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ARMENIANS SOCIO-POLITICAL ACTIVISTS & IRANIAN CONSTITUTIONAL REVOLUTION (1905-1911)

Abstract:

Through the Contemporary history of Iran, Armenians have been the most important religious and ethnic minority having an undeniable role in the significant developments of the country and especially in Iranian Constitutionalist Revolution. Such a role is in no way limited to constitutionalism of course; one may trace back and forth their contribution in many pre and post-constitutionalism instead. Armenians had such an involvement in the developments of Iran after the politically and socially great Constitutionalist Revolution that the full list of political activities may not exclude their contribution in the social developments of Iran. This was because of the desirable conditions provided to the Armenians in Iran. This study deals with the role did play various Armenian groups and parties in socio-political changes in Iran at the beginning of her modern history.

Generally, Armenians were related with Iranian constitutionalism from several aspects; the first and most significant relation had been established through the social-democratic movement. They provided for a relation between Iranian social-democratic associations and international socialist movement. They would convey the message of Iranian people to European nations.

The second means for the relation of Armenians with Iranian Constitutionalism was Dashnak party which was realized by the active participation by Yeprem Khan. Armenians were pioneers of women's rights and the issue of separation of religion and politics. They were organized but not necessarily converging groups and made a great effort in the re-establishment of Iranian constitutionalism. The broad relations and communications they had with the overseas, provided for Iranian revolution to convey its message beyond geographic limits of this country and to Europe. Armenians would provide for the relation between Iranian constitutionalists and Caucasian social-democratic forces and even with social-democratic party of Russia. This way, Iranian revolution was related with Bolsheviks on one hand and with Mensheviks on the other. Iranian Constitutionalists had communication with Lenin, Kaotsky and Pelekhanov through Armenians. Furthermore, Armenians were effective in many social and cultural developments of Iran and hence their names shall never be erased from the pages of Iranian Contemporary history.

Keywords:

Iran, Armenians, Constitutional Revolution, Political Parties, Social Changes

1. Introduction

Quoting Louis Na'ibandian "Iran was the holy destination of Armenian revolutionary forces during the 19th century".¹ Later on, Armenians had their own role in the operations led to the conquest of Tehran by Constitutionalist Camp on one hand and appeared in the list of the leaders of political parties of Contemporary Iran on the other. As narrated by Zare' Markarian and according to the documents available in Vienna on the political activities of Armenians, the first Armenian Organization in Iran was established by five thinkers from among this minority group in Tabriz on January.5.1891. The establishment would follow Marxist ideas.² There were Armenian Characters such as Avetis Michaelian (Sultanzadeh) even early in twentieth century having made excellent political comments on Feb.23.1920 coup d'etat³ and was exiled to Siberian Camp because of the opposition of his comments with the formal standpoints of the Ex-Soviet government; the exile that led to his execution in 1938.

By this we mean that Armenians were in no way detached from the old residents of Iran and may be considered as an integrated part to the social developments of Iran. Their names are, just for this same reason, never erased from the pages of its contemporary history. Armenians are part of National identity of Iranian people now. This religious and ethnic minority has always lived a peaceful and friendly life among other Iranian groups.⁴ Iranian people were the only souls to protect this minority when they were subject of continuous attacks of Ottomans.⁵ Although the relationships between Iranians and Armenians people are the subject with the potentials to be used in very important and creative projects, the roles of this Iranian minority and those the Armenians residing in Caucasian have been neglected in the formal literature of Constitutionalist Revolution. By formal literature is meant the works created by certain authors to the order of the governing regimes. They have either been silent about the activities of Armenian revolutionary groups taking effective roles in the constitutionalist developments of Iran⁶ or tried to give a reverse account of the fact and /or exaggerated about the role of Armenians in the developments of Iranian contemporary history. There is no doubt that the characters such as Khosrow Shakeri⁷ have a great share in demonstration of the rake of Armenian social- democrat forces in contemporary developments of Iran is more conspicuous than any other group. From another aspect and although undeniable efforts have been made by the authors such as Esmaeil Raeen⁸ in demonstration of the role of the Armenians such as Yeprem Khan in the developments of constitutional period, this study trying in to give explanation on some further aspects of this case and perhaps to add something to the statements of such authors.

Generally, Armenians were involved in several essential aspects of Iranian Constitutionalism; we should immediately add the fact that not all Armenians involved in the historical developments of this period would follow a unified and common method and ideology. Instead, they had very different types of treatments and sometimes opposite treatments of constitutionalism. As an introduction to this account of events it should be noted that the movement often termed as "Iranian Constitutionalism" encompassing the period from 1906 to 1911 i. e, from the issuance of the order of Constitutionalism by

Mozaffareddin Shah Qajar to the issuance of an ultimatum by Russia, is divided into two essential periods: the first period begins in 1906 and comes to the end with the dismissal of the parliament by Mohammad Shah, firstly, there was no theoretical discussion of constitutionalism and one may say that such a political system remained unknown to Iranian elites despite the fact that constitutionalism had already been established. Such ignorance toward the above-said political system might have been continued for the mob and some political elites. Secondly, the main dispute was that of despotism and freedom during the first period of constitutionalism and the political elites would be divided into two groups: Those who opposed absolute monarchy and would defend constitutional monarchy against those who preferred absolute monarchy. The real fact is that those opposing constitutionalism were of a better political and ideological integrity than the constitutionalist group. The two main political theses written in opposition against constitutionalism were those authored by Sheikh Fazlollah Nouri⁹ and Sheikh Mohammad Hossein Tabrizi.¹⁰ In spite of the differences in their contents, the authors of both the theses have defended the necessity for the establishment of absolute monarchy. Sheikh Fazlollah Nouri was perhaps the first to reveal the real identity of constitutionalism and it's in compatibility with the Shi'ite religious jurisprudence. He was, on the least, the only one to write his ideas.

