

**Age of Rogues**  
**Rebels, Revolutionaries**  
**and Racketeers at the**  
**Frontiers of Empires**

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of the state which he created – amongst widely acknowledged subjects of Ottoman authority and law.<sup>77</sup>

The police did nothing to punish Halil Beşar Ağa for what was, in the eyes of Ottoman officials, a crime not worthy of punishment. In autumn 1900, however, the revolutionaries in Sasun waylaid Halil Beşar Ağa and killed him. Andranig Ozanian, who was one of the rising figures within the ARF, led the attack and cut off the Kurdish lord's head. The act was a deliberate response to both the killing of Serob Vartanian the previous year and the recent sack of the village of Sbghank.<sup>78</sup> The governor of Bitlis informed his superiors that the lord's assassination had caused a furore among the Kurds, and that orders had been dispatched to local civilian and military authorities to prevent a general Kurdish attack on the Armenians.<sup>80</sup>

The police's covering up of the Highland massacre and its protection of the government's interests in the region after the Sasun massacre in 1894. The evidence is in the government's marginalisation of Sasun Armenians and its attempts to create a unified administration of relations between the Armenians and Kurds of the region. Halil Beşar Ağa, who had used to shield his Armenians from the government and persecution, had lost his influence in the region after his deposition in 1894. Halil Beşar Ağa, whose shield had acted as a protective buffer in 1894, had become one of the chief enemies of government policy.<sup>81</sup> Moreover, he had used his newly expanded power and influence to create and sell.

The revolutionaries inserted themselves at the centre of the growing conflict between Kurdish lords with a licence to extort and punish, and the Sasun Armenians, for whom armed clashes became an increasingly frequent occurrence. They went further than their predecessors before the 1894 massacre; they targeted gendarmes and soldiers as well as the likes of Halil Beşar Ağa. The latter was not only a powerful Kurdish lord, but also one of the most important agents of the government in pursuing revolutionaries and consolidating the marginalisation of the Sasun Armenians. By 1900

<sup>77</sup> *İzmir, 1894-1895, 1896-1897*, 15 December 1896.

<sup>78</sup> *Sasun, 1894-1895, 1896-1897*, 17/12/90.

<sup>79</sup> *İzmir, 1894-1895, 1896-1897*, 15 December 1896.

<sup>80</sup> *Sasun, 1894-1895, 1896-1897*, 17/12/90, 15 December 1896.

the movement under cover of night in order to avoid exposure to death along with the comrades.<sup>1</sup>

Although the revolutionaries' successful escape was an achievement for the authorities, they still failed to secure international attention in their case. In 1986, the revolutionaries' groups in Laos received orders from the PDR to prepare for an armed rebellion against the state. They were to receive additional fighters from surrounding areas and other groups and movements.<sup>2</sup> It is likely that the timing of this call for a rebellion was deliberate: the Chinese government had recently succeeded in international pressure regarding the administration of political refugees in Thailand after a failed rebellion in 1983.<sup>3</sup> Even if the armed rebellion in Laos was to fail, the international pressure which would come to bear on the Chinese government would further weaken it.

In order to receive an armed rebellion for an extended period of time, the revolutionaries sought to draw fighters, weapons, and support groups and movements from across the border with armed success. Of the 100,000 fighters in Laos in early 1986, the overwhelming majority still hailed from the Chinese region, which included the districts of Kung, Nakai, Houe and Houe, with only 10,000 fighters from Transmanchuria.<sup>4</sup> For recruitment, they established individual meetings to produce propaganda within Laos. Their efforts to recruit weapons were successful, as shown by the later actions of Chinese and Russian revolutionaries. In early 1986, the Russian police under used 120 cases of ammunition and weapons right outside their in response to a tip from the Chinese authorities to the Russian secret in Transmanchuria.<sup>5</sup>

The first stage of the rebellion was marked by two developments: first, revolutionaries killed several Muslims from the mixed villages of Tapik and

<sup>1</sup> *Shen, 2001, 206, 207-10, 21 February 1986.*

<sup>2</sup> *Shen, Transmanchuria, History of the Chinese Revolution, National Revolutionary Government, 1986, 15.*

<sup>3</sup> For a comprehensive overview of the background to the border fighting and to other anti-state activities during the Chinese period, see *Shen, Transmanchuria, History of the Chinese Revolution, National Revolutionary Government, 1986, 15-17.*

<sup>4</sup> *Shen, Transmanchuria, History of the Chinese Revolution, 1986, 15.*

<sup>5</sup> *Shen, 2001, 206, 207-10, 21 February 1986.*



Laçkan, whom they viewed as agents of the state, and expelled the rest after torching their homes.<sup>89</sup> According to Ottoman reports, they also took hostages from the Muslim populace.<sup>90</sup> Second, several revolutionary bands travelled across Sasun to escort the Armenian inhabitants of the outlying villages to the heights of Antok, where they would be safe from the advancing troops and pastoralists. They torched Armenian villages in order to deny food and lodging to the advancing Ottoman troops.<sup>91</sup>

Many male peasants from the districts of Sasun, which became the centre of the rebellion, also joined the revolutionaries' armed rebellion. According to Garo Sasuni's estimates, some thousand peasants fought against the imperial troops.<sup>92</sup> The governor of Bitlis stated that a local Muslim preacher in Sasun estimated that 2,000 peasants had joined the revolutionaries.<sup>93</sup> The contrast with 1894 is clear: whereas peasants had been reluctant to fight against imperial troops a decade before, they were willing to attempt a defence of their villages in 1904. The experience of the 1894 massacre obviously motivated many Armenian peasants to join the revolutionaries.

When news of these developments reached the palace, the French Army continued its efforts to suppress an uprising against the revolutionaries before they could reach the headquarters of foreign governments in Constantinople. The palace also sent these reinforcements not to divide the Muslim population in the military districts, the Sultan feared the revolutionaries of the Çemişgezek District. Despite the efforts of the French Army continued and the local authorities, however, the bulk of the troops only reached the village under the revolutionaries' control by late March due to poor weather conditions.

<sup>89</sup> *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Tarihî Belgeleri*, vol. 1, 2, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 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