BETRAYAL:
The Promise Never Kept

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Genocide And The West's
Secret War For OIL

Shahan Natalie
Soghomon Tehlirian
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For more information about this book and related documentation, please visit www.snff.org

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This book is dedicated to the memory of
Shahan Natalie, Soghomon Tehlirian,
Arron Sachaklian, all those who have
invested their time and energy for
the preservation of the Armenian people
without any expectation of personal
monetary gains, and to those who
may one day choose to do the same.

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INTRODUCTION

The genocide of the Armenian people, which took place from 1894 to 1923, included the forced conversion to Islam as well as the murder of approximately 2.5 million Christian Armenians living in the Ottoman Empire. It started with the orders of Sultan Abdul Hamid and continued under the leadership of the Committee of Union and Progress (C.U.P.), a well-organized group of revolutionaries conceived in the city of Salonica.

This book will share what was told to me by my grandfather, Shahan Natalie, the man behind Operation Nemesis. His work halted the Armenian Genocide before it could erase from the map what we know today as Armenia. Operation Nemesis also saved the lives of the few Armenians who remained in modern day Turkey.

In 1971, when my grandfather was 87 years old, he shared his extraordinary life story with my two brothers and me. I was 5 years old. This memorable experience was recorded on reel-to-reel tape by my father. It was the first time my grandfather would consent to making an incriminating recording of how he orchestrated the assassinations of some of the most powerful world leaders of that time.



Shahan Natalie (1884-1983)

My father had convinced him to tell his story on tape, explaining to my grandfather that his enemies within the Armenian community in the United States, Europe and the Middle East had their own version of Operation Nemesis and his role in it. They would lie about him in order to conceal their own misdeeds, which led to the murder of thousands of Armenians.

Although found guilty in a Turkish court for the mass murder of Armenian, Greek and Assyrian Christians, as well as respected Islamist leaders who opposed them, it was crystal clear to my grandfather that the western powers who claimed to want to hand down justice to the C.U.P. leaders were, in fact, making backroom deals with these convicted murderers.

These western powers were not alone. Even the newly formed Armenian Government, led by the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (A.R.F.), said they were not interested in holding these convicted murderers accountable. They reasoned that as a government they could no longer behave as a militant political movement and use their past methods. It was later discovered that this newly formed Armenian government had foolishly made secret deals with C.U.P. leaders in exchange for promises that were never fulfilled.

Shahan Natalie was a writer, poet, journalist, human rights activist and revolutionary. Although he loved literature from a very young age, and would have preferred a career as a writer, he felt compelled into revolutionary

politics. In 1895, at the age of 11, Shahan Natalie's father and a dozen family members were murdered in the Hamidian massacres (so named after Sultan Abdul Hamid). Shahan and his mother dragged the body of his beheaded father to the family cemetery. With his bare hands the 11-year-old clawed out a shallow grave, wearing down the ends of his fingernails, cracking them open and causing them to bleed.

On his father's open grave, Shahan's mother imposed on him an oath to restore the family's honor and avenge the death of his beloved father, so that others would not experience the pain he would carry with him for the rest of his life.

My grandfather was my mentor. Before he died on April 19, 1983, when I was seventeen, he inspired me to continue his oath and carry on the spirit of his work. My first step to fulfilling my commitment was as a human rights activist.

Out of necessity I added investigative journalism to my repertoire, which I have been engaged in for more than 16 years. I discovered that most journalists wouldn't or couldn't cover controversial subjects. This skill has become particularly useful after finally gaining access to my grandfather's private archive, which contains volumes of unpublished memoirs documenting the lives of the Armenian people before, during and after the Armenian Genocide.

This book will present a concise history of the Armenian people that I believe has never been told before. It will not resemble anything I have seen which is publicly available today. It will not only address the atrocities my grandfather witnessed first-hand when he was eleven years old and the actions he took to end the Armenian Genocide, but will also present my own findings derived from decades of research made possible thanks to many clues my grandfather left me and that I've built on with information discovered in the most unlikely of places.

Most historians present the Armenian Genocide as a crime carried out by the Turks, Kurds and Germans. Although there is truth to this, their conclusion that it was a hate crime between religious groups is not entirely accurate. The mass murder of the Armenian, Greek and Assyrian Christians of the Ottoman Empire was a crime built to order by Western Powers who had little to lose and much to gain.

Like so many millions of Christians, I believe many Ottoman Muslims were victimized, as they had their culture, language—indeed, their alphabet—stolen from them. They also found themselves criminally liable for the genocide against the Armenian people. A genocide, like most, that the masses didn't gain from, but rather a few corrupt officials and those powers in the world who supported them, become wealthy and almost immune from the crime that they in fact orchestrated.

In the pages that follow, I will present evidence that will prove that the Armenian people were driven from the land they lived on for thousands of years, not because of ethnic and religious strife, but because the land they inhabited was believed to have one-sixth of the world's crude oil reserve and other valuable natural resources. European powers and the United States were

competing for these resources, having entered into concession agreements with the Sultan, Abdul Hamid II, and then later with the corrupt ruling powers of the C.U.P.

The push for the creation of an autonomous Armenian state within the Ottoman Empire as allowed by its constitution would have spoiled these deals that promised the C.U.P. leadership great personal gain. Thus, with the support of the Western Powers, the Armenian people were driven from their land and massacred so they could never return to claim what is rightfully theirs.

Ara Khachig Manoogian
Los Angeles, CA
April 24, 2019

Chapter 1

Ides of March

No words were spoken. A single shot to the back of his head at close range, and Talaat Pasha, the chief perpetrator of the Armenian Genocide, lay in the pool of his own blood on a Berlin street, on March 15, 1921.

"All of a sudden I heard an explosion. I thought a tire had blown out nearby. But then I saw a man fall down in front of me and another began to flee," stated 32-year-old Boleslav Detnhicki, a witness. The assassin disposed of his German-made Luger pistol and ran. "I started to run after him. The defendant entered Fazanenstrasse from the left side but a number of people were in front of him in the street and he could not escape…From there we took the defendant to the precinct station next to the zoo."[1]

The following day in the Boston Post on page 9, printed the Associated Press' new release.

> **EX-TURK VIZIER ASSASSINATED**
>
> **Slain in Berlin by Armenian Student**
>
> BERLIN, March 15 (by the Associated Press)-Talaat Pasha, former grand vizier and minister of finance of Turkey, was assassinated in Charlottenburg, a western suburb of Berlin, today. He was shot to death. The murderer, an Armenian student, was arrested."
>
> Talaat Pasha, Enver Pasha and Djemal Pasha formed the triumvirate which controlled the Turkish government during World War I. In July, 1919 a Turkish court-martial, investigating the conduct of the Turkish government during the war period, condemned them to death. By the time a sentence was pronounced, however, Talaat had fled to Germany, and Enver Pasha and Djemal Pasha also took refuge there.
>
> Responsibility for the massacres of the Armenians was thrown on Talaat Pasha.
>
> Talaat Pasha was walking with his wife in Hardenberger Strasse when he was hailed by a student, who approached him from behind. As Talaat turned to return the greeting the stranger fired at the former grand vizier's head, killing him instantly. The second shot struck Talaat's wife.
>
> The assassin threw away his weapon and attempted to escape, but a crowd of pedestrians captured him.[2]

Although the news release claimed Talaat's wife, Hayriye Talat Bafralı (1895-1983), had been shot, the Associated Press later retracted it, stating instead that she had been at home at that time and, upon learning the news of her husband's death, fainted.

Talaat had been found guilty of the Armenian Genocide, as it would come to

---

1 Vartkes Yeghiayan, *The Case of Soghomon Tehlirian,* (Los Angeles, CA: A.R.F. Varantian Gomideh, 1985)

2 Associated Press, *EX-TURK VIZIER ASSASSINATED – Slain in Berlin by Armenian Student,* (Boston, MA: Boston Post Newspaper, March 16, 1921), 9.

be known after the word 'genocide' was coined by Raphael Lemkin and adopted by the United Nations on December 11, 1948, in relation to the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide.

During the speedy trial of June 2-3, 1921, Soghomon Tehlirian, the Armenian student accused of Talaat's murder, testified to the atrocities which befell him and his fellow Armenians in the city of Erzinga: "In the early part of June [1915], an order was issued for the people to get ready to leave the city. We were all told that money and valuables could be given to the government for safekeeping. Three days later, early in the morning, the people were taken out of the city… As soon as the group had gone a little distance from the city, it was stopped. The gendarmes began to rob us. They wanted to take our money and anything else of value that we had… While we were being plundered, they started firing on us from the front of the caravan. At that time, one of the gendarmes pulled my sister out and took her with him. My mother cried out, 'May I go blind.' I cannot remember that day any longer. I do not want to be reminded of that day. It is better for me to die than describe the events of that black day…I cannot say everything. Every time I relive those events . . . They took everyone away . . . and they struck me. Then I saw how they struck and cracked my brother's skull with an axe."

"Your sister, the one whom they pulled and took with them, did she return?" asked the presiding justice.

"Yes, they took my sister and raped her," Tehlirian said. "I was struck on the head and fell to the ground. I have no recollection of what happened after that."

Tehlirian claimed to have been shot and thought for dead. Later, he awoke with a terrible stench of decomposing human bodies in his nostrils. With many hardships, he effected his escape and returned to his home. Inside, he dug out the money his father had buried before the deportations. With 4,800 Turkish Pounds, he managed to escape to France and then travelled to Germany to acquire an education.

One day while walking in Berlin, Tehlirian recognized the elegant foreigner Talaat. At first, he had not thought of revenge. "Approximately two weeks before the incident. I was feeling very bad. I kept seeing over and over again the scenes of the massacres. I saw my mother's corpse. The corpse just stood up before me and told me, 'You know, Talaat is here and yet you do not seem to be concerned. You are no longer my son,' Tehlirian stated while under oath. [3]

Tehlirian knew what duty demanded of him. He rented out a room across the street from the sumptuous apartments where Talaat had been living under an assumed name.

One sunny March day, this Armenian youth saw Talaat walk out. He seized a revolver, dashed into the street and shot the convicted wholesale murderer.

"Any killing revolts a sense of order and justice, but since the days of Brutus or Willian Tell, had any manslaughter been more comprehensible, more nearly excusable, than this riding the earth of a monster, a hyena in human shape?" writes Germany's foremost publicist, Maximilian Harden in his June 4, 1921 article titled "Armenian Is Acquitted in Berlin for Murder of 'Unspeakable Turk.'" The German journalist has taken a note of an uncanny coincidence of two murders committed on the same day, Ides of March, almost two thousand

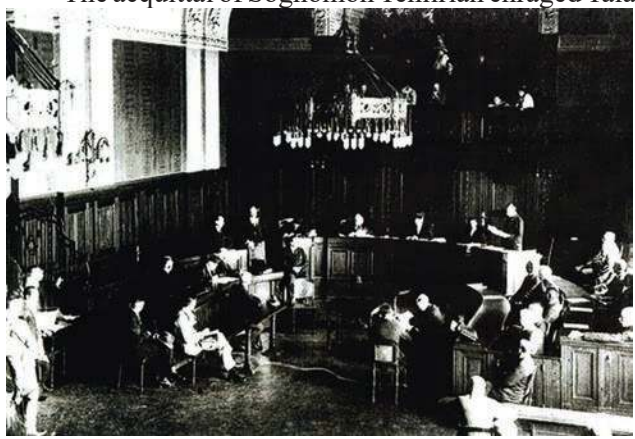
3 Vartkes Yeghiayan, *The Case of Soghomon Tehlirian,* (Los Angeles, CA: A.R.F. Varantian Gomideh, 1985)

years apart — that of Julius Caesar and Talaat Pasha.

During Tehlirian's trial, the question of his own life and death hung by a slender thread, dependent on whether or not his epilepsy, caused by his experience in Erzinga, would in the jury's eyes absolve him from blame.

"Fortunately he was a acquitted. The slaughter of millions of innocent people in the war was considered a sacred duty. But the putting to death of the unspeakable, miserable Talaat was treated in this trial as a grave criminal offense." Harden concludes.[4]

The acquittal of Soghomon Tehlirian enraged Talaat's wife and his associates who attempted to file an appeal. But their cries landed on deaf ears. The prosecutor went on a vacation following the trial, while Tehlirian was deported from Germany and headed to the United States of America.



Trial of Soghomon Tehlirian, June 1921, Berlin

In press, there were, of course, also stories considering the trial unfair or a 'shipwreck of justice,' as Helen Waljeska quoted Deutsches Abendblatt in "How German Papers Censured Acquittal of Talaat Pasha's Slayer" published in the Baltimore Sun, on November 20, 1921.

In his article published in the Deutsche Zeitung, on June 7, Dr. Mansur Rifat stated that Turkish subjects living in Berlin had engaged counsel to safeguard their nation's interest at the trial, but were advised that no representative of Turkey would be admitted — the complicated Armenian question was not to be reopened, and the case was to be conducted as a murder trial only. In spite of this announcement, the case was conducted on political likes exclusively. Talaat, the murdered man, was the real accused; chief responsibility of the "Armenian atrocities" was laid at his door, yet to him no counsel was granted. The notorious Turkophobe Professor Lepsius and the Balkan Armenian Bishop from Manchester were allowed to testify, while important Turkish witnesses intimately acquainted with all phases of the Armenian question living in Berlin were passed over. Talaat's wife was prevented from taking the stand, and the murderer's story, sounding like a cheaply sentimental romance, was accepted by the court without analysis and would any attempt at verification.

Dr. Rifat asks: "Supposing that Hamar Greenwod had been shot in Paris by an Irishman—is it conceivable that the murderer would have been acquitted in France?" He continues, "History reserves for itself the right eventually to proclaim the truth, to show where the instigators of the Armenian and Turkish atrocities are to be found, and who are the actual murders of Talaat Pasha. Count Reventlow has recently written an article: 'Talaat Pasha—England's Hand.'

4 Maximilian Harden, *Armenian Is Acquitted in Berlin for Murder of 'Unspeakable Turk',* (Great Falls, MT, Great Falls Tribune, June 5, 1921) 1.

There lies the Truth!"[5]

The Turkish journal, "Freedom of the East," which appears twice a month in Berlin, has a dignified editorial on the acquittal of Tehlirian in its issue of June 10. It says, in part: "We hear that during the trial of Talaat's murder someone . . . went so far as to assert that Mohammed ordered his followers to murder the Christians.

. . . Our prophet Mohammed, all whose teachings are just and fair, has never ordered anything of the kind, but, on the contrary, has taught that, 'You shall grand safety to the strangers living within your borders, and shall consider their lives and fortune as entrusted to your care.' To be sure, he also said 'Whosoever attacks you or your country, incites mutiny or causes rebellion, him you shall punish and cast out.' But is not this law accepted in all your countries as well? . . . The whole world has now understood that the Armenians were cheated by those Christian powers who, during the war, instigated them to attack Turkey. . . Many thousands of Turkish and Armenian men, women and children thus became the victims of the imperialistic ambitions of certain European powers. . . . Clearly, these dramas were not in the spirit of Mohammed or Jesus. . . . It is deeply to be regretted that religion of 400,000,000 Mohammedans was insulted and falsely accused in the open court of a friendly nation, and the ideal friendship between Islam and Germany polluted. . . "

The question must truly be asked - why did the trial of the murder of a world leader only take two days and the jury return with a not guilty verdict?

In 2012, Osik Moses, submitted a thesis for her partial fulfillment of the requirements for a degree of Master of Arts in History from California State University, Northridge, titled: "THE ASSASSINATION OF TALAAT PASCHA IN 1921 IN BERLIN -- A CASE STUDY OF JUDICIAL PRACTICES IN THE WEIMAR REPUBLIC" in which she uncovered important documents that shed light on why the trial was speedy and Tehlirian found not guilty.

"The trial took place on 2-3 June 1921, two and a half months after the assassination. While the defense counsel was trying to extend the process in order to collect additional evidence, the prosecuting authorities, together with the German Foreign Office, tried to hasten the proceedings and have a short trial and a quick verdict. Why?

The assassination served to remind Germany and the world of the horrific events that had taken place in the Ottoman Empire during World War I. It was during this time that the ethnic Armenian population in the Ottoman Empire was driven out of their homes to perish on their forced march into the Syrian Desert.

The Ottoman Empire had been Germany's ally during that war, and German military officials were stationed in every province of the empire. These officials witnessed the massacres and reported the events to their superiors as the horrors were unfolding. Though the Allied governments at the time accused Germany of taking part in the atrocities, no attempts were made by the German government to exert any influence on its ally.

The assassination renewed those accusations. Many major newspapers

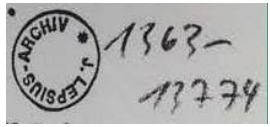
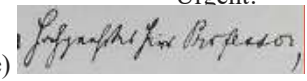
5 Helen Waljeska, *How German Papers Censured Acquittal of Talaat Pasha's Slayer*(Baltimore, MD, The Baltimore Sun, November 20, 1921) 6.

worldwide began to report on the Armenian massacres again and on the fact that not only had Germany failed to prevent its ally from committing those acts, but also sheltered the perpetrators.

To counter the adverse publicity surrounding the case, Weimar officials resorted to every kind of strategy to hasten the proceedings and the trial and rid themselves of that "troublesome foreigner" ("lästigen Ausländer") Tehlirian. By reducing the political significance of the case and emphasizing its criminal aspect, they managed to obtain an acquittal and summarily deport the defendant before a proper appeal could be filed."[6]

The German courts would even go further to lay this case to rest. At the conclusion of the trial, the court transcript would be published. The actual court proceedings and what was actually published was not reflective of Tehlirian's testimony. It would seem that claims made by Tehlirian that could lead to further investigation were omitted. In fact this practice of omitting testimony from the transcript was not limited to only Tehlirian's testimony.

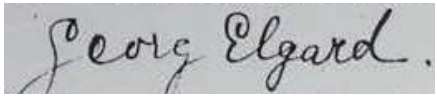
In a letter dated June 9/13, 1921, from Georg Elgard, Stenographer, was sent to one of the witnesses at the requested of Dr. v. Gordon, Head of the Classified Justice Council. A certified translation from German to English done by Mike Bortscheller (ATA Member #263976) is as follows:

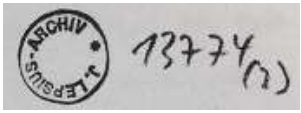
> Georg Elgard
>
> Grunewald-Berlin, Humboldtstrasse 13
> June 9/13, 1921.
>
> 
>
>
> Seal: Archive
> Handwriting: 1363-13774 (1)
>
> Urgent!
>
> Dear (illegible) 
>
> I am sending the statements made by you before the court, as recorded by the stenographer, in the case of Mr. Salomon Teilirian, with the request to communicate them to Dr. v. Gordon, Head of the Classified Justice Council, to view the content and return them to me as soon as possible (rest of clause redacted), to the Office of Judicial Council Chief Dr. Werthauer, Berlin, no. 24, Friedrichstrasse 120.
>
> This is an urgent matter because Dr. v. Gordon is going on leave and wants to have the manuscript printed before he does. You are aware that the stenographic report has to be published and promulgated.
>
> Please note that the changes made by you may only affect reports and supplements to the stenography to your own statements and I am not authorized to record any new information that may have been stated, but

6 Osik Moses, *THE ASSASSINATION OF TALAAT PASCHA IN 1921 IN BERLIN -- A CASE STUDY OF JUDICIAL PRACTICES IN THE WEIMAR REPUBLIC* (Northridge, CA, California State University, Northridge, 2012) v – vi.

was omitted.

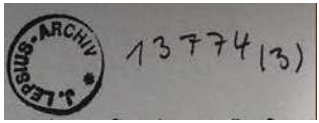
Thank you for your time.
Sincerely yours,





Page 6
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...was victimized/sacrificed. The humanitarian reasons, the "Protection of Christians" were just an excuse. When Abdul Hamid signed the reform plan (illegible) to him by England, Russia, and France in 1895 and responded to it with a series of Armenian massacres, Lord Salisbury declared that the Armenian issue was settled in his opinion. (handwriting illegible). The 1894 massacre of Sassun caused by the reform plan cost 1000 Armenian lives, and that in 1895/96 - 100,000. The massacre of 1915-18 following the reform plan of 1913 claimed 1 million lives. This scale of 1894, 1895, and 1915: 1000, 100,000, and 1,000,000 was an event unmatched in its gruesomeness in the history of the world. In the meantime, the Cilician massacre of Adana claimed 25,000 victims in 1809.



Page 8

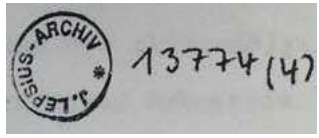
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...Schefket Pascha, who was open to good advice, drafted a reform plan that entailed three general inspectorates - East, (illegible), West, with four sub-inspectorates. The Turkish general and deputy inspectors would each be assigned a European adviser. Mahmut Schefket Pascha wanted Englishmen as civil advisers and Germans as military advisers and approached Lord Grey with respect to the former. However, the German government didn't want to give Russia an occasion to intervene, and asked its ambassador Lichnowsky to raise the reform issue at the London Conference of Ambassadors at the beginning of June. The German government was convinced that Russia would not tolerate Englishmen in West Anatolia even as advisers unless Russians were appointed as advisers in East Anatolia and Frenchmen were appointed as advisers in Syria. Sassonow learned about the German's intentions in London and took measures in advance, authorizing the Russian ambassador from Giers in Constantinople to invite the local ambassador of the powers to a conference on the reform issue. At the same time, the Russian press

(illegible) with a march of protest in Armenia unless the Armenian reforms demanded by the Berlin Congress were finally implemented.

To the chagrin of Ottoman Porte, the Armenian issue was raised before the six great powers yet again. An "Administration of East Anatolia by England", as you, honorable Emir, believe, would be tantamount to a waiver of Ottoman sovereignty and would unleash immediate war between Russia and England. This is all regarding your first "fact". Now to the second.

The committee sent Jhsan Bey to Smyrna at the beginning of May 1914 to organize a movement against the Greeks together with Vali. The outcome? Over 50,000 Greeks were driven away from the coastal areas, forced to flee to the islands or Piraeus. Their homes, land, tobacco and fig cultures were taken over by Mohadjirs (refugees from Macedonia). The Greek threat of war, the warning of the powers and the depletion of tax sources of the wealthy area Aidin brought the Porte to reflection. Talast Bey traveled around the area to...



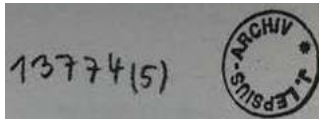
Page 9

Seal: Archive
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...Dr. Niemeyer, Defendant of the Classified Council: Isn't it true? The Armenians were the last Christians in the region enslaved by the Ottomans. All Balkan nations and other previously enslaved peoples had liberated themselves from Ottoman rule one by one. To keep the Armenians from doing so as well, the (Ottoman Empire) decided to destroy them. Would this view be correct?

Dr. Lepsius, Expert: Count Wetternich, the German ambassador to Constantinople in 1910, wrote in a report dated June 30: The Armenians are done. The young Turkish mob is feverishly prepared for the moment when Greece will succumb to Turkey. Greek individuality forms Turkey's culture element. It will be destroyed just like the Armenian one. Turkification means to drive away or kill everything that isn't Turkish and take possession violently. These were Count Wetternich's predictions for the outbreak of a war with Greece.

Page 8



Seal: Archive, J. Lepsius
Handwriting: 1363-13774 (5)

..."Official Journal" proof that dispatch of the young Turkish committee had been decided on and that

Talaat Pascha, the soul and strongest member of the committee (illegible) and didn't do anything to prevent it. There is filed evidence of this based on German and Turkish documents.

I've made these statements to show that the game of diplomacy led the powers to an outcome where first Abdul Hamid and then the Young Turks became suspicious of the Armenians, ultimately reaching the conclusion that the best thing to do was destroy the Armenians. This annihilation was described by eyewitnesses in thousands, even tens of thousands of ways, and you've heard these stories from their own mouths.

Dr. Werthauer, Defendant, Judicial Council: You said the game of diplomacy between Russia and England contributed to the Armenian annihilation (genocide). Why?

Dr. Lepsius, Expert: Because the Turks were afraid they wanted to be free, which would threaten Turkey's existence in Asia.

Dr. Werthauer, Defendant, Judicial Council: (illegible) had heard earlier the reason was that Turks were Muslim and Armenians were Christian, and the (illegible)

Dr. Lepsius, Expert: The ludicrous idea of creating a pan-Turkish, pan-Islamic kingdom, in which there was no room for Christians, was that of the committee and Enver Pascha.

Dr. Werthauer, Defendant, Judicial Council: So if you said "all-German", "all-Russian", or "all-Turkish", you would mean annihilating everything that wasn't completely Turkish.

Dr. Lepsius, Expert: Yes.

A search of the officially published transcript for the above testimony reveals that the testimony had been omitted. Further investigation into omitted testimony led to the discovery of a newspaper article printed on August 7, 1921 in the Oregon Daily Journal, just two months after Tehlirian acquittal.

"Why I Destroyed the Greatest Murderer of Modern Times"
The heartrending Plea Which Won the Acquittal of the Young Armenian Who Killed Talaat Pasha on the Streets of Berlin After Being Pursued Day and Night by the Vision of the Cruel Slaughter of His Mother and Relatives

TALAAT PASHA was Grand Vizier of Turkey and planned the Armenian massacres during the war.

Solomon Teilirian, a young Armenian, killed Talaat Pasha on the streets of Berlin on March 15, this year.

A German Jury has just acquitted Teilirian of the murder, ostensibly because he was not responsible for this act, but really because he was avenging the massacre of his mother, his family and nation.

On the witness stand Teilirian described how the Turks wronged and killed his mother and sisters before his eyes, killed all his other relations and massacred all the people of his town – Erzingan.

Then he told how the ghost of his mother appeared to him in a vision and reproached him for letting Talaat live. It was that vision which decided

the jury to aquit him promptly.

In the following columns are printed Teilirian's full testimony as brought out with the help of Armenian interpreters – one of the most terrible stories of human agony ever told.

Teilirian is slight of stature and delicate looking; his face is narrow, his forehead high, his melancholy dark eyes lie deep in the shadow cast by heavy crescent-shaped brows.

When Teilirian justified his plea of "not guilty" by the statement that his conscience was quite untroubled, the judge asked him how that was possible. And Teilirian answered: "At least I have not slaughtered an entire nation."

The prosecuting attorney, Dr. Gollnick, then began his examination.

Q. Surely you must realize that to kill a man as you have done is wrong?

A. If it is wrong to kill one man, how much more wrong is it to instigate the killing of a million people?

Q. How do you know that Talaat Pasha was responsible for the massacres?

A. Every Armenian knows it.

Q. How?

A. Certain dispatches were made public after the war. If there had been any doubt as to the origin of the cold-blooded villainy which has plunged an entire race into its death throes, those telegrams suffice to fasten the guilt upon Talaat and upon Enver.

Q. Of what dispatches are you speaking?

A. On September 15, 1915, I know that Talaat Pasha wired to Aleppo: "The Government has decided, by command of the Djernet, completely to exterminate all the Armenians living in Turkey." To the same address was sent on March 17, 1916, the following message was sent: "Under the pretext that they will be looked after by the administration as exiles, all the children who have been collected and are being cared for must without exciting suspicion, on the orders of the War Minister, be seized and exterminated."

One of the dispatches sent out by Talaat after the Young Turk Committee had decided in April, 1915, that the entire Armenian population must be deported, read: "Their destination is the No-Where."

Q. What did that mean – the No-Where?

A. Just what the words say.

Q. The words might be construed as meaning that their destination was to be kept quiet?

A. No, it meant nothing of the sort. It meant that we were not really to be deported. We were to be extirpated. The meaning of "deportation" under Turkish rule means deportation into the Beyond – in brief, into the No-Where.

Q. Why do you believe that such messages were sent?

A. I was shown authentic copies of the messages at Saloniki, in 1919. We few Armenian survivors all know that they were true.

Q. You admit, do you not, that you are incapable of considering Talaat impartially?

A. Do historians consider Nero impartially? Or Pontius Pilate? Or Judas? Yet Nero caused only one city to be burned, while Talaat is

responsible for the murder in cold blood of a million people.

Q. Did Talaat, to your knowledge, kill anyone with his own hands?

A. I do not know of any such case.

Q. But you admit that you killed Talaat with your own hands, don't you?

A. No, I did not kill him with my own hands. I killed him with a pistol. The pistol was my instrument of punishing him as the Turkish soldiers who massacred my countrymen and women were Talaat's instruments of murder.

(The court room suddenly rang with loud and sustained applause. Teilirian's pointed answer had aroused the enthusiasm of the Armenians, and nothing would quench it. In vain the judge threatened to clear the court room. The applause had to run its course. Slowly it died away.)

Q. I will word my question differently. It was your intention to kill Talaat Pasha, was it not?

A. Yes, of course. He's dead, isn't he?

Q. Then you do admit your guilt?

A. I do not say so. I am not guilty. My conscience is serene and clear.

Q. When did you first conceive the idea of murdering Talaat Pasha?

A. About two months before the shooting my mother appeared to me in a dream or vision. I had gone to bed and some time in the middle of the night I thought I woke up feeling very cold and terrified. It was bright moonlight and all around me as far as I could see were bodies stretched on the ground. At first I thought they were sleeping, and then I remembered that they were the dead bodies of my countrymen, as I had seen them when I escaped with my life. Hundreds of them lay with their throats cut. There were women and young girls who had undergone every indignity and atrocity before they were put to death.

The more I watched the more clearly the dreadful details appeared to me. Babies whose brains had been dashed out were lying across their dead mothers' bodies. Women and children who had been slashed to pieces were lying in their own blood.

Old, white-bearded patriarchs, several of them priests, were lying there with agony still on their faces, for they had been tortured to death.

Then, as I looked, some of the bodies seemed to be rolling their eyes and others were pointing their hands at me.

And on top of a heap of corpses there rose a woman's figure. I looked and I saw that it was my mother. She was dressed as I last saw her, when the Turks took her away to kill her. The blood was streaming down her face and there was a great wound in her breast. Her face was as pale as a sheet and she looked at me with eyes that burned into me. She pointed her finger. I could scarcely endure it for I was mad with agony and terror. She opened her lips and spoke to me.

Q. What did your mother say to you?

A. She said, "My son, you know that Talaat Pasha murdered your nation. You know that he murdered your father and your mother, your brother and your sisters. You know that he is living here in Berlin, and yet you are making no effort whatever to avenge the innocent blood of your Armenian compatriots, shed by this fiend in human form. I am ashamed to think that I bore such a cowardly creature,"You are no longer a son of mine!"

Q. You say you heard your mother say this? Did you really hear her voice?

A. I believed that I heard it. It was not like an ordinary dream. I knew that I had gone to sleep, but I believed that I woke and saw a vision of my mother right there before me. I went to sleep again and woke very tired and I immediately felt that my mother had been in the room.

Q. Did you decide at once to obey your mother's suggestions?

A. No, but my mother's spirit appeared to me again and again. Day and night I was haunted by the vision of my slaughtered mother and family. I felt that I was being driven on by a stronger power to do the will of God.

Q. Describe how you felt?

A. I felt as I had a million times before, that it is an unspeakable shame that Christian nations who profess to believe in the Saviour's golden Rule should stand idly by. And see a Christian nation exterminated – exterminated with as little mercy as would be shown to noxious vermin.

Q. had you not formed a desire for revenge on Talaat Pasha before this?

A. After I had received proof that my father and mother and my whole family had been killed by Talaat's orders I had longed to kill him. I wandered through Germany in search of him, but he was hard to find, for he concealed himself skillfully. I had time for reflection, and I began to wonder whether I would be wrong to kill him just on account of the wrongs to my family. I even began to think that he might be a wrong-headed man who was forced into crime by his fanatical countrymen.

But the vision of my mother appeared to me and convinced me that I should strike for the sake of my massacred fellow-countrymen.

Q. When did you make your first move toward carrying out your mother's suggestion?

A. One day when I visited the Zoological Garden, in Berlin, I heard some people back of me speaking Turkish, and presently the name of Talaat Pasha was spoken in addressing one of the party. I turned and recognized Talaat Pasha from pictures which I had seen of him. He was accompanied by a handsome and elegant young lady.

Q. did you decide then and there to murder him?

A. I hardly know. I only know that seeing at close range like that the man at whose door all the Armenian abominations can be laid stirred me as I have never been stirred before. My heart felt as if it was bursting. There he stood, smiling and speaking amiably with his companion the way any normal, decent-minded, kindhearted man would have done. I saw him stroke the head of a monkey, and when the keeper told him the animal as sick and had not long to live he actually showed concern. Think of it! The man who calmly asked, when telegraphic reports concerning the Armenian deportations began to come in, "How many are there still alive? Would show pity for a monkey because he was doomed soon to die.

I tell you, the blood pounded in my veins and hammered in my brain. And it came to me that it was a monstrous, a preposterous injustice that this man should be alive and happy, with an undisturbed conscience when the bones of millions of his victims lay bleaching in the desert sand or rotting at the bottom of the sea.

Q. But you said before that your conscience was untroubled, and yet you murdered him? How do you explain that?

A. The task has to be done. Fate assigned me the duty to do it. That's all.

Q. What do you mean by that – the task had to be done?

A. So long as Talaat Pasha was alive there was the possibility of his return to Turkey and to power. That would have been equivalent to the signing of the death warrant of every Armenian who had escaped so far. The fangs of the adder had to be drawn. It was a man's duty to draw them. I acted as the adder's dentist, and that is all.

Q. Then you admit that your resolution to kill Talaat hardened after you had seen him at the Zoological Garden?

A. Yes, I realized it had to be done.

Q. What move did you make next?

A. I found out where he lived and rented a room in the Hardenbergstrasse, right opposite to Talaat's dwelling, so that I was bale to observe him all the time.

Q. And then?

A. I was walking up and down my room one day when I saw Talaat leave his house. I was undecided what to do. Suddenly I heard the voice of my mother again very distinctly, telling me to cast aside my weakness and indetermination and to play my part like a man. Then I opened my trunk and took out my pistol and ran down the street after Talaat. When I caught up to him I walked up to him and covered him with my pistol. He could not escape me. I said to him, "Talaat Pasha, you shall have the same mercy you gave my dear ones and my countrymen – no more. My dead mother has commanded me to execute you – murderer of a nation, Coward that you are, you ran away from Turkey because you feared that justice would overtake you. Here and there through your wanderings I followed you, and at last I have found you. To-day, now, you die, I shoot you down as I would a dog!"

I fired at him once and missed him. I fired again immediately and he dropped dead.

He hated to die, for he had great wealth, many women and he still hoped to return to Turkey and rule as grand Vizier.

Q. What did you do after shooting Talaat?

A. First of all, I covered myself that he was really dead. I made sure that there was no fear of his coming back to life.

Q. And then?

A. I threw the pistol away and ran in the direction of the Fasanenstrasse.

Q. Why did you do that – run?

A. Oh, I dreaded getting caught in a crowd. I dislike mobs.

Q. But you didn't escape the crowd, did you?

A. No. People seemed to grow up out of the ground around me like mushrooms. They seemed very angry. Several-men began beating me. One man tried to stop the others, but they pushed him aside and struck at me again and again.

Q. Did they hurt you?

A. I didn't feel the blows. I was too much excited – too passionately excited. But I disliked seeing their hot, perspiring, anger-distorted faces so close to mine.

Q. What happened after then?

A. I was taken into custody.

Q. You made no resistance?

A. No.

Q. Had you hoped to make your escape after killing Talaat?

A. No. I did nothing wrong. There was nothing to be ashamed of.

Q. You had made no preparations for leaving Germany quickly after the murder?

A. Certainly not.

Q. You must have known that the police would get you?

A. If I had thought about it at all I would have known that, of course. But, you see, I didn't think about it. I had a certain work to do and I did it. It is all very simple.

Q. Where did you get the 12,000 marks which you had about your person when arrested?

A. My father was a very wealthy merchant. I carried 10,000 marks with me when I was driven from home. There is hidden treasure at home now, waiting to be unearthed. Some day I may be able to get it.

Q. But 12,000 marks is a very large sum. How is it that you did not spend what money you had in the course of your wanderings?

A. I did spend a lot of money – far more than the sum I still have or had.

Teilirian was then examined by the attorneys for the defense. Dr. von Gordon asked:

Q. Is Solomon Teilirian your right name?

A. Yes.

Q. Where were you born?

A. In Bekaritsch. But when I was quite a small boy my parents moved to Erzingan.

Q. How big was the family?

A. We were three boys and three girls.

Q. Do you remember Turkish persecution as a child?

A. My parents spoke of it to me as going on elsewhere. But our town was not molested until May, 1915. Then, by order of the Young Turk Committee, the schools were closed and a manifesto was read, stating that all prominent citizens – among whom my father was included – were to be deported. They were led away and butchered by the Turkish guards. My father was taken away to be killed before the rest of us were driven out into the desert.

Q. What did your mother do?

A. Like everybody else, we bought an ox-cart and a donkey and loaded the cart with such household necessities as simple cooking utensils, blankets, extra garments and all the provisions it would carry. We realized that we might be separated and my mother distributed among us what paper money we had in the house. Gold and silver, as well as valuables such as jewels and family heirlooms, we buried under the cellar of our house at dead of night.

Q. Where were you to be taken to?

A. We were not told. We had travelled only a day and a half when the guards attacked us and plundered us.

Q. Did this frighten you?

A. We had expected it, of course. That is why we had hidden away our principal treasures in the depths of the earth and had placed the paper money in odd places about our persons, where we hoped the guards would not look for it.

Q. What odd places, for instance?

A. Well, I had placed some of my paper money in between the soles of my shoes and the insoles, some in the lining of my cap, some in my vest lining.

Q. And the Turkish soldiers did not find your money?

A. Not the paper money – no. Some small coins they found which we jingled in our pockets purposely to mislead them. That they found and took.

Q. What did the Turks do after plundering you?

A. The caravan was about to start again when we became aware that there was a panic in front of us. I went to the top of a little hill and saw what was happening in the forward part of the caravan.

I saw five hundred Armenian men – about that number – tied together with ropes. The Turks then drove them into the river with swords and bayonets, some of the Armenians tried to struggle toward the shore and the Turks drove them back with swords and clubs.

Scores of women were then treated in an atrocious manner. Many of the older women and children were beaten to death and then left lying in their blood.

The prettiest girls were roped together and carried off to be sold into slavery in the harems of the Turks.

Presently it was the turn of my part of the column to be attacked. My brothers and I prepared to defend my mother and sisters, but we were unarmed and were practically helpless. I saw one Turkish brute split open the head of one of my brothers with an axe when he tried to save my youngest sister from the Turk's clutches. What became of my other brothers I do not know. Someone struck me on the head. Unhappily I was knocked senseless at once. Oh – I cannot go on!

(Teilirian suddenly interrupted himself and broke into sobs. It was the only time during the trial that the accused man broke down.)

I beg of you to spare me the agony of telling you in detail what happened. I would rather die on the spot than have to tell of the dreadful deeds that were done there – in my presence – while I was helpless to hinder what was going on!

Q. For your own good I must insist that you tell us the rest.

A. I was too weak to rise, much less to offer any resistance, and so I was forced to look on in half-consciousness while those devils violated my mother and sisters and then beat them to death. After that I fainted away.

Q. How long was it before you regained consciousness?

A. I cannot tell definitely, of course. But I think about forty-eight hours must have elapsed before I regained consciousness.

Q. What gives you the impression of that length of time?

(Teilirian could not reply to this question. The hunted, haunted look in hi eyes became intensified. His lips twitched. Counsel were obliged to give him time for rest. Dr. Niemeyer then took up the questioning.)

Q. When you awoke were you alone?

A. There were lots and lots of people lying around – as far as the eye could see they lay, under the white moonlight, asleep as I thought. Suddenly I realized that they were all dead.

Q. How did you realize this – was the moonlight strong enough to see by?

A. Oh, the moon was bright enough. But I did not need to look closely. I did not look closely. I knew – (Teilirian broke off for a moment and moistened his lips). I knew by the odor. The death-stench was all around me. It was that, too, that told me I had been unconscious for at least two days and two nights. It was that, too, I think, that finally brought me to.

Q. What did you do?

A. I crawled away from that field of unutterable horror as soon as I could. I think horror and disgust lashed me on and gave me the strength to move on which otherwise I might have lacked. I have only a very vague recollection of how long it took me to get away. I seemed to crawl along among corpses for an eternity. But when dawn broke I was clear of that field of decay and death and had reached a small village. No one wanted to give me shelter because the offense of succoring an Armenian is punishable with death. But an old Turkish woman took pity on me. She gave me refuge, hid me away and bathed and dressed my head-wounds. As soon as I was able to travel she supplied me with all the food I could carry and I set out at night.

Q. Where did you go?

A. I had disguised myself as as Kurd, hoping to make my way into Persia. But I lost my way. Finally I fell in with two other Armenians who had escaped death in pretty much the same way that I had.

Q. And then?

A. We wandered about for several weeks, traveling by night, sleeping in the woods through the day and living on herbs and wild berries and edible roots. Finally we found that we had crossed into the Russian lines and we knew that we were safe at last.

Q. Did any of the people in Erzingan escape massacre but yourself?

A. I learned afterward that only three escaped alive out of 20,000. Twenty-three of my own near relatives perished. I heard this from the other two survivors whom I met afterward in Russia.

Q. How long did you remain in Russia?

A. For about a year. Then Erzingan fell into Russian hands and I returned to my home town, hoping to be able to salvage our buried treasure. But I was unable to do so. Not a stone of our house was left standing. Only a few families remained – some twenty souls in all – and they had been forced to embrace the Mohammedan faith in order to save their lives.

Q. What happened then?

A. The Russians were driven away again and I was obliged to run. The Turks began to hunt down and massacre the few survivors of our race who were living in the empire.

Q. Where did you go then?

A. I wandered on foot into Persia, where, after nine months, I reached the British lines. Afterward I worked my way to Saloniki, where I knew I would meet some of my countrymen and perhaps a survivor of my own family. When peace was declared I went to Germany.

Q. Did you go with the intention of killing Talaat Pasha?

A. No. it seemed to me that my footsteps were guided by a higher power.

Q. Did you know that Talaat Pasha was direct author of the Armenian massacres – not merely an agent of the Sultan?

A. Yes. I was shown a letter in his own handwriting in which he said, "The Armenian nation must be exterminate in the interests of the future of Turkey and the Young Turk party. As long as any Armenians survive as an organized community they will rebel against us and embroil us with foreign Powers. The memory of the old massacres will always serve as an excuse to incite them to rise against us or to bring outsiders to their help. We need their territory for our own population and for our allies.

"The inhabitants of the Armenian settlements will be escorted by our troops into desert places and there will be lost to sight and cease to trouble us and the world."

Teilirian's testimony alone was sufficient to convince the jury that he ought not to be punished for his act. Other witnesses summoned fully corroborated his heartrending evidence concerning the Armenian massacres. Ferri Baschian, the wife of an Armenian cigarette maker and one of the three survivors, of the Erzingan massacres, gave a particularly moving story of the dreadful scenes she passed through.

Professor Lepsius, a well-known German historian and expert on the East, gave a general confirmation of Teilirian's story and described the Armenian massacre policy carried out by the Turks in the late war. The German public had hitherto been ignorant of these massacres and this testimony produced amazement in court.

General Liman von Sanders, the German military commander in Turkey during the World War, sat through the trial with the pretty blonde "widow" of Talaat, who was walking with him when Teilirian shot him. The general gave rather shamefaced evidence seeking to excuse the Turkish Government.

Teilirian had three lawyers. The second, Dr. Werthauer, made a particularly eloquent defense. He compared Teilirian to Willhelm Tell, Switzerland's great hero, who killed his country's oppressor.

"Could any court of justice be found on earth, now or then, that would condemn Wilhelm Tell?" Dr. Werthauer demanded of the jury. "You know that that would be quite impossible. You know that no twelve right-minded men, possessing even an elementary sense of higher justice, would have condemned Wilhelm Tell. And compared to Teilirian's provocation to killing Talaat how insignificant was the provocation suffered by Wilhelm Tell? Gessler, to punish Tell for his patriotism, commanded him to shoot an apple from the head of his – Tell's – son with a bow-and-arrow, a form of shooting in which Wilhelm Tell was an expert. Wilhelm Tell seemingly acquiesced, but instead of shooting the apple from his own son's head, he waited for Gessler in a sequestered spot and sped the arrow through the tyrant's heart instead.

"And now, take the case of Teilirian. If you require a personal motive, gentlemen of the jury, Teilirian had it in abundance. It was not the possible death of one of his relatives that confronted him. He had actually witnessed the doing to death under the most revolting circumstances of five of his nearest relatives, his mother, his two brothers, his three sisters – the women, naturally, suffering the usual outrage before being killed.

"But to Teilirian's undying honor be it said that the doing to death of his own relatives was not chief motive in killing the monster in human form who called himself Talaat. Not even the foul wrongs sustained by his entire race formed the principal motivation for his deed; rather he hoped to prevent a recurrence of the Armenian horrors, to save what remained of his own people from Talaat's abominations in the future, in the event that that future should again invest Talaat with power for mischief.

"Under such circumstances it seems almost a travesty of justice to even arraign this man before a tribunal. His innocence is so self-evident."

Dr. von Gordon, Teilirian's first counsel, was the most famous of the three able attorneys delegated by Germany to defend the Armenian patriot. Dr. von Gordon achieved considerable notoriety before the war because of his willingness to undertake the defense of foreign spies before the imperial courts.

Teilirian's defense was conducted by von Gordon along entirely different lines. Dr. von Gordon cited paragraph 51, of the Penal code, which states that no man shall be held accountable for a crime committed in a state of mental irresponsibility or at a moment when his freedom of will has been impaired by untoward circumstances or undue emotional strain.

"As a famous writer has put it," von Gordon said, "a man who does not lose his mind in suffering certain injuries has no mind to lose."

Compared to the impassioned fervor of the three men summoned to defend Teilirian, the arraignment of the persecuting attorney, Dr. Gollnick, seemed weak and ineffectual.

"We must not lose sight of the fact," he said, "that this crime was the direct outcome of political hatred. Turkey was Germany's staunch ally during the war and Talaat Pasha was one of Turkey's greatest citizens. That he was done to death while seeking refuge in Germany, which along with his own country he had so ably served in the past, makes it imperative for us to deal courageously with his murderer, no matter how unpopular an unfavorable the verdict may be."

Dr. Gollnick's words made little impression upon the people in the court room. The only persons who seemed to be seriously affected by them was the widow of Talaat Pasha and her friends.

When all the testimony was in the jury withdrew. They were out only one hour and fifteen minutes. They returned with a verdict of "not guilty" on the ground that Teilirian's wrongs and sufferings had made him not responsible for his act. The Armenians in court went wild with joy. They applauded, hurrahed, clapped their hands. They crowded around Teilirian. Some embraced him, some kissed his hands. Teilirian, smiling sadly, his face a trifle flushed, received the ovation in dignified silence.

Like the search of the stenographers request to the witness did not appear in the official published transcript, the same held true for the testimony published on August 7, 1921 in the Oregon Daily Journal.

One explanation to this mystery might answered in the 1971 recording my father made of Shahan Natalie:

SHAHAN: I told those under my supervision that I am going to Berlin… I mean Rome. It seemed that, over there, in a hotel, you know… Over there, since a lot of Turks had gotten together, overfilled the place, there was a conference. Undoubtedly, it was going to be held at one of the best hotels,

you know. I wanted to find that hotel and go. It might be a good opportunity for me to recognize Talaat. Everything, had to be directed at recognizing Talaat, to make sure we don't kill someone other than him. Because killing someone else other than Talaat, would simply be a catastrophe, according to our decision, which was to that the list should start with Talaat to resonate throughout the entire world. Do you understand? And so? At the same time, after assassinating Talaat, there is no escaping. He is going to stand on the body.

KHACHIG: This is the decision.

SHAHAN: The decision is this. To let the police arrive, catch and take you away. And there must be a trial! A trial! In a court! If the first time, upon assassination… If the second time, during the trial… a lot of propaganda against the Turks and in our favor. So that… All we needed was a brave boy. See? And there were a lot of them. But it happened to be Soghomon's destiny. It was a matter of luck, you know. And Soghomon – oh, how I love his soul – just as instructed… Only what he did was, after firing a shot, when he shot at him, and he fell, he stood there next to him with the gun in his hand. Then [makes a sound of kissing] he kisses the gun and places it on the dead body. And he stands there, but… It was a beautiful noon weather. On the 15th of March. A wonderful spring day! Wonderful! Such nice weather. He looks around. It was quite a wide street, you know, busy! He stood on that street and sees passers-by, you know. There are people! It was a busy one. But every one of them remained frozen. And it was quite a human thing to do, because they didn't realize what had happened. All they saw is that someone fired a shot, the other fell. And he stood there. Everyone did the same thing. What just happened? And carefully… The thing… and it happened instantly. When something like this happens, the assailant usually flees, opposite to his instructions not to flee. And it was at the corner of the street. The street is like this. This street was like this street. It was at this corner that he shot him dead.

KHACHIG: Do you remember the name of the street, grandfather?

SHAHAN: Of course, I know it. I have a photo. So, he runs away. As soon as he starts running, the people who had stood there frozen, all of them shouted: "Murderer! Murderer! Murderer!" They shouted: "Catch him!" So, everybody chased him. Those running towards him, those running after him and so on. This boy is crazy! Why are you running? But, you see, it's also a matter of luck. It's a sheer matter of luck. The mission was so divinely just that every unplanned incident that you didn't expect… was such that makes you think that there was divine intervention ["God's finger was in it"]. As a result of his escape, those running toward him and those from behind catch him and begin punching Soghomon's head. They are beating up Soghomon. And because of that beating he sustains wounds on his head and body, stiches and so on and so forth. And so, they restrain him. They catch the murderer. In the meantime, the corpse is lying farther away. The police arrive and take him away. Now what happens is that when they take him to the police station, they dress his wound on the forehead, you see. He is covered with blood and badly bruised. They dress him at the police station. And when they interrogate him for the first… When they conduct the first interrogation, he says I killed, he says. He says it in such a manner in response to their question… He knows only a few words in German, you see.

KHACHIG: Oh, so, he didn't speak German.

SHAHAN: Where would he know it from? Neither he spoke nor

I. At least I was taking some German classes in those days. I had hired a female tutor who taught me and so on… so I could know. You aren't always accompanied by someone. And so, he knew so much as to say while they were beating him: "Ich ausländer, er ausländer," which means 'I'm a foreigner, non-German' I'm an ausländer. He wants to say, he [Talaat] is not a German, he is a foreigner, an ausländer. That is to say, it's none of your business! I killed… Yes, what?

KHACHIG: All right, but did they understand what he was saying?

SHAHAN: What?

KHACHIG: What did they do? What was their response to what he said?

SHAHAN: No. Now look. During the first interrogation he gives such an answer that, you see, that it appeared to be premeditated murder. An intentional one, a planned one. Got it? And if you have premeditated it, then it's a grave crime. See? Now! There was an interpreter, since he didn't know, right? They find an Armenian interpreter, bring him over. A young man, who Soghomon knows, you know, in Berlin.

KHACHIG: Luck.

SHAHAN: No, it was not by luck. When they came… because back then, in Berlin, there were Armenians, too, Armenian youth and so on.

SYLVA: No, I understand. But the police brought him. How did they know that… How did they know the police were going to bring him?

SHAHAN: No. That wasn't… It wasn't anything particular. It happened by chance. So, there were Armenians… "Are you Armenian." "Yes." "Do you know German? Let's go! Interpret for us." That's how the police…

SYLVA: Ok.

SHAHAN: And so… This guy tells him you shouldn't say it that way. And then later, in court… Then the second time, when the legal defense… when the attorneys… We hired them and so on, they were there. At that time, it's not going to be said that it is "premeditate," otherwise you'll be found guilty. Instead! Instead… without having it in my mind, but because Talaat is the one responsible for the massacre of my entire family: my father, sister, mother, brothers. When I saw him… I don't know.

SYLVA: I don't remember. Insanity.

SHAHAN: And a story, you know, an emotional one, that if it were premeditated, then it is immediately implied to have been organized. And our plan is to make it appear to be on personal grounds. It's not organized.

KHACHIG and SYLVA: It's an act of revenge.

SHAHAN: Since it's an act of revenge just on personal grounds. Because if it is discovered that there is an organization, and that this man has been a tool in the hands of that organization, then our subsequent missions would become more difficult. The next one in our project it won't come to an end. You see?

SYLVA: That's right. Two more were left.

SHAHAN: Yes. So, during the second interrogation, which was interpreted, it was explained to him that he must not say it was premeditated. When they ask him again, the police, he says: "I don't remember what I said. I don't know what I said with my head bandaged, my head was broken" so on and so forth. "I don't remember what I said." Let's say…

SYLVA: Amnesia.

SHAHAN: Yes. And so, they removed the "intentionally." It's not a

murder! It's a personal revenge. And his attorneys… The attorneys… In all of Germany, we hired Germany's three most notable attorneys. And those days were favorable for us, during Talaat's times. These remarkable attorneys advised him on what to say, you know… because these attorneys believed that he had done the right thing, you see. And he should be set free. There is no such a thing in Germany. This is not the old Kaiser's Germany, right? And by luck, that those were not the Kaiser's time, it was the republic, right? The war had been over, hadn't it? It was 1921. And… the thing… the court… the court minister… the court minister was a… our notable German… Lepsius! The court minister was Lepsius' nephew (sister's son). And the Prosecutor General, who was from the Government, that Prosecutor General had been a student of these attorneys, our defense attorneys, which ties his [Prosecutor General's] hands with loyalty to them. You see? Even though on the day… he demands punishment with his stuff, he does this… He is the… District Attorney. So, these are the circumstance we have. And a dream in order to… No… with… He is not responsible, they [the attorneys] made up a dream for him [he laughs]. And it's mentioned in his book, in his memoirs. "At night I saw my mother in a dream," he says. "At night, I saw my mother in a dream."

KHACHIG: Vratsyan says that supposedly he had seen a dream.

SYLVA: No, it was not Vratsyan.

SHAHAN: Soghomon says that.

KHACHIG: Soghomon! Sorry. Soghomon.

SHAHAN: Yes. "I saw a dream." And he says: "In my dream, my mother said: 'You saw Talaat and didn't kill him. You are not my son.'" You underatand? So, Talaat from Bolis [Constantinople] – his [Soghomon's] brothers, this one, that one, his father, mother, his family… It is true that his, Soghomon's brothers were killed, his mother was killed. But he mixes in his father, whereas he has a store in Romania. Do you understand? He has a coffee store. But this is how we had the story created. The whole purpose was to make it appear as a stand-alone case. A person who acted on his own.

Soghomon Tehlirian's memoirs were published in Cario in 1956. The author of the preface, Vahan Navassartian, a member of the executive bureau of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (A.R.F.) wrote:

> The memoirs of Sophomon Tehlirian are not the true and full story of the death of Talaat. The time has not yet come to give the public the true history of terrorism. That will be the work of the next generation. But the future historian of the great April catastrophe will be able to find some important document n the ramifications of the attack on Talaat in the Party's secret archives. Tehlirian's memoirs will be able to serve as a basis for this story…[7]

In the chapters that follow, we will open to the public for the first time in almost 97 years parts of the archive of Shahan Natalie, which are the secret archives of the Party Navassartian refers to, and that the A.R.F. has never before been able to access.

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7 Jacques Derogy, *Resistance & Revenge* (New Brunswick, NJ, Transaction Publishers, 2013) 104.

Chapter 2

The Birth of Nemesis

The story which Soghomon had shared with the court closely resembled that of my grandfather's who, at the age of 11, had lost his father to the 1894-1896 Hamidian massacres. This is the most appropriate starting point to introduce Operation Nemesis. Shahan had shared this story with Soghomon before Talaat's assassination.

Shahan Natalie was born Hagop Der Hagopian in December of 1884. He was the middle child and the only boy of five children. His father was a tax collector and mother, as almost all Armenian woman of the time, a housewife. Their family also included Hagop's grandfather, who at the time of the massacre that took his life, was 105-years-old.



Hagop Der Hagopian and his father Garabed

Just prior to the attack on Hagop's village of Husenik, Harpout, his father gathered the family and instructed them that Kurdish bandits would be coming to their village. He explained that when they arrived, all the children were to hold hands and walk to the cemetery on the hilltop, which overlooks their village. They were supposed to leave the front door of their home open, lest it should be broken down. From the cemetery, they could watch the Kurdish bandits pillage the homes. After the pillage, the family was instructed to return to their home, where their mother would make bread with the well hidden flour. Having had a meal, they were going to rebuild their lives once again. My grandfather told us that pillaging by Kurds were common, however, never before had it claimed lives, as far as he could remember.

As anticipated, the Kurdish bandits showed up the day after. However, it was not a customary pillage, as everyone had been expecting. Rather than allowing the Armenians to walk away and allow the bandits to take whatever

they want without harming anyone, shots were fired, and the Armenians were being brutally massacred. Before he could hold hands with his sisters, per his father's instruction, Hagop was snatched away by a neighbor, an older Armenian boy. Hagop's father had been watching this boy's family while his father was in America. Hagop was then forcibly pulled away and taken to the plantation of a wealthy Turk, for whom the neighbor boy worked. Behind high walls, in the garden, there were many frightened Armenians hiding from the massacre. Hagop remained on the plantation for three days before he was allowed to return to his home.

Similar massacres had happened in the surrounding villages, as well as the city of Harpoot, where there was an American College run by American missionaries. The Americans bore witness to the blood bath and their testimony was published in the December 16, 1895 issue of *The Saint Paul Globe* newspaper:

> KILLED BY KURDS.
>
> SLAUGHTER OF ARMENIAN AT HARPOOT STARTED BY BRIGANDS.
>
> SOILDIERS STOOD IDLY BY
>
> WHILE THE MOSLEMS RABBLE JOINED IN THE MASSACRE.
>
> MISSIONARIES LOST THEIR ALL.
>
> Protection By the Government as Sham-Two Score Villages Sacked.
>
> BOSTON, Mass., Dec. 15.—Letters at hand from correspondents at Harpoot, Eastern Turkey, gave detailed account of the scenes and incidents attending the recent massacre of Armenians there, as well as of the massacre itself.
>
> "The first excitement," says the writer, "over Turkish atrocities was dying out, and tranquility was pretty well restored, when the Dersim Kurds began to plunder the villages right and left, and six of which were in the immediate vicinity of Harpoot, the nearest one being within two hours of the city. The whole city was tossed with apprehension, and citizens were expecting an attack. Some said the Kruds had government sanction, other that the Turks in the city were in league with them. The Kurds, while plundering the villages, were heard to say 'We are going to Harpoot.' The Turks in the city said, 'The Kurds are coming here to plunder the Christian quarter.' One Agha, when appealed to to use means for the defense of the city, said, 'Why should we protect the Giaours? Let them be killed.'
>
> "The governor of Malatia telegraphed here that 2,000 Kurds had come there and that he could not cope with them. That threw the responsibility upon the Harpoot government. The leading men of Arabrik went to the governor and asked for protection. They were treated with contempt. These disturbances could not have happened if strong orders had been sent to the governors general to preserve order at any cost.
>
> "The terror and distress of the devastated villages can scarcely be pictured. Those who escaped with their live have been stripped of everything else with winter just at their doors. Where the Kurds alone have devastated, the loss of life is not great, but the TURKS KILL IN COLD BLOOD and in

any way suggested by the arch fiend himself.

"The idea of an uprising among the Armenians is absurd. They are in terror of their lives. They are prepared to surrender all their possessions if only their lives can be spared."

Another writer, describing the attack upon the city, says: "The first attack began on Sunday, Nov. 10, by a few Kurds. These were easily driven off. Monday there was another attack in the morning, which was also repelled. Later Monday the Kurds and Turks from the surrounding region attacked Husenik. Several were killed. The soldiers went down the road to meet the, and some of the principal Moslems also went down. They had a conference with the Kurds. Then the bugle blew, and the soldiers, led by the commander, withdrew to the city, dragging their cannon in a very leisurely fashion. After the soldiers had reached the city the Kurds and Turks came in yelling and firing. The soldiers made no attempt to stop them. They fired tier cannon once harmlessly into the air towards the city and then over the heads of the enemy. The Turks of the city joined the plunder and attack. The Armenian school was first set on fire, then the greater part of the Christian quarter. Christians were shot down everywhere.

"I saw all these things myself, for I watched things with a field glass until it became perfectly plain that the whole thing was definitely planned and arranged. The Christians had give up their harms and cast themselves on the protection of the government. No Christian fired on the assailants. The MISSIONARIES TOOK REFUGE in the girls' school until that was attacked, and the mission house of Rev. O. P. Allen and wife was burned and the school set on fire. Then they gathered in the yard, prepared to die. Dr. Barnum spoke to the military commander and he sent soldiers, but only two remained to protect the missionaries, and they demanded money or they would go away as their comrades had done. The missionaries decided to go into the college building. As they left the school yard, a Turk fired upon them from across the yard twice, first at Mr. Allen and then at Rev. C. Frank Gates, but he was a very bad marksman and no one was hit. The family of Mr. Gates was the last to leave the yard. Soon after the missionaries got into the school building the officers sent for them to come out. The missionaries refused to do so, saying they had no confidence in the chief and the Mufti, and if they wished to offer protection they could protect them where they were. If they did not, the missionaries would die there.

"At last the Alai Bey (Mohomet Bay), a Circassian, arrived. He was the first and only man who acted as if he meant to do anything for the missionaries. He called back the soldiers who had been sent by the military commander. The missionaries at once came out and began to fight the fires that had been sent. Alai Bey helped them. The house of President Gates, the house of Dr. Barnum, the normal school building and the college building were saved, but eight of the buildings were burned. All the houses were plundered and the soldiers made no attempt to stop it. The missionaries were stripped of everything by the clothes they wore. The Turks of the city were very much disappointed that any of the missionary buildings were spared. Tuesday the Kurds returned to the attack. An order came to stop them and permission was given to SHOOT THE KURDS.

"When the order came, two soldiers laid down their arms. None Kurds were killed that day at Mezreh and five at Harpoot. That finished the attack of the Kurds, but there was still danger from the Turks, and there is now.

"The missionaries put themselves under the protection of the government again, but the protection was a sham. They and the leading men of the city and the Ulema or hierarchy of religion assured Dr. Barnum that no Krud should enter the city. The chief of defense told Dr. Barnum that until he was cut to pieces not a Kurd should enter the city, and not a hair of the head of the missionaries be injured, but he stood quietly looking on while the attack was made and offered not even a show of resistance. The missionaries had the best possible opportunity for observing the hollowness of the professions."

As a result of the massacres, the writer adds, "from Diarbekir to Talatia, Arabkir to Peri, the whole region is a desolation. I counted twenty-one ruined villages, and there are said to be thirty-five of them in the Char Sandjak alone. The missionaries my not escape with their lives."

To give a better idea as to what was going on prior to the attack on Hagop's village and why the world allowed such inhumane acts to go unchecked, a letter sent to any news media willing to listen was published in *The Leighton News* (Leighton, Alabama) front page, on January 3, 1896, tells a very revealing insight of world politics:

EUROPE'S DISGRACE.

Holding Up Hands in Holy Horror While Butchery Goes On.

A Voice from the Vale of Blood that Should Make the Civilized World Ashamed – Is America Entirely Blameless?

LONDON, Dec. 30. - Dr. Henry S. Lunn, editor of the Review of the Churches, and Percy W. Bunting, editor of the Contemporary Review, have addressed the following communication to "All Editors of England and America:"

"We enclose extracts from a letter from a private friend who spent several months of this year in Armenia and who is one of the first authorities on the question, as indeed you would admit were we at liberty to publish his name. May we beg you to insert these in the next issue of your paper?

"Yours, faithfully,

[Signed] "HENRY S. LUNN,

"Editor of the Review of the Churches .

"PERCY W. BUNTING,

"Editor of the Contemporary Review."

Any allusion to Armenia upsets me. I am ashamed, excited, indignant when I think of what I saw in that country and of the confidence with which I consoled quailing women and weeping men with hopes that England would see them through their difficulties, and the words of heartfelt thanks they

uttered, often on their knees in the fields or on the hillsides; and the child-like messages of anticipatory gratitude which they asked me to deliver to the English people new burn and rankle within me like an envenomed wound.

"The European powers are playing a farcical representation round the graves of a Christian people. If conduct similar to theirs were to be pursued by an individual in private life, it would be visited with social ostracism, and would brand him with an indelible Cain's mark of infamy. Fancy a man's neighbors parading about the doors of his house while he and his children rush frantically from room to room and from window to window, imploring them to save them from the devouring flames. We have pity on a rat, if we hear of its protracted and hopeless efforts to escape from the burning, but men and women, boys and girls who are killed piecemeal are laughed at – this is what it has come to.

The governments of Europe are a spectacle to make angles weep. They guard the gates of Turkey so to say, solemnly declaring that whatever may happen to the Christians, however diabolically they may be tortured to death, nothing shall happen to the Turks – they at any rate must and will be preserved from harm. Is it a wonder then that the Turks should set about fulfilling their threat of wiping out Armenia in Armenian blood.

Every one knew that the threat would be fulfilled. Consuls reported to their governments that the departure of the European delegates from Moush would mark the beginning of the blood bath, and newspapers gave the prophecy publicity. Appeals to the public to insist on precautionary measures were multiplied, and at last mere verbal warning gave place to unmistakable signs and ominous preparations.

But diplomacy turned a deaf ear (the Armenians are nobody's kith and kin). Were they Greeks or Bulgarians, Magyars or Serb, they would have high and powerful protectors who talk of the primary duty of protecting brothers and Christians. Even Abysinians are brethren and orthodox when political calculations come in. But they are Armenians; and so none of these governments insisted on the execution or even dismissal of Zekki Pasha and the authors of the Sassoun savagery. Nay, they were decorated and honored by the sultan as an encouragement to others to go and do likewise.

And now others have gone out and have outheroded Herod, and no one seems shocked. People are only interested to get the latest news of Sivas or Trebizond, or wherever the latest massacres have occurred, at their breakfast table early. Few persons take even a remote interest in the Armenian question on the continent, and those few are the advocates of Turkey. The Austrian press, said to be paid by the Turkish government, impudently denies the Sassoun massacre and accuses the Armenians of having attempted to butcher the Kurds and Turks. The German press is the bearer of the same kind of culture to its readers, and in both those countries the public knows positively nothing about the present status of the Armenian question.

The Russian papers, beginning with the Novoya Vremyra, cracks jokes at the Armenians, and in the last numbers I have read, ask: "Why should we Russians sacrifice a single soldier for the sake of Armenian bankers an millionaires, whoare much better off than we are ourselves, to say nothing of

British and American agitators, who have so cleverly got up the Armenian comedy."

A couple of regiments of British soldiers or Cossacks is what is wanted. They would set matters right in a few days. But even if the whole English-speaking people should arise and demand this, would it be accepted?

Upon returning home three days later, my grandfather found his mother grieving over his father's beheaded corpse. Together they dragged the body of his beloved father to the family cemetery, where Hagop clawed the dirt with his bare hands to dig his father a proper grave. As he dug, the tips of his fingers wore down to his flesh and began to bleed. Once the body was entombed, Hagop's devastated mother had the partially orphaned boy take an oath on his father's grave to take revenge on those who had been responsible for their loss and do his utmost to make sure no one else would endure what was going to haunt him for the rest of his life.

A year after the gruesome murder of my great-grandfather, Hagop was sent to an orphanage in Constantinople to lighten the family's burden. More importantly, he was expected receive proper education that would one day help him fulfill the oath he took on his father's grave.

After studying for a year at Kharberd's Euphrates College, together with other orphans , Hagop was sent to the St. James Orphanage in Constantinople. He did not want to stay there, so he himself found an Armenian rug merchant living in New York to adopt him so he could attend the famed Berberian Academy, where he studied until 1900. His teacher was the Academy's director, Reteos Berberian, the noted pedagogue and philosopher.



Hagop Der Hagopian - 1901

The young Hagop's love of culture, art, beauty, goodness, truth and justice were imprinted in his very essence. In 1901, he returned to his birthplace, where for three years he served on the local school's teaching staff, at the same time studying the provincial dialect of Kharberd. This philological study earned him a special honor in Patriarch Madteos Izmirlian's literary competition. But the trauma from his father's brutal murder and the plight of the Armenian people always molded his decisions and activities. And he was soon to take active steps to fulfill his oath.

Chapter 3

Broken Promises of Reforms for the Ottoman Armenians

To better understand why the habitual pillaging of the Armenian population in the Ottoman Empire eventually transformed into the unbridled bloodbath of the Hamidian massacres that shook the European and the U.S. press, it is necessary to go a few years back, specifically the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878 and some events preceding it.

In 1860, prominent representatives of the Armenian intelligentsia, Krikor Odian, Nahapet Rusinian, Dr. Servichen, Diran Nazariantz, Nigoğayos Balyan, and Krikor Margosian, penned the Armenian National Constitution that defined the powers of the Armenian National Assembly and the Patriarch in the Ottoman Empire. It was sanctioned three years later by Sultan Abdülaziz. The Assembly was soon flooded with complaints from the provinces, requesting a resolution to the mistreatment from the Kurds, Turks, and Circassians. But no particular measures were taken.

A little more than a decade later, in 1876, Grand Vizier, Midhat Pasha (1822-1883) introduced the Ottoman Constitution. It was written by Krikor Odian (1834-1887), an advisor to the Grand Vizier and the above mentioned co-author of the Armenian National Constitution of 1863.[8]



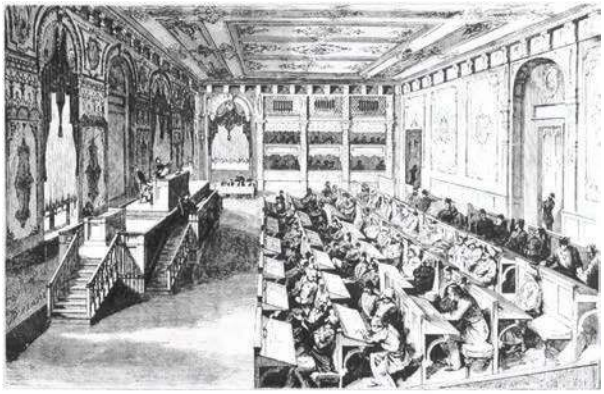
Krikor Odian

The new Ottoman Constitution granted equal rights to all citizens without distinction of race or creed, abolished slavery, sanctioned independent judiciary based on civil (rather than religious) law, secured universal elementary education, and established a bicameral parliament, with a Senate appointed by the Sultan and a directly-elected Chamber of Deputies.

The Armenians hoped that this liberal Constitution would finally bring relief to the Christians. However, the support for the Constitution began to waiver when it became known that it granted equal rights to non-Muslims. The *softas* (fanatic religious students) who had been Midhat Pasha's supporters months earlier, became largely opposed.[9] The

8 Kurkjian, Vahan M. (2008). A history of Armenia. Los Angeles, CA: Indo-European Publishing. p. 338.

9 Victor Roudometof (2001). Nationalism, Globalization, and Orthodoxy: The Social Origins of Ethnic Conflict in the Balkans. Greenwood Publishing Group. p. 87.



Ottoman Parliament 1877

Constitution, unfortunately, survived only a few months. It was soon replaced by the absolute rule of the newly enthroned Sultan, Abdul Hamid II.[10]

On April 24, 1877, when hostilities broke out between Russia and Turkey, the harsh living conditions of Armenians had already reached a peak. At the onset of the Russo-Turkish War (1877-1878), the Russian troops were able to make rapid advances on Turkish territory. The victorious Russian army included many Russian Armenians, including high-ranking military leaders. The Turks suspected that the Turkish-Armenians had provided assistance to the advancing Russian forces. Thus, after the Russian troops ceded some of their territorial gains as a result of the Congress of Berlin in 1878, the Turks sought vengeance, allowing Kurds and Circassians to pillage Armenian villages.[11]

The Russo-Turkish War concluded on March 3, 1878. The Turks defeated, the Armenians hoped to benefit from this favorable political situation, bidding on the Russian protection. Hitherto, four principal political factions existed among the Armenians. These groups were unorganized, but included a large number of Russophiles; Anglophiles, who were anti-Russian; Catholics, who were also anti-Russian, and who had hopes that Italy and France would come forth as protectors of the Ottoman Armenians; and the Turkophiles, whose number had considerably dwindled after the Russian victory. These differences in orientation were now put aside, and all the factions united for the protection of common national interests and the solution of the Armenian Question.[12]

In article XVI of the Treaty of San Stefano (March 3, 1878), which concluded the Russo-Turkish War, the central Ottoman government, a.k.a the Sublime Porte, agreed ". . . to carry out, without further delay, the ameliorations and reforms demanded by local requirements in the provinces inhabited by the Armenians, and to guarantee their security against the Kurds and Circassians."[13]

The Great Powers were unhappy with the growing influence of the

10 William L. Langer, The Diplomacy of Imperialism 1890-1902 (2d ed.; New York, 1951), pp. 161, 203; A. J. P. Taylor, The Struggle for the Mastery in Europe 1848-1918 (Oxford, 1954), p. 359; Morris Wee, "Great Britain and the Armenian Question 1878-1914" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1938), p. 283.

11 "Soc. Dem. Hunch. Kus. Amer-i Sherdjani" ["Social Democrat Hunchakian Party of America"], Hunchak Taregirk [Hunchak Yearly], October 20, 1895.

12 Nurhan Lusinian, "Zeytuni Tjakatamarte*' ["The Battle of Zeitun"], Hisnameak, p. 136.

13 Avetis Nazarbek, "Zeitun," Contemporary Review, LXIX (April 1896), 516.

Russian Empire under their nose, in Europe, as well as the Caucasus, as evidenced by the Treaty of San Stefano Treaty. Thus, a few months later, Great Britain, Austria-Hungary, and Germany organized the Congress of Berlin to revise some of the articles. Archbishop Mkrtich Khrimian participated in the Congress to promote the Armenian interests. Consequently, the Treaty of Berlin was signed on July 13, 1878. As far as the Caucasus was concerned, Article XVI of the San Stefano Treaty was replaced with Article LXI in this new treaty, which read:

> The Sublime Porte engages to realize, without further delay, the ameliorations and the reforms demanded by local requirements in the provinces inhabited by the Armenians and to guarantee their security against the Circassian and the Kurds. She will periodically render account of measures taken with this intent to the Powers, who will supervise them.

Thereby the Treaty of Berlin transferred the supervision of the Armenians' security from the Russian Empire to the European Powers. Moreover, if the Treaty of San Stefano stipulated the eventual withdrawal of the Russian forces from the Western Armenian territories as a condition for Sublime Porte's meaningful reforms and security, the Berlin document implied unconditional withdrawal of the Russian forces laying the responsibility of supervision on the European Powers without specifying who they were going to superintend the application of said reforms.

The Armenians soon learned the hard way that the promises for reforms made at the Congress of Berlin and the Cyprus Convention existed only on paper. One of the spokesmen for the Armenians at Berlin, Archbishop Khrimian, who had just returned from the Congress, gave a sermon to a large crowd gathered in the Armenian Cathedral in Constantinople, where he famously described the bitter outcome of his mission with a striking metaphor. With a petition for reforms which was merely a piece of paper, he watched as the diplomats of the European Powers, who had placed on the table before them a "Dish of Liberty," allowed the Bulgarians, Serbians, and Montenegrins with their iron spoons, scooped into the delicious dish, taking out a portion for themselves. When it came turn for the Armenians, having only the paper on which the petition was written, he dipped into the dish on the table and watched as his paper spoon gave way and crumpled, leaving the Armenians without their share of the luscious treat.



Archbishop Khrimian (1820-1907)

Before the Berlin Congress, the provisions of the secret Cyprus (Anglo-

Turkish) Convention signed on June 4, 1878, were announced. In it, Sublime Porte promised the British to introduce reforms into Armenia.[14] While this Convention was taking place, the Kurds had been taking advantage of the evacuation of the Russians from Turkish Armenia and had resumed their pillaging.[15] Khrimian's participation in the Berlin Congress infuriated Sultan Hamid. When he learnt about the Armenian delegation's visit to Berlin, he reportedly commented: "Such great impudence... Such great treachery toward religion and state... May they be cursed upon by God."[16]

The prevalent lawlessness and the attacks by the Kurds and the Circassians induced thousands of Armenians to emigrate to Russia.[17] The Sultan's rage culminated in the form of Hamidian massacres of 1894-1896 costing the lives of over 300,000 people and earning him the nickname 'Bloody Sultan'[18].

A letter written to *The New York Times* that was published on November 29, 1895, provides insight into the circumstances surrounding the Hamidian massacres. It also documents that the Young Turks, who a few years later dethroned the Sultan and came to power, were active at the time of the Hamidian massacres. What gives this letter a greater value is that it shows that what happened back in 1895 is similar to what has been happening until today and will probably continue for generations to come should we fail to learn from our history.

THE ANARCHY IN TURKEY

Sultan's Antiquated Principle of Dividing in Order to Reign.

ASININITY OF PUBLIC SUBMISSION

Young Turkey Party Has Not the Force or the Ability to Renovate the Empire.

HOW THE TROUBLE BECAN AT MARASH

Terrible Scenes of Cruelty, Murder, Destitution, and Utter Helplessness Recorded at Erseroum.

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14 Ministere des affaires etrangeres, op. cit., no. 184. M. P. Cambon, Ambassadeur de la REpublique francaise a Constantinople, a M. Berthelot, Ministre des affaires Etrangeres, p. 214.

15 Gurgen Tahmazian, "Hambardzum Poyadjian (Murat)," Hisnameak —1887-1937— Sots. Demokrat Hunchakian Kusaktsuthian [The Fiftieth Anniversary of the Social Democrat Hunchakian Party, 1887- 1937], published by the Sots. Dem. Hunchakian Kus. Kedr. Vartchuthium [Central Committee of the Social Democrat Hunchakian Party] (Providence, 1938), pp. 149.