The first constitutionalist having written something to defend constitutionalism and to give proofs of its correspondence with the religious jurisprudence of Shi'ism was Haj Seyyed Nasrollah Taghavi Akhavi¹¹ who put forth his ideas on the same in "Tarbiat Daily", the concessionaire of which was Mohammad Hossein Foroughi, the father of Mohammad 'Ali Foroughi. The above-said author provided an independent publication of the same article afterwards. But, the fact remains that a majority of clergymen and even intellectuals didn't publish any independent thesis on this area. The theses published by some of the clergymen claiming constitutionalism were not only incompatible with the soul of identity of constitutionalist regimes but were also of a fundamental difference with the above-said systems.¹² The best example to such type of these seems to be the outlooks of Seyyed 'Abdolhossein Lari who put forth the ideas that were, in fact, utterly in opposition to constitutionalism and would result, if only practiced, to the creation of more barbarous than absolute monarchy.¹³ Intellectuals would establish many dailies during this period most important examples of which were "Mosavat", "Sour-e-Esrafil", and "Rouh-ul-Qudos". The bitter fact is that the papers of this type would not only create insight as to constitutionalism and its requirements¹⁴ but also would take major roles in the creation of vague crises. They took an active role in isolation of the government from the nation in Iran; the fact with a long background in Iranian history.¹⁵ Rarely one might find anything but Journalistic Scurrility in these papers and any theoretical discussion of constitutionalism is missing.¹⁶ This same theoretical crisis led to pragmatic crises. The period came to its end with the dismissal of the first parliament by Mohammad 'Ali Shah and a period of suppression came over in Iran. Iranian intellectuals would either immigrate to Europe or take refuge in British Embassy in Tehran. A group of them, who took

refuge in a place in Tehran named Gholhak, were in fact protected by British government.

2. The first activities

Armenians had great roles in the developments of constitutional movement during the period from the above-said event up to 1912. Armenians would not take a decisive role in the first constitutional period; but there was great developments in their role during the period between the 1st and 2nd constitutional movements¹⁷ provincial associations were established during this the same period of time and the provincial association of Rasht was the only association among the leaders of which was a social-democrat Armenian named Hartoon Galustian.¹⁸

The relation between Armenians and Constitutional developments of Iran would be established from two origins: Caucasian and Europe. Social-democratic ideas would be propagated by the above-said origins and at the same time constitutionalist ideas with a European liberalist origin would receive sufficient attention by them; the Armenians involved in the developments in Iran would, therefore, consist of two left and right wings.

Both the Armenians residing in Iran and those residing in Caucasian had a great effect in the developments of the second constitutionalist period in Iran and in Europe. It was in the second period that political parties were established and efforts were made for development of a constitutionalist ideology with both religious and secular inclinations. This period would experience not the major dispute in the form of agreement with despotism or freedom, but a difference among constitutionalists toward the methods of application of constitutionalist ideas and the limits of obligations and powers of clergymen for an intervention in political affairs. As we shall see, Armenians had an effective role in the establishment of parties.

The introduction to this case was developed during the period between 1st and 2nd constitutional movements. Two Armenians named Tigran Hacoopian and Arshavir Chalangarian would support the revolt of Sattar Khan as he began his efforts in strengthening constitutionalist ideas. Hacoopian was a resident of Tabriz and Chalangarian, who lived in Germany, would publish in *Novi Zeite* periodical about Iranian constitutionalist movement. A person named Alexander Atabagian (1868-1940) would lead an establishment of Armenian anarchists in Rasht that had been established based on a pattern of Russian anarchists. He was an educated person and held a doctorate degree in medicine from Geneva and Lion. Atabagian had returned to Iran after his education and would reside at Sabzeh Meidan place in Rasht from 1896 to 1917. He established even a clinic in that city.¹⁹ Atabagian had communication with European anarchists. However, his only activity was holding of a meeting in Rasht in an objection against the government of Spain having executed an anarchist leader of that Country. The meeting was held in the afternoon Oct.26.1909. *New Iran Daily* reported that Atabagian group would sing a political song as a memorial of the fired person while they were accompanied by a large number of ordinary people.²⁰ These were the means that would provide for a communication between Iranian constitutionalists and the associations forming 2nd international

socialist movement. British, German, French and Belgian social-democrat forces would be informed of the developments in Iran by using the reports given to international socialist movements. However, there is no doubt that the decisive role in supporting the developments that led to the downfall of despotism in Iran, belonged to Lenin. Lenin who would work in the office of second international socialist movement in Europe, would become informed of the developments in Iran through the reports he received from Sergo Orgonikidze, the Georgian revolutionary man; the same person who established, as narrated by some historians, the first social-democratic Center in Rasht and Tehran. But, the most active minority in Iranian constitutionalist movement was Armenians. As Orgonikidze holds in a letter to Lenin on June.04.1910, Gulus Daily, the social-democrat organ of Mensheviks would be furnished to him by Armenians. He asks Lenin in this letter to be furnished with the Bolshevik periodicals.²¹ The activities of Armenians were not limited to the establishment of pragmatist groups; instead they would send ISCRA the organ of Russian social-democrat party to Baku through Tabriz. Armenian social democrats of Henschak had a great role in the above-said developments.

3. Henschakists and Dashnaks

Henschak party was established with the effort of the children of rich Armenians in Geneva in 1887.²² The main organizers of it, Avetis Nazarbajian and Maryam Vardanian who were going to marry each other, were the main organizers of it. This organization was under the effect of Russian Narodniks though.²³ It was a Marxist establishment. They would prefer military operations and would follow the objective of establishment of independent Armenian government through a unity between Ottoman and Russian Armenians. However, they would operate according to socialistic mottoes. In this same period Lenin met some Iranian Constitutionalists Specially Ali Akbar Dehkoda, Mo'azed-ul-Saltaneh Pirnia and Mirza Karim Khan Rashti and it was in this same period when Lenin wrote and published in European periodicals or "ISCRA"²⁴ a series of articles on Iranian Constitutional Movement.²⁵

Another Armenian Party being in relation with the developments of constitutionalist period in Iran was Dashnak Party. This party was a nationalist party as opposed to "Henschak" that followed socialistic idea. Federation of revolutionary Armenians well-known as Dashnak Association was established after Henschak party in 1890 and it was situated in Tbilisi, capital of Georgia. The founders were three revolutionary Armenians named Christopher Michaelian, Rostam Zoorian and Simon Zavarian. Their primary motto was freedom from the rule of ottomans instead of establishment of an independent Armenia. There were some Iranian Armenians among the members of both social-democrat parties and Dashnak party. Khosrow Shakeri believed that this group had differences in idea with the social-democrats residing in Tabriz. The objectives of the social-democrats residing in Tabriz were the establishment and independent socialist Iran according to the realities of the lives of Iranian people.²⁶ The activities of this group started in 1905 concurrent with the introduction to constitutionalist movements in Iran. In case this is a true story, then the founders of Iranian social democracy were the Armenians that were

related with the moderate social democratic process of Europe and not Sergo Orgonikidzei, the Bolshevik. The social-democrats residing in Tabriz, for example, had correspondence with European Social-democrats such as Karl Kaotsky and Georky Pelekhanov and Shakeri has published their letters.²⁷ A majority of these Armenians had an Iranian origin; Vasso Khachatorian was from Caucasia and Arshavir Chalangarian the Iranian Armenian were among most well-known leaders of this group. Chalargaraian had cooperation with Neu Zeit in Germany, and published his first article on Iranian revolution in May 1910.²⁸ The articles of Chalangaarian in Neu Ziet attracted the attention of European socialists toward the developments in Iran and had them to study the colonialist activities of Russia and England in this country. The background of activity of Dashnaks and their elaboration with Iranian constitutionalist movement was even earlier to the open cooperation of social-democrat forces with this movement. As an example, the Armenians of some provinces held a meeting in Tabriz in 1906 in which Yeprem Khan, the leader of Dashnaks personally appeared. In fact it was the resolutions of this same meeting that provided for the approval of the resolution for complete protection of Iranian constitutionalism in the 4th congress of Dashnaks in Vienna in 1907.²⁹

