience – was just in it. So, today lack of this truth is felt in a part of our intelligentsia. It’ll not be truthful, if I say: “The future of Armenia would be possible to consider secure, if we had possessed those possibilities that has any European state, e.g. technology, rhetoric, material wealth, positive sciences, discipline, Maginot lines⁸ and etc.” But it’ll be a moral truth, if I state: “In order to maintain and defend the Fatherland, first of all, it is necessary covenanted people to die for its sake like the Mamikonians.”

Because of lack of that truth a part our intelligentsia continues to remain dispersed and pays a plentiful tribute to miserable human weaknesses. The most disgusting of these weaknesses is an inclination to distort.

The American-Armenians lived and now act according to one moral truth. They understood that to work for the native maturing generation means to work for the native nation and its future. Having such a saving consciousness they welcomed the national religion with unprecedented enthusiasm, entrusting their children to our covenants. But, in the first year of our movement, suffering with the defect of falsification, one person said: “In the present state of the Armenian people the national religion’s name is not scientific.” Who can say what is meant by this nonsense? What does it mean: “in present state is not scientific”. Isn’t it a manner of speech? Whether science is a relative idea related to any situation. The author of this nonsense undoubtedly knows that “two by two equals four” not only in the country where he lives, but also in China and everywhere. He knows it, but, anyhow, the defect of creating deception – the morality of falsification pushed him into stupidity. Another one threw a stone at the nation and national religion, by plagiarism – stealing an article written by a European a quarter of century ago. Lack of the truth’s sense brings to such an end. It is disgusting that misleaders, taking only one word or one sentence from your writing, maliciously draw their voluntary conclusion aiming to divert readers. In this manner acts an Armenian mind that is not connected with the national spirit in our life. The psychology of falsification is a result of evil and sophism. The aim of a falsifier is not simply a denial, but making difficult the work of a preacher. Falsification, generally, is a result of psychological destruction and non-creativeness. It clearly follows from the fact that falsifier only pecks, blackens, neglects, but does not give anything new. He is not able to say: “It must be so.” About things that are comprehensible or incomprehensible for him, he only repeats like a parrot: “It must not be so.” He is not blind, he sees that state, church, pedagogy, nation’s public health, sport – all these today pursue a new aim – to evolve a new man who is always generated at the turning points of history. For their times were new: the man of Renaissance, the man of the Age of Enlightenment, the man of the French Revolution. The post-

⁸ Maginot line – French fortified line on Franco-German frontier before the 1939-45 war.

war history looks for its new man, too. He knows it, he knows the truth, but he has no courage to confess and to put it into action. "Old man, that passes, was bifurcated – an idealist in theory and a materialist in real life, speaking about democracy and altruism, but himself egotistic, considering religion as an object of an individual conscience, but himself without the sense of sanctity, a falsifier of patriotism and at time of danger - a deserter, a speaker about freedom and liberties, but himself while coming to the power becoming a fornicating tyrant, confessing socialism, but, for his bread, trampling down the corps of his own friends. The old was so dissociated and nationally faceless. Today it dies, yielding its place to the new one – having a national face, free of bifurcation, falsity and turpitude, morally healthy and complete man." I have said, contemporary history works for this new man.

Is it possible to express our people's contemporary psychological state without moral horror? The editorial of "Nor Or" mourning over the Armenian reality, says: "Today we are broken into thousand pieces, we are exhausted physically and materially. We are out of depth and we are facing our disappearance and a danger of alienation." It's better to photograph: just that is our state – we are only one step from the grave. "Today we lack the spirit of sacrifice". This statement of the same newspaper is also true. The healthy European idealism turned into disgusting egotism in the Armenian man. Even so, the newspaper pecks those who preach *Taronakanutiun*, i.e. the Mamikonian special sacrifice for the Nation and Fatherland. The following also belongs to the pen of the editor of "Nor Or": "Particularly for the Armenian young man the ideal of the national worship must be a sacred confession, a fanatic belief." How to reconcile the national worship of "Nor Or" with its unfriendliness towards *Taronakanutiun*? *Taronakanutiun* is the positiveness of our nation's spirit and its positive features. Isn't it? Undoubtedly, *Taronakanutiun* generates the complete Armenian man demanded by time and in this way psychological and purposeful wholeness of Armenianhood. Perhaps it has to be said - Dashnaktsutiun. Yes, Dashnaktsutiun. We think like this and that's why we find that parallel to the political work of Dashnaktsutiun it is necessary to carry out the work of spiritual renewal of our people, otherwise it is impossible to find a creative way out for us from this present unprecedented difficult situation. It is not an aim of Dashnaktsutiun to remain as a party and preserve its organization. Its aim is nation breeding, and nation is generated by the creation of the national spirit. It is possible to do only and only by excitement of the Mamikonian's spirit.

A people, which after the unprecedented catastrophe, is not deeply shocked and pushed to re-examine, first of all its morality, is biologically an immoral people.

After the failure of the Paris Commune, world-famous Krapotkin had to lead a secluded life to elaborate a new morality for the future revolutionary struggle.

The Danish people after their great national catastrophe suffered in the '70s of the 19th century had to beget a turbulent renewal movement, naming it after Grundtvig⁹ – the name of one of its biblical sons – Grundtvigism, which, first of all, was successful to reconcile the intelligentsia and common people, i.e. the high principle of humanism and national spirit, humanly spiritual and national, otherwise a big abyss, opened between them, would remain for centuries. Owing to this movement the Danish intelligentsia deepened in its spiritual and national essence, applied to the educational significance of history, forged its new world outlook, and through renewal it renewed, spiritually changed its people, who is an object of envy of great and small nations of the world.