16 Quoted in Stephan Astourian, "On the Genealogy of the Armenian-Turkish Conflict, Sultan Abdülhamid, and the Armenian Massacres," *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies* 21 (2012), p. 185.

17 Manoug C. Gismegian, Patmuthiun Amerikahai Kaghakakan Kusaktsuthiants 1890-1925 [The History of the Armenian-American Political Parties 1890-1925] (Fresno, 1930), pp. 53.

18 Balakian, Peter (2003). *The Burning Tigris: The Armenian Genocide and America's Response. New York: HarperCollins.,* pp. 35.

CONSTANTANOPLE, Nov. 15.—Discussion of the reasons for the present frenzy of slaughter in Turkey seems a waste of time. There are the natural Turkish ferocity, the oppression of the Armenians, the Sassoun massacres, and the revolutionary movement inextricably mingled with it all; there are the wrath of English interference, and the vague spectre of purely religious fanaticism urging the Turk to proclaim war on all Christians. The elements of the strife are already known. The reason for all the horrible events that have shocked the world is the Turk and his four centuries of denial of civil rights to his Christian subjects. But in dealing with Turkey, generalizations are certain to be partial and misleading.

The Turk is not merely and universally the brute that he sometimes seems to be. During these very horrors of the last few weeks, plenty of instances have occurred where Turks have saved Christians at great personal risk, and have suffered punishment for it too. The only Turks arrested for their acts in the Constantinople massacres were those who harbored Armenians and refused to give them up to the mob. The Governor of Geiveh, in the district of Nicomedia, stopped the massacre of Ak Hissar by throwing himself alone between the Moslems and their victims when bullets were flying as in a battle: and the next week he was removed from office by order of the Sultan, and is now eating the bread of repentance at Constantinople.

At Trebizond, when the infuriated mob, having pillaged all the Armenian shops in the city, made a rush for the Armenian villages on the mountain side, a Turkish village opened its doors to the Armenian fugitives and its men went out and drove off the marauders from the Armenian houses, so that in one village, at least, the Armenians found their houses unpillaged after the store passed. There are good Turks beside the dead Turks. Win the confidence of a Turk of the class which has a smattering of education—the censors will not permit more than a smattering if they can help it—and which has read some of the better French literature; ask his views on current events, and you will receive enlightenment of the eyes.

There is a fundamental principle of Turkish statesmanship in internal affairs, to which are ascribed nearly all of the abnormal monstrosities of the present administration. From the first the sole principle has been "Divide the people whom you would govern." From this principle arises the fabric of dual government by which the Palace discredits the Porte before the people by overthrowing with hasty decrees sent out independently decisions of the Ministry taken carefully and promulgated with the Sultan's approval.

Under this principle the highest functionaries are constantly insulted and humiliated in having to endure ignoble and incapable clerks and secretaries placed close to their persons solely to worry them and to spy upon them. Under this principle the governing power had labored during five years past to maintain between the various sections of the population enmities which at all the rest of the world are dying out; carefully teaching for this end to the Moslem peasantry that their worst enemies are their Christian neighbors, whose prosperity tends to give them control of the country.

This principle places the police as a barrier between Turks and

Christians, as a skeleton at the feast in all large social functions among Turks and themselves, or among Christians by themselves, and as a ceil, with its censorship and prohibitions between the subjects of Turkey and the interests and aims, the culture and progress of all the other nations of the world. Number of intelligent Turks observe with anger the use made of this principle, fortified by religious precept, to defend the inertia of the worn-out system against the encroachments of the nineteenth century. It is not fair to exclude them from sympathy. Ask your progressive Turkish friend of the cause of the epidemic of bloodshed and rapine and outrage which is now sweeping over the empire, to destroy the real springs of its wealth in destroying the Christian, industrial, and agricultural classes. He will tell you of the villainy of Armenian revolutionists who seek to exasperate their Turkish neighbors by petting crimes and by coldblooded murders of individuals. He will swear at his Armenian compatriots with fervor; he will exhaust his copious vocabulary of vituperative epithets on England, and he will tell you that even far-off America has had a hand in this misery by educating the Christian clodhoppers until they have become insubordinate. But after all this he will say: **Stupidity of Submission to Sultan.**

"They are all asses, and the others are asses, and we are asses, for we submit to that blessed man on the hall who knows nothing but to skin his people and to set them all by the ears, that they may not unite against him." He will tell you, in short, that all the evil in the country originates at the Palace of Yildiz. Far beyond any Armenian he will go in denunciation of the Sultan. It is from Turks that one learns the degree of falsehood used in the official reports of recent outbreaks in various parts of the country in order that the people may have the impression that they are conflicts between Armenians and Moslems, instead of being great Moslem massacres, for which some crime of an individual served as an excuse. It is form Turks, whose hearts burn with shame at the comments of the European press upon Turkish turpitude, that one hears the fiercest curses upon the ruler who had brought the proud old empire to such a pas that any clown in all the wide world who kicks at it can find a crowd to cheer him.

Of such men is composed the so-called "Young Turkey" Party, the party of patriotism which has been expected, in some quarters, to make strong utterances in this time of disaster and bewilderment. The members of this party are men who have been shelved because they are honest, or because they are progressive. They are mean who have been insulted, who have been robbed, who have been pursued, even into the paths of business, by the emissaries of the palace, and have felt the grip of the sty in the household, in social life, in literary pursuits, in scientific culture, claiming to denounce as illegal every though and every action which has not been first authorized by special edict of this Majesty the Sultan.

But it is a great mistake to speak of the great multitude of Turks within and without Constantinople who long for the deposition of the Sultan as a party. They agree in the one desire, but nothing eles. There is no unity, no organization, no leadership. And it must be added that there is little spirit of self-denial and less idea of fixed principle, aside from discontent, to transform the throngs of individual jrumblers into a compact organization.

And there is no courage of conviction, so are visible, to elevate any among them into leaders. Some wish to unite with the Armenian revolutionists; some have seized upon the notion of demanding separately a Parliament and Constitutional; some think to restore Murad V. to the throne; some to do away with two or three of the brothers and raise a younger one to the Caliphate.

Others there are who have taken eagerly the idea carefully circulated in all these years that all will be will if the Christians of the empire are first made way with or at least stripped of their property and power. This section of the malcontent can hardly be called of truth a portion of the young Turkey party, but, with its eager adoption of the idea of reform by the sward and torch, it is the force now most to be feared by the Sultan and the palace party. All less violent members of the crowd that clamor for a change seem to be reduced to inertia appalled by this appeal to fanaticism and by the tremendous energy of cunning by which the Sultan ferrets out all schemes to attack him.

They hopelessly declare that he was born three days before the devil, and it is useless to try to circumvent him. The educated, gentlemanly, but somewhat effeminate young Turk is a charming man to meet in society, but he has not the qualities, intellectual, moral, or physical, which fit him to become savior of the empire. He will continue to rant against the tyranny, cruelty, and corruption that have befouled the Turkish name. He will in kindly way interfere now and then to save Christians from butchery. Possibly he may become some day desperate enough to hurl a bomb which will end the question, or to join a mob that will sweep all before it. But his is not the man to risk his life for liberty and justice, or to endure long the strain of following unflinchingly a great aim. The "young Turkey" party is a symptom, not a delivering force.

When a Turkish ship of the model of four hundred years ago, high of poop and round of bow, is coming down the Bosphorus, it often happens that she becomes unmanageable among the currents at the mouth of the Golden Horn. She will drift towards vessels lying at anchor, or threaten to wreck herself upon some projecting point of quay. Then a strange spectacle delights the eyes of him who is there to see. Every man of the crew of thirty or forty begins to bawl orders to his mates respecting the action to be taken.

Some will rush to the Captain, unbraiding him and gesticulating as if they were about to throw him overboard. Others will brace around the yards or let go sheets and lower sails and hoist them again at the most unexpected moment and upon the spur of some passing conviction. In the moment of crisis there are forty Captains, and no one of them is command of more than a limited section of the ship. Meanwhile the Captain is bawling as loud as any cursing, arguing, giving order which no one obeys, and seeming to render his clothes in despair. But he keeps firm hold of the helm and seeks to make the best of the various strange predicaments into which he is brought by the energy of his panic-stricken crew. At length some one takes a notion to let go the anchor, and if 'kismet' is favorable, the danger of disaster is averted, and the Captain has time to take a leisurely survey of

the situation, and to find means to bring his ship to the place where she was to have been tied up.

It is always a marvel that these vessels reach their mooring without greater loss than the temper of the ship's company. Something of this nature is now going on in Turkey. The various discordant voices and violent efforts which attract our attention threaten ruin because no one principle guides them. A cheerful willingness exists to throw the Captain overboard; the turmoil is sure to result in some damage; it may end in terrible disaster. The one thought to be made prominent is such case is that if they safety of this ship and its passengers, and especially the safety of the neighboring vessels is to be secured, it must be by some combined effort from outside. The only hope of escape from being involved in some way is the ruin of Turkey is form the powers to drop dissension among themselves, and to control her course by irresistible united action. Risk of European war is, of course, involved. But European war is certain to follow a policy of non-intervention which merely postpones the assumption of control now sure sooner or later to be forced upon Europe. The following is a copy of a letter from Rev. L. O. Lee of Marash, under date of Oct. 30:

"Mr. Peet's and Mr. Terrell's answer to our telegram came promptly Sunday morning, the 27th. The next day came a telegram to the same effect from Mr. Marnham, the English Consul at Aleppo. We are safe and comfortable. The Government has given us repeated assurances of its protection, and the barracks near are ordered to look after us. Not a sign of danger has been seen near us, although we live on the outside of a Muslim suburd, with open country beyond.

Chapter 4

Armenian Revolutionary Parties

This historic sermon by Archbishop Khrimian was an indirect appeal for the use of arms — "iron spoons" — the means successfully adopted by Balkan revolutionaries. The results of the Congress of Berlin showed that "Christian" and "civilized" Europe had abandoned the Armenians and had left them to their own resources. This was not a new experience. For centuries they had appealed their cause to Europe to no avail. Khrimian's lamentation did not fall on deaf ears. In less than a decade, Armenian political parties sprouted, all of which aimed at armed self-denfense and the eventual liberation of Armenia.

Armenakan Party

Responding to Archbishop Khrimian's call by, the first of the organized secret revolutionary groups, the Armenakan Party, was founded in Van, Western Armenia, in 1885 by Mekertich Portukalian, Setrak Gabudian, and Hampig Der Hampartsoumian[19]. By the turn of the century, the party had cells in other towns and provinces including Trabzon and Constantinople. Their military structure was developed in Russian Transcaucasia, Persia, and the United States. They carried out military activities in the Ottoman Empire during the Defense of Van, in June 1896, and the Siege of Van, from April 19 to May 6, 1915. During the Armenian Genocide, the Armenakans had fighting groups attacking the Turks engaged in massacring the Armenians. In 1921, in Constantinople, after the fall of First Republic of Armenia as a result of the the Bolshevik invasion, Amenakans joined the Reformed Hunchakians (which is discussed in detail below), and the Constituent Democratic Party to form the Armenian Democratic Liberal Party (ADL), known in Armenian as the Ramgavar's. Of the three larger political/revolutionary parties, the Ramgavar's could be called the mildest, advocating liberalism and capitalism.

Hunchakian Party

The second party that took shape was the Hunchakian Party. Although the popular history of the Hunchaks is that it was founded in August 1887 by a group of students in Geneva, Switzerland, it was

19 Talai, Vered Amit; Amit, Vered (1989). Armenians in London: The Management of Social Boundaries. Manchester University Press.

the first socialist party to operate in the Ottoman Empire and in Persia; all seven founders of the party were Russian-Armenian Marxists from affluent bourgeois families, who had never lived under the Turkish flag, but were driven to act out of concern for the well-being of their oppressed fellow Armenians. Their original goal was to attain Armenia's independence from the Ottoman Empire during the Armenian national liberation movement. The founders were influenced by social-democratic revolutionary ideology of Friedrich Engels, Georgi Plekhanov, and, later, Vladimir Lenin. The party's manifesto, printed in the first issue of Hunchak journal, contained the following slogan: "Those who cannot attain freedom through revolutionary armed struggle are unworthy of it."[20] It seems that the real history of this organization became public knowledge thanks to a police investigation following the murder of a Constantinople-based Armenian millionaire in May of 1906. Particularly, the early years of the Hunchakian Party were marred by extortions, blackmail, and murders in Europe and the U.S. More details are available in Appendix I, entitled "The Murderous Beginnings of the Hunchakian Party".

Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Dashnagtzoutune)

The last revolutionary organization to answer the Archbishop Khrimian's call was the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF), a.k.a. Dashnaktsutiun, in 1890 Tiflis, Russian Empire, by Christapor Mikaelian, Stepan Zorian, and Simon Zavarian. After the assassination of Apik Effendi ordered by the Reformed Hunchakian Party in 1906, *The Evening Star* newspaper described the ARF as, "a reputable organization which does not believe in blackmail or assassination, and is endeavoring in improving the conditions of Armenia by other means."

In 1904, in Harpoot, my grandfather, Hagop, joined the Armenian Revolutionary Federation. As part of his revolutionary activities and to fulfill the oath he took on his father's grave, Hagop and his fellow revolutionaries would go out at night to the neighboring villages that had once been inhabited by Armenians prior to the Hamidian Massacres and terrorized the squatters living in the victims' homes. Hagop believed that if one takes something from someone unjustly, one should not enjoy it and must suffer lest others dare do the same. These early years of terrorist activities helped Hagop learn what later came in handy in the times of the Armenian people's greatest tragedy.

The same year, Hagop was identified as one of the night raiders. Before he could be caught, Hagop managed to emigrate and settle in the United States, where for three years he worked as a laborer at the Hood Rubber factory.

What made the ARF different from the other revolutionary societies

20 This echoes one of the striking statements made by a principal character in *The Fool*, a novel by Raffi: "[…] he who doesn't know how to use a weapon, who is not capable of shedding blood and killing people, he is told you have no right to be free."

was that they had worked together with the Young Turks to bring Talaat Pasha to power in 1908 with strong objections and warnings by General Antranik Ozanian, who would resign from the ARF because of this support for Talaat.

To best describe the history of the ARF, we have included two books in the appendix of this manuscript. The first one, *Patriotism Perverted: A discussion of the deeds and the misdeeds of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, the so-called Dashnagtzoutune* can be found in Appendix II. It was written in 1934 following the murder on December 24, 1933, of Archbishop Leon Tourian, Primate of the Armenian Church in North and South America, by orders of the ARF. The second book, *The Armenian Revolutionary Federation Has Nothing Left to do*, was written in 1923 by Hovhannes Katchaznouni, First Prime Minister of the Independent Armenian Republic. It was presented to the Convention of foreign branches of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, which convened during the month of April, 1923. This book is found in Appendix III.

The one thing that the ARF has in common with all the other Armenian revolutionary societies is that they had at one time or another been infiltrated by paid agents of governments. Alternatively, their own rank and file had been recruited by governments or opposing organizations.

My grandfather told us about spies in the early period of the ARF party, who reported back to their keepers, causing loyal members' deaths and internal conflicts that harmed and paralyzed the federation. This was one of the reasons why my grandfather resigned from the ARF in October of 1919, yet his resignation was never accepted, since the ARF constitution and by-laws don't allow a member to resign. The only way out of the ARF was expulsion, assassination or death. In my grandfather's case, before and after he was expelled , the ARF had attempted to assassinate him at least twice. In both cases, my grandfather had been warned of what was to come by ARF members loyal to my grandfather for which he was able to take countermeasures.

The first known assassination attempt was a young Italian hitman the leadership had hired. My grandfather had been told of the place and time by his informant within the ARF. When the hitman showed up to carry out his dubious deed, he was invited to the table my grandfather and his bodyguards were sitting. With their guns drawn under the tablecloth, my grandfather convinced the hired assassin that what they were doing would be detrimental to their own health. After conversing with the hitman, it was discovered that he had been misinformed about my grandfather. The assassin changed sides vowing his allegiance to my grandfather and offering to kill those who had hired him. My grandfather declined the offer.

The second known attempt was to be carried out by an ARF member. The man who knew my grandfather showed up to my grandfather's office. He knocked on the door and entered the room. My grandfather already

knew that a man would be visiting and invited him in. My grandfather asked the man to sit, but the man refused. Then the man pulled out a revolver and told my grandfather he had been sent to kill him by the order of the ARF, but that he couldn't carry out the assassination. The man placed the revolver on the table and left.

During World War II, when the war had separated my grandfather from my grandmother, aunt, and mother, the ARF attempted to silence my grandfather and terrorize my grandmother who lived in France. Once they attempted to kidnap my mother. Fortunately, my grandmother had been warned and was able to take her children on a vacation in the south of France until the danger passed. The ARF would also send letters to both of my grandparents notifying one about the other's demise. This harassment lasted until they were able to reunite in the United States after the war, in 1946.

Although this volume primarily consists of that which was found in my grandfather's archive, I feel that it is helpful to close this chapter with something I found in a book that was published long after his death which documented cases of the ARF being infiltrated by the Soviet Union's famous KGB.

With the fall of the Soviet Union, one of the influential Soviet spies, Oleg Kalugin, wrote a book titled *Spymaster: My Thiry-Two Years in Intelligence and Espionage Agaisnt the West*. On page 221, Kalugin wrote of his infiltrating the ARF:

> Though it didn't play a pivotal role in our struggle with U.S. intelligence agencies, we carried on a low-level campaign to infiltrate numerous anti-Soviet émigré organizations, as well as so-called centers of ideological diversion. Virtually all of the large national groups in the Soviet Union—Ukrainians, Armenians, Lithuanians, Latvians, and Estonians—had vocal émigré organizations abroad that fought for the independence of their countrymen at home. Our job in KGB foreign counterintelligence was to insinuate agents into these groups who would keep abreast of émigré activities, let us know which leaders were likely targets for recruitment, and, if possible, soften the anti-Soviet thrust of these usually rabid anti-Communist organizations. Our ultimate goal in working with these groups was to find agents who might eventually go to work for Western intelligence and security services.
>
> We enjoyed some success in penetrating the Baltic émigré organizations, particularly in Sweden. And we had a good network of agents among the Ukrainian émigrés, particularly in Canada, where several million Ukrainians had settled. But the émigré organization we most thoroughly infiltrated was the Armenian exile group, Dashnak Tsutyun. Once it had been a staunchly nationalist group that campaigned for an independent Armenian state. Over time, we placed so many agents there that several had risen to positions of leadership. We succeeded in effectively neutralizing the group, and by the 1980s Dashnak Tsutyun had stopped fighting against Soviet power in Armenia. The organization and some of its members had been coopted by the

KGB. Years later, in 1992, when Dashnak Tsutyun leaders and other Armenian nationalists were attacking Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan for not being sufficiently nationalist, I got a call from the president, with whom I had had several friendly conversations, at my Moscow apartment. He asked me for help in fending off the attacks by Dashnak Tsutyun, and I provided him and the Armenian press with information about the KGB's deep penetration of that émigré group in the 1970s.

Chapter 5

The Young Turks

"Turkish Republic, as it is today, as it stays today, was established by the party that organized the Armenian Genocide. We have a continuity of the party C.U.P. (Committee of Union and Progress). It is the same party today in Turkey we call it the Turkish the people's party, this is the C.H.P. (The Republican People's Party, founded in September 7, 1919, by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk) and the individuals who organized the Armenian Genocide, they became important officers during the Republic period. So, there is a continuity in the ruling that comes all the way today."

- Dr. Tanner Akcam, Clark University – Lecture at Rowan Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies and the History Department, March 7, 2019.

As history has proven, the Young Turks were the driving force of the Armenian Genocide, as well as the genocide of the Assyrians, atrocities against the Greeks and it can even be argued, the cultural genocide of the Turkish people themselves with the loss of their culture and written language.

The Young Turks Movement was believed to have its origins from Salonica, Ottoman Empire (presently, Thessaloniki, Greece).

According to popular claims, the Young Turks Movement was a reaction to the abolishment of the Ottoman Constitution of 1876, which had been introduced by the Grand Vizier, Midhat Pasha (1822-1883). The Ottoman constitution of 1876 was written by an Armenian named Krikor Odian (1834-1887), an advisor to the Grand Vizier. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Odian was also one of the authors of the Armenian National Constitution approved by the sultan in 1863.

Appointed Grand Vizier for the second time on December 23, 1876, Midhat Pasha replaced Mehmed Rushdi Pasha (1811-1882). Midhat Pasha announced that a constitution would be promulgated and a representative parliament established. This new form of governance was modeled after the Armenian National Constitution.

The Ottoman constitution of 1876 granted equal rights to all citizens without distinction of race or creed, abolished slavery, sanctioned independent judiciary based on civil (rather than religious) law, secured universal elementary education, and established a bicameral parliament, with a Senate appointed by the Sultan and a directly-elected Chamber of Deputies.[21]

On February 5, 1877, the Sultan, Abdul Hamid II, who had no real interest

21 Zvi Yehuda Hershlag (1980). Introduction to the Modern Economic History of the Middle East. Brill Archive. pp. 36–37.

in constitutionalism, exiled Midhat Pasha.

Following the end of the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78, which the Turks lost, the Sultan dismissed the government and returned to despotic rule.[22]

The best evidence available as to finding when the Young Turks were founded indicates that they had come into existence as early as 1876. They were mentioned in *The Standard* (London, Greater London, England) newspaper on June 2, 1876, page 6, in which their demands for change were noted. The article in part reported:

> "The party of the 'Old Turks,' who are opposed to foreign loans and the bastard combinations which clothe Easter Corruption with European varnish, and the 'Young Turks,' who wish to remodel the Empire after a new plan, and endow it with institutions similar to those of Western States. The essential point on which all those parties were in accord was the wretched incapacity of the existing administration, which Moslemand rayahs found equally intolerable. On the one hand, the Old Turks, relying on the law of Islam, acknowledged that Christians were entitled to fairer treatment. On the other hand, the Young Turks thinking that rayahs can be easily satisfied if they are given rights that will make them citizens of the Turkish Empire and place them on the same footing as the true believers. They are further of the opinion that this would save the Empire from impeding ruin."

In terms of their documented connection with the Armenians, just one week before the attack on Shahan Natalie's village of Husenik, the Young Turks had been active in plotting atrocities that would bring "disgrace" to the Armenians. *The San Francisco Examiner* (San Francisco, California) reported on Oct 24, 1895, page 11:

> **COW THE YOUNG TURKS**
>
> Vigorous Action of the Sultan Thought to Have Prevented an Outbreak Just Now.
>
> LONDON, October 23.—A Constantinople dispatch to the "Standard" says: Sinister stories are afload regarding the vengeance wreaked on members of the young Turkish party. A leading Musselman lawyer named Izzet (whose arrest was reported some time since) was tortured and died in Yl Dez Prison on proof of corresponding with the party.
>
> There is an unconfirmed rumor that fifty leaders of the party were arrested Saturday and were summarily tried and executed on a charge of excess during the recent Armenian riots. The Young Turks continue vehement talk among themselves, but it is believed the Sultan's vigor has nipped the agitation against the Palace Government. He has further, had his two brothers, Reshad and Murad, brought to Yl Dez and kept there till matter have calmed down.
>
> A dispatch from Constantinople last Saturday told of a warning received by the British Ambassador, Sir Philip Currie, from an Armenian source, that there was a plot by the Young Turkey party to kill him and thus bring

22 Selçuk Akşin Somel (2010). The A to Z of the Ottoman Empire. Rowman & Littlefield. P.188

disgrace upon the Armenian people.



First congress of Ottoman oppositin – Paris, 1902

The Young Turks participated in the first congress of the Ottoman opposition of 1902, held in Paris. They had a direct connection with the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), which began as a secret society (originally known as "Committee of Ottoman Union") in Istanbul on February 6, 1889. In 1895, the society established contact with Ottoman liberals in European exile. The CUP transformed into a political organization (and later an official political party), aligning itself with the Young Turks in 1906.

In his memoirs, *Ben Kendim, A Record of Eastern Travel*, the British spy, Aubrey Herbert, writes the following with regard to the Young Turks of Salonika (pages 15-16) :

> Salonika, by the blue sea and amongst the cypresses, is only a poor footstool for Olympus. It is a town of intrigues and persecutions. In the days of my first visit it was more free than Constantinople; there was not the same vigilance, and the Jews, who are the majority of its inhabitants, have always enjoyed a greater liberty than any other subject race in Turkey. They have, indeed, shared with the greatest heartiness in assisting other people to massacre the Greeks and Armenians, who are their commercial rivals.
>
> The coming storm had not yet broken, but already its mutterings were to be heard. The Grand Orient[23] was at work. There were links between New York and the bootblacks of Salonika, and again between Salonika and the unruly Albanians. Talaat was studying the literature of the French Revolution; Karasso was engaged in Freemasonry; Enver, in the mountains of Macedonia or in a sailing boat in the Gulf, was engrossed in tactics.
>
> The Jews of Salonika, generally known as Dunmes (converts), were the real parents of, the Turkish revolution. They are a definite people--Hebrews, but indefinable as to creed. The popular verdict was that they were only nominal Moslems and were true followers of the Pentateuch, bowing their heads in the temple of Rimmon for the sake of profit. At that time, only the most industrious student of the Near East knew of their existence. There was no man to prophesy that the Dunmes were to be the chief authors of a revolution whose results were to shake the world.

23 The Chief Masonic Lodge of the Near East.

In order to give a fair look as to who the Young Turks were, I turn to Reverend Joseph K. Greene, D.D., who was a resident of Turkey for 51 years. He published a book titled *Leaving the Levant,* in 1916. This book serves as witness to his life in the Ottoman Empire and, compared with historical documents available today, can be deemed an accurate account of events in the time period he reports on. Below is a fragment from the book (pages 38 to 48):

> In the summer of 1908 the city of Samokov in Bulgaria afforded my wife and myself a delightful retreat from the heats of Constantinople. While there the report reached us that, as the result of a revolutionary movement, a constitutional government had been proclaimed in Turkey, and on our return to the capital we found abundant and gratifying evidence that such was the fact. Such a change of government, utterly unexpected, was a great and glad surprise. The men who brought about this revolution called themselves Young Turks. Who then were the Young Turks? The curious fact is that most of the leaders in the movement were not Turks at all, but Mohammedans whose ancestors were Christians. Until the recent war (1912-13) there were in the Balkan peninsula some 2,000,000 Mohammedans, most of whom in origin were neither Turks nor Arabs, but descended from the early Christian nations inhabiting the land. After the Turkish invasion, 550 years ago, many Greeks, Albanians, Bosnians, Servians, and Bulgarians professed themselves Mohammedans in order to save their lives, their honor, and their property; and their descendants are now, for the most part, the Mohammedans of the Balkan peninsula. They changed their religion, but to the present time have retained, each nation, its mother tongue, its traditions and customs; hence they are allied, not to Asiatics, but to Europeans.
>
> Now for many years the Turkish government has maintained two divisions of its army, numbering 60,000 men, in what was called European Turkey. These troops were very largely recruited from the European Mohammedans, and the great body of the officers came from the same peoples. Some of the officers received their education, in part, in the military and other schools of Europe, and became familiar with one or more of the European languages. For many years many young officers were ashamed and aggrieved on account of the unhonored position of their country, and were embittered by the despotism of Sultan Abdul Hamid and by the corruption of his ministers. Some of the officers were suspected by the Turkish authorities, and in order to escape arrest, imprisonment, exile, and, possibly, death, they fled to Europe. They congregated in Paris, Geneva, and other cities, formed secret committees and inaugurated a revolutionary propaganda. For years they carried on this propaganda with infinite secrecy and success, distributing their revolutionary documents in other divisions of the army and among the civil population, and gained many adherents.
>
> Finally, when their plans were completed and preparations made, on July 23, 1908, telegrams were sent from many places in European Turkey to Sultan Abdul Hamid, in the palace of Yildiz, Constantinople, demanding from him the proclamation of a constitution, the summoning of a parliament, the dismissal of his corrupt ministers, and other reforms, and threatening

that, unless these demands were immediately acceded to, they would march upon Constantinople with 60,000 men. The Sultan at once called his ministers to the palace, and they passed a very anxious night. The upshot of their conference was that not one of the ministers was able to guarantee the safety of the Sultan's life. Hence on the morning of July 24, by command of the Sultan, telegrams were sent to all divisions of the army and to the governors of the provinces, announcing that his Imperial Majesty, Sultan Abdul Hamid, was graciously pleased to proclaim a constitutional form of government. The people were dazed and bewildered, not knowing what to believe, and when reassured their outbursts of joy defied description. Turks, Christians, and Jews joined indiscriminately in their joyful demonstrations.

The Young Turks thought it best to leave Sultan Abdul Hamid upon the throne, he solemnly swearing that he would rule as a constitutional sovereign, and so he appeared to be doing. At the same time the wily and perfidious man began to prepare for a reaction. By means of the chief eunuch and other servants of the palace, by means of religious teachers, called imams, whom he hired, and by the use of unlimited sums of money, in the course of nine months Sultan Abdul Hamid had deceived and seduced and suborned half the garrison of Constantinople, say 12,000 men. On the night of April 13, 1909, these mutinous soldiers rose upon their young officers, killing many of them and imprisoning others in their rooms, marched into the streets, crossed the bridge over the Golden Horn to Stamboul, took possession of the parliament house, killed several members of the new government, and in the course of the day secured control of the city. Sultan Abdul Hamid thought that he had carried the day, but he counted without his host. Within one week the Young Turks rallied, and by means of two lines of rail- way brought from Thrace and Macedonia and Albania some 45,000 troops, with artillery, ammunition and provisions, to the gates of Constantinople. This army took possession, first, of a fortification called Chatalja on the line of the Roumelian railway, 25 miles from the city, and day by day captured without much fighting, the outlying fortifications. On Friday, the 23rd of April, the commander of the Young Turkey army. General Mahmoud Shevket Pasha, received information that Sultan Abdul Hamid in disappointment and rage had planned for the following day a general massacre of Christians and of his opponents in the capital. Thereupon General Mahmoud during Friday afternoon and night moved his army into the city in two divisions. One division after some fighting occupied the old city, Stamboul. The other division swept around the Golden Horn and on Saturday advanced upon Pera, the European quarter. Here there were very strong barracks, occupied by the mutinous soldiers, and severe fighting ensued, with a loss on both sides of some 2,000 men. By night, however, the Young Turkey army prevailed, and had possession of the city. On Monday the army surrounded the hill of Yildiz, situated three-quarters of a mile from the shore of the Bosphorus and separated from Pera by a valley. This hill, of 1,000 acres, was surrounded by a high wall and contained the palace of the Sultan, a palace for his wives, and another palace for the entertainment of European sovereigns, a porcelain factory, a theater, stables, and barracks for his bodyguard. Cannon were placed on the surrounding heights so as to

command this hill, and on the morning of Tuesday the Sultan, seeing that his game was up, surrendered. The bodyguard was marched out and new troops were sent in. That night several young officers went to the palace of the Sultan and summoned him to their presence. He came in, pale as a sheet, trembling like a leaf, and begging for his life. He was told that his life would be spared, but that for the good of the country he must leave the city that night. The Young Turks dealt mercifully with the cruel monarch and allowed him to choose, as his companions in exile, eleven women, one child, two eunuchs, and five servants! These were placed in carriages, and after midnight were driven to the railway station in Stamboul, were sent by special train 300 miles west to Salonica, and were con- signed to a strong house prepared for them. Such was the end of a traitorous attempt to reestablish the old system of absolutism, and the alacrity and determination with which the Young Turks met and crushed the mutiny, and thereby saved Constantinople itself from a general massacre, deserved all praise.

It may be added that on the same day as the mutiny in Constantinople the Moslem population of the city and province of Adana, instigated from Constantinople, rose upon their Christian fellow-subjects, and in the course of a few days robbed and murdered 20,000 Armenians, destroyed a large number of Christian villages, churches, and schools, and killed many religious teachers, including two American missionaries and 20 Protestant pastors and preachers and one college professor. Had the mutiny in Constantinople succeeded, the wave of destruction, as in 1895, would no doubt have swept over all Asia Minor. By order of the government 70 men, found guilty of complicity in the massacre, most of whom were Turks, were hanged in Adana. The mutiny and the massacre were the last stroke of the dying monster Sultan Abdul Hamid. Such in brief is the story of the revolution of 1908 and of the reaction of 1909.

The significance of the revolution of the Young Turks is found in the fact that, so far as we know, it was the first real attempt among Mohammedans to establish a constitutional government. For 1,300 years every Mohammedan ruler had been an absolute and irresponsible despot, the character of each reign being determined by the special traits of the sovereign. Revolutions without number had occurred in Mohammedan countries, but in every case the change had been from one despotism to another. The Young Turks of 1908, however, seemed to have learned the true idea of a constitutional government, with the Sultan as chief executive with a responsible ministry and a parliament, each department of the government loyally supplementing the other departments, and altogether constituting a government of the people, for the people, and by the people.

What now has been the issue of the government so hopefully begun?

First, it is but fair to say that the Young Turks made a good beginning. At the peril of their lives they accomplished a revolution which was almost bloodless. In place of the cruel monarch Hamid, they put upon the throne his brother, Reshid Effendi, the legitimate heir, under the name of Mohammed the Fifth, a man now 70 years old, without force or initiative, but mild-mannered and well-disposed. They inaugurated a constitutional government

in all its forms. They had command of the army and navy, and for at least a few years they had the confidence and support of 5,000,000 Christians and Jews, who, after the Balkan war of 1912-13, constituted nearly one-third of all the subjects of Turkey outside of Arabia. Moreover they had a powerful secret committee, called the Committee of Union and Progress, which formulated the policy and controlled all the movements of the Young Turk party both in the administration and parliament.

The trouble with the Young Turks was that they had no leaders who truly comprehended and heartily adopted the fundamental principle upon which a real constitutional government is based. (None of the leaders had had an American college training as the leaders in Bulgaria had.) That principle is the equality in civil affairs of all the subjects of the state, with impartial justice and equal opportunities for all. This principle the Young Turks adopted in theory, and for political reasons professed to follow, but in fact they were a small minority, perhaps 20 per cent of the whole Mohammedan population, and were soon confronted by the old traditionary sentiment which demanded Mohammedan supremacy. In short, the everlasting controversy between the new and the old, between equal rights and special privilege, be- tween tolerance and fanaticism, between liberty and despotism asserted itself, and the intolerant Mohammedan sentiment triumphed. The Young Turks wished to maintain their power, and, while acting under constitutional forms, themselves became a despotism.

To attain *eclat* among their countrymen, in 1914, they, all of a sudden, denounced and abrogated the Capitulations, that is, the ancient treaties made with the European Powers, for the safeguarding of the persons and property of foreigners residing in Turkey. In consequence of the protests and threats of England, France, and Russia, and in order to secure support in the controversies with those Powers which they knew were sure to follow; in order also at the same time to thwart any further opposition at home, the Young Turks, contrary to the wishes of the great majority of the people, plunged into the great European war.

Still further to consolidate their power in Asia Minor and to obviate any interference of Europe in behalf of the Christian subjects of Turkey, following the example of Sultan Abdul Hamid, they adopted measures—measures the most cruel and diabolical—for the extermination of the Armenian people. First, they drafted into the army all able-bodied Armenian men; then they seized, imprisoned and secretly killed the remaining men and boys; then they drove from their homes the rest of the people, the young and the old, the rich and the poor, the sick and the well, and started them on foot from all points of Asia Minor on a journey of hundreds of miles, towards the deserts of Arabia, to die by the way from hunger and thirst, from weariness and exposure, while thousands of women and girls were forced into a life of shame and slavery in Moslem tents and huts and houses. Of course the goods and property of all these people—perhaps 1,000,000 in number—were seized and confiscated. These cruelties and crimes were explicitly ordered by the leaders of the Young Turks at Constantinople and executed by the regular Turkish officials. We are glad to be able to add,

however, that some officials refused to execute the infamous orders and gave up their posts, and we have reason to believe that a large part of the Mohammedan population did not approve of them. Alas! that the movement of the Young Turks, begun so hopefully, should issue in such crimes. Alas! that the Young Turks should thus have blackened their name with infamy, and should have rendered themselves unworthy of the recognition of any self-respecting nation on the face of the earth.

But the Turks say, ‘’The Armenians are rebels. Witness what they did in Van ! Did not the *Outlook* newspaper some months ago print a picture of the barricades which the Armenians built in the streets of that city?” Such was the statement of a Turk in a letter published in the *New York Times* of October 18, 1915. We reprint the picture.

Well, what are the facts? In April and May, 1915, Turkish soldiers, and Kourds made savage assaults on the Armenian towns and villages within a circuit of 50 miles of Van. With merciless cruelty they killed thousands of helpless people, multitudes of girls and women they carried away to a life of shame and slavery; they drove away the flocks and herds, and stole whatever they could carry off; and, finally, they burned the houses of the villagers and left the land waste and desolate. Some poor wretches escaped to Van, and they brought to the American hospital women with breasts cut off and children so mutilated that decency forbids description.

In the large town of Agantz, only 40 miles from Van, all the Armenian men were ordered to come to the Government Building ‘’to hear an important proclamation.” Those who hesitated were forced to come by the police. When they were all within the enclosure, they were divided into groups of 50, they were bound and were all shot to the number of 2,500. The women and children and the houses with all their contents were then given over to the Turks and Kourds.

On April 20, by command of Jevdet Bey, the governor of Van, Turkish soldiers began an attack on Van, the ancient capital of the Armenian kingdom, and at the time a city of 50,000 inhabitants, three-fifths of whom were Armenians, and the remainder Turks. Thereupon some 3,000 Armenians, seeing the awful fate which threatened them and their families, determined to defend themselves with such weapons as they had and such barricades as they could hastily erect, and until the middle of May they held back, with small loss of life, several thousand Turkish troops. On May 16, the Turks and Kourds, hearing that a Russian force was approaching, raised the siege and fled towards Bitlis, taking with them from a Turkish hospital Miss McLaren, an American nurse, and Schwester Martha, a German nurse, to tend sick officers. In their flight the Turks left behind 25 Turkish soldiers, too ill to travel, and 1,000 destitute women and children, many of them dangerously ill with typhus fever. All these forsaken people the Armenians, by permission of the missionaries, brought within the mission compound, where they were lodged in the mission school buildings and hospital, and were fed and tended until near the end of July, at the peril of the lives of the missionary attendants. Indeed, early in July Dr. Ussher, the leading physician, and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Yarrow, and Miss Rogers, the principal of the

girls' school, were taken with the dreaded disease, and on July 13 Mrs. Ussher died, and was buried in the missionary graveyard, while her husband and Mr. Yarrow were too ill to be informed of the sad event. When, near the end of July, a larger Turkish force approached Van, the entire Armenian population and 15 American missionaries, including children, fled, and after weeks of incredible hardship and no little loss reached the Russian border. Mrs. Raynolds, whose leg was broken in the flight, utterly exhausted, died in Tiflis on August 12, 1915, two days before the arrival of her husband from America, and after 47 years of missionary service.

It may be added that after the flight of the Armenians, the Turks and Kourds plundered the city of Van and burned a good part of it, including the mission hospital and church and several other buildings. Subsequently the Russians re- turned in larger force, and again the Turks fled, and Van is again in Russian hands.

Such is the history, in brief, of the so-called rebellion of the Van Armenians. It was an attempt to defend themselves and their families from sure outrage and death, and this attempt occurred only after the Young Turkish leaders in Constantinople had for months been sending into merciless deportation and destruction hundreds of thousands of innocent men, women, and children! Out of one body of Armenians numbering 5,000, deported from Harpout, only 213 survived to reach Aleppo, and these, almost naked and famished, were to be driven forward to the desert of Mesopotamia.

Are the few Young Turks who are responsible for such diabolical revenge the fitting representatives of their nation? We do not believe it. Is such action the end of the splendid attempt at constitutional government in Turkey? By the favor and mercy of God, we hope not.

Chapter 6

The Four Pashas

In this chapter we will take a close look at the Young Turk top leaders, Talaat, Enver and Jemal, who spearheaded the Armenian Genocide. These names were at the top of Shahan Natalie's list of persons to be assassinated for their crimes against the Armenian people. Talaat Pasha, whom my grandfather dubbed 'number one' was at the very top.

In this chapter we will also examine Mustapha Kemal Pasha, and his leading role in the Young Turk Movement. Mustapha Kemal later became known as Ataturk, the father of Modern Turkey.

Mehmed Talaat Pasha (1874-1921)



Mehmed Talaat Pasha

Mehmed Talaat was born in Kırcaali town of Edirne Vilayet, Ottoman Empire (modern Kardzhali, Kardzhali Province, Bulgaria) in 1874. He claimed to be from a family of Pomak[24] and Turkish decent.[25]

As a student attending a civil preparatory school, the young Talaat, whose manners were gruff, had a conflict with his teacher and left the school without a certificate. Without earning a degree, he became a postal clerk for the telegraph in Edirne. To supplement his merger salary, he worked after house as a Turkish language teacher at the Alliance Israelite School, which served the Jewish community of Edirne.[26]

At the age of 19, he claimed to have had a love affair with the daughter of the Jewish headmaster for whom he worked for. He was caught sending a telegram saying "Things are going well. I'll soon reach my goal." With two of his friends from the post office, he was charged with tampering with the official telegraph and arrested in 1893. He claimed that the message in question was to his girlfriend. The Jewish girl came forward to defend him. He was sentenced

24 A term used for Slavic Muslims inhabiting Bulgaria, northeastern Greece and northwestern Turkey.

25 Taner Timur, Türkler ve Ermeniler: 1915 ve Sonrası, İmge Kitabevi, 2001, p. 53

26 Mango, Andrew (2004). Atatürk. London: John Murray. p. 67.

to two years in jail, but was pardoned and exiled to Salonika.

From 1898 to 1908 Talaat served as a postman on the staff of the Salonika Post Office. Eventually, after serving 10 years, he became the head of the post office.[27]

On March 19, 1910, he married Hayriye Hanim, a young girl from Ioinnina (found in north-western Greece, 260 kilometers) southwest of Salonika.

When the 1908 Young Turk Revolution deposed the Sultan with a force dispatched from Salonika, Talaat had been allegedly dismissed from membership of the CUP. At that time, the CUP would end its secret existence, yet it would wait to take charge of the government due to the central committee, which was dominated by "ethnic Turks" of Salonika, including Talaat, who remained exclusive and its proceedings clandestine.[28]

Following the 1908 revolution, Talaat became the deputy of Edirne in the Ottoman Parliament. In July of that same year, he as appointed Minister of Interior Affairs. He became minister of post, and then secretary-general of the CUP in 1912.

After the assassination of the grand vizier, Mahmud Şevket Pasha, on June 11, 1913, Talaat once again became Minister of Interior Affairs in July of 1913.



Original copy of instructions from Talaat Pasah on April 24, 1915 to arrest Armenian intellectuals and community leaders.

On October 29, 1914, following the Black Sea Raid, which was an Ottoman naval sortie against Russian ports in the Black Sea, supported by Germany, which lead the Ottoman Empire into World War I, the Minister of Finance, Mehmet Cavit Bey resigned. Talaat, the then Minister of Interior Affairs, was appointed Minister of Finance and mainlined his possion as Minister of Interior Affairs as well. As Minister of Interior Affairs, Talaat would issue orders that would start one of the darkest chapters in Armenian history, ordering the arrests of Armenian intellectuals and community leaders on April 24, 1915. With the removal of Grand Vizier, Said Halim Pasha (1865-1921), on February 4, 1917, Talaat Pasha would rise to the most powerful post in the Ottoman Empire until the end of the war and his arrest on October 8, 1918.

27 http://www.telekomculardernegi.org.tr/haber-2730-iz-birakan-ptt%E2%80%99ciler--1--talat-pasa-.html

28 https://www.encyclopedia.com/humanities/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/committee-union-and-progress

On March 7, 2007, Dr. Taner Akçam, the renouned Turkish historian, presented a lecture at Harvard University, Center for Government and International Studies, in which he stated:

> "There is a very important document. This is hardly used in Turkish sources also. Even though if you look at Turkish books, published by mostly the others who support the Turkish thesis, you can find a reference to that document. This is an official letter written by Talaat Pasha, 26 May 1915. He wrote a lengthy letter, almost if you transcribe into modern Turkish or English, it is 4-5 pages a letter. He tires to explain the policy of the Ottoman government and in this letter, we learn the main policy of the Union and Progress Party and the government. It is very important this document, because we haven't published this in entirety in none of the languages we have. I have this and plan to publish in all entirety. In this document if you read why Talaat, explains that Armenian had to be deported, you read no one single word related to war. War is not reason for the deportation. In his letter he says, beginning of the war, we took some temporary measures to solve this issue, but it was not enough. Now it is time to solve this issue. Now I'm quoting from his letter. He wrote [on] 1915, 26th May: "The necessary preparation have been discussed and taken for the complete and fundamental elimination of these concern [the Armenian], which occupies an important place in the exalted states list of vital issues." And in the document, he made a summary of Armenians reform problem beginning of end of 19th century. For him, the basic problem was the "Armenian Reform Issue". And this issue must be solved because it gives the Allied power opportunity to intervene the domestic affairs to Ottoman Empire and against the national security interest of the state. So, this is the important connection, national security of Ottomans and national security policy of today's Turkey."

Held in pre-trial detention on the island of Malta under the watchful eye of the British, as a result of the Turkish courts martial convened in 1919-1920, Talaat Pasha, along with others found guilty of war crimes, including the systematic murders of the Armenian people of the Ottoman Empire, were secretly released. He and 6 of the other convicts, including Enver Pasha and Djemal Pasha, boarded a German torpedo boat, the Lorelei, on the night of November 1, 1918. Their final destination was Berlin, Germany, where they planned their return to power under the protection of the German government.



Ottoman Court Tribunal - 1919

Talaat was assassinated in Berlin, Germany, on March 15, 1921, by Soghomnon Tehlirian.

Ahmed Djemal Pasha (1872-1922)

Ahmed Djemal was born in Mytilene, Lesbos, to Mehmet Nesip Bey, a military pharmacist. Destined for the army, Djemal passed out from Kuleli Military High School in 1890. He went on to the Military Academy (Mektebi Harbiyeyi Şahane) in 1893, the staff college in Istanbul. He was posted to serve with the 1st Department of the Imperial General Staff (Seraskerlik Erkânı Harbiye), and then he worked at the Kirkkilise Fortification Construction Department bound to Second Army. Djemal was assigned to the II Corps in 1896; being appointed two years later, the staff commander of Novice Division, stationed on the frontier Salonica.



Ahmed Djemal Pasha

Djemal sympathized with the reforms of Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) on military issues. In 1905, Djemal was promoted to major and designated Inspector of Roumelia Railways. The following year he joined the Ottoman Liberty Society. He became influential in the department of military issues of the Committee of Union and Progress. He became a member of Board of the III Corps, in 1907, working with future Turkish statesmen Major Fethi (Okyar) and Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk).[29] Between 1908 and 1918, Djemal was one of the most important leaders of the Ottoman government.

On July 21, 1922, at the age of 50, Djemal Pasha was assassinated on a Tbilisi, Georgian street by Stepan Dzaghigian, Artashes Gevorgyan, and Petros Ter Poghosyan, under the direction of my grandfather, Shahan Natalie. Djemal's remains were brought to Erzurm and buried there.

Ismail Enver Pasha (1881-?)

Enver was born in Constantinople on November 22, 1881. Enver's father, Ahmed (1860–1947), was a Gagauz Turk. He was either a bridge-keeper in Monastir[30] or a small town public prosecutor in the Balkans.[31] He was also the cook for the Sultan. Enver's mother Ayşe, was an Albanian.[32]

Enver's uncle was Halil Pasha (1881-1957), the regional governor and

29 Muammer Kaylan. The Kemalists: Islamic Revival and the Fate of Secular Turkey. Prometheus Books, Publishers. p. 77.

30 Kaylan, Muammer (2005), The Kemalists: Islamic Revival and the Fate of Secular Turkey, Prometheus Books, p. 75.

31 Akmese, Handan Nezir (2005), The Birth of Modern Turkey: The Ottoman Military and the March to WWI, IB Tauris, p. 44.

32 Mazower, Mark (2004), Salonica, City of Ghosts: Christians, Muslims and Jews 1430–1950, HarperCollins, p. 255.

military commander who was one of the main organizers of the Armenian and Assyrian genocides in Bitlis, Mush, and Beyazit. Halil Pasha also had crossed into neighboring Persia and massacred Armenians, Assyrians and Persians.[33] Halil Pasha was famously known for his declaration made during a meeting at Yerevan in the summer of 1918 which he was quoted as saying: "I have endeavored to wipe out the Armenian nation to the last individual."[34]



Ismail Enver Pasha

Enver was an Ottoman military officer and leader of the 1908 Young Turk Revolution. During the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) and in World War One (1914-1918), he became a top military leader, eventually securing the post of Minister of War on January 4, 1914. This was made possible thanks to the the Ottoman coup d'état that resulted in the assassination of the Minister of the Navy, Hüseyin Nazim Pasha (1848-1913) and the eventual forced resignation 19 days later of the Grand Vizier, Mehmed Kâmil Pasha (1833-1913). On June 11, 1913, Kâmil Pasha CUP successor to the premiership, Mahmud Shevket Pasha (1856-1913) was assassinated by a relative of Nazim Pasha to avenge his death. The CUP leader Djemal Pasha (1872-1922) indicated to Kâmil's family that he had to leave the Ottoman Empire or he would be arrested. Kâmil Pasha, who had been under house arrest, 5 weeks prior to the assassination of Kâmil Pasha, had made his way to his native Cyprus and while making plans to visit England in 1914, he was reported to have died on November 14, 1913 of Syncope.

Prior to World War One, Enver Pasha was hailed "Hero of the Young Turk Revolution" and "Hero of Liberty".[35] Germans often referred to Ottoman Turkey as "Enverland".[36]

U.S. Ambassador Henry Morgenthau described Enver: "His nature had a remorselessness, a lack of pity, a cold-blooded determination, of which his clean-cut, handsome face, his small but sturdy figure and his pleasing manners gave no indication."[37]

33 Gaunt, David (2006). Massacres, resistance, protectors: muslim-christian relations in Eastern Anatolia during world war I (1st Gorgias Press ed.). Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, p. 109.

34 Winter, J. M. (2003). America and the Armenian Genocide of 1915. Cambridge University Press. p. 65.

35 Asia, Journal of the American Asiatic Association, Volume 18, December 1918, p. 1052, 1054.

36 Asia, Journal of the American Asiatic Association, Volume 18, November 1918, p. 923.

37 The Enquirer, *AN UNCHANGED SCOUNDREL: Enver Pasha Was the Brains of Turkish Atrocities;* (Cincinnati, OH, June 19, 1919), p.4.

Like Talaat and many of the other leaders within the Ottoman Empire during the war, Enver Pasha was arrested on October 8, 1918, held on pre-trial detention on the island of Malta under the watchful eye of the British and secretly released on November 1, 1918, with the eventual destination of Berlin, Germany.



Enver Bey (center) talking to the British attaché and press in Constantinople immediately after seizing power in the 1913 Raid on the Sublime Porte, also known as the 1913 Ottoman coup d'état.

Enver left Germany and made his way to Moscow, where he would become a representative for the Turkish Nationalist Movement. He would represent Mustafa Kemal Pasha, who was leading the movement in Turkey.

Although Enver's story could fill an entire book, I will only conclude with his alleged assassination, which although he was near the top of my grandfather's list of 100, I can say that it was not Operation Nemesis that killed him. In fact and although history has been recorded that Enver was killed in Bukharan People's Soviet Republic, (present-day Tajikistan) on August 4, 1922 at the age of 40, there is evidence to indicate that he was not killed by the Red Army Dashnakist band of soldiers.

On October 11, 1922, *The Age* newspaper of Melbourne, Australia, ran a story on page 11 titled "The Fate of Enver Pasha," which reads:

> LAHORE, 10th October.
>
> All Central Asia news continue to dwell upon the fate of Enver Pasha. It is impossible to ascertain whether he is alive or dead. Travelers from Badakshan tell circumstantial stories of the arrival in Khamaba of Enver's servants bringing his personal effects, including a coat with a bullet hole in it. It is stated that he was wearing this coat when he met his death. On the other hand equally credible stories state that he has retired with the remnants of his defeated forces into the wilds of Fershana. A third rumor is that peace has been signed between the insurgents and the Bolshevists, and that Enver is once more the ally of Russia.

On October 23, 1922, the *Selma Times Journal* ran a story on page 2, titled, "Enver Pasha Not Dead As Reported":

CONSTANTINOPLE, Oct. 23—Enver Pasha, former Turkish war minister is in excellent health at Samarkand, but he has given up his struggle against the soviet, the Associated Press was informed by his emissary, Mufid Bey, just arrived from Tiflis. He quickly denied the various reports that Enver Pasha has died.

On August 22, 1922, more than 2 weeks following the alleged death of Enver, a story appeared on page 12 of the morning edition of the *Shreveport Times*, Karl H. Von Wiegand, Universal Service Staff Correspondent, wrote an article titled, "WOULD CARVE NEW EMPIRE: Enver Pasha Has Dreams of Becoming 'George Washington' of East":

Berlin, Aug. 21.—Enver Pasha, whose aspirations to become "George Washington" of the Moslem world, has made him the most romantic figure in the eyes of the Mohammedans since the days of Saladin, is trying to carve out a new empire for himself.

Deposer of the notorious Sultan Abdul Hamid, then military chieftain of the powerful Senusal tribe of Arabs against the Italians in the Tripoli war, minister of war and commander-in-chief of the Turkish armies in the World war, held coresponsible for Armenian massacres with Talaat Pasha, then ally of the bolsheviki in Moscow, Enver Pasha has selected as stage for this new most romantic fiction like activities Turkestan and the Pamir region.


ENVER PASHA

Enver, the son of a lowly parents, married the Princess Sultana, nieve of the late Sultan of Turkey, shortly before the war broke out.

According to information received here by his friends, Enver is trying to make some changes in the map of Asia all by himself. He is seeking to create an empire-like unity of Turkestan, Chiva and Bokara. With an army of 50,000 Muhammedans, he recently inflicted a severe defeat upon General Budjienny, commander of the bolsheviki forces in Turkestan.

"Isvestijia," the official organ of the soviet government in Moscow, charges that Enver conspired to remove the Emir of Bokhara through assassination in order that he himself might succeed him, but that the was frustrated.

Enver Pasha is today in command of the only military forces making open war on the bolsheviki.

The Princess Sultana, Enver's wife, is still in Berlin, waiting for the new "Saladin" to conquer a throne for her.

If Enver were still alive after his alleged death on August 4, 1922, as the newspapers had been reporting, this would not be unusual for Enver to stage. During the war, in March of 1916, reports of Enver's death had been reported in the news. But, on March 16, 1916, the *Montana Standard* ran a story on page 14, with a picture of the very much alive Enver Pasha titled "ATHENS DECLARES ENVER PASHA IS STILL ALIVE":

> London—According to reports from the Turkish legation of Athens, there is no truth in the story that Enver Pasha, Turkish war minister, was attacked by a would-be assassin or that he died from his wounds.
>
> Previous dispatches told of rumors of Enver Pasha's death. One report stated that he had been attacked by an assassin in Jerusalem.

If these articles are accurate and I will add that I have dozens of articles that have Enver sightings all the way up to 1927, when Enver visits the Shah of Iran, then when did Enver finally die? Could this explain why his remains were not moved to Turkey as were Talaat's when Adolf Hitler was in power? Why only in 1996 was Enver laid to rest in the same lands where scores of Armenians were buried in mass graves because of him?

The *Gaurdian of London* newspaper ran a story on August 5, 1996 on page 9, written by Chris Nuttall, titled "Reburial restores Enver Pasha to his true glory":

> The remains of the Turkish revolutionary Enver Pasha were laid to rest in Istanbul yesterday, far from the plains of Central Asia where he died fighting the Soviet Union in 1922.
>
> Prayers were offered at the Sisli mosque before the reburial, with full military honours, in a mausoleum at Eternal Freedom Hill, where other leaders of the Young Turks revolution lie. They ended the rule of the Sultans over the Ottoman empire.
>
> President Suleyman Demirel, who arranged for the remains to be retrieved from Tajikistan, attended with descendants of Enver. He had been given the honorific Pasha, meaning general or commander.
>
> After helping to depose Sultan Abdul-Hamid II in 1909, Enver led a coup in 1913 which brought his Committee of Union and Progress to power. He ruled as part of a triumvirate and is held responsible for taking Turkey into the first world war on the German side.
>
> He fled in a German submarine just before the armistice in 1918. From Berlin he went to Moscow, where he failed to win Soviet support for a plot to overthrow the founder of the modern Turkish republic, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk . But Lenin allowed him to go to Turkestan to organise the Central Asian republics for the Communist cause. He soon changed sides, joining the revolt of the Muslim Basmachi guerrillas in 1921.
>
> He was pursuing his dream of a pan-Turkic state in the Caucasus and Centra1 Asia when he was killed by the Red Anny in what is now Tajikistan

in 1922. Yesterday was the 74th anniversary of his death, Turkish scientists identified his remains earlier this year in a grave yard in Baldzhuan, 180 miles south-east of Dushanbe. A distinctive gold-capped tooth was found along with a surviving witness to the interment.

President Demirel said Enver Pasha had led a whirlwind life. "He was a nationalist, an idealist and an honest soldier who loved his country," he said. "He is a hero in the eyes of the Turkish nation, his exile has ended."

The ceremony also marked his rehabilitation. He has always been in the shadow of Ataturk, whose portrait still adorns every government office, but his record in Central Asia appeals to Turkey's ambition to extend its influence over the Turkic-speaking countries there.

President Demirel thanked his Tajik counterpart, Emomali Rakhmonov, for his help in returning the remains. Turkey provided 10 tons of Turkish Red Crescent humanitarian aid for Baldzhuan.

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881-1938)

Although modern Turkey claims that the today's Turkey has nothing to do with the Turkey of the Young Turks who were found guilty of the Armenian Genocide, this claim is 100% false. In fact, Mustafa Kemal Pasha, who would later be known as Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was also one of the Turks who after World War One was sentenced to death by a military tribunal along with a number of others who would later rise to power and form what is known today as modern day Turkey.

The Times of Greater London, on Saturday, May 19, 1920, page 12, ran a story titled, "KEMAL 'CONDEMNED' TO DEATH: NEW ARMENIAN CABINET.":

A *communique* to the Press from the Court Martial announces that the following Nationalist chiefs have been condemned to death by default for high treason, rebellion, and instigation of a long list of crimes ranging from massacre to confiscation of funds belonging to orphanages:—

Mustapha Kemal "Effendi," of Solonika, ex-inspector General of the Third Army; Kara Vassif Bey; Ari Fuad Pasha, ex-Commander of the 20th Army Corps; the convert to Islam, Ahmed Rustem, formerly known as Alfred Rustem Bilinski, ex-Ambassador at Washington; Dr. Adnan Bey and his wife, Halida Edib Hanum. With the exception of Kara Vassif, who is in Malta, and Ahmed Rustem, who is believed to be in Italy, all the above are in Anatolia.

Much anxiety is felt in Armenian circles on account of the withdrawal of the greater part of the American Relief Commission and there is a tendency in some quarters to suggest that the commission was withdrawn from Tiflis and Erivan much more hastily than the situation warranted. On the other hand, it may be pointed out that the Commission, being a semi-military body, could not remain in Trans-Caucasia in the event of a Bolshevist occupation of that region.



Mustapha Kemal Pasha - 1918

The *Jagadamard,* an Armenian newspaper often well-informed concerning Trans-Caucasian affairs, learned that two Maximalist Socialists are in the new Armenian Cabinet, the rest of which is composed of Dashnakists, who are described as Radicals with strong Socialist bias.

It is reported here that Eshref Bey, a notorious band leader, was killed near Ada Bazar in the fight with Ahmed Anzavur's volunteers. The anti-Nationalist *Alemdar* learns from an eyewitness that four persons professing to be Nationalist delegates of Trebizond with one of their armed guards have been lynched by an anti-Nationalist vigilance committee formed at Samsun within an hour's distance of the town.

No confirmation of the reports that Tiflis has been occupied by Bolshevists has been received here, though according to eye-witnesses a small outbreak occurred at the beginning of the month, and resulted in the lynching of some local Reds and the execution of others.

It should be made clear that Atatürk was supported in every possible way (as noted throughout this book) by the United States during and after the Armenian Genocide. The son of Rear Admiral Colby M. Chester, Arthur T. Chester, had been in Turkey and was in direct contact with Mustapha Kemal, working with him on the formation and development of "Modern" Turkey.

Chapter 7:

Turks and Russians Vying for Armenian Support

In 1908, after the sultan was deposed and the Ottoman Constitution was proclaimed, Hagop returned home to Husenik, under a new name, Shahan Natalie. He was able to stay there for barely a year. The 1909 massacres of Armenians in Cilicia drove him back into exile in America. From 1910 to 1912, he attended Boston University, where he studied literature, philosophy (particularly Plato), and theater (particularly Shakespeare).

In 1912, he decided to return home once again and boarded a ship headed for Turkey. However, during that period war had erupted in the Balkans, and the Turkish passport-bearing Shahan Natalie was ejected from the ship by Greek authorities as a citizen of an enemy nation. His Armenian identity was ignored. He was put aboard another ship, leaving for the United States and was deported from the country.

During Shahan's absence in Turkey, in the beginning of this world conflagration, in 1914, both the Russian and the Turkish governments officially appealed to various Armenian national organizations with many promises in order to secure the active participation of the Armenians in military operations against each other, the principal stage of war would be Armenia itself. Both Turkey and Russia were very anxious to win the co-operation of the Armenians, because, judging from their past experience, they were convinced that without such co-operation they would not be able to accomplish the much desired military successes in the Armenian Highland.

With such aims in view, Russia, through Count Varantzoff Dashkoff, informed the Armenian National Council (then in existence at Tiflis) that should the Armenians pledge unreserved support for the Russian armies in the course of the war, Russia would grant autonomy to the six Armenian vilayets. The Russian Armenians, however, through bitter experience, knew very well what little practical value could be attached to the promises of the Russian Czar. Throughout the 19th century, at three different times, the Russians had made similar promises to the Armenians when waging war against Turkey and Persia, and, although the self-sacrificing co-operation of the Russian Armenians enabled the Russians to occupy the districts of Elizavetpol, Erivan and Kars in 1806, 1828, and, again, in 1878, their promises to the Armenians were promptly forgotten at the end of these wars. But this time the Armenians knew that Russia was not alone; the two great liberal nations of the West, France and England, were her Allies. After long and weighty consultation, with their hopes pinned on France and England, the Armenians resolved to aid the Russian armies in every possible way.

While Russian diplomacy was in the midst of these negotiations in Tiflis, during the last days of August 1914, a Turkish mission of twenty-eight members left Constantinople for Western Armenia with the intention of organizing a Pan-Islamic and a Pan-Turanian movement among all the races of the Near East, effectively against Russia and her Allies. The leaders of that mission were Omar Nadji Bey, Dr. Bahaeddin Shakir, and Lieutenant Hilmy—all of them very influential members of the Committee of Union and Progress. The mission also included representatives of all the Eastern races, such as the Kurds, Persians, Georgians, Chechens, Lezgines, Circassians, and the Caucasian Tartars, but not the Armenians. During those same days, the annual Congress of the Armenian National Organization was in session at Erzeroum. In the name of the Turkish government, the above mentioned mission appealed to the Armenian Organization with the following proposition:

> If the Armenians,—the Turkish as well as the Russian Armenians,—would give active co-operation to the Turkish armies, the Turkish government under a German guarantee would promise to create after the war an autonomous Armenia (made up of Russian Armenia and the three Turkish vilayets of Erzeroum, Van, and Bitlis) under the suzerainty of the Ottoman empire.[38]

In an attempt to talk the Armenians into accepting the proposal, the Turkish delegates informed them also that they their mission had already garnered the co-operation of the Georgians, the Tartars, as well as the mountaineers of the northern Caucasus. Non-compliance of the Armenians under such circumstances would be foolish and fraught with danger on both sides of the border between Turkey and Russia. In spite of these promises and threats, the executive committee of the ARF, Dashnaktsutiun, informed the Turkish mission the Armenians could not accept the proposal, advising that the Turks should not to participate in the impending war, as it would be disastrous for the Turks themselves. The Armenian members of this parley were the well-known publicist, E. Aknouni, the representative of Van, A. Vramian, the director of the Armenian schools in the district of Erzeroum, Rostom (Stepan Zorian). This audacious refusal of the Turkish proposals cost Aknouni and Vramian their lives a few months later. Rostom had the luck to escape the murderous plots against his life.

The Armenians' bold retort to the Turkish proposal exasperated the Turks, justifying the Turkish government's determination to exterminate the Armenians. And in reality, arrests and persecutions within the Armenian vilayets began in the early part of September, 1914, a month and a half before the commencement of the Russo-Turkish war. The persecutions gained a momentum as the months rolled by and tens of villages in different parts of Armenia were subjected to fire and sword. In the district of Van alone, in February and March of 1915, twenty-four villages were razed to the ground and their populations put to the sword. In early April of the same year, they

38 Garo Pasdermadjian (Armen Garo), *Why Armenia Should Be Free Armenia's Role In The Present War*, BOSTON
Hairenik Publishing Company, 1918.

attempted the massacre of the inhabitants of the city of Van as well, but the Armenians took up arms, and, guided by their brave leader, Aram Manoogian, defended themselves and their property for a whole month, until the Armenian volunteers from Erivan with Russian soldiers came to their rescue, saving them from the impending doom. This resistance on the part of the inhabitants of Van gave the Turkish government a pretext to initiate the deportation of the entire Armenian population of Turkish Armenia in June and July of 1915, under the pretense of relocating them to Mesopotamia, but, in fact, organizing what came to be known as death march.

Out of the million and a half of Armenians deported, scarcely 400,000 to 500,000 reached the deserts of Syria and Mesopotamia, and most of them were women, elderly people, and children, famished, raped, tortured and doomed to death. More than a million defenseless Armenians were murdered at the hands of Turkish soldiers and Turkish mobs. The gang of robbers, headed by Talaat and Enver, resorted to this fiendish means to eliminate the Armenian question once and for all, because the Armenians had had the courage to oppose to their Pan-Turanian policies. The barbarities of Jenghiz Khan and Tamerlane pale in comparison with the savageries perpetrated upon the Turkish Armenians in the summer of 1915 during this wholesale massacre organized by the Turkish government. Henry Morgenthau Sr., the U.S. ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, in Constantinople, during those frightful months, documented these atrocities with his authentic compassionate pen for the civilized nations and generations to come. This was the price the Armenian people paid in the Ottoman Empire for being in the way of Turco-German policies.

In the meantime, an unwilling returnee to the U.S., Shahan undertook responsible work within the Armenian Revolutionary Federation's U.S. district. He became a member of the editorial staff of the party's *Hairenik* monthly. He served as its editor-in-chief from 1912 to 1915. He was also elected a member of the party's United States Central Committee, as an officer of its Executive Body.

Receiving the news of the Great Atrocity, like all exiles, Shahan Natalie experienced nightmarish moments of anguish and rage. And the vengeful youth renewed the oath of the orphaned boy that he was, vowing to do his utmost to punish the Genocide perpetrators, even if the world chooses to ignore their crime against humanity.

Shahan Natalie's doubts that they will dodge punishment became reality after World War One. The Ottoman military tribunal convened in Constantinople condemned to death the principal perpetrators who had been extradited to Malta by the British authorities. However, the British placed no value whatsoever on the sentence and secretly released the enemies of humanity.

Chapter 8

Turkish Resistance to the Young Turks

A popular belief among Armenians is that all the Turks of the Ottoman Empire supported the Armenian Genocide. Although most historical accounts may trigger such an assumption, the facts of what actually happened as documented by the news of that time period indicate otherwise.

The articles below document not only that there were Turks trying to prevent the Armenian Genocide long before it happened, but that they had been warning the Armenian political leaders of what was to come if they continued to side with Talaat and the CUP. This is only a small sample of articles from the archive.

New York Times, Sunday, October 15, 1915 – Page 19

TURKISH STATESMAN
DENOUNCES ATROCITIES

Cherif Pasha Says Young Turks Long Planned to Exterminate the Armenians.

An arraignment of the Young Turks, or the Committee of Union and Progress as having for years plotted the extermination of the Armenian people, is contained in a letter recently addressed by Maimed Cherif Pasha to the editor of the Journal de Geneve. The views of this eminent exile should doubtless be considered in the light of the fact that he was obliged to fly from his native land because of his secession from the party now in power in Turkey, but even his enemies and that he has formidable ones is evidenced by the nearly successful attempt made upon his life by Turkish police agents in Paris about two years ago must admit that he has had excellent opportunities for observation of the Young Turks' policy, since he was prominent in their councils when they first obtained power on the overthrow of the Abdul Hamid regime, and left their ranks to build up the Liberal opposition party only when he became convinced that their leaders had no intention of carrying out the program of reform to which they were pledged. He is the son of the late Said Pasha, who was one of the chief advisers of Abdul Hamid and the first Grand Vizier under the new Constitutions. His wife is Princess Emanate, the daughter of Prince Halim and he is the brother-in-law of Prince Said Halim the present Grand Vizier. He, himself, was at one time Turkish Minster to Sweden.

After branding the Armenian atrocities perpetrated under the present regime as surpassing the savagery of Genghis Khan and Tamerlane, Cherif Pasha continues:

"To be sure, the state of mind of the Unionists was not revealed to the civilized world until they had openly taken sides with Germany; but for more than six years I have been exposing them in the Mecheroutiette (his newspaper, published first in Constantinople and then in Paris) and in different journals and reviews, warning France and England of the plot against them and against certain nationalities within the Ottoman borders, notably the Armenians, that was being hatched.

"If there is a race which has been closely connected with the Turks by its fidelity, by its services to the country, by the statesmen and functionaries of talent it has furnished, by the intelligence which it has manifested in all domains—commerce, industry, science, and the arts—it is certainly the Armenians."

Cherif Pasha then enumerates some of the contributions which Armenians have made to Turkish civilization, including the introduction of printing and the drama, and gives credit to an Armenian, Odian Effendi, for having collaborated with Midhat Pasha in framing the Ottoman Constitution, and he lays stress upon their fine qualities as agitators against the despotisms of Turkey and Persia—qualities, one suspects, which have not highly recommended them to the autocratic «reformers» of the Young Turk regime. And he continues:

«Alas, at the thought that a people so gifted, which has served as the fructifying soil for the renovation of the Ottoman Empire, is on the point of disappearing from history—not enslaved, as were the Jews by the Assyrians, but annihilated—even the most hardened heart must bleed; and I desire, through the medium of your estimable journal, to express to this race which is being assassinated my anger toward the butchers and my immense pity for the victims.

"Having fulfilled this pious duty, let me make some exceptions relating not to the unhappy Armenian nation but to certain individual Armenians and some propagandist groups who have for the last six years so maladroit constipated themselves the defenders and apologists of this Committee of Union and Progress, the author of all their present sufferings. How often have I warned them against the bad faith of the Unionists, the perversity of whose black souls I knew only too well! Besides, the massacres of Adana, provoked by the Union's orders ought to have brought them to a sense of the real state of affairs. Some of them by a wrong appreciation of their Interests, others influenced by political alliances of an evil sort like that poor Constantinople Deputy, Zohrab Effendi, who has expiated his errors on the scaffold—all the Armenian political leaders; or almost all, by identifying themselves with the political fortune of the Union, have compromised instead of serving their national cause.

«If, Instead of enrolling themselves under the banner of that baneful

and treacherous associations, they had ranged themselves openly beside the true liberals who had long been pointing out the danger of their course, even at peril of their lives, they would not only have remained true to their principles, but they would also have spared their unfortunate brethren the persecutions they suffered before the war and their whole nation the prospect of an extermination unique in the annals of history.»

Next is an article from December 22, 1915, about prominent Turks opposing Talaat and the CUP, some at the cost of their lives. This article was quite difficult to find as Talaat had done his best to have it destroyed.

Many Turks appear to have understood the value of the Armenians and the dangers of the Germans, who would be the ones to replace the Armenians.

Hickory Daily Record - Wednesday December 22, 1915 – Page 4

DECLARES TURKISH EMPIRE MENACED WITH DESTRUCTION

Special correspondence of the New York World.

Constantinople, Nov. 10.—The empire of the Turks never was threatened with danger of destruction as it is today. Financially, socially and politically. Turkey already is in ruins. There are cities entirely depopulated; commerce, and traffic in the whole country is stopped; more than 250,000 men have fallen in the battlefield or died of disease; not less than 300,000 wounded soldiers are crowded in the hospitals, and surely more than 3,000,000 families are on the verge of starvation. Yet it is astonishing to say that there never has, been recorded in the history of the Ottoman Turk such a spirit of resistance and determination as a small group of Young Turks, who have taken the destines of the realm in their hands, are demonstrating.

The writer has resided for a long period in Constantinople. He visited different parts of Turkey recently, and can bear witness, with a clear conscience and impartiality, to the awe and terror in which Turkey is submerged today.

A few weeks ago, at the opening of the Ottoman parliament, an incident occurred in the senate which afforded the most accurate demonstration of the miserable situation of the country. Senator Ahmend Riza Bay, the leader of the Young Turk revolution in 1908 and ex-president of the first parliament, was the sole person among the members of the chamber and of the Senate who dared to take the stand to interpellate the government. The act of Riza Bey is more worthy of admiration in that a preceding act of the same kind had cost him and his friends very dearly. A few months ago Senator Ahmend Riza Bey, Gen. Galib Pasha, Ahmend Mouktar Pasha (former Grand Vizier) and Abdurahman Sherif Bey, ex-minister of education and historian of the empire, handed in a written interpellation, but when the senate met, Ahment Riza and Galib Pasha took the stand and criticized the government vehemently, while Sherif Bey voted with them

and Ahmed Montkar Pasha remined silent. The very same night Gen. Galib Pasha was found dead, killed.

Ahmend Riza Bey, notwithstanding the fate of his colleague, this time stood alone and spoke for hours, denouncing the government and using still stronger terms, when Enver Pasha and Talaat Bey were hurriedly summoned to the senate by the committee of union and progress to frighten them. Ahmed Riza Bey emphasized three main points on which he demanded immediate explanation. His interpellation was published in the official organ "Takrimi Veki," but its distribution was suppressed by the police.

Fears Conquest of Germany

"First of all," said Ahmend, "the government led the country into this disastrous war solely to please the Germans; and after the war, instead of our armies conquering the Caucasus, instead of marching into the deserts of Africa, taking Egypt and all the northern coast of the Mediterranean, as our government promised so confidently at the opening of hostilities. today the English army is approaching the gates of Bagdad; out offensive against the Russians on the Caucasian front failed, where, under the command of our war minister, we lost three army corps. We are not on Russian territory, while we have lost a part of eastern Anatolia. While the operations on Gallipoli have been a deadlock for the English, it has been a graveyard for us. To put the year's history in a nutshell, more than half of our population is starving to death; our reserves are exhausted and we are ruined. What are our gains? Death and starvation.

"You say that a German army is marching over the corps of Serbia to come to our help. You are building up an arch of triumph to welcome the soldiers of the Kaiser. Yes, they may come, but tell me what guarantee you have that they ever will go back from here? Have the Germans guaranteed our independence, and what are those guarantees? I demand that the government shall answer to what end is sacrificed the life and existence of the empire. I fear, and with good reason, that the way is already paved to build a German colony over the relic of the great Ottoman empire."

Will be Enslaved

"Second—Has the government any knowledge that Ottoman subjects namely, the Armenians—have been subject to outrage? Do you know that all the Armenians inhabiting Anatolia have been driven out of their homes, their property confiscated and, after separating men and women, the criminals have been let loose from the prisons to rob and massacre them on their way to their unknown destinations? The Armenians have been one of the most useful elements of our country. They have largely contributed to the material and intellectual welfare of the empire. To what avail are they to be exterminated? Who, what element will you bring to the valleys and mountains of Anatolia to take the place of the deported Armenians? The Germans, you will say, I know; but are you aware that the Turkish peasant and the Turkish merchant will be enslaved by the German colonists within a score of years? With their thrift, with their intelligence,

with the protection by the German government, the German immigrants will become the masters of the country, while we have to be their servants. Does the government take the repressibility for this outrage?

Graft in Name of Patriotism

"Third—Who are these irresponsible persons who call themselves 'Mousdafai Millel' (the committee of natioal defense), who are boldly robbing everybody in the country, poor as well as rich? No merchant has escaped their notice; goods have been taken from the stores in Stamboul and Pera amounting to millions. They have taken goods which have no military value—articles of luxury, rugs, caviar, silk stockings, ladies' shoes, costumes a la mode. All these sorts of things are of no use to our soldiers in Gallipoli; but they have gone into the houses of the members of this committee or they have been turned into cash to fill the pockets of private individuals who are playing a great role in the doom of Osmanli.

"I want a straightforward answer from the government. I want the government to come forward, take the responsibility and explain its attitude."

To these questions Talaat Bey, the minister of the interior and the man in power in Turkey, made but a short reply:

"The interpellations made could not be answered by the government. All those are external affairs, therefore they could not be discussed here without injuring the interests of our great and victorious empire."

The answer of Talaat epitomizes most accurately the attitude of the few who are now in power today in Turkey. It is a wrong idea to suppose that there is another government in the country than that of Enver, Talaat & Co. Sultan Mehmend Richad has as much influence in the politics of Stamboul as any Pasha living somewhere in Asia Minor.