In the continuation of these activities, a well-known and senior member of the central committee to Dashnak party, named Estepan Zoorian, who had spent a part of his life as a teacher in Tabriz, came to Tehran on Dec.30.1907 and had negotiation with some members of 1st parliament. Using the nickname Rostam Gharakhanian, he would urge constitutionalists to stand against the despotism of the king and declared the support of Armenians for them. He made some other developments on the methods of resisting against the convention of 1907 and the invasions of Ottomans on Iranian border lines.³⁰

4. Armenian Activists and Minor Despotism

When the 1st constitutionalist movement came to a collapse upon dismissal of the parliament, the Armenians were parted into two groups: Dashnak party was in doubt toward supporting Tabriz opposition group. They held that the king would embark in collective slaughter of Armenians aided by clergymen in case he decisively and finally defeated constitutionalists; but some Armenian youth having a liking toward social-democracy would support Tabriz movement and this same case caused Dashnaks to defend the revolt in Oct.1908. Zoorian was a chemistry specialist and was skilled in production of explosives. He rushed, accompanied by other volunteer Dashnaks, to help Sattar khan.³¹

Henchak party, having a social-democrat idea, joined the forces of Sattar khan in Tabriz. The representative of this party in the developments of the above-said period was Raphael Mosesian. He went to Tbilisi on behalf of the party and provided arms and volunteer forces. A mutual support convention was concluded between Iranian social-democrat forces and Henchak party on Nov.19.1908. They undertook to make effort in re-establishment of constitutionalist system. Yeprem, who was among military leaders of Sattar committee- Rasht, had communication with Estepan Zoorian in Tabriz. Of course, there was difference of ideas and competition between social-democrat forces and Dashnaks as to the real orientation of Iranian Constitutionalism.

Such differences led to the establishment of Barq Committee by some Armenian social-democrat members in Anzali. It followed the disciplines of Russian socialist Revolutionaries and had members from both Armenians and Moslems.³²

Upon dismissal of 1st constitutionalist movement a number of constitutionalists, among which was 'Ali Akbar Khan Dekhoda, a previous colleague to Sour Esrafil Daily, departed for Switzerland. Dekhoda published four further volumes of the above-said daily in Switzerland. A group of constitutionalists resided in Istanbul and had established "Sa'adat Association". They were in communication with the constitutionalists residing in London and Paris. They had association with Senior Clergymen of Ottoman and had them intervene in the events of that period as well. The first political theses trying to give an interpretation of constitutionalism according to Shi'ite religious Jurisprudence, were prepared to the order of the religious authorities residing in Najaf i.e, Akhond Molla Kazem Khorasani and Sheikh 'Abdollah Mazandarani. Two most significant articles of this period were "Tanbih-al-'Ummah Va Tanzih-al Mellah" by Naeeni³³ and "Al-l'ial-al-Marbouteh Fi Vojoub-al-Mashrouteh" by Sheikh Esmā'eel Gharavi Mahallati.³⁴ These theoretic theses that were unsuccessful efforts in reconciliation of two utterly different and antagonistic factors, not only failed in giving a real ideological interpretation of constitutionalism, but created many political and social crises and led to some hallucination that would imagine the intervention of strangers in all and any development in Iran. This misinterpretation paved the way for further crises which in turn led to the coup d'état that claimed to have found solution to theoretical and practical dilemmas of constitutionalism and the 2nd generation of constitutionalists was even considering the abandonment of constitutionalism and the necessity for the establishment of a powerful government headed by a superman.³⁵ As stated before, the revolutionary Armenian prince who was a victim to the furious anger of Stalin had given one of the best analyses on this coup d'état.

Anyway, Iranian constitutionalists would usually gather in London and Paris after the dismissal of the 1st parliament in London, Mr.Lynch , the holder of the well-known royalty of shipping in Karoon River, Edward Brown, the famous scholar and researchers who would teach in Cambridge University, and Lord Lamington, a Jewish member of British House of Lords would cooperate with constitutionalists. In Paris, Madame Dieu La Fois would defend Iranian constitutionalists.³⁶ Both in London and in Paris there were established some associations in support of constitutionalists the most important among which was Committee of Iran³⁷ in London that was later changed its name to Iran Association. The association in Paris was named Franco-Persian Association. A large gathering of Iranian constitutionalists was formed in Paris that was protected by Madame La Fois. The most significant of constitutionalist character was Mirza Karim Khan Rashti who belonged to a rich family residing in Gilan. His family was well-known as Al-e-Omsheh. Armenians obtained popularity during the constitutionalist developments. The most important character among them was Yeprem Khan. Yeprem Khan was related with the Iranian associations residing in France. He was a top leader of Dashnak party

that made effort for freedom of Armenia from the reign of Russian Tsars. The political activities of Yeprem Khan were, more and before anything else, related with Iranian constitutionalism.

Yeprem had a military personality whose utmost idea was freedom of the Armenians residing in Ottomans from the dominance of Caliph system. His viewpoint was first revealed when a meeting was held in Paris to defend constitutionalist campaigns of Iranian people and to protect the efforts of other oriental nations. Some Iranian representatives would emphasize on religion as the idea characterizing the campaigns of Iranian people; but Yeprem stood up and held that Moslems would be invaded beside Armenians and other religious minorities in Iran and that in other words. The campaigns of Iranian people had not a mere religious identity as there was a contribution by the people who were religiously different from majority of Iranian people. On the other hand it was put forth that the movement of Iranian people is more political in nature than religious; and that the elements having stimulated Iranian people are freedom and equality before law. He suggested that the movement of Iranian people should take global dimensions to itself and that the only way to such a globality was religious neutrality of the movement. He believed that the slogans propagating Islamic unification should be abandoned. Iranian people should depend on their own potentials.³⁸ This same idea was, later on, put forth by Youssef Mirzayans, Armenians representative in the parliament. He believed that the political affairs of the country should be managed by Iranian nationals nonwhite standing their religion. In other words, he made effort for the fulfillment of the idea that preferred separation of religion from government and establishment of civil rights of women.³⁹