The creative ideology of Grundtvig was accepted in all European countries. Grundtvigism revived all northern peoples. Finland, once a virgin soil, owing to it became "a country of white lilies." Today, Prof. Rine and others are propagating it in Germany. A Russian writer says: "It seems that the enemies of Russia are meant to awaken us spiritually."

Shall I not say – shame on us and woe betide our people that even the Turk was unable to awaken the Armenian intelligentsia nationally and wholly?

* * *

⁹ Grundtvig Nikolai (1783-1872), Danish writer, pastor and a Lutheran bishop.

If, of the Mamikonians, even, only General Vartan's speech addressed to the Armenian army before the battle of Avarayr reached us, I would again remain an admirer and worshiper of the Taronian spirit. One-thousand-five-hundred years ago the Armenian soldier gave the supreme criterion of the Fatherland's worship and personal devotion, thus, forever, is solved the secret of the victory – "let's accept death with joyful heart."

Mamikonian was a knight because he was a true hero – "let's not mix the bad to our courage."

He was nationally self-cognizable, a man of proud thinking – "we were more victorious, than defeated."

He was profoundly wise – "cowardice is a sign of skepticism", and individually ambitious – "who courageously went forward, would inherit the name of a brave man from nation," – says the Armenian Sparapet (General). I am a soldier acquainted with the history of wars waged by nations.

Not only in the 5th century, but also in our times, generals of few nations have been able to cultivate such high morality with which lived and acted our Mamikonians – brave morality to which centuries can hardly add a new thing.

Isn't there a need of the Mamikonian morality - bravery, the worship of Fatherland, national pride, military envy in contemporary Armenianhood?

Is there any more demand for those who "courageously go forward"?

And what's about endangered Armenia? Is it strange that the Armenian soldier in these days of danger speaks about the Mamikonians' spirit and morality – *Taronakanutiun*? Since when have the propaganda of heroism and the worship of heroism begun to be considered dangerous heresy in our party? The editor of "Nor Or" presents Dashnaktsutiun in a bad light. As a matter of fact, the idea of generating the brave fighters ready to sacrifice their lives for the Fatherland has been and is most essential for Dashnaktsutiun. This is possible only by means of that spirit which we now propagate.

The same newspaper considers *Taronakanutiun* as a result of "gropings." Groping? It is specific for political amateurs and not the soldier who knows his toil – to propagate covenant in peaceful time and "fight bravely" at the time of danger. It is specific for those who continue to raise a ruckus about democracy, liberalism, individualism and the like misunderstood, and wrongly understood borrowed stupidities – things that we don't know what have to do with the fate of our present day emigrant people.

For a moment let's make more accurate the measure of importance of problems touching the Armenian people's fate. Which is more accurate, what must be considered the most important for the contemporary Armenianhood?

- Self-defence of Armenianhood and Fatherland.

What was the permanent victorious weapon during centuries?

- The Mamikonians' covenant, morality, spirit.

And what has been and is the role of Dashnaktsutiun?

- To secure this weapon that we call *Taronakanutiun* for its people.

"Approximately seventy-five years the struggle of liberation of our people continued. Did we realize our goal?"- asks "Nor Or" without answering his question. Yes, there is groping, they are groping who dream about the political friendship with Turkey, propagating in advance spiritual disarmament among Armenians, diverting our people's attention from the problem of the self-defense. Such propagandists, without learning lesson from our history and pursuing the goal of satisfying their trivial personality, have no scruples about formation a wrong belief even concerning "brave fighters."

A soldier – let's understand this - never gropes, he either fights bravely, or deserts. For the soldier only that confession is true, which gives him power and courage to fight and, if it is necessary, to die for the native land.

I am a soldier. My today's confession is clear and certain, as my past and future goal. It is a confession based on the spirit of our nation, which bears its spiritual, historical and philosophical justification in it.

This has been and will remain my Dashnaksakan confession.

The confession of a Dashnaksakan generally must not differ from it.

"Taron, undoubtedly, has its place among other districts of Historic Armenia," – says "Nor Or", making the most unforgivable mistake and transgression.

Qualifying Taron "among other districts" means not to be acquainted with the Armenian history.

He adds in the same editorial: "Without doubt, certain places of Historic Armenia, because of their fame and spirit, oblige us to have exceptional respect and worship for them." This is the truth, which refutes his first sayings. Yes, our propagated *Taronakanutiun* is the "fame and spirit" of Taron - one of the "certain places", imposing eternally "exceptional respect and worship." Isn't it clear that, if we deprive ourselves of the spirit that makes us have an exceptional respect and worship, nothing will remain for us of Dashnaksutiun. Armenia will be like an empty vessel, if that spirit is let out? The editor doesn't want Armenians to connect their existence with memories and dictates them to "reconcile their existence to present day conditions". And yet he speaks about the "spirit of Armenia," ignoring that the spirit originates from the sources of the past and that spirit mainly means the past, that it is almost wholly the result of emotions of the old generations, their struggle, tragedies, victories, moral wealth, force, worships and sacrifices.

The spirit forges the destiny of nations. The change of one of them results in the change of the other.

"Do not put out the spirit"- two millennia ago was said by a giant of spirit, who later made world power Rome kneel. Wherever spirit is quenched life decays there. The conception of the spirit is a cultural one.