Sultan a Nonentity

The Sultan himself is a harmless. though useless person. Personally he is kindly inclined, but unfortunately he lacks mentality, intelligence, energy and determination. During the reign of his elder brother, Abdul Hamid, being for thirty-three years kept in solitude and having acquired the habit of drinking mastika (alcohol), he has lost his health and his mind. I am assured from authentic sources that the Sultan does not know that his country is in a state of war with the English. He has only a vague idea that the Russians are attacking the straits in order to open a route for their wheat exportation, and that the Ahmans (Germans) have come to his assistance to beat the Muscovites.

One authentic story told about Sultan Mehmed V. is illuminating. After the first Balkan war the opponents of the committee killed Mahmoud Shevket Pasha, then Grand Vizier and Minister of War. The very next day an Imperial irade was issued appointing Said Halim Pasha grand vizier, who has since held the position. A few months later Halim Pasha, as usual, went to one palace and asked an audience of the sultan. The master of ceremonies

notified his majesty of the wish of the grand vizier. Evidently the sultan had forgotten that he had a new grand vizier whom he had received already many times, and ejaculated: "What! grand vizier! Wasn't he shot some time ago?"

With such a man at the head of the empire, Enver and Talaat have no fear about drawing up new temporary laws every morning and making the sultan sign them without knowing or understanding their contents. Perhaps the sultan could have been aided by the heir apparent, Prince Yussouf-Izzeddin Bey, but he's very closely watched, virtually a prisoner, and is only allowed an automobile ride every afternoon at 4 o'clock from the palace through the Grand Rue of Pera to the Sultan Bajazid and back.

The Real Masters of Turkey

The real masters of Turkey are sitting neither at Yildiz Kiosk nor at the Sublime Porte, neither at the parliament nor at the senate. They must be sought among a few influential members of the committee of union and progress. The political organization of the government is absolutely nominal. It is true there is a Sultan in Turkey, a grand vizier with its cabinet, ministers, a parliament with all its legislative formalities and working commissions, a senate with all its venerable gray-haired old Pashas and Beys—but all this means nothing. They do nothing except bow down and say "evet effendem" (yes, sir) to the commands of the mysterious power of Enver, Talaat & Co. who with a finger-point can make peace or war, can order massacres and hang scores of notables on the Galata bridge, and make laws in a minute to make millions of people—men, women and children homeless, wretched and miserable.

Chapter 9

German and Ottoman Genocidal Cooperation



General Arnold von Winckler (11th Army) talking to İsmail Enver Paşa, Ottoman minister of war.

On August 2, 1914, after the outbreak of World War I, the Ottoman-German Alliance was ratified between the German and Ottoman Empires. This was a union of two countries with similar genocidal tendencies.

Although the first genocide of the 20th century is often claimed to be that of the Armenian's from 1915-1923, there was a small, less known genocide carried out in German South West Africa (modern-day Namibia). The victims of this racial extermination were the indigenous Herero and Namaqua peoples.

The colonial Germans had been exploiting them and their native lands since 1885, following a fraudulent purchase carried out by Franz Adolf Eduard Lüderitz (1834-1886), a German tobacco merchant.

The land purchase scheme was between Lüderitz and the local tribal chief, Captain Josef Frederiks II of Bethanie. The unit of land measurement in the agreement was the German geographical mile, which is almost five times greater than the English mile. Lüderitz and the signing witness, Johannes Bam, a German Missionary, knew that Chief Frederiks had no understanding of what a German geographical mile was. Frederiks thought he was selling the useless costal lands found on the Atlantic Ocean. Little did he know, what he had in fact comprised almost his entire tribal area for only £600 in gold and 260 rifles.

Following the purchase, when Chief Frederiks became aware of the actual land mass he had sold including the fertile lands his tribe needed for survival, he complained to the German Imperial Government to no avail.

On August 7, 1884, and with no objections from the other colonial power in Africa, Briton, German South West Africa was officially declared.

After the formation of German South West Africa, Lüderitz went on to purchase from other chiefs the entire coastal strip from South Africa to

Angola, and area totaling 220,000 square miles. In April 1885, a year before his untimely death, Lüderitz sold his land holdings to the German Colonial Society.

On January 5, 2017, a Class Action Complaint was filed in the United States District Court Southern District of New York, Civ. No. 17-0062. The case was filed against the Federal Republic of Germany on behalf of the Ovaherero and Nama indigenous peoples. The summary of the complaint best describes what lead up to and resulted in the first genocide of the 20th century.

SUMMARY OF THE COMPLAINT

1. Plaintiffs bring this action on behalf of all the Ovaherero and Nama peoples for damages resulting from the horrific genocide and unlawful taking of property in violation of international law by the German colonial authorities during the 1885 to 1909 period in what was formerly known as South West Africa, and is now Namibia. Plaintiffs also bring this action to, among other things, enjoin and restrain the Federal Republic of Germany from continuing to exclude plaintiffs and other lawful representatives of the Ovaherero and Nama people from participation in discussions and negotiations regarding the subject matter of this Complaint, in violation of plaintiffs' rights under international law, including the U.N. Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People to self-determination for all indigenous peoples and their right to participate and speak for themselves regarding all matters relating to the losses that they have suffered.

2. From 1885 to 1903, over a quarter of Ovaherero and Nama lands (originally over 50,000 square miles) and countless cattle had been seized without compensation by German colonists with the explicit consent of the German colonial authorities. Since cattle grazing was the primary economic base for their survival, the Ovaherero and Nama communities suffered from these terrible losses. German colonial authorities also turned a blind eye to the widespread and systematic rape of Ovaherero and Nama women and girls, as well as the indiscriminate use of Ovaherero and Nama peoples as forced laborers without compensation.

3. After learning that they were going to be forced into concentration camps, and that the remainder of their lands and property were going to be confiscated, the Ovaherero rose up in early 1904, followed by the Nama in 1905, The uprising was crushed by German Imperial troops under the command of General Lothar von Trotha, who announced that his goal was to annihilate the Ovaherero people. His orders were effectively carried out, resulting in the deaths of over 100,000 Ovaherero and Nama, with the remainder thrown into concentration camps under atrocious and sub-human conditions, where there was an extraordinarily high death toll, and the survivors who were well enough to stand were forced to work as forced/slave laborer. The surviving women were subjected to systematic rape and other abuses.

4. After decades of denying that the near destruction and eradication of the Ovaherero peoples by the German Imperial authorities was, in fact, a genocide, and refusing to even consider the issue of reparations or

> compensation, Defendant The Federal Republic of Germany ("Germany") recently entered into negotiations with the Republic of Namibia ("Namibia") regarding these issues. However, Germany has refused to include representatives of the Ovaherero and Nama peoples in these discussions, even though they were the primary victims of the atrocities perpetrated by the German colonial authorities. Germany has also refused to explicitly admit that what it did constitutes a genocide under international law, even though it has been quick to pass resolutions and declarations blaming Turkey for the allegedly genocide of the Armenians by the Ottoman Empire during World War I.



Victims of the Namibian Genocide (Photo via Zed.fr)

The first Genocide of the 20th century, the systematic eradication of the Ovaherero and Nama peoples, has striking similarities with what befell the Armenian people less than a decade later. In both genocides, the common denominator was Germany.

Germany's military cooperation with the Ottoman Empire didn't start with the Ottoman-German Alliance of 1914. The history of Germany's influence over the Ottoman Empire's military stated as far back as 1835 with Prussian Captain, Helmuth Moltke. Moltke became a military instructor of the Ottoman army. Over the decades that followed Moltke was joined by other officers and military personnel charged with promoting the Europeanization of the Ottoman forces.[39]



Wilhelm Leopold Colmar Freiherr von der Goltz

After defeat in the Russo-Turkish War (1877–1878), Sultan Hamid of the Ottoman Empire, asked for German aid in reorganizing the Ottoman Army, so that they would be able to resist the advance of the Russian Empire. In response to the Sultan's request, Baron von der Goltz (1843-1916) was sent to Constantinople. Von der Goltz spent twelve years on this work which provided the material for several of his books. Goltz Pasha, a name of honor which was bestowed on him by the Ottomans, paved the way for Germany to gain an economic, political, and military foothold in the Ottoman Empire.[40]

From 1883 to 1885, Goltz trained the so-called Goltz generation of Ottoman officers, many of whom would go to play prominent roles in

39 Professor Oliver Janz, *German Soldiers in the Ottoman Empire, 1835-1918* (Freie Universität Berlin, 2016)

40 Vahakn N Dadrian, German Responsibility in the Armenian Genocide: A Review of the Historical Evidence of German Complicity (Watertown, Mass: Blue Crane Books, 1996), 7.

Ottoman military and political life.[41]

In *Absolute Destruction*, touching on the Armenian Genocide in the context of German military culture, Isabel V. Hull asks if it was "institutional extremism," which created the culture of and willingness to resort to, "terrific violence and destruction in excess" to a degree that it even endangered "Germany's own security" and harmed its "political goals." All these, Hull notes, were "in contravention of international norms, and even contrary to ultimate military effectiveness."[42]

Goltz encouraged the Ottomans to concentrate on eastward expansion. This adopted policy would directly endanger the indigenous Armenian population found in the path of Goltz ambitious plan. But given the culture of military practices in Germany and in the Ottoman Empire, the former factor became the solution to the latter.[43]

The Ottoman leaders, namely Talaat, Jemal and Enver, followed the recommendation of Ewald Banse (1883-1953), a German geographer who studied the racial composition of the Ottoman Empire and concluded that, "to get the Armenian Question out of the world, one had to get the Armenians out of the world."[44]

As part of the modernization of the Ottoman military, Captain Erich Serno was sent to expand the Ottoman air force, which had existed since 1911. Thus, Serno became the creator of the new Turkish air force, which was based on the German model.

During the first year of WWI, transportation of ammunition for the Ottoman army from the Central Powers was blocked in the Balkans. To remedy this, Germany built ammunition factories in Constantinople. Heinrich Frank, a military operational manager of the Navy arsenals' bullet factory, passed on his knowledge to the Ottomans for this purpose.[45]

The Allied powers had accused German military personnel "having instigated" the Armenian massacres. They also accused the German military of having "supported" the Young Turks in their policy of the extermination of the Armenians.[46]

Harry Stürmer, correspondent of the *Kölnische Zeitung* in Constantinople, leveled similar charges against German officers, claiming they had "coolly [taken] the initiatives of aiding the mass extermination of Armenians." He asserted that "Germans 'of all ranks right up to the highest levels'" who were

41 Akmeşe, Handan Nezir The Birth of Modern Turkey The Ottoman Military and the March to World I, London: I.B. Tauris page 24

42 Isabel Hull, Absolute Destruction: Military Culture and the Practices of War in Imperial Germany (Ithaca, NY [u.a.]: Cornell Univ. Press, 2006), 1.

43 Vahakn N Dadrian, German Responsibility in the Armenian Genocide: A Review of the Historical Evidence of German Complicity (Watertown, Mass: Blue Crane Books, 1996), 124.

44 Cited in Hilmar Kaiser, Imperialsim, Racism, and Development Theories (Ann Arbor: Gomidas Institute, 1997), 19.

45 Oliver Stein, German Soldiers in the Ottoman Empire, 1835-1918 (Freie Universität Berlin, 2016)

46 Dinkel, Christoph. "German Officers and the Armenian Genocide." Armenian Review no. 1 (Spring 1991): 78

stationed in the Ottoman Empire uttered "venomous expressions, shortsighted condemnations of Armenians based on no awareness of the facts," which were based on, "mindless recitations of official Turkish reports."[47]

Ernst von Kwiatkowski, the Austro-Hungarian consul of Trabzon, in eastern Turkey, dispatched a telegram dated October 22, 1915, stating: "I learn from usually reliable German sources that the first suggestions towards Armenian neutralization, though not the methods actually implemented, have come from the German side."[48]



(left to right) Kaiser Wilhelm II, Enver Pasha, Sultan Mehmed V. - October 15, 1917

A letter to Matthias Erzberger, a German politician, sent by P. Liebl, a Franciscan priest from Vienna, dated March 26, 1916, accused Wangenheim, the German ambassador to Constantinople, of "having suggested" the deportations of Armenians.[49]

There were also "accusations made by British and American newspapers: That Otto Liman von Sanders was the main culprit of the Armenian persecution; that the Foreign Office files would incriminate the emperor" and other German high officials in office at the time of war.[50]

Such "open secrets," known "in domestic political and military circles" in Germany, together with a plethora of evidence in German archives, could confirm the Allied powers' accusations about German military involvement in the massacres.[51]

Global Net — Stop the Arms Trade (GN-STAT) published a report in April, 2018, in which Germany is implicated in providing arms, training and

47 Harry Stürmer, Zwei Kriegsjahre in Konstantinopel (Lausanne, 1917), p. 59-60. Cited in Dinkel, 78-79.

48 Cited in Dinkel, 79.

49 Cited in Dinkel, 123.

50 Dinkel, 82.

51 Dinkel, 80, 84.

assistance to the Turks during the Armenian Genocide. Their report echoes much of what has been stated above, but digs in deeper as to what extent German officers took part in the murders by actually picking up rifles and firing them themselves?

In his "New report details Germany's role in Armenian genocide," an article published online on the German based Deutsche Welle (www.dw.com) on April 5, 2018, Ben Knight writes:

> Many of the firsthand German accounts in the report come from letters by Major Graf Eberhard Wolffskehl, who was stationed in the southeastern Turkish city of Urfa in October 1915. Urfa was home to a substantial population of Armenians, who barricaded themselves inside houses against Turkish infantry. Wolffskehl was serving as chief of staff to Fahri Pasha, deputy commander of the Ottoman 4th Army, which had been called in as reinforcement.
>
> "They (the Armenians) had occupied the houses south of the church in numbers," the German officerwrote to his wife. "When our artillery fire struck the houses and killed many people inside, the others tried to retreat into the church itself. But ... they had to go around the church across the open church courtyard. Our infantry had already reached the houses to the left of the courtyard and shot down the people fleeing across the church courtyard in piles. All in all the infantry, which I used in the main attack ... acquitted itself very well and advanced very dashingly."

In "Ideological support," a chapter of the article in question, Ben Knight shares some more examples of the German military forces' direct participation in the killing of Armenians:

> While German companies provided the guns, and German soldiers the expert advice on how to use them, German officers also laid what Landgraeber calls the "ideological foundations" for the genocide.
>
> That the German Reich shared the Ottomans' mistrust of the Armenians was no secret — both feared they were colluding with mutual enemy Russia, while Gottschlich's book quotes navy attache Hans Humann, a member of the German-Turkish officer corps and close friend of the Ottoman Empire's war minister, Enver Pasha, as saying: "The Armenians — because of their conspiracy with the Russians — will be more or less exterminated. That is hard, but useful."
>
> Another figure the report focuses on is the Prussian major general Colmar Freiherr von der Goltz, a key figure who became a vital military adviser to the Ottoman court in 1883 and saw himself as a lobbyist for the German arms industry and supported both Mauser and Krupp in their efforts to secure Turkish commissions. (He once boasted in his diary, "I can claim that without me the rearmament of the army with German models would not have happened.")
>
> "Not publicly, but among his friends and relatives, von der Goltz would show himself an Armenia-phobe," said Landgraeber. "Several witnesses heard him describing them as 'a greasy trader people.' He helped persuade

the Sultan to try and end the Armenian question once and for all."

Landgraeber also considers von der Goltz a source for later Nazi ideology. The Prussian officer published a military book in 1883 titled "Das Volk in Waffen" ("The People Armed"), in which, as Landgraeber puts it: "He adopts positions that Hitler would take up later — for example, the aim of a military campaign should be to destroy the enemy totally, not just to fight and force a capitulation. He believed in total war. That was also the ideological foundation that he gave the Ottomans, and which they used in the Armenian issue."

Landgraeber is keen to underline that the new research does not absolve the Ottoman Empire of its guilt — but simply fills in the gaps in the historical record. "It happened as we have researched it, and nothing should be sugarcoated — but the entire picture should be more complete."[52]

In 2015, the German president, Joachim Gauck, recognized the genocide during a speech he gave at a nondenominational religious service in Berlin Cathedral on the eve of the 100th anniversary of the Armenian Genocide.

Gauck stated: "In this case, we Germans collectively still have to come to terms with the past, namely when it comes to shared responsibility and perhaps even complicity in the genocide of the Armenians."[53]

A couple of weeks before Soghomon Tehlirian assassinated Talaat Pasha on a Berlin street, Talaat had a secret meeting with British spy, Aubrey Herbert. In Herbert's memoirs titled "*Ben Kendim: A Record of Eastern Travel*," Talaat Pasha stated the following in regards to Germany and her involvement in the Armenian Genocide:

> He [Talaat Pasha] himself had always been against the attempted extermination of the Armenians; it was, in any case, impossible, and a country that adopted such methods cut itself off from civilisation. He had twice protested against this policy, but had been overruled, he said, by the Germans. "In England you hear only one side of the case," he said.[54]

Even if Germany was the driving force of the Armenian Genocide as Talaat Pasha implies in his claims made to Aubrey Herbert, the Ottoman Empire participated in carrying out the actual crime, thus are in no way absolved of their guilt and responsibility.

It is also noteworthy to consider the dates of German influence on Ottoman military reforms and the Armenian Genocides of 1894-1896 as well as the Adana massacres of 1909. Were these killings also a result of the Germans?

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52 http://www.dw.com/en/new-report-details-germanys-role-in-armenian-genocide/a-43268266

53 http://www.dw.com/en/german-president-gauck-labels-ottoman-massacre-of-armenians-genocide/a-18404147

54 Aubrey Herbert "BEN KENDIM: A Record of Eastern Travel, (London, Hutchinson & Co. Paternoster Row, 1925): 309.

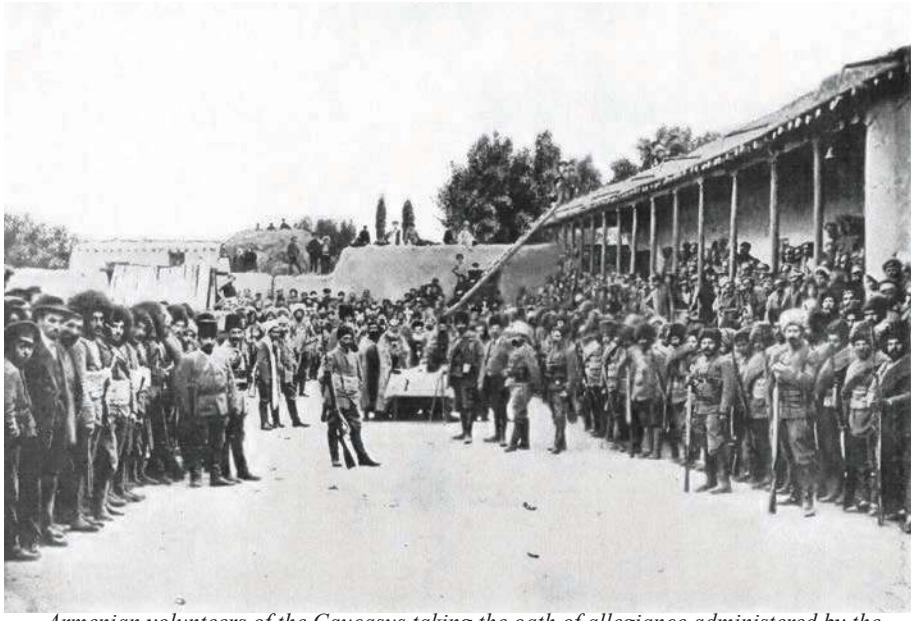


German soldiers holding bones of Armenians killed near the village of Hekim Khan, Armenia - November 10, 1918 (Tsolak Dildilian collection)

Chapter 10

Russians Turned Bolshevik

In 1914, after the Armenian revolutionaries sided with Tsarist Russia, effectively turning down the Turks' call for support of the Ottoman Empire against the Russians, a campaign to massacre the Armenians began. The historically Armenian city of Van with a sizeable Armenian population became one of the first Armenian regions to come under attack by the 5,000-strong Ottoman Army led by Djevdet Bey, Halil Bey (1881-1957), Köprülü Kâzım Bey (1880-1968), and Rafael de Nogales (1879-1936), a Venezuelan soldier.



Armenian volunteers of the Caucasus taking the oath of allegiance administered by the church dignitaries before leaving of the battlefield in October, 1914.

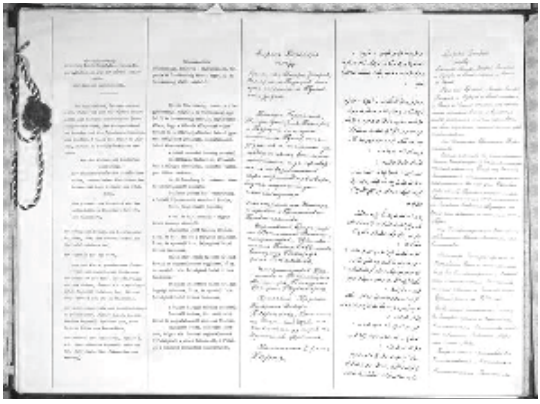
According to the news from the Russian consul at Urumiah, Persia, dated May 15, 1915, 6,000 Armenians were massacred in and around Van. The Armenians were defending themselves against the attacks from the Turks and Kurds, but needed urgent help.

My paternal grandmother, Nargis Manoogian (1889-1942), a native of Van, witnessed the Armenian self-defense forces repel the well-equipped albeit less motivated Ottoman Army, on May 17, 1915. This victory can be largely credited to the leadership of Sargis Hovannisian, a.k.a. Aram Manoogian (1879-1919). The Armenians had set up a provisional government which did its best to create some form of normalcy for the inhabitants of Van and more importantly coordinate the defense efforts.

After the dust had settled from the battle, and the threat of the Turkish army had been neutralized, the Russian army arrived to find peace restored and the Armenians in control of Van. This victory, however, did not last long. By the middle of July, after heavy fighting between the reinforced Ottoman Army, backed by the Germans, the Russian forces, who had become the driving force of defense, were ordered to evacuate. The Armenians who did not have the means to overcome the now much larger Ottoman army had no choice but to evacuate along with the retreating Russians. The last Armenians left Van, bound to Persia, on August 4, 1915. And their exit marked the fall of Van. But the Ottoman victory, too, was short-lived.

On September 29, 1915, following their defeat in the Caucasus front, the Ottoman Army left the city of Van. Taking advantage of the Turks' departure, some Armenians, including my grandmother, who had escaped to Transcaucasia (now referred to as South Caucasus) returned to their homes.

With the Turkish defeat at the Battle of Koprukoy, on January 19, 1916, Russian forces once again advanced into the Ottoman Empire, eventually making their way to Van. With their presence, they were viewed as guarantors of the Armenians's safe return. This time, however, the Russians did not allow the repatriated Armenians to set up a provisional government as they had done before.



The first two pages of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, in (from left to right) German, Hungarian, Bulgarian, Ottoman Turkish, and Russian.

Just as things were beginning to level out in Van, the Armenians were once again handed a devastating blow. The Russian forces, who had been following the Tsar's orders, found themselves taking orders from the Bolshevik government thanks to two revolutions which took place in March and October of 1917. The Russian army began to disintegrate, as more and more soldiers deserted. To make matters worse, on March 3, 1918, the new 'democratic' Russian government signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with the Ottoman Empire. Signed by Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, Ottoman Empire, and Russian SFRS (Soviet Federative Socialist Republic), this treaty put an end to Russia's involvement in the war. The treaty stipulated pulling the borders back to prewar areas, effectively ceding the cities of Batum, Kars, and Ardahan to the Ottoman Empire.

In early 1918, the Ottoman 3rd Army began an offensive attack against the Armenians. Having been likewise targeted by the Turks, Assyrians joined the Armenians of Van, who attempted to resist. During these heavy battles my paternal grandmother's husband was killed, leaving her with their two young

sons, Antranig (1909-1990), my eldest uncle, and Hamazasp (1917-2012). They were in the last caravans to evacuate Van, led by my paternal grandfather Vahan Ivan Manoogian (1889-1953), an officer of the Tsar's army and a native of Dilijan, Armenia. They made their way to Persia and eventually settled in Baghdad, Iraq.



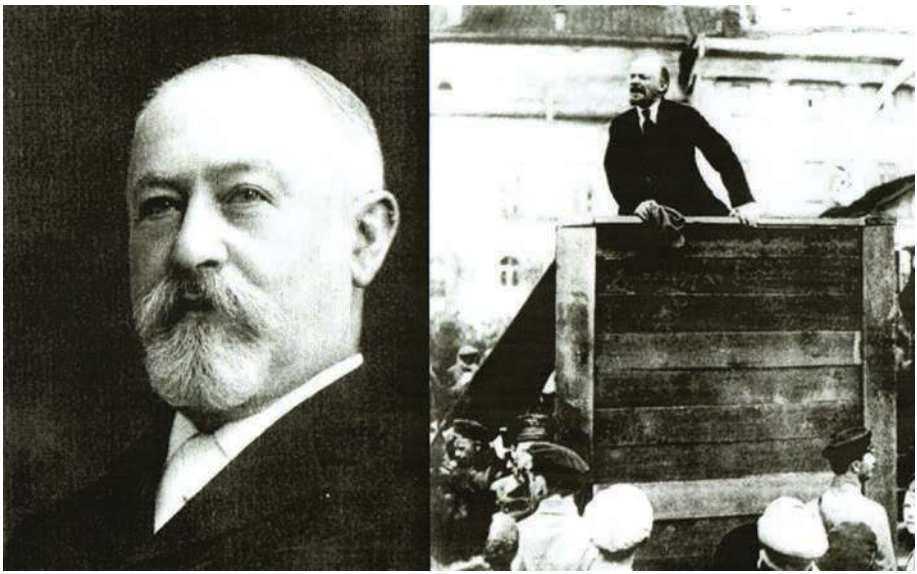
Central Powers' delegates at Brest-Litovsk (1917-1918): German General, Max Hoffmann (1869-1927); Austrohungarian Foreign Minister, Ottokar Czernin (1872-1932); Grand Vizier of Ottoman Empire, Talaat Pasha (1874-1921); and German Foreign Minister, Richard von Kühlman (1873-1948).

The loss of the Armenians territories because of the Bolshevik revolution also led to the loss of tens of thousands of Armenian lives until 1923 and under the direct orders of the founder of modern Turkey, Mustapha Kemal.

While curating Shahan Natalie's archive, clues about people who had been backing the Young Turks and the leaders of the Bolshevik movement surfaced. Further digging uncovered a treasure-trove of documents that link powerful people in the United States to the origins of the Bolshevik movement, particularly a New York banker named Jacob H. Schiff as a sponsor.

Seven months after the bloodless Russian revolution of March 1917, Bolsheviks overthrew the Provisional Government in October and signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk to exit the war. Following a bloody civil war, the Bolsheviks eventually established the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Russia (U.S.S.R.) in 1922, including the territories of Eastern Armenia. Coming to power with the financial support of people like the New York, German born Jewish banker, Jacob H. Schiff, the Bolshevik government's purges resulted in the deaths of about 60 million Soviet citizens, including thousands of Armenians. As a consequence of the Bolshevik Revolution, not

only the Western Armenian territories were abandoned by the Russian troops that had functioned as guarantors of the survival of the Armenian population, but also the lands of the Eastern Armenia, making it vulnerable to the Turkish invasion.



(Left) Jacob H. Schiff (1847-1920). (Right) Vladimir Ilyich Lenin (1870-1924) addressing Russian soldiers about to fight the Polish Army, Petrograd, Russia, 1920.

The article below shows how Schiff sponsored some of the initial endeavors of the Bolshevik movement that would end up putting an end to the first independent Armenian republic in 1920.

NEW YORK TIMES – Saturday, March 24, 1917

PACIFIST PESTER TILL MAYOR CALLS THEM TRAITORS

Socialists at Carnegie hall Fail to Make Russian Celebration a Peace Meeting.

RABBI WISE READY FOR WAR

Sorry We Cannot Fight with the German People to Overthrow Hohenzollernism.

KENNAN RETELLS HISTORY

Relates How Jacob H. Schiff Financed Revolution Propaganda in Czar's Army.

The most violent clash between patriots and pacifists that has occurred in New York City since relations were broken with Germany marked the celebration of the Russian revolution held last night in Carnegie Hall. It was precipitated by Mayor Mitchel, whose declaration that we were about to go to war in behalf of the same kind of democracy that had freed Russia was met with a determined demonstration by pacifists, evidently previously organized, which threatened for a time to break up the meeting.

After the uproar had lasted for fifteen minutes, the Mayor, white with anger, stepped to the edge of the stage and shouted: "This country is on the verge of war—" A loud chorus of "No" made his voice heard with: "And I say to you in the galleries that tonight we are divided into only two classes—Americans and traitors!"

"I hope they put you in the first ranks," shouted a leader of the pacifists.

"You do me a great honor," replied the Mayor, and the applause which followed, coupled with the ejection of some of the trouble makers, gave the Mayor's supporters the majority.

The meeting started in orderly fashion. The century old fight of Russian revolutionists was pictured in glowing words, matched by the promise of the Russia to be.

On the front of the speaker's stand hung a pair of leg irons, from a Siberian prison. They were unlocked. An authority on Russian affairs, George Kennan, told of how the movement by the Society of the Friends of Russian Freedom, financed by Jacob H. Schiff, had at the time of the Russo-Japanese war spread among 50,000 Russian officers and men in Japanese prison camps the gospel of the Russian revolutionist. "And," said Mr. Kennan, "we know how the army helped the Duma in the bloodless revolution that made the new Russia last week."

The galleries were largely filled with Socialists, downstairs an admission fee had been charged and the crowd was more orderly until awakened by the protestations of the pacifists.

Mayor Mitchel was introduced by Herbert Parsons, President of the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom, as a "man of a race that has also struggled freedom." There were rumblings of trouble when a few voices in the galleries started to hoot the Mayor.

"We are gathered here," the Mayor began, "to celebrate the greatest triumph of democracy since the fall of the Bastile." There where some cheers. "America rejoices," he said. "How could she do otherwise when she sees power in Russia transferred from the few to the many, and in the country where there seemed the least hope of the cause of democracy triumphing.

"America, the greatest democracy, is proud tonight because democracy in Russia has supplanted the greatest oligarchy that remained on the face of the earth." Then the Mayor stepped back and said:

"But I submit we have another reason to be proud. It is now inevitable, so far as human foresight can make a prediction, that the United States is to be projected into this world war and—"

"No! No!" rolled the chorus from the galleries.

There was quiet for an instant. Then the audience downstairs and in the boxes began to rise and shout of "Yes! Yes!" answered the galleries.

"The United States if for peace!" a voice from the gallery cried, and the tumult started anew. The ushers escorted some of the leaders of the disturbance out of the arena, and when the Mayor got partial order he said:

"We are to be projected into the war through no fault of ours, but because of conditions which have been thrusted upon us—"

"No! No! No!" the galleries started again. Some one shouted an epithet at the Mayor, which brought, even from the galleries, shouts of "Put him out! Choke him!"

"And when America does enter the contest," shouted the Mayor, "it will be to vindicate certain ideas and fundamentals as those on which the Republic was builded, and among them will be the cause of democracy throughout the world. Let us be glad that, instead of fighting side by side with autocratle Russia, we shall be fighting side by side with democratic Russia."

It was at this point that the galleries became so demonstrative that Mr. Mitchel told them they must be Americans or traitors.

"You are for America or you are against her," he said, and here the Mayor made reference to the accusation he made against Senator Wagner, "You are for America or against her, whether in private life or in legislative halls," he said.

The Mayor then left the hall, followed by shouts of condemnation and of praise.

When the tumult had died down Rabbi S. S. Wise, a worker for world peace but no an extreme pacifist, was introduced.

"I feel it is my duty to say a word in support [hisses] and in reply to the Mayor. I would have this great audience know that I believe the Mayor was right—[This brought shouts of "no. You're as bad as he is"]

"I am here to talk, and I'm going to talk," shouted the Rabbi. "If you don't like what I say, go. I am going to say. The Mayor is right when he says we are on the verge of war. I pray God it may not come, but if it does the blame will not rest upon us but upon that German militarism, which may it be given to the German people to overthrow as the Romanoffs have been forever overthrown.

"God knows we want peace. No man ever fought and stood for peace as has Woodrow Wilson. [Cheers.] I do not believe that war is absolutely inevitable, but I thank God I am a citizen of a republic that has been patient.

"I am for peace. I say, but I would to God it were possible for us to fight side by side with the German people for the overthrow of Hohenzollernism."

Then the rabbi praised the Russian revolution, but he ran into opposition when he said:

"At the risk of incurring the displeasure of those of you who have such bitter memories I hope that amnesty will be extended to the Czar himself. May God forgive the Czar." [Shouts of "No, never!"] "May God forgive the monarch who never knew what mercy was."

This was followed by shouts by a man in the gallery.

"I cannot forget," continued the Rabbi, "that I am a member and a teacher of race which half has lived in the domain of the Czar and as a Few, I believe that of all the achievements of my people, none have been nobler than that part of sons and daughter of Israel have taken in the great movement which has culminated in the free Russia."

It was after a review of the struggle of the Russia revolutionists, of whom he has been the leading American writer, that Mr. Kennan told of the work of the Friends of Russian Freedom in the revolution.

He said that during the Japanese-Russian war he was in Tokio, and that he was permitted to make visits among the 12,00 Russian prisoners in Japanese hands at the end of the first year of war. He told how they had asked him to give them something to read, and he had convinced the idea of putting revolutionary propaganda into the Russian Army.

The Japanese authorities favored it and gave him permission. Later he sent to America for all the Russian revolutionary literature to be had. He said that one day Dr. Nicholas Russel came to him in Tokio, unannounced, and said that he had been sent to help the work.

"The movement was financed by a New York banker you all know and love," he said, referring to Mr. Schiff, "and soon we received a ton and a half of Russian revolutionary propaganda. At the end of the war 50,000 Russian officers and men went back to their country ardent revolutionists. The Friends of Russian Freedom had sowed 50,000 seeds of liberty in 100 Russian regiments. I do not know how many of those officers and men were in the Petrograd fortress last week, but we do know what part the army took in the revolution."

Mr. Parsons then arose and said:

"I will now read a message from White Sulphur Springs sent by the gentleman to whom Mr. Mennan referred."

This was the message:

"Will you say for me to those present at tonight's meeting how deeply I regret my inability to celebrate with the Friends of Russian Freedom the actual reward of what we had hoped and striven for these long years! I do not for a moment feel that if the Russian people have under their present leaders shown such commendable moderation in this moment of crisis they will fail to give Russia proper government and a constitution which shall permanently assure to the Russian people the happiness and prosperity of which a financial autocracy has so long deprived them. JACOB H. SCHIFF."

This message from President Wilson was read:

"The American Ambassador in Petrograd, acting under instructions from this Government, formally recognized the new Government of Russia. By this act the United States has expressed its confidence in the success of and it's natural sympathy with popular government. WOODROW WILSON."

Vladimir Resnikoff, the blind Russian baritone, sang a number of folk songs and the Symphony Orchestra, directed by Nikolai Sokoloff played Tchaikovsky's Symphony No. 4 in F minor and other selections. Miss Lillian D. Wald delivered a eulogy of Mme. Catherine Breshkovskaya, the Russian revolutionist, who had visited this country and who is now in Siberia, to be brought back at the age of 70 years to see in Petrograd the triumph of the cause for which she worked and suffered.

The following resolution was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the Mayor of the City of New York be requested to transmit the following cable to Professor Paul N. Milyoukoff, Minister of Foreign Affairs in the new Russian Government:

"Citizens of New York having at the call of the Society of the Friends of Russian Freedom assemble in mass meeting at Carnegie Hall on this 23rd day of March, 1917, extend their congratulations to the Russian people upon the success of the revolution in Russia, and express their admiration for those who in the years gone by and those who in recent days have fought so bravely for liberty. They convey their earnest wishes for Russia's complete realization of self-Government, and declare their conviction that it will mean enduring friendship and co-operation between the Governments and peoples of Russia and the United States of America."

At the close of the meeting the pictures of the revolutionary leaders were shown upon a screen, together with a picture of George Grey Barnard's statue of Lincoln which is to be placed in Petrograd.

This act by Jacob H. Schiff is only one of many that is documented in this book. Obviously, with his support of the Bolshevik movement, he made an indirect contribution to the execution of the Armenian Genocide for reasons never before presented to the general public and will be presented in some of the chapters that follow.

Chapter 11

Secret Treaty



Lev Davidovich Bronstein, aka Leon Trotsky (1879-1940)

When the hostilities against the Armenians began in 1914, the revolutionary Armenians, a minority among the Ottoman Armenians, had taken sides in the great war with Russia. Although in the past Russia had betrayed Armenia and never kept her promise to help Armenia gain independence, the Armenian revolutionary leaders believed that Russia allied with Europe might behave differently and be compelled to make good on their promise of the formation of an independent Armenia. Little did the Armenians know that the Russian Empire had no intentions of helping Armenia, much like its allies. Russia had planned to divide the spoils of the war with France and England, after the Turks' defeat.

Following the Russian Revolutions of 1917, secret documents of the Russian Foreign Office were made public by the new leaders of Russia. These documents were eventually printed in the newspapers of the time and are presented below in the order in which they appeared.

THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN OF LONDON

DECEMBER 17, 1917 – PAGE 4

THE RUSSIAN "SECRET DOCUMENTS": FULL TEXT.

TSAR'S STIPULATIONS AS TO PERSIA AND THE RHINE.

Telegraphic summaries have recently appeared in the British press for a number of secret documents of the Russian Foreign Office, which related to agreements with the Allies under the regime of the late Tsar and have been published by M. Trotsky. The full text of these documents has not hitherto been available, but as they have been printed in the Petrograd

newspapers they cannot but be common knowledge to Germany or any other country interested. The "Isvestia" (the organ of the Soviet) and the "Pravda" (the organ of the Bolsheviks) of November 23 have just reached this country. They contain the first instalment of the secret documents as made public by M. Trotsky. Below we give a translation of these according to the Russian version.

With reference to the Russo-French agreement as to the left bank of the Rhine, negotiated in the middle of last winter by the Briand Government, it must be remembered that as far back as the secret session of the French Chamber at the beginning of June the policy of M. Briand was repudiated by his successor in the French Premiership, M. Ribot; that this repudiation was registered in the resolution of the Chamber after the secret session, which limited the territorial claims of France strictly to Alsace-Lorraine; and that this limitation was since been reaffirmed by French Ministers.

Constantinople and Persia.

The following relate to Constantinople, the Straits, and Persia:—

I.

A confidential telegram of the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Ambassador in Paris, March 5, 1915. No. 1,226:—

On February 23 (March 8) the French Ambassador, on behalf of his Government, announced to me that France was prepared to take up a most favourable attitude in the matter of realization of our desires as set out in my telegram to you, No. 937, in respect of the Straits and Constantinople, for which I charged you to tender Deleassé my gratitude.

In his conversations with you, Deleassé had previously more than once given his assurance that we could rely on the sympathy of France, and only referred to the need of elucidating the question of the attitude of England, from whom he feared some objections, before he could give us a more definite assurance in the above sense. Now the British Government has given its complete consent in writing to the annexation by Russia of the Straits and Constantinople within the limits indicated by us, and only demanded security for its economic interests and a similar benevolent attitude on our part towards the political aspirations of England in other parts.

For me, personally, filled as I am with most complete confidence in Deleassé, the assurance received from him is quite sufficient, but the Imperial Government would desire a more definite pronouncement of France's assent to the complete satisfaction of our desires, similar to that made by the British Government.

(Signed) SAZONOFF.

II.

Confidential telegram of the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the

Ambassador in Paris (?London), March 7, 1915. No. 1,285:—

Referring to the memorandum of the British Government (?Embassy) here of March 12, will you please express to Grey the profound gratitude of the Imperial Government for the complete and final assent of Great Britain to the solution of the question of the Straits and Constantinople, in accordance with Russia's desires. The Imperial Government fully appreciates the sentiments of the British Government and feels certain that a sincere recognition of mutual interests will secure for ever the firm friendship between Russia and Great Britain.

Having already given its promise respecting the conditions of trade in the Straits and Constantinople, the Imperial Government sees no objections to confirming its assent to the establishment (1) of free transit through Constantinople for all goods not proceeding from or proceeding to Russia, and (2) free passage through the Straits for merchant vessels.

In order to facilitate the breaking through of the Dardanelles undertaken by the Allies, the Imperial Government is prepared to co-operate in inducing those States whose help is considered useful by Great Britain and France to join in the undertaking of reasonable terms.

The Imperial Government completely shares the view of the British Government that the holy Moslem places must also in future remain under an independent Moslem rule. It is desirable to elucidate at once whether it is contemplated to leave those places under the rule of Turkey, the Sultan retaining the title of Caliph, or to create a new independent State, since the Imperial Government would only be able to formulate its desires in accordance with one or the other of these assumptions. On the separation of the Caliphate from Turkey as very desirable. Of course the freedom of pilgrimage must be completely secured.

The Imperial Government confirms its assent to the inclusion of the neutral zone of Persia in the British sphere of influence. At the same time, however, it regards it as just to stipulate that the districts adjoining the cities of Ispahan and Yezd, forming with them one inseparable whole, should be secured for Russian interests which have arisen there. The neutral zone now forms a wedge between the Russian and Afghan frontiers, and comes up to the very frontier line of Russia at Sulfaer. Hence a portion of this wedge will have to be annexed to the Russian sphere of influence. Of essential importance to the Imperial Government is the question of railway construction in the neutral zone, which will require further amicable discussion.

The Imperial Government expects that in future its full liberty of action will be recognized in the sphere of influence allotted to it, coupled in particular with the right of preferentially developing in that sphere its financial and economic policies.

Lastly, the Imperial Government considers it desirable simultaneously to solve also the problems of Northern Afghanistan adjoining Russia in the same sense of the wishes expressed on the subject by the Imperial Ministry

in the course of the negotiations last year.

(Signed) SAZONOFF.

Frontiers East and West.

The following refers to the redrawing of the Germanic frontiers east and west and to the questions of Scandinavia, Poland, Rumania and China:—

A confidential telegram to the Ambassador in Paris:—

Petrograd, February 24. 1916. No. 948.

Please refer to my telegram No. 6063, 1915. At the forthcoming Conference you may be guided by the following general principals:—

The political agreements concluded between the Allies during the war must remain intact, and are not subject to revision. They include the agreement with France and England on Constantinople, the Straits, Syria, and Asia Minor, and also the London Treaty with Italy. All suggestions for the future delimitation of Central Europe are at present premature but in general one must bear in mind that we are prepared to allow France and England complete freedom in drawing up the western frontiers of Germany, in the expectation they the Allies on their part would all us equal freedom in drawing up our frontiers with Germany to insist on the exclusion of the Polish question from the subjects of international cussion and on the elimination of all attempts to place the future of Poland under the guarantee and the control of the Powers.

With regards to the Scandinavian States, as is necessary to endeavor to keep back Sweden from any action hostile to us, and at the same time to examine betimes measures for attracting Norway on our side in case it should prove impossible to prevent war with Sweden.

Rumania has already been offered all the pollical advantages which could induce her to take up arms, and therefore it would be perfectly futile to search for new baits in this respect.

The question of pushing out Germans from the Chinese market is of very great importance, but its solution is impossible without the participation of Japan. In it preferable to examine it at the Economic Conference, where the representatives of Japan will be present. This does not exclude the desirability of a preliminary exchange of views on the subject between Russia and England by diplomatic means. (Signed) SAZONOFF.

France and the Rhine.

The following relate to the proposals by a former French Government regarding Alsace-Lorraine and the left bank of the Rhine:—

Petrograd, January 330, 1917. No. 502.

Copy to London confidentially. At an audience with the Most High N. Doumergue submitted to the Emperor the desire of France to secure for

herself at the end of the present war the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine and the special position in the valley of the River Saal as well as to attain the political separation from Germany of her trans-Rhenish districts and their organization on a separate basis in order that the future of River Rhine might form a permanent strategical frontier against Germanic invasion. Doumergue expressed the hope that the Imperial Government would not refuse immediately to draw up its assent to these suggestions in a formal manner.

His Imperial Majesty was pleased to agree to this in principle, in consequence of which I requested Doumergue, after communicating with his Government, to let me have the draft of an agreement, which would then be given a formal sanction by the exchange of Notes between the French Ambassador and myself.

Proceeding us to meet with wishes of our ally, I nevertheless consider it my duty to recall the standpoint put forward by the Imperial Government in the telegram of February 24, 1916, No. 948, to the effect that, "while allowing France and England complete liberty in delimiting the western frontiers of Germany, we expect that the Allies on their part will give us equal liberty in delimiting our frontiers with Germany and Austro-Hungary." Hence the impending exchange of Notes on the question raised by Doumergue will justify us in asking the French Government simultaneously to confirm its assent to allowing Russia freedom of action in drawing up her future frontiers in the west. Exact data on the question will be supplied by us in due course to the French Cabinet.

In addition we deem it necessary to stipulate for the assent of France to the removal at the termination of the war of the disqualifications resting on the Aland Islands. Please explain the above to Briand and wire results.

(Singed) POKROVSKY.

II.

A telegram from the Ambassador in Paris:—

January 31 (February 12), 1917. No. 88.

Copy to London. Referring to your telegram No. 507 confidentially, I immediately communicated in writing its contents to Briand, who told me that he would not fail to give me an official reply of the French Government, but that he could at once declare, on his own behalf, that the satisfaction of the wishes contained in your telegram will meet with no difficulties.

(Signed) ISVOLSKY.

III.

Copy of Note of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of February 1 (14), 1917, No. 26, addressed to the French Ambassador in Petrogrand:—

In your Note of to-day's date your Excellency was good enough to inform the Imperial Government that the Government of the Republic was contemplating the inclusion in the terms of peace to be offered to Germany

the following demands and guarantees of a territorial nature:—

1. Alsace-Lorraine to be restored to France.
2. The frontiers are to be extended at least up to the limits of the former principality of Lorraine, and are to be drawn up at the discretion of the French Government so as to provide for the strategical needs and for the inclusion of French territory of the entire iron district of Lorraine and of the entire coal district of the Saar valley.
3. The rest of the territories situation on the left bank of the Rhine which now form part of the German Empire are to be entirely separated from Germany and freed from all political and economic dependence upon her.
4. The Territories of the left bank of the Rhine outside of French territory are to be constituted an autonomous and neutral State, and are to be occupied by French troops until such time as the enemy State have completely satisfied all the conditions and guarantees indicated in the treaty of peace.

Your excellency stated that the Government of the Republic would be happy to be able to rely upon the support of the Imperial Government for the carrying out of its plans. By order of his Imperial Majesty, my most august Russian Government, to inform your Excellency by the present Note that the Government for the carrying out of its plans as set out above.

IV.

A telegram from the Ambassador in Paris, February 26 (March 11), 1917, No. 168:—

See my reply to telegram No. 167, No. 2. The Government of the French Republic, anxious to confirm the importance of the treaties concluded with the Russian Government in 1916 for the settlement on the termination of the war of the question of Constantinople and the Straits in accordance with Russia's aspirations, anxious, on the hand, to secure for its ally in military and industrial respects all the guarantees desirable for the safety and the economic development of the Empire, recognizes Russia's complete liberty in establishing her western fronts.

(Signed) ISVOLSKY.

THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN OF LONDON

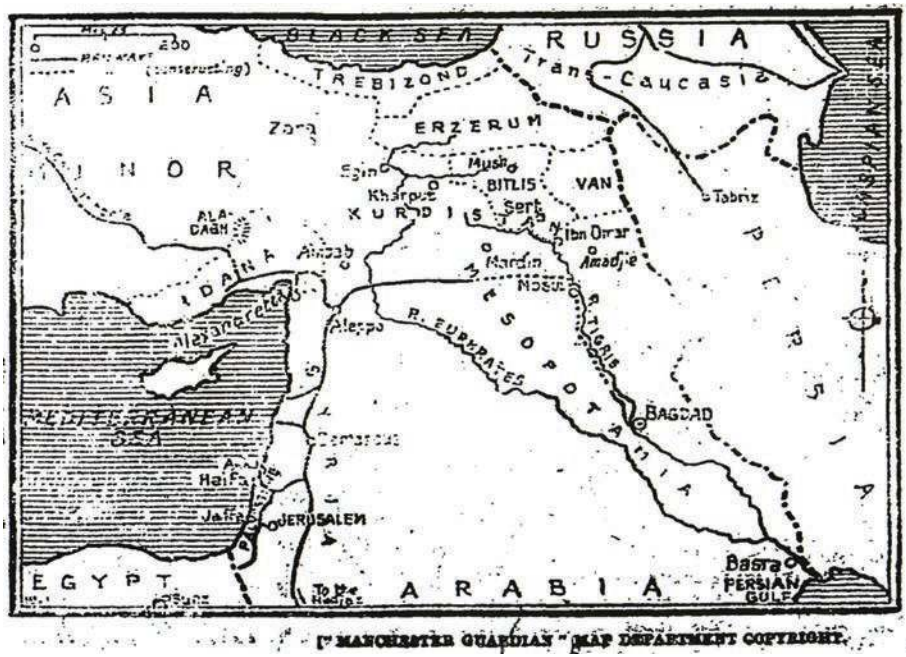
JANUARY 19, 1918 – PAGE 5

ASIATIC TURKEY: FULL TEXT OF ALLIES'

AGREEMENT WITH EX-TSAR.

Below is the full text, as published in the "Isvestia" of November 24, of the memorandum of an agreement arrived at between Britain, France, and Russia during the regime of the ex-Tsar with regards to zones of influence and territorial acquisitions in Asiatic Turkey. The memorandum

was made public by M. Trotsky as having been found among the secret papers of the Russian Foreign Office. The summary telegraphed by our correspondent in Petrograd appeared in the "Manchester Guardian" of November 28. The memorandum is dated March 6, 1917, and the following is a full translation:—



As a result of negotiations which took place in London and Petrograd in the spring of 1916, the allied British, French, and Russian Governments came to an agreement as regards the future delimitation of their respective zones of influence and territorial acquisitions in Asiatic Turkey, as well as the formation of Arabia of an independent Arab State, or a federation of Arab States. The general principles of the agreement are as follows:—

Russia obtains the provinces of Erzerum, Trebizond, Van and Bitlis, as well as territory of the southern part of Kurdistan along the line Mush-Sert-Ibn-Omar-Amadjie-Persian frontier. The limit of Russian acquisition on the Black Sea Coast would be fixed later on at a point lying west of Trebizond.

France obtains the coastal strip of Syria, the vilayet of Adana, and the territory bounded on the south by a line Aintab-Mardin to the future Russian frontier, and on the North by a line Ala-Degh-Zara-Egin-Kharput.

Great Britain obtains the southern part of Mesopotamia, with Bagdad, and stripulates for herself in Syria the ports of Haifa and Akka.

By agreement between France and England the zone between French and British territories forms a confederation of Arab States, or one independent Arab State, the zones of influence in which are determined at

the same time.

Alexandretta is proclaimed a free port.

With a view to secure religious interests of the Entente Powers, Palestine, with the holy places, is separated from Turkish territory and subjected to a special regime to be determined by agreement between Russia, France and England.

As a general rule to contracting Powers undertake mutually to recognize the confessions and privileges existing in the territories now acquired by them which have existed before the war.

The agree to assume such portions of the Ottoman Debt as corresponds to their respective acquisitions.

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FEBRUARY 22, 1918 – PAGE 5

PETROGRAD DOCUMENTS

THE WAR AIMS OF TSARIST RUSSIA.

II.

RUSSIA'S CLAIMS.

Memorandum of the Russian Foreign Office.

On February 19 (March 4), 1919, the Minister of Foreign Affairs handed to the French and British Ambassadors a memorandum setting forth Russia's wish for the annexation of the following territories at the end of the present war:—The city of Constantinople; the western coast of the Bosphorus, of the Sea of Marmora, and of the Dardanelles; the coast of Southern Thrace up to the line Enos-Midia; the coast of Asia Minor between the Bosphorus, the River Sakaria, and the point on the Gulf of Ismie to be determined later on; the islands of the Sea of Marmora and the islands Imbros and Tenedos. The special rights of France and England in the territories outlined above would remain intact.

Both the French and the British Government have expressed their assent to the satisfaction of our wishes provided the war is successfully terminated and the demands of France and England, both within the confines of the Ottoman Empire and in other places, are satisfied. These demands, so far as they concern Turkey, amount to the following:— Constantinople is to be proclaimed a free port to the transit of goods not proceeding from or to Russia, and the passage of merchant vessels through the Straits is to be free. Further, France's and England's rights in Asiatic Turkey are to be recognized and to be defined by means of a special agreement between France, England, and Russia. The holy Moslem places are Arabia are to

be left under an independent Moslem rule. They neutral zone of Persia established by the Convention of 1907 between England and Russia is to be included in the British sphere of influence.

The Russian Government, while on the whole agreeing to these demands, nevertheless made certain stipulations for the sake of defining exactly our own wishes with regard to the holly Moslem places. It is necessary, without delay, to establish whether these places are to remain under the rule of Turkey, with the Sultan as Caliph, or it is contemplated to form new independent States. In our opinion it would be desirable to separate the Caliphate from Turkey. In any case complete freedom of pilgrimage must be secured.

Likewise, while agreeing to the inclusion of the neutral zone of Persia in the sphere of British influence, the Russian Government nevertheless deems it just to stipulate that the districts of the cities of Ispahan and Yezd should be secured for Russia, and also that a part of the neutral zone which forms a wedge between the Russian and Afghan frontier, and which approaches the Russian frontier at Zulfagar, should be included in the Russian sphere of influence. The Russian Government deems if desirable at the same time to settle the question of Northern Afghanistan, adjoining Russia on the lines of the wishes expressed by it in course of the conversations of 1914.

On Italy's intervention in the war our wishes were communicated also to the Italian Government, which on its part gave its assent on the condition that the war terminate successfully, that the Italian claim in general and her claims in the east in particular are realized, and that we allow Italy the same rights in the territories conceded to us as we allow to France and England.

Chapter 12

Arming the Enemy

"Armenia suffered at the hands of the Turks. Now she suffers because of the greed of the nations, that are more eager for Armenian oil than they are to save the lives of the Armenian. In fact they have put guns into the hands of Armenia's enemies. What will be the verdict in the day of reckoning? Christianity, so far as it applies to Armenia, or any other weak nation, is figured in dollars and cents. To the world Armenian oil is of more consequence than Armenian blood."

– The Garden Island Newspaper (Lihue, Hawaii), July 5, 1921, page 4.

On October 18, 1915, the New York Times reported that thousands protested the murder of Armenian people in the Ottoman Empire. The headline stated that the Turks had killed 500,000 Armenians and that, according to evidence taken from the U.S. State Department, 250,000 Armenian women had been violated. Protestors packed into the Century Theater at Central Park West and 62nd Street.

A resolution that was presented and adopted read as follows:

Whereas, The civilized world has been shocked by a series of massacres and deportations of Armenians in the Turkish Empire; and

Whereas, These crimes and outrages committed upon an industrious, thrifty, and peace loving people, find no justification, viewed either in the light of law or humanity; and

Whereas, Those Armenians who survive are in great need of succor and relief, be it hereby

Resolved, That as American citizens, we make our most solemn protest against these cruel and inhuman practices and implore all officials and others having influence in the Turkish Empire, to put an end to these wrongs and to render every aid to the American

Ambassador and other who would rescue and repatriate a people, who, by their history and achievements have been a credit to the empire.

Resolved, Further, That war, wherever and by whatsoever nation waged, affords no warrant for inhumanity towards innocent persons. The slaughter of noncombatant men, the tortures, mutilations, and outrages committed upon women and children wherever committed have given to the fairest places upon the earth the semblance of hell. In the name of God of Nations and our common humanity, we call upon the nations at war to

cease these crimes against civilization and morality.[55]

At this time, the United States had not entered into World War I. Nor had it officially taken sides. Thus the U.S. representatives was safely present in the Ottoman Empire, protected by the 1830 Commerce and Navigation Treaty. And the U.S. Ambassador, Henry Morgenthau, was in contact with the Turkish leaders who were behind the crimes against the Armenian people.

Later that month, on October 31, 1915, *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser* newspaper in Honolulu, HI, reported on the killing of Armenians and stated that "the Turkish government assured Ambassador Morgenthau the intention was to obliterate the Armenian race, following that by the destruction of the Greeks and all other foreigners." When Ambassador Morgenthau's wife, Josephine Sykes, personally appealed to Talaat Pasha, then minister of the interior, on behalf of the Armenian women and girls who were being sent to death or a worse fate, Pasha replied, "This amuses us."[56]

In James W. Colt's archive which is housed at University of Rochester's River Campus Libraries, folder number 3, titled "Spanish Rifles, 1915" reveals that, in fact, Americans had taken sides in the war, albeit secretly.

According to Colt's file, the Spanish Rifles Deal of 1915 began on July 24, 1915, when Colt met with the Grande Duke Michael Alexandrovich of Russia, the younger brother of Nicholas II, the Emperor of Russia. The meeting took place at 3 Whitehall Court, London, England at 12 p.m. During the meeting, the Grande Duke agreed to help Colt with the transportation of the weapons.

According to a report of the meeting signed by Colt, 200,000 Spanish Mauser Rifles with bayonets and 400 million rounds of ammunition would be sold to a neutral government (Russia) and, at a given time, delivered to the Turks. At this early stage of the deal, it not only involved Grande Duke Michael, but also General Yerurouino, Colonel Belaieff, and General Ruben of Russian Commission, India House.[57]

The documents are not clear as to the final outcome of the deal, but they do indicate that among those backing the arms deal, there there were very influential Americans, as well as British subjects, including the war correspondent for the Daily Mail, G. Ward Price.

Interestingly, the American representatives in this deal were the owners of mineral concession in the Ottoman Empire, that included crude oil found on Armenian-inhabited lands. At the time, 1/6th of the world's oil reserves were believed to be in these territories.

In an article dated May 4, 1923, "Chester Says He Had a Chance To Avert World War," retired Rear Admiral, Colby M. Chester, founder of the Chester Concessions, stated in an interview that his refusal to meet with an American capitalist in Rome, in 1911, to arrange with him the development of

55 New York Times, *THOUSEANDS PROTEST ARMENIAN MURDERS,* (New York, NY, New York times, October 18, 1915) 3.

56 The Honolulu Advertiser, *SATURNALIA OF SLAUGHTER AND RAPE REPORTED,* (Honolulu, HI, October 31, 1915) 1.

57 James Wood Colt, *INTERVIEW BETWEEN J.W. COLT & THE GRANDE DUKE MICHAEL,* (University of Rochester's River Campus Libraries, folder number 3, titled "Spanish Rifles, 1915", July 24, 1915)

the Tripolitan Sulphur concessions, which belonged to Chester, was the prime cause of the Tialian-Tripolitan war. This led immediately to the first Balkan war, then the second, and, consequently, caused the first world war.

Chester went on to explain how he might have prevented America's entrance into the world war. In 1914, with the onset of WWI, America had interned 100 German ships which Chester had attempted to purchase for the Turkish navy. This purchase was prevented by the United States government. "I feel that it was a mistake, for I am sure if I had been permitted to buy these ships the United States would have been kept out of the war," Chester said.[58]

Had Chester been successful in purchasing the 100 German ships, not only would these weapons of war have fallen back into the hands of the Germans, with whom Turkey had allied during World War I, but Talaat would be likely to have succeed in carrying out his plan to obliterate the Armenians, as well as Greeks, Assyrians, and other non-Muslim minority groups.

Chester and those who had mineral concessions in the Armenian-populated areas were physically arming the Turks, thereby contributing to the Armenian Genocide. They had also embarked on a propaganda campaign to paint a benevolent image of Talaat Pasha and the Young Turks, while, at the same time, defaming the Armenian people, the rightful owners of the lands that Chester had been granted the right to exploit.

To inaugurate their propaganda campaign of whitewashing the image of the ruling regime, a lengthy article, "The Young Turks, written by Chester himself," was published in the *National Geographic Magazine*, January 1912, Volume XXIII.[59]

The article starts out with Chester qualifying himself as a witness to what had really happened in the Ottoman Empire, telling how he knows everyone of importance thanks to his close friendship with the Turkish leaders of the past and present.

With the subtitle of "The 'Unspeakable Turk' No Longer Exists," Chester tells the reader that the Turkey of 1912 was not the same Turkey of 3 years earlier, which had given rise to the slur 'unspeakable Turk,' This title was spread because of the Adana Massacres of some 30,000 Armenians. It was later proven that this slaughter was organized by the Young Turks and not the Sultan Abdul Hamid, as reported by Chester. He claimed the new Turkey was populated by men of "sterling character and unswerving integrity—men well fitted to lead their country through crises similar to those through which our own nation [United States of America] passed in its struggle of birth."

On September 18, 1922, *The Santa Cruz Evening News* published an article on page 3, titled "It Is Certainly Confusing," in which Colby M. Chester once again paints a positive image of the Turks. In this case, he also takes the opportunity to smear the image of the Armenians.

IT IS CERTAINLY CONFUSING

There are many Americans disposed to discount the tales of horror that come out of the Near East.

58 The Evening times, *CHESTER SAYS HE HAD A CHANCE TO AVERT WORLD WAR,* (Sayre, PA, The Evening Times, May 4, 1923) 1.

59 see Appendix IV

> The Armenians have been pictured for years as the victims of Turkish butcheries; for years and years the collection plate has been passed around in the churches for their relief; and every once in a while some Armenian girl--always a good look one—takes the platform under clever management and coins money out of tales of the sufferings her people are alleged to have undergone at the hands of the unspeakable Turk.
>
> And yet travelers, men and women of our acquaintance, come back from that eastern country with reports that the stories broadcasted about Armenian massacres are not so; that the Armenians are for the most part a lazy lot that cannot be driven from their country by promise of better times elsewhere; that they are unreliable, and that they prey upon the Turks, quite as much as the Turks prey upon them.[60]

In any event it is certainly confusing to anyone who reads the often repeated accounts of the sorrows of the downtrodden Armenians to read this statement from Rear Admiral Colby M. Chester, of the United States navy, in the September 1922 number of the Current History magazine:

> The harem has vanished out of Turkey, and there are fewer men with plural wives than there are married men with mistresses in the United States.
>
> There is more honesty to the square inch in Turkey than there is to the square yard in most other countries of the world.
>
> There are no prejudices against Christians in Turkey, let alone killing of Christians. Massacres of the past were enormously exaggerated by prejudiced writers and speakers.
>
> Armenian massacres by the Turks have been almost entirely unknown since constitutional government was proclaimed in 1908. The wholesale deportations of 1915 were brought by Turkish fear that Armenian agitators would get into trouble, * * * so the Armenians were moved from the inhospitable regions where they were not welcome and could not prosper, to the most delightful and fertile part of Syria. In due course of time the deportees, entirely unmassacred and fat and prosperous, returned—if they wished to do so.
>
> There are few men in the American navy alive today with as fine a record as that of Rear Admiral Colby Mitchell Chester. It dates from the civil war, when he participated in battle of Mobile Bay and the capture of Fort Morgan. He is a man known as a man of scientific trend, one careful in the use of words, whose work while in charge of hydrographic inspection in the coast survey service won him distinction; a commandant of navy yards, and once commander-in-chief of the south Atlantic squadron; and a man stationed for years in European waters, where he studied conditions in the Near East.
>
> Now when such a man speaks as he does in a reputable magazine concerning the Turks and the Armenians, it is certainly hard for a newspaper reader to say where the truth lies in some of the stories that come out of the Near East.

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60 Santa Cruz Evening News, *IT IS CERTAINLY CONFUSING,* (Santa Cruz, CA, Santa Cruse Evening News, September 18, 1922) 3.



Clearly these lies of Chester could not go unchallenged and a reader of the paper, Fannie E. Laybourn, took the time to write a letter to refute what the newspaper had considered a highly credible source. It was published on September 22, 1922, on page 8, under "Letters From the People" section with the title "An Interesting Letter On Near East Atrocities."

> To the Editor of The News:
>
> Sir—Many of your readers were surprised and pained to note in the issue of Sept. 18, the prominence given to reprint of the statement of Rear Admiral Chester, from Current History magazine, together with editorial comment far from encouraging and helpful to those who have made great effort, and often great sacrifice of time and strength and money, to respond to a mighty call for help.

I know not Rear Admiral Colby M. Chester, and will not ask for space to discuss him, but I do know that volumes have been written by the noblest and best of American manhood and womanhood who have in person witnessed in the lands of the Near East, of which Armenia is but a part, things far more horrible than our imagination can picture. Christian missionaries have labored and prayed and pleaded for help for decades, and since the more awful tragedies of the past eight years, scores of helpers have gone to administer the relief that America has so wonderfully provided. Some have lost reason at the sight of the suffering, and the hopelessness of relieving even a small per cent of the sufferers, and many have laid down their lives in service there. I count among these latter, those whom I knew well and loved.

Is the witness of this large number true, or has it been "the story of some good-looking Armenian girl, under clever management, coining money out of tales of the suffering of her people are alleged to have undergone at the hands of the unspeakable Turk," that led to the organization of the Near East relief? Did she deceive James L. Barton, Wm. H. Taft, Chas. Evans Hughes, Elihu Root, John R. Mott, Robert E. Speer, John H. Finley, Henry Morganthau, and some other 40 men most prominent in America's political, educational and religious affairs, to allow themselves to be named by congress in an act of incorporation approved by the president on August 6, 1919, to serve as trustees and committees?

Did her smile and story unloose the purse strings of the hardheaded business man like Cleveland H. Dodge and persuade him to pour out the vast portion of his wealth that has gone not only direct to the work, but has paid all overhead expense of the organization?

Did this beautiful girl and clever management so fascinate that it led into splendid action our own state chairman, Judge Curtis D. Wilbur, whose beloved sister, Mrs. W. A. Shedd, gave her life in Persia? When E. Guy Talbot of Los Angeles, regional director for the Pacific coast, returned last fall from a survey of the field, did he report the whole terrible story as false, and the "deportees, entirely unmassacred, and fat and prosperous?" If so, where did he find his "cast" for this wonderful, awful, but encouraging "movie," "Alice in Hungerland"?

Did her story—but she didn't get to Santa Cruz; and we had only strong men who were no better looking than our fellow citizens, but who brought to us facts and inspiration, which, together with the information that we all are interested may gain, stirred into local action those who stand high in business life, together with the pastors of the churches, the leader in our schools, and the goodly company of men and women who have labored long and hard to see that Santa Cruz held to her fair name of extending the hand of mercy to the needy.

If the story of suffering is not so, I wonder why my beloved niece, a bright college girl in her twenties, marched 400 miles over the mountains in the dead of winter, two years ago, from Teheran to Hamadau, Persia, with 275 children orphaned through Turkish atrocity, and has cared for them since, aided only by a little native help, in old buildings left by the British army.

I might continue to ask Why? Why? Why? But only ask permission now to quote two or three extracts from the voluminous reports of Henry Morganthau, a Jew by race and religion, the former American ambassador to Turkey, printed in World's Work during 1918-1919:

"It is absurd for the Turkish government to assert that it ever seriously intended to 'deport the Armenians to new homes.' The treatment which was given the convoys clearly shows that extermination was the real purpose of Enver and Talaat. How many exiled to the south under these revolting conditions ever reached their destination? The experiences of a single caravan shows how completely this plan of deportation developed into annihilation. The details were furnished directly by American consul at Aleppo, and are now on file in the state department at Washington."

Mr. Morganthau recites the facts and horrors of this one of many such deportations—the victims robbed of their money, the few men remaining brutally murdered, womanhood left to the passion and lust of the gendarmes who had been represented as their protectors, while helpless little children were left to wander and perish of hunger unless picked up and cared for by our orphanages, established by Christian America, and where hundreds of thousands of lives have been saved, and must still be cared for.

Agains Mr. Morganthau says, after long investigation, "The general purpose of all these first had reports was that the utter depravity and fiendishness of the Turkish nature, already sufficiently celebrated through the centuries, had now surpassed themselves. There was only one hope of saving nearly two million people from massacre, starvation and worse, I was told—that was the moral power of the United States."

And there was deep pathos in our ambassador's words upon his return to this land of freedom and plenty, when he said, "My failure to stop the destruction of the Armenians had made Turkey for me a place of horror, and I found intolerable my further daily association with med who, however, accommodating and good natured they might have been to the American ambassador, were still reeking with the blood of nearly a million human beings. Could I have done anything more, either for Americans, enemy aliens, or the persecuted peoples of the empire, I would willingly have stayed."

Respectfully yours,
FANNIE E. LAYBOURN,
Santa Cruz, Sept. 21.[61]

Fannie E. Laybourn's letter to *The Santa Cruse Evening News* was a powerful testimony, painting a picture of the former American ambassador as a defender of the Armenians. Although this is true in print, I think it is important to see that Morgenthau might have also fed into arming Talaat and company in a similar way as Colby M. Chester, before he penned his memoirs in 1918.

On May 21, 1916, *The Cincinnati Enquirer* ran a story on page 2, titled

61 Fannie E. Laybourn, *LETTERS FROM THE PEOPLE: An Interesting Letter On Near east Atrocities,* (Santa Curz, CA, Santa Cruz Evening News, September 22, 1922) 8.

"Turkey; Jackpot of Nations," in which Morgenthau is reported to have spoken at a luncheon given in his honor at the Hotel Gibson by the Chamber of Commerce City Club and Armenian Relief Committee. He was presenting "American Opportunities in the Orient" to 450 business and professionals in attendance. Morgenthau stated:

> "Turkey at peace will redeem herself. Let us think internationally. Do not let our country try to intervene to stop the war until the nations are though battling. If you business men were engaged In fierce competition would you listen to your minister or doctor who tried to settle matters. America can help adjust the differences if we keep aloof.
>
> "I do not want to talk about politics. Half of you, if not all, could have done what I did. Russia, notwithstanding what my religion was insisted that I represent her. It was a compliment not to me, but to the United States. I was able, as representative of all the warring nations, to protect all their citizens. Unfortunately Armenia had no nation. The only thing Turkey refused to listen to was concerning the Armenians."
>
> He spoke of the confidence Turkey had in the United States:
>
> "The United States had no desire for their territory and they knew it," said the diplomat. "They are Jealously guarding what they have left. The missionaries have 785 schools in Turkey for Armenians. I believe the missionaries are the bearers of a second civilization and I wanted them to feel that the American Embassy was their second home.
>
> "The missionaries stood by the Armenians when the trouble arose. I will not harry you with details. There are four or five thousand Armenians scattered that need clothing, food and shelter. They are in a pitiful condition.
>
> "We ought to show ourselves equal to the emergency and he a big brother to the stricken land. Do not let us stand before the world only for money making. We should give aid in every stricken land."
>
> Morgenthau added what was possibly the real reason why America should stay "aloof" and not "try to intervene to stop the war." He stated to the business men and professionals:
>
> "We could raise enough money and have a federation of all relief, under one large committee. No one would be missed. If the country helps now, we will be given the preference commercially when the war Is over. It is commercial charity."[62]

It would seem that both Chester and Morgenthau, as representatives of the United States, were ready to do that which is necessary to help Turkey so that when the war did end and the dust did settle, commercial preference would be given to those who helped rather than hindered Turkey's war effort, as well as their intentions to annihilate the Armenian people who potentially could stand between the jackpot (oil and minerals) and the international investors.

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62 The Enquire, *TURKEY: Jackpot of Nations,* (Cincinnati, OH, The Enquire, May 21, 1916) 2.

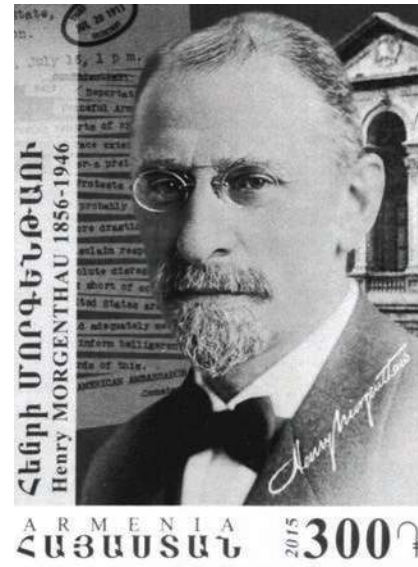
Chapter 13

Morgenthau

"[My grandfather] took it upon himself to go completely outside the bounds of diplomacy and perhaps legality and to use his influence and what he thought of as the moral authority of the United States to try to intervene directly in the policy of the Turkish government in exterminating the Armenian people."

- Henry Morgenthau III

Henry Morgenthau (1856–1946) was an American lawyer, businessman, and, most notably, American ambassador to the Ottoman Empire during the First World War.[63]



One of the most celebrated non-Armenian heroes of the tragedy which befell on the Armenian people, Morgenthau is credited for personally saving the lives of thousands of Armenians and securing millions of dollars in donations for the Committee on Armenian Atrocities (later named the Near East Relief) which provided humanitarian aid for survivors of the Armenian Genocide.

Born into an Ashkenazi Jewish family on April 26, 1856, Morgenthau was the ninth of 11 children to Lazarus and Babette (Guggenheim) Morgenthau.[64] His formative years were spent in his native Mannheim, Baden, Germany. His family emigrated to the United States in 1866 and settled in New York.

Henry's father, Lazarus, who had been a successful cigar manufacturer in Germany with three factories employing as many as 1,000 people, attempted to reestablish himself in business in the United States, but was unable to do so. In order to provide financial support for his family, he became a fundraiser for Jewish houses of worship.

Henry attended City College of New York, where he received a BA and later graduated from Columbia Law School. He began his career as a lawyer, but made a substantial fortune in real estate investments.[65] He married

63 Balakian, Peter (2003). The Burning Tigris: The Armenian Genocide and America's Response. New York: HarperCollins. pp. 219–221.

64 http://findingaids.cjh.org/?pID=480672

65 Balakian. The Burning Tigris, p. 219.

Josephine Sykes in 1882 and had four children: Helen, Alma, Henry Jr. and Ruth.[66] Morgenthau built a successful career as a lawyer and served as the leader of the Reform Jewish community in New York.[67]

In 1912, Morgenthau, who had become a millionaire, contributed generously and supported the candidacy of Woodrow Wilson for his bid to become President of the United States. He had first met Wilson in 1911 at a dinner celebrating the fourth anniversary of the founding of the Free Synagogue society and the two "seem to have bonded", marking the "turning point in Morgenthau's political career".[68]

Morgenthau's participation in the American government began after the election of Wilson who offered Morgenthau the position of ambassador to the Ottoman Empire. Morgenthau's desire to be designated the financial chairman of the campaign finance committee went unfulfilled, nor was he offered a cabinet post as he had hoped. Wilson believed that having a Jewish Ambassador in the Ottoman Empire, as there had been with other prominent German born Jewish Americans Oscar Straus (United States Minister to the Ottoman Empire from 1887-1889; 1898-1899 and United States Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire 1909-1910) and Solomon Hirsch (1889–1892)[69], served as a bridge between Muslim Turks and Christian Armenians.

On October 31, 1913, *The New York Times* reported on the farewell dinner in honor of Morgenthau and the start of his ambassadorship in the Ottoman Empire:

WISH MORGENTHAU SUCCESS IN EMBASSY

Many Friends of New Ambassador to Turkey Entertain Him at Farewell Dinner.

WILSON A BIT OF RADIUM

President's High Ideals Praised by Guest of Evening—Encyclopedia Britannica Given to Him.

Two hundred friends and business associates of Henry Morgenthau gathered last night at dinner at the Hotel Astor to bid him good-bye on the eve of his departure on his mission as Ambassador to Turkey and to testify to their appreciation of him. They lauded his qualities as a New Yorker, as an American, as a philanthropist, and as a financier and lawyer.

The heard praise of him from a predecessor at the Porte, Oscar S. Straus, and a benediction by his pastor, the Rev. Stephen S. Wise. They toasted Mrs. Morgenthau, who sat in a balcony, and united with Morgan J. O'Brien, the toastmaster, in wishing him godspeed.

Judging by the guests at the speakers' table, politics and profession have played no part in Mr. Morgenthau's friendships. Mr. Straus represented

66 About Henry Morgenthau. henrymorgenthaupreserve.com

67 Oren, Michael B (2007). Power, Faith, and Fantasy: America in the Middle East 1776 to the Present. New York: W. W. Norton & Co. pp. 332–333.

68 Balakian. The Burning Tigris, p. 220.

69 http://www.shapell.org/manuscript/president-benjamin-harrison-appoints-third-jewish-minister-to-turkey-1889

the Roosevelt Cabinet and Henry L. Stimson the advisers of President Taft, and near them was Col. E. M. House, the intimate friend of President Wilson. Others at the table were **Jacob H. Schiff**, Abraham Goldsmith, A. Barton Hepburn, I. N. Seligman, and James Speyer.

In the course of the evening Mr. O'Brien announced that the committee had bought a set of the Encyclopedia Britannica for Mr. Morgenthau and forwarded it to the embassy at Constantinople. Mr. Morgenthau in accepting it said that he had finished his course of instruction for his ambassadorial post and felt that the encyclopedia capped it.

"But I do not promise to absorb all of it." He concluded.

Mr. Morgenthau was the last speaker of the evening. After he had been introduced by Mr. O'Brien he said:

"We have heard much about the Melting Pot of America. I am the amalgam of that melting pot. I am just a composite picture of the men in this room and other that I have come in contact with in America. I would like to say a word about our President, Woodrow Wilson.

"I believe and believed in the start that we have been fortunate in discovering a bit of human radium. His justice and his eternal fight against snobbishness in one of America's greatest institutions of learning first attracted me to him. It was his fight for democracy at Princeton that first cause me to know him. He is a wise man, and the country will come to know him and to believe in him as justice personified."

Mr. Morgenthau highly praised Robert Fulton Cutting, who sat near him, and then made Oscar S. Straus blush by alluding to him as the "good Ocar, who is pointed out to me as a man I must be like."