Yeprem Khan was not the only person to hold such ideas. Not only he put the potentials of his party at disposal of constitutionalist forces, but also played an essential role, accompanied by Alexander Aghayan, in planning the activities aimed at the downfall of Mohammad 'Ali Shah. Aghayan was the first Armenian from Iran having been graduated in law from a Switzerland University. He had obtained Ph. D in this course of study. He had gone to Paris after dismissal of first constitutional movement and would cooperate with Franco-Persian Association. Franco-Persian was the connecting ring among the Moslem, Christians, Jews and Zoroastrians who made effort for revival of Iranian Constitutionalism. It was related with shiit authorities in Najaf through Saadat Association of Istanbul⁴⁰ from one hand and with Iran League of India headed by Sir Dinshah Irani⁴¹ and some young intellectuals inside Iran, from the other. They asked Iran League of India to invest a part of their own huge wealth for the economic growth in Iran.⁴² They established first Israelite alliances in Iran,⁴³ built an undeniable relation with Najaf and, more important, they were related with all Caucasian nations.

The most popular representative of Caucasian Turks being in communication with this association was Mohammad Amin Rasoulzadeh, a free-thinker with Iranian Origin and residing in Baku. He had Menshevik ideas.⁴⁴ He came to Iran with constitutionalist camp and became chief editor of Iran now (New Iran) Daily. The minority that had its origin in 2nd parliament established Democrat

Party, afterwards. The most well-known representatives of Georgians, who were finally related with Paris Gathering, were Valikov and Sergo Orgonikidze. Iranian Constitutionalists would have communications with Lenin and Committee of Caucasian Social-democrats through Orgonikidze.⁴⁵ Mirza Karim Khan Rashti even met Orgonikidze and Stalin at the outset of an invasion for removal of Mohammad 'Ali Shah;⁴⁶ but there is no doubt that none of them had a role comparable to that of Armenians. The mediator providing for the communication of Iranian constitutionalists of Sattar Committee with Caucasian Social-democrat forces was Gregor Yeghikian, the revolutionary Armenian who provided for the relations between the above-said group and Stalin as well. Stalin was, then, the head of Caucasion Social-Democrat Committee.⁴⁷ As an explanation to this point it should be noted that Mirza Karim Khan Rashti arrived in Baku before the invasion of Tehran in 1909. He had the mission to provide the arms needed by constitutionalists. He established communication with revolutionary groups there and would send armament to Iran through Anzali and Rasht. One of his financial resources in providing arms was Toomanians Brothers Trading Co.⁴⁸ who were Armenians residing in Caucasian Astarakhan. Toomanians Trading Co. would manage 60% of commodity export from Iran to Russia. As already stated, Aghayan was an Armenian who would cooperate with the committee of Iranian Constitutionalists in Paris. He had lived in Qazvin before that period and had made an acquaintance with Yeprem Khan. They would live in the same house during a certain period and had left for Paris immediately after that period. Aghayan came to Baku at the outset of conquest of Tehran. He intended to arrive in Iran, but there was a problem to his travel through Caucasia as the officers of Tsarist Russia had created extraordinary conditions in order to discover the revolutionary centers. One of Toomanians brothers furnished Aghayan with a letter that indicated that Aghayan was a representative of the trading company in Astara-Iran and this way, he was able to arrive in Iran with a false identity. He rushed for Anzali and went to Rasht and Qazvin afterwards.⁴⁹

5. Conquest of Tehran

The first organized facility for the re-establishment of constitutionalist system had been formed in Rasht. It was called Sattar Committee. The reason for giving such a name to the committee was the fact that Azerbaijan was the only province that refused to keep quiet after dismissal of constitutionalism and Tabriz was always an arena for the fight between central government and constitutionalists. Sattar khan would continue his campaign against the regime of Mohammad Ali Shah despite the fact that there was difference of ideas among constitutionalists of that region. The constitutionalists of Gilan formed Sattar Committee to honor Sattar khan. The executive branch of the above-said committee was battle commission headed by Alexander Aghayan. The outstanding figure of this commission was Yeprem Khan.

Although there was, generally, a unity of ideas between Iranian constitutionalists and Caucasian immigrants, differences existed as well. One of such differences of ideas was the disagreement between Panov, a Bulgarian revolutionary person and a member of Proletariat Social-Democrat Party of

Russia (Menshevik) and Yeprem Khan, Panov would cooperate with the liberalist daily *Rach*,⁵⁰ an organ of Russian constitutionalist party published by prince Miliokov. Panov had been availed of the documents indicating the interventions of Russian government and its cooperation in overthrowing Iranian Constitutionalism and had written some articles on it. Russian government negated the case. Panov was in Gilan in 1909 and was a mediator for the communication of Iranian revolutionary forces and committee of Social-Democrats of Russia. When the revolt took place in Gilan, Sepahdar Tonekaboni who had previously been an agent of despotic government, became a nominal leader of the movement. This caused the disagreement between Yeprem and Panov to widen more than before, as, unlike Yeprem, Panov wouldn't show any sign of agreement with Sepahdar Tonekaboni. This resulted to the departure of Panov for Mazandaran. He had even Joined constitutionalist camp before that event and before conquest of Tehran; but the disagreement with Yeprem had him to abandon that group.⁵¹

There was a group named Barqi group in committee of Battle. A majority of members of this group were from Caucasia and most important band of members consisted of Armenians. Barqi group, including 64 members, consisted of 14 Moslems, 1 Russian with a German Origin, and 49 Armenians.⁵² There is another report by Arsen Guidor, Armenian historian, a brief of which is given. According to his comment, the forces invading Tehran consisted of Georgian Social-Democrat group with 23 members, Henchakists group with 21 members and headed by Petros Malek Andressian,⁵³ Social-Democrat group with 50 members headed by Gholamhossein Khan, Dashnak group with 70 members headed by Yeprem, the group of Sattar committee with 45 members, 46 members of Barq committee and Caucasian Tatars.⁵⁴ The reason for their being called as Barq Group (lightning) was their rapid invasion. Committee of War had no important problem in arriving in Qazvin; but they had difficulty in departing for Tehran. There was the risk of a report by cable and that would disclose their plot before they found any opportunity to take action. For this reason, Yeprem moved its forces through Alamout, near Qazvin, over night and they arrived in Karaj without any accident. Roads Administration was managed by Baqerov Brothers, then. They were of Gilani origin and resided in Rasht. They were a rich family who would cooperate with Iranian Constitutionalism.⁵⁵ Yeprem would establish communication with constitutionalists on their telephone and would get news or give reports.⁵⁶ Baqerov Brothers were five having been known as "the five Seyyeds" (Seyyed means "Sir" and the word has religious sense). They were named Seyyed Assadollah, Seyyed Nassrollah, Seyyed Reza, Seyyed Mahmoud and Aghamir Alinaghi. They had a publication organization named Baqerov Brothers Publication House in Tehran and one of the most important works published by it was "The Blue Book" or the documents of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of UK of Iranian Constitutionalism.⁵⁷ After the conquest of Tehran, the king took refuge in Russian Embassy and a board was formed in the same way as had been formed during French Revolution. It undertook to manage the affairs of the country before a discipline and peace would be established. The board included

as a member, Youssof Mirzayans the latter deputy of Armenians in the 2nd parliament. One of the actions taken by the board was dismissal of Mohammad Ali Shah and appointment of his extremely young son to the kingdom.⁵⁸ Yeprem Khan undertook to manage police Administration in Tehran that would protect safety and peace in the capital of Iran.