Values, sanctities, humanism, ideas, ideals, spiritual strength, language, crafts, wisdom, philosophy, leadership, heroism and glory: these all are created by the spirit.

The whole history of humanity is simultaneously a progress of the spirit's development and its result.

The essential thing for a people is not its policy, but the spirit by which the people is led. Efficiency of policy almost always depends on might and activity of the spirit of leader who carries it out.

The spirit is the greatest multiplier of the forces of people.

Don't search for will, creativity and courage in a spiritless people.

A weak-spirited man is a mischief, as a leader, his reign is a curse.

Spirit leads, creates, wins, "tramples down death by death", prompts to martyrdom, builds virtue and gains immortality.

Heroes, light-carriers and saints of the spiritless people remain as a dead reality. What about their memory? This is their spirit that passes from generation to generation and real immortality is exactly in the life of that living and creating spirit.

The Vartans' immortality is carried by those Armenian generations that are strong in the Fatherland's worship, courage and national morality.

Fatherland is the most sacred creation.

Never have a spiritless people remained masters of their Fatherland for a long time. Teach the Armenian man to serve the Fatherland with unlimited devotion and die for it, and you will guarantee the existence and independence of his Fatherland. The enemy, first of all, knows why it is necessary to attack its adversary's spirit. And today everything is done to weaken the spirit of the people that is considered to be an enemy.

The Mamikonians were the bearers of the Armenian spirit. Different enemies of Armenia knew it by experience. And that's why they consecutively and barbarously persecuted generations of the principality that begot the Vartans, Musheghs and Vahans.

Spirit led all heroes and martyrs of Plutarch¹⁰, Christianity, Fatherlands, science, and revolutions.

Spiritless people are led by incident. When people always speak about danger instead of the rise and victories you must understand that they are dispirited.

Their most realistic and moderate policy will not serve any purpose.

Today's spiritual stagnation, political pessimism, vulgarity of life, non-unanimity of our people is a result of lack of spirit.

"Turkey and Greece signed a treaty of friendship – the Greece, which for "Great Idea" sacrificed more than one-million people," says "Nor Or" and that policy considers "realistic." What a political naivety? Greeks gave up the idea of Great Greece not because they considered it wise and advantageous to its contemporary policy, but because the forces of his spirit were able to defend only the present-day narrow borders of its Fatherland, and no more.

The Mamikonians, whose morality was very exacting to the fighting Armenian individuality and for whom the world wasn't a market, but an arena of heroic deeds, and life had no price, were able to juxtapose Christianity with nationhood. In this way is explained that deep feeling of sanctity which during centuries became the mother of their unsurpassed heroism. "It would never be possible to save Armenia without Vartan and the Mamikonians," says Armenian history, the very truth that may be repeated also today with all decisiveness.

"To deserve leadership means always to deserve to be followed." Man – individual or collectivity – follows with devotion and continuously only those leaders who have mighty spirit.

Such were the Mamikonians – let's follow them, because there is no higher national virtue than to follow the way of national leaders and die bravely "for the sake of our native land and our nation," that is what we understand saying *Taronakanutiun*.

"Taroni Artziv" ("The Eagle of Taron")

Sofia, 1938, N 5-6

¹⁰ Plutarch is a Greek historian and biographer (46-120 AD).

A CHRONOLOGICAL SURVEY
OF GAREGIN NZHDEH'S LIFE AND WORK

1886, Feb. 2 (Jan. 20-- Julian Calendar) Circa 1896 to 1902	Birth of Garegin Ter-Harutiunian Studied at the Russian "high elementary" school in Nakhijevan for seven years
Circa 1902 to 1903	Russian gymnasium in Tbilisi, Georgia
Circa 1903 to 1904	Studied at the faculty of law, University of St. Petersburg
1906	Began to use <i>Nzhdeh pseudonym</i>
1906 to 1907	Studied at the school of reserve officers, Kneazhevo, founded by the A.R.F. and later at the military college in Sofia
1907	Returned to the Caucasus to enter Western Armenia with a group of <i>fedayis</i> , under the command of Sebastatsi Murat. He joined the A.R.F (<i>Dashnaktsutiun</i>) Party
1907 Nov. to 1908 August	As officer, sent to Iran, where he took part in the Iranian Revolution
1908 to end of August	Returned to his native village and organized a local group of the A.R.F.
1908 Sept. 6	Imprisoned by the Tsarist regime in the village of Verin Aza and jailed in Jugha
1909 to April 1910	Jailed in the prison of city of Nakhijevan
1910 mid-Oct. to Oct.22	Interrogated in the Novochoerkask prison; then for a short time in St Petersburg
1912 Feb. 23 to 25	Judicial hearing of the A.R.F. case related to Nzhdeh
Circa 1912 March	Released from prison, leaves for Bulgaria
1912 Sept. 23	Enlisted in the Bulgarian volunteer army
1912 Oct. 2	Formed an Armenian military unit by the order of the commander of the Bulgarian volunteer regiment
1912 Oct. 8	Formed Armenian company of 229 men who were later joined by 42 volunteers, including Andranik