"I am going to be as good as I can be," said Mr. Morgenthau. "I feel that I'm going on my mission as the representative of all people. I feel delighted at getting away and having a real reincarnation. I have been listening to my own funeral orations and enjoyed them.

"I am going to devote the rest of my life on the altar of public service," he said amid applause. "And in parting let me express a thought. I feel that I have been fully compensated for the work I have tried to do philanthropy by the gratitude and thanks that the 1,500 mothers and children in the Bronx House have given me.

"Before I go I will express a wish. I wish that we could get together in the good things we do. Twenty years ago a dinner like this would have been impossible. If we have done so much here in New York, why cannot we by a united effort do still more and wipe out that class hatred which is growing in the rest of the country against what it believes is capitalistic New York?"

Mr. O'Brien in beginning the speeches of the evening said in part: "This is a unique gathering of med from every calling and profession, to do honor to a friend, who had been signally honored by the President of the United States. Away from the busy marts of finance and business, apart from the turbulence of factional politics, friends are met to honor a friend.

Mr. O'Brien then sketched Mr. Morgenthau's career in this city, and dwelt especially on his philanthropic activities. Among them were

his establishment and maintenance of the Bronx House, this directorship in Mount Sinai Hospital, his Presidency of the Free Synagogue and his generous contributions to charity.

Mr. Morgenthau's interest in public affairs, Mr. O'Brien said, was seen in his Chairmanship of the Safety Commission, which established rules for fire prevention, in his investigation of educational commissions and, finally in his service with the Democratic Nation Committee as Chairman of its Finance Committee.

"While we recall with pleasure his professional victories," said Mr. O'Brien in conclusion, "and his business success; while we admire his devotion to charity and religion, we more than all love his gentle and kindly nature. So to-night we united in extending this simple tribute of our affection and from our hearts we express our sincere wishes for the long life and happiness of our friend, Henry Morgenthau, the American Ambassador to Turkey."

Oscar S. Straus in his speech gave Mr. Morgenthau the benefit of his own experience in Turkey.

"Your mission to Turkey is more human than material," he said. "Let your diplomacy be human diplomacy, not dollar diplomacy."

R. Fulton Cutting had much to say in praise of Mr. Morgenthau, and described the high places he would occupy in the world's affairs from this time on, and then Dr. Edward T. Devin, Professor of Philanthropy at Columbia, spoke of the Ambassador's philanthropies. Rabbi Wise and Frank R. Lawrence, an associate in the law, also spoke eloquently of their friend.

Among those who were present at the dinner were W. C. Brown, George Gordon Battle, William N. Cohen, William H. Chesebrough, John D. Crimmins, Justice Victor J. Dowling, J. Clarence Davies, W. A. Day, Robert W. De Forest, Joseph P. Day, Robert E. Dowling, Justice P. H. Dugro, Abram I. Elkus, Daniel Frohman, Dr. John H. Finley, Dr. Lee K. Frankel, Isaac Gimbel, Sol R. Guggenheim, Capt. J. B. Greenhut, Murray Guggenheim, Justice Greenbaum, and Daniel P. Hays.

Dr. John Haynes Holmes, Darwin P. Kingsley, Clarence H. Helsey, ex-Justice Leventritt, Prof. Samuel ChCune Lindsay, Adolph Lewisohn, Dudley Field Malone, Louis Marshall, Marcus M. Marks, Dr. Henry Moskovitz, J. Van Vechten Olcott, William Church Osborn, Ralph Pulitzer, George W. Perkins, Herman Ridder, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Charles N. Sherrili, Cyrus I. Sulzberger, Jesse I Straus, Nathan Straus, John T. Underwood, Sarmrel Untermeyer, Martin Vogel, Felix M. Warburg, and Henry Wollman.

Shy of finishing his first year as U.S. Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, Morgenthau reported to the State Department on possible massacres of Christians. This was done after the government had begun massacring the Armenians who had refused to support the Central Powers against Russia, should Turkey ally with Germany in the war. *The Evening Sun* newspaper, in Baltimore, MD, reported on August 26, 1914, page 2:

CHRISTIAN MASSACRE IN TURKEY FEARED

Reported Mussulmen Plan To Take Advantage Of European War

CRUISERS MAY BE SENT

Believed Appearance Of Tennessee And

North Carolina Might Prevent Serious Outbreak.

Washington, Aug. 26. – Grave anxiety is felt by the Administration because of the prospects of a general massacre of Christians in Turkey, the danger of which has been communicated to the Department of State by Henry Morgenthau, Ambassador to Turkey.

Mr. Morgenthau has taken the matter up with the Sublime Porte and with the Sultan himself, but, according to his advices to his Government, the only assurance he has been able to obtain has been that the Sultan will do all in his power to protect American citizens.

To Visit Wrath on Christians.

According to the information acquired by the American Ambassador, the Mahommedans in Turkey are determined to avail themselves of the disturbed conditions in Europe, to visit their wrath on all Christians and Jews in both Turkey in Europe and Turkey in Asia.

The Sultan, in response to the urgent representation of the American Ambassador, has promised to do what he can to protect citizens of the United States. Mr. Morgenthau pointed out that the United States is not engaged in war and that this country would not hesitate to undertake reprisals for outrages perpetrated on its citizens.

Serious consideration is being given to the advisability of sending to Turkish waters the Tennessee and the North Caroline, the "gold ships" which are now in European waters, the former at Falmouth and the latter at Cherbourg, according to the latest reports, as soon as they have discharged their mission of relief to American refugees stranded in the belligerent countries without funds.

Cruisers Might Cool Their Ardor.

It is believed that the appearance of these two cruisers in Turkish waters would have a deterrent effect on the excited and hostile Mussulmen and might serve to curb their spleen toward American, although the Administration would gladly do something to afford protection to Christians and Jews of other nations if it could devise a method of achieving that end.

Exact figures are lacking, but the number of foreign missionaries in the Ottoman Empire is probably under 1,000. This total is increased greatly by the number of communicants of their missions and the native workers in substation and the like.

The Turkish Government recognizes the adherents of nine non-Mahommedan creeds. In Constantinople itself, only about one-half the population is Mussulman. In the Turkish islands of the Aegean Sea the population is almost entirely Christian. Only when the figures of the Asiatic Turkey are reckoned do the totals appear overwhelmingly Mussulman. The proportion averages will be about five to one.

The following day, August 27, 1914, *The Hartford Caurant,* in Hartford, CT, reported, on page 3, more details of the overall situation in the Ottoman Empire. The U.S. Secretary of State Bryan, who had met with the Turkish Ambassador to the United States, was also quoted. Bryan reported that the claims made of Morgenthau predicting a massacre of Christians was untrue:

TURKISH CABINET IS WAVERING

Diplomats Fear Country May Be Drawn Into War.

TENSION ACUTE IN CONSTANTINOPLE

England and Russia Trying to Keep Turkey Neutral.

Washington, Aug. 26. – Tension is so acute in Constantinople that diplomats there fear Turkey may at any moment be drawn into the general European war on the side of Germany and Austria.

A strict censorship has been put on the newspapers in Turkey, which are now controlled by the military and are being used, according to diplomatic dispatches here, to create a strong pro-German feeling. The Turkish cabinet is wavering between a declaration of war and the preservation of neutrality. The diplomatic representatives of the various powers are in constant conference with the government officials, Great Britain and Russia endeavoring to keep Turkey neutral. The German ambassador, it is understood, has intimated that while Germany wishes Turkey to remain neutral, he believed the Ottoman empire should mobilize to prevent an invasion by Russia.

Feeling is most acute over the entry into the Dardanelles of the German Cruisers, Goeben and Breslau. Great Britain, Russia and France not only



The U.S.S. North Carolina, Mediterranean Sea, c. 1914, Library of Congress, LC-D4-22805.

requested ten days ago that if these ships were bought by Turkey, the crews be sent to either Germany or Austria, but promised safe conduct. Today many of the German sailors are still on board and 150 or more are said to have been distributed among Turkish torpedo boats.

The British government is observing these incidents with much disfavor and the situation has been aggravated by the inability of several English merchant ships to pass through the Dardanelles, even after the grand vizier had given the requisite permission. Subordinate officials disobeyed the instructions.

Great Britain has let it be known that if the Goeben and Bresalu enter the Mediterranean with German crews aboard, they will be fired on by the English fleet.

Neither Great Britain nor Russia, however, has assumed a threatening attitude diplomatically, hoping to persuade Turkey to remain neutral. A few days ago the Russian ambassador was requested to cease using the wireless on a Russian vessel in the harbor. He acquiesced rather than bring on an issue with his government.

Developments in Turkey were generally discussed today in official circles. The Turkish Ambassador had a long conference with Secretary Bryan, chiefly concerning an alleged statement with which American Ambassador Morgenthau had been credited in some published reports. Later Mr. Bryan issued a statement, saying the story that Mr. Morgenthau had predicted a massacre of Christians was untrue.

Secretary Bryan said: "While Americans are anxious to leave Turkey, as they are to leave other parts of Europe in which war has broken out, or may break out, there is nothing in Ambassador Morgenthau's telegram to justify the reports as published."

Mr. Morgenthau's recent telegrams, it is understood, recorded conditions as much relieved now, though a week ago there was some apprehension over the position in which Americans might be placed if the war were extended to Turkey.

The cruiser North Carolina will go to Constantinople with gold for Americans. Many of the Jews in Palestine are destitute, and an appeal for funds has been made to Jewish charities in America. Temporary relief for Americans has been provided personally by Mr. Morgenthau, who has advanced several thousand dollars to meet the immediate wants of those in need.

Mr. Morgenthau has raised a total of $75,000 by subscription but has advised the state department that additional funds are necessary.

The Hutchinson Gazette, in Hutchinson, KS, was more specific about Secretary Bryan's denial on August 27, 1914, page 1, and named Armenia as the area where Morgenthau had reported the dangers to Christians:

Turkish Uprising is Denied in Washington

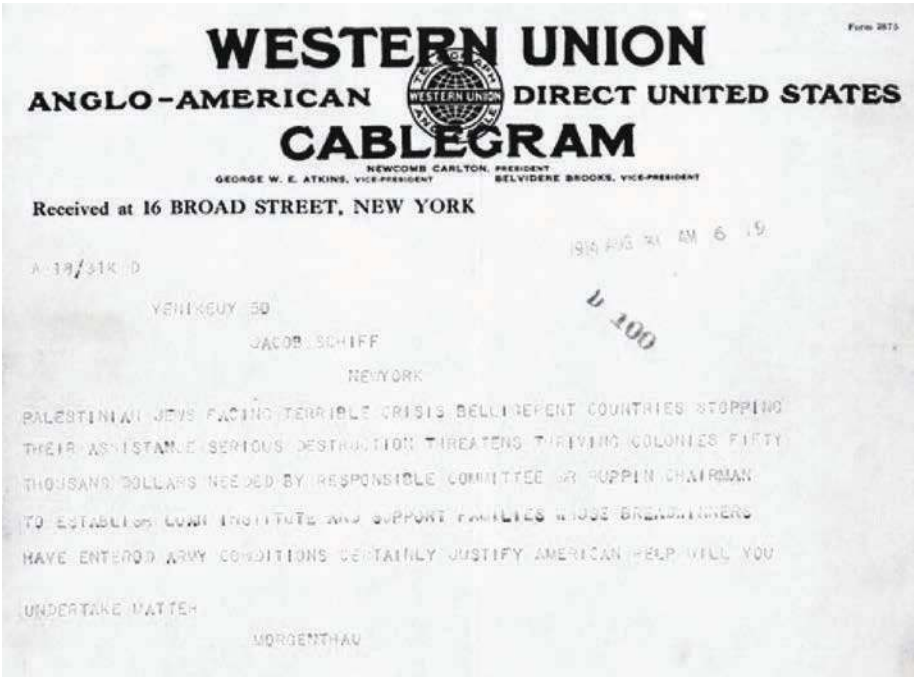
Bryan Denies That Morgenthau Cabled of Danger to Christians in Armenia.

Washington, Aug. 26.—Reports that Ambassador Morgenthau had informed the state department of an uprising against Christians in Armenia, were denied today by Secretary Bryan, who deplored the reports as calculated to stir public sentiment in this country.

It is understood, however, that Morgenthau has informed the state department that he has cabled Jacob Schiff and Nathan Strauss that the Jews in Palestine are in urgent need of assistance.

Whether the Palestine Jews are in danger from the Mohammedans or whether Morgenthau had referenced to financial assistance was not made clear.

The fear that there might be an anti-Christian uprising in the Moslem countries has been to some extent allayed by the report from India that the Mohammedans there have notified the Turkish Moslems that they will remain loyal to Great Britain in the present crisis.



WESTERN UNION

ANGLO-AMERICAN DIRECT UNITED STATES CABLEGRAM

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT
GEORGE W. E. ATKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT BELVIDERE BROOKS, VICE-PRESIDENT

Received at 16 BROAD STREET, NEW YORK

1914 AUG 30 AM 6 19

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JACOB SCHIFF

NEWYORK

PALESTINIAN JEWS FACING TERRIBLE CRISIS BELLIGERENT COUNTRIES STOPPING THEIR ASSISTANCE SERIOUS DESTRUCTION THREATENS THRIVING COLONIES FIFTY THOUSAND DOLLARS NEEDED BY RESPONSIBLE COMMITTEE OF RUPPIN CHAIRMAN TO ESTABLISH LOAN INSTITUTE AND SUPPORT FAMILIES WHOSE BREADWINNERS HAVE ENTERED ARMY CONDITIONS CERTAINLY JUSTIFY AMERICAN HELP WILL YOU UNDERTAKE MATTER

MORGENTHAU

Winfield Courier, in Winfield, KS, on page 6, reported, on November 26, 1914, that Turkey was refusing to transmit coded dispatches between Ambassador Morgenthau and the State Department:

U. S. QUESTIONS TURKEY

MUSSULMAN EMPIREAGAIN IN BAD WITH WASHINGTON.

It is Reported the Porte Refuses to Transport Diplomatic Dispatches in Code.

By Associated Press.

Washington, Nov. 25. – The United States is inquiring of Turkey about the reported action of the Porte, in refusing transmission to code dispatches between neutral diplomats in Constantinople their home offices. Such an action would prevent Ambassador Morgenthau from

communication from Washington and the State Department.

News of Turley is reputed actions come through the Cable company and so far there has been no official notice served on the State Department by any authorized agent of the Turkish government. The United States will insist on its right of free communication with its diplomatic representatives as long as telegraph and cable lines are open to general use, or in fact workable. There is always an implied understanding that such messages shall be strictly neutral and not to the means conveying information of military value.

The Daily Journal, in New Bern, NC, called the atrocious events in the Ottoman Empire a holy war on its front page, on December 6, 1914:

TO GIVE AID TO CHRISTIANS

STATE DEPARTMENT SENDS URGENT ORDERS
TO U. S. AMBASSADOR IN TURKEY

Washington, D. C., Dec. 5. – The State Department today cabled to Ambassador Morgenthau who is at Constantinople, instructions to spare no expense or efforts in providing for the needs of Christian refugees who have been driven out of the interior towns by the moslems and have to seek safety on the seacoast.

Reports from Constantinople are to the effect that the holy war which is in progress in Turley is becoming more critical each day and no Christian is safe.

On December 8, 1914, *The Decatur Daily*, in Decatur, AL, ran an article on page 2 quoting a 'well-informed Turk' denying that a holy war against the Christians was underway. The story outlined what amounted to a holy war, claiming the last one took place in 1492.

"HOLY WAR" HAS NOT BEEN PROCLAIMED
SAYS DISPATCH RECEIVED FROM LONDON

Sacred Flag Has Not Yet Been Hoisted in Turkey

(By Herbert Temple.)

(International News Service.)

London, Dec. 8. – I am informed by an intelligent and well-informed Turk now in this city that no holy war has been proclaimed to the Mussulman world nor is one likely to be. "Holy war" is a term much abused in westers parlance; and "holy wars" are much rarer than one would think from reading British and American newspapers.

"The holy war can only be started by the raising of the sacred flag of Mohammed by the Sheik-ul-Islam, or the chief of the Islamic faith," said my informant. "This has not been done up to the present time, I can give you positive assurance. I understand the Sheik-ul-Islam was urged by the pro-Germans to raise the sacred flag, but wisely refused to do so. This is a political war.

"Since before the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks in 1452 the sacred flag has never been raised but once. This was when the Sulton

Mahmoud Ali, grandfather of the present ruler, resolved to be rid of his vicious Janizaries, or household guards. He sent messages to this body declaring that the sacred flag had been unfurled at the Court of Sultas Ahmed. The Janizaries promptly answered the call. They entered the gate singly or in small groups and were promptly and without mishap killed by a select corps of executioners stationed there by Mahmoud Ali.

"But it is a point of Mohammedan law that the sacred flag (once unfurled, cannot be furled until 70,000 heads are forfeit. There were but 49,000 Janizaries. To carry out the letter of the law the Sultan had 21,000 headstones broken down from Mussulmans' graves. This famous incident in Turkish history is known as 'Vakai Hayrie.'

"Since then a holy war has twice threatened but never really been declared. The present Emperor of Germany after his second visit to Sultan Bbdul Hamid went to Palestine, visiting first and with some ostestation the tomb of the celebrated Sultan Saladin, the opponent of Richard the Lion Hearted of England. The Kaiser was roundly scolded in the European press and a holy war was talked of.

"Soon after the European war started this summer Turkey called the Mussulmans to the flag, fearing trouble, and also esjoined light military service on the Christian solders, of whom, since the young Turk regime, there are numbers in the Turkish army. At the request of the Sultan the Ameer of Afghanistan sent 130,000 men, under command of Crown Prince Mehmed Bahadour, to attack British India, and 80,000 under Bahadour Jenk to attack Russia. The chief Sheik of the Arabs also joined the movement. The sacred flag has not yet been hoisted. Even if it is Christians or foreigners residing in Turkey need have no fear, except of such violence from lower elements as might occur in any hostile country. The law of Mohammed strictly enjoins that care be taken not to injure non-combatants, especially women and children, in the wars of the Crescent."

Printed directly below this article was news from the well-informed Turk, there was a contradictory report that, in fact, Christians were fleeing for their lives:

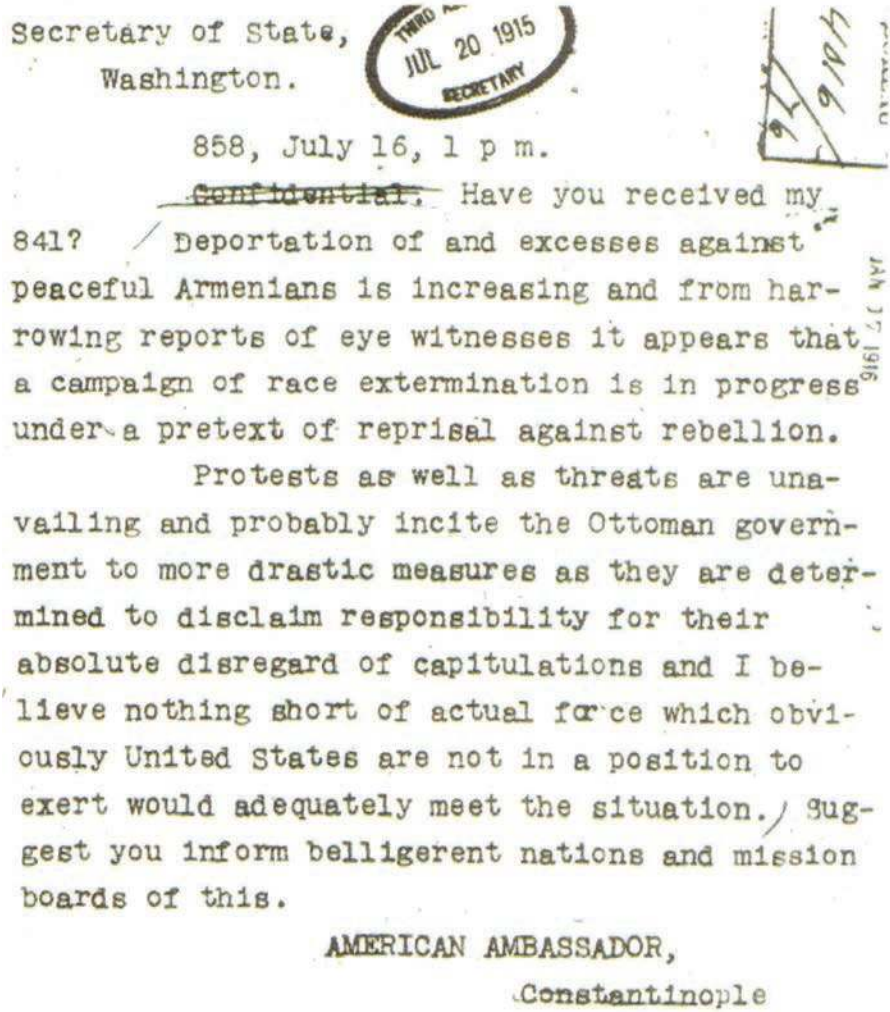
CHRISTIANS FLEE TO CITIES ALONG TURKISH COAST

Washington, Dec. 8. – Christian refugees are fleeing in large numbers from the interior of Turkey to coast cities since the proclamation of a holy war by the Sheik-ul-Islam, head of the Moslem church. Ambassador Morgenthau cable this information to the state department form Constantinople Friday.

Calling from Bucharest under a later date, he informed the department that he learned through the Serbian minister to Rumania of a proclamation by the Turkish government of a holy war against Serbia and all her allies. The Serbian government has made reply to the proclamation by declaring that all treaties between her and Turkey have ceased to exist. Mr. Morgenthau did not express any alarm for the safety of Americans in Turkey. Assurances have repeatedly been given by the Turkish government

that Americans and their property would be fully protected.

Long after the official start of the Armenian Genocide of April 24, 1915, Ambassador Morgenthau sent a communication to the State Department to inform them of the Armenian massacres in Turkey. This communication refers to earlier messages, though this particular communication is claimed by historians to be that which is the first communication from Morgenthau to inform the State Deparment of the Armenian Genocide:



Secretary of State,
Washington.

THIRD ... JUL 20 1915 SECRETARY

858, July 16, 1 p m.

~~Confidential.~~ Have you received my 841? Deportation of and excesses against peaceful Armenians is increasing and from harrowing reports of eye witnesses it appears that a campaign of race extermination is in progress under a pretext of reprisal against rebellion.

Protests as well as threats are unavailing and probably incite the Ottoman government to more drastic measures as they are determined to disclaim responsibility for their absolute disregard of capitulations and I believe nothing short of actual force which obviously United States are not in a position to exert would adequately meet the situation. Suggest you inform belligerent nations and mission boards of this.

AMERICAN AMBASSADOR,
Constantinople

In an attempt to save the Armenians from wholesale slaughter, Ambassador Morgenthau negotiated a deal with the Turkish government to allow all the Armenians to leave Turkey and emigrate to the United Sates. On September 14, 1915, *The Gazette*, Montreal, Quebec, Canada, ran a front-page news story to announce the deal:

Morgenthau Approached Turkish Gov't
to Have Them Transported to America

(Special to The Gazette.)

Chicago, September 13.—The Chicago Daily News prints this dispatch from Sofia, the capital of Bulgaria:

"Henry Morgenthau, American ambassador to Turkey, recently made an offer to the Turkish Government to raise $1,000,000 to transport to America the Armenians who have thus far escaped the general massacres. Enver Pasha, the minister of war, and Talaat Bey, minister of the interior, accepted the offer, and on September 3 the ambassador asked the Government in Washington to appoint a committee of five Americans, whom he recommended, to take charge of the great undertaking. Mr. Morgenthau declined, however, to give me their names when I saw him recently in Constantinople.

"Since May," says the ambassador, "350,000 Armenians have been slaughtered or have died of starvation. There are 550,000 Armenians who could now be sent to America, and we need help to save them. One million dollars is too little for the propose of transporting them, as it takes $100 to equip, feed and transport one man. Perhaps $5,000,000 will be necessary. I should like to see each of the western states raise a fund to equip a ship and bring the number of settlers it wants. The Armenians are a moral, hard-working race, and would make good citizens to settle the less-thickly populated parts of the western states.'

"Turks admit that the Armenian prosecution is the first step in a plan to get rid of Christians, and that Greeks will come next. Jews are also marked for slaughter or expulsion. American missionaries must also be driven out, for Turkey hence-forth is to be for Turks alone. The Shek-ul-Islam, on being questioned, said that the deportation of the Armenians was contrary to Moslem law, but that he was powerless in the face of military despotism.

"Foreigners in Constantinople hold the Germans, in part at least, responsible for the prosecution of the Armenians, for they are doing nothing to prevent the distribution of inflammatory literature among the savage tribes inciting them to attack Christians."

By September 24, 1915, as the situation for the Armenians went from bad to worse, *The Salt Lake Tribune,* in Salt Lake City, UT, ran a story on page 2, appealing to the general public to provide aid to the Armenian people:

APPEAL TO BE MADE FOR THE ARMENIANS

Plan Will Be Carried Out Without Participation by U.S. Government

WASHINGTON, Sept. 23.—Information from Embassador (sic) Morgenthau at Constantinople to the American Board of commissioners for foreign missions concerning the plight of Armenians in Turkey, banished to isolated towns for alleged hostility to the Turkish government, will be the basis of an appeal to the American people for assistance similar to that

made for homeless Belgians.

This appeal, it was learned tonight, will be issued from New York after the report of Charles R. Crane and James L. Briton, representing the commission, who conferred today with state department officials, is made public.

The plan for sending help to the Armenians will be carried out without any official participation by the United States government, for it is understood that the Turkish foreign office has let it be known that it will brook no interference with this policy from any foreign power.

The joint committee interested in launching the appeal is composed of members of the foreign missions commission and representative American and English colleges in Turkey.

It was revealed at the state department today that since Embassador (sic) Morgenthau's protest to the foreign office in Constantinople against reported ill-treatment of Armenians, nothing further has been done by this government. Minor concessions from the Turkish government resulted from Embassador (sic) Morgenthau's action, which was taken under general instructions from the state department. The Turkish officials claim that the steps which they have taken against the Armenians were necessary as a war measure to prevent rebellion and plotting against the government.

Acting Secretary of State Polk would not disclose the exact nature of the Turkish reply to the American inquiry regarding the Armenian policy, but he said no further action was contemplated at this time.

Morgenthau's plan to transport the Armenians to the United States continued to move forward. *The Honolulu Advertiser,* in Honolulu, HI, reported the following as front-page news, on October 3, 1915:

PLAN TO RESCUE ARMENIANS NOW MAKING PROGRESS

(Associated Press by Federal Wireless.)

WASHINGTON, October 3—The efforts being made by Ambassador Morgenthau to secure official sanction to a plan to transport the remnants of the Armenian people to the United States, to enable them to survive, and to devise ways and means whereby at least two to three hundred thousand of the persecuted race may be transported to a new land, is making progress. Yesterday it was announced that the Turkish government has agreed to permit the migration of as many Armenians as Ambassador Morgenthau can secure transportation for, provided these emigrants become naturalized Americans.

Since April it is estimated that at least half a million Armenians have perished from massacres, starvation and disease. So acute is the distress that the American ambassador felt obliged to interfere and to offer this good services in transporting the entire Armenian people to America. The ambassador cabled to Washington asking that five prominent Americans be appointed on a commission to raise the million dollars for the first part of

the big plan.

The starving Armenians are principally old people and children. The men have been slain and the young women subjected to a worse fate.

From Ambassador Morgenthau's 1918 memoirs titled "Ambassador Morgenthau's Story", he wrote in chapter 27 of his conversation with German officials regarding his plan to save the Armenians:

I then made another plea in behalf of the persecuted Christians. Again we discussed this subject at length.

"The Armenians,"' said Wangenheim, "have shown themselves in this war to be enemies of the Turks. It is quite apparent that the two peoples can never live together in the same country. The Americans should move some of them to the United States, and we Germans will send some to Poland and in their place send Jewish Poles to the Armenian provinces---that is, if they will promise to drop their Zionist schemes."

Again, although I spoke with unusual earnestness, the Ambassador refused to help the Armenians.

Still, on July 4th, Wangenheim did present a formal note of protest. He did not talk to Talaat or Enver, the only men who had any authority, but to the Grand Vizier, who was merely a shadow. The incident had precisely the same character as his pro forma protest against sending the French and British civilians down to Gallipoli, to serve as targets for the Allied fleet. Its only purpose was to put Germans officially on record. Probably the hypocrisy of this protest was more apparent to me than to others, for, at the very moment when Wangenheim presented this so-called protest, he was giving me the reasons why Germany could not take really effective steps to end the massacres. Soon after this interview, Wangenheim received his leave and went to Germany.

Callous as Wangenheim showed himself to be, he was not quite so implacable toward the Armenians as the German naval attaché in Constantinople, Humann. This person was generally regarded as a man of great influence; his position in Constantinople corresponded to that of Boy-Ed in the United States. A German diplomat once told me that Humann was more of a Turk than Enver or Talaat. Despite this reputation I attempted to enlist his influence. I appealed to him particularly because he was a friend of Enver, and was generally looked upon as an important connecting link between the German Embassy and the Turkish military authorities.

Humann was a personal emissary of the Kaiser, in constant communication with Berlin and undoubtedly he reflected the attitude of the ruling powers in Germany. He discussed the Armenian problem with the utmost frankness and brutality.

«I have lived in Turkey the larger part of my life,» he told me, «and I know the Armenians. I also know that both Armenians and Turks cannot live together in this country. One of these races has got to go. And I don't blame the Turks for what they are doing to the Armenians. I think that they are entirely justified. The weaker nation must succumb. The Armenians desire to dismember Turkey; they are against the Turks and the Germans

in this war, and they therefore have no right to exist here. I also think that Wangenheim went altogether too far in making a protest; at least I would not have done so.»

I expressed my horror at such sentiments, but Humann went on abusing the Armenian people and absolving the Turks from all blame.

"It is a matter of safety," he replied; "the Turks have got to protect themselves, and, from this point of view, they are entirely justified in what they are doing. Why, we found 7,000 guns at Kadikeuy which belonged to the Armenians. At first Enver wanted to treat the Armenians with the utmost moderation, and four months ago he insisted that they be given another opportunity to demonstrate their loyalty. But after what they did at Van, he had to yield to the army, which had been insisting all along that it should protect its rear. The Committee decided upon the deportations and Enver reluctantly agreed. All Armenians are working for the destruction of Turkey's

power and the only thing to do is to deport them. Enver is really a very kind-hearted man; he is incapable personally of hurting a fly! But when it comes to defending an idea in which he believes, he will do it fearlessly and recklessly. Moreover, the Young Turks have to get rid of the Armenians merely as a matter of self-protection. The Committee is strong only in Constantinople and a few other large cities. Everywhere else the people are strongly 'Old Turk'. And these old Turks are all fanatics. These Old Turks are not in favour of the present government, and so the Committee has to do everything in their power to protect themselves. But don't think that any harm will come to other Christians. Any Turk can easily pick out three Armenians among a thousand Turks!"

Ambassador Morgenthau's plan to bring the Armenians didn't go unnoticed, nor was it welcomed by everyone. *The Evening Public Ledger,* in Philadelphia, PA, published a letter on October 2, 1915, on page 4, from a prominent Armenian religious leader:

OPPOSED TO BRINGING ARMENIANS TO U.S.

Rev. H. Y. Yardumian Believes Misery of Exiles Would be Increased

The transporting to America of all Armenians now being driven from their homes by the Turks would be to impose additional misery on a persecuted people, in the opinion of the Rev. Haig Y. Yardumian, vice president of the Armenian National Defense Union and moderator of the Evangelical Alliance of America.

In his home at 724 South 60th street the Rev. Mr. Yardumian discussed today the plan advocated by Henry Morgenthau, United States Ambassador to Turkey, who has signified his willingness to contribute $1,000,000 in this country for that purpose.

"The project seems humane on the surface," the Rev. Mr. Yardumian said, "but there is evidently a diplomatic handicap that hinders Mr. Morgenthau from doing something better than importing a dependent group of women, old men, children, diseased persons ad cripples to the

United States.

WOULD ADD TO MISSERY.

"I do not wish to say anything further on the political significance of the matter at the present time, but I can say that the bringing of these people to America would add to the misery of an already unhappy race. Such a sudden change would in itself be a sudden and crushing blow, but one which would please the Young Turks mightily, as it would further their desire to remove every Christian element from their Mohammedan country.

The Rev. Mr. Yardumian them explained that the Turks have practically destroyed all of the young-able-bodied Armenians by putting them in the first ranks of battle, where they have been killed, and shooting as traitors those who objected to this manifestly unfair persecution. In addition to this he asserts that the exiled Armenian families have been split up, the children under 10 years of age being taken in hand by Turks to be converted to Mohammedan faith, and the women sent to the most remote and pestilent parts of the empire.

"DEPLOMACY AND SWORD."

"To induce these people to come to America and throw away every possibility of reassembling their families would not only be difficult, but cruel," he said. "Here is the only feasible plan which can be brought to the rescue of these people:

"Diplomatic pressure, backed by the sward of the neutral countries, should be brought on the Turks to make them give the Armenians free passage to a place of safety on the western coast of Asia Minor, a neutral zone, which could be under the protection of the Red Cross of the United States, Holland and Switzerland. At the conclusion of the war it would be a simple matter to decide the future habitat of the exiles."

Ten days after Rev. Haig Y. Yardumian raised his concerns about Morgenthau's plan, *The Independence Daily Reporter*, in Independence, KS ran a story, on page 7, in which the Morgenthau plan is reported to have failed:

TURKEY BREAKS PROMISES

RESCINDED ARMENIAN PROMISE A DAY AFTER MAKING IT.

Massacres Are Renewed Now Worse Than Ever—No Protection for Christians.

Washington, Oct. 12.—Armenian massacres in Asiatic Turkey have been renewed with vigor since Bulgaria's entrance into the war as Turkey's ally. This information reached the state department from Ambassador Morgenthau, who stated that the majority of the Armenians in Asiatic Turkey have been killed.

Although representations were made by this government some time ago warning Turkey that further atrocities against the Armenians would eliminate the sympathies of the American people, no answer has been

> received. Earlier representations were promising that Armenians desiring to leave the country would be permitted to do so without harm and that Christians would be spared. Information reaching this country indicates that these conditions were not adhered to but were rescinded the next day.

How is it that the Turks' offer could have been rescinded the day after it was accepted? How did Morgenthau not know this? Although Morgenthau had made a public announcement in September of his deal with Talaat, his memoirs indicate that he had been considering such a plan as early as July when he had met with German officials who suggested Armenians be taken to America and also exchanged with Polish Jews. Was this but just another political game on the part of the Turks to give them enough time to kill off all the Armenians, or was this plan less humanitarian as suggested by Rev. Haig Y. Yardumian and part of a bigger plan that Morgenthau was a part of?

Besides Morgenthau's aid to the Armenians, there were other minority groups in the Ottoman Empire that were facing persecution that needed the Americans' help, namely the Jews. On March 6, 1916, the New York Times reported on a humanitarian mission to help those Jews in danger:

> **U.S. WARSHHIPS' AID TO JEWS IN TURKEY**
>
> Ambassador Morgenthau Says They Helped Diplomat's Work for Humanity.
>
> SHOWED NATION'S INTEREST
>
> Tells Educational Alliance Our Position in the War is Like That of Noah and His Ark.
>
> How diplomacy had been aided in the work in behalf of humanity by the prompt arrival of two American warships in the harbor of the Turkish capital, was told by Ambassador Henry Morgenthau, in a brief address last night at the annual meeting of the Educational Alliance, East Broadway and Jefferson Street. Although these war vessels were merely on a peaceful errand, the good impression thus created by this practical display of friendship and protection by the United States Government for the Jewish inhabitants threatened with expulsion, resulted in improving the relations between the people and the official representatives of the Turkish Government, he said.
>
> "You here cannot know how much cause the Jewish people of Turkey had to show their appreciation to the American Government for the aid given so timely," said the Ambassador. "And when these warships came, bringing to them the gold which some of you gentlemen here contributed for their relief, their sentiments of appreciation was expressed in no ordinary words of thanks. The Jewish people and the Turkish inhabitants had been living in amity, but the incident of this friendly act of another nation immediately improved these conditions.
>
> "It showed that the Jewish people were not forsaken; that they had sympathy and the friendship of a powerful nation back of them in the hours of their distress. I want to say that the Turkish officials have the kindest feelings for the Jews. These have been no expulsions of the inhabitants of

the Jewish faith. Some were forced to depart from Jaffa when the Turkish Government began preparations to intern the subjects of nations with which it was at war. The Jewish aliens were given their choice of three methods of procedure: To accept the Mohammedan faith, to be interned, or to leave the country. For this latter purpose the American Government permitted me to use two warships.

"There were no more deportations except of those of belligerent countries affected by the military laws. Now those who remain in Turkey are living in peace, attending their affairs and affected by no other causes than the economic conditions brought about by the war.

"These economic conditions are felt severely among some sections of the Jewish population. A great many of the men have enlisted, many of them the earners and breadwinners of the families left behind. I look for a great deal of trouble and suffering; I fear it will be almost a famine if this war continues much longer. In Saloniki, too, which has a population almost entirely of Jews, they are going to have a lot of trouble."

The Ambassador referred to the experimental colonization plan in Palestine as a desirable thing for the good of all Jews throughout the world. If the people there succeeded in establishing model colonies and made them self-sustaining it would be a great step forward in a great movement, he said. He said that while Palestine could never provide for many millions of Jewish people, nevertheless it could be made a center of highly developed industry, forming a national sphere of Jewish influence everywhere, and under this movement Jewish art and literature would be developed and retained in their highest form.

Suggesting that the United States should continue its policy of peace and neutrality, and by all means keep out of the world conflict, the Ambassador said:

"Sometimes it seems to me our position is something like Noah in the ark. We have sent out the dove of peace, and it has returned. This great flood of war is still rising. Let us continue to keep out of it upon dry land, and when the flood goes down we will not go with it."

Justice Samuel Greenbaum of the Supreme Court, President of the alliance, reviewing educational work of the organization, which had accomplished so much for good citizenship in its thirty years of existence, beginning when the Russian persecutions had started so many emigrants from that country, said the future called upon it for even greater work in all its departments. At the end of the European war, he predicted, there would be larger immigration than ever before to this country.

Jacob H. Schiff said in part:

"What makes a nation is the common language that the people of that nation speak. Those who do not want to speak common language cannot be a part of the nation. The Morgenthaus and the Greenbaums are the true leaders of Israel, for they are teaching the strange people the common language of the country—they are the leaders of Israel; and the men who tell you you are a separate nation and try and make you look at the American problem from a Jewish viewpoint are like the men who made the golden calf."

Although Morgenthau was an ambassador, one has to remember that he was also a wealthy and powerful businessman who was tightly connected to some of the most powerful men in the world. And with most politicians at that time (as it is believed to also be the case today), special interests of wealthy and powerful supporters came with certain expectations. In the case of Morgenthau, he was not an exception to the rule, but rather he seemed to play by the rules of watching out for those who buttered his bread, like Jacob H. Schiff, who had also deemed Morgenthau a leader of Israel.

After Morgenthau had resigned from his post as U.S. Ambassador to Turkey, some of the deals he had negotiated during his service in the capacity of the U.S. Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire were reported in the newspapers. One particular deal, which would one day become one of the most controversial land grabs, starting more than 30 years after Morgenthau, was the formation of Israel, in 1948. On May 22, 1916, *The Harrisburg Daily Independent*, Harrisburg, PA, ran a story, on page 3, claiming that Morgenthau was negotiating a deal to purchase Palestine:

TURKS MAY SELL PALESTINE

Former Ambassador Morgenthau Says He Discussed
Matter With Officials—Might Be a Republic

By Associated Press.

Cincinnati, O., May 22.—Henry Morgenthau, who recently resigned as Ambassador to Turkey, spoke before the Wise Center Forum here yesterday and told his listener that the sale of Palestine after the War, so that the Ottoman empire might secure money, had been discussed by him. He told of how he broached the matter to the Turkish Ministry and how eagerly it was discussed.

"We even got do to figures," said Mr. Morgenthau. "They argued as to whether it should be an international state or a republic."

Mr. Morgenthau said that is to whether Russian or German Christians would allow the Jews to possess Palestine was thoroughly discussed. "I told the ministry that if the harbor was built at Jaffa, Jerusalem would yearly attract 500,000 visitors who spend at least $100 each. Seeing that there was a way for the Jews to pay for Palestine, the Ottoman government wanted to make concessions immediately and asked that the building of the harbor and hotels be started," he said.

Although this particular deal never came to fruition, the plan to make Palestine the homeland of the Jewish people had been perused by Morgenthau and his backers as the Ottoman Army began weakening.

The front-page news of *The Des Moines Register*, Des Moines, IA, on June 23, 1917, was about a group led by Morgenthau to secure Palestine for the Jewish people. They also revealed the amount of support the plan had from the United States:

JEWISH REPUBLIC IN PALESTINE
MAY BE RESULT OF WAR

President Considering Including Zionist Recommendation When Peace Comes.

MISSION IS NOW EN ROUTE

Party Instructed to Investigate Conditions of Palestine Jews on Trip.

TO REALIZE DREAM OF AGES

Reclamation of Holy Land From Unspeakable Turk Seems Near at Hand.

BY JOHN CALLEN O'LAUGHLIN.

(Special to Chicago Heald and The Des Moines Register).

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 22.—President Wilson is giving serious consideration to the Zionist recommendation that one of the war acts of the United States shall be the establishment of a Jewish republic with Jerusalem as the capital.

Ostensibly the commission, consisting of Henry Morgenthau, former ambassador to Turkey; Maj. Felix Frankfurter, U. S. A., and E. W. Lewin-Epstein, connected with the Zionist movement, is en route to Egypt and Palestine for the purpose of aiding suffering Jews and especially those, numbering about 1,000 who are naturalized American citizens.

Mission Is Instructed.

This, however, will be only a small part of the duty of Mr. Morgenthau and his associates.

As a matter of fact they have been instructed to make a thorough investigation of the situation of the Jews in Palestine and neighboring sections of Turkey and to follow carefully the campaign against the Turks and Germans which the British are conducting.

The reports the commission will make will be of the utmost value to the president in guiding him as to the character of terms he will fix as conditions for the settlement of the war.

Every Nation Concerned.

Every nation is concerned about the Jewish question and is anxious once and for all to free Jerusalem from Turkish misrule. The British military expedition now is operating towards the city where Christ suffered and it is expected that within a comparatively short time it will be rescued from Turkish control.

Two British expeditions are moving against Turkey from the east, one passing through Mesopotamia and the other from Egypt along the eastern shore of the Mediterranean. Eventually, if they compass it, those expeditions will meet, but that is along tome in the future, in view of the desperate resistance the Turks, aided by the Germans, are making.

It is important, of course, that the military campaign which the British from the south and the Russians from the North are carrying on, shall have success, since that would have a tremendous bearing upon the end of the war.

Business to Aid Jews.

With this ultimate result, however, the Morgenthau commission will have no concern. It will be it's business to aid the Jews in every way it can; to see that those who are suffering shall get the supplies which American men of war were forced to unload at Alexendria, Egypt and enjoy the benefit of the $10,000,000 relief fund which has been collected in the United States, and finally, to ascertain the desire of the Jewish people reference to their future political conditions.

It is apparent to the president and others in Washington that a Jewish state could not stand alone. It will have to possess the moral and perhaps political support of a strong nation or nations if it is to live.

Control May Be in U. S.

It was suggested recently from London that control of Palestine, once it has been wrested from the Turks, shall be turned over to the United States. This nation, it was pointed out, is free from any entanglements in the near east and that it could be depended upon to pursue a thoroughly unselfish policy in connection with the administration of the territory.

The President and this cabinet from all reports have no intention of taking possession of territory so far from the new world. I n view of this determination, the plan has been advanced that the Jews be permitted to form a republic, the independence and territorial integrity of which shall be guaranteed by the United States and Great Britain an if Russia, France and Italy so desire by them also.

It is a reflection upon the paucity of human ideas that this guarantee proposal should be advocated; for Belgium enjoyed similar guarantees and they were ruthlessly violated by Germany.

I this case, however, attention is drawn to the fact that the signers of the agreement will be nations who are fighting to uphold the principle of the sanctity of treaties and that there is no likelihood that they would have violated their pledged word, however great might be the temptation.

Freedom is demanded.

It is important for the world from every point of view that Jerusalem should be free. Religion, race, economics, all demand it. It has been a century-old dream of Christian nations. It inspired the crusades, it always had uplifted men and women professing the religion of Christ.

Repeatedly President Wilson has pronounced himself in favor of the independence of the small nations. This pronouncement has met with the hearty approval of the Jews who have consistently labored in the uplifting of the land in which they originate. Imperial Russia sought to solve the Jewish question by endeavoring to induce her subjects of that race to emigrate to Palestine.

Philanthropic Jews have established colonies of their down trodden co-religionists in Palestine and elsewhere.

Near Jaffa there were, a few years ago twenty-six colonies, consisting of mainly Russian Jews. Some were maintained by private enterprise, others by the Chovawe-Zion association, and others again by the Jewish Colonization association, which was founded by Baron E. de Rothschild.

Chance Is at Hand.

What particularly has been desired by the philanthropic Jew is that their co-religionists should be given the same opportunity that they have had.

Now the chance has come to the Christian nations. They are fighting Turkey which is responsible for the suffering of humiliation of a people who have persisted in spite of the terrible burdens and hardships thrust upon them.

It is apparent that the sentiment of the allied peoples will not consent to a continuance of Turkish control of Palestine. This is certainly true of Britain as well as the United States. It likewise will be true of the Russian democracy in which the Jews is bound to assert himself as he has done in other lands.

The British government, which had been notified of the departure of the Morgenthau commission has promised to facilitate its work and investigation in every possible way. That government, too, is considering the disposition to be made of Palestine, once it has been freed.

It will be necessary first of all to establish a military government which will be administered by British army officers, but it is expected that the military will be able to turn control of civil affairs over to the Jews within a reasonable time, and that during the period of the war those people will enjoy more or less self-government.

I the meantime, the reports of the Morgenthau commission will reach Washington, and the president will be able to determine exactly what kind of demands he will make upon the central powers. But it seems certain at this moment that one result of the war will be freedom for the Jews.

Buffalo Evening News, in Buffalo, NY, reported, on August 15, 1917, on page 3, of a delay in Morgenthau's mission and shed some light on the plan he was carrying out:

President's Envoy Cannot Proceed
Until British Advance at Gaza.

Special To the NEWS.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 15—Henry Morgenthau, former ambassador to Turkey, before leaving for Europe, ostensibly as the head of a mission to investigate possibilities for ameliorating the condition of war sufferers in Palestine, took his instructions, it was learned, direct from President Wilson.

Mr. Morgenthau is now in France and it is understood that his visit to Palestine has been postponed owing to the check of the British expeditionary forces at Gaza by the Turkish troops. It had been expected that the British advance would swiftly penetrate deep into Palestine, as was promised by the success of their initial operations along the Egypto-Palestine border.

The Morgenthau mission has not been abandoned, however, and it is

possible for the envoy to fulfill a part of it before proceeding to Egypt and Palestine. It was declared by a high authority that the special purpose of this visit to Europe and Asia is to study, especially in its political details, the entire Jewish problem, and particularly with relation to the proposed creation of an independent Palestine.

> There is a strong belief, also, that Mr. Morgenthau, who knows personally the influential statesmen and military chieftains in Turkey, intended upon reaching the British lines in Palestine to seek conferences with Turkish officials and to discuss with them the possibilities of separate peace for Turkey.

The Messenger-Inquirer, Owensboro, KY, reported, on January 20, 1918, on page 15, further details of the plan. In the article, they characterized Morgenthau's work in Turkey as 'secret service' and claimed: "Upon Mr. Morgenthau's return to the United States he was promptly dispatched to France and Spain on a secret mission."

WHAT THE NEW ERA MEANS TO HEBREWS

> In an editorial on the president's latest address to congress the American Jewish Chronicle says:
>
> "We Jews are doubly interested in the president's great peace message—because of its reference to the small and oppressed nationalities and Palestine. The plan to establish a national Jewish homeland has the full sympathy of the president.
>
> "President Wilson does not insist on the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire; all America asks of Turkey is an assurance of 'an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development for its foreign nationalities."
>
> Interviews with the foremost statesmen of the allied national elicits the depressing information that there is little or no intention of returning the Jerusalem district to the Jews for an sort of homeland. The present character of the British operations all point to a permanent occupation by France and England of Palestine. If the English armies retire, it is believed in Paris there will be an autonomous government set up with the beneficent influence of the British-French entente predominating for commercial and territorial reasons.
>
> The situation is not a tempting one for discussion, as the complexion undergoes kaledoscopical changes—the peace conference only will dispose of the question in a permanent manner. One thing only is certain, that Turkish pogroms have ended once and for all. The Jews of Palestine will henceforth enjoy unrestricted racial and political development under the government assigned by the Great Peace conference.
>
> In Russia the Jews today are subjected to greater and more bitter indignities than before the revolution. The Russian proletariat, long educated to a hatred of the Hebrews, have suddenly been released from all

government restraint, and the Ghetto has acted as a buffer for angry masses of the canaille, incensed against anything that offers either active or static resistance.

In the combat zone of Central Europe it is estimated the Hebrews have perished by millions. The Polish pogroms are as naught compared to the situation the Jews found themselves in with the opening of hostilities. Even now, despite the heroic efforts of the American Jews to alleviate the situation, all Central Europe rings with the protest and anguish of the Jews.

Emigration After the War

While the general emigration after the war to the United States will be comparatively insignificant, it is certain there will be a great Jewish immigration.

Europe will need all of her own nationals for the work of reconstruction. There will even be an emigration from the United States of commercial and technical quality, but this will be offset by the counter immigration of Jews from Europe who expect little improvement in their political and social status there. More than half of the entire population of Jews was situated in the present war zone.

When the first Jews came to what is now New York, 216 years ago, they were permitted to remain on the condition "that the poor among them shall not become a burden to the community but be supported by their won nation."

The condition has been faithfully lived up to. Even today all the city departments interlock to inform the Jewish relief centers of Jewish sufferers. The unfortunates are promptly and well taken care of by a series of Jewish relief institutions.

The United States today is a real haven for Zionism. There is a glittering circle of Jewish intellectuals who command the attention of the whole nation. Jewish—but Americans of the first water.

Mr. Henry Morgenthau, one of the most distinguished of our diplomatic corps, performed secret service in Turkey while Ambassador that was sufficient to materially temper certain views held in Washington in regards to Kaiserlich. Upon Mr. Morgenthau's return to the United States he was promptly dispatched to France and Spain on a secret mission. His wife wears the cross of the Legion of Honor for distinguished service to the French republic. Both today head various relief movements, not of Gentiles and for Hebrews. (Ed.: bolded and *underlined by Ara K. Manoogian)*

Nathan Strauss, of New York, is one of the most prominent Jews in New York today. The lives of millions of babies are said to have been saved as a direct result of the work of the milk reform which Mr. Strauss started in New York City in 1892, and which has now spread throughout this country and Europe.

In New York City alone during the first 22 years of the work, his milk depots distributed 35,000,000 bottles and 18,000,000 glasses of milk at the rate of one cent each. He cut the death rate of children under five years in

New York City from 126 in every thousand to only 64.

Outside of these home philanthropies his greatest interest lay in heling the inhabitants of Holy Land. He spent a quarter of a million dollars establishing soup kitchens, an anti-rabies institute, a public health board, and other benefactions in Jerusalem, and planned the thorough modernization of that city.

The Rev. Dr. Stephen S. Wise, rabbi of the Free Synagogue, is a rigid iconoclast for political purity. In every campaign in New York for any office Dr. Wise performs political and social research and publishes his opinion which affect a great portion of the electorate.

A year and a day later, *The Messenger-Inquirer*, in Owensboro, KY, reported, on January 21, 1919, on page 4, of what Morgenthau thought was the only solution to the ongoing problem with the Turks and their failure to govern:

CARVE UP TURKEY

Henry Morgenthau, former American ambassador of Turkey, and who has made an exhaustive study of the Turkish subject, is an stating that "Turkey is not reformable. Her vitality is exhausted. She is not sick; she has just disintegrated and passed away. The skeleton may still make some motions, but it is only the wind that is moving the limbs. There is no heart left through which the red blood of humanity can flow."

The Turkish empire has for centuries been the menace of the East. It has never made a forward step in the matter of amelioration of the condition of the subjects or of the outside assistance under the mistaken idea of forming a balance of power. The century, under his scheme, would be partitioned into smaller homogeneous districts, so that the people could govern themselves. Of this matter of Mohammedan rule over Christians, he says:

"Turkish Mohammedan rule over Christian people must cease. These old nations now under Turkish misrule, must have their rights restored."

Likewise he is equally emphatic about the freedom of the Dardanelles: "The Dardanelles must remain open and unfortified," he said. "they are the great waterway between Asia and Africa and are as vital to commerce as the mouth of the Mississippi."

This will be one of the important questions that will engage the attention of the to-be-formed league of nations.

As stated in the beginning of this chapter, Henry Morgenthau played a very big role in the successful election of President Woodrow Wilson. Those whose support Morgenthau had secured for this task were wealthy bankers. Quite possibly, the bankers had secured the help of Morgenthau. Two of these bankers were not members or supporters of the party that Woodrow Wilson represented. They were supported the party of the popular incumbent Republican President, William Howard Taft. Those two bankers were from the firm of Kuhn, Loeb & Co., namely, Paul Warburg and Jacob H. Schiff. On the

flip side and in support of the incumbent, also from Kuhn, Loeb & Co., was Felix Warburg. In order to secure Wilson's victory, a plan was implemented where the Republican ex-president Theodore Roosevelt 'threw his hat into the ring.' He ran as a third-party candidate, the "Bull Moose." Roosevelt was financed by Otto Hermann Kahn of Kuhn, Loeb & Co. The end the result was that the Republican vote was split and the weaker candidate won the election.[70]

As a thank you, President Wilson signed into law the Federal Reserve Act, that which Taft refused to support. In the end, Wilson signed the Federal Reserve Act, on December 23, 1913, as an early Christmas gift to the bankers of Kuhn, Loeb & Co. Henry Morgenthau appears to have been a part of this deception. On March 15, 1914, *The Messenger-Inquirer*, Owensboro, KY, had a front-page news announcing:



"Henry Morgenthau, who was secretary of the National Democratic committee, and who, it is said, is to be recalled from his present post of United States ambassador to Turkey to accept a place on the Federal reserve board or the appointment as chairman of the board of control of the reserve bank at New York. Either of these positions will be considered one of high honors."

Although Morgenthau would never realize these posistions of high honor, his son, Henry Morgenthau Jr., would serve secretary of the Treasury from January 1, 1934, to July 22, 1945. Under the provisions of the original Federal Reserve Act, the Treasury Secretary was also ex-officio chairman of the Federal Reserve Board. This ex-officio membership ended on February 1, 1936, as a result of the Banking Act of 1935, which changed the makeup of the Board.[71]

70 Mullins, Eustace (2014) The Secrets of the Federal Reserve, pp. 28-29

71 https://www.federalreservehistory.org/people/henry_morgenthau_jr

Chapter 14

Presenting the Armenian Case

After World War I ended in 1918, in which the Turks were defeated, the peace talks were in progress. Having declared independence on May 28, 1918, as a result of the fall of the Russian Empire, the Democratic Republic of Armenia was in a vulnerable state. The new government dominated by the ARF had failed to build a properly equipped military force with the 150,000 Armenian officers and soldiers that had been serving in the Russian Empire. Before the October Revolution of 1917, Russia had agreed to unofficially send these troops home in such a way as to hide that fact from other newly independent countries that might demand the return of their own citizens. However, at one point the flow of Armenian military from Russia stopped, because of the new Bolshevik leadership. By that time, only 35,000 had made it to Armenia.

Besides the regular army, Armenia also had a 10,000-strong volunteer force. For the territory controlled by Armenia, 45,000 troops were far too few to repel the Turkish army, whom the Allies had failed to disarm. With every passing day, the Turks were organizing and planning their return to power. With this impending threat, the Armenians turned to the U.S. with request for needed protection in the interim, until a final peace agreement could be signed.

On September 27, 1919, The United States Senate Subcommittee on Foreign Relations began a two-week long hearing to discuss Senate Joint Resolution 106 for the maintenance of peace in Armenia.

> [S. J. Res. 106, Sixty-sixth Congress, first session.]
>
> JOINT RESOLUTION For the maintenance of peace in Armenia.
>
> Whereas the withdrawal of the British troops from the Caucasus and Armenia will leave the Armenian people helpless against the
>
> attacks of the Kurds and the Turks, and whereas the American people are deeply and sincerely sympathetic with the aspirations
>
> of the Armenian people for liberty and peace and progress: Therefore be it
>
> *Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That in the opinion of the Senate, Armenia (including the six vilayets of Turkish Armenia and Cilicia), Russian Armenia, and the northern part of the Province of Azerbaijan and Trebizond, should be independent, and that it is the hope of the Senate that the peace conference will make arrangements for helping Armenia to establish an independent republic.

Sec. 2. That the President of the United States is hereby authorized to use such military and naval forces of the United States as in his opinion may seem expedient for the maintenance of peace and tranquility in Armenia until the settlement of the affairs of that country has been completed by treaty between the nations.

Sec. 3. That the President is hereby authorized to suspend the foreign enlistment act to the extent necessary to enable Armenians in the United States to raise money and arm and equip themselves as an armed force to go to the aid of their countrymen in Asia Minor.

Sec. 4. There is hereby appropriated out of any moneys in the Treasury not other-wise appropriated the sum of $---to enable the President to execute the foregoing resolution.

The first witness to testify was Miran Sevasly (1864-1935), a practicing lawyer and Chairman of the Armenian National Union in the United States. He was born in Smyrna, on July 10, 1864, and immigrated to the United States in May of 1908 after receiving his legal education at the University of Aix, France.



Miran Sevasly

Sevasly was credited for his role in raising 10,000 Armenian residents in the United States to fight on the Turkish front in the Armenian Legion of the allied army. In 1922, King George II of Greece made him a Knight of the Golden Cross for saving refugees from the Smyrna conflagration.

Mr. Sevasly presented the Armenian case and answered questions, which was recorded by the stenographer as follows:

Mr. SEVASLY. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, will you permit me to thank you for the opportunity you have given the Armenians, or the American citizens of Armenian birth, to appear before you and state briefly their case on behalf of the Armenian people, toward whom we know this great Republic entertains much genuine sympathy.

I should not care, perhaps, to go into any detail on the political aspects of the Armenian question. I shall not speak, except by referring to it, of the question of the mandate which I know is exercising the minds of many American citizens. I shall not even refer at any length to the future status of Armenia, or to the political frontiers of Armenia, because these I consider matters that will have to be disposed of by the peace conference. I will only refer just by way of parenthesis to the service the Armenians have rendered during this last war which entitle them to be considered as belligerents. They have contributed more than 100,000 men to the Russian army, and

that army has been sent to the front in Poland, where it fought with the Russians against the Central Powers.

Senator WILLIAMS. Those were Russian Armenians?

Mr. SEVASLY. Russian Armenians. In the second place, the Armenians. have held the Caucasian front against the Russians for more than a year, and thus helped England to bring about their success in their Mesopotamian campaign against Turkey. Were it not for the fact that the Armenians have held the Caucasian front, England would not so easily have brought that campaign to such a successful conclusion.

Senator WILLIAMS. Or the Mesopotamian campaign?

Mr. SEVASLY. Yes.

Senator WILLIAMS. Or the Palestine campaign, either?

Mr. SEVASLY. Or the Palestine campaign. Lord Cecil testified to that in an official document which he sent some time ago to the president of the Armenian delegation in Paris.

Senator WILLIAMS. Gen. Allenby also recognizes that fact.

Mr. SEVASLY. Yes, sir. The Armenians have not only done that, but they have contributed to the forces that have fought in the Holy Land and in Syria against Turkey. Also from this country about 2,000 volunteers went to the front, thanks to the labors of the Armenian National Union; 2,000 volunteers went from here to fight in Palestine, and they did fight valiantly, and they decided the battle in favor of the Allies against the Turks, and it was the result of that battle that enabled the Allies to conquer Syria and to take Jerusalem, and opened the way to Armenia and Cilicia. But they have done more. One thousand Armenian volunteers went to the French front and fought gallantly on the plains of Picardy and Champagne, and of those 1,000 men hardly 50 have survived. To say after all this that the Armenians should not be considered as belligerents and should not be entitled to the same consideration as the Arabs or the King of Hedjaz is, I respectfully submit, a misnomer.

Senator WILLIAMS. Who. has been contending for that?

Mr. SEVASLY. Well

Senator WILLIAMS. Go ahead with your own statement.

Mr. SEVASLY. It is not only that, gentlemen, but the Armenians have lost 1,000,000 men because they have refused to side with the Turkish barbarian. An alliance was offered to them. They were told that if they sided with the Turks they would be given everything, but they refused it completely, and at a convention held at Erzeroum on the eve of this war, in 1914, the Armenians refused to side with, the Turks. These considerations are so well known to you, as the distinguished Senator opposite has so well testified, that I thought it was un-necessary to dilate upon this situation.

Now, another situation, which it was thought was very unfair to the Armenians, was the terms of the armistice with Turkey. Turkey was allowed

practically to be in control of the Armenian provinces.

Senator WILLIAMS. Well, upon that, let it be stated that the United States was not a party to that armistice, because she was not at war with Turkey.

Mr. SEVASLY. Well, the situation now is this, that in this part of the country, in Cilicia, the Armenians have gone in there, there has been a gradual influx of Armenians into that country, and as the English and French have some troops there, and as the country is contiguous to the sea, there is more safety there, and I am glad to say there are some 200,000 Armenians now who are inhabiting that country, and normal conditions are being restored.

Senator WILLIAMS. That is southwestern Armenia.

Mr. SEVASLY. Yes, sir.

Senator WILLIAMS. On the Mediterranean litoral; Alexandretta and neighboring towns. A sufficient force of French and other Allies are there at this time to maintain order and to protect the inhabitants, that is what you mean?

Mr. SEVASLY. Yes. Normal conditions are being restored, the stores are being opened, and after this troubled situation, and the deportation of Armenians and massacres, now they are gradually picking up; and they have two daily papers in the city of Adana, and that shows their recuperative powers.

Now, the country between Cilicia and the Caucasus here [indicating on map] has been very much depleted. There has been a very large depletion of the Armenian population by reason of deportations and massacres. That is the part of the country that has suffered most, I think. I do not like to exaggerate numbers, but I think about 750,000 Armenians have actually disappeared—have died from deportations or massacres.

Senator WILLIAMS. You mean the country between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea in northeastern Armenia That is what you are referring to now V

Mr. SEVASLY. Yes; from here to this part [indicating on map].

Senator WILLIAMS. Up along southeast of the Black Sea, you indicate?

Mr. SEVASLY. Yes.

Senator HARDING. You say 750,000 Armenians have disappeared?

Mr. SEVASLY. At least that many.

Senator HARDING. Do you know relatively the number massacred?

Mr. MALCOM. By the number massacred, do you mean those who have died by massacre, or those who have died from deportations and everything else

Senator HARDING. Suppose we use the term that covers both.

Mr. MALCOM. According to the last report—

Senator WILLIAMS. To get this plain, I would like to ask a few questions.

Senator HARDING. Well, Senator, I have asked Mr. Sevasly a question and he has not answered it.

Senator WILLIAMS. I did not hear it. Excuse me.

Senator HARDING. I want to know the number of those who have Buffered through the mistreatment of the Turks.

Mr. SEVASLY. The reports that we have from there, through travelers who have come from there, and from our ambassador, Mr. Morgenthau, and others, is that at least 800,000 Armenians have disappeared, either by massacre or by famine, and being deported across the desert, and it is a question whether in that part of the country there are—I do not know, but I do not think that the number is more than 100,000 of Armenians left in central Armenia.

Senator HARDING. Let us clear that a little bit. You say there have disappeared 800,000 from a section in which only 80,000 are left. Do I understand you aright?

Mr. SEVASLY. No; I say all told, whether you take Cilicia or whether you take all Armenia, the total number of Armenians who have died from massacres or deportation or from famine is not less than 800,000.

Senator WILLIAMS. Or from being sent out into the desert?

Mr. SEVASLY. We have reports from the missions and from our State Department, the consular reports, and all of these reports corroborate the statement I am-giving you. It would be a long detail to give it to you.

Senator WILLIAMS. I am afraid you and the chairman do not understand one another. Let me ask you a few questions. How many Armenians have been killed during the war on the Flanders front, in the Caucasus, in Palestine, and everywhere else, as far as you know?

Mr. SEVASLY. Fighting men?

Senator WILLIAMS. Yes; fighting men.

Mr. SEVASLY. The fighting men killed in France are about 950. I do not know exactly what the numbers are in Palestine; but I will state that they are about 2,000.

Senator WILLIAMS. In Mesopotamia were there any?

Mr. SEVASLY. No.

Senator WILLIAMS. How many were killed in the Caucasus fighting against the Turks, either of Russian Armenians or Turkish Armenians?

Mr. SEVASLY. I would say not less than 35,000.

Senator WILLIAMS. How many Armenians were massacred, deported into the desert, or elsewhere, during the war?

Mr. SEVASLY. During the war I may say that two-thirds or three-fourths of the population of central Armenia, of the six provinces and Cilicia, have been deported, and not only from there but from parts of Turkish territory that do not come within the so-called provinces of Armenia.

Senator WILLIAMS. I understand. In the seaport. towns, upon the littoral, there was a population mainly Greek or Turkish, but containing many Armenians; and there were some of them in Constantinople. Now, all of these men, women, and children who were subjected to what is called "the white death," who were stripped and despoiled and turned loose in the desert without food—upon the desert or el where—what figures have you go that you can give the committee in regard to that?

Mr. SEVASLY. I thought that was a question which had already been thrashed out, and practically the consensus of opinion had been made. I have not got any details here, but there is a memorial of the delegation of integral Armenia which refers to them. I shall leave a copy of that with you.

Senator WILLIAMS. Find the place, so that the stenographer can copy it in his report.

Senator HARDING. Is this information covered in the documents you want to file?

Mr. MALCOM. No.

Senator WILLIAMS. I want to get those things separate from one another.

Mr. MALCOM. We can furnish memoranda on that, if you wish it.

Mr. SEVASLY. I can furnish you a memorandum at any time you like.

Senator WILLIAMS. Very well; give it to the stenographer. Now, let me ask this question: Give us a historical and chronological narrative as well as you can of what has happened since the armistice in the way of actual warfare and the destruction of life and property in Turkish Armenia.

Mr. SEVASLY. Well, I would like to say that of the population of Armenia, about half a million took refuge in the Caucasus. I would like to refer to that because it is very important. Half a million of those Armenians escaped these massacres and deportations, and went into the adjoining country and took refuge in the Caucasus, where they are now, and one of the great problems we have is to enable these people to come back to their country and settle, and they will not go there to settle now because there is no security, because the Turks have organized a large army of 30,000 or 40,000 men at Erzeroum, and are bent upon attacking those immigrants who left Armenia and who should come back there for the purpose of

reconstructing the country, with the Armenians in the Trans-Caucasus.

Senator WILLIAMS. I understand that. I understand that the Georgians to some extent, as well as the Turks, have been attacking the Armenians lately. My question is this: I wish you would state now—and if you can not, give subsequently to the stenographer a statement—as accurately as you can concerning the history of the attacks upon the Armenians since the armistice was signed, and give the number of lives destroyed, of men, women and children, and the amount of property destroyed. If you can not give it now

Mr. SEVASLY. I do not think I can supply a detailed report now, but the situation is this, that the Turks have not disbanded their army that the Turks are all armed and the Armenians are not armed; that the Turks have got an army of about 30,000 or 40,000 men, which is against the very stipulations of the armistice terms, and that they are bent upon attacking, and in fact they have started to attack, according to the telegrams which were published yesterday, the Armenians who have migrated from Turkish Armenia into Russian Armenia, and whose repatriation is necessary for the reconstruction of the country. That is a very important fact. And there have been partial massacres at a place in Russian Armenia, called Karabagh, against which the Armenians protested, there being a protest by the Catholicos, the primate of the Armenians, to the English general who was in the Caucasus, a formal protest, corroborated by the protest of the Armenian Patriarch at Constantinople, and of the Armenian Government of Erivan. There were partial massacres at Aleppo a few months ago, and we had daily reports in the Armenian papers in Constantinople of the state of unrest and want of security throughout this country.

Senator WILLIAMS. That is not the point I am trying to get. The British have withdrawn their forces?

Mr. SEVASLY. They are withdrawing them.

Senator WILLIAMS. And I am informed that there has been a new massacre of Armenians, many of them retreating across into Persia, together with the British and American citizens or subjects that happened to be there. But the object of my last question is to find out, if you know—or if you do not just say that you do not— the number of Armenians, according to the best information you have, who have been massacred in the late attacks of the Turks, Georgians and Kurds since the British troops have been withdrawn, or during the re-treat of the British troops.

Mr. SEVASLY. The reports are that about 600 Armenians have been massacred in the district of Karabagh. Now, I do not know whether the British troops have already withdrawn, but I am perfectly sure that they are withdrawing, and that they are withdrawing from Batoum. They had troops along the railroad line from Batoum to Tiflis and along the railroad line to Bakou, down in the large oil center.

Senator WILLIAMS. As a matter of fact, they have withdrawn except for a garrison at Batoum and a garrison at Bakou, to protect the future

withdrawal which has not yet been completed. They have withdrawn the protection from the line of railroad between the two places.

Mr. SEVASLY. We say this, that it would be necessary to keep that line, because it is the only line through which relief can go into Armenia, and we have that relief work there. Col. Haskins has gone there, and before Col. Haskins, Mr. Hoover sent men under Capt. Abraham Tulin, and he came back a month ago, and I have had frequent conversations with him on the situation of the country, and what he says refers to the future management or protectorate by America. He says that if America will accept the protectorate it would not be necessary to have more than 10,000 to 20,000 troops for the protection of the country; that all those bugaboos about that part of the country being a sort of Mexico in disguise are ill founded; that it is not so; that the prestige of America, with a few troops there, would be ample to keep the peace, to see that Armenia is safeguarded or protected during the reconstruction period.

Senator WILLIAMS. I would like to ask you this question: Suppose America should send a small force there and invite the principal allied and associated powers to join her; is it your opinion or not that an international force could be organized, with such reinforcement as the native Armenians could give, that could enforce peace in the territory?

Mr. SEVASLY. I think so, Senator.

Senator WILLIAMS. You are not an expert, of course, on military affairs, so that you are no judge of how many troops would be necessary.

Mr. SEVASLY. No, sir; I am simply repeating what this captain told me. I am not a military man, at all.

Senator WILLIAMS. If the United States Senate passed a resolution similar to this, what in your opinion would be the moral effect upon Turkey and upon these people who are now trying to exterminate the Armenian race in order to put an end to the Armenian question?

Mr. SEVASLY. Among English-speaking men it is said it would act like magic on the whole of the East, up-on the whole of the eastern world. Once they know out there that the eagle is soaring around Ararat there will be no trouble whatever.

Senator WILLIAMS. You think, then, that the moral effect of the passage of the resolution, even if not a soldier or marine was ever sent, would be great; that the prestige would be very valuable in the preservation of the Armenian race?

Mr. SEVASLY. The moral effect will be great; but a few soldiers would—

Senator HARDING. Would add to the moral effect?

Mr. SEVASLY. Yes; I mean it would be the outer sign that this thing, that this paper, is not printed matter alone, but that it has—

Senator HARDING. Punch to it?

Mr. SEVASLY. Yes; punch to it. I do not know that I am putting my case properly.

Senator WILLIAMS. Go ahead with your statement.

Mr. SEVASLY. Now, there is the question of relief which is very important out here. If no troops came there, the relief work would be very difficult. I believe Col. Haskins was at Erivan, which is a small Armenian republic. The Armenians there organized a small republic there, having their seat at Erivan. That is in Russian Armenia.

Senator HARDING. I wanted to ask you this: Suppose the Armenians were free from the menace of massacre and warfare, have they food and supplies sufficient to undertake the work of reconstruction?

Mr. SEVASLY. They need help just like the populations of other states, of Serbia and other countries, need the help of others.

Senator WILLIAMS. In that connection, Mr. Chairman, Batoum is upon the Black Sea?

Mr. SEVASLY. Yes.

Senator WILLIAMS. That is held by the entente, by the allied forces?

Mr. SEVASLY. England has possession there.

Senator WILLIAMS. That is a seaport?

Mr. SEVASLY. Yes.

Senator WILLIAMS. That is also one of the termini of the railroad that runs from the Black Sea to the Caspi-an?

Mr. SEVASLY. Yes.

Senator WILLIAMS. So that if that country was to be supplied it would have to be supplied through Batoum?

Mr. SEVASLY. Yes, sir.

Senator WILLIAMS. It could not be well supplied through the Mediterranean over the railroad?

Mr. SEVASLY. The railroad is not completed through there, and the country there is mountainous and rugged.

Senator WILLIAMS. Yes. I am talking about the trans-Caucasian Armenia Russian and Turkish Armenia. That country could not be supplied except through Batoum? It could not be supplied through the Mediterranean from Alexandretta or another port, because of lack of railroad facilities?

Mr. SEVASLY. Yes, sir.

Senator WILLIAMS. There is a railroad there to the Caspian at Bakou. Wherever it runs, it does run across there?

Mr. MALCOLM. Yes.

Senator WILLIAMS. So that the entrepot or the depot for the distribution of supplies now is through the Black Sea?

Mr. SEVASLY. Yes.

Senator WILLIAMS. And the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, and from Russia?

Mr. SEVASLY. Yes.

Senator WILLIAMS. So that the French occupation of Alexandretta and the Mediterranean littoral does not relieve this situation?

Mr. SEVASLY. No, sir.

Senator WILLIAMS. That is what I wanted to get at.

Mr. SEVASLY. No, sir. In the first place we were told that the French had sent an army of 10,000 or 12,000 men. In fact, I made representations to the State Department on the subject, and I was told about a fortnight ago that the French had sent 12,000 men, and it made a wrong impression on me, as I understood that the 12,000 men sent by France were to replace the Britishers who were going to withdraw from the Caucasus.

Senator HARDING. Yes.

Mr. SEVASLY. Now, we had some reason to believe that that information was not altogether correct—I mean, the way I put it to you. It seems the French are sending soldiers, but they are not sending them to the Caucasus. They are sending them to cover the territory—

Senator HARDING. Which is French?

Mr. SEVASLY. No; to cover the territory which comes within the pale of the secret treaties of 1916 [SEE APENDIX ##].

Senator HARDING. Within the French sphere of influence?

Mr. SEVASLY. Yes.

Senator WILLIAMS. Can you tell me the distance, approximately or accurately, or if you can get it, put it in the record later, from Alexandretta to Batoum?

Mr. SEVASLY. I have not got it handy now.

Senator WILLIAMS. And also the distance from Alexandretta to Bakou. My object is to show that if the French troops had Alexandretta it could not be of any preventive force in connection with the massacres that have been going on.

Mr. SEVASLY. The papers and telegrams say that the French intend to cover the territory as far as Mardin; that is south of Armenia. There is a straight line from Alexandretta to Mardine [indicating on map]. Well, it will have this effect, that the people will think that the French are coming up that way. But it is a far cry from Mardine to the trans-Caucasus.

Senator HARDING. Proceed. Our time is slipping by.

Mr. SEVASLY. Yes. I beg the committee to take into consideration the pressing need of protecting the Armenians in the trans-Caucasus. If the British troops are withdrawing, there is an army that the Turks have organized, the north. The stock of ammunitions the Armenians the is being exhausted, of and after such a protracted war and ordeals, these people need to be protected. Supposing this league of nations goes through to-morrow, unless some one of the great powers accepts the responsibility to constitute the. Armenian State, there will be no Armenians left to make it.

Senator WILLIAMS. The Armenian question will be settled by the extermination of their race?

Mr. SEVASLY. Yes. There has been great evidence of progressive tendencies of this historic race; but I am not going to dilate on their past history, which is known to you. The Armenians have appealed to the country long ago. I remember presenting a memorial to the State Department long before the league of nations was on the tapis, and America accepted 75 years ago the moral mandate by sending your missionaries and educational workers, and opening up schools and colleges. We are not going to close this way, now.

Senator WILLIAMS. That is not involved in this. This is merely to maintain peace until the treaty.

Senator HARDING. You would hardly argue that that is ground for assuming a mandatory? Because under those circumstances we would be mandatories over all the earth. We have our missionaries everywhere.

Mr. SEVASLY. I would not say that it is ground, alone, but it is an issue that is of moral value.

Senator HARDING. I wanted to ask you a specific question. In his resolution, Senator Williams has a provision authorizing the President to suspend the foreign enlistment act, as to enable the Armenians in this country to raise and arm and equip troops here.

Mr. SEVASLY. I fully indorse that.

Senator HARDING. How much of a military force do you think that. the Americans of Armenian origin, or the nonnaturalized Armenians, in this country, could raise?

Mr. SEVASLY. Well, I am not a good statistician.

Mr. GULESIAN. Eight or ten thousand.

Mr. SEVASLY. I should say from seven to ten thousand men, we could get. I know many Americans who have said they were perfectly willing to go out there and serve. I think if you passed the resolution it would be a very good thing to pass. They will be able to get these quarters and organize a unit in this country, and that would prevent America from having to send her own soldiers there later on.

Senator NEW. Would the force of Armenians be sufficient—Armenians, I mean, that you could raise in this country; would that force be

sufficient—to meet the military needs of this situation?

Mr. GULESIAN. Practically, altogether.