It was stated above that upon dismissal of 1st constitutionalism to the order of Mohammad Ali Shah, constitutionalist forces took refuge in different places including Gholhak. Now, it's time for us to state that a major part of the forces in the camp of Yeprem consisted of this same group of persons; two most important persons among them were Ebrahim Khan Monshizadeh and Assadollah Khan Abolfathzadeh who used previously to cooperate with Kasak camp and had begun cooperation with constitutionalists from the early days of its emergence.

6. Armenians and women rights

Armenians would not only cooperate in political affairs, but also in legal and/or cultural affairs. One of the cases they would intervene with was women rights. As political freedom of the society had been recovered again at the beginning of 2nd constitutional period and some people wouldn't observe religious rules, the government ordered the police of Tehran to prevent the traffic of women in the streets after sunset. This order caused many crises. An Armenian named Estepanian who was a constitutionalist physician, protested against the order. He filed his petition to the parliament and held that women wouldn't dare go out of their houses and that they would suppose that the parliament had ordered them not to go out of their homes. He reminded them of constitutionalist measures and held that the prohibitions were against it. He held at the same time that the police was not permitted to act against constitutionalism.⁵⁹

Yeprem Khan's wife was Anahid Davidian, who was active on women's rights. After Tehran Conquest, Yeprem was commander of Tehran police and his wife organized women against borrowing from foreign countries.⁶⁰ Asifik, the 13-year old daughter of Yeprem Khan was accompanying the group of Yeprem upon invasion of Tehran.⁶¹ Armenian women were active in social affairs after Tehran conquest; some plays would be played by an association of women affiliated to Henchak party. Many plays were written by the famous social-democrat , Gregor Yeghikian. His wife, Astorik Yeghikian was first opera singer and actress in Iran.⁶² Baeyanov, the revolutionary Armenian from Caucasia would discuss constitutionalism and women's rights with some women of aristocracy of Iran.⁶³

7. Social Democratic Activities

As stated before, it was because of the efforts of Caucasian revolutionary forces and especially of Armenians that. Iranian Social-Democrat party was first formed in Tabriz. Now, we are to say that some differences emerged in their ideas of revolutionary campaign, before long. One of the differences was that of foreign investment in Iran that caused the forces of the party to be parted in two

groups. Some members believed that foreign investment was a pre-requisite to the organization of labor class, and that the party would be able to offer a socialist plan for the future of the country in such a case. Some of them would oppose to such an idea. A group of them would believe that the movement should be radicalized and this should be done through a unity of farmers and laborers; but some other members believed that constitutionalism with a liberalist identity should be protected and that it should be used as a platform for socialist activities. Finally, one Armenian member of the party, Arshavir Chalangarian wrote a letter to Kaotsky, the leader of social-democrat movement of Germany in July 19th 1909 and asked for a guideline on this question.⁶⁴ Kaotsky disagreed to foreign investment as a drive to capitalism and held that it was against the expectations of Iranian social-democrat forces. He believed that foreign investment wouldn't in itself cause the labor class to be formed and social-democracy ideas to be propagated. He wrote that Iranian social-democrats would better protect constitutionalism and to use it as a base for the establishment of democracy; that they might try to deepen the objectives of the revolution after they had established democracy. Despite the fact that there were differences on this among the social-democracy forces in Tabriz, the same letter brought a unity of forces that had come to a difference of ideas from the very beginning.⁶⁵

The letter by Kaotsky didn't, however, result in the complete removal of differences. There was Arshavir Chalangarian, on one front, to adopt radical position and Pilusian on the other. Pilusian was an effective person in the establishment of democrat party of Iran and Seyyed Hassan Taghizadeh would consult with him on the organization of the above-said party. Iran Now Daily was established with the financial support of an Armenian named Joseph Bazil who was completely well-off.⁶⁶ Bazil⁶⁷ was a representative of Daily Mail in Iran. Iran Now daily's manager was Ziaeddin Shabestari and its chief editor was Mohammad Rasoulzadeh. The importance of the case is revealed when one discovers that Daily Mail belonged to Arthur Harmsworth known as North cliff. He was the man who bought Times Daily of London later on. He was one of those who promoted Churchill to the arena of politics and had close relations with the Jews in Britain.

Anyway, Chalangarian believed that Iran was experiencing the introductory stages to the establishment of an industrial society and held that laborers shouldn't be let become puppets of bourgeoisie. He believed that laborers should be guided toward an original socialist revolution and not a mere democratic bourgeois revolution. The other group believed that the circumstances in Iran wouldn't provide for a socialist revolution then. They held that proletariat class, as the drive force of such a revolution had not been formed. They were of the opinion that propagation of social-democracy should be abandoned temporarily and that a democratic revolution, that would bring freedom to social forces and shall finally deepen revolutionary objectives, should be supported.⁶⁸ A majority of Iranian and Armenian social-democrat forces had sympathy toward the thesis offered by Chalangarian. As a consequence of these differences, Chalangarian wrote, once again, a letter to

Pelekhanov on behalf of the majority and Tigran Ter Hacoopian and asked for him to explain their ideas to Bolsheviks and Mensheviks of Russia.⁶⁹ Hacoopian also wrote a letter to Pelekhanov and noted that Iranian socialists were few and mainly resided in Tabriz. He believed they were the intellectuals that had completed their education in Russia and that had abandoned Bourgeois ideas under the effects of international socialism and the Russian revolution of 1905. He explained that some Iranian socialists considered it as something imported and not an indispensable reality of daily life of an Iranian person. He held that there was nothing to be called as proletariat in Iran and neither such a phenomenon as to be called as bourgeoisie.⁷⁰ The differences continued to exist to the last days of constitutionalism.⁷¹ But, the reality governing Iranian constitutionalism was not the idea held by the followers of social-democracy; instead it was just the opposite. Such a reality revealed itself in the quarrels of Atabak Park in which the warriors of the immediate past were disarmed and a large number of them were killed.