- 1912 Oct. 8 In the Armenian Church in Sofia, Bulgaria, a ceremony was held to consecrate the flag of the Armenian Volunteer Corps. At the end of the ceremony, Nzhdeh delivered a speech which he concluded with: "The first consecration of our flag took place here, in a church ceremony; the second and the real one will take place in the battlefield, accompanied by the music of cannons and guns."
- 1912 Oct. 20 Appointed commander of the Second (Armenian) Company by official order
- 1912 Nov. 15 The Armenian company, under the command of Nzhdeh and Andranik, heroically defeat the Turkish forces, near the village of Mehramli. The Bulgarian volunteer army captures some 10,000 Turkish soldiers, 242 officers, three colonels and a pasha
- 1912 (circa Nov. 16) During the ceremony held in Rodosto in connection with the Mehramli victory, Nzhdeh decorated with The Cross of the Officer's Courage. Gives an emotional speech
- 1913 (circa summer) Betrothed to Epimeh Sukiasian in Sofia
- 1913 autumn Leaves for Romania
- 1914 (early October) Arrives Tbilisi with Andranik and many volunteers.
- 1914 Oct. 13 Becomes Deputy Commander of a regiment in the Armenian voluntary forces
- 1915 April 15 Joins the second volunteer regiment with 300 soldiers and is appointed deputy commander by Dro
- 1915 April 27 to June 8 Fights in the battles of Gealarash, Berkri, Shatakh, Moks, Sparkert and in other locations in the province of Van
- 1915 May 2 Decorated with the 3rd degree Order of Vladimir for courageous actions showed in the Berkri canyon
- 1915 May 6 Enters Van, heading the second volunteer regiment
- 1916 May 14 Transferred to the first Armenian volunteer group as deputy to Commander Smbat
- 1916 July 23 to 25 Fought in the battles at the Magread canyon, under the command of General Nazarbekian. For "exceptional

- heroism” and “unprecedented cool-handedness” decorated with the “Cross of Georgi” 3rd and 2nd degrees
- 1917 May 12 Becomes member of the Alexandropol Executive Committee and town commissar
- 1917 June 9 Presides over the general meeting convened by the villages of Verin (Upper) Aza, Nerkin (Inner) Aza, Verin (Upper) Aza, and Goghtan (Nakhijevan). He calls the population to organize and be ready for self-defence
- 1918 Jan. 30 Delivers speech to the representatives of Nakhijevan and Goghtan, city hall of Yerevan
- 1917-1918 Visits numerous Armenian towns and villages and gathers people in churchyards, and with emotional speeches he calls upon them to organize their self-defence
- 1918 May On the eve of Armenia’s independence, commander at the battles of Alaja, making it possible for the Armenian regiments to retreat via Erzerum-Sarikamish-Kars to Alexandropol
- 1918 May 24 Takes the initiative to bring the frontline into order, inspired and led the Armenian forces in the battle of Gharakilisa. Wounded and recommended for the highest order
- 1918 Nov. 30 Appointed regional commissar of Nakhijevan by the order of the government of the Republic of Armenia
- 1918 Dec. 20 Helps Armenian troops as they retreat to Ararat (Davalu). Takes initiative of the battle, saving the 4th regiment of the Armenian army. Subdues the Turkish uprisings in Vedi. For his unprecedented courage, decorated with the 3rd degree Order of Vladimir
- 1919 Feb. to August Served in the Armenian army and participated in different battles
- 1919 March 30 to August 5 Appointed commander of the Garni regiment
- 1919 August 5 Given the rank of *capitan* by the order N2 of the Military Ministry
- 1919 Sept. 4 Through the mediation of the A.R.F. and his appeal, the government of the Republic of Armenia sends him, along

- with Ghazar Kocharian, to Zangezur to go to Goghtan. Nzhdeh enters Zangezur with a group of 180 troops armed with bayonets
- 1919 (first half of Sept.) Upon the request of Zangezur the local authorities, Capitan Nzhdeh takes general command of Kapan, Arevik and Goghtan (together called Kapargoght) and also the south-eastern front of Siunik
- 1919 October Establishes "the Davitbekian Covenant" whose military call was "For the Fatherland like Davit Bek."
- 1920 Jan. 19 While Zangezur troops were engaged in the Sharur operations, leads regiments successfully to attack the heights that were occupied by the Turks, thus opening the road to Goris-Kapan.
- 1920 Feb. 14 Chief commander of the Zangezur forces, General Ghazarov, promotes Nzhdeh to Lieutenant-Colonel, mediating at the same time with the government of the Republic of Armenia to promote him to the rank of colonel.
- 1920 March 9 to 21 The beginning of the second campaign aimed at helping Goghtan. All the Armenian villages in Goghtan, with the exception of Dastak, liberated
- 1920 March 25 Messengers bring two letters to Goghtan, with urgent requests to help defend Kapargoght against the attacks of the combined Turco-Tatar and Bolshevik forces. Postponing the liberation of Agulis and Ordubad (Orduar), Nzhdeh quickly returns to Kapan
- 1920 April 1 to 13 The assault. Starting from Zeiva, Nzhdeh pushes back the enemy from the heights of Hartiz and Susan and liberates the Vorotan canyon from Turkish-Tatar occupants
- 1920 April 13 Liberates the district of Chavndur (Bartagh)
- 1919 December.
1920 April Wins brilliant victories at Okhchi, Geghvardzor, Shurnukh, Chavndur, and other places which come under his personal command
- 1920 (April-May) Promoted to colonel by the government of Republic of Armenia
- 1920 August 25 Appointed "Dictator-commander" of the military forces of Kapan, Genvaz, Goghtan and Baghaberd