Mr. SEVASLY. If we raise a unit here it will take some months before this unit is prepared: We have in this country an Armenian general, and there is another of the greatest Armenian generals, Gen. Antranik, who is coming here for this purpose, in order to give effect to section 3 of the resolution. We have a man who has been trained at the military school in Paris, who I believe is here, in Washington to-day, and he will submit the plans. He and the other generals who are coming over will submit the plans to the State Department showing how this plan can be carried out.

Senator NEW. Have you any idea how much of a military, force would be necessary there? I know you said you were not a military man, and that you were not qualified to speak definitely on that subject, but have you any kind of an estimate? Would it take 15,000 or 30,000 or 50,000?

Mr. SEVASLY. I will say what this American captain told me, the gentleman who was sent by Mr. Hoover to Armenia in charge of relief work—

Mr. SEVASLY. He told me he did not think more than 20,000 were needed for it. Of course, I can not speak with authority of that.

Senator WILLIAMS. Let me ask you this question. Whatever might be the force the Armenians could raise in the United States, would there not be a pretty large force now in the French and British Armies and in our own Army that would be very glad, if released, to cooperate with the force raised here to go to Armenia, in behalf of their own people?

Mr. SEVASLY. I think that meets the situation, too. But we applied some months ago—in April last I sent this memorandum to the State Department on this very subject—and I made a suggestion in the way that the honorable Senator spoke of, that the Armenians who are now in the American Army should be engaged in this.

Senator HARDING. There are a lot of them in the French and British Armies, too, as separate units.

Mr. SEVASLY. Yes; as separate units. We think that if we can send from here an organized body of 10,000 to 15,000 men, it may be that there would be a conjunction of Americans; and there is already in Silesia an Armenian legion, to which I referred in the beginning of my address. With this Armenian legion and the nucleus of the Armenian Army in the Caucasus, which is now ill supplied with munitions, we could very easily form within a comparatively short period the nucleus of an Armenian Army in whose hands will be placed the duty of the protection of the State against all intruders.

Senator HARDING. Have you anything else?

Mr. SEVASLY. No, sir.



Moses H. Gulesian

The next to testify was Moses H. Gulesian (1863-1951), a native of Armenia, born on February 18, 1863, to Serkes and Margaret Gulesian of Maresh, Armenia. At the age of 18, the young Gulesian, a trained coppersmith who worked for himself had saved 18 Turkish pounds (about $75), left home without telling his parents who he knew would object to his departure to the United States. Arriving in Alexandretta the port he was to sail from, he wrote home telling his parents of his plan. His father attempted to stop him by telegraphing the authorities to have him detained in Smyrna, money taken from him, and ordered to return home. Fortunately for him, his negotiating skills helped him talk his father into returning his money and his freedom. On May 4, 1883, with one Turkish pound, (which no one would exchange for food) and not knowing a single word in English he sailed into New York harbor. His first home when he arrived was the Bowery Mission at 227 Bowery, New York, NY. The young immigrant, like many Armenians given a chance to prosper, in a short period of time established himself as a model American. With hard work, determination and going to night school to learn English, he soon became a millionaire thanks to his dealings in manufacturing and real estate. During the Armenian massacres of 1894 to 1896, because of his wealth, he was able to bring his entire extended family of 23 people who escaped with just the clothes on their backs to the United States. He turned the top floor of his 6-story factory into a refuge for Armenians fleeing to the U.S., sometimes having as many as 200 people at a time living there. He provided them with language classes, vocational training, and guidance to adapt to their new country.

He was credited for saving the American naval frigate Constitution, a.k.a. Old Ironside, in 1905.[72] This act of patriotism won him an invitation to be the first immigrant to join The Sons of Liberty (est. 1765).

His wealth was also well known to Armenian Revolutionaries, from whom Gulesian had received a postcard, sent from New York, in July of 1907. It stated: "My Brother We today have killed H. S. Tavashanjian [Hoannes S. Tavashanjian was a New York rug importer] and next Monday will kill you. You are a millionaire and you give nothing to our party. Believe me you die." It was signed Committee on Revolution.[73]

In December of 1913, one of Gulesian's buildings that housed a hotel caught fire and 28 men lost their lives. Since Mr. Gulesian had ignored orders

72 "Saving 'Old Ironside'" (Traverse City Record Eagle; Traverse City, MI, January 10, 1952), p. 4

73 "Boston Merchant Threatened." (The Washington Post; Washington, D.C., July 25, 1907), p. 1

to erect fire escapes, Mr. Gulesian stated that he had not done so as he thought his building was one of the safest in Boston. And besides, had been equipped, he claimed, many of the victims, who 'went there at all hours, most of them intoxicated and many carrying whisky bottles,' would not have been able to escape anyway.[74]

In Mr. Gulesian's testimony, he proposed that the United States grant American-Armenians the right to volunteer and form a military force that could defend Armenia. He went on to describe Armenia as a virgin country in need of becoming modernized and could be a profitable market for Americans to sell farming equipment and machinery of all kinds. He added that modernization was lacking because the Turks did not allow it. He said: "You will see hundreds of men and women in the wheat fields today taking the sickle in the hand and reaping, just the same as you will see a man in this country clean up the edge of a lawn." When asked about the mineral deposits, he agreed with Senator Williams that Armenia had iron, coal, copper and petroleum. He also told of copper and gold mines at the foot of Mount Ararat which has never been developed in any way, which with moral support from the U.S., Armenia 'will gain a great deal financially, and have the everlasting blessing and prayers of the poor, suffering Armenians.' He added: "I do not believe that you gentlemen, or the United States Senate, will turn your backs. There are many good men in it. I trust them."

The next witness was M. Vartan Malcom, born September 12, 1883, in Siva, Armenia, by the name of Melcom V. Melconian. He immigrated to the United States on September 23, 1896, becoming a citizen on October 8, 1906. There is no record of his parents coming to the United States, nor is there any mention of them or their names in any public records. It is possible that he came to the United States after becoming orphaned in the 1894-1896 Armenian massacres. He attended public school in Chicopee, Mass., then Amherst College, and finally Harvard Law School. Malcom was general counsel in New York City of a well-known liability insurance company and of many of the leading Armenian merchants. At the time of testifying to the Subcommittee on Foreign Relations, Mr. Malcom had just published a book titled "The Armenians in America."



Vartan Malcom

Mr. Melcom started his testimony with a question regarding the Armenian territories that were believed to be a part of Azerbaijan. These issues had been discussed between Senator Williams and Mr. Gulesian.

74 "Ignored Order to Erect Fire Escape" (Trenton Evening Times (Trenton, NJ, December 5, 1913) p. 12

> [Mr. MALCOM] Mr. Chairman and gentlemen: A question was asked about Azerbaijan. The northern part of this Province is inhabited wholly by Armenians (indicating on map). The southern portion, which is now a part of Persia, is inhabited by some Armenians and also other races, including Tartars. The Armenians claim this northern section only (indicating on map) because the principal race there is Armenian.
>
> [Senator WILLIAMS] Then this ought to be amended to include— no; Senator Lodge has got it right. He says, "the northern part of. the Province of Azerbaijan," and so forth.
>
> [Mr. MALCOM] Yes.

Malcom went on to present his findings from his research for his book about Armenians in America to show how the Armenian immigrants in America had contributed far more than other ethnic immigrant groups. He presented charts to the committee showing that Armenians arrived in the U.S with more money and useful talents than any other race. He showed that Armenians before the war were the top wage earners in the Ottoman Empire, with the most professional and skilled laborers and the least non-skilled laborers. As for immigrants to the United States, Armenians topped the list of those who could read and write (92.1%) vs. the Portuguese, who ranked the lowest (47.5%). And then in terms of those immigrants in industries able to speak English, Armenians once again topped the list at 82.9 vs. Polish at 50.6%. In Mr. Malcom's study on the number of immigrant children in the public schools (which in those day was not common among immigrants who were busy scrapping out a living), the Armenians once again topped the list at 4% of those examined. The Greeks at .046%, with the Ruthenians at .035% and coming in last were the Croatians at .015%. As for housing, the Armenians were the ones living in the largest homes and paying the highest rent with the least number of occupants. The Serbians had houses just a little larger than the Armenians, but were paying less rent and had almost twice as many people living in them. As for those races who become American citizens, when measuring the number of immigrants in the manufacturing and mining industries, once again Armenians topped the list. The study showed 58.2% of Armenians vs. 3.7% of Greeks at the other end of the scale.

Malcon then spoke of the possible investment opportunities in the field of mining in Armenia:

> [Mr. MALCOM] Now, with regard to the mines, there are some valuable mines, and I might add that about 1909 **Kuhn, Loeb & Co., of New York [Jacob H. Schiff],** sent a special commission to study these mines in Armenia. I happened to be in Constantinople at that time, and **Mr. Chester**, who was the representative of this concern, proposed to the Turks to build certain lines of railroad throughout Armenia—I am referring to Turkish Armenia—provided this company would be permitted to use the mines on each side of the railroad for a number of years, at the end of which the railroad would be returned to the Government. I am referring to this as an important fact, for the reason that a great concern like **Kuhn, Loeb & Co.,** which are interested in investing its money, made a special study of

the mines and natural resources of Armenia and they were willing to invest a large sum of money to develop the country if the Turkish Government would let them do it. In connection with this subject I will read some extracts from a memorandum pre-pared by G. H. Paelian, secretary of the Armenian Engineers Association, in regard to the natural resources, etc., of Armenia. [Reading:]

There are many forests in the country, mainly in the northwest of Mersina, Hajin, Dersim, Arghana-Maden, and the Taurus and Amanus Mountains.

As regards mineral resources, according to Consul General Cr. Bie Ravendal, of Constantinople, "It may be truthfully asserted that Turkey is exceedingly rich in valuable minerals, and that its mineral wealth has hardly vet been touched." This has also been the testimony of English and German explorers. Its chief mineral products are:

Coal, found mainly in the region of Kharpout, Palu, Sivas, Keumur Khan (coal region), Chemeshgazak, in the mountains of Armenia, and at the foothills of the Taurus Mountains.

Copper mines at Arghana-Maden, near Diarbeldr, are regarded to be some of the largest and most produc-tive in the world. The production is limited to black copper, which amounts to approximately 1,500 tons during the last few years, containing 70 to 75 per cent pure copper. Copper ore is also found at the hinterland of Trebizond (Gumish Khanah, Herasund, Karahissar, etc.), all in the districts of Kharpout and Adana.

Iron ore is found near Van and in the Adana region (the output of which is 40,000 tons per year); also in Bigghar Dagh and Beirut Dagh, in the vicinity of Zeitoun.

Chrome mines are near Mersina, the output of which was 1,800 tons in 1900. There are others near Alexandretta, etc.

Silver mines at Bulghar Maden produce annually 57,200 lab of silver and 400 tons of silver lead. Silver is also found near Adana and Kharpout (Kebban Maden), near Gumush Khanah, etc.

The estimated output of zinc in 1911 from mines of an Anglo-French concern operating in the Mersina region was 2,000 tons.

Salt is abundant in Armenia. The mines at Sivas, Erzeroum, and Van yield a large output annually.

Other mineral products are emery, found in Adana; asphalt, on the Euphrates; gold at Bulghar Dagh, near Kharpout, and Van.

Lead at Bulghar Dash; platinum on the shores of the Choruk River and in Sasoun; petroleum near Trebizond and east of Lake of Van, etc.

For industrial development Armenia possesses all the requisites—raw material and power. It has large area of mineral wells, coal, and a considerable amount of water power (the power for the electric lighting of Tarsus is secured from the Cydnus River); but in the hands of the Turks the

country still remains practically un-exploited.

Armenia is a wheat-growing country and old-fashioned flour mills are common everywhere, although modern hydraulic power mills equipped with modern machinery—two in Mertina, three in Tarsus, several in Sivas, etc.—have been installed.

Cicilia is the center of the cotton industry. In 1913 there were 35 cotton ginning plants and four cotton spin-ning and weaving mills in Adana and Mersina, one in Tarsus, one in Trebizond, and one in Arabkir for the manufacture of "manousa" (home-spun dress goods).

The rug industry is being carried on in Caesaria, Sivas (500 looms, 1,500 operatives), Adana and Kharpout (170 looms, 500 operatives).

There are five ice factories in Adana, two in Mersina, two in Tarsus, and one in Trebizond.

There are tanneries in Aintab, Marash, Sivas, and many other cities, also soap factories.

Besides the above, silk and wool weaving, hand embroidery, making of ornamental weapons, copper vessels, leather goods, shawls, silver and gold thread laces, wine, olive oil, etc., are common industries in Armenia.

Armenia, or in fact the whole of the prewar Turkish Empire, has been considered a field with great potentialities for the European and American manufacturers. Many capitalists saw great possibilities for commercial and industrial enterprises, and had applied for numerous concessions for the construction of railways, electric plants, telephones docks, warehouses, etc. But in spite of all their efforts progress was exceedingly slow. The principal causes for this were the rivalry of the powers to secure control of Turkey and the corrupt Turkish Government

In Mr. Malcom's testimony, he added the importance of recognizing Armenian's independence because of a possible treat from France and England, with their desires to take control of parts of Armenia:

[Mr. MALCOM] It seems to me, further, that the recognition of Armenia as an independent State by the United States may help to prevent the distribution of the integral Armenia among the powers. It is quite apparent to me at least, that under the secret treaties of 1916, to which England, France and Russia were parties, they are going to divide up Armenia unless we keep it intact by recognizing its independence, and furthermore

[Senator WILLIAMS] By the way, that treaty has been canceled by the defection of Russia.

[Mr. MALCOM] Is it, or will France and England—

[Senator WILLIAMS] And also canceled by France. France, in the conference at Paris, waived and surrendered its rights under that convention.

[Mr. MALCOM] Was that put in writing, or was it simply an oral statement?

[Senator WILLIAMS] I do not remember—I never did know, rather, go that I can not say I do not remember; but I am perfectly sure that France has waived that right. Whether she did it in writing or in the conference, or whether she did that by Clemanceau's waiver before the conference, I do not know; but it has been waived.

[Mr. MALCOM] We Armenians—

[Senator WILLIAMS You are talking about a convention whereby Alexanderetta and the littoral there—

[Mr. MALCOM] The littoral was given to France.

[Senator WILLIAMS] (continuing). Were to go to France; yes.

Mr. MALCOM. Yes.

[Senator WILLIAMS] That has all been set aside.

[Mr. MALCOM] Russian Armenia to Russia?

[Senator WILLIAMS] Yes.

[Mr. MALCOM] And Armenia bordering on Mesopotamia, to England.

[Senator WILLIAMS] Russia's part of it was vacated by her defection to the enemy, and France's part was voluntarily waived. France may be seeking a mandate, but not anything else.

[Mr. MALCOM] The point I desire to call to the attention of the committee is this, that even if that is so—that is, if there is some understanding that France and England have given up their rights under this treaty, even if that is so—it seems to me that the recognition of integral Armenia as an independent state would—

[Senator WILLIAMS] That would strengthen it?

[Mr. MALCOM] It would strengthen the understanding. Moreover, an independent, free State of Armenia in this section of the world will be a safeguard, it seems to me, to the future peace of the world. The Armenians have for centuries fought for political liberty and independence. They want to be free. Now, if something turns up and parts of Armenia are under different mandates or under "spheres of influence" between Russia, Italy, Greece, or England, or France, there will be a division of Armenian territory and population, which is unnatural. This division will never satisfy the Armenians. By recognizing the independence of Armenia as a whole the United States will certainly bring about a united Armenia, and at least help to prevent future troubles.

[Senator WILLIAMS] I quite agree with you about that; but so far as the division of Armenia itself into separate mandates is concerned, it is my opinion, and I suppose it is yours, that France and England and Italy and Greece are all very anxious that the United States should take over the mandate—they are more than willing to have her do it—until Armenia is put upon her feet. However, that question is not involved in these resolutions

at all.

[Senator HARDING] You are speaking of the aspirations of Armenia. In view of that fact, I want to ask you, would the people of Armenia, prefer recognition as an integral State under their own policies of self-determination to any mandatory as proposed in the treaty?

[Mr. MALCOM] No; I would say, speaking for myself, that the Armenians would prefer a mandatory, under the present circumstances.

[Senator WILLIAMS] For a limited period?

[Mr. MALCOM] For a limited period.

Mr. Malcom then gave what he might have thought was a strong argument for the United States to take the mandate over Armenia, which knowing what we know now about the U.S. and their interests in the Armenian territories, most especially the 1/6th of the accessible world's oil resources, this claim of statement of Mr. Malcom might have helped decide the fate of taking or not taking the mandate:

[Mr. MALCOM] I think, from all our information on this side, England and France and Italy and Greece all want the United States to take the mandate of Armenia, because it is best for the Armenians and because it will prevent any of these European powers getting it and thereby gaining an advantage over the others.

Senator NEW. Suppose a mandatory was accepted either by France or Italy, would it not work out the same results to Armenia that would be brought about by the acceptance of a mandate by the United States?

[Mr. MALCOM] No.

[Senator NEW] Why not? That is what I want to know.

[Mr. MALCOM] In the first place, neither Italy nor France is financially and economically able to help the Armenians. They have not got sufficient for themselves.

The second reason is that England and France and Italy—in fact all these European powers—have for years made a football out of Armenia. For these reasons the mandate of the United States is the best mandate for Armenia. America is wealthier; it is disinterested. By taking it over it will wipe out a cause for intrigues between the powers at the expense of the Armenians. Moreover, **under American protection or care many Armenians will go back to Armenia with their American experience and their wealth.**

[Senator NEW] Mr. Chairman, I think that this is a very important phase of this question, and I would like very much indeed to pursue it myself, further, but I have got to ask to be excused now. I must be on the floor at 12 o'clock.

[Senator WILLIAMS] So far as this resolution is concerned, all of this recent testimony and discussion is irrelevant. There is no question involved here of a mandatory.

[Senator NEW] Yes, but for general reasons I would like to pursue this inquiry if I could; but I must go now.

[Senator WILLIAMS] Is not the chief reason why the Armenians would prefer a mandate of the United States, rather than of any of the others, because the United States would be the only altruistic power that would consider solely the interests of the Armenians?

[Mr. MALCOM] That is what I wanted to say; but I have said it in a different way.

[Senator HARDING] Now, to revert to the inquiry. You have just spoken, probably because of your native interest in Armenia-

[Mr. MALCOM] Yes.

[Senator HARDING] (continuing). Of the desirability of an American mandatory from the Armenian view-point. You are an American citizen?

[Mr. MALCOM] I am.

[Senator HARDING] I want to ask you what you think of the mandatory from the viewpoint of an American?

[Mr. MALCOM] I will give you a very frank answer, Senator Harding.

[Senator HARDING] Very well.

[Mr. MALCOM] I should say that the United States is in honor bound to help Armenia to get on her feet, whether it assumes that obligation under the word "mandate" or something else, because the war is not at an end yet; the treaties have not been signed and ratified; and the Armenians being belligerents in fact and having sacrificed much blood to defeat Germany and her associate, Turkey, are entitled to help. I feel that legally the United States is bound to send some help to them and to do something for them until the status of Armenia is finally settled. Other than that I have no opinion as to whether or not the United States should take any mandatory. But speaking for myself, and as an American citizen—and not having in view the service of the Armenians in the war and their present plight—I believe the United States should respond with some help. I came to the United States in my youth. I received all my education here and I feel just as much an American as anyone. As an American I feel in my heart that the United States should at this crisis give the Armenians a hand. America is in honor bound to do it. And I say this because I have talked with native Americans who for the last two or three years have been working in Armenia. I have met there Americans of the Yankee type; I have heard many of them say to me that they feel that America should do something for Armenia. And there is a legal as well as a moral justification for this. The war is not at an end; the treaties have not been signed; the Armenians are still fighting and we should take some step to protect them with the British and the French.

[Senator WILLIAMS] Until their status is settled?

[Mr. MALCOM] Until their status is settled.

Mr. Malcom ended his testimony and submitted a memorandum of support to be added to the record which read:

(The memorandum referred to is here printed in full in the record as follows:)

MEMORANDUM BY THE ARMENIAN NATIONAL UNION OF AMERICA.

Armenian National Union of America,
Washington, D. C., September 27, 1919

Hon. HENRY CABOT LODGE,
Chairman Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

DEAR SIR: On behalf of the Armenian National Union of America, which represents Armenians and American citizens of Armenian origin now residing in the United States, I beg to submit herewith a memorandum in support of Senate resolution 38, of which you are the author, and of Senate joint resolution 106, of which Senator John Sharp Williams is the author.

Cordially, yours,

M. Vartan Melcom.

I.

There is established precedent in support of Senator Lodge's resolution favoring the recognition of integral Armenia as an independent state. Poland, Ukrainia, Finland, Czecho-Slovak Republic, and the Kingdom of Hedjaz, which, before the war, were under the domination of other Governments, have been officially and semiofficially recognized as independent states. In the case of Finland, Poland, and Ukrainia no objection was raised against the formation of these new countries, although they previously formed a part of the Russian Empire, one of the Allies. The example of the Kingdom of Hedjaz is even more pertinent. Here was a piece of territory that belonged to Turkey, against which the United States was not at war, and yet the United States has virtually recognized the independence of this Arab kingdom by permitting its representatives to sign the treaty of peace with Germany upon equal basis with that of the United States and other allied and associated nations.

II.

The recognition of integral Armenia as an independent state by the United States will prevent the division of Armenia among European powers. It is apparent that under the secret treaty of 1916, to which England, France, and Russia are parties, Armenia was to have been divided between these powers, without, of course, consulting the wishes of the Armenians. The provisions of this treaty violates the principle enunciated by the

President and incorporated into the treaty. with Germany, viz: "Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached the stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a mandatory until such times as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the mandatory." Senator Lodge's resolution, therefore, carries out the provisions of the quoted paragraph and at the same time gives notice to the world that this country will not acquiesce in bartering the rights and liberties of smaller nations to satisfy the imperialistic ambitions of European powers.

III.

The independence of integral Armenia is a necessary safeguard for the future peace of the world. The Armenians will never be satisfied until they have regained the independence of their country as a whole. No people can live happily and in peace if their population and country is divided up against their will. It is a foregone conclusion that the divisions of Armenia into "spheres of influence" will be a sure cause for war. Thus in recognizing the independence and territorial boundaries of Armenia the United States will help to create a united Armenia and materially aid to prevent future wars.

Moreover, the peace of the Near East necessitates the creation of a state which shall perform the part that Switzerland is now playing in the heart of Europe. Armenia will be an element of order and equilibrium in that part of the world. The Armenians will check the spread of Pan-Turananism from Constantinople to India, and will arrest the spread of Bolshevism from Russia to the Mediterranean. They will serve the highest interests of civilization and peace and progress in the Near East. America, therefore, by espousing the Armenian cause will be laying the foundation of a permanent peace throughout the world.

IV.

Armenia's contributions in the present war entitle her to independence. From the beginning of the war these people refused offers from the enemy and threw in their lot on the side of the Allies. Over 150,000 of them served on the eastern front with Russia. After the Russian collapse the Armenians, single handed, resisted the Turko-German advance towards Baku in the Caucasus. By keeping Turks fighting in the Caucasus region, according to Lord Cecil, they helped the success of the British campaign in Mesopotamia and Syria. In France only one-tenth of the Armenians who joined the "Legion Etrangers," returned alive. Over 8,000 Armenians, mostly volunteers from the United States, fought in Palestine under Gen. Allenby, who has credited them with valor and glory. When the United States entered the war, hundreds of Armenians in this country volunteered and thousands were drafted and many of these died on the field of battle. "The Armenians have therefore been belligerents. Their losses due to the

war, which exceed a million (out of a nation of four and a half million souls) are proportionately much heavier than those of any other belligerent."

V.

The Armenians need immediate assistance or else over two million of them now concentrated within a small area in the northern part of Armenia are in danger of annihilation. Senator Williams's resolution which authorizes the use of the naval and military forces of the United States to help protect the Armenians is urgent, and the United States, as well as France, England and Italy are duty bound to give her assistance. The war is not ended. None of the treaties have been fully ratified, and this small assistance should be given to the Armenians as a part and continuation of war work. In the hour of need Armenia did her utmost for the Allies, and the United States with her allies is now honor bound to send help to her until the war has been actually settled, and her status and rights determined.

VI.

Whatever troops or warships the President may deem sufficient to send will not be for fighting purposes, but merely for a steadying effect. The United States need not contribute over 10,000 soldiers to assist England and France, whose troops are already on the spot, to protect the Armenians. Americans are not going there to fight. They are going there merely for effect. It is impossible to depict with words the great influence the United States exercises in the Near East. All the natives—both Turks and Christians—regard Americans with a certain reverential awe and respect which is difficult to describe. During the last four years hundreds of Americans have traversed the length and breadth of Armenia to help the refugees and not one has ever been molested. Small detachments of British and French troops (both at war with Turkey) have quietly occupied parts of Turkey, and no attempt has ever been made to oust them. The fact is that the Turks themselves have lost and suffered so terribly during the war that they will welcome allied occupation. The United States is regarded as absolutely disinterested and altruistic and her presence will be the guiding factor to calm the fears of the natives and keep peace. Moreover, it must be born in mind that the military power of Turkey is practically null, although sufficiently strong enough to do harm to the defenseless Armenians. Constantinople, the seat of the Ottoman Government, is occupied by the Allies; Smyrna is in the hands of the Greeks; Cilicia is protected by British and French troops. All the territories lying south of the Armenian border, that is, Mesopotamia, Arabia and Persia, are under British control. Thus the whole of Asia Minor is practically in the hands of the Allies of the United States. This is a fact which strongly refutes the possibility of any fighting and loss of life in this region.

Respectfully submitted on behalf of the Armenian National Union of

America.

M. VARTAN MALCOM.

Washington, D. C., September 27, 1919.

Over the 2 weeks that followed, there were 3 more days of hearings ending on October 10, 1919. The case for the Armenians was very well presented with some of the top leaders of the Armenian community in America and Armenia itself testifying. In addition to this, letters of support to the Armenian case were presented and added to the record. The whole transcript can be found in Appendix V of this book.

After waiting for 7 months and the conditions in Armenia going from bad to worse, the United States Senate passed Senate Resolution 359 which read as follows:

U.S. Senate Resolution 359
May 11, 1920

66th Congress

2nd Session

S. RES. 359. [Senate Resolution 359]

In the Senate of the United States

May 11, 1920

Mr. Harding, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, reported the following resolution; which was ordered to be placed on the calendar.

May 11 (calendar day, May 13), 1920.

Considered and agreed to.

Resolution

Whereas the testimony adduced at the hearings conducted by the subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations have clearly established the truth of the reported massacres and other atrocities form which the Armenian people have suffered; and

Whereas the people of the United States are deeply impressed by the deplorable conditions insecurity, starvation, and misery now prevalent in Armenia; and

Whereas the independence of the Republic of Armenia has been duly recognized by the supreme council of the peace conference and by the Government of the United States of America: Therefore be it

Resolved, That a sincere congratulations of the Senate of the United States are hereby extended to the people of Armenia on the recognition of the independence of the Republic of Armenia, without prejudice respecting the territorial boundaries involved; and be it further

Resolved, That the Senate of the United States hereby expresses the hope that stable government, proper protection of individual liberties and rights, and the full realization of nationalistic aspirations may soon be attained by the Armenian people; and be it further

Resolved, That in order to afford necessary protection for the lives and property of citizens of the United States at the Port of Batum and along the

line of the railroad leading to Baku, the President hereby requests, if not incompatible with the public interest, to cause a United States warship and a force of marines to be dispatched to such port with instruction to marines to disembark and protect American lives and property.

May 11 (calendar day, May 13), 1920. — Considered and agreed to.

In the end, the U.S not only failed to take the mandate over Armenia, but also to allow Armenians gather up a volunteer force from among Armenians living in the U.S., which would have perhaps been the tipping point between Armenia defending its independence over what has been recorded in history as the loss of Wilsonian Armenia to the Turks, while the rest of Armenia fell into the hands of the Bolsheviks.



Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations - 1919: John Sharp Williams (1854-1932); Claude A. Swanson (1862-1939); Gilbert M. Hitchcock (1859-1934); Henry Cabot Lodge, Chairman (1850-1924); Porter J. McCumber (1858-1933); Key Pittman (1872-1940); Frank B. Brandegee (1864-1924); Warren G. Harding (1865-1923).

Chapter 15

One Man Armenian Lobby

One of the prominent champions of the Armenian Question was Vahan Cardashian (1883-1934). Born in Caesarea (modern-day Kayseri), he moved to the United states in 1902 and attended Yale Universality Law School from 1904 to 1908.

Cardashian wrote six lectures regarding the Armenian Question and presented them to the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences in 1908. *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle* newspaper wrote about it on September 5, 1908:

> **The Ottoman Empire.**
>
> Under this title Vahan Cardashian, an Armenian, discussed The Ottoman Empire and the Eastern Question, Armenia and its people. It is a little book on a big subject, and a substantial part of the volume is made up of six lectures the author prepared to deliver before he Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences.
>
> At the outset, Mr. Cardashian disclaims any ulterior motive in the execution of his little work. He does not speak as a representative of any society or association, disbelieving in any movement which conflicts with the public peace and morals. "I have probably departed from the usual policy of a foreign writer on the subject, in that I have spared no nation or person in praise or condemnation as deserved, and have not yielded to the temptation of justifying this or that cabinet or party." The inherent barbarity of the Turk, as well as his good qualities, are discussed with equal frankness, and the author attempts to show the perfidious and Chauvinistic character of the diplomacy of Europe in dealing with the Eastern Question.
>
> Turkey, he believes, can never be reformed from within, but only by application of foreign force, and points to the fact that no Mohammedan ruler has ever established a civilized system of government. "Do you want to reform Turkey? Take her away from the Turks."
>
> This little work will help many to a brief understanding of Turkish history, and of conditions in that country to-day, and presents in condensed form all that the average reader need know of the Eastern Question. (J. B. Lyon Company, Albany)

In 1911, at the outbreak of the Italo-Turkish War (1911-1912), Cardashian left his private practice as a New York City lawyer to become the consul of the Turkish Embassy and consulate general to the United States.

Cardashian's crowning achievement for his service to Turkey was the

Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco, which opened on April 30, 1915. Cardashian was responsible for building a pavilion, which housed one million-dollar worth of Turkish rugs, rare paintings, and beautiful brass works.[74]

On October 13, 1915, *The San Francisco Chronicle* ran a story about Cardashian facing death should he return to Turkey.

San Francisco Chronicle – October 13, 1915 – page 1

Adjutant Commissioner of Turkey Not Safe in Own Country

Director of Exhibits Says Cardashian Would be Hanged by Leaders in the War



If Vahan Cardashian, Turkish exposition adjutant high commissioner, returned to Constantinople now his friends, Talaat Bey and Enver Pasha, the ringleaders of the war, would hang him at the head of Galata bridge, George Atiyah, director of Turkish exhibits, said last night at a dinner in Cardashian's honor.

The event was given in the Turkish pavilion by exhibitors and attaches. Cardashian was presented with an engraved gold watch. Maurice A. Hall, Turkish Consul-General, and Director Frank L. Brown of the exposition attended.

Cardashian, he said spent $75,000 of his own money on the exhibit when the conditional appropriation of $150,000 made by the Turkish Prime Minister was withheld after the war broke out.

Atiyeh explained his reference to Cardashian's danger by saying that Turkish leaders were executing intelligent men now as part of the war programme.

San Francisco Chronicle – December 14, 1915 – page 1

Turkish Exhibit of Rugs Being Sold

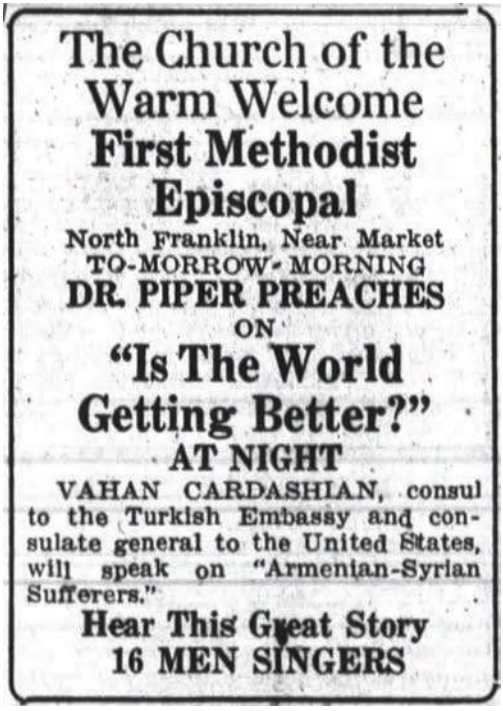
Commissioner Cardashian Issues a Formal Statement in Matter

Vahan Cardashian, Adjutant High Commissioner of Turkey to the exposition, yesterday issues the following statement:

74 TURKEY TO OPEN UNIQUE PAVILION (San Francisco Chronicle, San Francisco, CA, February 12, 1914) p.6

"The high commission of Turkey to the Panama-Pacific International Exposition was nominated by the Cabinet and confirmed by an imperial decree. The direction of al the affairs of the high commission was entrusted absolutely to the adjutant high commissioner. The collection of the exhibits, consisting largely of rugs, was a purely official act, and enjoyed the unqualified sanction and approval of the imperial Government.

"This collection constituted the official exhibits of the Turkish Government. During the entire life of the exposition it was exhibited in the pavilion of Turkey and was awarded a grand prize, the highest award, as the official exhibits of Turkey. Now, at my direction, as the Adjutant High Commissioner of Turkey to the exposition, this collection is being sold at public auction at St. Francis Hotel."


The Church of the Warm Welcome
First Methodist Episcopal
North Franklin, Near Market
TO-MORROW MORNING
DR. PIPER PREACHES
ON
"Is The World Getting Better?"
AT NIGHT
VAHAN CARDASHIAN, consul to the Turkish Embassy and consulate general to the United States, will speak on "Armenian-Syrian Sufferers."
Hear This Great Story
16 MEN SINGERS

The Wilkes Barre Record newspaper
Saturday Decmber 15, 1917

At the end of the war, Cardashian founded the American Committee for the Independence of Armenia (ACIA). Thanks to his diplomatic connections he made while representing Turkey in the United States, he was able to gain the support of many prominent politicians, community leaders, and famous personalities who joined the board of the ACIA.

The main mission of the ACIA was to bring official recognition of the newly independent Armenian republic and to gain much needed support from the United States. This came in the form described in the previous chapter. The Committee was also responsible for a number of forums, in which the board members presented evidence to gain support from the public at large in order to put pressure on Washington to help Armenia in every possible way.

Cardashian also authored many articles to keep the Armenian Question alive in the United States. His articles were usually a response to pro-Turkish propaganda and misinformation. Some of his articles, he pointed at people behind the Armenian Genocide, be they Turks or non-Turkish supporters. In later articles, when it became clear that the United States not only refused to support the Armenian cause, but also worked against it, Cardashian became

very critical of the government. The following are news articles reflecting the activities of Cardashian and the ACIA.

Norwich Bulletin (Norwich , Conn.) – June 3, 1919 – Page 1

PROTESTS U.S. MANDATE FOR CONSTANTINOPLE

New York, June 2.—Vahan Cardashian, spokesman, in America for the determination of integral Armenia, issued a statement today protesting against the proposal that the United States accepts a joint mandate for Armenia, Anatolia and Constantinople. Mr. Cardashian characterized such a plan as a proposal that the butcher and sheep should be asked to lie down together.

Grand Forks Herald (Grand Forks, M.D.) – June 24, 1920 – page 1

ARMENIANS CLAIM RIGHT TO PROVINCE

New York, June 24.—Vahan Cardashian of the American committee for the independence of Armenia takes issue with the recent statement of Damad Ferid Pasha, premier of Turkey and brother-in-law of the sultan, as cabled from Constantinople. The Turkish premier stated that the provinces of Van, Bitlis and Mosul, said to be claimed by the Armenians, have only 5 per cent of Armenians and that the leaders of the Turkish nationalist movement were not really Turks, but adventurers from other countries. Concerning this, Mr. Cardashian says:

"We do not claim Mosul. That is part of Mesopotamia. In the provinces of Van, Bitlis and Erzerum there was in 1914, a Turk and Kurd population of 551,000 as against 581,000 Armenians. Today, there is a Turk and Kurd population of only 96,000 in those three provinces and possibly 4,000 to 5,000 Armenians. But there are 286,000 Armenians from these provinces who have taken refuge within the boundaries of the Armenian republic. And also over 75,000 Armenians from these provinces are to be found in other contiguous regions.

"Mustafa Kemal (Turkish nationalist leader) whom the Grand Vizier presents as a Jew, was born a Turk and his parents were from Saloniko and were Deunmes, what is converts, as were the parents of Talat and Djavid. Rustem, whom he presents as a Pole, is of Polish extraction as Enver. He is Moslem, was the Turkish ambassador in Washington in 1913 and was the director of Turkish propaganda during the great war. Fuad, I do not know who he is. But the majority of the Turks are of foreign extraction. Of the 33 Grand Viziers up to 1909 seventeen were of foreign extraction.

The Hartford Courant Sun – February 23, 1921 – Page 10

AN ARMENIAN VIEW.

Vahan Cardashian of New York, whose name suggest Armenian birth or parentage, has distributed a pamphlet entitled, "Wilson—Wrecker of Armenia," in which he holds that the outgoing president of this country is largely responsible for Armenia's present plight and he describes Armenia as ranking next (at least) to the most distressful country.

Mr. Cardashian says that when the Sèvres treaty gave Smyrna and Thrace to Greece France and Italy, became aroused at the expansion of Greek and British influence in Constantinople and near Asia and set themselves to the work of bringing about a revision of the treaty at any cost. With the knowledge of their respective governments French and Italian nationalist kept the Turkish nationalist movement alive and lrance, as a means of destroying the rise of Armenian claims to Cilicia, withheld from the Armenians arms and munition for self defense and forcibly demobilized their fighting armies, as a result of which 20,000 Armenians were slaughtered in Marash and Hadjin.

France and Italy stopped the Greeks from conducting further hostilities against Kemal which gave him a chance to turn his attention to the Armenians while Italian ships took his troops to the Armenian front. In September of last year, Turkish troops were able to attack the Armenian republic over a 500 mile front and not a word of encouragement came to Armenia from the Allies.

Armenia soon lay prostrate and at this juncture the league in session at Geneva—we quote from the pamphlet—"as a remains of relieving Armenian from the disaster which had overwhelmed her, with incredible naïveté addresses itself to the President of the United States and asked him to mediate between Turks and the Armenians to ascertain from Kemal how much and what kind of bribe he would accept to clear out of Armenia."

Mr. Cardashian writes:—

Yet it is clear as one studies the situation which has arisen during the past year and a half that even with the omissions and commissions of the Allied governments and of the Soviet government of Russia—the ugly greeds, the secret intrigues, the hypocritical pretensions – still Armenia could have been saved from destruction had the United States government frankly and unequivocally shouldered the full measure of the moral responsibility in respect of Armenia. Why did it not do so? What lies at the bottom of the tergiversation of the American policy towards Armenia? There is a sinister element here that is not clear. It is time that it was brought to light.

Mr. Cardashian goes on to say that the pro-Armenian element in this country is centered in the churches and, for information and guidance, depends upon the missionaries and the misfortunes of the Armenian s have furnished the missionaries with an opportunity to collect for the recent and the "evangelization" of the Armenians who have been Christians for 17 centuries. Then he adds this—

It is evident that form the point of view of missionary interest, it is essential that the Armenians remain rather a suffering Christian people under Ottoman persecution than that an independent, Christian Armenian state be established which would, of necessity require no further relief or "evangelization" by American missionaries.

If one asks where Mr. Wilson comes in he is answered as follows:—

It is this missionary element that has been the chief adviser and counsellor of President Wilson and which he guided his American policy. It was this element which prevented the declaration of war against Turkey by the United States, a situation which has so tied the hands of Washington in the dealings with the Allied Powers touching the Near East. IT was this element which pushed the President to demand firs the acceptance of the American mandate for the whole of Turkey and second for an Armenian to consist largely of Turkish Armenia, even against the overwhelming sentiments of the American people against a mandate for Armenia, and of the Armenian people against a separation of Armenia into two sections. They are not advocating the abandonment of the Armenian Republic and it's 2,000,000 Armenian inhabitants and the setting up of a makeshift government in four provinces of Turkish Armenia, where there are now less than 50,000 Armenians, and where no more than 1,000,000 Armenians can be brought together. Under such an arrangement, the Armenians would, of course, be in the power of the Turks and the missionaries; they would be easy to proselyte, and always poor, and more or less depended upon American relief organizations for life itself.

The President, Mr. Cardashian writes, had the opportunity to help Armenia but he did not and declined to adopt any remedial measure, except in connection with and as a means of promoting his own pet project, the league of nations. He made the Armenian case a football of politics. The President, he writes, never told the Armenians nor the Powers that Armenia should no longer look to America for relief but led them to believe that he would do something. Everybody waited on him and he let things drag until Armenia succumbed to the criminal negligence, duplicity and hate of six civilized and uncivilized nations.

This is the indictment which Mr. Cardashian brings against Mr. Wilson and he closes by expressing the hope that the American people, under the leadership of the new President will not fail to respond to the call of Armenia.

Hartford Courant Sun – April 6, 1924 – Page 10

REJECTS LAUSANNE PACT, SAYS GERARD

Armenia and U.S. Rights

Sold for Chester Grant He Asserts

KEMALISTS DECLARED TO BE ON LAST LEGS

Treaty Wrongly Assumes Turks Are Civilized, Declares Prof. Hart.

New York, April 5.—Calling upon the Senate to reject the Lausanne treaty, James W. Gerard, former ambassador to Germany, declared before the foreign policy association today that the state department had sold the cause of Armenia and American rights in Turkey for the Chester oil concessions.

"I will put to Secretary Hughes two pertinent question," Mr. Gerard said.

"Why did he take so active and vigorous a part in behalf of the Chester oil concessions, even at the risk of forcing resumption of hostilities, and why does he now deny that he has had anything to do with it?"

Why did he request General Goethals to accept the presidency of the Chester Company, and in what capacity did he direct the reorganization of that company?"

Retreat alleged.

"Secretary Hughes made a hurried and inglorious retreat from the position which he took in December, 1922. He accepted the Turkish views on the capitulations and upon the Armenian case. In other words, in surrendered to the Turks the rights which he claimed for American nationals and for Armenia before the granting of that concession. Obviously he went to Lausanne fully prepared to make any and all sacrifices to cinch this oil concession, and he betrayed Christian Armenia and his own country to attain his purpose."

Referring to the Kemalist government, Mr. Gerard said:

"The Kemalist regime is on its last legs. Fractional armed conflicts, widespread banditry and hopeless economic chaos seriously threatened Kemal's regime. The establishment of the 'republic' and abolition of the Caliphate in a country of illiterate, primitive and fanatical peasants are eloquent proofs of the instability of Kemal's government. Kemal is not removing, as is alleged by some superficial observers, hindrances from the path of progress, but he is in reality resorting to desperate measures to get rid of his opponents."

Sees Kemal's Downfall.

America stands to gain nothing by resuming relations with Turkey in this state, Mr. Gerard asserted. "The downfall of Kemal is inevitable and imminent. By now surrendering our rights to him we shall find it difficult to reassert them against any regime which may overthrow and succeed him. We can well afford to wait."

Professor Albert Bushnell Hart of Harvard, in a letter sent to the meeting, said the fundamental trouble with Lausanne treaty was that it assumed that "the so-called republic of Turkey is a modern civilized nation."

No Faith In Turkey.

"There is no assurance that the Turks who authorized the signature of the treaty will carry out any provision that hereafter may seem inconvenient," Professor Hart's letter continued. "The Turks have been making the same kind of promises of good behavior and protection to the foreigner and recognition of the rights of minorities for more than a hundred years and they have never observed one of those pledges."

Albert W. Staub, American director of the near east colleges, favored the ratification of treaty and maintained that the Turks had made sufficient progress during recent years to justify the confidence of the United States.

The Detroit Free Press – April 13, 1928 – Page 6

ARMENIAN AND MR. CARDASHIAN

The activities of Vashian Cardashian, an Armenian propagandist operating from New York city, are not unfamiliar to readers of these columns. From him the executives of the so-called American Committee Opposed to the Lausanne Treaty have been wont to take their inspiration in attacks on the Turkish policy of the American government.

But Mr. Cardashian isn't content to direct the anti-administration effort of men like Bishop Manning and former Ambassador Gerard. The other day he wrote a letter to Senator Borah, chairman of the senate foreign relations committee, in which he says that "two members of the President's cabinet" and their confederates in the state department "bartered the Armenian case" at the Lausanne conference. The price, we are told, was a share of Mosul oil.

It is seldom that a foreign agitator displays such impudence, but in Mr. Cardashian's case it is unfortunately true that well-meaning, though misguided Americans, were partly responsible. They emboldened him to make baseless charges against their own government in a spirit and in a language which no other country would tolerate for a moment. Mr. Borah has an opportunity to bring the fellow to account by forcing him to come across with names and facts. Meanwhile Mr. Cardashian seems to be too stupid to realize that the Armenian case never was an American cause—also, that with sponsors of his type to uphold it in this country it can only win popular hostility. The best friends of Armenia ought to see what they can do to silence his crusade of insults and invective.

With the failures of the United State government, Cardashian continued

his one man crusade to keep the Armenian Question and the crimes committed by Turkey in the public eye. In 1929, Cardashian sues Turkey.

The Brooklyn Daily Eagle – July 10, 1929 – Page 5

New York Man Sues Turkey for $20,000

Washington, July 10.—Vahan Cardashian of New York City instituted suit yesterday in the District Supreme Court for $20,000 damages against the Turkish Government. He alleged that he had not been paid for legal services rendered from 1909 to 1914.

In asking the court to inquire into his claim and determine the amount due him, Cardaskhian declared that when the Senate declined to agree to ratification of the Lausanne Treaty he had been deprived of his rights to make his claim within the jurisdiction of Turkish tribunals.

On July 12, 1934, at the age of 51, Vahan Cardashian, the one man Armenian lobbying organization that sounded the alarm, fought for the rights of the Armenian people, and pointed out those who betrayed the Armenian people, had a heart attack and died.

The Brooklyn Daily Eagle – July 13, 1929 – Page13

Vahan Cardashian

Vahan Cardashain, lawyer and prominent for many years as the champion of Armenian liberty in this country, died of heart disease yesterday at his home, 359 W. 129th St., Manhattan. He served as counselor and statistician of the Ottoman Chamber of Commerce in America from 1910 to 1914 and was counsel to the Turkish Consulate General in New York. In 1913 he was Turkey's fiscal agent in this country and in 1914 was Adjutant High Commissioner of Turkey to the Panama-Pacific Exposition. As a lecturer he had spoken before the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, Yale University and the American Academy of Political and Social Science. He was the author of a number of books on the Near East Question. His mother, a sister and a brother survive him.

Vahan Cardashian had devoted the last 20 years of his life to the Armenian people and their fight for justice. Prior to this struggle for justice, Cardashian was a successful attorney.

In 1913, one of Cardashian's clients was none other than Colby M. Chester and the newly formed Ottoman-American Exploration Company (OAEC). Cardashian was hired to represent the OAEC in negotiating with the Ottoman government for the Chester Concessions.

James W. Colt, Chester's man on the ground in the Ottoman Empire,

who had been working towards obtaining the concessions since 1908 for the recently dissolved Ottoman-American Development Company, wrote letters to J.V. MacMurray and Secretary of State, William Jennings Bryan, telling them of the newly formed OAEC and asking that the Department instruct the American Embassy to assure the Ottoman Government of the Department's favorable attitude towards the OAEC and its individual members. The OAEC's representative, Mr. Cardashian, was in Turkey conducting negotiations with Turkish officials and an assurance from the American Embassy as to the legitimacy of the OAEC, would be helpful in securing the concessions.[75]

75 Colt to MacMurray and to Bryan, July 1, 1913; Philips to Bryan, August 14, 1913, DS 867.602 Ot 81/183 and 155.

Chapter 16

British Spies

Prior to the Armenian Genocide of 1915-1923, the British had planted, in the Ottoman Empire, a number of spies who lived adventurous but short lives.

Three of these spies not only witnessed the Armenian Genocide, but in, to a certain extent, helped the Young Turks carry out their sinister intentions.

They are: Thomas Edward Lawrence (1888-1935). Aubrey Nigel Henry Herbert (1880-1923), a.k.a. Ben Kendim; G. Ward Price (1886-1961), war correspondent of the Daily Mail.

Thomas Edward Lawrence (1888-1935)

One of the most famous and well-known of the British spies was Thomas Edward Lawrence (1888-1935). He was an archaeologist, military officer, diplomat, and writer. His work, based on his wartime activities was made into a 1962 Hollywood movie titled *Lawrence of Arabia*.

Lawrence was present at the Paris Peace Conference that began on January 18, 1919. Lincoln Steffens (1866-1936), a New York-based reporter, sought him out for an interview, which he described as 'the queerest' he had ever had in all his interviewing life. As a prominent diplomat, his opinions expressed in this interview do reflect the general inclinations of the British foreign policy, as far as the Near East is concerned.

I discovered this interview in the October 14, 1931, issue of *Outlook and Independent* magazine, which I was able to obtain and share the entire interview in this chapter:

Armenians Are Impossible

An Interview with Lawrence of Arabia

By Lincoln Steffens

(OUTLOOK AND INDEPENDENT – October 14, 1931)

Lincoln Steffens describes his interview with Lawrence of Arabia as "the queerest I ever had in all my interviewing life." Apparently the man who helped create the Kingdom of lrak remained as mysterious in intimate conversation as he

did in the press reports of his political activities. "I offer the curiosity," writes Mr. Steffens, "as I wrote it at the time [in Paris during the Peace Conference in 1919] and I'll have to leave it to those who read it to guess what it's all about, if anything"

It was in his room, at his hotel, but I had asked for it, and my purpose was to learn from this Imperial pioneer something about the practical politics of Asia Minor and the Near East. And I thought I was directing the course of the conversation. It only occurred to me afterwards, with some shock, that he also had had a purpose, and that his purpose was to load me up with British propaganda for the American mandate over the Armenians. That was what I found I had. Other things, too, but I was amazed and not a little humiliated to discover that I had chiefly reasons—reason which appealed to me, a self-determinist in theory—why we Americans should go halfway around the world to take charge of the Armenians and not only save them from the Turks, Greeks, French, Italians, British and themselves, but, somehow, to save ourselves from ourselves and them.



He said, for example, that the Armenians were "the last word in human impossibility." They correspond, as a race, with "the last man" in academic debate. To an underdog fancier like me, the undermost dog among nations had, and it has, an irresistible fascination. And I said so.

English humor is not like ours. It's the opposite. American humor consists, in part, at least, in what is said; the British in what a Britisher doesn't say. This Briton obviously liked heartily what I said. I thought he was going to laugh with joyor something; he swelled up till he looked like the British Empire; as if about to burst. But he didn't burst; he didn't laugh; he didn't say anything that showed the slightest sign of humor. All he said, after a long pause, was:

"Righto."

And then, after another pause, when he had recovered his self-determination, he spoke seriously, rather dully, in fact, of our American idealism. He thought it fine; I thought he thought it a bit too fine. We Americans were too idealistic.

And he thought the Armenians too practical. We were correctives, the one on the other, therefore; we were a cure for them, they for us; both desperate cases, especially the Armenians.

I gathered that he had some inexpressible sympathy or—let me rather say—some knowledge or experience of the Armenians that gave him a human understanding for the Turks (and all the other near neighbors of the Armenians), who are forever trying to kill off this orphan race. He seemed to think that was the only thing to do to the Armenians. He didn't say so. You may observe that I do not quote this authority very freely. The reason is that his method was, apparently, not to say anything himself, but to get me to say the things he wished to have printed in such a form that he could, if necessary, deny them. So he did not say that the Armenians should all be killed off. He only gave me the impression, at the time, that that was the sole solution of the Armenian problem; and that that was his reason for desiring us Americans to take on the job.

He felt, or he made me feel, that the Turks shouldn't do it; they were too rough and ready—and not Christians. Nor the Greeks; they enjoyed it too much and were inefficient; they never finish anything, and when their aesthetic pleasure in the killing of Armenians was sated they quit. And so with all the other old, rival races. They stopped work before all the Armenians were dead. Even when they all went at the task together, they invariably left a couple here and a couple there: Adams and Eves who, the moment one's back was turned, bred and bred and bred so that the next time one visited Armenia there were the Armenians as before, millions and millions of them, all meek and lowly, but busy by day at business and at night secretly breeding and slyly spreading and spreading and—

He spread all over me his Malthusian despair and such a dread of the Armenians that I was about to swallow whole his whole scheme for the American Armenian mandate when my saving American humor gave me pause.

"But why should not the British do this job also?" I asked, and, to warn his sense of humor that I was striving to be not altogether final but funny withal, I smiled. In vain. He had no sense of American humor—I think. He waited for my genial grin to go away and then, when he saw I was alone again and quite serious, he answered me seriously.

A perfect massacre of the Armenians, he reasoned, might make a scandal, if the British did it, and, he explained, though the Empire had withstood some such shocks and must, of course, withstand others, too many more just now might jar it. And the Empire should not be jarred, unnecessarily, just now. The British Empire is the beginning of world government. All our great troubles—wars, revolutions, strikes, plagues, etc.—all came from the fact that the earth as a whole was not governed as a whole. The British will end this anarchism some day. But the Empire is young as yet, comparatively small, weak and over burdened. Think of the islands, colonies, strategic points, seas and trade routes—all the new burdens and responsibilities thrown upon the British Empire by the defeat of German Imperialism! No. The Empire must be spared for the present. Later, when the freedom of the seas is put ashore, so to speak; when British rule is extended from the wave to the land, all lands, then Great Britain could, and it would, go forth gladly to meet a shock like the one I—he said I—was

proposing in Armenia; but not yet, not now; not in the infancy of the Empire.

Moreover, he conveyed, British Imperialism, at this stage, was interested rather in natural resources than in peoples as such. The English are a practical folk; not idealistic, you understand. They realize that a world government must be founded, not like "your" League of Nations, upon ideas and ideals, principles and peoples, but upon solid things—oil, ore, air, the sea.

"But," I argued (and you can see how far he was carrying me on: I argued for his country against my own). "But," I said, "there are rich lands and fat deposits in Armenia."

He was still. He was so still so long that I thought I had floored him; that he had not known about the wealth of Armenia. But I noticed again that tendency to swell and go to pieces. And how I did wish he would laugh! It would have relieved me and him, too, I think. But no, he didn't laugh; he didn't even smile. He just waited till he could and then he reminded me that I had heard, as he said he had, that Armenia was to be divided. The back country, where the natural wealth is, was to be cut off from the front, where there is nothing but Armenians. The American mandate was to be over the Armenians; some other ally—not the British, but another equally practical power—was to get Armenia.

"But," I objected; "what is the use of the natural wealth of a country without the people to work it? Mines, oil deposits, fat lands—natural resources," I explained patiently to him, "are no good to Capital without Labor to dig and develop them. And the natives of a country are the natural labor thereof; the cheapest, the most obedient, the least organized, the best."

He was bored, I could see, but he was polite; he listened, so I gave him examples, one after the other, from the American as well as from the British colonies, to show him that it was a mistake to separate the people of a country from the resources of that country. They must be worked together, developed together, and—they were usually. There was no other way. I pictured to him the helplessness of the Turks or the French bankers, or any nonworking people, trying to get out the riches of Armenia without the Armenians. And I wound up with what struck me as a very good line.

"I am crying," I cried, "not idealistically, not 'Armenia for the Armenians' but practically 'the Armenians for Armenia.

He looked me up and down with interest, I thought; as if he were getting some new view of us Americans. I had told him he didn't know us, and he had declared that he did.

"Any conscious Englishman," I remember he said, "can understand any unconscious American."

Just what he meant by that I don't quite see, but it was remarks like that which gave me the uneasy impression that he had got us all wrong, and I had made up my mind to show him before he was through with me that we Americans are not all such sheer idealists as he and most Europeans seemed to have inferred from the one example of President Wilson and the 14. But he was too long and too silent in his study of me. I began to feel that he was finding some fault in me or us. Perhaps I had leaned too far toward the practical side; I recalled how he disapproved of the Armenians for that. I

hedged, therefore. I spoke more idealistically again and, I trust, patriotically.

"If we Americans took over the Armenians," I declared, "we would do it for their good. We should govern them always with the idea of making them fit to govern themselves."

"Yes, yes, we understand all that," he said. But I felt that he didn't, so I went right on with my syllogism.

"Well, then," I said tactfully, "you must see also that to that end: to make the Armenians fit to govern themselves, we should have to make them work. And since you cannot work a people without something to work them on, we should need the mines and the land of Armenia; not to get the riches out of them, but as a training ground whereon to teach the people industry, thrift and—all the Christian virtues which go into the making of good men and good citizens."

He looked puzzled, swollen. I didn't know what was the matter with him till he decided at last to express himself.

"There's no lack of thrift in the Armenians," he said dryly, "and, of course, you know that they are Christians, arch Christians?"

Of course I knew that. I had merely, in my enthusiasm, forgotten it for the moment. He had me there, however, so I backed up on work and I stuck—and I stick—to work.

"But," I said, "the Armenians must work. That is the secret of success, whether for an individual or a nation—work, hard work. And the Armenians must have Armenia to work on."

"Armenians won't work," he said. "That is the trouble with your plan and that is the trouble with the Armenians. That is the trouble, really, with all these old races that have been civilized, learned the game and, having once dominated the world and worked it, have lost control, gone back, as you say; or, as I say, carried on. They have gone forward logically, psychologically, physiologically. They do not care for hard labor. It is that which distinguishes them from the childlike, truly backward nations you Americans have had to do with. Primitive peoples are merely lazy. They can be forced forward, worked, developed, exploited, if you please. There is some hope for them; some use. But these forward peoples, the excivilized nations—they are not lazy. They are too intelligent to work for others. They are exploiters themselves, instinctive, inbred, incorrigible, hopeless.

"All nations are breeding men. They talk about developing their countries, but it's the other way around: their countries are developing them. And the old nations show the kind of men the new nations are making. These old peoples are the result of evolution. You can see on the shores of the Mediterranean what you are selecting, breeding, evolving at home, now. The living among the old races here are the survivors of a civilization, commercial in character, like yours."

"Ours," I corrected, to get the English into it. He drove right over me.

"You new nations have got to learn from the old peoples," he repeated, "that the modern representatives of the exgreat and exfamous nations are the inevitable, the natural products of the artificial selection of an order of society which imprisons the

courageous, deports the original, depresses the mass, discourages any sort of variation from the average of the species and preserves the meek, mean, sly, shrewd and thrifty. For these are the commercially fit. The modern Greeks are the direct heirs and their unpleasant characteristics are the enduring traits descended from the ancient Greek culture—as the old Greeks actually practised it; not as the great, exceptional Greeks talked and sang and carved it, but as the average Greeks practised it in business—the Greeks, I mean, who sentenced Socrates to death. The Egyptians, as. we British inherit them, are the greatgreat-great little grandchildren of Egyptian culture, the belated answer to the riddle of the Sphinx which their great-grand-fathers raised up so beautifully out of their childlike labor. The Arab of today is the dust of the desert dried by the arts, the custom, the business of ancient, glorious Arabia"

He stopped another protest of mine, anticipating it: "The Greeks of old, and the Egyptians, the Syrians, the Turks and the rest, they had their geniuses too—their poets and artists, their generals who conquered backward peoples and captains of industry who gave them employment, and they had their own Labor also. But the picked breeds, the aristocracies, plutocracies did not last. Their descendants did not descend, they didn't even survive. The children of the successful, of the rich, of the powerful, the privileged, went to the dogs, and they will with you. And the succeeding generations of Labor, overworked, underfed, dispirited and disciplined, reduced to dull slaves, died or were killed off. It was the middle class that proved and proves fit to survive in that sort of organization of society, the lower middle class. So you have all the ancient world peopled now with practically nothing but business men, little business men —merchants, traders, shopkeepers, moneylenders, peddlers, nonproducers. They will buy and sell, and, descended from buyers and sellers, selected through many generations of commercial competition, they buy and sell well. They can and they do go anywhere in the world to trade; not to create, not to organize, build, plan and labor. Their brothers who did those things are the childless dead. No, only the merest, shrewdest traders live and them we find everywhere beating their way. I have met Arabs in the Straits Colonies, South America,—peddling, trading, getting rich. And as for the Syrians, Greeks, Armenians—

"And Jews," I suggested. He ignored me.

"My old peoples," he said, "will go anywhere where there are workers to work, venturing slyly, suffering meekly, saving money, working. Yes, they work. They work as a laborer won't work. They work as only a business man will work—long, hard, close upon a narrow margin of profit. But," he distinguished, "they will not labor. They can't. They cannot see 'work for wages.' It is an instinct with them, a trait, an intelligence developed as we develop pointing in a pointer dog and setting in a setter, by successful selection. They know in their blood that it is no use working for wages, even high wages, if you want to get on and be rich. There is nothing, there can be nothing but a bare living in any possible wagescale—no interest, no capital, no compound progress. They don't say this; it's too obvious to them; they live it. They are wise as only an old race can be wise—to the game. They see from the moment they open their puppy eyes that it is absurd to labor to produce wealth. The thing to do is to watch and wait till the wealth is produced and then, somehow, to get it from the producers. And they know how to do this as an animal knows the animal business and a plant knows the vegetable business—by instinct. So they will practise medicine, law—any profession which, like a business, gets a variable share of the finished, final,

coined form of the commonwealth after the common people have made it. But to go out and by the sweat of the brow to dig up and manufacture the raw stuffs of the earth into marketable commodities—no. The old peoples hate to do that and, as for your Armenians—they simply won't.''

He rested, watching me and, seeing that I wasn't watching him, he slipped me some more of his propaganda. "The Armenians," he said, "are the most intelligent, the most perfectly selected, the most highly developed race in the world—from the civilized point of view.''

I named my candidate again.

"The Jews?" he echoed. "You spoke of them before, and I was gratified. It showed that you were getting an inkling of what I was trying to say about old races. The Jews are the most familiar example to an untraveled person of an old, shrewd, intelligent people, and, yes, they are instinctive exploiters. They drive at secondhand wealth. But they will work. They hate to, but they can be made to work. And worse still, they are creative, inventive, sentimental. There are artists, philosophers, prophets among them still. They are imperfect. They are an unfinished product of civilization, about half-done. I understand why they are feared and hated; they have some of the mental superiority of race-age. But, to mention Jews in the same breath with the old peoples I am talking about is absurd. Why, my old races drove or traded your Jews out of their own country. They can't live on the Arabs, Syrians, Egyptians. They do well in England, they get rich in France and Germany, and, of course, in the United States, they yes, yes. But the Chinese, for example, the Chinese absorb Jews as a whale does little fishes; our own Scotch skin them alive; so do the Arabs, Turks, Greeks and, as for the Armenians—

"Jews," he said, taking breath, "the Jews themselves feel about Armenians the way the antiSemitic Europeans feel about the Jews; and so do the Greeks, Turks—all the other races that have ever had them on them. They feel that the Armenians would put them all to work. And they would. The Armenians are all that the Jews are, plus all that all the other races are—and they are Christians besides!"

He halted, not for words, I take it—an educated Englishman has plenty of English. It was more as if he were balking at the conclusion which he preferred to have me jump at rather than to have it to quote from him. And when I didn't jump, he went on, dully, to give me another chance.

"The Armenians," he said, "must not have Armenia, not the back lands. They would not work them themselves, not even for themselves. They want them, yes, but only to own. They would not even do the work of organizing the work of development. They would let them out as concessions to others to manage. They want to live on the coast, in cities, on rent, interest, dividends and the profits of trading in the shares and the actual money earned by capital and labor."

"There are lots of people like that," I said. "The Armenians aren't the only ones."

"I see you still do not grasp my point," he said. "There are indeed others who would like to do that. The French bourgeoisie is moving in that direction, and our own English are coming to it, especially our Little Englanders of the so-called upper-class. They have that as their ideal. They would like to do nothing, but they can't. They are

harmless. They are willing to do nothing but spend. But they do spend, you see. Even your Jews are spenders, great spenders. But your Armenians will do nothing and they won't spend. They get and they save; they sell, but only to buy again and so get more and more. It takes evolution to develop such perfection of the true commercial spirit, and evolution is a matter of degree. And the Armenians are the nth degree. I tell you that if ever the Armenians are given a fair start in the world, if they get a free hold on any corner of the earth, they will own the whole planet and work all the rest of mankind. That's what the Turks know and dread and the Greeks and—all of us who know them. And so—"·

He was drawing upon me for his conclusion again—I didn't want to say it. And so I urged him on. "And so—" I said.

"And so," he sidestepped, as we Americans say crudely, "and so we must divide them up, Armenia to one mandatory, the Armenians to another."

"And so," I sparred, "you are for Armenia for some ally, some partner of the British capitalist and the Armenians for us Americans. All right. Two questions occur: What can your ally do in Armenia without labor? And what in the world can we Americans do with the Armenians without Armenia?"

"Oh," he said, "there are other peoples in the Balkans, in Asia Minor, India and Africa—backward nations, really backward, nations that would labor. These can be brought to Armenia and put to work. There is no lack of labor."

"So that solves the British, the practical problem," I said. "Now for the idealistic, the American problem. What are we to do with the Armenians?"

He would not say. His British humor or his diplomatic caution or—something wouldn't let him. He shied off upon the danger to Asiatic labor and European capital of having the Armenians anywhere near where the mines and lands were being worked.

"And so," I said, not without some (American) humor. "And so—"

A shadow crossed his eyes, but not his voice. He spoke sunnily again of "American idealism." I was tired of hearing it, awfully bored, but he liked to talk about it. And this time he changed the key of the song a little. He called us young, said we were inexperienced as yet in the management of other, older races and, therefore no doubt, prone to judge harshly the colonial conduct of the British and other practical rulers whose most conscientious agent sometimes found it necessary to kill and otherwise put the fear of God into the minority of a subject people in the common interest of the majority and the security of invested capital.

"You don't realize," he concluded, "how difficult and delicate a task it is to govern a strange, a foreign people."

"You're wrong," I said, exasperated, and I repeated my charge that he didn't know us. "You are as ill-informed about my people," I declared, "as you say we are about the Europeans, Turks, Armenians and the rest." I cited the Philippines, Cuba, the Sandwich Islands—all foreign countries which we were governing successfully. And I reminded him that we had all sorts of foreigners in our very midst. The United States was not called the melting pot without reason. We had all sorts of foreigners there. We made even his Armenians labor. We did our hard job, I asserted, as well as any government on the face of the earth, not excepting the British, and to convince him

that we were practical I related what I had seen done to foreign labor in New England, down South, out West and all over. But I happened to mention also our own natives, the American Indians.

He fairly leaped at that. "That's it," he cried. "That's what I have had in mind all along. Your policy with your Indians is the one for the Armenians." I was taken aback, astonished. I asked him what he thought our Indian policy had been and he said he understood that we had killed them all offall; had we not?

I looked him over the way he had me several times. I enjoyed doing it too.

"And so," I said, after a long pause, "so you think that that is what we ought to come over here and do to the Armenians—kill 'em all off; all."

"No, no, no," he corrected. "How you pressmen do misunderstand and misquote."

He didn't mean at all to say that we should adopt massacre as a policy. He knew we would not, could not do that. Well then, what did he mean? What should we do? He would not say. He wheeled round and round like a couple of whirling dervishes; it was wearisome. But I got it at last. I had to say it my self, but it was right—I think. He didn't correct me.

He definitely and distinctly did not mean that we should set out consciously and deliberately to wipe out the Armenians. Not at all. He merely trusted or believed that after trying everything else, we would end by doing That; and doing it well, too; leaving no Adam and Eve to go on raising Cain—

"But wouldn't that be a scandal?" I asked.

He thought not. He reminded me that we were so idealistic and enjoyed such repute for philanthropy that we seemed to be able to do anything within reason without losing either our idealism or our good name.

"There was no scandal, was there, over your Indian policy?" he asked. "And you never ceased to think that what you did was right? You have conquered part of Mexico, you have occupied Hawaii, taken the Philippines and Porto Rico by force of arms from Spain; freed Cuba and kept a mortgage on it; you have bought the Danish Islands; and you have put your Marines ashore in Central America and forgotten them. You will soon be forced to restore order in the rest of Mexico. And yet," he said, with admiration, I thought, "you are still for self-determination for small nations. You are a small empire, and you have warned us in your Monroe Doctrine that you are going when you get ready to be a great empire. And yet you are antiimperialists. You have just fought a war against German Imperialism, and—"

"So did you," I shot in.

"Oh, that is different," he fired back. "We are Imperialists. We frankly call ourselves an Empire and we fought honestly for our Empire against the German's Empire. But you—you fought against empire for—self-determination."

There was a point there, and he waited maliciously, I felt, for me to meet it. And when I didn't—I couldn't right off in a second like that—when I didn't answer, he went on.

"I believe that you Americans can do anything whatever and not be doubted,

either by the world or by yourselves. There is something great, very great about that, something useful to the world. It suggests that you Americans could, and you surely would, do in Armenia proper that which has to be done there, with thoroughness; gradually, but completely, without missing a single or, rather, a married Armenian, and all without a scandal, without disturbing in the least your belief that you are—How shall I say?—well, not like us English or the French, Germans, Turks and, I am afraid, not a bit like the Armenians."

"And," he hastened to add, "somebody has to solve the Armenian problem. It seems to me to be poetic justice, good politics and sound business to let the most idealistic people in the world take over the most practical people in the world." What was he giving me? Was this British humor? I looked at him, hard. He didn't blink. He had that puffed-up appearance I had noticed before—but, no—not a twitch. It's a strain to interview an Englishman, and a risk. I remembered that he would repudiate the interview if there were the slightest "comeback." I decided to put him to the test right away.

"As I understand it," I said, "we Americans are a commercial culture, as the Armenians, as all these old nations were that ought to be killed off." He nodded. "They thought they were developing business when they were really developing a certain variety of the human species—a race of business men dependent upon the productive labor of other people whom they do not now govern and who hate them because they can beat anybody at trade and live without working—liars, profiteers, parasites—the most practical brains with the most Christian ideals and manners."

"You Americans talk well," he said. "No Englishman could be found to state anything like that as clearly as that."

"If now we Americans could, in our present, the early state of the development of this sort of man—if we could, by governing the Armenians, see close up the practical workings of our culture; if we could understand that what we were looking at and dealing with in the Armenian of today is the American of the future—"

"Of tomorrow," he corrected.

"Then," I went on, "we might fail with the Armenians, we might, in exasperation, kill them all—"

"Hear, hear."

"We might kill all the Armenians, but, we would go home—"

"Cable," he suggested, "it's quicker."

"Cable home," I accepted tentatively, "cable a warning to look out: 'Look out for the crossing of practical business with Christian idealism. 'Too much business and too much idealism might injure both these good things and us also, as a people."

"Hear, hear!" he exclaimed.

"It might make of great, rich America an Armenia which the British and the Russians (of the future) would find it 'necessary' to take over as a mandatory divided into two parts: one, the United States proper for England; the other, the people themselves, for Russia."

He was silent. I waited to see whether he had any sense of American humor. He

waited, too, for a while and then, seeing that I expected something, he spoke.

"Your idea" he began.

"My idea!" I exploded.

"Yes," he said. "That's an idea. It's a good idea, good in theory, but—It's characteristically idealistic. I am considering it practically. Do you believe really that any American governors of the Armenians would be conscious enough to see their likeness to the Americans?"

"You English do," I retorted cuttingly.

"True," he agreed thoughtfully. "We see the meaning of the Armenians to the Americans, we Imperial English do. But I doubt, I am wondering whether our Little Englanders could be brought to foresee their fate in the fate of the old nations they govern."

I was beaten, helpless, flabbergasted. Fortunately he didn't see that. His eyes were down. He rose, but he was thinking deeply, as he led me to the door. There he looked up.

"Goodbye," he said, "I like your theory. I am afraid it won't work out in practice, but write it. It's suggestive. Write it carefully; not too clearly, and, by the way, don't quote me. I have said nothing, nothing."

Aubrey Nigel Henry Herbert (1880-1923)

Aubrey Herbert was the second son of the 4th Earl of Carnarvon, who was Colonial Secretary in the ministries of Lord Derby and Disraeli, and afterwards Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.



A year after leaving Balliol, an appointment at the British Embassy at Constantinople gave him opportunities for travel in the Near East.

Herbert chronicled his adventurous life as a spy in his book *BEN KENDIN: A Record of Eastern Travels*, which was published after his death in 1924.

Herbert's memoirs are filled with clues as to what lead up to the Armenian Genocide and who had their hands in it. He also had the opportunity to meet with Talaat Pasha just weeks before he was assassinated in 1921. The chapter from Herbert's book titled *Interview With Talaat Pasha* can be found in Appendix VI.

G. [George] Ward Price (1886-1961)

G. Ward Price began his professional journalistic carrier in 1909 as a special correspondent of the London based *Daily Mail*.

During the Balkan war of 1912, he accompanied the Ottoman army as a Correspondent of the *Daily Mail*. During the First World War, as the Official Correspondent with the Allied Forces, he reported on events in the theater of war in the Middle East, in particular the Dardanelles and the Salonika front. In 1918, a book written by Price titled "The Story of the Salonica Army" was published in New York.

The reason I added Price to the British spy list was my discovery of unpublished letters and telegrams between him and James W. Colt of Jaocb H. Schiff and the Chester concessions, regarding a secret arms deal. That deal appears to have concluded in December of 1915. And, according to the documents found in Colt's file, Price appears to have helped find the financial means in London, to carry out the purchase of 200,000 Spanish Mouser rifles with bayonets and 400 million bullets at a time when almost no one wanted to get involved in a deal that would arm Germany's most powerful ally in the war, Turkey. In fact, judging by a letter from Price to Colt on August 21, 1915, Colt had possibly lost interest in the deal. Price wrote: "I understand from him [Whiting] that you had ceased to be interested in the affair."



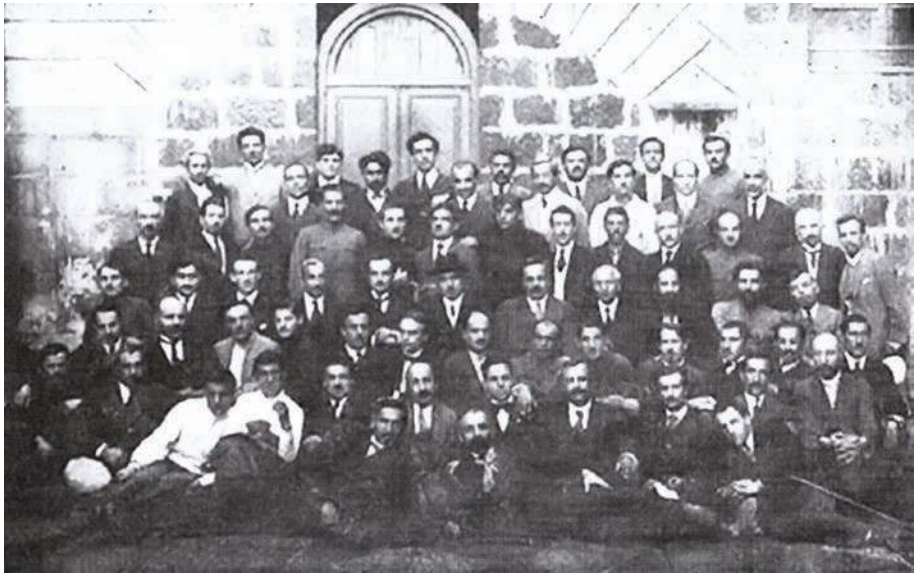
G. Ward Price

Chapter 17

ARF 9th General Assembly

Coincidentally, on the day that The United States Senate Subcommittee on Foreign Relations began discussing Senate Joint Resolution 106 for the maintenance of peace in Armenia, on September 27, 1919, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation's 9th General Congress was convened in Yerevan, the capital of newly independent Republic of Armenia. It concluded at the end of October 1919.

Shahan Natalie participated in ARF's Congress as the United States District delegate. On the Congress agenda was placed the issue of retribution against those Turks principally responsible for the Great Atrocity. Here, Shahan Natalie experienced the first serious embitterment of his political life, when some of the delegates deemed this policy wrong.



Armenian Revolutionary Federation 9th General Assembly; Yerevan, Armenian, 1919; Shahan Natalie 3rd row from front in the center.

The following document was written by my Shahan Natalie in 1919 during his return to the United States from Armenia.

Shahan's notes on the ARF 9th General Assembly

The General Assembly lasted nearly seven weeks. The gravity of an

assembly, unfortunately, within the Federation, is measured by its duration. It has been taught to the ranks to swell with as much pride as a meeting drags on. Among them, there is an implicit satisfaction for all their questions and desires, when it is said that a meeting has lasted forty days. Neither is the administration exempt from that mind-set. And because of that, particularly the concept of the General Assembly will not have been fulfilled, if it does not drag on for forty days.

The evidence of forty days is sufficient to certify that it is not the gravity and seriousness of issues, but the inexorable right of each and every delegate to show off his oratorial "talent" -- not to miss the sought-after opportunity --, proving that not even forty days are sufficient to cover the agenda.

And indeed, never has a General Assembly been adjourned, with its agenda completely covered. A committee has always been selected (with General Assembly plenipotentiaries) assigned to resolve the remaining issues (almost always, the most important ones), as well as those other assignments to be dealt with.

The 9th General Assembly did not form an exception from that rank.

To take detailed notes would signify to record the spoken orations verbatim.

For me, however, as a delegate who would go to Yerevan, there was one leading voice. -- the voice of my father's blood, mingled with the voice of blood from millions of Armenian martyrs.