No doubt, the story of Atabak Park, in which the warriors accompanying Sattar Khan were disarmed and he himself was hurt, is one of the most sorrowful events of Iranian constitutionalism and indicative of an erroneous analysis of the conditions governing the same period. Yeprem Khan was, then, inclined toward Democrat party.⁷² They had considered the defeat of Sattar Khan as an objective during the period they had formed a cabinet. The story of intervention of Yeprem in this story and as an ally of Democrat forces was an action that was taken to the order of democratic government of Hassan Khan Mostofi-al-Mamalek and there is no need for a review of the case. The only novel case in this period was the idea of Chalangarian about warriors or Mujahedin. Chalangarian considered them as proletariat lumpens and believed that the armed groups being active in constitutionalist developments, who received wage, had no special social class and that they should be defeated. He believed that the warriors supported by the party whose standing was against Democrat, should be disarmed and substituted by democratic military forces.⁷³ This analysis would waste the major part of power of constitutionalists. In fact, the fight against Sattar Khan and his group was not because they were proletariat lumpens; instead it was because Democrat party would consider them at disposal of the party Competing with it. Social-democrat called the followers of Sattar Khan as lumpens because they had not considered the deep personal and party based differences of that period. This was under circumstances that the group opposing Sattarkhan would show more striking behaviors of lumpens. This same fight against warriors or Mujahedin provided the conditions in which no Serious resistance was made upon invasion of Iran by Russia.⁷⁴

8. Armenian activists and Ultimatum of Russia

Upon departure of Russian forces for invasion of Iran, different parties along with Dashnaks decided to resist against the invading army. The force consisted of 2000 of Bakhtiari men, 300 Armenians under the command of Yeprem and 1100 persons under the command of William Morgan Shuster, The financial

advisor to Iran. But, Shuster suggested negative resistance instead of a battle against such an army because he believed that the small number of men on the part of constitutionalists wouldn't be able to withstand the great forces of Russia.⁷⁵ Russian forces finally occupied the country and constitutionalist movement was dismissed. But, Dashnaks and Armenians of Henchak party seriously protected Iranian resistance and would convey the voice of Iranian people beyond the borders of Iran. Tria Georgian⁷⁶ and an Armenian Dashnak gave a thorough interpretation of the circumstances. Prevailing Iran during the speech they had in 2nd International Congress in Copenhagen in 1910. Although Armenian representatives would try to give somehow exaggerated image of their roles in the developments in Gilan, Tehran and Azarbaijan, but the significant fact is that the congress asked socialist parties of Europe to take action against the activities ordered by Tsar.⁷⁷ Russian forces slaughtered all warriors, whether Iranian or expatriate, when they invaded Iran in 1912. Many constitutionalists were executed in Tabriz in August 1912. One of them was Bedrus Andreasian.⁷⁸ The last action by Yeprem, as the commander of the police in Tehran before the repeated dismissal of constitutionalism, was that he had the deputies to accept the ultimatum of Russia according to which Shuster was expected to leave Iran and the government had to pay war reparation to Russia. Yeprem Khan was killed in a quarrel in some point of Iran shortly after it. However, the role of Armenians in political, economic, social and cultural developments of Iran was considerable for many years following the above-said events.

Conclusion

Generally, Armenians were related with Iranian constitutionalism from several aspects; the first and most significant relation had been established through the social-democratic movement. The role of Armenians in the movement was established by two means; through participation in the establishment of Iranian social-democrat party in Tabriz and Rasht, and through Henchak Armenian Social-Democratic party. Both Caucasian and Iranian Armenians would take part in the above-said parties. Some members had a role in the establishment of Iran Now (New Iran) Daily and Iranian Democratic party as well. They provided for a relation between Iranian social-democratic associations and international socialist movement. They would convey the message of Iranian people to European nations.

The second means for the relation of Armenians with Iranian Constitutionalism was Dashnak party which was realized by the active participation by Yeprem Khan. Yeprem was the true conqueror of Tehran in 1909, the conquest having led to the dismissal of Mohammad Ali Shah, the Iranian dictator. Armenians had a great role in development of theoretical issues of socialism. No doubt, Hacoopian had a decisive role in the discussion of theoretical issues with Iranian intellectuals. Armenians were pioneers of women's rights and the issue of separation of religion and politics. They were organized but not necessarily converging groups and made a great effort in the re-establishment of Iranian constitutionalism. The broad relations and communications they had with the overseas, provided for Iranian revolution to

convey its message beyond geographic limits of this country and to Europe. The main effort in this respect was that of Arshavir Chalangarian who published the revolutionary issues of Iran in *Neu Zeit*, the German Daily. Armenians would provide for the relation between Iranian constitutionalists and Caucasian social-democratic forces and even with social-democratic party of Russia. This way, Iranian revolution was related with Bolsheviks on one hand and with Mensheviks on the other. Iranian Constitutionalists had communication with Lenin, Kaotsky and Pelekhanov through Armenians. Furthermore, Armenians were effective in many social and cultural developments of Iran and hence their names shall never be erased from the pages of Iranian Contemporary history.

¹ Homa Nategh: Political & Economic Consequences of *Tanzimat* by Ottomans, *okhara Magazine*, No 5, April-May 1999, P. 282.

² Hamid Ahmadi: A Novel Experience in Orally Narrated History of the three Generations of Leftist Opposition, *Periodical of Noghteh*, No. 7, p.19.

³ See: Avetis Michaelian (Soltanzadeh): *Socio-Economic Bases of Reza Shah Pahlavi Reign, Socialism & Revolution*, vol. 1, No. 4, September 1983, vol. No. 4. The original article was published in French and translated into Persian for the 1st time in this year.

⁴ Homa Nategh: Political & Economic Consequences of *Tanzimat* by Ottomans, p.281.

⁵ A quotation from the Armenian periodical “*Droshak*”, *Ibid*, p. 282.

⁶ As an example the role of Armenians has been neglected in a formal account given on the establishment of Iranian Democratic Party on constitutionalist period.

⁷ See: Avetis Michaelian (Soltanzadeh); *The Forgotten Theorist of the Revolution, life and works*, (Florence: Padzahr publications, 1985). Also see: Kosroe Chaqueri (ed): *The Armenians in Iran*, (Cambridge Massachusetts: Harvard university press, 1998), pp.77-118.

⁸ See: Esmā'il Ra'een: *Yeprem Khan, the Commander*, (Tehran: Zarrin publications, 1971).