- 1920 Sept. 6 to Nov. 21 Relaunches the liberation of Zangezur from the village of Kaler to the entire region that was under the control of Bolsheviks and their Turco-Tartar reinforcements. Entire detachments of the 11th Red Army destroyed, many were either killed or taken captive
- 1920 Dec. 25 At the First Congress of Tatev, Siunik is proclaimed “self-governing,” whereas Zangezur proclaimed “self-governing” temporarily. The Congress invites Nzhdeh to become “the Sparapet (General) of Siunik,” and entrusts him with the leadership of self-defence
- 1921 Jan. 25 In an “open letter” addressed to the commander of the Red Army, Nzhdeh demands Soviet authorities release party members and national figures from the Yerevan prison, to clean up the Armenian territories of the Kemalist invaders, and to stop the subversive activities among the Armenians of Zangezur
- 1921 Feb. 2 to 5 Soviet authorities offer Nzhdeh to proclaim Soviet power in Siunik and undertake the command of the 11th Army
- 1921 Feb. 15 to 17 Zangezur forces, under command of Yapon, liberate Vayots Dzor from Bolshevik control and reunify it with Siunik; Nzhdeh defeats the enemy that had attacked Arevik and subjugates the Tatars in Bargushat
- 1921 Feb. 21 Nzhdeh’s belt, which he carries as a symbol of his high rank as Sparapet, and the National Tricolor are consecrated at the St. Grigor Lusavorich Church in Goris. The government of Siunik, on behalf of the people, hands to the Sparapet the Tricolor of Free Siunik, along with the political fate of Zangezur-Kapargoght
- 1921 Feb. 28 to March 8 Tevan, Dizak and most of Artsakh liberated and annexed to Lerna-Hayastan (Mountainous Armenia), with the support of Ter-Petrosian who was sent to help Nzhdeh
- 1921 April 26 The Republic of Mountainous Armenia proclaimed at the Second Congress of Tatev; Nzhdeh promoted to General and decorated with the Iron Order of the Khustup Eagle and is elected Prime Minister of Mountainous Armenia, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Minister of Military Affairs

- 1921 In Goris publishes a booklet titled "*Khustup Calls*," a collection of his orders addressed to his soldiers
- 1921 May 31 to June 1 At the joint Session of the Committee for the Salvation of Fatherland and The Republic of Mountainous Armenia, held June 1, Mountainous Armenia is proclaimed Armenia. Vratsian is elected Prime Minister and Nzhdeh Minister of Military Affairs
- 1921 June 7 Writes to the leadership of Soviet Armenia, offering them his withdrawal from Siunik, on condition that Mountainous Armenia (Zangezur, Mountainous Karabakh, Goghtan) become part of Soviet Armenia
- 1921 July 9 Soon after the official declaration by the Revolutionary Committee of Armenia about keeping Mountainous Armenia as part of Armenia is published in the press and it was assured that Zangezur would be a part of Soviet Armenia, Nzhdeh crosses the River Araxes and takes refuge in Muzhambar and then in Tabriz, Iran
- 1921 July 24 to September Tried by the A.R.F. in Tabriz and condemned for the surrender of Siunik to the Bolsheviks. Nzhdeh was expelled from the A.R.F.
- 1922 Manages to reach Sofia, via Constantinople, and lives on Tsar Boris Street, N 92
- 1923 April 7 to May 19 The A.R.F. Conference in Vienna
- 1924 Nov, 17 to
1925 Jan. 17 In the 10th General Meeting of the A.R.F. Nzhdeh reinstated into *party ranks*
- 1925 Elected member of the Central Committee of the A.R.F. in the Balkans
- 1926 The A.R.F. in Bulgaria is split between Nzhdeh and the supporters of the Bureau
- 1926, 1941, 1943 Nzhdeh visits Romania
- 1929 The publication, in Beirut, of "*Open Letters to the Armenian Intelligentsia*."

- 1932—late in the year Before leaving for America, stays in Paris for two months, taking part in the General Meeting of the A.R.F.
- 1933 Jan. 14 Establishes The National Covenant (Tseghakron) in the United States
- 1933 Jan. 16 Presides over the First Congress of the National Covenant
- 1933—early in the year
1934 to September Becomes a source of inspiration and strength to the committees of the A.R.F. in the U.S. Participates in the 41st Meeting of the A.R.F. of the American region
- 1935 Marries Epimeh Sukiasian
- 1937 Through his friends, establishes links with Germany, suggesting to military and intelligence services the idea of attacking Turkey in case of war
- 1937 Leaves the A.R.F.
- 1937 With Haik Asatrian, establishes *Razmik* (Fighter) newspaper in Sofia
- 1938 The 13th General Assembly of the A.R.F. expells Nzhdeh from party ranks
- 1938 In cooperation with H. Asatrian and N. Astuatzaturian, establishes *Taroni Artziv* ("The Eagle of Taron") weekly magazine, thus officially initiating the movement of *Taronism* ("*Taronakanutiun*")
- 1938 Sept. 3 to 5 At the Congress of the Taron-Turuberan Compatriotic Society, held in Akron, Ohio, *Taronism* ("*Tanonakanutiun*") is confirmed
- 1939 When World War II breaks out, Nzhdeh writes to the Supreme Organ of the A.R.F., offering them his services
- 1942 Publishes "*Armenia and Armenians*," book in German, to reply to those who don't consider Armenians as Aryans
- 1942 Establishes the "Bulgarian-Armenian Committee" and is elected co-president