This voice is also, I am certain, the leader of more than a decade of delegates, who would set out by the same ship from Polis and disembark in Batumi.

The evidence is that Polis Representative Body had assembled with such precision the list of more than two hundred names of those Turk monsters, who had luxuriated up to their throats in the blood bath of the Armenians. We already had their names, official statuses, deeds accomplished, a complete life story linked to the bloodshed of a million Armenians.

We kept that list with us, to put it on the desk of the Federation's Supreme Court of Justice. A pro forma step, depicting party discipline. Because not one of us could imagine even a single word which did not translate into the most sanctified call of our soul.

With that list we also had that extra-ordinary official declaration of Turkish participation in the war of 1915, broadcast in "Troshak", proclaiming all members of the Turkish Cabinet personally responsible for all the misdeeds, if on the occasion of war there were to have occurred horrors upon the heads of Armenians in Turkey. The Federation Upper Body believed in some way to propel the Turkish leadership of the day toward repentance.

This declaration was already an official verdict, previously given, which was entering into effect, given that its foundations had been contrived to unimaginable extents. Consequently, it had become an undertaking, a promise given to the Armenian people.

It remained for the General Assembly only one more time to reiterate that the Federation was the master of its word.

For me, that was the pivotal axis of the issues. And without this issue, the assembly could not be name revolutionary. It was a crime to allow from afar describing a revolutionary in any other way.

With that understanding and with the immeasurable respect among ourselves regarding the General Assembly, as well as clear confidence that I was setting foot inside the hall of Armenia's Parliament, which for more than forty days became our meeting site. It was the Super-Parliament, which had come to replace the Parliamentary Council.

I must say, that among myself and those like me, from the very first day, many things faltered from the viewpoint of decorum. It was not with a pleasant impression that we saw, that this assembly, through whose door we were entering with religious scruples, from Tiflis and Yerevan, in the name of student associations, school boys had come, and with such weak-minded arrogance. They were sitting side by side with those "big ones", which we had aggrandized from afar, surrounding them, and they were speaking with them on a first-name basis and in the familiar tense. -- ("Avetik", "Simon", et alii), when we could not forgive the dishonorable intimacy of stressing the word "comrade".

That image was the first tremor, which was going to open a rift, but I wanted not to look at that rift.

However, not wanting was insufficient.

Above the stage, completely overtaking façade, on a fiery red fabric, was the motto: "Proletariats of all countries, unite!" and beneath it, the opening of our trusted assembly, which had a force within it;, before the start of which it was revealed that my effort to defy was for nothing, and also revealing that the tremor raised the same emotions among all the Turco-Armenian delegates going from the Diaspora as well. There was only one (Bedrosian), who thought that he was demonstrating the debut of his intelligence, by proving that the mutiny of the other were "anti-revolutionary."

As unexpected as this revelation was for us, equally incomprehensible was our revolt, shown toward him for those, who have only noticed passivity in the spirit of Turco-Armenians. And to give the student representatives occasion to demonstrate their social talent and products from a diocesan school as food for lap dogs, and their super eminence above university outsiders.

The insincere caresses of the tempted, not expecting the unexpected, as an immediate convenient retort, "It's only because of the opening"; and those words were ineffective in forcing the rebellious spirit to retreat. That spirit had read more into those letters than what the actual words contained. And the students, when they were discovering that the formulas they had be forced to memorize were ineffective now, were not reluctant to force the rebels to retreat

with their insulting comments.

This moment and event I will never be able to forget. Because that was the first honest confession, that the Federation is the name of two things; and of these, the one does not resemble the other.

The retreat would at last become the share of the students and the teachers. Because the rebels were refusing to yield even one letter from their threat. And the seconds were elapsing, and the moment of the congress's public opening was approaching.

And we remained standing, until that last nail was pried loose and the crimson banner was taken down, criticizing the orthodox socialites' scathing visual and oral comments hurled in our direction.

*

* *

The second issue, on the days of adjournment, was the agenda item postponed until the last minute. That issue, which for us was the principal one -- the list of the perpetrators and the Assembly's message about them, as an echo of our martyrs' legacy.

As the days were elapsing and the need to bring the interminable to termination were showing the necessity to determine a date of adjournment, and moreover, impatience was beginning to take voice in me. The days were presenting numerous opportunities to eradicate indulgences and to exhaust patience. Many times a written request had been submitted for the presidency to place that issue on the next agenda. Many times, indications of exhausted patience had been expressed vocally. With an Eastern roguish smile, a veiled promised had always been the response. We were Easterners as well, and it was not difficult to quickly see that "doeshek alte:" was the intent of those smiles. Until the days of adjournment, a threat (similar to the threat on opening day) necessitated that the presidency place the issue on the table.

It was time for the issue to be discussed.

The General Assembly, in order at least not to curb the eagerness of the orators, more specifically of those, from whom going on stage and speaking at the podium would play the role of a forbidding force, had decided not only the time allocation for each speaker, but also the condition that each speaker was obliged to go on stage and express his opinion from the stage.

The first speakers about the issue were S. Vratsian, Ishkhan Arghoutian (members of the presidency) and Roupen Der Minasian. After their speeches, it was clear that I would be the fourth speaker. I know with certainty that many others were registered, but the issue was closed with my remarks, because an erupting revolution was becoming evident.

Here is what those three spoke, in summary and conclusion. --

It is true that the Turk annihilated the Turco-Armenians with a savagery not written in history. During the course of war, massacres can always occur, even if this one may not have had its equal. We were in battle against the Turk. And we must deem this our dues to that struggle, which has now given us our homeland and independence. Today, we are hence-forth a republic, and it is not acceptable, govern-mentally, to adopt that method, which we were employing yesterday. Therefore, we must remove that issue from this assembly's agenda.

Boldly and literally, they repeated the same things one after the other, of which every single word exploded a bomb in my being. I am certain also, in others. But the silence that pervaded the hall was of a different color.

Biting my tongue, I listened to their words, which as "governmental" as they may have been, were finding the doors to my brain closed tight. And their face henceforth was changing the traits familiar to me, and was making them irrecognizable. Once again I was realizing exactly what was the intent of their promises and delays.

When I was going up onstage to make my remarks, I know I was trembling and my teeth had pulverized all the fetters of my tongue.

Here is what I said, word for word. --

> You heard the three speakers, and you understood. I understood even more.
>
> I regret that they spoke. Would that they had not spoken. They should not have spoken. Because they are Caucasian-Armenians. And this issue is an exceptionally Turco-Armenian issue. The issue only of those, who have at least one martyr of their loved ones among the million.
>
> Listen well, then, that it is not in 1915 that I have given up martyrs. In 1895, I also gave up as a martyr my father, and I grew up orphaned. And it is the vengeance for my father's blood that has made me a revolutionary.
>
> I declare, therefore, that even if its name be DIVINE FEDERATION, yet severs its bond from those martyrs, my bond with this federation is also severed.
>
> I demand, that the right to speak about this issue be on condition of the speaker's having given up martyrs and that no single Caucasian-Armenian be allowed to speak. For forty days we have listened to you too much. Now, you listen to us for one day also.
>
> And to my Turco-Armenian comrades I also declare, that if they don't share my opinion, my demand from the Federation, let them know this very minute, that this issue for me, as a Turco-Armenian, I will not subject to their will. I

consider this issue one between me and my father's assassin, and an issue to be resolved. Nor do I recognize any assembly, or decision whatsoever which attempts to interfere, in the name of whatever it may be.

I conclude, asking, demanding all those speakers who have no martyrs, to resign from their right to speak.

The silence was more heavy and oppressive, when I was quietly leaving the stage.

That silence lasted for a while.

No one wanted to say a word. It was only decided. --

To consider the entire list presented to the Polis representative Body as sentenced to death. To duplicate that list and transmit it to the Central Committees. To call to responsibility any Central Committee, if one or the other name from that list is in its boundaries and does not implement the approved decision.

At the top of the list was the name of Talaat. (See Appendix VII for the list of 100 that were to be assassinated).



Shahan Natalie returning to United States from 9th General Assembly - 1920

Chapter 18

U.S. Mandate over Armenia

On April 26, 1920, the Supreme Council of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers in Paris, meeting at San Remo, requested that the United States assume a mandate over Armenia[76].

On May 25, 1920, *The Washington Post* announces the president to be the arbitrator for determining the borders between Turkey and Armenia in a front page article titled "Wilson Asks Congress for Power to Accept Mandate For Armenia." In it, doubt was expressed whether the Senators would approve Wilson's request.

Wilson's message to Congress on the mandate for the Armenian Nation reads:

> Gentlemen of the Congress:
>
> On the fourteenth day of May and official communication was received at the executive office from the secretary of the Senate of the United States, conveying the following preamble and resolutions:
>
> "Whereas, The testimony adduced at the hearings conducted by the subcommittee of the Senate committee on foreign relations have clearly established the truth of the reported massacres and other atrocities from which the Armenian people have suffered; and
>
> "Whereas, The independence of the republic of Armenia has been duly recognized by the supreme council of the peace conference and by the government of the United States of America; therefore, be it
>
> "Resolved, That the sincere congratulations of the Senate of the United States are herby extended to the people of Armenian on the recognition of the independence of the republic of Armenia, without prejudice respecting the territorial boundaries involved; and be it further
>
> "Resolved, That the Senate of the United States hereby expresses the hope that stable government, proper protection of individual liberties and rights, and the full realization of nationalistic aspirations may soon be attained by the Armenian people; and be further
>
> "Resolved, That in order to afford necessary protection for the lives and property of citizens of the United States at the port of Batum and along the line of the railroad leading to Baku, the President hereby requested, if no incompatible with the public interest, to cause United States warships

76 The United States recognized the independence of Armenia, but refused to recognize that of Georgia & Azerbaijan. (H. Lauterpacht, Recognition in International Law, Cambridge, 1947, p. 11. Papers Relating to Foreign Relations of the United States, 1920, vol. III, Washington, 1936, p. 778, hereinafter - FRUS).

and force of marines to be dispatched to such a port, with instructions to such marines to disembark and to protect American lives and property."

President Wilson went on to say:

"I know from unmistakable evidences given by responsible representatives of many peoples struggling towards independence and peaceful life again that the government of the United States is looked to with extraordinary trust and confidence, and I believe that it would do nothing less than arrest the hopeful processes of civilization if we were to refuse the request to become the helpful friends and advisers of such of these people as we may be authoritatively and formally requested to guide and assist.

"I am conscious that I am urging upon the Congress a very critical choice, but I make the suggestion in the confidence that I am speaking in the spirit and in accordance with the wishes of the greatest of the Christian peoples. The sympathy for Armenia among our people has sprung from untainted consciences, pure Christian faith and an earnest desire to see Christian people everywhere succored in their time of suffering, and lifted from the abject subjection and distress and enabled to stand upon their feet and take their place among the free nations of the world."

He concluded his message to Congress:

"Our recognition of the independence of Armenia will mean genuine liberty and assured happiness for her people, if we fearlessly undertake the duties of guidance and assistance involved in the functions of a mandatory.

"It is, therefore, with the most earnest hopefulness and with the feeling that I am giving advice from which the Congress will not willingly turn away that I urge acceptance of the invitation now formally and solemnly extend to us by the council at San Remo, into whose hands had passed the difficult task of composing the many complexities and difficulties of government in the one-time Ottoman empire and the maintenance of order and tolerable conditions of life in those portions of that empire which it is no longer possible in the interest of civilization to have under the government of the Turkish authorities themselves."

Even before the United States had been officially asked by the Supreme Council of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers in Paris to take the mandate, it was apparent that Congress would decline the offer. The mandate, had the U.S. accepted it, would have been governed under the authority of the League of Nations, an intergovernmental organization founded on January 10, 1920, as a result of the Paris Peace Conference that ended the First World War. It was the first international organization whose principal mission was to maintain world peace.

Accepting the mandate over Armenia would imply that the United States recognized the authority of the League of Nations, for America would have to make yearly reports to the League on the mandate and would be subject to the guidance and direction of the league. Under the treaty of Versailles, the

League was responsible for giving various mandates, but held a guiding and restraining hand on nations accepting them. Therefore, the Senate would be accepting America's allegiance to the League if it authorized the mandate, and the great majority in the Senate opposed the League, under which the mandate would be operative[77].

On March 25, 1920, the British Premier, Lloyd George addressed the House of Commons regarding the mandate of Armenia. He noted that France who had a mandate over Cilicia had been willing to hand Cilicia to the United States had the latter accepted the mandate.

"Up until the present we have only received requests from America to protect Armenia, without any offer to assume responsibility," Mr. Lloyd George said. "We hope France will undertake the responsibility but it is much to ask considering all the burdens France already has."

The premier contended that it was quite impossible for England to send armies to keep order in Armenia and Asia Minor. George stated that England would do her utmost to exert pressure in Constantinople to secure good treatment for Christians, but said that Briton was unable to accept a wider responsibility.

The Armenians are exceptionally intelligent people and must begin to depend on themselves for protection of their independence, Mr. Lloyd George said, adding that he understood that they could easily raise an army of 40,000 men. Great Britain would be willing to supply equipment and officers for their training. If that were done they could defend themselves against the Turks, the premier declared[78].



(San Fransisco Chronicle Newspaper, June 29, 1920)

77 The Washington Post, May 25, 1920 – page 1

78 GEORGE REFUSES TO OUTST SULTAN; The Charlotte Observer, Charlotte, N.C., March 26, 1920 – page 1

Chapter 19

The Treaty of Sèvres

Following the end of the WWI, the Treaty of Sèvres was one of 6 significant treaties resulting from the Paris Peace Conference, which commenced on January 19, 1919 and officially lasted until the end of 1923 when the Treaty of Lausanne was singed.

The Treaty of Sèvres, signed on August 10, 1920, was the only treaty that the internationally recognized independent Republic of Armenia signed. It was also the only legally recognized document that determined the borders of Armenia, which would later be known as Wilsonian Armenia. The treaty was signed by Mr. Avetis Aharonian, President of the Delegation of the Armenian Republic.



Signing of The Treaty of Sèvres - August 10, 1920

The Principal Allied Powers were the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan. These world powers, by virtue of their signatures, would become the main guarantors that the terms of the treaty were honored by Turkey or any other country that would threaten Armenia.

Of the 433 articles in the treaty, 8 of them were directly related to Armenia.

Particularly, Article 88 and 89 were the most important articles for Armenia. Article 88 recognized Armenia 'as a free and independent State.' Article 89 stated: "Turkey and Armenia as well as the other High Contracting Parties agree to submit to the arbitration of the President of the United States of America the question of the frontier to be fixed between Turkey and Armenia…"

The following is a text from the Treaty of Sèvres, which pertains to Armenia:

THE TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN THE ALLIED AND ASSOCIATED POWERS

AND TURKEY

SIGNED AT SÈVRES

AUGUST 10, 1920

THE BRITISH EMPIRE, FRANCE, ITALY AND JAPAN,

These Powers being described in the present Treaty as the Principal Allied Powers;

ARMENIA, BELGIUM, GREECE, THE HEDJAZ, POLAND, PORTUGAL, ROUMANIA, THE SERB-CROAT-SLOVENE STATE AND CZECHO-SLOVAKIA,

These Powers constituting, with the Principal Powers mentioned above, the Allied Powers, of the one part;

AND TURKEY,

of the other part;

Whereas on the request of the Imperial Ottoman Government an Armistice was granted to Turkey on October 30, 1918, by the Principal Allied Powers in order that a Treaty of Peace might be concluded, and

Whereas the Allied Powers are equally desirous that the war in which certain among them were successively involved, directly or indirectly, against Turkey, and which originated in the declaration of war against Serbia on July 28, I914, by the former Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government, and in the hostilities opened by Turkey against the Allied Powers on October 29, 1914, and conducted by Germany in alliance with Turkey, should be replaced by a firm, just and durable Peace,

For this purpose the HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES have appointed as their Plenipotentiaries:

HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND AND OF THE BRITISH DOMINIONS BEYOND TIIE SEAS, EMPEROR OF INDIA:

Sir George Dixon GRAHAME, K. C. V. O., Minister Plenipotentiary of His Britannic Majesty at Paris;

for the DOMINION of CANADA:

The Honourable Sir George Halsey PERLEY, K.C. M. G

High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom;

for the COMMONWEALTH of AUSTRALIA:

The Right Honourable Andrew FISHER, High Commissioner for Australia in the United Kingdom;

for the DOMINION of NEW ZEALAND:

Sir George Dixon GRAHAME, K. C. V. O., Minister Plenipotentiary of His Britannic Majesty at Paris;

for the UNION of SOUTH AFRICA:

Mr. Reginald Andrew BLANKENBERG, O. B. E., Acting High Commissioner for the Union of South Africa in the United Kingdom;

for INDIA:

Sir Arthur HIRTZEL, K. C. B., Assistant Under Secretary of State for India;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC:

Mr. Alexandre MILLERAND, President of the Council, Minister for Foreign Affairs

Mr. Frederic FRANÇOIS-MARSAL, Minister of Finance

Mr. Auguste Paul-Louis ISAAC, Minister of Commerce and Industry;

Mr. Jules CAMBON, Ambassador of France

Mr. Georges Maurice PALÉOLOGUE, Ambassador of France, Secretary-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs;

His MAJESTY THE KING OF ITALY:

Count LELIO BONIN LONGARE, Senator of the Kingdom

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of H. M. the King of Italy at Paris

General Giovanni MARIETTI, Italian Military Representative on the Supreme War Council;

His MAJESTY THE EMPEROR OF JAPAN:

Viscount CHINDA, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of H. M. the Emperor of Japan at London;

Mr. K. MATSUI, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of H. M. the Emperor of Japan at Paris;

ARMENIA:

Mr. Avetis AHARONIAN, President of the Delegation of the Armenian Republic;

HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF THE BELGIANS:

Mr. Jules VAN DEN HEUVEL, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Minister of State;

Mr. ROLIN JAEQUEMYNS, Member of the Institute of Private International Law, Secretary-General of the Belgian Delegation;

HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF THE HELLENES:

Mr. Eleftherios K. VENIZELOS, President of the Council of Ministers;

Mr. Athos ROMANOS, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of H. M. the King of the Hellenes at Paris;

HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF THE HEDJAZ:

THE PRESIDENT OF THE POLISH REPUBLIC:

Count Maurice ZAMOYSKI, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Polish Republic at Paris;

Mr. Erasme PILTZ;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE PORTUGUESE REPUBLIC:

Dr. Affonso da COSTA, formerly President of the Council of Ministers;

His MAJESTY THE KING OF ROUMANIA:

Mr. Nicolae TITULESCU, Minister of Finance;

Prince DIMITRIE GHIKA, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of H. M. the King of Roumania at Paris;

Hls MAJESTY THE KING OF THE SERBS, THE CROATS AND THE SLOVENES:

Mr. Nicolas P. PACHITCH, formerly President of the Council of Ministers;

Mr. Ante TRUMBIC, Minister for Foreign Affairs;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE CZECHO-SLOVAK REPUBLIC:

Mr. Edward BENES, Minister for Foreign Affairs;

Mr. Stephen OSUSKY, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Czecho-Slovak Republic at London;

TURKEY:

General HAADI Pasha, Senator;

RIZA TEVFIK Bey, Senator;

RECHAD HALISS Bey, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Turkey at Berne;

WHO, having communicated their full powers, found in good and due form, have AGREED AS FOLLOWS:

From the coming into force of the present Treaty the state of war will terminate.

From that moment and subject to the provisions of the present Treaty, official relations will exist between the Allied Powers and Turkey.

SECTION VI.

ARMENIA.

ARTICLE 88.

Turkey, in accordance with the action already taken by the Allied Powers, hereby recognises Armenia as a free and independent State.

ARTICLE 89.

Turkey and Armenia as well as the other High Contracting Parties agree to submit to the arbitration of the President of the United States of America the question of the frontier to be fixed between Turkey and Armenia in the vilayets of Erzerum, Trebizond, Van and Bitlis, and to accept his decision thereupon, as well as any stipulations he may prescribe as to access for Armenia to the sea, and as to the demilitarisation of any portion of Turkish territory adjacent to the said frontier.

ARTICLE 90.

In the event of the determination of the frontier under Article 89 involving the transfer of the whole or any part of the territory of the said Vilayets to Armenia, Turkey hereby renounces as from the date of such decision all rights and title over the territory so transferred. The provisions of the present Treaty applicable to territory detached from Turkey shall thereupon become applicable to the said territory.

The proportion and nature of the financial obligations of Turkey which Armenia will have to assume, or of the rights which will pass to her, on account of the transfer of the said territory will be determined in accordance with Articles 241 to 244, Part VIII (Financial Clauses) of the present Treaty.

Subsequent agreements will, if necessary, decide all questions which are not decided by the present Treaty and which may arise in consequence of the transfer of the said territory.

ARTICLE 91.

In the event of any portion of the territory referred to in Article 89 being transferred to Armenia, a Boundary Commission, whose composition will be determined subsequently, will be constituted within three months from the delivery of the decision referred to in the said Article to trace on the spot the frontier between Armenia and Turkey as established by such decision.

ARTICLE 92.

The frontiers between Armenia and Azerbaijan and Georgia respectively will be determined by direct agreement between the States concerned.

If in either case the States concerned have failed to determine the frontier by agreement at the date of the decision referred to in Article 89, the frontier line in question will be determined by the Principal Allied Powers, who will also provide for its being traced on the spot.

ARTICLE 93.

Armenia accepts and agrees to embody in a Treaty with the Principal Allied Powers such provisions as may be deemed necessary by these Powers to protect the interests of inhabitants of that State who differ from the majority of the population in race, language, or religion.

Armenia further accepts and agrees to embody in a Treaty with the Principal Allied Powers such provisions as these Powers may deem necessary to protect freedom of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of other nations.

SECTION XII.

NATIONALITY.

ARTICLE 125.

Persons over eighteen years of age habitually resident in territory detached from Turkey in accordance with the present Treaty and differing in race from the majority of the population of such territory shall within one year from the coming into force of the present Treaty be entitled to opt for Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Greece, the Hedjaz, Mesopotamia, Syria, Bulgaria or Turkey, if the majority of the population of the State selected is of the same race as the person exercising the right to opt.

ARTICLE 351.

Free access to the Black Sea by the port of Batum is accorded to Georgia, Azerbaijan and Persia, as well as to Armenia. This right of access will be exercised in the conditions laid down in Article 349.

ARTICLE 352.

Subject to the decision provided for in Article 89, Part III (Political Clauses), free access to the Black Sea by the port of Trebizond is accorded to Armenia. This right of access will be exercised in the conditions laid down in Article 349.

In that event Armenia will be accorded a lease in perpetuity, subject to determination by the League of Nations, of an area in the said port which shall be placed under the general regime of free zones laid down in Articles 34x to 344, and shall be used for the direct transit of goods coming from or going to that State.

The delimitation of the area referred to in the preceding paragraph, its connection with existing railways, its equipment and exploitation, and in general all the conditions of its utilisation, including the amount of the rental, shall be decided by a Commission consisting of one delegate of Armenia, one delegate of Turkey, and one delegate appointed by the League of Nations. These conditions shall be susceptible of revision every ten years in the same manner.

The present Treaty, in French, in English, and in Italian, shall be ratified. In case of divergence the French text shall prevail, except in Parts I (Covenant of the League of Nations) and XII (Labour), where the French and English texts shall be of equal force.

The deposit of ratifications shall be made at Paris as soon as possible.

Powers of which the seat of the Government is outside Europe will be entitled merely to inform the Government of the French Republic through their diplomatic representative at Paris that their ratification has been given; in that case they must

transmit the instrument of ratification as soon as possible.

A first procès-verbal of the deposit of ratifications will be drawn up as soon as the Treaty has been ratified by Turkey on the one hand, and by three of the Principal Allied Powers on the other hand.

From the date of this first procès-verbal the Treaty will come into force between the High Contracting Parties who have ratified it.

For the determination of all periods of time provided for in the present Treaty this date will be the date of the coming into force of the Treaty.

In all other respects the Treaty will enter into force for each Power at the date of the deposit of its ratification.

The French Government will transmit to all the signatory Powers a certified copy of the procès-verbaux of the deposit of ratifications.

IN FAITH WHEREOF the above-named Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty.

Done at Sevrès, the tenth day of August one thousand nine hundred and twenty, in a single copy which will remain deposited in the archives of the French Republic, and of which authenticated copies will be transmitted to each of the Signatory Powers.

(L. S.) GEORGE GRAHAME.

(L. S.) GEORGE H. PERLEY.

(L. S.) ANDREW FISHER.

(L. S.) GEORGE GRAHAME.

(L. S.) R. A. BLANKENBERG.

(L. S.) ARTHUR HIRTZEL.

(L. S.) A. MILLERAND.

(L. S.) F. FRANÇOIS-MARSAL.

(L. S.) JULES CAMBON. (L. S.) PALÉOLOGUE.

(L. S.) BONIN.

(L. S.) MARIETTI.

(L. S.) K:. MATSUI.

(L. S.) A. AHARONIAN.

(L. S.) J. VAN DEN HEUVEL.

(L. S.) ROLIN JAEQUEMYNS,

(L. S.) E. K. VENIZELOS.

(L. S.) A. ROMANOS.

(L. S.) MAURICE ZAMOYSKI.

(L. S.) ERASME PILTZ

(L. S.) AFFONSO COSTA.

Chapter 20

Wilsonian Armenia

The Treaty of Sèvres, as mentioned in the previous chapters, was to establish peace between Armenia and Turkey. It also set the stage for the borders between the two states to be determined by the President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson.

On behalf of Ottoman Empire, the Treaty of Sèvres was signed by the internationally recognized leader of post-World War I Ottoman Empire, Sultan Abdul Hamid. As the Supreme leader of the Ottoman Empire, the Sultan possessed ultimate power and did not need the consent of a representative body of the people to approve his decision. With that said, and to his credit, he did, nevertheless, consult with his senate and was given the approval of 48 out of 50.

The newly independent Armenia was recognized as a *de facto* government on January 19, 1920, by the Supreme Council of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers in Paris, namely Great Britain, France, and Italy on the condition that the recognition bestowed on them would not prejudge the question of the eventual frontier[79]. The United States recognized the *de facto* government of the Republic of Armenia on April 23, 1920[80], on the condition that the territorial frontiers should be left for a later determination[81]. Thus, the Republic of Armenia signed the Treaty of Sèvres as an internationally recognized body representing the Armenian people.

To date, the Treaty of Sèvres has been the only treaty between Turkey and Armenia, signed by a legitimate Armenian representation. There have been a number of treaties signed by persons or powers that were not internationally recognized when representing Armenia. The most noteworthy treaty that was NOT signed by a legitimate representative of the Armenian government was the Treaty of Lausanne, on July 24, 1923. This treaty illegally redrew the Turkish-Armenian borders defined in the U.S. President Woodrow Wilson's Arbitral Award on Turkish-Armenian Boundary (November 22, 1920) and which said territories are under occupation by the country of Turkey today.

The following is the full text of the Arbitral Award on Turkish-Armenian Boundary by President of the United States Woodrow Wilson:

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79 Hackworth G. H., Digest of International Law, Turkish-Armenian Boundary Question, vol. I, Washington, 1940, p. 715.

80 The United States recognized the independence of Armenia, but refused to recognize that of Georgia & Azerbaijan. (H. Lauterpacht, Recognition in International Law, Cambridge, 1947, p. 11. Papers Relating to Foreign Relations of the United States, 1920, vol. III, Washington, 1936, p. 778, hereinafter - FRUS).

81 Hackworth, op. cit., p. 715.

THE FRONTIER BETWEEN ARMENIA AND TURKEY

AS DECIDED BY

PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON

NOVEMBER 22, 1920

Introductory Note

On April 26, 1920, the Supreme Council of the Allied Powers, in conference at San Remo, addressed to the President of the United States of America an invitation to act as arbitrator in the question of the boundary between Turkey and Armenia, to be fixed within the four vilayets of Erzerum, Trebizond, Van and Bitlis.

On May the 17th, 1920, President Wilson accepted the invitation of the Supreme Council.

On August 10, 1920, a Treaty of Peace was signed at Sevres by Plenipotentiary Representatives of the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan, and of Armenia, Belgium, Greece, Poland, Portugal, Roumania and Czecho-Slovakia, of the one part; and of Turkey, of the other part, which Treaty contained, among other provisions, the following:

ARTICLE 89: Turkey and Armenia, as well as the other High Contracting Powers, agree to submit to the arbitration of the President of the United States of America the question of the frontiers to be fixed between Turkey and Armenia in the Vilayets of Erzerum, Trebizond, Van and Bitlis, and to accept his decision thereupon, as well as any stipulations he may prescribe as to access for Armenia to the sea, and as to the demilitarization of any portion of Turkish territory adjacent to the said frontier.

On October 18, 1920, the Secretariat General of the Peace Conference, acting under the instructions of the Allied Powers, transmitted to President

Wilson an authenticated copy of the above mentioned Treaty.

On November 22, 1920, President Wilson affixed his seal to his decision delineating the boundaries between Turkey and Armenia.

This decision with a covering letter to the President of the Supreme Council was communicated under date of November 24, 1920, through the American Ambassador in Paris to the Secretariat General of the Peace Council.

President Wilson's letter and decision was as follows:

PRESIDENT WILSON'S LETTER

PRESIDENT WILSON
TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL
OF THE ALLIED POWERS

MR. PRESIDENT:

By action of the Supreme Council taken on April 26th of this year an invitation was tendered to me to arbitrate the question of the boundaries between Turkey and the new state of Armenia. Representatives of the powers signatory on August 10th of this year to the Treaty of Sevres have acquiesced in conferring this honor upon me and have signified their intention of accepting the frontiers which are to be determined by my decision, as well as any stipulation which I may prescribe as to access for Armenia to the sea and any arrangement for the demilitarization of Turkish territory lying along the frontier thus established. According to the terms of the arbitral reference set forth in part III, Section 6, Article 89, of the Treaty of Sevres, the scope of the arbitral competence assigned to me is clearly limited to the determination of the frontiers of Turkey and Armenia in the Vilayets of Erzerum, Trebizond, Van and Bitlis. With full consciousness of the responsibility placed upon me by your request, I have approached this difficult task with eagerness to serve the best interests of the Armenian people as well as the remaining inhabitants, of whatever race or religious belief they may be, in this stricken country, attempting to exercise also the strictest possible justice toward the populations, whether Turkish, Kurdish, Greek or Armenian, living in the adjacent areas.

In approaching this problem it was obvious that the existing ethnic and religious distribution of the population in the four vilayets could not, as in other parts of the world, be regarded as the guiding element of the decision. The ethnic consideration, in the case of a population originally so complexly intermingled, is further beclouded by the terrible results of the massacres and deportations of the Armenians and Greeks, and by the dreadful losses also suffered by the moslem inhabitants through refugee movements and the scourge of typhus and other diseases. The limitation of the arbitral assignment to the four vilayets named in Article 89 of the Treaty made it seem a duty and an obligation that as large an area within these v1layets be granted to the Armenian state as could be done, while meeting the basic requirements of an adequate natural frontier and of geographic and economic unity for the new state. It was essential to keep in mind that the new state of Armenia, including as it will a large section of the former Armenian provinces of Transcaucasian Russia, will at the outset have a population about equally divided between

Moslem and Christian elements and of diverse racial and tribal relationship. The citizenship of the Armenian Republic will, by the tests of language and religion, be composed of Turks, Kurds, Greeks, Kizilbashis, Lazes and others, as well as Armenians. The conflicting territorial desires of Armenians, Turks, Kurds and Greeks along the boundaries assigned to my arb1tral decision could not always be harmonized. In such cases it was my belief that consideration of healthy economic life for the future state of Armenia should he decisive. Where, however, the requirements of a correct geographic boundary permitted, all mountain and valley districts along the border which were predominantly Kurdish or Turkish have been left to Turkey rather than assigned to Armenia, unless trade relations with definite market towns threw them necessarily into the Armenian state. Wherever information upon tribal relations and seasonal migrations was obtainable, the attempt was made to respect the integrity of tribal groupings and nomad pastoral movements.

From the Persian border southwest of the town of Kotur the boundary line of Armenia is determined by a rugged natural barrier of great height, extending south of Lake Van and lying southwest of the Armenian cities of Bitlis and Mush. This boundary line leaves as a part of the Turkish state the entire Sandjak of Hakkiari, or about one-half of the Vilayet of Van, and almost the entire Sandjak of Sairt. The sound physiographic reason which seemed to justify this decision was further strengthened by the ethnographic consideration that Hakkiari and Sairt are predominantly Kurdish in population and economic relations. It did not seem to the best interest of the Armenian state to include in it the upper valley of the Great Zah River, largely Kurdish and Nestorian Christian in population and an essential element of the great Tigris river irrigation system of Turkish Kurdistan and Mesopotamia. The control of these headwaters should be kept, wherever possible, within the domain of the two interested states, Turkey and Mesopotamia. For these reasons the Armenian claim upon the upper valley of the Great Zah could not be satisfied.

The boundary upon the west from Bitlis and Mush northward to the vicinity of Erzingan lies well within Bitlis and Erzerum vilayets. It follows a natural geographic barrier, which furnishes Armenia with perfect security and leaves to the Turkish state an area which is strongly Kurdish. Armenian villages and village nucleon this section, such as Kighi and Temran, necessarily remain Turkish because of the strong commercial and church ties which connect them with Kharput rather (than?) with any Armenian market and religious centers which lie within Bitlis or Erzerum vilayets. This decision seemed an unavoidable consequence of the inclusion of the city and district of Kharput in the Turkish state as determined by Article 27 II (4) and Article 89 of the Treaty of Sevres.

From the northern border of the Dersim the nature and the direction of the frontier decision was primarily dependent upon the vital question of supplying an adequate access to the sea for the state of Armenia. Upon the correct solution of this problem depends, in my judgment, the future economic well-being of the entire population, Turkish, Kurdish, Greek, Armenian, or Yezidi, in those portions of the vilayets of Erzerum, Bitlis and Van which lie within the state of Armenia. I was not unmindful of the desire of the Pontic Greeks, submitted to me in a memorandum similar, no doubt, in argument and content to that

presented to the Supreme Council last March at its London Conference, that the unity of the coastal area of the Black sea inhabited by them be preserved and that arrangement be made for an autonomous administration for the region stretching from Riza to a point west of Sinope. The arbitral jurisdiction assigned to me by Article 89 of the Treaty of Sevres does not include the possibility of decision or recommendation by me upon the question of their desire for independence, or failing that, for autonomy. Nor does it include the right to deal with the littoral of the independent Sandjak of Djanik or of the Vilayet of Kastamuni into which extends the region of the unity and autonomy desired by the Pontic Greeks.

Three possible courses lay open to me: to so delimit the boundary that the whole of Trebizond Vilayet would he within Turkey, to grant it in its entirety to Armenia, or to grant a part of it to Armenia and leave the remainder to Turkey. The majority of the population of Trebizond Vilayet is incontestably Moslem and the Armenian element, according to all pre-war estimates, was undeniably inferior numerically to the Greek portion of the Christian minority. Against a decision so clearly indicated on ethnographic grounds weighed heavily the future of Armenia. I could only regard the question in the light of the needs of a new political entity, Armenia, with mingled Moslem and Christian populations, rather than as a question of the future of the Armenians alone. It has been and is now increasingly my conviction that the arrangements providing for Armenia's access to the sea must be such as to offer every possibility for the development of this state as one capable of reassuming and maintaining that useful role in the commerce of the world which its geographic position, athwart a great historic trade route, assigned to it in the past. The civilization and the happiness of its mingled population will largely depend upon the building of railways and the increased accessibility of the hinterland of the three vilayets to European trade and cultural influences.

Eastward from the port of Treb1zond along the coast of Lazistan no adequate harbor facilities are to be found and the rugged character of the Pontic range separating Lazistan Sandjak from the Vilayet of Erzerum is such as to isolate the hinterland from the coast so far as practicable railway construction is concerned. The existing caravan route from Persia across the plains of Bayazid and Erzerum, which passes through the towns of Baiburt and Gumush-khana and debouches upon the Black Sea at Trebizond, has behind it a long record of persistent usefulness.

These were the considerations which have forced me to revert to my original conviction that the town and harbor of Trebizond must become an integral part of Armenia. Because of the still greater adaptability of the route of the Karshut valley, ending at the town of Tireboli, for successful railway construction and operation I have deemed also essential to include this valley in Armenia, with enough territory lying west of it to insure its adequate protection. I am not unaware that the leaders of the Armenian delegations have expressed their willingness to renounce claim upon that portion of Trebizond Vilayet lying west of Surmena. Commendable as is their desire to avoid the assumption of authority over a territory so predominantly Moslem, I am confident that, in acquiescing in their eagerness to do justice to the Turks and Greeks in Trebizond I should be doing an irreparable injury to the future of the

land of Armenia and its entire population, of which they will be a part. It was upon such a basis, Mr. President, that the boundaries were so drawn as to follow mountain ridges west of the city of Erzingan to the Pontic range and thence to the Black Sea, in such a way as to include in Armenia the indentation called Zephyr Bey. The decision to leave to Turkey the harbor towns and hinterland of Kerasun and Ordu in Trebizond Sandjak was dictated by the fact that the population of this region is strongly Moslem and Turkish and that these towns are the outlets for the easternmost sections of the Turkish vilayet of Sivas. The parts of Erzerum and Trebizond Vilayets which, by reason of t1ns delimitation, remain Turkish rather than become Armenian comprise approximately 12,120 square kilometers.

In the matter of demilitarization of Turkish territory adjacent to the Armenian border as it has been broadly described above, it seemed both impracticable and unnecessary to establish a demilitarized zone which would require elaborate prescriptions and complex agencies for their execution. Fortunately, Article 177 of the Treaty of Sevres prescribes the disarming of all existing forts throughout Turkey. Articles 159 and 196-200 provide in addition agencies entirely adequate to meet all the dangers of disorder which may arise along the borders, the former by the requirement that a proportion of the officers of the gendarmerie shall be supplied by the various Allied or neutral Powers, tile latter by the establishment of a Military Inter-Allied Commission of Control and Organization. In these circumstances the only additional prescriptions which seemed necessary and advisable were that the Military Inter-Allied Commission of Control and Organization should, in conformity with the powers bestowed upon it by Article 200 of the Treaty, select the superior officers of the gendarmerie to be stationed in the vilayets of Turkey lying contiguous to the frontiers of Armenia solely from those officers who will be detailed by the Allied or neutral Powers in accordance with Article 159 of the Treaty; and that these officers, under the supervision of the Military Inter-Allied Commission of Organization and Control, should be especially charged with the duty of preventing military preparations directed against the Armenian frontier.

It is my confident expectation that the Armenian refugees and their leaders, in the period of their return into the territory thus assigned to them, will by reframing from any and all form of reprisals give to the world an example of that high moral courage which must always be the foundation of national strength. The world expects of them that they give every encouragement and help within their power to those Turkish refugees who may desire to return to their former homes in the districts of Trebizond, Erzerum, Van and Bitlis remembering that these peoples, too, have suffered greatly. It is my further expectation that they will offer such considerate treatment to the Laz and the Greek inhabitants of the coastal region of the Black Sea, surpassing in the liberality of their administrative arrangements, if necessary, even the ample provisions for non-Armeman racial and religious groups embodied in the Minorities Treaty signed by them upon August 10th of this year, that these peoples will gladly and willingly work in completest harmony with the Armenians in laying firmly the foundation of the new Republic of Armenia.

I have the honor to submit herewith the text of my decision.

Accept (etc.).
WOODROW WILSON
Washington, November 22, 1920.

DECISION OF PRESIDENT WILSON

Respecting the Frontier Between Turkey and Armenia, Access for Armenia to the Sea, and the Demilitarization of Turkish Territory Adjacent to the Armenian Frontier.

WOODROW WILSON, President of the United States,
To Whom it shall Concern,
Greetings:

Whereas, on April 26, 1920, the Supreme Council of the Allied Powers, in conference at San Remo, addressed to the President of the United States of America an invitation to act as arbitrator in the question of the boundary between Turkey and Armenia, to be fixed within the four Vilayets of Erzerum, Trebizond, Van, and Bitlis;

And whereas, on May 17, 1920, my acceptance of this invitation was telegraphed to the American Ambassador in Paris, to he conveyed to the Powers represented on the Supreme Council;

And whereas, on August 10, 1920, a Treaty of Peace was Signed at Sevres by Plenipotentiary Representatives of the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan, and of Armenia, Belgium, Greece, Poland, Portugal, Roumarua, and CzechoSlovakia, of the one part; and of Turkey, of the other part, which Treaty contained, among other provisions, the following:

"*ARTICLE* 89. *Turkey and Armenia as well as the other High Contracting Parties agree to submit to the arbitration of the President of the United States of America the question of the frontier to be fixed between Turkey and Armenia in the Vilayets of Erzerum, Trebizond, Van and Bitlis, and to accept his decision thereupon, as well as any stipulations he may prescribe as to access for Armenia to the sea, and as to the demilitarization of any portion of Turkish territory adjacent to the said frontier*";

And whereas, on October 18, 1920, the Secretariat General of the Peace Conference, acting under the instructions of the Allied Powers, transmitted to me, through the Embassy of the United States of America in Pans, an authenticated copy of the above mentioned Treaty, drawing attention to the said Article 89,

Now, therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson. President of the United States of America, upon whom has thus been conferred the authority of arbitrator, having examined the question in the light of the most trustworthy information available, and with a mind to the highest interests of justice, do hereby declare the following decision:

I

The frontier between Turkey and Armenia in the Vilayets of Erzerum, Trebizond, Van, and Bitlis, shall be fixed as follows·

1. The initial point[82] shall be chosen on the ground at the Junction of

82 It is my understanding that this initial point will lie upon the former Turkish-Peman frontier referred to in the Article 21 II (4) of the Treaty of Sevres; but 40 miles of the said frontier, within which the initial point of the Armenian frontier is included, were left undemarcated

the Tukish-Persian frontier with the eastern termination of the administrative boundary between the Sandjaks of Van and Hakluari, of the Vilayet of Van, as this administrative boundary appears upon the Bashkala sheet of the Turkish map, scale 1 200,000, editions published in the Turkish financial years 1330 and 1331 (1914-15). From this initial point the boundary shall extend southwestward to the western peak of Merkezer Dagh, situated about 6 kilometers westward from point 3350 (10,990 feet), about 2 kilometers southeastward from the village of Yokary Ahvalan, and approximately 76 kilometers southeastward from the city of Van.

the sandjak boundary specified above, then the admimstrative boundary between the Kazas of Mamuret-ul-Hamid and Elback, then the same sandjak boundary specified above, all modified, where necessary, to follow the main water-parting between the Zap Su (Great Zab River) and the Khoshah Su, and dividing equably the summits of the passes Krdes Gedik and Chokh Gedik;

then northwestward about 28 kilometers to Klesiry Dagh,

a line to be fixed on the ground, following the mam water-partings between the Khoshah Su and the streams flowing into the Shatak Su, and traversing the pass south of the village of Yokary Ahvalan, and passing through Shkolans

Dagh (3100 meters or 10,170 feet) and the Belereshuk pass;

thence southwestward to the junction of an unnamed stream with the Shatak Su at a point about 10 kilometers southward from the village of Shatak,

a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings, and passing through Koh Kiran Daghlar, San Dagh (3150 meters or 10,335 feet), Kevmetala Tepe (3,500 meters or 11,480 feet, point 3,540 (11,615 feet), in such a way as to leave to Armenia the village of Eyreti, and to Turkey the village of Araz, and to cross the Shatak Su at least 2 kilometers southward from the village of Dir Mouem Kihsa,

thence westward to the point where the Biths•Van Vilayet boundary reaches the Moks Su from the west, situated about 18 kilometers southward from the village of Moks,

a line to be fixed on the ground, following the mam water-partings, leaving to Armenia the villages of Kachet, Smpass, and Ozim, passing through Kanisor Tepe (3,245 meters or 10,645 feet), an unnamed peak about 3 kilometers south ward from Arnus Dagh (3,550 meters or 11,645 feet), crossing an unnamed stream about 2 kilometers southward from the village of Smpass, passing through point 3,000 (9,840 feet), following the boundary between the Vilayets of Van and Bitlis for about 3 kilometers southwestward from this point and continuing southwestward on the same ridge to an unnamed peak about 2 kilometers eastward from Moks Su, and then descending to this stream;

thence northward to an unnamed peak on the boundary between the Vilayets of Van and Bitlis about 3 kilometers westward from the pass at Mata Gedtk,

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by the Turko-Persian Frontier Commission in 1914. The initial point contemplated lies about l kilometer southward from the village of Kara Hissa and approximately 25 kilometers southwestward from the village of Kotur, and may be fixed on the ground as near this location as the Boundary Commission shall determine, provided **it lies** at the junction of the Van-Hakkian Sandjak boundary with the frontier of **Persia.**

the administrative boundary between the Vilayets of Van and Bitlis, modified south of Vankin Dagh (3,200 meters or 10,500 feet) to follow the main water-parting;

thence westward to the peak Meidan Chenidiani, situated on the boundary between the Sandjaks of Bitlis and Sairt about 29 kilometers south eastward from the city of Bitlis,

a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partmgs, passing through Veberhan Dagh (3,110 meters or 10,200 feet), crossing the Kesan Dere about 2 kilometers southward from the village of Khoros, leavingg to Turkey the villages of Semhaj and Nevaleyn as well as the bridge or ford on the trail between them, and leaving to Armenia the village of Chopans and the trail leading to it from the northeast;

thence westward to the Guzel Dere Su at a point about 23 kilometers southward from the city of Bitlis and about 2 kilometers southward from Nuri Ser peak (2,150 meters or 7,050 feet),

the administrative boundary between the Sandjaks of Bitlis and Sairt, and then, a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings, and passing through points 2,750 and 2,700 of Kur Dagh (9,020 and 8,860 feet respectively), Biluki Dagh (2,230 meters or 7,315 feet), and Sihaser Tepe (2,250 meters or 7,380 feet);

thence westward to the junction of the Bitlis Su and the unnamed stream

near the village of Deshtwni, about 30 kilometers southwestward from the city of Bitlis.

a line to be fixed on the ground, following the mam water-partings, leaving to Turkey the Villages of Lered and Daruni, and to Armenia the village of Enbu and all portions of the trail leading northeastward to the Bitlis Su from Mergelu peak (1,850 meters or 6,070 feet), and passing through Mergelu Tepe and Shikh Tabur ridge;

thence westward to the Zuk (Gharzan) Su at the point about 11 kilometers northeastward from the village of Hazo and approximately l kilometer upstream from the village of Zily,

a line to be fixed on the ground, following the mam water-partings, leaving to Armenia the village of Desbtumi, passing through the eastern peak of Kalmen Dagh (2 710 meters or 8,890 feet) and continuing in such a manner ae to leave to Armenia the upland dolina, or basin of interior drainage, to traverse the pass about 3 kilometers westward from the village of Avesipy, passing through Sbelasb Dagh (1,944 meters or 6,380 feet);

thence westward to the Sassun Dere at a point about 4 kilometers southwestward from the village of Kabil JeVJz and approximately 47 kilometers southward from the city of Mush,

a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings through Cheyardash peak (2,001 meters or 6,565 feet), Keupeka peak (1,931 meters or 6,335 feet), an unnamed peak on the Sasswi Dagh about 4 kilometers south westward from Malato Dagh (2,967 meters or 9,735 feet), point 2,229 (7,310 feet), and leaving to Turkey the village of Gundenu,

thence northwestward to the Talury Dere at a point about 2 kilometers upstream from the village of Kaeser and approximately 37 kilometers

northeastward from the village of Seylevan (Farkm),

a line to be fixed on the ground, following the mam water-partings and passing through an unnamed peak about 2 kilometers eastward from the Village of Seyluk, and through point 2,073 (6,800 feet), leaving to Armenia the village of Heyshtirem;

thence northwestward to the western tributary of the Talury Dere at a point about 2 kilometers eastward from the village of Helin and approximately 42 kilometers southwestward from the city of Mush,

a line to be fixed on the ground, following the mam water-partings, and passing through point 2,251 (7,385 feet),

thence northwestward to the junction of the Kulp Boghazy (Kulp Su) and Aekar Dere, approximately 42 kilometers southwestward from city of Mush,

a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings leaving to Turkey the village of Helin and to Armenia the Village of Kehirvamk;

thence northwestward to a point on the administrative boundary between the Sandjaks of Gendj and Mush northeast of Mir Ismail Dagh, and situated about 5 kilometers westward from the village of Pelekoz and approximately 19 kilometers southward from the village of Ardushin,

a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-parting, and passing through the Komiss Dagh;

thence northwestward to the Frat Nehri (Murad Su, or Euphrates) at a point to be determined on the ground about 1 kilometer upstream from the village of Dome and approximately 56 kilometers westward from the city of Mush,

the administrative boundary between the Sandjaks of Gendj and Mush northward for about 2 kilometers, then a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings westward to an unnamed peak approximately 6 kilometers east of Chutela (Akche Kara) Dagh (2,940 meters or 9,645 feet), then northward passing through Hadije Tepe on Arahik Dagh, leaving to Turkey the village of Kulay and to Armenia the village of Kluhuran;

thence northwestward to the Gumk Su at a point about midway between two trails crossing this river about half way between the villages of Elmaly and Chenajki, and approximately 26 kilometers northeastward from the Village of Cholik (Chevelik),

a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings, passing through an unnamed peak about 2 kilometers westward from the village of Shanghar, along Solkhan Dagh, and through point 2,200 (7,220 feet), leaving to Turkey the villages of Shanghar and ChenaJky, and to Armenia the villages of Kumistan, Lichinak, and Elmaly;

thence northwestward to the boundary between the Vilayets of Erzerum and Bitlis at an unnamed peak near where a straight line between the villages of Erchek and Agha Keui would intersect said vilayet boundary,

a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings, passing through point 2,050 (6,725 feet),

thence northward to an unnamed peak on said vilayet boundary about 8 kilometers northwestward from Kartahk Tepe on the Choris Dagh,

the administrative boundary between the Vilayets of Erzerum and Bitlis;

thence westward to the Buyuk Su (Kighi Su) at a point about 2 kilometers upstream from the junction of the Ghabzu Dere with it, and approximately 11 kilometers northwestward from the village of Kighi,

a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings of the Sheitan Daghlar, passmg through points 2,610 (8565 feet), Sheitan Dagh (2,906 meters or 9,535 feet), Hakstun Dagh, and leaving to Armenia the village of Dinek and the ford or bridge southwest of this village;

thence westward to the Dar Boghaz (Kuttu Dere) at a point about 3 kilo meters southward from the village of Chardaklar (Palu.mor),

a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings, leaving to Armenia the villages of Shorakh and Ferhadin, passing through Ghabartl Dagh (2,550 meters or 8,365 feet), Sian Dagh (2,750 meters or 9,020 feet), the 2,150 meter pass on the Palum or-Kighi trail near Mustapha Bey Konaghy, Feziria Tepe (2,530 meters or 8,300 feet), point 2,244 (7,360 feet), and point 2,035 (6,675 feet);

thence westward to the point common to the boundaries of the Sandjaks of Erzingan and Erzerum and the Vilayet of Mamuret-ul-Aziz, situated at a sharp angle in the vilayet boundary, approximately 24 kilometers westward from the village of Palumor and 32 kilometers southeastward from the city of Erzingan,

a line to be fixed on the ground, following the mam water-partings, and passing northwestward through an unnamed peak about 2 kilometers south westward from Palumor, through Silos (Ker smod) Dagh (2,405 meters or 7,890 feet) to an unnamed peak on the southern boundary of the Sandjak of Erzingan, about 8 kilometers southwestward from the Palwnor-Erzingan pa88, then turning southwestward along said Sandjak boundary for nearly 13 kilometers, passing through Karaja Kaleh (3,100 meters or 10,170 feet);

thence westward to an unnamed peak on the boundary between the Vilayets of Erzerum and Mamuret-ul-Aziz about 3 kilometers northeastward from the pass on the trail across the Manzur Silsilesi between Kennakh on the Euphrates and Pelur in the Dersim, the peak being approxiniately 40 kilometers southwestward from the city of Erzingan,

the administrative boundary between the vilayets of Erzerurn and Mamuret ul-Aziz, modified[83], in case of a majority of the voting members of the Boundary Commission deem it wise, to follow the main water-parting along the ridge between an unnamed peak about 2 kilometer southwest of Merjan Daghlar (3,449 meters or 11,315 feet) and Katar Tepe (3,300 meters or 10,825 feet);

thence northward to the Frat Nehri (Kara Su, or Euphrates) at a point to be determined on the ground about 6 kilometers eastward from the village of Kemagh and approximately 35 kilometers southwestward from the city of Erzingan,

a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings, leaving to Turkey the trail from Pelur m the Dersim to Kemakh on the Euphrates, and

83 At the locality named, the vilayet boundary (according to Khozat-Dersim sheet of the Turkish General Staff map, scale 1 200,000) descends the northern slope of the Monzur-Silsileri for about 7 kilometers. The junction of the boundary between the Kazas of Erzingan and Kemakh in Erzingan Sandjak of Erzerum

to Armenia the village of Koja Arbler,

thence, northward to the boundary between the vilayeta of Erzerum and Trebizond at a point to be determined about 1 kilometer west of peak 2,930 (2,630 or 8,625 feet) and about 4 kilometers southward from the village of Metkut, or approximately 39 kilometers northwestward from the city of Erzingan,

a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings, leaving to Turkey the villages of Chalghy Yady, Toms, and Alamlik, and to Armenia the village of Erkghan and the road and col south of the village of Metkut, passing through Utch Kardash Tepe, Kelek Kiran (Tekke Tash, 2,800 meters or 9,185 feet), Kehnam Dagh (or Kara Dagh, 3,030 meters or 9,940 feet), dividing equably between Armenia and Turkey the summit of the pass about 2 kilometers westward from the village of Zazker and, similarly, the summit of the pass of Kral Kham Boghazy near the village of Chardakh, passing through point 2760 on Kara Dagh (9,055 feet), point 2,740 (8,990 feet), and a point to be determined on the ground, situated near the Iky Sivry stream lcsa than 2 kilometers westward from the Chimen Dagh pass, and located in such a manner as to leave to Turkey the junction of the two roads leading westward to the villages of Kuchi Kem and Kara Yayrak, and to Annerua the junction of two other roads leading to the villages of Metkut and Kirmana; the Boundary Commission shall determine in the field the most equable disposition of the highway between points 2,760 and 2,740;[84]

thence northwestward to the Kelk.it Chai (Kelkit lrmak) at the point where the boundary between the Vilayets of Treb1zond and S1vas reaches 1t from the south,

the administrative boundary between the Vilayets of Trebizond and Erzerum, and then the administrative boundary between the Vilayets of Trebizond and Sivas,

thence northward to an unnamed peak on the boundary between the Vilayets of Trebizond and Sivas about 4 kilometers southwestward from Borgha Paya (2,995 meters or 9,825 feet) the latter being situated approximately 38 kilometers southwestward from the city of Gumush-Khana,

a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings, leaving to Armenia the villages of Halkit, Smanh, Kihktm, and Kirtanos, and to Turkey the villages of Kar Kishla, Sadik, Kara Kia, and Ara, crossing the pass between the western tributaries of the Shiran Chai and the eastern headwaters of the Barsak Dere (Kara Chai) about 43 kilometers eastward from the city of Karahissar Sharki (Shebm Karahissar);

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84 Vilayet with the boundary of Dersim Sand1ak of Mamuret-ul-Aziz Vilayet lies within 14 kilometers of the Euphrates River This leaves to Turkey a military bridgehead north of an 11,000 foot mountain range and only 20 kilo meters south of the city of Erzmgan. I am not empowered to change the administrative boundary at this point, and these 40 square kilometers of territory lie outside the four vilayets specified in Article 89 of the Treaty of Sevres.

However, I venture to call the attention of the Boundary Commission to the desirability of consulting the local inhabitants with a view to possible modification of the vilayet boundary at this point.

thence northeastward, northward, and westward to an unnamed peak on the boundary between the Vilayets of Trebizond and S1vas situated about 7 kilometers northwestward from Yerchi Tepe (2,690 meters or 8,825 feet) and approximately 47 kilometers south southeastward from the city of Kerasun,

the administrative boundary between the Vilayets of Trebizond and Sivas;

thence northward, from the point last mentioned, on the crest of the Pontic Range, to the Black Sea, at a point to be determined on the seacoast about l kilometer westward from the village of Kesbab, and approximately 9 kilometers eastward from the city of Kerasun,

a line to be fixed on the ground, following the mam water-partings, leaving to Turkey the fields, pastures, forests, and Villages within the drainage basin of the Komit Dere (Ak Su) and its tributaries; and to Armenia the fields, pastures, forest, and villages within the drainage basins of the Yaghaj Dere (Espiya Dere) and the Venazit Dere (Keshab Dere) and their tributaries, and drawn in such a manner as to utilize the boundary between the Kazas of Tripoli (Tireholi) and Kerasun in the 7 kilometers just south of Kara Tepe (1,696 meters or 5,565 feet), and to provide the most convenient relationships between the new frontier and the trails along the ridges, as these relationships may be determined by the Boundary Commission in the field after consultation with the local inhabitants.

2. In case of any discrepancies between the text of this Decision and the maps on the scales of l ·1,000,000 and l ·200,000 annexed, the text will be final.

The limits of the four vilayets specified in Article 89 of the Treaty of Sevres are taken as of October 29, 1914

The frontier, as described above, JS drawn in red on an authenticated map on the scale of 1:1,000,000 which is annexed to the present Frontier Decision The geographical names here mentioned appear upon the maps accompanying this text,

The chief authorities used for the names of Geographical features, and of elevations of mountains, and the location of vilayet, sandjak, and kaza boundaries, are the Turkish General Staff map, scale l 200,000, and, in part, the British map, scale 1:1,000,000.

The maps on the scale of l 200,000 are recommended to the Boundary Commission, provided m Article 91, for their use in tracing on the spot the portion of the frontiers of Armenia established by this Decision.

II

The frontier described above by assigning the harbor of Trebizond and the valley of Karshut Su to Armenia, precludes the necessity of further provision for access for Armenia to the sea.

III

In addition to the general provisions for the hmitatlon of armaments, embodied in the Military, Naval and Air Clauses, Part V of the Treaty of Sevres, the demilitarization of Turkish territory adjacent to the frontier of Armenia as above established shall be effected as follows:

The Military Inter-Allied Commission of Control and Organization provided for in Articles 196-200 of the Treaty of Sevres shall appoint the superior officers of the gendarmerie stationed in those vilayets of Turkey lying contiguous to the frontiers of the state of Armenia exclusively from the officers to be supplied by the various Allied or neutral Powers according to Article 159 of the said Treaty.

These officers shall, in addition to their other duties, be especially charged with the task of observing and reporting to the Military Inter-Allied Commission of Control and Organization upon any tendencies within these Turkish vilayets toward military aggression against the Armenian frontier, such as building strategic railways and highways, the establishment of depots of military supplies, the creation of military colonies, and the use of propaganda dangerous to the peace and quiet of the adjacent Armenian territory. The Military Inter-Allied Commission of Control and Organization shall thereupon take such action as is necessary to prevent the concentrations and other aggressive activities enumerated above.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done in duplicate at the city of Washington on the twenty-second day of November, one thousand nine hundred and twenty, and of
(SEAL) *the independence of the United States the one hundred and forty-fifth*

By the President:
WOODROW WILSON
BAINBRIDGE COLBY
Secretary of State In the end, as history has been written, the United States did not take the mandate for Armenia and this would eventually lead to Armenia loosing control over Wilsonian Armenia, the Armenian territories which today are occupied illegally by the country of Turkey.

The denial of the mandate was believed to be tied into foul play by the State Department. These charges against the State Department and two unnamed Cabinet officers were detailed at length but without complete documentation by Mr. Vahan Cardashian, attorney for the Delegation of the Armenian Republic, in an application for a Senate hearing and investigation. In his letter of March 24, 1928, to Senator Borah, Cardashian said if the Foreign Relations Committee failed to act favorably on his application he would request President Coolidge to present the American-Armenian dispute to The Hague Tribunal for adjudication. Cardashian's appeal follows in part:

> "My dear Senator Borah: I have the honour to apply for a hearing before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, upon the Lausanne Treaty, and to submit herewith a partial brief in support of this petition: "I charge that two members of the President's Cabinet bartered the Armenian case at the Lausanne Conference and conspired to effect the expulsion of nearly 1,000,000 Armenians from their ancestral homes, for a share in Mosul oil, and that they are now scheming to seize possession of the oil deposits in the deserted homes of their victims.

"I charge that these men and their confederates in this outrage have used and are now using the Department of State as their willing tool to carry out their infamous design; and that the Department of State, in an effort to cover up the tracks of those who have dictated its policy in this respect, has resorted to misrepresentation, intrigue and even terrorism, and has flooded the land with shameless and irresponsible propaganda.

...

"Under these clear circumstances, what, then, is the motive, the purpose behind the Turkish policy of the Department of State?

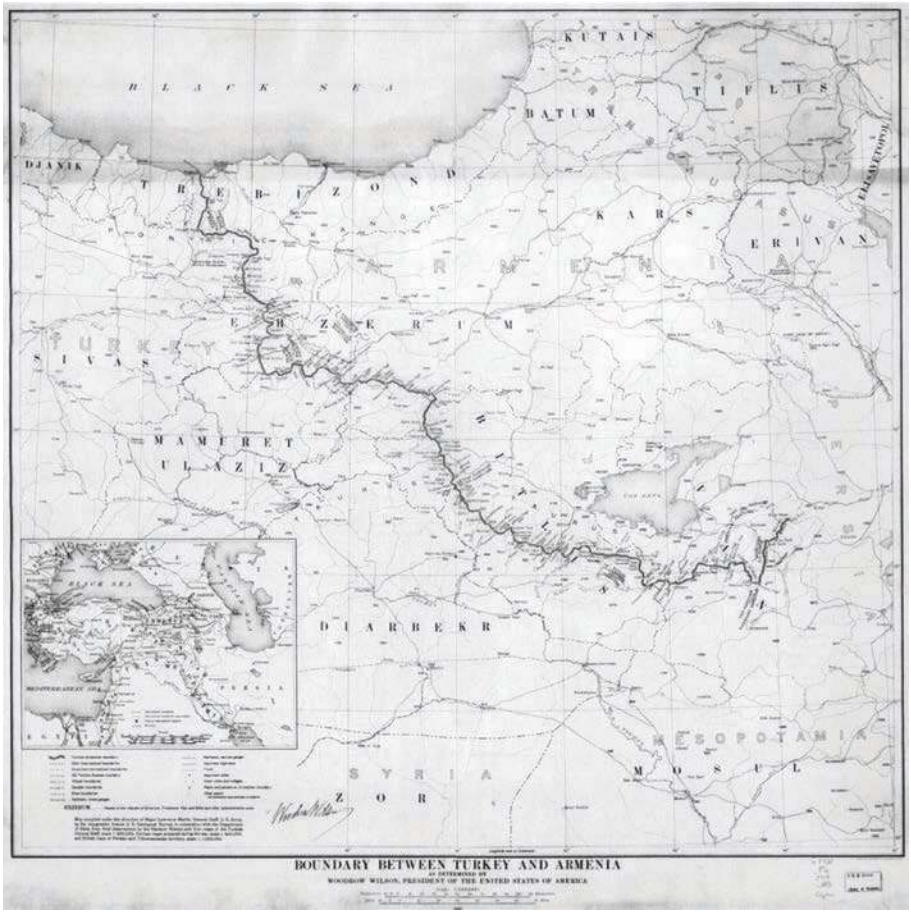
"I charge that it is oil.

"An Administration which has surrendered legitimate American rights and then has had the impudence to fill the air with irrelevancies, wild insinuations and falsehoods to divert attention from its disgraceful policy; an Administration which has deliberately trampled upon the Constitution of the United States in its conduct of foreign relations—such an Administration, I charge, would not hesitate, and has not hesitated, to sell out the Armenian people and their homes for oil, in the interest of a privileged group. ...

"If for any reason the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations should be unable and unwilling to consider these wrongs inflicted upon a gallant people, I shall then request the President of the United States to submit the points at issue between the present Administration and Armenia, to the Permanent Tribunal of Arbitration at The Hague, for adjudication."[85]

85 Washington United States Daily, April 11, 1928.

BOUNDARY BETWEEN TURKEY AND ARMENIA
AS DETERMINED BY
WOODROW WILSON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA



Chapter 21

Joining the League of Nations

When it became clear that the United States was not going to take the mandate for Armenia, and the Turkish Nationalist Movement led by Mustafa Kemal and, remotely, by convicted war criminals Talaat, Jemal, Enver, were working towards continuing the genocide, Armenia applied for membership to the newly formed League of Nations. This membership was hoped to grant Armenia military support. The Armenian armed forces were clearly too small to defend the territory they had, nor was it enough to take control of the territories that were to be awarded to them by the proposed mandate of the U.S. President Woodrow Wilson.

The following is the application by the Armenian Republic for admission to the League of Nations.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

APPLICATION BY THE ARMENIAN REPUBLIC FOR ADMISSION TO THE LEAGUE.

Memorandum by the Secretary- General.

1. On May 13th, 1920, M. Aharonian, President of the Delegation of the Armenian Republic at the Peace Conference in Paris, sent a telegraphic message to the President of the Council of the League of Nations, then meeting in Rome, asking to accept Armenia as a member of the League.

The Council, in its meeting of May 15th, 1920, referred this telegram for action to the Secretary-General.

The Secretary-General, in his reply dated May 13th, 1920, drew M. Aharonian's attention to the fact that only the Assembly is competent to admit as members of the League countries not mentioned in the annex to the Covenant.

It was added that probably the Armenian Government would be desirous of making an official request which would be distributed to the members of the Assembly before its first meeting.

On September 25th M. Aharonian, in accordance with instructions received from his Government, addressed a Note to the President of the League of Nations. In this Note it was requested to admit Armenia as a member of the League, a copy of this Note, which was duly distributed to the Members of the League and to the

Members of the Council, is annexed to this document.

(Annex 1.)

2. On October 9th, 1920, the Secretary- General addressed a letter to the Armenian Government asking them to send authenticated copies of any acts by which Armenia might have been recognised *de facto* or *de jure* by other Powers.

On October 18th, 1920, M. Aharonian replied to this request while sending authentic copies of documents bearing on the recognition of Armenia by certain other States, he drew the Secretary-General's attention to the fact that the most solemn act in connection with the recognition of Armenia by the Allied Powers is the Treaty of Peace between these Powers and Turkey, signed at Sèvres on August 10th, 1920. In the preamble to this treaty Armenia is mentioned as one of the Allied Powers.

It seems, therefrom, that Armenia has been recognised de jure by the other Allied Powers, viz., the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium, Greece, Hedjaz, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, the Serb-Croate-Slovene State and Czecho-Slovakia. Besides, the Treaty signed at Sèvres on August 10th, 1920, between the Principal Allied Powers and Armenia in execution of Article 93 of the Treaty of Peace with Turkey (see Annex 2 to this Memorandum) states explicitly that Armenia has been recognised as a sovereign and independent State by the Principal Allied Powers (see for the text of this treaty Annex 3 to this Memorandum).

In Article 88 of the Peace Treaty of Sèvres, Turkey declares to recognize Armenia as a free and independent State, in accordance with the action already taken by the Allied Powers. The Section of the Treaty of Sèvres dealing with Armenia is annexed to the present Memorandum (Annex 2).

According to further information received from the Armenian Government, Armenia was recognised as a free and independent State by the Government of the Argentine Repnblic. This had already been notified to the Secretary General by M. Pueyrredon, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Argentine Republic, in a telegram dated May 6th, 1920.

According to information which has reached the Secretariat unofficially, the Government of the United States of America have given recognition to the independence of Armenia.

At the Secretary General's request, M. Aharonian also sent an authenticated copy of Armenia's declaration of independence. The text of this document is annexed to the present Memorandum (Annex 3).

3. On March 12th, 1920, the Supreme Council of the Principal

Allied Powers enquired of the Council of the League of Nations as to whether they would be prepared to accept, on behalf of the League of Nations, the protection of the future independent State of Armenia.

On April 11th the Council of the League of Nations replied that it was of opinion that the constitution of a State of Armenia upon a free, secure and independent basis was an object which will receive, and which will deserve to receive, the sympathy and support of enlightened opinion throughout the civilised world.

They were of opinion that the best means to this end would be the acceptance of a Mandate for Armenia by a civilised State under the League of Nations, which solution, it was understood, would be welcome to the Armenians. The acceptance of such a responsibility would depend partly on the military measures which might be devised to liberate the territory and to protect the frontiers of the new State and partly on Finance.

The Council did not consider that the military situation of Armenia fell within its province.

With respect to Finance, it was of opinion that if a Mandatory State were relieved of financial liability such a State could probably be found by the League of Nations.

On April 26th the Supreme Council replied to the Council of the League of Nations that on April 25th they had appealed to President Wilson asking that the U.S.A. should accept a Mandate for Armenia and also that in any case the President of the United States should arbitrate on the boundaries of Armenia.

On May 31st, 1920, the Senate of the United States of America refused to accept a Mandate for Armenia. President Wilson accepted the post of Arbitrator of the frontiers of Armenia.

On September 20th, 1920, the Council of the League of Nations enquired of the Supreme Council whether it desired the question of Armenia to be submitted to the Assembly on November 15th, 1920, especially as regards the suggested financial guarantees.

In October, 1920, the Council of the League of Nations received appeals from the Armenian Government complaining of acts of aggression on the part of Turkish Nationalists and asking for the intervention of the League to ensure respect for the Treaty of Sèvres.

The Council in reply informed the Armenian Government that it was the duty of the Signatory Powers to the Treaty to secure its execution and promised to urge them to give Armenia all assistance possible.

In their communication to those of the Signatory Powers who are represented on the Supreme Council (France, Great Britain, Italy and Japan) on October 22nd, 1920, the Council reminded the four

Powers of the previous correspondence on the subject of Armenia and added that they would be glad if the frontiers of Armenia could be drawn without delay in view of the fact that the Armenian question might be discussed at the Assembly upon the occasion of the request for admission presented by Armenia.

As already stated, a treaty was signed at Sèvres on August 10th, 1920, by the Principal Allied Powers and Armenia, in execution of Article 93 of the Treaty of Peace with Turkey, In this treaty Armenia has agreed to certain provisions deemed necessary by the Principal Allied Powers to protect the interests of inhabitants of that State who differ from the majority of the population in race, language or religion. In addition to these provisions, and in accordance with Article 93 of the Peace Treaty with Turkey, there have been embodied in the treaty here under consideration provisions deemed necessary by the Principal Allied Powers to protect freedom of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of other nations. The text of this treaty is annexed to the present Memorandum (Annex 3).

Article 1 of the Covenant of the League of Nations provides:—

"Any fully self-governing State, Dominion or Colony not named in the Annex may become a Member of the League if its admission is agreed to by two-thirds of the Assembly, provided that it shall-give effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations, and shall accept such regulations as may be prescribed by the League in regard to its military, naval and air forces, and armaments."

In this connection it may be recalled that when Armenia applied for membership of the League she declared "to accept the regulations established by the League of Nations" (Annex 1).

It may be also stated that the Permanent Advisory Commission for Military, Naval and Air questions has considered and drafted regulations in accordance with Article 1 of the Covenant, in regard to the military, naval and air forces and armaments of the Armenian Republic.

In their report to the Council on this subject the Commission stated that it had received from Armenia the following information regarding her army and navy:—

Army.—The military forces of this country consist at present of about 35,000 men.

The political and geographical situation of Armenia is such that its Government is unable to submit proposals relating to the future military status of the country. The Commission pronounced itself in favour of Armenia being allowed to keep her present military forces in view of the situation of the moment.

Navy.—As, at the present time, Armenia has no coastal frontiers it does not possess a navy.

As regard Armenia's aerial forces the Commission received the following information:—

"At the present time Armenia possesses five aeroplanes and repeats for her aerial forces the same considerations as she puts forward in the matter of her military forces in regard of possible demands at a later date."

The Commission also recommended that the proposed armaments should only be considered as having a provisional character and that, among other countries seeking admission, Armenia should agree to submit herself to a revision of the armaments, which, in the opinion of the Commission, can now be granted to her if this would be found necessary at a later date. The Commission suggested that a request for revision might be made by Armenia herself; it would have to be accompanied by a statement of the new conditions, on which the request would be based.

The report of the Commission has formed the subject of a resolution of the Council, placed before the Assembly.

In a letter dated October 18th, 1920, the Secretary-General suggested to the Armenian Government that the Assembly might wish to hear explanations regarding questions in connection with Armenia's application for admission to the League of Nations, and that in view thereof it might be desirable for the Armenian Government to send a representative to Geneva, when the Assembly would be meeting, or to give its agent in some capital the necessary instructions.

On October 24th, 1920, Avetis Aharonian, the head of the Armenian Delegation at the Paris Peace Conference, informed the Secretary-General that he would represent Armenia for the said purposes in Geneva.

Sadly, the internationally recognized Armenian Government, under attack on all fronts, was forced to surrender the remainder of its territories to the Red Army of the Bolshevik Russia, on December 2, 1920. And Armenia never joined the League of Nations that might offer the protection she needed and save her independece.

ANNEX 1.

LETTER FEOM THE PRESIDENT OF THE DELEGATION OF THE ARMENIAN REPUBLIC.

27, Avenue Marceau,

Paris.

September 25th, 1920.

Ey. Docs. 7094/4395/4395

Sir,

In view of the signature of the Treaty of Sevres, finally formulating the recognition of the independence of the Armenian Republic by the Allied Powers, I have the honour, in accordance with instructions which I have just received from my Government, to apply for the admission of the Armenian State to the League of Nations.

Armenia declares that she accepts the régime established by the League of Nations.

I have the honour to be. Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(*Signed*) A. AHARINIAN,

President of the Delegation of the

Armenian republic to the Peace

Conference.

His Excellency, the President

of the League of nations.

ANNEX 2.

PEACE TEEATY BETWEEN THE ALLIED AND ASSOCIATED

POWEES AND TUEKEY, SIGNED AT SEVEES

ON AUGUST 10th, 1920.

SECTION VI.

AEMENIA.

Article 88.

Turkey, in accordance with the action already taken by the Allied Powers, hereby recognises Armenia as a free and independent State.

Article 89.

Turkey and Armenia, as well as the other High Contracting Parties, agree to submit to the arbitration of the President of the United States of America the question of the frontier to be fixed

between Turkey and Armenia in the Vilayets of Erzerum, Trebizond, Van and Bitlis, and to accept his decision thereupon, as well as any stipulations he may prescribe as to access for Armenia to the sea, and as to the demilitarisation of any portion of Turkish territory adjacent to the said frontier.

Article 90.

In the event of the determination of the frontier under Article 89 involving the transfer of the whole or any part of the territory of the said Vilayets to Armenia Turkey hereby renounces as from the date of such decision all rights and title over the territory so transferred. The provisions of the present Treaty applicable to territory detached from Turkey shall thereupon become applicable to the said territory.

The proportion and nature of the financial obligations of Turkey which Armenia will have to assume, or of the rights which will pass to her on account of the transfer of the said territory, will be determined in accordance with Articles 241 to 244, Part VIII (Financial Clauses) of the present Treaty.

Article 91.

In the event of any portion of the territory referred to in Article 89 being transferred to Armenia, a Boundary Commission, whose composition will be determined subsequently, will be constituted within three months from the delivery of the decision referred to in the said Article to trace on the spot the frontier between Armenia and Turkey as established by such decision.

Article 92.

The frontiers between Armenia and Azerbaijan and Georgia respectively will be determined by direct agreement between the States concerned.

If in either case the States concerned have failed to determine the frontier by agreement at the date of the decision referred to in Article 89, the frontier line in question will be determined by the Principal Allied Powers, who will also provide for its being traced on the spot.

Article 93.

Armenia accepts and agrees to embody in a Treaty with the Principal Allied Powers such provisions as may be deemed necessary by these Powers to protect the interests of inhabitants of that State

who differ from the majority of the population in race, language or religion.

Armenia further accepts and agrees to embody in a Treaty with the Principal Allied Powers such provisions as these Powers may deem necessary to protect freedom of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of other nations.

Translation:

ANNEX 3.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE OF UNITED AEMENIA,

MAY 28th, 1919.

In order to reconstitute Armenia in its entirety, and to assure the complete liberty and prosperity of the Armenian people, the Government of Armenia, faithfully interpreting the unanimous will of the Armenian people and of the desire it has expressed, hereby declares that, from to-day the different parts of Armenia, hitherto separated, are reunited for ever in one unified Independent State.

Exactly a year ago the National Armenian Council elected by the Conference of the Armenians of Russia, proclaimed itself the supreme power in the Armenian provinces of Transcaucasia. The Government created by the National Armenian Council after officially notifying this proclamation to the representatives of the Powers, has, during the last year, established its *de facto* power in the Armenian provinces of Transcaucasia.

The second Congress of the Armenians of Turkish Armenia, which met at Erivan in February, 1919, solemnly proclaimed that it recognised United and Independent Armenia alone.

To-day, in proclaiming the independence and unification of the Armenian territories of Transcaucasia and of the Ottoman Empire, the Armenian Government declares the form of Government of the unified State to be a democratic republic, and, moreover, it proclaims itself to be the Government of the United Armenian Republic.

Thus, the Armenian people is to-day supreme master of its reconstituted Fatherland, and the Parliament and the Government of Armenia are the legislative and executive power of the free and sovereign people.

The Armenian Government makes this proclamation by virtue of the resolution of Parliament of April 2nd, 1919, which conferred a special mandate upon it.

(Signed) AL. KHADISSIAN,

The Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign

Affairs.

M. MANASSIAN,

Minister of the Interior.