⁹ Sheikh Fazlollah Nouri: *A Note on the Negligent & Guidance to the Ignorant*. For its printed text, see: Hossein Abadian: *Theoretical Bases of Constitutional and Legitimate Government*, (Tehran: Ney, 1995).

¹⁰ Sheikh Mohammad Hossein Tabrizi: *The Objectives of Constitutionalism & Despotism*. For its printed text, see: *Theoretical Bases of Constitutional and legitimate government*.

¹¹ This thesis was first published in “*Tarbiat Daily*”; No. 421, It had the title “*The Benefits of National Consultative Assembly*”. See: *initiatives to constitutionalism*, edited by Javad Janfada, (Tehran: Ferdowsi Publications, 1984).

¹² See: The thesis by Agha Najafi Esfahani with the title “*The Residing Pilgrim & the Travelling Pilgrim*”, he would even speak of the movement of Imam Hossein in his interpretation of constitutionalism. He meant by constitutionalism, basing the government on religious jurisprudence and differs from constitutional regime by nature.

¹³ His viewpoints have been put forth in the theses: *Ayat Al-zalemin* (The verses of cruel persons) and “*The law of constitutionalism and Islamic jurisprudence*”, (Shiraz: Mohammadi printing house, 1325 AH).

¹⁴ For an example of the reactions against the subjects published in periodicals; See: the National Parliament Negotiations, second session, Saturday, 21 Sha'ban 1328 (AH), and Thursday 16 Jamadi-ol-avval 1328(AH).

¹⁵For a theoretical discussion; see: Mohammad Ali Homayoon Katoozian; *The Theory of History & Politics in Iran*, translated by Alireza Tayeb, (Tehran: Ney, 2001).

¹⁶ As an example to this, Seyyed Mohammad Reza Mosavat, director for Mosavat periodical, would provide minutes to establish that the king was born as an illegitimate child. Ahmad Kasravi wrote: "if there was a person in constitutional period to be punished for his measures that was very seyed Mahmmad Reza Mosavat." Ahmad Kasravi: *Iran Constitutional history*, (Tehran: Amir Kabir, 1979). As an example for Mosavat essays, see: Mosavat, No. 21, 26 April 1908 the article entitled " what's the King Status right now?"

¹⁷ By 2nd constitutionalism is meant the period that began upon conquest of Tehran and ended with the invasion by Russian forces in 1911.

¹⁸ Janet Afari: *Iranian Constitutionalist Revolution*, translated by Reza Reza'ei, (Tehran: Bistoon, 1996), P. 110. This information has been already presented by Mehdi Ahmad, parliament ex-deputy under the title of "Social Democracy though in Constitutional movement in Rasht".

¹⁹ Ali Farouhi & Faramarz Talebi; *The Armenians of Guilan*, (Rsht: Gilakan, Unknown Date), P.261.

²⁰ *Iran-e-Now (New Iran)*, first year, No. 5, 13 Shawal 1327 (AH).

²¹ Abdolhossein Agahi: *First Period of Propagation of Marxist Ideas in Iran*, Donya, No. 4, Winter 1962, p.47.

²² Louis Na'bandian: *The Armenian Revolutionary Movement*, (LA: Berkeley, 1963), chap. 5.

²³ "Narod" means "people" and "Narodnik" means "a protector of people" in Russian language. Narodniks enjoyed of military operations for the decline of Russian Tsar.

²⁴ "Iskra" in Russian language means "lightning".

²⁵ For a familiarity with the viewpoints of Lenin on the developments of Iran in constitutionalist period refer to: V.I. Lenin: *collected works*, vol. 15, (Moscow: progress publications, 1973), the articles: "Bellicose Militarism and the Anti-Militarist Tactics of Social Democracy", P.191 & "Inflammable Material in world politics", pp. 182-188, and "Events in the Balkans and in Persia."

²⁶Mohammad Hossein Khosro-Panah (ed): *Armenians' role in Iran Social Democracy 1905-1911*, (Tehran: Shirazeh, 2003), p. 30.

²⁷ First letter by Social-Democrat forces of Tabriz was written to Plekhanov on Sept/ 15/ 1905 and its author was Joseph Qarakhani, see: *Armenians' role in Iran Social Democracy*, p. 77.

²⁸ A translation of the article was published in "Documents of Laborers, Social-Democracy & Socialist Movement in Iran", Khosrow Shakeri and Parviz Datsmalchi.

²⁹ Andrei Amourian: *The Epic of Yeprem*, (Tehran: Javidan, 1976), p. 28.

³⁰Ibid, pp. 31-32.

³¹ Ibid, p. 42.

³² Yeprem D. Ganzza Katsi: *From Enzeli to Tehran: Private Notes of Yeprem Khan, Armenian Mujahid*, (Tehran: Babak, 1976), pp. 24-25.

³³ This thesis was published in Bushehr in 1909. For study the available example, see: *theoretical fundamentals of constitutional and legitimate government*, pp. 200-244.

³⁴ This thesis was published in 1981 by Enteshar Publications Co. with the introduction by Seyyed Mahmoud Taleghani.

³⁵ The most well-known persons among them were: 'Ali Dashti, the Director of "Shafaghe Sorkh Daily", Morteza Moshfegh Kazemi, director of "Nameh Farangestan", 'Abdollah Razi, director for Soudmand and Rastakhiz journals; Dr Mahmoud Afshar Yazdi, director of Ayandeh magazine and specially 'Ali Akbar Khan Davar, director of Iran-e Azad journal. These persons propagated the mentioned thought in their periodicals. The author achieved a contraversary discussion about these persons and hopes to publish it in future.

³⁶ See: the parliament daily.

³⁷ See: "The letters of Edward Brown" for a familiarity with the activities of this committee.

³⁸ Mehdi Malekzadeh: *History of Iranian Constitutionalist Revolution*, vol. 5, (Tehran: Ibn sina, 1952), pp. 1015-1017.

³⁹See: Discussion of National Consultative Assembly, 2nd session 28 Zel-gha'deh 1328(AH).