1942 Dec. 15	Becomes a member of the Armenian National Council and deputy editor of " <i>Free Armenia</i> ," the official organ of the National Council
1943	Establishes and heads the "Benevolent Brotherhood of the Russian-Armenians" social organization in Sofia
1942 to '43	Cooperates with the German military and intelligence services to restore Armenia's freedom and independence
1944 Sept. 9	Sends a letter to the commander of the 3rd Ukrainian Front that had entered Bulgaria, proposing his services in the expected military operations against Turkey
1944 Oct. 10	Stating that Nzhdeh had to personally present his proposals to the highest leadership of the U.S.S.R., the special regiment of SMERSH of the Soviet anti-intelligence service transports him by air, via Bucharest, to Moscow where he is jailed at the Liubianka prison
1944 Oct, 11	The Narkom of the State Security of the U.S.S.R. have talks with Nzhdeh
1944 Oct. 12	The first interrogation of Nzhdeh in prison
1945	Nzhdeh's family is exiled from Sofia, including his wife, their eight-year-old adopted son, Vrezh-Sukias, and his mother-in-law
1946 Nov. 6	Transferred from the Moscow prison to a prison in Yerevan
1946 Nov. 15	Interrogated in Yerevan for the first time
1947 Dec. 20	Interrogated in Yerevan for the last time
1948 Jan. 10	In a letter to Stalin, he offers his participation in the planned military campaign of the Soviets against Turkey
1948 April 24	Sentenced to 25-year imprisonment
1948 early August to 1952 March 6	In the Vladimir prison
1952 March 16 to summer 1953	In the Yerevan prison

1953 April	From the height of the Monument, is shown Yerevan before being moved to Vladimir
1953 summer to 1954 Sept.	Back in the Vladimir prison
1954 Sept. to 1955 Sept	Tashkent prison. Moved to the prison hospital
1955 Sept. 12	Brought back to the Vladimir prison
1955 Nov. 30	Ailing badly, removed from prison to the prison hospital
1955 Dec. 1	Writes to relatives--his last known letter
1955 Dec. 21	Dies in the Vladimir prison
1955—circa Dec. 25	Buried by his brother Levon Ter-Harutiunian in the cemetery beside the Vladimir prison
1983 August 31	Remains secretly removed from Vladimir to Yerevan by the initiative of a group of Armenian intellectuals
1983 Oct. 7	The same people bury two parts of his remains--a vertebra and a finger--on the slope of Khustup, near the Kozni spring
1987 May 8	Remains buried under a wall of Holy Virgin Church in Spitakavor
1989 June 17	Tombstone placed on his grave
1989 Nov. 25	A khachkar (cross-stone) erected on his grave
2000, Sept. 29	In the joint session of the Executive Committee of <i>Ukht</i> of the National Union and the National Council of the Nakhijevan Armenians form a social commission to celebrate the 115 th anniversary of Nzhdeh's birth and the 80 th anniversary of the declaration of the Republic of Mountainous Armenia
2000 Dec. 21	In commemoration of the 45 th anniversary of Nzhdeh's death, a conference is held for the first time devoted to his life and work. It is initiated by the commission and takes place in the National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia. The same day the intellectuals establish the

All-Armenian Social Commission to celebrate the jubilees of the 115th anniversary of Nzhdeh's birth and the 80th anniversary of the declaration of the Republic of Mountainous Armenia

2001 end of February

The government of the Republic of Armenia forms a commission to celebrate the 115th birthday of Nzhdeh and the 80th anniversary of the declaration of the Republic of Mountainous Armenia

2001 April 28

The government of the Republic of Armenia celebrates the 115th anniversary of Nzhdeh's birth and the 80th anniversary of the declaration of the Republic of Mountainous Armenia

Note: Dates of events before Jan. 1, 1918 are according to the Julian calendar, whereas those after Jan. 1, 1918 are according to the Gregorian calendar.

Editor's notes:

Bio-chronology prepared by Rafael Hambardzumian. In "*Garegin Nzhdeh: A Brief Biography, Aphorisms and Bio-chronology*", Yerevan 2003, Nakhijevan Publishing.

Translated by Eduard L. Danielyan, Doctor of History, Yerevan, Armenia. For the purpose of this publication, English translation was revised by the coordinating editor.

TRANSLITERATION KEY OF THE ARMENIAN ALPHABET

The transcription system used in the English translation of Garegin Nzhdeh's *Selected Works* is the Armenian Review transliteration key, which is based on the phonetic values of Eastern and Classical Armenian and omits the use of diacritics. Armenian names ending in (yan) are normalized to (ian). The transliteration of some place names may vary from the system, according to widely accepted usage.

Ա	Է	a	ԅ	y & h
Բ	Բ	b	Ն	n
Գ	Գ	g	Շ	sh
Դ	Դ	d	Չ	o & vo
Ե	Ե	e & ye	Պ	ch
Զ	Զ	z	Պ	p
Է	Է	e & é	Ղ	j
Ը	Ը	e	Ճ	r
Թ	Թ	t	Մ	s
Ժ	Ժ	zh	Վ	v
Ի	Ի	i	Ս	t
Լ	Լ	l	Տ	r
Լ	Լ	kh	Ր	ts
Ձ	Ձ	tz	Թ	v
Կ	Կ	k	Փ	p
Հ	Հ	h	Փ	k
Ճ	Ճ	dz	Օ	o
Չ	Չ	gh	Ֆ	f
Շ	Շ	ch	Պ	u & v
Տ	Տ	m	Պ	iu & iv

GLOSSARY OF PLACE NAMES

Topographic names in Nzhdeh's bio-chronology appear in different forms, as listed in the left column. The column on the right indicates the current name and political location. Most current place names that are located outside the borders of Republic of Armenia (ROA) and Artsakh, but are part of the ancestral homeland of the Armenians have been changed by Turkish and Azerbaijani authorities to de-link these locales from their original inhabitants—the Armenians who were eliminated or expelled from their lands by the Turkish and Azerbaijani governments. For the purpose of historical truth and justice, we have identified these place names with the terms “Eastern Armenia” (former Russian Armenia) or “Western Armenia” (former Ottoman Turkish Armenia).