GENEEAL K. AEAEATIAN,

Minister for War.

H. TCHIMICHKIAN,

Minister of Justice.

K. MELIK KAEAGUEUZIAN,

Minister of Education.

S. TOEOSSIAN,

Minister of Public Assistance.

K. VEEMICHIAN,

Minister of Food.

K. DJAKHETIAN,

Minister of Finance.

K. KHADISSIAN,

Chief Secretary to the Prime Minister.

Erivan, *May 28th*, 1919.

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO, OR CONNECTED WITH, THE REQUEST

FOR ADMISSION AS A MEMBER OF THE LEAGUE, MADE

BY THE ARMENIAN REPUBLIC.

These original documents, the first of which is reprinted as an annex to the present Memorandum, are available for inspection by delegates to the Assembly on application to the Secretariat.

1. First request for admission. (Telegram of the President of the Delegation of the Republic of Armenia at Paris, dated May 13th, 1920).
2. Telegraphic reply by the Secretary-General, dated May 13th, 1920.
3. Armenia's formal application for membership, dated September 25th, 1920. Printed as Annex 1 to this document.
4. Acknowledgment of receipt of this application.
5. Enquiry, dated March 12th, 1920, by the Supreme Council of the Principal Allied Powers addressed to the Council of the League of Nations as to whether they would be prepared to accept, on behalf of the League of Nations, the protection of Armenia.
6. Reply dated April 11th, 1920, from the Council of the League of Nations to the Supreme Council.

7. Resolution adopted by the Council of the League of Nations, in Paris on September 19th, 1920, instructing the Secretary-General to enquire from the Supreme Council whether it is desired that any of the proposals in the Memorandum to the Supreme Council and particularly that relative to the financial guarantee to be given to Armenia by the Members of the League, should be submitted for the consideration of the Assembly.
8. Reply of the Japanese Government, dated October 14th, 1920, stating that, if the other Great Powers see no objection, the Japanese Government agrees that the contents of the Note addressed by the Council of the League of Nations to the Supreme Council on April 11th be laid before the Assembly.
9. Reply of the Italian Government, dated October 12th, 1920, to the Council's inquiry dated September 19th, 1920, stating that M. Giolitti sees no objection to the Council's Note of April 11th being laid before the Assembly, but that the Italian Government has decided not to undertake any financial obligation besides those arising out of existing treaties.
10. First appeal from the Armenian Government, dated October 6th, 1920, for assistance against aggression from the side of Kemalist forces.
11. Second appeal from the Armenian Government dated October 12th, in the same matter.
12. Third appeal from the Armenian Government dated October 21st in the same matter.
13. Report by the Council on these appeals dated October 27th, 1920, and letters addressed to the Governments of States represented on the Supreme Council in pursuance to this Report, suggesting that the States signatories to the Treaty of Sèvres should give assistance to Armenia against her enemies and request from these States to continue, in collaboration with the Council of the Society and the Supreme Council, to examine the question of the protection of Armenia. This report declared equally that the Council would be happy to see the determination of Armenian boundaries without delay. Response to Armenian appeals.
14. Telegram from the Government of the Argentine Republic, dated 7 May 1920,announcing the recognition of Armenia as a free and independent State.
15. Accusation of reception of this telegram.
16. Letter from the Secretary General to the Prime Minister of Armenia, dated 9 October 1920, requesting:

1) Certified copy confirming the pieces by which Armenia has proclaimed her independence or by which full or total autonomy has been accorded to her, as well as all subsequent written communications.
2) Certified copy confirming declarations by which other Governments have recognized the Government of Armenia as a Government of fact or right.

17. Reply of M. Aharonian, President of the Armenian Delegation to the Peace Conference, containing copies of:

17) Declaration of independence of United Armenia.
18) Letter of the Peace Conference declaring the recognition of the act of the Armenian Government by France, Great-Britain, and Italy.
19) Letter of the Peace Conference declaring the recognition of the act of the Armenian Government by Japan.

20) Letter of the Peace Conference declaring the recognition of the act of the Armenian Government by the United States of America.

21) Extract of the Treaty of Sèvres recognizing the independence of Armenia.

22) Letter of His Eminence M. Hymans, declaring official recognition of the Republic of Armenia by the Belgian Government.

23) Letter of His Eminence M. Romanos, Minister of Greece in Paris, declaring the agreement of His Majesty the King of Greece for the appointment of an Extraordinary Envoy and Plenipotentiary Minister to the Armenian Republic in Athens.

24) Letter of His Eminence M. Leygues, authorizing the creation in Paris of a Consulate General of the Republic of Armenia.

25) Telegram of the representative of the Republic of Armenia at Rio de Janeiro, as part of the recognition of the Government of Armenia by Brazil.



OVERWEIGHTED.

President Wilson. "HERE'S YOUR OLIVE BRANCH. NOW GET BUSY."

Dove of Peace. "OF COURSE I WANT TO PLEASE EVERYBODY; BUT ISN'T THIS A BIT THICK?"

(Punch [magazine], London, U.K., Volume 156, 26 March 1919, p. 243)

Chapter 22

Operation Nemesis

After the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF) Supreme Body refused to sanction the plan to carry out the capital punishment, to which the Young Turk leaders had been sentenced by the Turkish military tribunal in 1918, a secret group was formed in New England. Initially only three people were to know about their plan with the exception of persons deemed capable of fulfilling this mission. These exceptions would be given only limited information or even misinformation, if need be, in order to win their assistance or financial support.

The primary organizers of the operation were Armen Garo, Arron Sachaklian, and Shahan Natalie, a.k.a. Nemesis. Armen Garo, Diplomatic Representative of Armenia to the United States, had been a Member of Parliament in the Ottoman Empire and had interacted with Talaat. Although Talaat had to be punished for what he had done to the Armenians, it appears that Armen Garo felt betrayed and had a personal score to settle with Talaat, which is more evident in the chapters to follow; Arron Sachaklian, a CPA and trusted friend of my grandfather's from their days they worked together on the newspaper, *Hayrenik*. Sachaklian's role was to manage the funds for the operation. My grandfather used Sachaklian also as a sort of archival depository,



Armen Garo (holding a fan) and Shahan Natalie - 1920

whom he frequently wrote, reporting his findings, as well as requesting needed funds.

Below are some excerpts from Shahan Natalie's notes on searching for Talaat.

> Talaat was in Berlin. We knew it.
>
> And Berlin, in the past, for a short period had been simply a center for the Revolutionary Student Association. And in 1920, except for a few individual students and some former ARF party members, there was no other political affiliation. It is true, there was an Armenian ghetto in those days. But it represented a part of that migratory Armenian population, who were seeking an affordable place to be able to eke out a living. And living in Germany at the time represented the most affordable place.
>
> America knew that the approved decision was sentenced to remain in words, if it did not take the task of implementing it in hand. And overlooking any formality whatsoever, it considered Germany as falling within its sphere.

On August 27, 1920, a sunny mid-day, from New York Harbor, my 35-year-old grandfather took his leave sailing East to embark on the difficult task of searching for a criminal convicted for his crimes against humanity, who had undergone plastic surgery to defy any detection.

Shahan had only heard that Talaat was in Berlin. And he had decided to confirm that report and deliver judgment with his own hand.

Fine-tuning his plans and with strong emotions, he crossed the Atlantic and, nine days later, was already in Paris, where he would determine his course of actions.

A known revolutionary in Berlin, Haig Der Ohanian, had been recommended to him.

On September 4, 1920, he arrived in Paris, where he decided to go to Geneva. Ten days later, he set out from Paris toward the shores of Leman, the historic city of revolutionary missions.

Shahan met Haig by chance in Paris – where he had come for personal business. He told his plan, and Haig promised to assist him in all his capabilities.

Shahan asked him to immediately go to Berlin, where Talaat was to be found, according to a received report. Shahan himself was going there from Geneva. Here, Shahan succeeded in securing a one-month visa to go to Germany by exception, because after the war the German government would only grant seven-day permission to foreigners to enter and live in Germany.

Haig was going to inform Geneva about his entering Berlin; and he kept Shahan waiting. Finally, having lost all hope, Shahan entered Berlin, on October 8.

Shahan's first two to three weeks in Berlin pass by waiting, because Haig didn't appear. Shahan wrote in his memoirs: "I cannot open my heart to anyone; I wander from café to café; I reconnoiter the streets; I search for traces; but for

naught, because I am unfamiliar with the city and with the language. And my only acquaintance, who was going to help me, is in Paris."

In addition to these concerns, his frustration was growing as his stay was approaching its deadline. He was being consumed with rage every night, in his solitude.

And, finally, Haig arrives.

"I am embittered in a terrifying manner; I want to slap him. The realization of responsibility restrains my hand," Shahan writes.

"He smiles and in that smile I see the cynicism of mocking me and the task. I gnash my teeth and swallow a curse at him, who had recommended this character to me."

"But what's the use? I am a suppressed beast only, on whom they can easily laugh."

Haig doesn't show up for another week. He is a student—"a perennial student" – and he makes the excuse that he is obliged to go through the process of registering for university.

Shahan waits one more week.

His permission to stay in Berlin has already expired.

Finally, one day Haig deigns to make time for Shahan and talk with him. He suggests informing the other three revolutionaries in Berlin about the mission – Libarid, Vahan Zakariants, Hagop Zorian – and to have a consultation with them.

Shahan scheduled a consultation; He presented his plan and asked them to contribute to the cause to the extent possible. They all promised to help as much as they could. They also promised to help Shahan remain in Berlin. They recommended that Shahan stay in a hotel, where the police would not care to show up.

Based on this consultation and his brief familiarity over the previous days, Shahan concluded that Haig was someone who viewed the work as an opportunity to reap financial benefits. To succeed in his quest, Haig relied on Shahan's unfamiliarity with the place and the language. Shahan described the new recruits in his memoirs:

> "Libarid is that one from whom I can expect no benefit; sickly, distracted and nervous, who, even if he wanted, is of no use. The nature of his work in any case is far from corresponding to his distracted condition.
>
> Vahan is experienced in revolutionary activities, clever, knowledgeable about the place and language, but burdened with his business dealings, he promises me very little, on that premise that he promises little and strives to work little, so that I will be precisely aware of the reality of my strength.
>
> Zorian, a young student, although inexperienced but enthusiastic, yet a student with someone else's funding, he can barely promise me any great thing, contrary to all his willingness.
>
> Let's not forget that Haig is also a student, *"so called."*
>
> Fortunately, I had anticipated all of this until my corresponding from Geneva to America to send me Soghomon."

Before Soghomon's arrival in December, surveillance was conducted. Working with unwilling recruits who didn't put their heart in the mission was an impending train wreck. Very often the team members didn't show up to their assigned stations and, when Shahan was out of the country for two weeks to attend to work and renew his visa, no one showed up.

In January 1921, my grandfather learned that the Turks were holding a conference in Rome. The whereabouts of Talaat were still unknown then. My grandfather had hoped that he could learn of what Talaat looked like if he skied on the conference. If he happened to find Talaat in Rome and positively identified him, he was prepared to kill him himself.

The following is a transcript from the 1971 recording of Shahan telling what transpired. My father Khachig asked him questions:

> SHAHAN: Now … Now you know that Talaat is thus as we tell it. But how did we get to know Talaat?
>
> Now I am going to Rome, because I feel that there are those coming from Malta, and that there is a conference there.
>
> So, I must immediately go to Rome. Perhaps, there in Rome, fortune will allow me to have the opportunity to recognize the man. Because, as I said, after recognizing the man, there was nothing else because when you recognize him to some extent and you are certain it is Talaat, when you hit him, whether by day, by night, inside a store, next to a police officer, or in front of the police station … wherever it may be, you must shoot and hit him. And you must hit him directly in the brain, so that you don't just injure him. And you must stand there so they come and arrest you. And for me, the only thing remaining that I am that man who knows he will be arrested. Should he flee, they won't even beat him. They arrest him, and take him. But even if he flees, so that they beat him for the benefit of the other. Do you understand?
>
> And at that time I am also going from one consulate to the other, three or four consulates … past which the train passes, you see, to go to Rome, I am after those visas. Now look … I have always said, God's finger was in this – it was God himself leading us – in that task, you know? Because it was a Godly task that was being performed, we were persisting. I went to all the consulates to secure the visas.
>
> He is in Berlin … Now I am going to Italy. In order to go to Italy, I must pass through several countries. I am going with that thought that he is probably there, perhaps in a hotel lobby … and there … I cannot know which one is that so-called Talaat … It is recognizing the man … That is the most important thing. And I have secured all the visas. One visa is left, that I will secure. And there it is at three-thirty, or four, that they closed the consulates. If you succeeded in securing the visa, you have it.
>
> And I, in Berlin, have acquaintance with a very old colleague. He knows all of Berlin. I took him with me by taxi from one end to another of the city where there is a consulate. I took him, and the last consulate where we went, and went in … there is an office worker, who slammed the door shut … as scheduled minute-to-minute.

Now the boy who is with me knows German very well, et cetera. He is very linguistic, a well-versed son of a dog. He is a Persian Armenian. And he was the only one still alive, in Berlin. The last time I went to Berlin, together with him, and I was there for a week in Berlin. I came from Berlin here.

KHACHIG: "Did you go there, in that place where he killed him?"

SHAHAN: Of course … But in Berlin, all those places are so changed that, those places were exactly in ruins during the war …

KHACHIG: The Second World War …

SHAHAN: Yes … They have rebuilt it now … Berlin did not look like Berlin. America! High rises like America … and

KHACHIG: What did the man do to you … when he slammed the door?

SHAHAN: Now that boy talked everywhere so that the official would be convinced.

My soul is exhausted because of having to go immediately … this door is also sealed. Therefore, tomorrow morning we must go to secure a visa. And when we go tomorrow morning, I get my visa, as arranged … so you see, it becomes a two-day thing … a delay … But can you see it had to be so … Although I absolutely did not recognize him …

KHACHIG: What do you mean? … So, you didn't get your visa? … The door was closed …

SHAHAN: It's over! The door is closed … now therefore, I can't go the next day either … I'm going to secure a visa the following day … The train will already have left when they open the office. And the day after that, in the morning of the next day, I am going to get the visa … That's the morning after that that I must take the train. Did you understand?

We went … I secured the visa. Now, on the morning when I am going to leave … I will be going to Rome. There, in the morning, now Solomon, that boy who was with me, and two other boys, who also were available for me for that kind of thing … for certain tasks, I use those boys, like the Trabizon boy … then, four of them are with me with me: Solomon, Zakar, Haig, Hagop.

With those four we take the taxi together, and we go to the railroad station. We go to the station, when we get there and go into the station, to the train which is waiting, as I said, some forty-five minutes before departure. We have to be sure, that, we cannot be late, you know …

That's how we are. The train is waiting and next to that waiting train is a group of people … a group that appears to be travelers on that thing. They are going, they are going there also … But among them is that Trabizon Vali, whom you already recognize when you see him. The first Turk that I became acquainted with in Berlin was he. With a red beard – I think he used *henna* too. A typical Turk pasha, short of stature, toddling steps … They are Turks. I already saw his face … so if that man is there … That is a group of Turks standing there, that group is behind … So, that man's presence made me more cautious.

I said, now we will separate from each other. I will enter the *wagon.* I

will go there. I already have my ticket. You, close by, as much as possible, so that their attention isn't piqued, as if blockaded, you know, and you watch those people. Because it is obvious, they are official. Jemal Pasha has come there. So, who is it that is going? It occurs to me that perhaps all of them … so that is a good thing. They are going to Berlin [Rome] too. A good thing has happened. They will lead me so that I will be able, with ease, to go to whichever hotel they are going.

And I went. You look carefully at the faces. But specifically the faces. I will go up. The train is such that it is like a sleeping car. And those European sleeping cars have walking space. So that is the place from which I am watching, directly above his head. Because they are standing there and it is there, right in the sleeping car where is my compartment, and I have space. I have a seat. I am traveling second class, they are six people, three of them in second class, and upstairs I am in a coupée.

And … I went, I boarded. Now, be careful, look at the faces, because it is from that place that we will have direction, as to which one, or what, etcetera. And I also watch from above. Now, in that group there is a group, of which three people are very eye-catching … extremely. That's what it is, as soon as you see them, you say *they are somebody.* That one with the red beard is Jemal Pasha. You know that that one has been captured from the forest. And if you don't notice, the other two are more privileged, like fine Europeans … He has boarded, and someone sees him, he will say that this one … is a man … there is something within him. Those two are there and around them four-five young ones, when I say young, I don't mean 15 to 20 years old. More like 30 years old, etcetera. The Turks want them.

Those also, then, have a traveler among them, for him, as I have my four boys, but who is the one to go close, we don't know. I boarded the *wagon*, and opened the window … it comes down, right? … And I am standing there … and in no way so there will not be any doubt that those who are standing down below belong to me. …

From that place, from above I watch them, and their faces. And because I have the pictures … there are people who are of interest as Talaat. Which one looks like him? Is Talaat here … The boys are watching also, and he comes, to board the train. The bell rings, the train gets underway. He is kissed, and three of them climb aboard, into the *wagon.* One of them, that eye-catching one, you know, is one of those characters. I later confirmed that … later I confirmed it from the photographs. The *Bolis* chief of police, who handcuffed those intellectuals – *Bedri Bey ...* On that night, he was the *Bolis* chief of police, *Bedri Bey*, very well-known, blood-sucking, he was Talaat's cabinet thing …

And … That one, the eye-catching on, another 30-35 speakers … one of them. The third one looked like a Jew, small, with short hair, chubby … more so, he looked like a Jew … slithering around everywhere … Apparently that was his thin, from a spying point of view, that man you know, protecting *Bedri,* and his things … because *Bedri* is also an eye-catching prominent person. Those three went up. I remained below. The time came. Good-bye … They kissed each other, and so on. And … The train went on its way.

And just to the right of the *coupée* window, is my place, next to me a German, three people, are on one side … We are face to face. On my side, then, three people, and those three are right across for me. They are sitting right across from me, in that *coupée*. I don't know who they are, you know. It is not Talaat. That is clear. They are not Talaat. But they are three Turks. So, they are going to Berlin, I surmise, since … it is a Berlin train... They are going to Berlin … I mean to say, Rome … So, those people can become leaders. You see, after whatever hotel they go, I will go to that hotel. I make plans for myself.

And … that notable face – *Bedri*– is sitting in the middle, that very … thing … talkative, that bluff talker, is sitting right across from me. On the other side also is *Bedri*, that other lizard, that creep … He is a hole-dweller type. … He irked me … so self-centered he was … pretentious … this one is a Jew, you know, more Jewish by his looks … jackass! … a moneyed English jackass. I have heard those adjectives a lot … that … that place also, where I would go … In that place where the Turks are … Because I have mingled inside Turkish circles … Thanks to that thing that they have not known I am Armenian. Yes, I repeat that situation so nobody will think that I am Armenian. I am everything, but I am not Armenian … Do you get it? …

And so … We went on, reach Milan … We alighted, to rest for a while, but the train is going to continue … in Milan, that little phony, you know, the Jewish character, and that notable man, disappeared. The other one remained. The one who was sitting directly across from me. Then … a short while later, I saw that from Milan to Berlin, by way of Trieste, past Engür, and from Engür they have gone to Enveri … Because Enver in Bokhara has already taken the Bokhara army … Et cetera, they were going there. Do you understand? But I don't know where he was killed … during battle … or by whom? … I don't have any information about his demise …

And … the train left that place … Now only that one was across from me … We are going … in the same manner … so that they will always think, well, I am either English or American …, those two are in doubt, partially that I am either wealthy, or American, or a man of the hill, and that way, he is going on…. Now, when we approached Rome, we are going into the Rome train station … Before that, where are they going to put this man … I still want to know, because this one boarded from Berlin, it is obvious. … He talks more than a little, giving himself value … you know, how half-directors give themselves more credit … He is one of those … This one, undoubtedly, is going some place, I said, someplace, a hotel, where those people will be gathered … since a conference …

And when we approached, I said, English … do you know English? I asked … *No*, he said … Do you know French? … mmmmm … I said, have you been to Rome? … *Yes! ...* I said, It is my first time that I am going to Rome … let me ask you a question, which hotel do you frequent … so, where is it possible for me to go … And so, asking questions, I understood where he was going … I am going to such and such a hotel … Thank you very much, I said, because it is the very first time I am going and I don't know which hotel I should go to. Truly, I have not been … that was not a



Mikayel Varantian (1870-1934)

lie …

When it stopped, I immediately went down and gave the name of the hotel to the taxi driver … where the man is going to go … the taxi drove there. It is a small hotel there … that place wasn't spacious … and it turned out that when I went into that hotel, in fact, it had a small lobby … There are Turks there, and they are speaking Turkish … This place doesn't look like a conference hotel … By my estimation … it turned out that that is the hotel in which they have room … Varantian … The ambassador of our days for the Republic of Armenia … **Mikayel Varantian** … That is the hotel …

I went up to him … I said, you are finished … There, I said, do the Turks have a meeting? … Tomorrow, I said, what is going on? I said, tomorrow … In the hotel, they were speaking Turkish … *Nothing! ...* He gave the impression that *he didn't have a clue ...* I want a hotel, I want a room in a hotel … And at that time the Parliament had convened, and the hotels … well, that conference thing, etcetera … And the hotels … no room … I will be left on the street … like that …

Let me have a room, I said … for a few days … How is it possible? … If there were one of the university students there … students? … they could possibly be using or can do something … he did something … he was a fine young man … a Tashnak boy too … **Mikayel Varantian**, from Armenia, correct? Khanamirian … I took the boy by taxi. There I asked that place, in that hotel may I have a room … NONE AVAILABLE! … We must have gone to at least ten hotels … TEN HOTELS! … NO VACANCY … They are all booked …



The most famous hotel, *Excelsior Hotel ...* in Rome … It had the largest place … for meetings … I went inside … When they said there's no space, I started to yell… *What is the matter with you! ... Do you think I am going to be in the street? ...* I said, I am an American

newspaper *Correspondent Journalist* ... In those days, I said a *Journalist* ... And now he repeated, a newspaper *journalist* ... They *wagon* them … Already, spies follow him … whichever office building you enter … with a salute … and especially let an American *journalist* be out on the street … I said, I want a room … And I will not leave!!! …

I said, there's nothing to it at all, so they insist … the thing is, when you get up … you go through … you shit there … put something there … I have come so far. I'm exhausted, really … and the man can see that … you know in my words still … arrange it! If there's nothing like a 50-60 person conference hall … He had a bed put in there. And I, in that room, went to bed … I washed in the washroom … And I have gotten up there … put my satchel down … and washed myself … cleaned myself up … rubbed a few things on my face to cool down … I am tired … I went down to the lobby right away. Because I saw that, this hotel is going to be a conference hotel. … I went down, down there …

So it was that the director … the man explains that all rooms are taken … There are outside conferences, things … the rooms are full … you are going to give them free … where are you from? … Armenian … don't you have a hall? … You schedule conferences, don't you? … In there, I said, why don't you put a bed, a cot … and I will sleep on it … I WON'T GO!!! … I will stay here!!! … And the man, right away, said *okay, okay* ... And he arranged it. They have 50-60 person conference halls for such events …

I went down to the lobby to see what there is from above … I move my eyes around and about … Next to some … Whichever group … I saw that they were standing up … These are talking … I look at their eyes … They are Turks … A little later, I saw that these are gradually dissipating. It became obvious that they have ended the conference … and now the conference is over and now instead they are going to the flim-flam event … That much for the plan … Okay …

But in those days, every day slips by … I yet I cannot grab the real thing … I can't … I am so nervous … I have such a spiritual issue … I have heart palpitations … It is overwhelming my entire life … There is no sleep at night … I am in such a state … And one or two days later … At least, I don't have anything … My role as a prisoner, over Switzerland … I went to Geneva … Soghomon was there, in Geneva …

Although Shahan didn't find Talaat in Rome, his discovery of the Armenian Ambassador Mikayel Varantian gave him a clue as to why the Armenian government lead by the ARF was not interested in killing Talaat. As they stated at the 9th General Assembly in 1919, they were now a legitimate government, and the atrocities had been the price they had to pay for independence. However, the "legitimate" Armenian government was engaged in deals with the very Turks that continued massacring the Armenians. Finishing Talaat would impede their secret agenda and deals.

During my research I came across British secret reports that documented what happened in Rome. Shahan came, unfortunately, too late to see for himself.

E. 1809
FEB 10 1921
PARAPHRASE. S E C R E T
From: War Office.
To: G.H.W. Constantinople.
Desp. 1730 7.2.21
87791 cipher M.I.2.

Reference report of Talaat's return to Germany given in Ambassador Rome's telegram No. 28 (D) dated 26th. A report from Geneva dated 31st January states Talaat believed to have left Rome on 11th or 12th January but it was uncertain whether destination was Anatolia or not.

10th FEB 1921

Movements of Talaat Pasha.

Copy of telegram dated 7th February to General Harington referring to Rome Telegram 28 of Jan.26th (E1243/1/44) and stating that according to a report from Geneva, Talaat is believed to have left Rome on January 11th or Jan.12th but it is uncertain whether destination was Anatolia or not.

No. 218.

Berlin,

February 8, 1921

My Lord:-

I have the honour to forward herewith copy of a Memorandum which I have received from a reliable source summarizing a conversation with Talaat Pasha.

I have the honour to be with the highest respect,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient, humble Servant,

Enclosure in dispatch No. 218 of February 6th 1921.

INTERVIEW WITH TALAAT PASHA.

February 4, 1921

Talaat Pasha left Berlin after Christmas and attended the conference which the Turkish Exiles in Rome had arranged for the purpose of drawing up the Memorandum to the Allied Powers requesting a conference.

He did not sign the Memorandum ostensibly because he was not furnished with the necessary authority by the Mohammedan Communities in Asia Minor, the Caucasus and Bokhara which he claims to represent.

It is more than likely that Mukhtar and the other signatories were not anxious that Talaat should be openly associated with them in their petition.

Talaat's position is more difficult than ever. Enver had returned to Moscow and Talaat was anxious to retain Russian support for Mustapha Kemal, so as to continue the pressure on the Greeks and the Allies. At the same time he recognizes the danger of compromising himself to such an extent that the Allies would refuse to recognize him when the time came to abandon Moscow and identify himself with Roman friends.

The promised London Conference does not fill him with much hope. The situation in Freece is still complicated. The Venizelists are in a minority but the Venizelist party is numerically the strongest unit in the Chamber. Mr. Lloyd George's invitation to Venizelos to discuss the situation is merely an act of courtesy which signifies nothing. The cardinal fact is the incapacity of the Greeks to fulfil the role assigned to them by the Serves Treaty. Constantine's return signified the inevitable intrusion of politics into the Greek army with obvious consequences.

Discussing the proposed conference Talaat stated that an envoy of Constantin en route to the United States on a private mission had visited him in Berlin early January to ascertain his views. Talaat informed him that the Enos Midia line represented the minimum Turkish demand. The withdrawal of the Greek troops from Asia Minor was self understood. Later in the conversation Talaat referred to a recent interview with the Greek General Metaxas, but it was not clear that the envoy referred to previously was Metaxas. He attached no importance to this interview as he had no confidence in Greek promises.

The position of the French was obviously untenable. The debates in the Chamber of Deputies displayed increasing impatience with the expensive military occupation of Asia Minor. He had been informed confidentially that France would grand considerable modifications of the Treaty to assure tranquility in Syria. Talaat foresaw a French offer to restore Smyrna to the Turks at the London Conference. France lacked funds to maintain a large force in Asia Minor. Any indemnity which Germany paid would not affect the question. This would probably take the form of payment in natura for the next few years.

The Conference gave England an opportunity to surrender Mesopotamia and all that its occupation entails, to the Turkish Nationalist,

who would in return grant the necessary oil concessions to England and furnish a final answer to the Note of the United States Government of the 24th November. England would be in a position to say: "We are not getting the oil because we have a mandate in Mesopotamia. The owners of the land have given us concessions to exploit the local oil the right of way to the Russian fields." The recent article in the "Times" encouraged this view.

Incidentally Talaat mentioned that he was informed privately that discontent was rife in Serbia, especially in Albania and Novi Bazar. A rising of the mountaineers was expected in April. Greater Serbia was an unstable creation. Later on the conflicting interests of Serbia, Bulgaria, and Greece would have the Turks fresh possibilities in Eastern and Western Thrace.

A props of Enver's mission to Moscow Talaat stated that Enver would be in a somewhat embarrassing situation if Mustapha Kemal sent a plenipotentiary to the London Conference; nevertheless the Soviet Government were so disquieted about the state of feeling in Georgia, Azerbaijan and the other Mohammedan boundary States, that it could not afford to make Enver or Kemel definitely hostile. In the present conditions in Russia, failing support, neutrality was preferable to hostility.

Talaat expressed no surprise at the results of the Paris Conference. He did not profess to understand the significance of paper milliards. The Turks reckoned in gold. The gold wealth of Turkey when he was Financial Minister amounted to 120 millions of Turkish pounds. Some 12 million had been paid out during the war. The remainder of the gold was easy to bury in the sand.

Talaat mentioned that his compatriots in Rome were expecting an amnesty for the political prisoners in Malta. The wholesale arrest of this countrymen by the military authorities after the occupation of Constantinople showed a surprising lack of discretion on the part of Allied General responsible. For instance Rachmi Bey, the Governor of Smyrna, who had always favoured the British and incurred the odium of the Germans in consequence, was imprisoned with the others. In internment of the Midhat Schukri Bey and Salast Djimjoz (2) who had been opposed to the Central Powers prior to and (page damaged) similarly (page damaged)… of…injustice.

The British secret reports offered many clues that opened new paths for my research. The documents establish that the Turks were making deals with the United States and Europe over oil found in Turkey (most likely in Armenia) and Russia, which clearly the Turks via Enver Pasha and Mustapha Kemal (who would later establish modern day Turkey) had influence over. It also shows that there was a direct connection between the founder of modern Turkey and those responsible for the Armenian Genocide. These facts debunk modern Turkey's claims that they have no responsibility for what happened to the Armenians from 1915-1923, under the Ottoman government led by Talaat, Enver, and Jemal.

Chapter 23

Armen Garo

"Had we chosen to aid the Germans we would not have had any serious losses." – Garegin Pastermadjian, October 10, 1919, Washington, D.C.



Dr. Garegin Pastermadjian - 1918

Armen Garo, one of the coordinators of Operation Nemesis, was born Garegin Pastermadjian in the city of Erzurum, Erzurum Vilayet, Ottoman Emire on February 9, 1872.

Armen Garo has been hailed a hero of the Armenian people. And, as was the case with many of the Armenian revolutionary heroes, many of his selfless deeds aimed at the improvement of the Armenian people's condition, ended in disaster.

Armen Garo joined the Armenian Revolutionary Federation in 1895. His first notable act was his involvement in the takeover of the Bank Imperial Ottoman, on August 26, 1896, with the purpose of drawing the attention of the European powers to Sultan Hamid II's pogroms and massacres of the Armenian population in the Ottoman Empire. After the mastermind of the occupation, Papken Siuni (1873-1896) was killed during a long and bloody stand-off, Armen Garo took over as leader.

The occupation of the bank was chronicled in *Betrayed Armenia* by Diana Agabeg Apcar, published in 1910, in response to the April 1909 Cilicia massacres of 20,000 Armenians. Apcar wrote on page 15 to 18 :

> Further in answer to Ahmed Riza Bey's account of the Armenian "pretendus patriotards" in connection with the Ottoman Bank; I cannot do better than quote from Mr. Bryce's version of the story, and the massacre that followed: "In the following June serious trouble arose at Van, where some sort of insurrection is said to have been planned, though in the discrepancy of the accounts it is hard to arrive at the truth. Masses of Kurds came down threatening to massacre the Christians, and a conflict

in which many innocent persons perished, was with difficulty brought to an end by the intervention of the British Consul. A little later the Armenian revolutionary party, emboldened by the rising in Crete, where the Christians, being well armed and out numbering the Muslims, held their around successfully, issued appeals to the Embassies and to the Turkish Government to introduce reforms, threatening disturbances if the policy of repression and massacre was persisted in. These threats were repeated in August, and ultimately, on August 26, a band of about twenty Armenians, belonging the revolutionary party, made a sudden attack on the Imperial Ottoman Bank in Constantinople, declaring they were prepared to hold it and blow it up should the Sultan refuse their demand. They captured the building by a *coup de main*, but were persuaded by the Russian dragoman to withdraw upon a promise of safety. Meanwhile the Government, who through their spies knew of the project, had organized and armed a large mob of Kurds and Lazes—many of whom had recently been brought to the city—together with the lowest Turkish class. Using the occasion, they launched this mob upon the peaceful Armenian population. The onslaught began in various parts of the city so soon after the attack on the Bank that it had obviously been prearranged, and the precaution had been taken to employ the Turkish ruffians in different quarters from those in which they dwelt: so that they might less easily be recognized. Carts had moreover been prepared in which to carry off the dead. For two days an indiscriminate slaughter went on, in which not only Armenian merchants and traders of the cultivated class, not only the industrious and peaceable Armenians of the humbler class, clerks, domestic servants, porters employed on the quays and in the warehouses, but also women and children were butchered in the streets and hunted down all through the suburbs. On the afternoon of the 27th the British Charge d'Affaires (whose action throughout won general approval) told the Sultan he would land British sailors, and the



Armeniens ayant pris part à l'attaque de la Banque ottomane de Constantinople.

> Ambassadors telegraphed to the Sultan. Then the general massacre was stopped, though sporadic slaughter went on round the city during the next few days. The Ambassadors, who did not hesitate to declare that the massacre had been organized by the Government, estimated the number of killed at from 6000 to 7000; the official report made to the Sultan is said to have put it at 8750.[86] Daring the whole time the army and the police had perfect control of the city—the police, and a certain number of the military officers and some high civil officials, joining in the slaughter. Of all the frightful scenes which Constantinople, a city of carnage, has seen since the great insurrection of A.D. 527 when 30,000 people perished in the hippodrome there has been none more horrible than this. For this was not the suppression of an insurrection in which contending factions fought. It was not the natural sequel to a capture by storm, as when the city was taken and sacked by the Crusaders in A.D. 1204, and by the Turks in A.D. 1453. It was slaughter in cold blood, when innocent men and women, going about their usual avocations in a time of apparent peace, were suddenly beaten to death with clubs, or hacked to pieces with knives, by ruffians who fell upon them in the streets before they could fly to any place of refuge."[87]

I would also like to quote from an article written by a Turkish Officer who signed his name as A. J. and published in the "Siper-i-Saika-i-Hurriet," a Turkish daily, on July 6, 1909.

> Every time that I hear the name Armenian I feel the bleeding of a moral wound within, me. It was the year I was sent into exile (1896). On a Thursday, before we had left the Military School for our vacation, a rumor flew through the school,—" They are massacring the Armenians." All my young patriotic companions turned pale from deep emotion. Every one tried to read in the sad faces of others the reason for this bad news. But each one avoided expressing his thought. After a time the details began to circulate to the effect that the Armenians had dared to destroy the Ottoman Bank and government buildings with bombs, and that this was the reason why they were massacred. At that time all of us trembled, because we also were enemies of that government, because we also wished to overthrow it, and although we were not convinced that the best service could be rendered by bombs, we were working quietly to spread our ideas. In our hearts a flame of enmity and indignation, no less terrible than bombs, was burning. The poor Armenians were being massacred ruthlessly, because out of their number five or ten persons, resenting their Avrongs, had rebelled. But that which

86 In a recent publication "Fifty Years in Constantinople," the author Dr. George Washburn, ex-President of Robert College, estimates the number that were slaughtered in cold blood in the streets of the city as 10,000. Dr. Washburn adds the following: "The massacre of the Armenians came to an end on Friday, the day after the soldiers came to the College; but the persecution of them which went on for months was worse than the massacre. Their business was destroyed, they were plundered and blackmailed without mercy, they were hunted like wild beasts, they were imprisoned, tortured, killed, deported, fled the country, until the Armenian population of the city was reduced by some seventy-five thousand, mostly men, including those massacred."

87 "Transcaucasia and Ararat : Twenty Years of the Armenian Question."—JAMES Bryce.

maddened these poor men, that drove them to rebellion and placed bombs in their hands was the stupidity of the people and the outrageous oppressions of the government. And now this inhuman government was killing with clubs a noble nation, under the pretext of putting down a rebellion produced by its own oppressions. Among the crimes committed by the former government the most unpardonable crime was the Armenian massacre. If there was a race up to that time among non-Moslem peoples which with sincere and deep feeling honored the Ottoman fatherland that race was the Armenian. It is the Armenians who wear most nearly the national dress, who speak and write Turkish best, and recognize the Ottoman country as their fatherland. Besides this it is the Armenians who engage in commerce and agriculture, and thus, by demonstrating its fruitfulness, increase the value of the Ottoman Empire. Because a few among them justly started an agitation, these our noble and industrious brethren were being massacred. What a terrible scene! When we left the school building we saw hundreds of the bodies of our Armenian compatriots being removed in manure carts; legs and arms were hanging down outside. This bloody scene will ever remain impressed on my mind.

"This shocking crime of Yildiz formed a deep lake of blood, and this lake, during the whole course of a cursed absolutism, up to the last moment, grew wider. Even during the past nine months of the Constitution, in spite of the brotherly feelings which had been shown, the awful events in Adana took place and the souls of all true Osmanlis melted into tears. Up to the present time the deep sorrow caused by this event has not disappeared, because this bloody wound in our social body cannot easily be cured. While we fill our stomachs with choice morsels, while we rest selfishly in our comfortable beds, these fatherless and brotherless orphans, widows hungry, naked, and barefoot wander hither and thither, and thousands of families are fleeing from the fatherland. We are convinced that the government is doing its work, but what has happened is so great a calamity that it can keep a government busy for years. However much sacrifice we may make, still it will be inadequate, because the happiness of the fatherland depends on healing such blood wounds as these as soon as possible. We are convinced that the government and all connected with it are persuaded of this as well as ourselves. We must now wipe out the traces of the misfortune brought by a cursed period. We must now comfort weeping hearts. We must understand and teach those who do not understand that patriotism and brotherhood do not differ from each other. The responsibility of the government for the Armenians is very great and very weighty. The whole Ottoman nation is under obligations to protect this suffering race, because the liberty we enjoy to-day is in large part due to the blood shed by the Armenians. We thought that these truths were so obvious that we preferred to keep silence, whereas to-day we understand that it is necessary from time to time to recall the greatness of our obligation. We must not forget that this unhappy people up to yesterday has endured only barbarism, and for twelve years has been constantly oppressed and ground to the earth, and has given thousands of victims. Hereafter we must work to assure them that the era of massacres has passed, and with all our strength of mind and soul we must quiet them.

> The obligation of the government to protect them is also very heavy, because our Armenian countrymen live among wandering tribes. We must all assist the government and point out its obligation. It must be declared in public and periodically that the one of the most important duties of the Ottoman nation is to protect, together with those of other races, the interests, the life, and property of the Armenians as well, since these are their sacred rights. Let investigations be made and let whatever is necessary be done in order to reach this aim."

This article by the Turkish officer, who, nevertheless, does not dare disclose his identity, as well as James Bryce's account provide a far richer insight into the state of the affairs than the facile explanation of Ahmed Riza Bey who referred to the massacres as "les Massacres occasionnes par les aventuriers Armeniens" ("Occasional massacres by adventurous Armenians" – tr. author). Indeed, it held out poor hope for the furtherance of liberty and justice in Turkey when the President of the Chamber of Deputies, in 1907, was trying to palliate the horrors of the Hamidian regime by misrepresentations.

The question must be asked as to what was the intended outcome of the Ottoman Bank takeover? What did the Armenians truly have to gain and who else might have been involved? To provide clue to these questions, I would like to share newspaper articles of that time period, where Armen Garo turns to the newspapers to tell the backstory of how the taking of the bank was to be the start of a much bigger operation.

> Daily News (London, Greater London, England), September 21, 1896, Page 5:
>
> THE ARMENIAN REFUGEES
>
> APPEAL BY LADY HENRY SOMERSET
>
> RELEASE OF THE RAIDERS
>
> INTERVIEW WITH THEIR LEADER
>
> THE RELIEF WORK
>
> TO THE EDITOR OF THE DAILY NEWS
>
> MARSEILLES, Sept. 19.
>
> Sir, - Impelled by the vivid accounts of your Special Correspondent here, Miss Willard and I came yesterday, and have been trying to help the Armenian refugees, who literally have not where to lay their heads. The Municipal authorities have been most considerate, and already a large hospital, which happily is not in use, has been granted free of rent as a refuge. It will accommodate 300, but this is far below the needs, with ships constantly

bringing in new groups. The Armenians here are doing all they can, but there are only about fifty families, and they are not well off. The hospital must be furnished and food provided. Nothing has impressed me more than seeing these crowded groups in the dreary shadows of workhouses, where they have been temporarily granted almost all that remains to them of former comforts of life. The great desire of these poor people is to go to America, whence came the educational impulse that opened a larger world to them. The passage money is five pounds. They cannot stay here unless supported by charity, for there is no work. Will not "The Daily News," through whose influence this refuge has been started, open its wide columns for subscriptions whereby this refuge may be temporarily maintained? We who came for the purpose will arrange for the honest distribution of any money that is received, and will send as many Armenians as we can to America, where Miss Willard has a plan for them to find friends and self support. Your correspondent has been our chief ally in what we have already accomplished, and if "The Daily News" stands by us, there is no fear of the outcome. We are profoundly impressed with a sense of duty and of our high responsibility. We feel that when these tortured children of the oldest Christian Church in the world touch Christian soil, they should find Christian welcome.

I am, yours faithfully,
ISABEL SOMERSET.

(FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

MARSEILLES, Sunday.

Miss Willard has cabled a letter to America headed "Something practical to my sisters, officers, members of W.C.T.U., and to all good people of my native land." The following are extracts:

Why I came here? Because the awful massacres at Constantinople cast in this port hundreds of Armenians who took refuge from the Turks, in the ships lying in the Bosphorus, and have nothing but the clothes on their backs. More are coming continually, they lie on benches in the workhouse, and once in three or four days a few cents are given them for bread, by the French Government. Lady Henry Somerset and I read of all this in "The Daily News" as we set out on a brief bicycling tour in Normandy, hoping to get a little strength for the heavy work of autumn and winter. Lady Henry was very weary, and I have not been able to do anything this summer owing to almost utter failure of appetite; but when we read the accounts of these refugees we came here, and our hearts are deeply stirred. I wish I could put before you the sight of what we saw last night – a great, grey, barnlike room in workhouse, light so dim that nobody's face could be seen save in outline, in the corner a group of thirty Armenians of all grades, from a bank clerk, with his gold-corded cap to a wharf porter, with heavy shoulders. All these men were huddled together on the bare benches, penniless and forlorn, with bread and water only for food, and a board to sleep on in this deadly poisonous air. Why were they here? Because their devoted nation has cherished the name of Christ and held to purity of the home through all the centuries since the

Gospel came to man. We could nor speak a word to them, but we smiled and waved our hands, whereat good men rose, smiled, bowed, gave us a military salute with so much dignity, and the whole scene was one of such unspeakable pathos that we saw almost too dimly to make our way back to the streets. This morning we have bestirred ourselves. Lady Henry has gone out with the Correspondent of the London "Daily News," whose letters brought us here. They are to rent a warehouse, fit it up with sailors' beds, conveniences for washing, and to have supper ready to-night for the poor men. There are hundreds at Marseilles, and more constantly coming. I am going now to the American Consul to see if special arrangements cannot be made to send many to America. Their cry is, "Oh, send me to America." For forty years they have learned to love our land through the missionaries who taught them, lifted them up with so much of knowledge and refinement that they are hated for their acquirements by the Turk, who is determined on their extermination, and I believe that we, as Americans, have no right to hold ourselves aloof from helping England to protect them, since the horrors we have witnessed are largely the result of the work wrought in Armenian character and aspiration by some of our own best people. We ought to stand shoulder to shoulder with England for Armenian deliverance, and cannot but believe we shall be able to arrange to send the refugee to America to some Church or Society who will look after him or her, paying the passage to New York and agreeing to provide work for six months. By this means the undertaking needn't fall heavily upon any, and thousands might be cared for. They are strong, capable, and trusty. The police-court knows them not. They love God and keep his commandments. Their nation is being tortured and murdered for its Christian faith. There are tens of thousands of destitute women in Armenia, many young, whose coming to American might help to solve the hitherto insoluble servant question. All of them, as we know, are Christian women, industrious, skillful. I believe the machinery to work this plan may soon be provided, and with results that will mean loyalty to the people. God give us courage and tenderness in this hour of unequal contest.

FRANCIS WILLARD.

Armen Garo, or as we may now call him by his real name, Armenak Garabet was liberated last night with Haratobi and sent by the 11.30 express to Geneva after a heartrending separation from his companions. The governor of the prison called at the Prefecture in the morning and was directed by the prefect to stay up all night in expectation of something. At nine in the evening the governor received a telegraphic order what to do. He told the prisoners according to his instructions that two leaders would be sent immediately to Geneva, and the fifteen others would be embarked to-day for New York at half-past eleven. To-day, shortly before the appointed time, they were marched through the lonely streets with a strong escort. Strict orders were given not to allow communication with anybody, Armenian or otherwise. So strict were the orders that the passengers on board the Italie were kept from the forecastle where the prisoners were taken until the ship left her moorings. In the Rue de la Republique the police, who were still in

possession of the prisoners' money, bought a complete outfit including hats and shoes. They remonstrated against this waste of money, when the official responsible for them said that unless they purchased clothes the Government had given him instructions to re-arrest them as rogues and vagabonds. Their funds amounted to 109 Turkish pounds. Out of this was deducted the outfits and the passage money of 85 francs each, being half the emigrants rate of French stream companies giving a special fare to persons sent by the Government. This did not include food. The police made arrangements with the steward, and paid in advance. The remaining funds, pitiably shrunk, were then handed to the refugees. Davidoff, a leading Armenian, notwithstanding his Russian name, was dismayed. He said they would write from new York to the French Government to tell how they were treated.

"If you talk any longer in that tone," said the official, whose instructions were evidently very strict, and whose temper was rising, "you go back to prison. Yes, you all go." Davidoff turned to a sailor, asking in how many days they would reach New York. The sailor looked curiously at him, and asked:

"Are you alright in your head? Don't you know this is the Italie of Compagnie Generale, and in ten minutes we are sailing to Buenos Ayres." The refugees, realising the situation, wept with rage at Garo and themselves being deceived. They entreated the Special Harbours Commissary to let them leave for New York. He replied that he was instructed to send them so far that they could never return to Europe.

For the last week I had been told daily by trustworthy informants that the release might take place at any moment, and confess the news took me rather by surprise, as I had become rather sceptical. However, in anticipation, I had secured the services of an intelligent quick Frenchman speaking Turkish, whose business is at the docks, and whom I could implicitly trust to watch out-going steamers. He was stopped in his endeavour to pass the gangway of the Italie, but went round to a steam launch and spoke to Davidoff over the taffrail. The latter declined at first to speak. "Why did you not blow up the bank?" "Because our chief Garo did not tell us." The answer to every other question was, "Mr. Garabet knows." They are evidently willing to live or die for Garabet. Davidoff gave my informer a message to the National Armenian Committee, probably asking for funds.

What does Garabet himself say? I must give no particulars about how the following interview was brought about, as to divulge it might injure innocent persons. Garo is about twenty-three and strikingly handsome. He is clean-shaven, and has a thin moustache and clear pal complexion, perhaps due to confinement, fair hair, brown eyes, and fascinating manner. He speaks with Irish fluency, scarcely pausing to take breath. The Greeks of Constantinople promised that if he attacked the Bank they would attack different parts of Stamboul. When he entered the directors' office at the Bank, Mr. Auboyneau first thought he was a burglar, and exclaimed, "Take all the money on this table, but spare our lives." "We haven't come for your money, but for the Armenian questyion," and picking up the stray money and bank notes, he placed them in the till, locked it, sealed it, and gave up the key to M. Auboyneau. To the Bank clerks, who were weeping, he said, "You did

not weep over the 100,000 massacred." As regards the famous negotiation through the window, Garabet said the representatives of the Embassies first ordered him to leave the Bank and trust to the influence of the Embassies for lenient treatment. He replied "The Embassies might have stopped the massacres in Anatolia by one telegram. That telegram was never sent. If the Armenian nation cannot depend on their goodwill how can I? I will not leave without a safe conduct and hostages." Maximoff pedantically represented that the raiders' presence in the Bank was illegal. "So are the massacres in Armenia" was the quick retort. "Remember Berlin." He spoke five hours on and off to Maximoff, who was most anxious the Bank should not be blown up, as Russians were employed in it, and garabet was aware of this. In reply to the question whether he has available forces in Constantinople, Garabet says: "We have another organization quite ready, and enlisting the support of the Young Turks. In fact negotiations are going on between the Young Turks and ourselves." "Do you think at such a tremendous crisis as the present the Trochags and Armenian extremists should act together?" "Certainly, they are already bound by five articles." "Will you take active part in the next movement?" "Yes, and as long as one of us lives he will support every successive revolution with all his might until we get the rights of human beings. Personally we have no resources just at present. In fact, there were three plans to dynamite the Bank, the Embassies, and Yildiz Kiosk. I had no intention to blow up the Embassies, but did intend to blow up the Sublime Porte and the Seraskierat." "Why didn't you blow up the Bank?" "Because the Ambassadors gave their word of honour that the Armenian question would be settled immediately." "And Sir Edgar Vincent?" "Oh, he did all he could to get us saved." Garabet is thoroughly earnest, patriotic, and self-sacrificing, and is one of those extraordinary type of men that arise out of a revolutionary and desperate national situation/

Lady Henry Somerset is unequalled as an organizer, and worth all the officials of Marseilles put together. She works quietly and with a clear practical head that sees round difficulties, and how to turn them. We drove this morning to M. Bonnaud, the head of the Marseilles police, who obligingly walked with us across indescribably noisome and dilapidated alleys, over rough cobble stones, and through offal and nameless filth that obliged us to pick our steps. We had also to pick our steps across open drains to La Charite, and old disused hospital where Monsignor de Belzunce, in the reign of Louis XV., personally looked after plague stricken patients, and lost his life in setting this example of Christian charity. La Charite must be centuries old. Armenians were lying about in it like animals. Men, women, and children were all together. A frightful silence reigned among them. They awoke to life on hearing that the object of our visit was to keep them from perishing of starvation until they could leave France. The chief of the police gave Lady Henry and myself leave to go backwards and forwards, and even to set up a kitchen. Then came six hours of feverish activity. The Armenians were delighted to have something to do. They cleaned uninhabited rooms on the ground floor that were filled for 20 years with plaster and other rubbish. On our suggestion a boarded room was turned into a chapel, the authorities giving the fullest liberty to worship. A large room was called the

refectory and another the kitchen. Lady Henry Somerset hired for 40 francs for a month, a stove, cauldrons, &c., and put down for the present 10l. to the Armenian fund. I bought out of "The Daily News" fund five dozen mugs, as many plates, and badly needed miscellaneous articles. The whole cost 31 francs. In the evening, to the inexpressible delight of all, the stove was in working order, and 150 Armenians each received a pound of bread, an onion, a capsicum, salt, and a few olives. A responsible manager was appointed out of the number, and a cook. Lady Henry bought herself all the provisions, and did her marketing. She spared herself no trouble. The food she gave seemed a miracle, and if it had come down straight from Heaven could not have given rise to more religious thankfulness. This and the other effects of her warm-hearted sympathy I can never forget. The deserted rooms abandoned to rats and scorpions awoke to life, and, what is more wonderful, to joy. Those Armenian witnesses of the most atrocious carnages the world has ever seen, those victims of vile diplomatic games and counter games; those exiles who, after a rough voyage in the steerage of ships, were friendless and unfriended on a foreign shore, with starvation facing them suddenly found relief and sympathy. The awful silence I have described was replaced by the buzz of conversation. The talk carried on in low tones was all about the miracle God had worked in sending the gracious English lady, who, by the way, is a fourth part French. How Lady Henry Somerset got through her work seemed to me well nigh miraculous. She and Miss Willard have been indefatigable. We get off two most deserving clerks to Paris tomorrow, and a man to America. General Booth is in telegraphic communication with Lady Henry, who is at the Hotel du Louvre with Miss Willard. One hundred and sixty more Armenians are due to-morrow.

A week later, on September 28, 1896, the Daily News (London, Greater London, England) on page 5, shared an excerpt of a follow up letter from Armen Garo:

THE ARMENIAN REFUGEES.

(FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

MARSEILLES, Sunday.

I have hopes that in two or three days or earlier the question of the refugees here will be satisfactorily dealt with. I am informed by a private telegram from Constantinople in reply to an inquiry that the probation forbidding Armenians to emigrate is not absolute. They will be allowed to embark on showing a passport. This passport, however, is not issued by the Turkish Government, but by any foreign consul. The Armenians we know too well are Turkish subjects. What can it mean? It will be interesting to see whether this regulation will stop further arrivals of Armenians here. I dread this possibility as much as people at Marseilles hope for it. The poor Armenians received such a lukewarm welcome here that I felt justified in asking the other day whether the Government contemplated closing French

ports to the survivors of Turkish bayonets and bludgeons. I was assured by high authority that such a step was impossible, as it would make any Government odious to the public of Paris, where a finer and more generous spirit prevails than at Marseilles. I am much afraid, however, that the new regulation is framed to save appearances, and will have the effect of keeping the poor Armenians in Turkey against their will.

I have received from Armen Garo a letter in which he returns to the story of the raiders' release. I mentioned the other day how Davidoff wept with rage on board the Italie. That Garo is in the same state of feeling may be gathered from some passages of his letter, which I must reluctantly regard as private. Having exercised these passages, which only express Garo's feelings regarding points upon which any reader of yours has enough information to form his own conclusions, I see no harm in publishing his letter:

We have just received the news of the departure of our fifteen comrades for Buenos Ayres, and they are almost destitute. Is it possible? They had promised to send our 15 comrades to New York. Passage and food were to be at the expense of the French Government. These promises were given to us over and over again by the official secretary of the Prefecture. We left at the office of St. Peter's Prison 120 Turkish pounds. This sum was given to us by the Russian Embassy and Sir Edgar Vincent as the price of the revolvers left by our comrades in the British yacht. Our passage and board from Constantinople to Marseilles was paid by the Embassies. Our comrades were to be free at Marseilles. But since they were illegally thrown into prison and were sent where they did not want to go, who was to meet the expense? Since they were to be free on French soil, by what right were they asked for money? But this money did not even belong to us. It was subscribed by our poor nation for the defence of our cause. A question, however, of more immediate importance is, Why do the authorities deceive us? They send our comrades to Buenos Ayres, where we have not a single countryman, while in the United States they would find thousands of Armenians.

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.)

After Armen Garo left France, he found his way to Switzerland and studied natural science at the University of Geneva. In 1900, he received a doctoral degree in physical chemistry.[88]

From Geneva, Armen Garo traveled to Tiflis, where he founded a chemical research laboratory. Within a few years he secured the rights to develop a copper mine in the Armenian-populated territories of the Russian Empire. These commercial ambitions, however, were rendered futile after the Young Turk Revolution in 1908. Before that, Armen Garo was invited by the ARF and the residents of his native Erzerum to become their candidate in the upcoming elections for a Representative to the Ottoman Parliament following

88 Tasnapetean, Hrach (1990). History of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, Dashnaktsutiun, 1890-1924

the Sultan's dethronement. He accepted the invitaiton and became a member of the Ottoman Parliament from the ARF.[89]

On June 11, 1912, Armen Garo, with his official letterhead, wrote a letter, in French, to James W. Colt, who together with Admiral Colby M. Chester, had worked on a railroad project connecting Constantinople with Baghdad, (see chapters 27 and 30). The English translation of the letter is as follows:

Constantinople, 11 June 1912

Mister James W. Colt
In New York,

My dear friend,

Being very busy, I cannot write to you at length today; I will only summarize the result of the interviews that Mr. J. P. Carter and I myself have had with Djavid Bey individually.

Yesterday, Djavid Bey made the following proposal to Mr. Carter:

The Government would pay a total sum of 5,000,000 *Ltqs.* for the construction of a railway system of 1500 kilometers on a wide spread, be it 3333 *Ltqs.* per kilometer, while guaranteeing an interest rate of 5% and the amortization of capital, which makes an annuity of 169 *Ltqs.* per year and per kilometer, that is to say 3853 *francs* per kilometer.

Outside of that Djavid Bey has proposed a formula to determine the exploitation of the line, to wit:

F = 2300 Francs. L +),20 R + 0, Fr. 60
T

In which, F = Cost of exploitation; 2300 *Francs*represent a fixed prepayment per kilometer; L = the length of the line; R = the total receipt of the line of which the 20% will be paid to the society of title for rent; T = kilometric train, which will be evaluated at 80 *centimes.*

But all of these conditions in case the society would wish to take a firm deal, that is to say, without option.

Mr. Carter left last evening, immediately after this interview, to London, to present the proposition to Mr. P. P. Morgan.

Last evening, after Mr. Carter's departure, I had a very long interview with Djavid Bey and I succeeded in convincing him to grant the same conditions with right of option. I just wrote about that to Mr. Carter. – Thus, therefore, everything will depend now on the decision of Mr. P. P. Morgan.

As soon as he gives his agreement, Mr. Carter must telegraph you to come here and elaborate the new convention. My personal impression is that Mr. Carter has been convinced that the affair is good, and that it will be done in the best conditions possible, thanks to the actual circumstances that I have indicated in my previous letters.

I bid you farewell in the hope that I will have the opportunity

89 Derogy, Jacques. Resistance and Revenge: The Armenian Assassination of the Turkish Leaders Responsible for the 1915 Massacres and Deportations

to squeeze your hand soon,

Your devoted *Dr. G. Pasdermadjian*

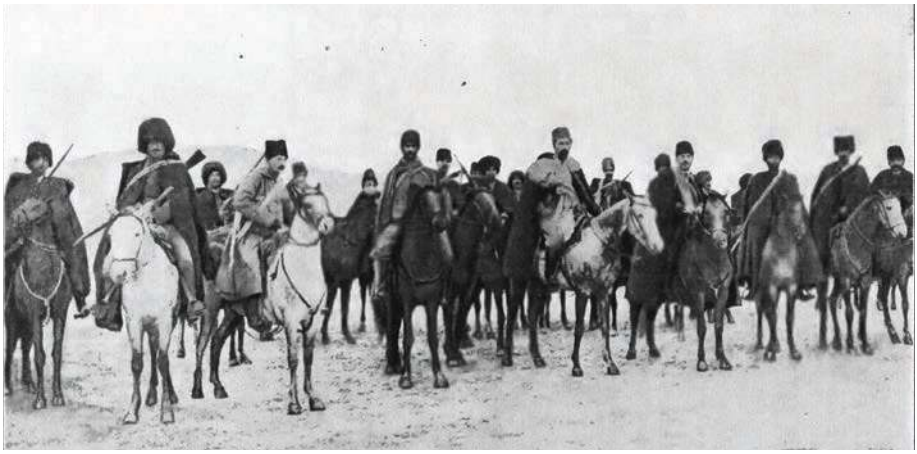
(Translated from the French by Dr. Sylva Natalie Manoogian, PhD)

James W. Colt had been sent to the Ottoman Empire to search for mineral deposits by the investment banking firm Kuhn, Loeb & Co., which was run by Jacob H. Schiff. Colt was also working for J.P. Morgan of New York.

Armen Garo later wrote a detailed report titled "Project Of Railway System in Anatolia with Mining Concessions." (see Appendix VIII). This work of Armen Garo's became the formula for a viable project that attracted the interest of investors who fought over the valuable mineral deposits of the Ottoman Empire found mostly in Armenia. According to Chester, who held concessions there, these mineral deposits grew into an apple of discord, which eventually contributed to the outbreak of WWI and all the bloody conflicts that followed in the Middle East.

After the Armenian Congress in Erzurum of 1914, at which the Armenians declined an offer from the government controlled by Talaat Pasha to ally with the Turkish Government and the Germans against the Russians, Armen Garo went on a special mission to the Caucasus. There he joined the committee appointed by the Armenian National Council of the Caucasus to organize the Armenian volunteer units.[90]

On November 14, 1914, at the Bergmann Offensive, Armen Garo accompanied the second battalion of the Armenian volunteers, who engaged in battle for the first time, near Bayazid. During this battle, which lasted 24 hours, Dro, the commander of the battalion, was seriously wounded, and Armen Garo was forced immediately to take his place.[91] From that day to March of the



The staff of Armenian volunteers of the 2nd Battalion in November 1914. Armen Garo are among those pictured.

90 Derogy, Jacques. Resistance and Revenge: The Armenian Assassination of the Turkish Leaders Responsible for the 1915 Massacres and Deportations

91 Chelebian, author, Antrang Chalabian; translated from Armenian by Jack (2009). Dro (Drastamat Kanayan): Armenia's first defense minister of the modern era. Los Angeles, CA: Indo-European Pub. p. 46.

following year, he remained at the head of that battalion and led it into eleven battles in the neighborhood of Alashkert, Toutakh, and Malashkert, until Dro recovered and returned to resume the command.

In the summer of 1915, Armen Garo went to Van during the Van Resistance becoming one of the first to enter the city after the Russians liberated it.

After the end of the WWI, Armen Garo was elected vice-President of the Armenian national delegation, which was sent to participate in the peace conference in Paris. He later on became the diplomatic representative of the Republic of Armenian to the United States in Washington D.C.

On October 10, 1919, Armen Garo testified to the United States Senate, Subcommittee on Foreign Relations in favor of SJR 106, for the maintenance of peace in Armenia (see full transcript and documents from the hearings in Appendix V). His testimony was as follows:



Statement of Dr. G. Pasdermadiian, Vice President of the Armenian National Delegation to the Peace Conference.

Dr. PASDERMADJIAN. I am vice president of the Armenian national delegation resident in Paris, but now I have come as the diplomatic representative of the Armenian Republic to the United States.

Senator HARDING. Originally you were sent to the peace conference in Paris?

Dr. PASDERMADJIAN. Yes; I was elected as vice president of the Armenian national delegation in Paris, and acted in that capacity during my stay there. I now come as the representative of the Armenian Government in America.

Senator HARDING. As the minister of the new Republic?

Dr. PASDERMADJIAN. Yes, sir; but not yet recognized.

Senator HARDING. Do you desire to make a statement or do you just wish to be questioned?

Dr. PASDERMADJIAN. If you will be kind enough to ask questions, I will try to answer.

Senator HARDING. Just tell what you know that you think would be useful to the committee.

Dr. PASDERMADJIAN. I will explain our situation.

Senator HARDING. That is the best thing to do.

Dr. PASDERMADJIAN. You, of course, know that Armenia played a very important part in the Great War. We fought with the Russians and we refused to join the Turks. We fought with the Allies in many countries, and in doing so we lost many men. Had we chosen to aid the Germans we would not have had any serious losses. The fact is that we refused to cooperate with the Germans and the Turks, and we fought for the liberation of Armenia on the Allies' side, but since the armistice the situation in Paris was such that no allied help has been given us. We have received not a single rifle nor any ammunition to assist us in defending our people, and we are now surrounded by the hostile communities who, taking advantage of our known lack of means of self-defense, are continually her-asking us.

Senator HARDING. Now, before you get away from that with what armies did the greater part of the Armenians fight?

Dr. PASDERMADJIAN. With the Russian armies. We had 160,000 men in the Russian Army, besides over 10,000 volunteers. I myself fought as a volunteer. With the French Army in Syria we had 5,000 Armenians fighting under the French flag. We had 1,000 Armenian volunteers in the French Foreign Legion. Armenians everywhere fought with the Allies. We naturally expected that after the armistice we would get necessary relief from our Allies.

But, as I stated, we have received absolutely nothing from them, except certain food relief from America.

Now, what we ask of America is more of moral and economic character than physical only. We have a military force which lacks food, supplies and munitions. We need only a few thousand American soldiers for their moral effect. They will never have to fight, because the Turks will see that America is for Armenia and they will not fight. We want help for one or two years, until we are organized.

Senator HARDING. You have been an officer?

Dr. PASDERMADJIAN. Yes, sir.

Senator HARDING. Do you think that you could have 300,000 effective Armenians under arms if equipment and munitions were furnished for them?

Dr. PASDERMADJIAN. Very easily, sir. We could have 67,000; but we now need an army of 30,000 only.

Senator WILLIAMS. When you say you could have 67,000 you mean that you would have to rob the cradle and the grave to get them? You would have to take the young boys and the old men?

Dr. PASDERMADJIAN. Yes, sir.

Senator WILLIAMS. Like the Confederacy did; rob the cradle and the grave?

Dr. PASDERMADJIAN. Yes, sir.

Senator WILLIAMS. But you can raise 30,000 of military age?

Dr. PASDERMADJIAN. Yes.

Senator WILLIAMS. That is between 30 and 45?

Dr. PASDERMADJIAN. No; between 20 and 30 or 32.

Senator HARDING. Are they fairly trained in military tactics?

Dr. PASDERMADJIAN. Yes; and we have plenty of officers who fought for four years in the Russian armies.

Senator HARDING. So that you need only arms?

Dr. PASDERMADJIAN. Arms and munitions and some supplies, of course; and a few officers, if possible. We have officers, but we need, too, the Americans to cooperate with us in everything. We have thousands of soldiers who were in the Russian army, but we want some American officers to help reorganize our army, especially in the technical field.

Senator WILLIAMS. Of course the Armenians are an old European race, placed by migration in Asia. When I use the words "old European" in this connection, I am not reflecting upon the Armenians; but in addition to whatever force you want to use, do you not also want the prestige of some European flag?

Dr. PAADERMADJIAN. Yes.

Senator WILLIAMS. Of course, in saying "European" I am including the Americans, because we are all European.

Dr. PAADERMADJIAN. Yes.

Senator WILLIAMS. So that you do want the prestige of some European flag?

Dr. PASDERMADJIAN. Yes.

Senator WILLIAMS. You think you need but a very small force?

Dr. PASDERMADJIAN. Yes; to reorganize our own force.

Senator HARDING. I wanted to ask you, not as an intimation of our decision, but I am trying to arrive at what seems to be a possible thing to do: Do you think, if this country could provide arms and munitions and ammunition, and at the same time send a battleship to Batoum with a force of marines, that that would greatly relieve the situation there?

Dr. PASDERMADJIAN. That will relieve the situation throughout Caucasus; but until the American flag shall be in Erivan, the people who are living at Erivan will not know what is at Batoum. Our neighbors, the Orientals, are very impressionable.

Senator HARDING. We can send marines inland, for that matter.

Senator WILLIAMS. Senator Harding said with a force of marines in Batoum. Of course, he meant to send the marines farther inland, along the line of the railroad?

Senator HARDING. Yes; to Erivan. You think the moral effect of that would be great?

Dr. PASDERMADJIAN. Yes, sir; the moral effect.

Senator HARDING. Do you want to ask any other questions, Senator?

Senator WILLIAMS. No.

Senator HARDING. You do not care to have him dilate upon these details?

Mr. CARDASHIAN. No.

The final outcome of the hearings was not in favor of the Armenian people. In fact, the testimonies of some witnesses might have had an opposite effect due to the expressed intentions of Armenians to leave the U.S. for soon-to-be prosperous Armenia, taking with them their material wealth and, consequently, reducing work force from the United States.

A few months after Armen Garo's testimony, my grandfather, Shahan Natalie, returned from his trip to Armenia for the ARF's 9th General Assembly and a brief stay in Constantinople, with readiness to carry out the assassination of Talaat Pasha and the rest of the 200 persons on the list, responsible for the Armenian Genocide. Armen Garo, who by this time was physically ill suffering from depression, agreed to become the figurehead of Operation Nemesis, which was originally referred to as *Hadug Kordz* (Special Case or Mission). His being a part of this project gave it some legitimacy, garnered much needed financial support from the Armenian community, as well as provided my grandfather with resources bestowed upon an aid to the diplomatic representative of Armenia to the Untied States.



When Armenia lost its independence to the Bolsheviks, and after Stalin arbitrarily granted the Armenian territories of Artsakh and Nakhijevan to the newly formed Soviet Socialist Republic of Azerbaijan, Armen Garo's health further deteriorated. He went to Geneva, Switzerland to heal his ailments. This is where he spent his final days before succumbing to heart disease on March 23, 1923, at the age of 51.

Chapter 24

Making deals with the Turks

We can only guess what deals Mikayel Varantian, Armenia's Ambassador to Italy, was discussing with the Turks during the Rome conference. Did those discussions eventually lead to the ARF's attempt to cooperate with the Turks with the purpose of retaking control of Armenia after the Bolsheviks' conquest on December 2, 1920?

Under the governance of the ARF leaders, survivors of the Armenian Genocide, the first Armenian republic lasted ony 18 months.

One day after surrendering Armenia to the Bolsheviks on December 2, 1920, the ARF leadership met with the Turks and signed the Treaty of Alexandrapol on behalf of a country that no longer existed, the first Republic of Armenia[92]. This treaty was intended to reconcile with the Turks, forgiving them their crime of killing the Armenians during the Genocide. But, in order for the treaty to go into effect, it would have to be ratified by the Armenian parliament. This gave the Turks an incentive to fight for the Armenians and bring the ARF leaders back into power. Fortunately, for the Armenian nation, the ARF return to power was never realized and the treaty of Alexandrapol only served as a reminder of who the leaders of the ARF were.

Shahan wrote two volumes on the treaty of Alexandrapol, one which was published and the other which is an unfinished work to one day be published.

On February 18, 1921, in a final effort to displace the Soviets, the ARF leadership staged a not so well-planned counter-revolt against the Bolsheviks. They soon found themselves in urgent need of help. Simon Vratzian, the last Prime Minister and symbol of ARF's failure and chicanery, sent the following desperate note to Behaeddin, the representative in Erivan of the Turkish high command.

> "Please forward the present request promptly to your high authorities, and as I have explained to you, urge them for an immediate answer.
>
> The fight of Armenia against the Bolsheviks, and for its own freedom and independence, serves, as we are convinced, not only Armenia itself, but also the interests of all the nations of the Near East.
>
> For this reason, Armenia hopes that during this fight she will receive help from her neighbors, and first of all the interests of the Turkish people also require that Armenia should come victorious out of this fight and remain independent.
>
> Relying on this conviction, the Armenian government requests the government of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, that, in the name of the mutual interest of the two peoples and as speedily as possible it:
>
> 1. Return the Armenian war prisoners that are now on the war front of Erivan.

92 see Appendix XIV

2. Give the Armenian army some ammunition under certain conditions; first of all cartridges for Russian three-lined rifles and for Turkish Mausers; or else rifles of the Russian and Lepelsystem.

3. Communicate with us, if the government of the Grand National Assembly finds it possible to send military aid to Armenia, and if able to do so, to what extent and when?

In making this appeal, the Armenian government relies on the friendly relations that have been established with the treaty of Alexandropol, and which were disturbed during the Bolshevik rule.

Respectfully,
SIMON VRATZIAN
President of the Armenian Republic
Erivan, March 18, 1921.



Simon Vratzian (1882-1969)

This last attempt of the ARF to regain control of Armenia failed. When Vratzian wrote to the Turks for help, did must know have know that Soghomon had successfully handed down Talaat's death sentence 3 days earlier? Was he entrenched in a fight for his return to power and the news from Germany had not reached him? Needless to say, the Turks never assisted the deposed President of the first Armenian Republic, and the ARF was forced to retreat, never to fight again to take control of Armenia from the Bolsheviks.

Chapter 25

Soghomon

Soghomon Tehlirian was an engineering student in Berlin in 1921 when faith shone down kindly on him, putting him face to face with the architect of the Armenian Genocide, Talaat Pasha or so say the legends woven into the daring assassination scrupulously planned by secret organization Operation Nemesis.



Soghomon Tehlirian (1896-1960)

When Shahan Natalie secured the needed funding for the Operation Nemesis, he put out a call for candidates that would be capable of assassinating someone responsible for the Armenian massacres. Yeranouhi Danielian answered the call nominating Soghomon Tehlirian as someone suited to do the job.

My grandfather recalled the story of Soghomon's nomination, in the 1971 recording my father had made, with a chuckle in his voice. He had realized that Yeranouhi was in love with Soghomon and aspired to marry him. Why not let her chosen one be a hero? Little did Yeranouhi know then that Soghomon had committed himself to Anahit, his first love, who was waiting for his return from the mission.

Soghomon was in France when he was contacted to join the mission. He was asked to come to America to meet with my grandfather. By the time he arrived, however, my grandfather had already left the U.S. He was in Geneva, preparing to go to Germany to hunt down Talaat. Soghomon was introduced to report to Armen Garo, the diplomatic representative of Armenia to the United States.

By December, when the general whereabouts of Talaat were found, my

grandfather called to have Soghomon sent. When he arrived in Germany, Soghomon would become the 7th, person officially involved in the operation and the one my grandfather would most depend on. This was due to the fact that three mostly unwilling recruits that my grandfather had enlisted on the ground in Berlin to help with surveillance were highly unreliable.

Most Armenians know Soghomon Tehlirian as the assassin of Talaat. He is revered like a true knight in shining armor who slayed the evil dragon that rained down terror on those who he found to be undesirable or in his way.

Armenian history claims that at the time of the assassination, Soghomon was a member of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF). At the time of the assassination, Soghomon was not a member of the ARF, nor was he even affiliated with them.

Soghomon was found not guilty of the murder of Talaat, but as Dr. Mansur Rifat stated so accurately in his article published on June 7, 1921 in the Deutsche Zeitung newspaper, "History reserves for itself the right eventually to proclaim the truth…"

Although Soghomon had lost his mother in the Armenian Genocide, Soghomon was not living with her at the time of her death, rather he was in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, with his father, who was a businessman and had a coffee import business.

After the genocide began, Soghomon joined the Armenian defense forces that was led by the Armenian national hero, General Antranik Ozanian.

In 1919, Soghomon made his way to Constantinople, where he frequented the home of General Antranik's family. The niece of General Antranik, Yeranouhi Danielian, had taken a liking to Soghomon.

Yeranouhi had told Soghomon of an Armenian traitor who had provided the black list of 250 of Armenians leaders and intellectuals to police chief Bedri. That list was promptly delivered to Talaat, who had those listed to be arrested on April 24, 1915 and eventually murdered.

Soghomon had decided that the Armenian traitor, who was living a privileged life in Constantinople, had to be punished for his crime. This would be the first assassination Soghomon carried out himself and without any direction of an organization.

Following the successful implementation of Operation Nemesis, the ARF leadership did everything in its power to prevent Shahan Natalie and Soghomon Tehlirian from face-to-face meetings. In fact, between 1956 and 1960, while both lived in the United States, they only exchanged a few letters. Shahan's opposition to the ARF's key policies had been making its leaders nervous.

The *Tashnags* had witnessed these two men's ability to forge a powerful alliance, which now could threaten their own safety. In view of these circumstances, it is not surprising that there is no mention of Shahan Natalie in either edition of *Soghomon Tehlirian's Memoirs* (1953 and 1956). In spite of this, however, Shahan spoke fondly of Soghomon in his recording in 1971. He was well aware what had been going on behind the scenes. Shahan's sympathizer's



Shahan Natalie and Soghomon Tehlirian - 1921

inside the ARF had information of the party's persistent efforts to remove his name from the book. Moreover, the ARF aggressively undertook the task of removing any and all references to Shahan Natalie's affiliation with the party, from the day of his second resignation from the party in 1929 (the first was in October of 1919) until after his death in 1983, when he was perceived an asset, once they felt he could no longer threaten the establishment.

SHAHAN: No! No! Against Soghomon … Do you know what happened? Now, about Soghomon … that was a loose, loose thing, which was written. But I knew that… I know, that he had written it; he had requested, do you get it? That they not, that they remove my name, but Vahan Navasartian requested there, that if printed elsewhere, because the idea of printing his memoirs had been around for quite a while. The Tashnags of America wanted to publish them. Thinking that in America there were not those, when Soghomon says *"do not remove him"* et cetera, do you know? They don't do anything against Soghomon's will; they don't go, but Vahan Navasartian … Vahan Navasartian, who regarding Soghomon, get it? [Snickers]. He makes up something. When he talks to Soghomon, he also removes Soghomon. Vahan Navasartian is that kind of character. Well, Soghomon knows that. Contrary to that, regarding his special request, that *"he not be removed"*, they remove my name, my name remains as director. That is what *the man* wrote. And … And nevertheless, well, what importance does Soghomon have as a ***perpetual*** **hero!** But that is not an issue. ***His/Theirs/Them*** pleasure is what you are subjected to. If you are not, then it is Talaat he assassinated. Do you get it? And other such things, because it has happened a lot.

Four decades later, in our quest to find and document the alleged omissions from Soghomon's memoirs, we discovered something unexpected. My mother obtained the second edition of *Soghomon Tehlirian's Memoirs* (1956) and began painstakingly comparing every word with the original edition (1953) that has

Shahan's marginal notes. On page 192 of the second edition, she stumbled. The following page was numbered 209. The missing 16 pages were not cut out of the book, but rather removed before binding. This was a shocking example of blatant censorship that insults the intelligence of the readership.

Since our attempts to find the exact reason why these very pages were eliminated were unsuccessful, we had to resort to the clues within the text itself. Particularly striking is the ending of the missing chapter that details Soghomon Tehlirian's assassination of Haroutiun Megerdichian, the Armenian traitor who had compiled the infamous list of about 250 prominent Armenian intellectuals, including writers, artists, as well as political and religious leaders. They were to become amoung the first official victims of the Armenian Genocide, arrested on April 24, 1915 and later murdered.