- ⁴⁰ The diary for such a communication was Seyyed 'Assadollah Kharraghani, See: Dr Mehdi Malekzadeh: History of Iran Constitutional Revolution, vol. 5, p. 847.
- ⁴¹ The association headed by Sir Dinshah Irani; this association had an important role in removing the non-Muslim capitation from Iranian Zoroastrians. This event was taken place in Nasser-al-din shah period.
- ⁴² Parliament Daily (Madjlis), 4th year, No.16. Thursday, 4 October 1910, "Zoroastrians assembly in London."
- ⁴³ The founder of Israelite Alliance Schools was a man named Monsieur Visieuz. The first of these schools was founded in Mozaffar-al-din shah period.
- ⁴⁴ For two analyses on the life of Rasoulzadeh, See: Feridoun Adamiyat: The Idea of Social Democracy in Iranian Constitutionalist Movement, (Tehran: Payam, 1984), also see: Hossein Abadian: Rassoulzadeh, democrat sect and Iran Contemporary Changes, (Tehran: ICHS, 1997).
- ⁴⁵ History of Iranian Constitutionalist Revolution, vol. 5, p. 990.
- ⁴⁶ Guilan in Constitutionalist Movement, p. 115.
- ⁴⁷ Ibid.
- ⁴⁸ Another Financial Source For provision of Arms to Iran was supplied by Zeinol'abedin Taghiov famous rich man residing in Baku.
- ⁴⁹ The periodical "Khandaniha", year 21, no. 87, 22 July 1960, pp. 21-18, "memories of Dr Aghayan".
- ⁵⁰ Rach is a Russian word.
- ⁵¹ 'Ali Farouhi: Armenians of Guilan and Constitutionalist Movement, *Ayandeh*, vol.19, No. 9-7(in one volume), p. 704.
- ⁵² Khandaniha, memoires of Dr Aghayan, No. 90, Tuesday, 1st August 1961, p 19.
- ⁵³ He was executed by Russian forces in 1912 when they occupied Iran. For more information see: Ahmad Kasravi: History of 18 years of Azerbaijan, (Tehran: Amir kabir, 1979), pp. 361-356. He published the *Zang* journal in constitutional period in Tabriz.
- ⁵⁴ The Role of Armenians in Iranian Social-Democracy, pp. 67-68 narrated by Arsen Guidor: *the Henchakist party and the Revolutionary Movement in Persia (1908-1911)*.
- ⁵⁵ M. Sharif Kashani: The Events of Time, Edited by Mansoureh Etehadieh & Syrous Sa'dvandian, (Tehran: Nashre Tarikh Iran, 1363), pp. 345-346.
- ⁵⁶ Khandaniha, memoires of Dr Aghayan, No. 89, Saturday, 29 July 1961, p. 14.
- ⁵⁷ About Bagherof Brothers, see this Baha'i reference: 'Azizollah Soleimani Ardakani: Masabihe Hedayat, vol. 5, (Tehran: 1949), pp. 476-501.
- ⁵⁸ History of Constitutionalist Revolution, vol. 6, p. 1237.
- ⁵⁹ Iran-e-Now (New Iran Daily), No. 35, 6 May 1911, p. 4, "letter to office".
- ⁶⁰ Janet Afari: Iranian Constitutionalist Revolution, p. 246.
- ⁶¹ Abdolhossein Nahid: Iranian Women in Constitutionalist Movement, (Tehran: Unknown Publisher, 1981), p. 67.
- ⁶² Jamshid Malekpour: Spectacle literature in Iran, vol. 2, (Tehran: Toos, 1983), p. 48.
- ⁶³ Memories of Taj-al-Saltaneh, edited by M. Etehadieh & S. Sa'dvandian, (Tehran: Nashre Tarikhe Iran, 1995), pp. 101-102.
- ⁶⁴ The original letter was published in: Khosro Shakeri: Historical Documents of Laborers, Social-Democracy & Communist Movement in Iran, (Florence: Mazdak, 1976).
- ⁶⁵ John Riddle: Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International: Documents 1907-1916, (New York: Monad Press, 1984), pp. 60-63.
- ⁶⁶ Mohammad Sadr Hashemi: History of Periodicals in Iran, vol. 1, (Isfahan: Kamal, 1948), p. 74.
- ⁶⁷ Daily Mail.
- ⁶⁸ Documents of Labor, Social-Democracy & Communist Movement in Iran", vol. 6, pp. 36-35.
- ⁶⁹ Ibid, vol. 6, p 43. In this letter, it was described to Plekhanov that the Iranian revolution was initiated by the clergy.
- ⁷⁰ Ibid.
- ⁷¹ An activist of this period was W. Migladze, Georgian Menshevik with the nickname "Tria". He submitted a report of constitutionalist movement of Iran to "2nd International" which was constituted in Copenhagen. This session was held in Copenhagen from 28 August to 3 September 1910. The resolution of 2nd international about Iran was published in Tamaddon Journal, No. 3 dated 28 Shawal

1328 and its Persian translated version was published in vol. 6 of "Documents on labor movement, social democracy and communist of Iran."

⁷² The theorists such as Veram Pilussian and Tigran Hacoopian were effective in founding of Democrat party. As a matter of fact, the theorists of this party are all Caucasian whether they are Mohammad Amin Rasoulzadeh or the Armenians involved in the Iranian constitutionalism. About the Armenians role in founding Iran democrat party, see: Iraj Afshar: Newly Founded Documents of Constitutionalism and Taghizadeh role, (Tehran: Javidan, 1980), pp. 238 and next on.

⁷³ Arshavir Chalangarian: Iran After the Revolution; in: Neue Zeit, 1910-1911, No.1, pp. 186-192.

⁷⁴ Hacoopian wrote a series of articles on some problems of Iran and published in Iran-e-Now Daily. When there was an atmosphere of terrorist actions in Iran, and some people attributed the same to Democrat party, he held that those believing in the role of producing forces and production relations in social developments wouldn't support terrorist actions. Once referred to Karl Marx works, he described that the socio-economical reformations are effective in changes and not the persons. These viewpoints contradict Plekhanov ideas which wrote a treatise concerning the significance of personalities role in history. He, as a theorist for persons such as Hacoopian, contradicts as well. For more information, see serial articles entitled "Terror" in: Iran Now (new Iran), No. 49, 16 Zel-hajjeh 1328 AH), No. 51, 19 Zelhajjeh 1328 (AH), and other next numbers of this journal. Recently these articles have been published along with the others, Tigran Ter Hacoopian in *Armenians role in social democracy of Iran*, p. 203 and next on.

⁷⁵ Morgan Shuster: The strangling of Persia, (New York: Century, 1912), p. 190.

⁷⁶ He wrote an article on Iranian Constitutionalism. See: Michael Pavlovich and S. Iranski and Tria: Iranian Constitutional Revolution and its Socio-Economic Origins, translated by M. Houshiar, (Tehran: Roodaki, 1978). Tria was a Menshevik and pavlovich a Bolshevik. In post revolution period, Pavlovich was consultant to Lenin in occidental countries affairs.

⁷⁷ G. D. H. Cole: the Second International; 1889-1914, vol. 3, (London: MC. Millan Co, 1956), p. 86.

⁷⁸ Ahmad Kasravi: The 18-yearly History of Azerbaijan, vol. 1, (Tehran: Amir Kabir, 1978), pp. 335-336.