<i>Names in the bio-chronology</i>	<i>Current names (post-Soviet)</i>
Alexandropol Arevik (Meghri), Zangezur <i>uezd</i> (<i>gavar</i>)	Giumri, Shirak marz, ROA Meghri, Siunik marz, ROA
Baghapert, Zangezur <i>uezd</i> Barkushat, Zangezur <i>uezd</i>	Part of Siunik marz, ROA Partitioned between Siunik and Kashunik (Kubatli) district, Eastern Armenia
Bash-Abaran Berkri, <i>Vilayet</i> of Van	Abaran, Arakadzodn Marz, ROA Western Armenia, Turkey
Chavndur, Zangezur <i>uezd</i>	Partitioned between Siunik (ROA) and Kavsakan (Zangelan) district, Eastern Armenia
Daralagiaz Dilizhan (Dilijan) Dizak, district in Governorship of Elizavetpol Erzurum (Erzerum), <i>Vilayet</i> of Erzurum	Vayk, Vayots Dzor marz, ROA Dilijan, Tavush marz, ROA In Mountainous Artsakh (Karabagh) Erzurum, Western Armenia, Turkey
Geghvardzor, Zangezur <i>uezd</i> Genvaz, Zangezur <i>uezd</i>	In Siunik marz, ROA In Siunik marz, ROA
Gharakilisa (Karakilisa)	Vanadzor, Kotayk marz, ROA
Goghtan	In Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic, Eastern Armenia
Goris (Gerusi), Zangezur <i>uezd</i>	Goris, Siunik marz, ROA
Hakaru, Zangezur <i>uezd</i>	Part of Kachunik and Kavsakan, Eastern Armenia

Kapan (Ghapan), Zangezur <i>uezd</i>	Kapan, Siunik marz, ROA
Kavart, Zangezur <i>uezd</i>	In Siunik marz, ROA
Kznut, Nakhijevan district	Kiuznut, Nakhichevan Aut. Republic, Eastern Armenia
Moks, <i>Vilayet</i> of Van	Muks, Western Armenia, Turkey
Mt Khustup, Zangezur <i>uezd</i>	Mt.Khustup, Siunik marz, ROA
Nakhijevan (Nakhichevan), city	Naxçivan, Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic, Eastern Armenia
Okhchi, gorge, Zangezur <i>uezd</i>	Voghji, Siunik marz, ROA
Sardarapat	Armavir, Armavir marz, ROA
Sarikamish (Sarighamish)	Sarikamis, Western Armenia Turkey
Shatakh, <i>Vilayet</i> of Van	Çatak, Western Armenia, Turkey
Sparkert, <i>Vilayet</i> of Van	Western Armenia, Turkey
Tatev, Zangezur <i>uezd</i>	Tatev, Siunik marz, ROA
Tiflis	Tbilisi, Georgia
Van, <i>Vilayet</i> of Van	Van, Western Armenia, Turkey
Varanda, district in Governorship of Elizavetpol	In Mountainous Artsakh (Karabagh)
Zeiva, Zangezur <i>uezd</i>	Davit Bek, Siunik marz, ROA

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Garegin Nzhdeh (centre) with commanders of the Armenian volunteer Battalion, First Balkan War, Sofia, Bulgaria (1913)



Nzhdeh in the Bulgarian army officer uniform



The Armenian volunteer detachment under the command of Nzhdeh (1915)



Nzhdeh in Zangezur (Siunik), 1920



Nzhdeh in the costume of Davit Bek (1920)



Coat of arms of the Republic of Mountainous Armenia, Zangezur (1921)



Seal of Ministry of Mountainous Armenia (Lernahayastan)



Mount Khustup, Zangezur (Siunik), Armenia



Nzhdeh surrounded by some of the central executive members of the Tseghakron movement (National Covenant), 1934.
 Seated, from left: Hamasdegh (writer), Nzhdeh, John Der-Hovhanessian. Standing, from left: Hagop Hagopian, Assadour (Arthur) Giragosian and Khatchig Merton Bozoian



Nzhdeh at the tomb of Kristapor Mikaelian, one of the founders of The Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Dashnaktsutian)



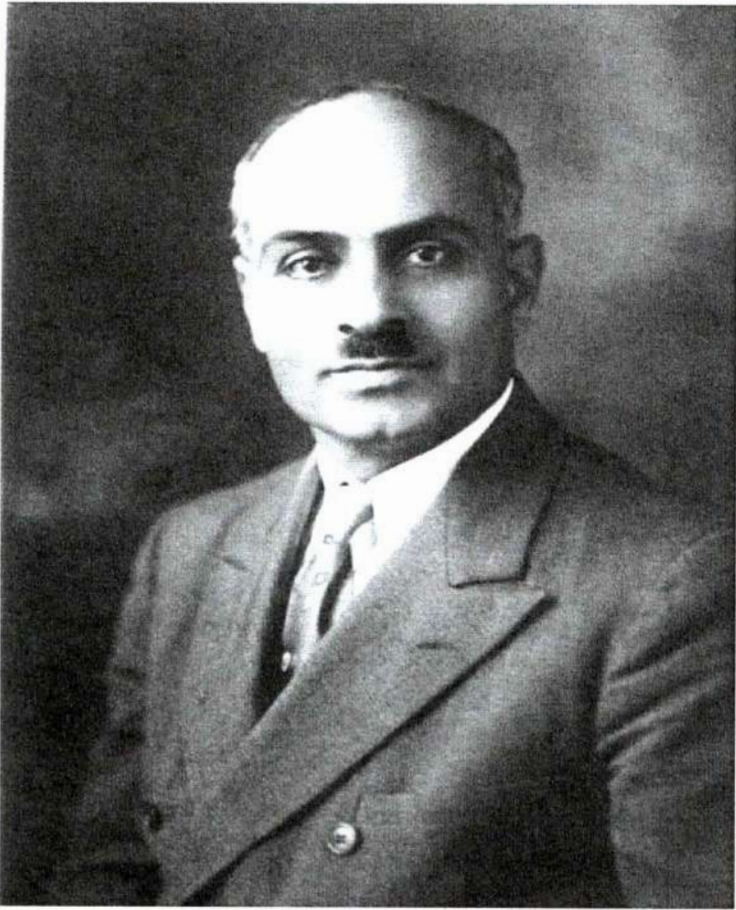
Nzhdeh with delegates of the First Convention of Tseghakron Ukhts, Boston, Mass., June 1 to 3, 1934. From left: 1- Assadour Giragosian, 2- Khatchig.

Merton Bozoian, 3-Merujan Ozanian, 4- Assadour Darian, 5- Hamo Paghramian, 6-Hamasdegh, 7-Nzhdeh, 8- Malkhas 9- Dr. Zaven Daghljan, 10-Hovakim Khushbulian, 11- Minas Veradzin, 12-Vahram Der-Parseghian

(Courtesy of Ardavast Avakian, Boca Raton, Florida, USA)



Nzhdeh at the 41st Convention of A.R.F. delegates of the United States of America. Boston, Mass., August 5, 1934. Seated: Nzhdeh, General Sepuh, Kopernik Tandrijan



Nzhdeh



Nzhdeh during speech, USA



The coat of arms of Taronakan movement



Hayk Asatrian, Nzhdeh's companion-in-arms, philosopher and co-founder of the Taronakan movement



The churchyard of Spitakavor, Vayots Dzor, Armenia, where Nzhdeh's ashes are buried

SONG OF GAREGIN NZHDEH
(GAREGIN NZHDEHI YERKE)

Arazi Apeen Dzenadz Enger

Arazi apin dzenadz enger,
En Arazin menk madagh,
Moot banderum danchevadz enker,
Surp tanjankid menk madagh.

*Urra, Urra, Urra,
Kach Nzhdeheen sureh shoghshogha.*

Czar vakhetsav kez aksorets,
Eer ashkharits shad heroun,
Mer mod yegar, parov yegar,
Nor idyalner mez perir.

*Urra, Urra, Urra,
Kach Nzhdeheen sureh shoghshogha.*

Aryan tashtum, grvee tashdum,
Soored shogha, kach Nzhdeh,
Urra harach, tu koratsir,
Gurtdkt khachov zartaretsir.

*Urra, Urra, Urra,
Kaj Nzhdehin sureh shoghshogha*

ERRATA

p. 52, line 1, ignore “You are clothed and fed”-b.

p. 64, lines 11-12, read:

The Armenian epic’s hero Mher, i.e. the Armenian people itself, denies the existing world order, feeling the need for the best and offering it...

“You are clothed and fed? – be satisfied, the rest is soil”
– says the medieval Armenian poet Naghash.

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GAREGIN NZHDEH (1886-1955) is an outstanding Armenian public figure, military strategist and philosopher of the first half of the 20th century. He participated in the Armenian national liberation struggle of late 19th and early 20th centuries; played a major role in the battles for the independence of First Republic of Armenia (1918); victoriously lead the struggle for Zangezur (1920-21), Armenia's southern territory bordering Iran, against the combined forces of the Red Army and their Turco-Tatar reinforcements. In exile, he organized the National Covenant ("*Tsheghakron*") movement, which later constituted the basis of the founding of the Armenian Youth Federation of the United States and Canada, affiliated with the A.R.F. (Armenian Revolutionary Federation). His fame was kept alive in the popular memory in Armenia, despite the prohibition of his name during the Soviet era. Born in Armenia, he was arrested in Bulgaria and died in a Soviet prison camp.

EDUARD DANIELYAN, Doctor of History, Yerevan, Armenia, has translated the text into English from the Armenian originals and written the commentaries.

This **SELECTED WORKS OF GAREGIN NZHDEH** is published in English translation for the first time. The texts represent the best of his philosophical and political writings. They cover the period from the early 1920s till his prison writings, in Soviet prison camp, in the mid-'50s. They also include an interview (1943) with Nzhdeh by "Razmik" newspaper of Sofia and a testimony by Nzhdeh. A chronological survey of his life and work, bibliographical sources and a glossary of place names complete this volume. The selected writings reflect the evolution of his thoughts shaped by the turbulent political events and the intense ideological battles that characterized most of the 20th century, in the Armenian and international political scene.

This publication makes available to scholars, researchers, students and the general public the political, military and philosophical reflections of a great 20th century Armenian patriot. The publishers strongly believe the text has contemporary relevance.