The following are the missing pages from *Soghomon Tehlirian's Memoirs* regarding the hunt of the Armenian traitor (with Shahan Natalie's marginal notes):

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In Bolis in those days, no one was preoccupied either with the treacherous Haroutiun, nor with Tala'at, and neither with the issues of the other fleeing criminals. The moods / orientations were different. The **keywords** of the day were the Armenian and Armenia. Professed, earthly separations and preferences had become deprived of value. There was a tension, to bring to the forefront a national totality to the remnants of segments. Outside of narrow-hearted political environments, there was at present an amalgamated subject of particular affection, *"Araratian Armenia"*. There, had risen the dawn. From there it would possible to disperse the light upon the dark Armenian horizons and for the nation to be reborn.

These moods flourished in *January 1919 [1918?],* when the Armenian delegation arrived from Armenia to Bolis, headed by A[vetis] Aharonian. The delegation had come to the Tokatlian hotel, in Pera, where night and day every class of nationals were coming in and out, and were inspired by news of Armenia. I also had occasion to hear A. Aharonian, when he made an appearance at the Armenian club of Pera, and in his elegant and smooth language he made clear, under the applauses of the massive crowd, with what supreme effort the Armenian soldier had thrust out the enemy, and with what heavy contractions *"the child Armenia"* had been born. For those times, indeed, this was a miracle. And both the picturesque words and emotion of the talented orator were inspiring those present. Shortly thereafter, when he was heading toward Paris,

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an innumerable crowd was gathered on the dock to wish him farewell before the eyes of interminable Turks, and the entourage was thundering with *"long lives"*.

A greater enthusiasm was created at the end of February, when the British battleship *"Caesar"* put ashore on the dock at Galata Patriarch Zaven Der Yeghiayan, who was returning from exile. They were still testing the road to nationalization. The traditional spiritual princedom was still everything. The Patriarch had returned alive and healthy. This means that the nation is still standing and will live. And the multi-thousand Armenians of Bolis were on their feet. The area from the ocean side to the Bank Ottoman was occupied by a crowd. The return of the elderly patriarch symbolized the return of all the exiles . . .

Armenian-Turkish relationships were not bad. From the standpoint of amalgamation, the Armenians of Bolis did not have many reasons for dissatisfaction. And the municipal conditions necessitated the latter's submission. Just in July of the previous year, in the place of the deceased Sultan Reshat, Prince Vahideddin Mouhammed VI had risen to the throne, who was considered a worshipper of British municipality and an Armenophile. Respectable Armenians testified that the enlightened and artistically knowledgeable heir-to-the throne prince Abd-ul-Mejit himself has said to an influential Armenian, that *"our present Sultan is supremely kind and will resolve the Armenian vengeance."* But from whom and how? He did not say. Of the Turkish newspapers *"Igdam"* was writing that *"all the deported Armenians will be returned."* All the respectable Armenians applied to the Armenophile sultan's heir to the throne on that occasion, -- *"Yes! Absolutely, all exiled Armenians, wherever they may be, will be returned",* he had said.

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And if they are not? . . . At that time the Armenian people were a child like *"the child Armenia".*

The relationships of two similarly fated peoples, Armenians and Greeks had received a nature of cordial fraternity during the course of horrors. In those days, the administration of the Greek patriarchate, in the great church of *HagiaTriada* [Holy Trinity] in PeraTaksim, performed a pompous liturgy in memory of the Greek martyrs, with the participation of metropolitans and Fenners, and sang "In heavenly Jerusalem", "Because we bless Thee", "To the spirits of the deceased" and other psalmodies and prayers.

As a matter of course, nation-aiding works were being performed. The patriarchate had succeeded in organizing, with the participation of Catholic, Protestant religious leaders, an inter-faith body, which was to manage the care of orphans, the needs of exiles and to patronize the Armenian Red Cross. Public forces were in motion. Exerting diligent efforts in particular was the Armenian Red Cross, which had hospitals in Shichli, Bankalti, and Beshigtash. The orphan care had feeding stations in various neighborhoods and orphanages, which had been placed on better foundations then in Caucasia. The Armenian Medical Union had opened a short course for

nurses, in which hundreds were enrolled. Day to day, former literary clubs were re-established. New societies and unions were organized,

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such as, for example, the Union of Assistance of Armenia, the General Benevolent Committee, the Activities Home, the Women's Union, and others. Theatrical presentations were again being made as evening events for the benefit of Armenia. For the same purpose, numerous receptions and luncheons, in honor of agreeing governments' generals or foreign newspapers' correspondents, who were already Armenophiles or, according to hypothesis, were affected by that spirit, during the course of wasteful honors.

It was deemed beneficial to the Bolis residents and the municipal system, on March 20 [1920], according to the proposal of [President Woodrow] Wilson, the Versailles Congress [Paris Peace Conference, 18 January 1919 to January 21, 1920] had decided to send to the Near East, a commission composed of representatives from America, France, England and Italy, to examine and consider the condition of the land masses to be separated from the Ottoman empire and the needs of the people. Armenian national municipal areas were striving to interest with the Armenian question the United States of America, whose representatives in Congress, specifically President Wilson himself, as they said, was very closely accepting the Armenians in his heart and showing his disposition of taking on the care of Armenia . . .

With hopes and expectations, passing through blood and fire, the remnants of the Armenian people were everywhere expressing the strongest liveliness and unforeseen determination of living as a nation. In the motives of great nations regarding its consideration, that people only saw the good. But when it understood its mistake, it was already late. Now its survivors were taking everything in hand,

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which was possible to be useful for living. *There was only one thing lacking - the neutralization of revolutionary dispositions. They took very hard the revolutionary and anti-humanitarian blow, and the amalgamated harvest of former revolutionary workers' positions had remained vacant.*

I already had relatives, friends, who with one voice were testifying about the sad role played by the treacherous Haroutiun [Megerdich]ian. He was the informant to Tala'at regarding the realities that took place in the patriarchate, at the eve of the deportation. He was the one, with the defrocked archimandrite from Armash, Hamazasp [Hovasapian], who had taken under surveillance the members of the delegation of Armenia a year before, during the government of Tala'at. It was he, who had compiled the list of exiled and massacred Armenians revolutionaries

and intellectuals. It was he, who until the last possibility had pursued the popular Armenian forces of Bolis, without exception. It was already proven, that the list compiled by the traitor and, by *means of the police chief Bedri, the black list consisting of 250 intellectuals had been delivered to Tala'at***.** Of said list, barely ten people had been spared, of whom the majority were those, whose wretchedness was included in the black list by careless misunderstanding. Thus, for example, in lieu of Minas Tcheraz, he had implicated his attorney brother, KasparTcheraz, who had succeeded in confirming the mistake made and was spared from death, not being aware, which one was the revolutionary Megerdich Hovhannesian. At the same time, he implicated, two of them with the same name, of whom one was saved. Aside from the noted revolutionary Haig Tiriakian, he implicated another "Haig", who had succeeded being spared from death, thanks only to

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the insistence of Tiriakian, who was the actual Haig. He had confused Levon Shamtanjian with Mikael Shamtanjian, who had succeeded in returning from exile, and others.

It was already two weeks that I was seriously tracking that monster. Every day for several hours, at different times, I was in Beshigtash. But the traitor understood that the times were changed and he did not go in and out. It was possible to get him only in his residence, but the entrance door was always closed.

At one time, in that famous neighborhood were left from the past the burned walls of the Tcheghazan palace. The traitor was established in that part of the neighborhood. *Across from the sprawling residence, there was a winery, which belonged to an Armenian. Up and down from there were scattered grocery stores. It was superfluous to look for a residence there, which was ultra-necessary in order to be at close proximity to the traitor.* At the back of the neighborhood were specialized pastry shops, eastern colorful shoes, carpet stores, whose owners, with half-myopic eyes slowly turning the calculator beads, were waiting for customers. In the upper parts, were scattered here and there houses of Armenians. There, were living Levon's parents. In the lower part was a row of coffeehouses, where covered with green and white veils, beards white as snow, majestic-faced elders under the walls, at thresholds, leaning in the shadows of coffeehouses were lazily sucking the *nargile* water pipes and slowly bringing the finger-sized coffee cups to their lips.

One day at the end of March, I made an attempt to become friends with the owner of

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the winery, but knowing that I am a deportee, he made an unpleasant face. *It was that day, when in the traitor's residential building, a youth appeared, who*

headed directly to the winery, and purchasing a single bottle of "Margel", he went home. In the evening, I informed Miss Yeranouhi [Danielian], who was my only supporter in this work. Through acquaintances she had established ties with the traitor's relatives and had secured his picture. The youth was the only offspring of the traitor.

The next day was Sunday. In the Holy Trinity church of Pera there was a *mourning ceremony on the occasion of the martyrdom of Armenian intellectuals*. Present was a dense crowd of both genders. A liturgy of Gomidas was being performed by a four-part choir. The scenario was emotional and heart-rending. Many of those present had suffered losses. *After the liturgy, Patriarch Zaven spoke* of the biblical text [John 12:24], *" Truly, truly, I say to you, Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it stays alone: but if it die, it brings forth much fruit."* He likened all the martyrs to corns of wheat which would sprout and bring forth much results . . .

In the evening the Pangalti Student Union, in the large hall of the Red Cross, had organized a citizen requiem. When I arrived, all the seats were taken by a male and female throng. I remained under the wall, in a corner of the gathering.

The editor of the satirical magazine *"Gavroche", Y[ervant - F.Y?] Tolayan,* who was one of the deportees, opened the memorial event. In a few words, he raised the value and significance of the martyred intellectual class to a great height, inviting the attention of the youth to the advancing emptiness in the literary, public and revolutionary arenas,

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and urging them to take the places left empty by the martyred literati.

Of the surviving intellectuals, Doctor Melkon Gulistanian recalled that *evil-shadowed Saturday night, when he and his friends were arrested, when all the notable workers of the Bolis Armenians: congregational, delegate, revolutionary, editorial, instructional, medical, banker, pharmacist, commercial and others, dressed hurriedly, sleep deprived, with slippers, without hats, following each other, were led to prison.*

-- "The newcomers were coming happily, with a condemning smile," he was saying, "but when they saw hundreds of well-known national old and new workers around them afflicted and deep in thought, they also were immersed in ponderous worries . . ."

The dawn is breaking. Everyone is spiritually arming himself with hopes of the aid to come. Expectations, that "misunderstanding" will quickly be revealed. From the nearby minaret is heard the *muezzin's "Allah ekber / God is great".* In the nearby *"Mehterhane"* central jail, little by little the twilight is thickening and once again the darkness is reigning. Only from outside is heard the thundering echo of British battleships. . .

Now begins the third act of the tragedy: verification of the black lists, investigation, division of groups, with not more than twenty persons in

each and every group and toward the outside. *The general chief of police Bedri*, with his special automobile, is here. And departure group by group, from *Hagia Sophia* street toward the ocean front, by way of *Sirkeji.*Sobs. And the *Sarai-Bournou, Kiulhane*orchards. Disturbed ocean with mountain-crested waves.

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The individual groups are arriving here. Once again seeing each other's face is a divine gift. And the *Shirket* Number 67 ship. 220 persons, the salt of the Armenian nation, and even police officers, and soldiers. Here is *Marmara*, soul-stirring remembrances. Torment of death. *Haydar pasha.* A train with lights turned off. Now the *Senjan-Keöy*station. Obscurity. The central jail chief is reading the list of first group martyrs. Whispers. Those mentioned are hugging, kissing, and alighting. 75 persons toward Ayash: Agnouni, Khajag, Zartarian, Jangulian, Shahrigian, Siamanto, Pashayan, Parseghian, Daghavarian, Varoujan, Atchekpashian, Zakarian, LevonLarents, Tchavoushian, Tomajanian . . .

And the announcer all in one piece is reading the names of 75 persons. A woman is sobbing aloud. In the hall are heard whispers, *"who is it?", "it's the sister", "whose?"* The announcer is continuing, unaffected.

Daybreak. From Kalayjek toward Tchankere . . . Some kind of huge fortress, whose windows are boarded up with wood. A new list of 56 persons. Names that are unfamiliar to me. But where is the huge deserted fortress, whose windows were nailed with wooden boards, I am thinking, now unable to follow the announcer.--*"Bilaterettutvemerhamet, biraylekdandoksaniashenazadaritlafe".* He is reading in Turkish Tala'at's order . . .

I understand, *"Without exception and without mercy, from one month old until ninety years old are to be annihilated" . . .*

There was a huge crowd, the air was heavy, my head was spinning and I was becoming breathless. I was having difficulty *[SN marginal annotation: Who then wrote the announcer's nearly complete speech? -- Minakhorian]*

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understanding the announcer. The words were jumping around in my head. *"Jelal-Haleb" . . . "Tcherkez Mehmed" . . ."Vartkes, Zohrab" . . .* I am tensing up my entire attention.

-- "Vartkes! I will not give you the permission to go to Bulgaria. I know, you want to free your collar, but there is no means. Whatever we are, you are going to be with us" . . .

-- Who said that? I turned to my neighbor.

-- Tala'at, to Vartkes . . .

-- Zohrab, feeling that he is being led to death, applies to the landlord *Mahmoud Nedim, "They are taking us to be killed. I beg you to intercede!"* The announcer is continuing monotonously.

Once again, I am unable to understand anything . . . The same man once more, *"Tcherkez Mehmed"* . . . whatever *Khalil* . . . *Dikranakert* . . .*Karakeöpriv* . . .

It is as if there is a mitre, which is squeezing my head like lead. It is torture, not a requiem . . . Suddenly, my head spun. I smelled cold blood. I was overcome by dread. I was going to fall down. Giving strength to my feet, I was barely able to reach the door. Reeling, I went out . . .

It was cool outside. The sky was clear. I was thinking about going to *[word blacked out]* Levon's parents, to request permission for me to live there for a while, so that I would be close to the traitor's residence. Otherwise, on a tremendous expanse, nothing could be revealed. Perhaps...

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Levon had already come back. In that instance, the issue would be facilitated. I would be able to express my observation to him.

Going on to the military academy, I entered the main street of *Nshantash*, from the heights of which, under the lamps of which were scintillating the waters of *Bosphorus.* Not having yet reach *Okhlamour Keöshke,* from afar I see the white marble *Hamidye* mosque, near which the sharp-pointed minaret is playing under the reflections of stars. It was here that, 14 years before, was sealed the mortality of Tala'at's spiritual father *Hamid*, but the fire spewing carriage came out in the air under the nose of *"the Great murderer".* Who could have imagined that comparatively greater murderers would be born in this land? A little lower, toward the interior, perched on the height *"Yeldezi Keöshke"* is sleeping in the nightly black shadows of trees . . .

Having reached the traitor *H[aroutiun]*'s building, I remained nailed in my place. There was light. The window curtains of the windows overlooking the street were not drawn. In the hall, around a wide table covered with a cloth white as snow, a woman was going around. She was laying plates, spoons, knives, and forks on the four sides of the table. I immediately disappeared upward, crossed over to the other sidewalk, and turning back, I entered the winery across from the house. The owner, who was sitting at a round table with two elderly men, stretched his neck questioningly in my direction.

-- "A bottle of beer . . ."

-- "If *Boghos Noubar* were not here, who knows what the issue would be," said one of the two old men sitting under the wall, folding the notebook placed in front of him.

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"*Mashallah [Praised be Allah],* seven *vilayets,* that is world-sized land, for goodness' sake," said the other, filling the brandy glasses.

-- "Is Cilicia included in that?" asked the winery owner.

-- "What kind of man are you? They are telling you they are giving to us seven *vilayets,* of *Marash, Gozan, Jebel-Bereket,* the *sanjaks of Adana,* together with the port of *Alexandretta*,. And you still say *'Cilicia'?"* roared the one wearing glasses with indignation, like someone who feels deep personal insult.

-- "So, that's what I am saying also, *Hamedos agha*," said the winery owner apologetically, and coughed as if to clear his throat.

--"Fine, the land of lakes without a population is the same as a waterless garden. Who is going to go there to live?" said the second one, smoking.

--"Brother, first we should get hold of the land. After that, it's easy. Does a man first think of his house? Or of the rent? . . ."

All of a sudden, with a signal from the winery owner, they became silent. A bareheaded young man came in, whom they seemed to have seen before.

--*"Five bottles of Martel".* . .

He paid, took the bottles, and left.

"Who was he?" asked the man wearing glasses.

--*"He was the dog's son."*

Suddenly I remembered that the young man was the traitor's son.

--"What was that revelation? Five bottles of Martel," muttered the other man.

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"He has guests…"

The confusion affected me. Wasn't it possible that I could become imprisoned with that young man?

--"Alas! Nobody was found to wipe out the dog and wipe the mire from the nation's brow!" roared the man wearing glasses.

--"It is not the time, *Hamedos agha.* First let the nation recover itself," the other man said.

--"*It's not time"*, what it he like the one from *Armash*also takes a powder . . .

Wherever he goes*, Judah's* fate is bound to be hell.

All of a sudden, as if from a spring, they threw me up. But until I paid,

I overcame. It was too late. The entrance door was closed. Disappointed, I ran toward the window. And what did I see! More than ten women and men are gathered around a table. At the head of the table, right in front of the window, the traitor is sitting with goblet in hand, and is making a speech. A horrible rage overcame me. Should I drag him out, throw him directly from the window like an arrow? . . .

--"Shall I drag him out?". . .

--"Drag him out!". . .

--"Straight from the window?" . . . !

--"Straight! Straight!" . . .

My whole being is stormy.

--"To the head!" . . .

--"To the heart!" . . .

All of a sudden, with a creaking noise and dreadful tumult,

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the window glasses fell. The traitor, trembling with death throes, fell backwards and folded up where he was sitting.

In the morning early, I learned from the newspapers, that the traitor was merely wounded. Everything was destroyed. I should have nailed the bullet to his head. The realization of my clumsiness was as heavy as death itself. . .

A little later, Miss Yeranouhi appeared before me. More sleepless than usual, confused, but smiling, she shook my hand. *"I congratulate you, my brother. What a coincidence! How marvelous!"*. . .And she looked at me, befuddled.

--"Are you ill?"

--"Are you mocking me?"

--"What are you saying. Why would I mock you?"

--"Don't you know that the traitor remained alive?"

--"Oh, don't worry. I already visited the hospital, where he is in bed. A Greek doctor friend of mine said that his hours are numbered . . ."

The next day, the traitor was dead.

Chapter 26

Lausanne Treaties

On, July 24, 1923, Turkey, France, Great Briton, Italy, Japan, Greece, Romania, and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes signed a peace document known as Treaty of Lausanne. It allegedly nullified the territorial claims Armenia has had under the Treaty of Sèvres (August 10, 1920) and the arbitral award of United States President, Woodrow Wilson (November 22, 1920).

De jure, nonetheless, Armenia retained ownership of what has been deemed 'Wilsonian Armenia,' since no representation, internationally or otherwise recognized, had signed the Treaty of Lausanne on behalf of the Armenian people, the rightful owners of the territories under question, as guaranteed by the Treaty of Sèvres. Thus the terms of the Lausanne treaty have no legal weight for surrendering of ownership of what is currently Eastern Turkey, which hereon I will refer to as Occupied Armenia.

By signing the Lausanne treaty in absence of Armenian representation, the countries listed above aided the Turks to take what didn't belong to them and thus betrayed the Armenian people.

After being ratified by Turkey, Greece, Italy, Japan, and Great Britain, it came into force on August 6, 1924, when the instruments of ratification were officially deposited in Paris, France.



The Turkish delegation at the Treaty of Lausanne

Prior to the Treaty of Lausanne, the Treaty of Sèvres had been signed, on August 10, 1920, by the Principal Allied Powers (Briton, France, Italy and Japan), other allied powers (Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Hejaz, Poland,

Portugal and Romania), the Supreme internationally recognized leader of the Ottoman Empire, Sultan Mehmed VI, and the internationally recognized First Republic of Armenia represented by Avetis Aharonian, President of the Armenia's Delegation. The terms of the Treaty of Sèvres paved the way for an independent Armenian nation, awarding it the lands they had inhabited for thousands of years, including what was believed then to be 1/6 of the world's crude oil reserves near Lake Van. The terms of the treaty had enraged the convicted Turkish war criminals, including Talaat and Enver Pashas, who had been sentenced to death for their crimes against humanity during World War I.

With the covert backing of the United States, namely that of retired Rear Admiral Colby M. Chester and the owners of the Ottoman-American Development Company and the awarded concessionaires of the Armenian minerals, this New York-based corporation owned by influential Americans, including the son of President Theodore Roosevelt, Kermit, as well as with support from the French, Italians, and Bolsheviks in Russia, the so-called Turkish War of Independence was ignited. The leader was Mustafa Kemal Pasha. His successful struggle made him the founder of modern day Turkey in 1923.

Treaty of Lausanne was made effective August 6, 1924, in order to appease Mustafa Kemal Pasha and his Turkish Nationalist Movement, putting an end to the hostilities , which had resulted in the killings of thousands of Greeks and Armenians who had survived the initial wave of the Armenian Genocide.

At the time of the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne by the allied powers, the United States had entered into a separate treaty with Mustafa Kemal Pasha and his Turkish government. This U.S. never ratified this treaty as it faced a great deal of opposition from Americans who were supportive of the Armenians' rights to self-determination and the formation of independent Armenia. One such concerned power had an opportunity to present its case at a forum sponsored by the New York-based Foreign Policy Association (FPA).

At a luncheon meeting held at the Hotel Astor in New York on April 5, 1924, a forum titled "The Lausanne Treaty – Should the United States Ratify it?" was presented. In order to give a concise pre-history of this treaty, I will share the following text from the pamphlet, which was prepared after the forum. The presentation by Mr. James G. McDonald, Chairman of FPA, provides an overview of what led up to the Treaty of Lausanne:

> THE discussion to-day is on the merits and demerits of the Lausanne Treaty, recently negotiated by our [United States] Government with the Government of Turkey. The question is: Should that Treaty be ratified? It is to be an American discussion from the American point of view and with American speakers. I emphasize this, not to suggest that we are not interested in the Greek, the Turkish, and the Armenian viewpoints, but because this problem is for us to-day an American problem. It will be up for decision as soon as the State Department sends the Treaty to the Senate. It will require from us a definite political answer. Therefore, much as we are interested in foreign viewpoints, our discussion to-day is to be primarily American.

I have been asked to do a very difficult thing, to sketch in three or four minutes the background out of which the Treaty of Lausanne grew. This would be easy were I not laboring under the imperative injunction to be absolutely impartial. How can one avoid the charge of partiality, when almost any statement in reference to Turkey will be characterized by one group or the other as untrue or at least inaccurate? Perhaps, by limiting my remarks to a bare and unadorned narrative of a few of the chief events during the last decade, I may hope to maintain my reputation for impeccable evenhandedness as chairman.

In October, 1914, Turkey entered the Great War on the side of the Central Powers and like them was decisively defeated. As a result, August 10, 1920, she accepted the Treaty of Sevres. This humiliating peace gave an international status to the Straits and to Constantinople, handed over Smyrna and the immediate hinterland to Greece, created the Armenian Republic and divided the rest of the Turkish Empire, except a portion of Anatolia, among the various Powers as mandated territories, or into semi-independent states.

A few months earlier, January 28, 1920, a group of Nationalist leaders in the Parliament at Constantinople signed what they called the National Pact, a virtual Declaration of Independence. This document formally repudiated: (1) the Capitulations under which the representatives of the Great Powers had exercised extraterritorial jurisdiction in Turkey; (2) the Ottoman Public Debt Administration; and (3) all other "judicial or financial restrictions of any nature which would arrest our national development." Recognizing this, that the most important Turkish imperial possessions were lost permanently, the authors of the Pact demanded that Cilicia, Mosul and Western Thrace, together with complete control of Constantinople and the Straits, be restored.

Within three months the Grand National Assembly set up its government at Angora and began to exercise jurisdiction over the unoccupied portion of Anatolia. Then under the leadership of Mustapha Kemal Pasha, the Nationalists began active military operations against the forces of the Allies. By October, 1920, the Armenian Republic was Over-run and crushed, the British had returned to the Ismid Peninsula, the Italians to Adalia, while the French were withdrawing from Cilicia.

During the spring of 1921, separate treaties with Russia, Italy and France ended most of the military operations, gave formal diplomatic recognition to the Nationalist Government and legalized most of its territorial gains. Now followed the long-drawn-out struggle with the Greeks, which culminated in the destruction of a large part of the Greek forces, the evacuation of Smyrna, and finally, the Armistice of Mudania, October 10, 1922.

Three weeks later the Sultanate was abolished and a republic declared. Thus, in little more than two years the military and political victories of the Angora Government — I purposely have omitted any reference to the part said to have been played by some of the European powers in abetting these successes — tore up the Treaty of Sevres. Recognizing this fact, the Allies consented to negotiate for a new treaty at the first Lausanne Conference

which opened November 20, 1922. This effort failed after a few months because of differences of opinion about economic, fiscal and judicial terms. It was followed by the second Lausanne Conference beginning April 22, 1923. Out of these negotiations, often enlivened by peremptory, but usually empty and futile ultimatums, came the Treaty of Lausanne between the Allies and Turkey. A few weeks later our Government signed a similar but not identical treaty with the Angora Government. It is this Treaty which we are to discuss today; and at this point I leave the discussion for the speakers.

(The full text of the pamphlet can be found in Appendix XI)

By 1927, the Congress abandoned the process of ratification of the Treaty of Lausanne. In its place, a friendship and extradition treaty was signed into in order to establish formal commercial relationship between the United States and Turkey.

On April 23, 1923, former Ambassador to Turkey, Henry Morgenthau lectured at Bowdoin College Institue of Modern History in Brunswik, Maine, of why the victors of World War I would sign into the Treaty of Lausanne. Most reveiling in Morgenthau's lecture was his reveiling the truth that the "New" Turkish Government led by Mustapha Kemal was in fact those who had lead the country for the last 15 years, the perpatrators of the Armenians Genocide, the Young Turks.

The Philadelphia Inquirer
April 24, 1923

MORGENTHAU FLAYS GREED THAT REVIVED POWER OF THE TURK

Declares British Policy Saved World From Incalculable Bloodshed

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Deplores Success of Malevolent Forces in Smashing Treaty of Serves

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BRUNSWIK, ME., April 23.—There is no solution of the Turkish problem, "uncles there is first change in fundamental purpose," said Henry Morgenthau, former Ambassador to Turkey, in a lecture at the Bowdoin College Institute of Modern History tonight.

So long as the European Powers regard Turkey as a field for the exploitation of their own selfish purposes, Turkey will continue to be a scene of unending misery and injustice, he said.

Through five centuries, said Mr. Morgenthau, the Turk "has been nothing but a destructive force; he has been a killing frost to whatever he has touched. The underlying fact is that the Turk is not a nation. He is simply a nomadic tribe."

The Treaty of Serves, he said, seemed to have accomplished the result of putting an end to Turkish outrages on non-Moslem populations, leaving

to turkey on the region of Anatolia, where there lived four million of the five million Turks in the world—a region which could support its population in comfort because of its agricultural and mineral resources.

Kemal's Dream of Empire

"But certain malevolent forces," he continued, "now began to gain headway. The group of politicians which has really governed Turkey in the last fifteen years is an absolutely close corporation which calls itself the Union and Progress Party. I was this committee which engineered the massacre of more than a million Armenians and more than half a million Greeks.

"Most people imagine that the authority of the committee fell with the collapse of the Turkish power in 1918. Nothing could be further from the truth. Another chieftain seized control. This was a man whose name has recently figured so conspicuously in print, Mustapha Kemal Pasha. He was brave, audacious, cleaver and unscrupulous. Progress Committee, transformed into the Nationalist Party, now undertook a new task. That was to destroy the Treaty of Serves and attempt to restore Turkey to the position it had held in 1914.

"Probably the imagination of Kemal and his associates reached for beyond this. In a hundred years turkey had lost by several stages the great European Empire which the conquerors of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had added to the crown of Osman. Kemal's ultimate ambition was to reverse all this inglorious history, to extend the crescent again over the last territories, to rejuvenate the old Turkish Empire."

Lauds British Policy

Mr. Morgenthau said that practically all of European Powers except Great Britain dislike the Treaty of Serves almost as cordially as did the Turkish Nationalist themselves. France and Italy dislike the advantages given Greece, and Russian still coveted Constantinople. The Turks, he said, took advantage of this situation to bring about the secret treaties whereby France and Italy withdrew their troops from Turkish territory.

The disaster to the Greek army in Asia Minor followed.

"For the policy which Great Britain pursued," said Mr. Morgenthau, "I have only the warmest admiration. Indeed the world does not realize the extent of this obligation to Lloyd George's government. Probably this is because the world does not completely understand the danger which Great Britain forestalled. The rapid conquest of the Greeks was a tragedy, for a deeper reason than the mere fact that it enabled the Turk to regain great areas in which his rule will be restored. Perhaps its most deplorable aspect is its inevitable effect upon the Turkish mind. The Turkish army now produced a state of exultation in the Turkish mind. The Turkish army now had its eyes upon Constantinople. England played the part in September, 1922 that Poland played in the seventeenth century; she stopped the Turkish armies at the threshold of Europe and saved the world from an incalculable amount of bloodshed and misery."

Played Powers Against Each Other

"At the Lausanne conference," he said, "the same old rivalries prevailed, the same greedy desire for concessions and the wily Turks were again permitted to play the various Powers against each other.

"The encouragement given by the various Powers was only a question of degree. Even the observers of the United States gave as much or more

attention to the division of the oil wells at Mosul and the Chester project than to the protection of the Christian minorities in Turkey.

"In the meantime the Turks completed his plan to expel the Greeks, Armenians and other Christians and to Turkify Turkey, so that today, outside of Constantinople, there are only about 300,000 Christians in Turkey, while there are over 1,000,000 shelterless, ragged and starving refugees in Greece who have recently been notified by our State Department that after June 30 the American Red Cross would withdraw her support and leave them to shift for themselves and starve."

Chapter 27

Chester Concessions

On April 20, 1923, Retired U.S. Naval Rear Admiral, Colby M. Chester (1844-1932) gave a speech to 100 members of the Federated American Chambers of Commerce of the Near East during a dinner in the heart of New York's Time Square, at the world-famous Hotel Astor. Chester gave a detailed description of the Chester Concession, which, ten days earlier, had been approved by the newly established Turkish Government, led by Mustafa Kemal.[93]

Chester's belligerent tone and wholesale attacks upon other nations did not make it easier for the U.S. State Department to deal with the subject. The Government was bound to support the rights of its nationals' seeking concessions in Turkey and elsewhere, but where there was controversy, as in this instance, tact and ordinary diplomatic courtesy were not out of place.



U.S. Naval Rear Admiral, Colby M. Chester

Former U.S. Ambassador to Germany (1913-1917) James W. Gerard's protest to U.S. Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes (1921-1925) was against his government sanctioning any part of the Chester Concession in Turkey, which violated Armenia's rights. The U.S. could not become a party to any scheme that would further enslave the Armenian people. Admiral Chester did not touch on this question raised by Mr. Gerard.

The abandonment of the Armenians by the U.S. brought forth some of the tragic consequences of the policy of aloofness inaugurated by the Warren G. Harding Administration from 1921 to 1923. It came close both to U.S. President Harding and Secretary Hughes, who had repeatedly indicated their friendship for the cause of Armenian independence. However, that friendship yielded largely negative outcome. At the Lausanne Conference

93 Brooklyn Daily Eagle, *Ready to Fight for Concession – Admiral Chester*, (Brooklyn, NY, Brooklyn Daily Eagle, April 21, 1921)

earlier that year, U.S. Ambassador to Italy, Richard Washburn Child (1921-1924) mildly urged the Turks to treat the Armenians fairly, but this was the extent of the U.S. Government's activities on behalf of the Armenians.

The U.S. to make a fight for the part of the Chester concessions which called for the exploitation of Armenia was worse than forsaking the oppressed Armenians. It made the U.S. a party to their continued oppression.

In 1908, President Theodore Roosevelt sent retired Rear Admiral Colby M. Chester to Asia Minor to arrange for American to be awarded oil concessions. The navy had been converting their ships from coal to oil, and America's supply, which provided the majority of oil to the world at that time, was believed to be running out.[94]

Chester had met Sultan Abdul Hamid of the Ottoman Empire back in 1900, as the Captain of the U.S.S. Kentucky battle ship, in order to collect $100,000 for the losses the United States missionaries had sustained during the 1895 Hamidian massacres of the Armenians. In 1908, Chester was able to secure the deal. However, later that year the Sultan was deposed by the Young Turks. The new Ottoman government, nonetheless, agreed to honor the deal approved by the Sultan and, better yet, expand on it.



U.S.S. Kentucky battle ship - 1900

A comprehensive plan was drawn up by James Wood Colt, Esq., of New York. Mr. Colt, who in later years worked for J.P. Morgan, was part of a special commission to study mines in Armenia, sent on behalf of the investment bank, Kuhn, Loeb & Co., of New York. This bank was run by German-born banker, Jacob H. Schiff, who made a financial contribution to the Bolshevik Movement (see Chapter 10, "Russians Turned Bolshevik").[95]

The initial focus of interest was the Arghana-Maden Copper Mines, which were found in the vilayet of Diarbekir, 53 km south-east of the town of Kharpout and 66 km north-west of the town of Diarbekir, the capital of the vilayet.

In a confidential report written in June of 1912, Colt noted that the mine extracted 1,500 tons of black copper annually, which was exported to Europe.

94 El Paso Herald, *United States Oil Supply To Be Ended In 16 Years, Belif,* (El Paso, TX, El Paso Herald, June 2, 1921) 1.

95 Committee on Foreign Relations, *Maintenance of Peace in Armenia Hearings Before a Subcommittee on Foreign Relations United States Senate, S.J.R. 106*, (Washington, D.C., Washington Government Printing Office, 1919) Page 21.

In his *Confidential Report on the Copper Mines of Arghana – Maden (Turkey),* Colt wrote:

> Reestablishing the legendary history of the Chalypes and the Telchines, the ancient inhabitants of Armenia, before the apparition of Armenians who played such a great part of the development of primitive metallurgy, one arrives at the conclusion that there must have existed an important center of copper production at Arghana at a very remote epoch, and the copper produced was directed towards two centers of consumption: on one side towards Babylon going down the Tigres on these primitive rafts which still work; on the other side towards Kyprus to be worked there and them exported to the Mediterranean ports; this explains the antique fame of Kyprus as an important center of the production of articles of copper. It is certain, that according to the Assyrian chronicles, 20 centuries before J.C. [Jesus Christ], there was already at Arghana – at the source of the Tigris – a great center for the extraction of copper, and, if one adds to these historical indications the legend of the pretended invention of work of copper and iron by the Chalypes in Armenia, it can be easily presumed that the art of casting the copper and probably also bronze must have been produced at Arghana itself.[96]

The Arghana copper mines were estimated to have a minimum value that was at least double the entire cost of the concessions. The estimated 4 to 8 billion barrels of oil found in the Armenian-inhabited lands of Bitlis, Van, Erzerum, and Trebizond were valued at a billion dollars.

In 1921, the concessions fit right in with the vigorous claims the Harding administration had been making to Britain, France, Italy, and Japan with regard to the American rights to mandate territories and, particularly, so far as Mesopotamia was concerned, maintain an open-door policy.

Assured by Republican leaders of ardent support, Secretary of State Bainbridge Colby (1920-1921) took the first steps in demanding American rights in Mesopotamia, protesting against the intention of the British and the French to exclude nationals of other countries from the opportunity to develop the tremendous natural resources of the country.

More than a year prior, Herbert Hoover told some friends at a dinner that by attempting to give the United States a mandate over Armenia, the allies were handing America a poorhouse surrounded by three treasure houses.[97] Among these treasure houses were the Mesopotamian oil fields, from which the U.S. would be excluded unless the protests made by the U.S. government were heeded. Hoover had neglected to acknowledge that Armenia had not only large oil deposits, but also coal, asphalt, gold, silver, platinum, copper, iron, chrome, zinc, lead, emery, and many other sought-after valuable mineral deposits.

The heightened interest in the concessions necessitated a conference between the Secretary Hughes and Admiral Chester, attended also by the latter's son, Clarence Chester.

The concessions obtained by admiral Chester for the United States

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96 James Wood Colt, *Confidential Report on the Copper Mines of Arghana – Maden (Turkey),* (University of Rochester's River Campus Libraries, folder number 1, titled "Arghana Copper Mines, 1908-1911", July, 1912) 2-3.

97 Carter Field, *U.S. to Demand Oil Concessios in Mesopotamia,* (Buffalo, NY, Buffalo Evening News, April 9, 1921)

included not only the rich oil field in Western Armenia, with at least a billion dollars' worth of oil, but also the right to build a pipeline and a railroad over the cross country stretch of about 60 miles separating the oil fields from the Mediterranean Sea. The admiral told Mr. Hughes that the total cost of the pipeline and the railroad would be from $50-60,000,000. He was sure there would be incidental benefits exceeding the cost of the railroad and the pipeline.

The tensions between the world powers over the concessions were coming to a boil. It was clear that failure to reach a compromise might trigger yet another world war. Reported by *The Evening Times*, on May 4, 1923, Chester believed he could have prevented the previous world war had he only shared the concessions he possessed:

> "CHESTER SAYS HE HAD A CHANCE TO AVERT WORLD WAR – Tells Newspaperman How He Unwittingly Contributed to Bringing on Great Conflict by Refusing to Develop Concession."
>
> WASHINGTON, May 4—Rear Admiral Colby M. Chester had a chance to prevent the great world-war—but, he did not know the consequences of his refusal, he says, he did not take it.
>
> Chester told Washington newspaperman in a speech at the National Press club how he unwittingly contributed to bring on the great conflict, and how, later on, he was prevented from taking a step he believes would have kept the United States out of what he called the "most nonsensical war ever fought."
>
> Chester said that in 1911 when he was in Rome, an American capitalist tried to arrange with him for development of Tripolitan sulphur concession which he held. Chester refused, and is ashamed now that he did.
>
> "I believe this was the prime cause of the Italian-Tripolitan war" said Chester. "This led immediately into the first Balkan war, that led to the second, and that in turn caused the world war."
>
> Explaining how he might have prevented America's entrance into the world war, Chester said he tried to buy 100 German ships [for the Ottoman Empire] interned in American harbors in 1914, but was prevented by the United States Government.
>
> "I feel that was a mistake, for I am sure if I had been permitted to buy these ships the United States would have been kept out of the war," Chester said. [98]

For a while, the newspapers were reporting on deals being made with the European powers. Chester was allowing them to take part in the concessions, claiming that it was beneficial to him and his partners, especially in those regions where the construction of railroad was difficult and almost cost-prohibitive. Was this the way the United States would prevent another world war?

On September 6, 1923, *The Elizabethville Echo* newspaper reported on a deal in an article titled "Canadians Get Chester Right – Arbitrators Award Admiral $300,000 and 10 Per Cent of Profit":

"New York – The two groups of financiers, gambling for versioned

98 Dunkirk Evening Observer, *Rear Adm. Chester Blames Himself for the World War,* (Dunkirk, NY, May 4, 1923) 1.

profits of billions of dollars by the exploitation of the vast Mosul oil fields in Turkey through the Chester concessions have stopped fighting. The financial associates of Rear Admiral Colby M. Chester, retired, agreed to accept $300,00 in cash and 10 per cent interest in the profits of the concessions."[99]

There was, however, an obvious way out of this difficulty — The Lausanne Conference. The United States had an opportunity to send a fully empowered delegation to the conference to represent U.S. interests and to let the American Government assume the obligations and responsibilities involved in a settlement that would protect those interests and cement peace in the Near East. In such a settlement, the U.S. was to ensure justice was served in Armenia and also nurture an opportunity to foster a relationship with the rightful owners of the minerals they desired.

On April 6, 1924, *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle* newspaper ran a story on page A5 titled "Gerard Charges Hughes Betrayed U.S. at Lausanne – Flag Trailed in Mire to Aid Oil Speculators, He Declares."

Charges that Secretary of State Charles E. Hughes "betrayed Christian Armenia and his own country" at Lausanne and that "the Stars and Stripes were trailed in the mire in the interest of a group of oil speculators [Chester]" were made by James W. Gerard, former Ambassador to Germany, at a luncheon of the Foreign Policy Association at the Hotel Astor yesterday. At the same time he characterized the Lausanne Treaty as "immoral and purposeless" and predicted the fall of the Turkish Angora regime.

The question before the members of the Foreign Policy Association was that of weather the United States should or should not ratify the Lausanne Treaty. The speaker included Profs. Edward M. Earle and A. D. F. Famlin of Columbia University; Dr. James Barton, secretary of the foreign department of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and Albert W. Staub, American director of Near East colleges, Prof. Albert Bushnell Heart of Harvard was unable to attend but outlined his views in a paper which was read to the gathering. James G. McDonald presided.

Says He Betrayed Country.

After asserting that "Christian civilization was crucified at Lausanne," Mr. Gerard continued by saying:

"Let us examine the facts of the case a little more closely. The conference met in November, 1923. In December Secretary Hughes, speaking through Ambassador Child, our unofficial observer, advised the conference that the United States would not trust American lives and property—our missionaries and educators—to the caprice of corrupt and oppressive Turkish courts and laws. It would insist upon the retention of its century-old right to maintain its own consular courts, its capitulatory jurisdiction, for the protection of its nationals and, further, he sought in a perfunctory way, albeit, some recognition for the rights of Armenia which President Harding, on the eve of the conference, had solemnly promised to defend.

"Four months thereafter, in April 1923, Secretary Hughes made a hurried and inglorious retreat from the position which he took in December, 1922. He accepted the Turkish views on the capitulations and upon the

99 Elizabethville Echo, *Canadians Get Chester Right – Arbitrators Award Admiral $300,000 and 10 Per Cent of Profit,* (Elizabethville, PA, Elizabethvill Echo, September 6, 1923)

Armenian case. In other words, in consideration of the Chester concessions, he surrendered to the Turks the rights which he claimed for American nationals and for Armenia before the granting of that concession. Obviously, he went to Lausanne fully prepared to make any and all sacrifice to clinch this oil concession, and he betrayed Christian Armenia and his own country to attain his purpose.

Puts Questions to Hughes.

"There is still another equally sordid aspect to this melancholy affair. It is this: The most important part of the Chester concession les in that part of Armenia allotted to her by the President of the United States—the Armenia oil deposits. Secretary Hughes, by leading support to the Chester concessions in July, 1923, a month before the adjudication of the Armenian case and the signing of the treaty, prejudged and condemned the Armenian case which President Harding had promised to sponsor and defend. By so doing he, in effect, served notice on the Allies and Turkey that this Government considered the Armenian case as having been closed. It now remains for millions of Americans, who have lavishly contributed towards Armenian relief, to register their disapproval of the betrayal of Christian Armenia by their own Government.

"I will now put to Secretary Hughes two pertinent questions:

"Why did he take so active and vigorous a part in behalf of the Chester oil concession, even at the risk of forcing resumption of hostilities, and why does he now deny that he has had anything to do with it?

"Why did he request General Goethals to accept the presidency of the Chester Company, and in what capacity did he direct the reorganization of that company?"

Attack Treaty.

Speaking on the Lausanne Treaty, Mr. Gerard said:

"The treaty accepts the abrogation by the Turks of the capitulations, that is, our right to protect our own nationals—a right which we have enjoyed since 1830. This provision, in effect, is the whole basis of the Lausanne Treaty."

Speaking of the Kemalist government, Mr. Gerard said:

"The Kemalist regime is on the last legs. Fractional armed conflict, widespread banditry and hopeless economic chaos seriously threaten Kemal's regime.

"America stand to gain nothing by resuming relations with a Turkey in this state, and can lose nothing by maintaining the status quo and awaiting developments. The downfall of Kemal is inevitable and imminent. By now surrendering our rights to him we shall find it difficult to reassert them against any regime which may overthrow and succeed him. We can well afford to wait."

Other Speakers Differ.

The other speakers differed in their views on the Lausanne Treaty. Mr. Staud declared that the failure to recognize the Turks as a civilized nation and the urging of non-ratification of the treaty would not help the situation. A constructive plan of co-operation is needed if the United States is to be of any service to the people of the Near East, he added. Professor Hart of Harvard, on the other hand, wrote in his letter that it was the duty of the Senate, as representatives of the American people, to refuse ratification of the treaty.

> Professor Earle and Dr. Barton expressed themselves as in favor of the ratification. Professor Hamlin took the other side and declared that the treaty was dictated to the United States "by the most pitiable state in the world."
>
> Henry G. Knowles, former minister of Rumania, Bulgaria and Servia, and counsel for the Ottoman Development Company, holders of the Chester Concessions, denied that the concessions had been sold to Canadians for $300,000 and 10 percent of the profits. This statement was made by Mr. Gerard.
>
> "An effective considerable majority of the shares of the Ottoman American Development are owned by Americans and residents of this city, and the directorate of the company is in their control," said Mr. Knowles. He added that the Turks had granted the concessions through desire to free themselves from the "baneful influence of certain European governments and politicians."[100]

Almost as soon as the concessions were ratified by the National Assembly of modern Turkey founded by Mustafa Kemal, an article appeared with disappointing news — the Ottoman American Development Company (OADC) had lost the concessions as reported by one of the major stock holders, Henry Woodhouse (1884-1970).

Woodhouse, born Mario Terenzio Enrico Casalegno, had immigrated from Turin, Italy, to the United States in 1904. The first job he had in a restaurant kitchen in Troy, NY, ended quickly. He got into a fight with the head chef, killing him with a kitchen knife. Casalegno was found guilty of murder and spent his first 4 years in America in prison. Casalegno became a U.S. citizen supposedly in 1909 (although his naturalization papers are dated May 28, 1917) and began using a new name, Henry Woodhouse.



Henry Woodhouse

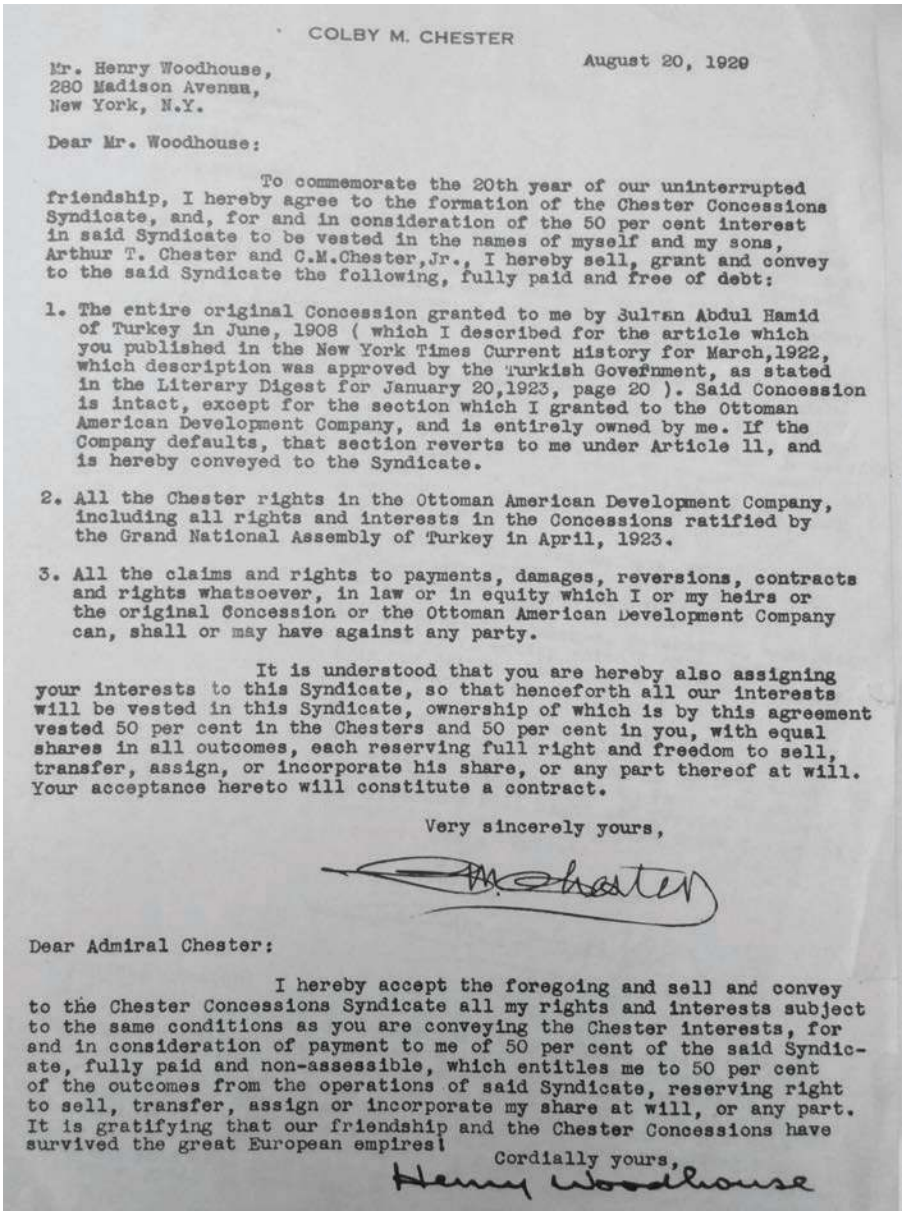
Woodhouse was a notorious dealer in false historical artefacts and documents of famous Americans, including Presidents George Washington and Abraham Lincoln. He even partnered with Mr. William Lanier Washington, a descendent of President Washington, to give his forgeries legitimacy.

Had the Chester Concessions truly ended or was the news another one of Woodhouse's forgeries?

In the Henry Woodhouse papers, housed at the Special Collections Research Center of the Syracuse University Libraries, a signed document was discovered among the "Miscellany". This document was an agreement between Chester and Woodhouse, giving the latter 50% interest in the Chester Concession. Surprisingly, the document is dated August 20, 1929, more than

100 The Brooklyn Daily Eagle, *Gerard Charges Hughes Betraying U. S. at Lausanne – Flag Trailed in Mire to Aid Oil Speculators, He Declares.,* (Brooklyn, NY, The Brooklyn Daily Eagle, April 6, 1924) A5.

5 years after the concessions had been reported to have ended. The document reads as follows:



COLBY M. CHESTER

August 20, 1929

Mr. Henry Woodhouse,
280 Madison Avenue,
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Woodhouse:

To commemorate the 20th year of our uninterrupted friendship, I hereby agree to the formation of the Chester Concessions Syndicate, and, for and in consideration of the 50 per cent interest in said Syndicate to be vested in the names of myself and my sons, Arthur T. Chester and C.M.Chester,Jr., I hereby sell, grant and convey to the said Syndicate the following, fully paid and free of debt:

1. The entire original Concession granted to me by Sultan Abdul Hamid of Turkey in June, 1908 (which I described for the article which you published in the New York Times Current History for March,1922, which description was approved by the Turkish Government, as stated in the Literary Digest for January 20,1923, page 20). Said Concession is intact, except for the section which I granted to the Ottoman American Development Company, and is entirely owned by me. If the Company defaults, that section reverts to me under Article 11, and is hereby conveyed to the Syndicate.

2. All the Chester rights in the Ottoman American Development Company, including all rights and interests in the Concessions ratified by the Grand National Assembly of Turkey in April, 1923.

3. All the claims and rights to payments, damages, reversions, contracts and rights whatsoever, in law or in equity which I or my heirs or the original Concession or the Ottoman American Development Company can, shall or may have against any party.

It is understood that you are hereby also assigning your interests to this Syndicate, so that henceforth all our interests will be vested in this Syndicate, ownership of which is by this agreement vested 50 per cent in the Chesters and 50 per cent in you, with equal shares in all outcomes, each reserving full right and freedom to sell, transfer, assign, or incorporate his share, or any part thereof at will. Your acceptance hereto will constitute a contract.

Very sincerely yours,

M. Chester

Dear Admiral Chester:

I hereby accept the foregoing and sell and convey to the Chester Concessions Syndicate all my rights and interests subject to the same conditions as you are conveying the Chester interests, for and in consideration of payment to me of 50 per cent of the said Syndicate, fully paid and non-assessible, which entitles me to 50 per cent of the outcomes from the operations of said Syndicate, reserving right to sell, transfer, assign or incorporate my share at will, or any part. It is gratifying that our friendship and the Chester Concessions have survived the great European empires!

Cordially yours,

Henry Woodhouse

When Retired Rear Admiral Colby M. Chester died at the age of 88 on May 4, 1932, the Chicago Tribune reported that had the Chester Concession carried through successfully, it would have placed Americans virtually in economic control of modern Turkey.

Less than 3 years after the Admiral's demise on February 4, 1935, Chester's son, Arthur Tremaine Chester, unexpectedly died of heart failure. He had

been managing the Chester Concession in Turkey since before the Armenian Genocide, through the Turkish Nationalist Movement for independence and thereafter.

Arthur T. Chester's obituary was published in *The Atlanta Constitution* (Atlanta, Georgia) on February 5, 1935 on page 18:

> Arthur T. Chester Passes in New York
>
> NEW YORK. Feb. 4.—(AP)—Arthur T. Chester, 60, who negotiated the "Chester concession" from the Turkish government in 1923, died today at United hospital, Port Chester, N. Y., following an attack of heart disease at his home in Rye.
>
> Chester, a brother of Colby Mitchell Chester, president of General Foods Corporation, was connected with the newly organized General Bank Note Engineering Company, of New York, at the time of his death.
>
> The concession with which his name was connected was a grant by the Ottoman empire to build 2,800 miles of railroad, to exploit oil fiends in Turkey and Mesopotamia, to develop a number of gold mines and also to rebuild several cities, including the area of Mt. Ararat, supposed site of the Garden of Eden.
>
> Chester was the son of the late Rear Admiral Colby Mitchell Chester, and himself was a graduate of United States Naval Academy at Annapolis in 1895.

The Oakland Tribune (Oakland, California) reported, on February 7, 1935, page 12 reported:

> HEART ATTACK KILLS NAVY MAN
>
> NEW YORK, Feb 7.—(U.P.)—Arthur Tremaine Chester, 60, retired naval officer and son of Rear Admiral Chester, U. S. N., died of a heart attack.
>
> After retiring from the Navy in 1906 to enter business, Chester headed the Chester concessions in Turkey for 15 years. Under his direction, the concern built 2800 miles of railroad and developed mines.

Before the death of the Rear Admiral Colby M. Chester, he had been embroiled in litigations by former business associate, Kenneth E. Clayton-Kennedy. Clayton-Kennedy had filed a lawsuit on March 25, 1926 in a New York Supreme Court. He was claiming that the Admiral and his two sons, Chester Jr. and Arthur, had defrauded him of large sums of money and attempted to dispose of him while on a visit to the Ottoman Empire in November of 1922. These damages not only caused him a great deal of financial loss, but almost cost him his life.

On October 7, 1936, Kenneth E. Clayton-Kennedy found himself once again in a New York court room on the witness stand. He was suing Clarence G. Miohalis in a case that didn't have anything to do with the Chesters. At one point, during the hearing, Clayton-Kennedy was asked by his attorney to recall his past business ventures. The Chester Concession came up, and the questions and answers that followed were very revealing as to what really happened to the concessions since Henry Woodhouse's bluff that they had ended:

Q. Let us hear the next thing that you did. A. The next thing of any particular importance was when I went to Turkey to validate a concession.

Q. Who asked you to go there? A. General Goethals, Mr. Blackall, several of their associates.

Q. Now, will you state—by General Goethals do you mean the Goethals who had something to do with the Panama Canal? A. Yes; I understand he was the responsible engineer in charge.

Q. Is that the man? A. That is the man, yes.

Q. And it was he who got you to do what you are going to tell us you did? A. That is correct.

Q. Is that checkable? A. Yes, certainly.

Q. What was it that you were doing? Did you hear Mr. Battle tell the jury that he is still anxious to learn what is this Chester Concession! Will you tell it to him? A. Mr. Battle cannot have read the newspapers at that time, that is all. ‘

Q. I did not ask that answer. You tell the jury what it is. A. The so-called Chester Concession had its beginning with President Roosevelt, President Theodore Roosevelt, sending a Captain Chester to Turkey—that was long before my time, of course—to get a settlement with the Turkish Government for damages claimed on account of American missionaries and various people of that sort. Abdul Hamid was an absolute monarch and had complete power in running the country, naturally. He promised Admiral Chester various grants and concessions for American capital. Chester came back here and assisted, for instance, Mr. Moore, I understood who built some of the elevated railroads here, Laidlaw Company, Franklin Remington, and many people that I know nothing about personally, except I have read about, and they in turn sent Chester’s son and another Remington—I believe an artist, I think a fairly well known man, whose name I cannot recollect offhand—to Turkey; and they there carried on negotiations at a time when several foreign countries, particularly Germany, were trying to get extensions for railroad grants. I believe the Germans—I know the Germans went so far as to have the Kaiser come to Turkey, and they carried on negotiations officially and unofficially. The French intervened. There was a general international scramble for what afterwards became the extension of the Berlin-Bagdad Railway. That involved not only the right to build and operate the railroad, but it involved many kilometric guarantees and the right to take over mineral lands, water powers, timber lands, and so forth. It is a very long and involved affair. I will try to boil it down. Chester and Remington did not secure it. but they got a bill through Parliament. Which came into existence by this time, to the point where it required the signature of the Grand Vizier and two other officials. The Germans were opposed to the thing very, very strongly and the then ambassador, Von Beiberstein or some name of that sort—I may mispronounce—invited the Grand Vizier on his yacht and took him down the Mediterranean and did not come back until after Parliament had prorogued. So the bill was not signed and did not become of legal effect. When I came into the thing through discussion with Admiral Chester—Admiral Chester maintained he had legal rights I could not find the existence of any documents. but I undertook to go to work and find out if could find any prior footnote, in ease of its non-existence to get it validated. I hired Admiral Chester’s son, Arthur Chester, the one who had been there previously, at the rate of a thousand dollars a month, and I undertook and did give to Admiral Chester a thousand dollars a month

on account of purchase of his rights, and I went to Turkey. Chester, Arthur Chester, appeared there with me, and I spent a matter of a year and a half. By this time Constantinople was in the occupation of the Allied Forces. I was out of the army, but I had been an officer in the Canadian army, and naturally looked upon with a certain amount of suspicion by the Turks. The Nationalist uprising had occurred, Kernal Pasha was in Asia Minor, in opposition to the Khedive Cloyeminent in Constantinople. However, we carried on and in the face of a great deal of opposition and the expenditure of a great deal of money by the French—the Germans were not able to do much—I nevertheless got Parliament to grant a concession to our company headed by General Goethals. I went through a great deal; it in some way or other got in the newspapers; the American High Commissioner, Admiral Bristol, gave me a great deal of assistance, the Secretary of State in Washington sent many cables through for General Goethals. Mr. Herrick, Minister in Paris at that time, assisted me. Mr. Childs at Lausanne gave me some assistance. The matter got a great deal of newspaper headlines owing to more or less foolish attitude of newspaper correspondents, but it did have some relative importance and it was quite a factor in the Lausanne discussions, according to what I am told. Abdul Pasha, who was the Turkish representative, was about as deaf as I am. When we were together I knew what was going on, and when we were not, I did not have this apparatus and did not know anything about it.

Q. The names that you mentioned in this negotiation, did you know these people? A. Necessarily so, yes.

Q. Was your relationship with these people on the footing of you being a man whom they talked with and relied on and had respect fort? A. The best answer to that is the actual documents transmitted to the State Department and back and forward between the different ministers.

Q. Those are in existence? A. Yes.

Q. And those Mr. Battle can find and check if he wants? A. I am sure of that.

Cross-examination by Mr. Battle, attorney of the defendant

[…]

Q. What did you do after that? A. I crossed the Atlantic quite frequently but in course of time I went to Turkey.

Q. Between the time that you left the aviation company in 1921 and the time you went to Turkey what were you doing? A. It was not a very long time.

Q. How long was it! A. A matter of months, I think.

Q. Give us your best recollection. A. I am doing so.

Q. How many months is your best recollection? A. A few months, to the best of my recollection.

Q. Less than six months, would you say? A. I do not know. It is one of those things one gets into gradually. I spent a considerable time here before going to Turkey in discussions with Admiral Chester and traveling between here and Washington to see him, and so forth.

Q. After you had these discussions with Admiral Chester here, then you went to Turkey? A. Then I went to Turkey.

Q. You went to Turkey a few months after you had ceased your connection with the aviation company? A. A reasonable time. I cannot say how many.

Q. I will ask you again to give me your best recollection of how many months? A. I have done so. I have told you one thing gradually merges into another. Where the division point takes place I cannot tell you.

Q. That is the best answer you can give? A. That is the best I can do for you.

Q. Then you went to Turkey. About what time was it you went to Turkey? A. I think it was 1921.

Q. Do you remember the season of the year? A. My first trip to Turkey was in the winter. At least, it was getting cold weather.

Q. In the winter of 1921? A. I think it was the winter or maybe spring. It was not the coldest winter, but it was the cold weather in Constantinople.

Q. In 1921? A. I think in 1921.

Q. How long did you remain in Turkey? A. I was in Turkey on the first trip for—oh, gettine: on a matter of a year or so.

Q. With whom did you, deal in Turkey, Mr. Kennedy? Just answer who it was that you dealt with. A. I dealt with a great number of people.

Q. Who was the chief person that you dealt with? A. I should say—I should say the Premier would be the outstanding man, if you are speaking of native Turks.

Q. How long did you continue in your negotiations with the Premier? A. They were not continued with the Premier; he referred me to the Minister of Public Works.

Q. How long did you continue those negotiations? How long did they last? A. I think approximately a year's time.

Q. You were in Turkey all that time? A. I was in Turkey, I think, all that time. I may have taken a trip or two away, but materially I was there all that time.

Q. That brings you down to 1922. A. That was around somewhere in 1922, if we are starting off the right date.

Q. When did you have your first connection with the Ottoman American Development Company? A. Before I went to Turkey.

Q. Was that a part of the same concession? A. It was. It was the concern that got the concession.

Q. The Ottoman American Development Company was the concern that got the concession? A. Yes.

Q. When did you finally consummate your work on the concession? When did you finish your work on the concession? A. I cannot tell you the date offhand. This crowd pinched all my papers. I think it was a matter

Q. Can you give me your best recollection? A. It was around 1922 when the thing was concluded.I may be nine months out.

Q. And what happened to the concession? A. Nothing happened to it. The grant—the concession passed Parliament—signed by the necessary people, a certain amount of work was done, and owing to political considerations there was a hold-up. The Lausanne conference altered, took away some of the Turkish territory, and just nothing happened.

Q. Mr. Kennedy, I show you this and ask you whether this is your signature (handing paper to witness)? A. I think so—yes.

Q. I am just showing you the signature. A. I think that is my signature.

Q. To the best of your knowledge and belief that is your signature? A.

I think so, yes.

Q. I ask you whether you did not sue Admiral Chester and his sons for false arrest? A. I did not. Most definitely, unequivocally, I did not.

Mr. Battle: I offer this summons and complaint in evidence.

Mr. Schloss: May I see it? I object to this, your Honor, on the ground that is an original complaint which shows nothing on any suit or anything else.

Mr. Battle: I will follow it up.

The Court: It shows nothing of any suit?

Mr. Schloss: It does not show any suit was instituted by verifying a complaint with a lawyer. I also object on the ground it is immaterial, incompetent, irrelevant.

The Court: It is not now because it is offered in contradiction of an alleged statement. I will allow it.

Mr. Schloss: I respectfully except.

(Received in evidence and marked Defendant's Exhibit A.)

Mr. Battle: The summons and complaint are both offered in evidence.

The Court: Yes.

(Mr. Battle read Defendant's Exhibit A to the jury.)

The Court: What is the date of the summons?

Mr. Battle: March 25, 1926.

Q. Mr. Kennedy, did you see the answer to your complaint that was filed by Colby Chester, Colby Chester, Jr., also known as Clarence Chester, and Arthur Chester, through the law firm of Dawes, Abbott & Littlefield! A. I have no knowledge of such a proceeding.

Mr. Battle: I ask that the answer be marked for identification.

(Marked Defendant's Exhibit B for Identification.)

Q. Now, I ask you if this is your signature (handing paper to witness)? A. I think so. I signed a lot of these for him at various times.

Mr. Battle: I offer that in evidence.

Mr. Schloss : I object to that, your Honor, an the--

The Court: Sustained.

Mr. Battle: I except, and ask that it he marked for identification.

(Paper referred to was marked Defendant's Exhibit C for Identification.)

Q. Mr. Kennedy, is this your handwriting, this notation at the top of this paper I show you here (handing paper to witness), A. I think so. I would not swear to it. It looks like it.

Q. To the best of your belief it is? A. If there is anything to support it I would not say the contrary.

Q. Isn't this the notes that you made and gave to your attorney from which to prepare your reply?

Mr. Schloss: I object to that as immaterial, irrelevant, incompetent.

The Court: In relation to what?

Mr. Battle: To relation to the last document.

The Court: The one that is in evidence?

Mr. Battle: No, the one that is excluded.

The Court: Objection sustained.

Mr. Battle: I ask, may I have that marked for identification?

The Court: Certainly.

(The paper referred to was marked Defendant's Exhibit D for Identification.)

Q. Now, Mr. Kennedy, you say you consummated the business of the so-called Chester concession about 1921 A. I am not sure of the date. It was somewhere about it. It was between 1921 and 1922 and 1923.

Q. That is as near as you can come to it? A. It depends on what you call "consummated." There were a lot of negotiations. There was a matter of getting the matter accepted by the different heads.

Q. What I mean by consummated is finishing it, completing it. A. But the thing was never finished, Mr. Battle. That is just it.

Q. It has never been finished up? A. Absolutely. Part of the work was started and never finished yet, but the contract, the grants was secured from the government.

Q. When did you stop working on it? A. Why, strictly speaking, I cannot say it has stopped yet for that matter.

Q. You are still working on it? A. It depends on what you call working on it. The situation is, there is 50,000 pounds on deposit there. The thing has never been legally cancelled as far us I know. There was a certain amount of construction work done.

Q. What was the last amount of work you did? A. That all depends on what you call work. I am still corresponding with banks in Turkey about it.

Q. You are still corresponding! A. Yes, banks that are interested in it, that assisted me when originally got the thing.

Q. After the Chester concession business, what the next business you went into?

While under oath, could Kenneth E. Clayton-Kennedy have uncovered Henry Woodhouse's forgery about the end of the Chester Concession?

The terms of the concessions had a potential life of 99 years. Article 4 of the original Chester concessions found in James Wood Colt's archive that is preserved at Rochester University Library in New York reads:

> Art. 4:- For the execution of the engagements which is contracts by the present Convention, the Ottoman American Exploration Co. is held to form at the latest, in the delay of six months reckoned from the moment when the Concession shall become definitive and on the basis of the Statutes usual in such cases, a Limited Ottoman Society, which shall be submitted to all the Ottoman Laws, present and future. The Ottoman American exploration Co. engages itself to reserve <u>one-third</u> of the shares of the Company which it shall issue, and to hold these at the disposition of Ottoman subjects who may wish to subscribe at Constantinople during the 31 days which follow notice which shall be given in the newspapers of the capital.

Could this article in the agreement mean that the concessions secured by the U.S. were not lost, but rather forged into an unrecognizable form? These questions beg further investigation as they may shed some light on certain aspects of even current U.S. foreign policy towards Armenians and their claims against Turkey for reparations, including the occupied territories that had been

awarded to the Armenians in 1920, which include minerals covered under the concessions in question.

In recent years, Turkey has been looking for foreign investments in the mining sector. Turkey has ambitions to become one of the top 10 global economies. And they aim to achieve this goal by the 100th anniversary of the Turkish republic in 2023. The mining sector is expected to contribute $15 billion of the targeted $500 billion of exports. Turkey reports that just 10-15% of Turkey's mining operations belong to the public sector. One must wonder who owns the other 85-90%? Could it be the Chester Concession?

Rear Admiral Colby M. Chester and his sons were among the richest men in the United States before World War II. One has to wonder how much of that wealth came from Chester Concession at the expense of the misfortunes of millions of Armenians?



U.S.S. Kentucky Capt. Colby M. Chester in his cabin - 1900
(Edward H. Hart, photographe; Detroit Publishing Co., publisher)



Colby M. Chester's 20th Birthday - February 29, 1924



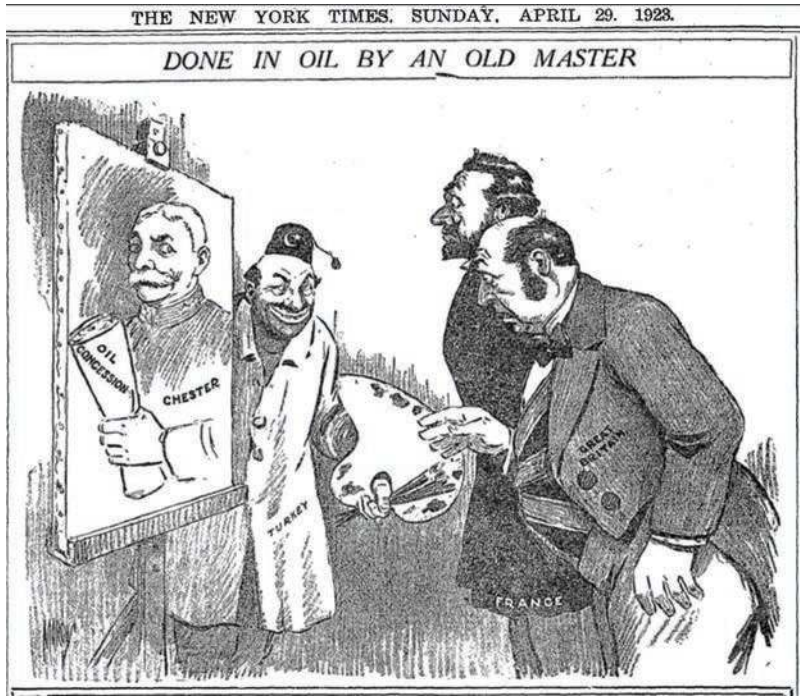
Arlington National Cemetery, Section 3, Lot 1901

Chapter 28

Confession of a Rear Admiral

Although most everything regarding the Chester Concession and the United States involvement to the detriment of the Armenian nation has been presented in the previous chapter, another layer of the United States involvement in the Armenian Genocide needs to be presented.

At the age of 79, retired Rear Admiral Colby M. Chester gave an interview to Charles G. Ross, Chief Washington Correspondent of the *Post-Dispatch*. Chester's bragging about how clever he was to win a prize from the newly recognized Turkish government, amounts to a confession. To add insult to injury, this same Turkish government was comprised of many officials who had been sentenced to death by an Ottoman courts-martial of 1919-1920 for their crime against the Armenians, including Mustafa Kemal. As highlighted in Chester's confession, the Turkish government then was led by the Grand Vizier, whom Chester himself had groomed at the naval school of Annapolis, in the United States, during Sultan Adbul Hamid's rule over the Ottoman Empire. With this said, it is highly likely that Chester has made his own contributions to the overthrow of the Sultan to end the Ottoman Empire, so he could obtain the mineral concessions for the United States.



The following is the full text of Charles Ross' article that appeared in the editorial section of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch,* on April 29, 1923 (I have underlined points of importance):

ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH
EDITORIAL SECTION
SPEICAL CONTRIBUTION
PART THREE
ST. LOUIS, SUNDAY MORNING, APRIL 29, 1923

The Chester Concession in Turkey
Just What and Where It Is and What It Signifies
PROGRESSIVE AMERICAN ENGINEERS TO DIG MOSLEM
PEOPLE OUT OF THE DUST OF ANTIQUITY

How an Admiral of the U.S. Fleet Won the Sublime Porte's Regard on a Secret Diplomatic Mission During Roosevelt's Administration to Such a Degree He Was Urged to Come to Turkey to Command and Build Up the Fleet, an Honor That Also Was Offered Later to His Son. Likewise and American Naval Officer – Now as a Sequel to This High Regard Comes the Exclusive Privilege to Exploit a Vast Region With Mineral Wealth Estimated at Over $4,000,000,000 While English and French Capitalists Vainly Rave.

By CHARLES G. ROSS.

Chief Washington Correspondent of the Post-Dispatch.

WASHINGTON. April 28. In the beginning, the story of the vast Chester concession which the Turkish Government has granted American interests for the economic development of Turkey is the story of a Connecticut Yankee at the Sultan's court.

Later chapters ramify into world politics. Oil, newest and most virulent of international trouble-makers, becomes the theme. Roosevelt and Root are characters; European diplomatists, keen on the scent of oil, stalk across the pages; in the background are unidentified American financiers and the American State Department.

The leading character throughout is the adventurous American naval officer from whom the concessions takes its name. He is the Connecticut Yankee of the story. At the age of 79, he is watching, with jealous interest, a train of events that he set in motion 23 years ago.

Colby M. Chester, now a Rear Admiral of the United States Navy, on the retired list, went to Turkey in 1900 in command of the U.S.S. Kentucky. His mission was to help collect an American claim for indemnity growing out of the destruction of missionaries' property in 1896, not a mission, it would seem, calculated to win him the favor of the Turks. He got the indemnity and so tactfully and skillfully did he conduct his negotiations he made a warm friend of the Sultan, Abdul Hamid.

Had "Time of His Life"

He had since remarked that during the 10 days he spent in Constantinople as the guest of the Sultan he had the "time of his life." Then and later he was showered with honors by the Turkish

Government. On one occasion he was offered the command of the Turkish Navy and when he declined, the Sultan told him that the Government would get an order from Roosevelt compelling him to accept. The name of Roosevelt, the Admiral says, was a name to conjure with the Turkey in those days. As a result of the friendly feeling for America engendered by the negotiations of 1900, the Sultan made a contract for the building of a Turkish cruiser at Philadelphia and gave encouragement to Roberts College. The fair policy of the United States, explains Admiral Chester, was an eye-opener to the Sultan, who, during the whole 23 years of his reign up to 1900, had been the constant victim of European intrigues. He let the Admiral know that he would welcome a closer relationship with America and a large increase of the trade between the two countries.

In 1906, after he had filled a number of important posts in the navy, Admiral Chester, being then 62 years old, was retired. The Government, however, recognizing his flair for diplomacy, did not let him go into seclusion, and in 1908 he was sent abroad to represent the United States at an international congress of geographers at Geneva, an aeronautic congress at London, and a convention of navigation experts at St. Petersburg. More important than any of these assignments, which furnished the ostensible reason for his tour, was a commission that he carried from the New York Chamber of Commerce and the Board of Trade and Transportation of New York to go to Turkey and see what could be done to foster trade relations with the Near East.

Roosevelt and Root Supported Move

President Roosevelt and Secretary of State Root were in full sympathy with this effort of American capital to break into the rich Near Eastern field. Admiral Chester was to find the door through which it might enter. The success which had attended his first visit to Turkey made him the right man for the job.

Going to Constantinople, Admiral Chester received a warm greeting from his old friend, the Sultan, and began forthwith the negotiations which have just culminated. 15 years later, in the ratification of the Chester concession by the Turkish National Parliament at Angora.

The Admiral's task was smoothed by the esteem in which the Turks held him, but the Admiral, being the American naval officer, refused. He did decorate a son of the Admiral with one of the highest Ottoman orders.

Coming down to the business in which the admiral was interested, the Sultan suggested that he undertake the direction of all the public works of which Turkey stood in need. Abdul Hamid, the Admiral says, actually proposed that he assume full responsibility for the letting of all contracts for railroad, docks, oil and other development works, with the sole restriction that all the contacts should go to Americans.

Young Turks Overthrew Sultan

The negotiations were in a fair way to come to a happy ending when Abdul Hamid was overthrown by the Young Turks and locked up in the Bosporus Palace. Finally, however, in 1909, the Admiral got sent to a concession base on the scheme of railroad and port construction

and mineral development which he had laid down. As its chief feature, the concessions carried the right to construct 1200 miles of railway and develop a strip of territory 20 kilometers wide on each side of the right of way. An incident of the plan is the proposed continuation of the Bagdad Railway eastward to the Persian border, where it is contemplated that Persia, aided by British capital, will continue the construction through that country and thus bring to realization the long-cherished dream of a Constantinople-to-Bagdad road.

This, in brief outline, is the concession which had just been ratified. There is no doubt, according to Admiral Chester, that it would have received parliamentary sanction long ago if a succession of wars had not prevented. When the negotiations were completed in 1909 Turkey was in a turmoil after the revolution. The war between Turkey and Italy, the two Balkan wars, and the World War followed. During all this period it was manifestly impossible for the American promoters of the scheme to operate. Their claim, however, the Admiral insists, validly runs back to the grant of 1909, because the contract, as signed by the Turkish Minister of Public Works, expressly stipulates that operations might be suspended in the event of war, without loss of any of the concessionaires' rights.

Turks Dated Back Concessions

The Admiral points out, moreover, that the Turkish Parliament, in its recent act of ratification, which passed with only 12 dissenting votes in a total of about 350, safeguarded the American's claims by dating the concessions back to 1909.

The companies which have been organized to exploit the concessions are the Ottoman-American Development Co. and the Ottoman-American Petroleum Co. The nature of the financial backing has not been disclosed.

Standard Oil, it is known, is not only not associated with the project, but is antagonistic. At the head of the Ottoman-American Industrial Co., which proposes to build the railroads provided for by the concession, is Major-General George W. Goethals of Panama Canal fame. Kermit Roosevelt, son of the late President, has also been mentioned as one of Admiral Chester's associates. An active assistant in the enterprise is one of the Admiral's sons, Commander Arthur T. Chester, U. S. N., retired, who, after seeing the concession through the Turkish Parliament, is now on his way home with the contracts to arrange financial details prior to the beginning of surveys. An interesting sidelight on the good will of the Turks for the Chesters is the fact that Arthur, like his father before him, was offered command of the Turkish Navy.

In all his dealings with the Turks, the Admiral has seen the return of the bread that he cast upon the waters. For instances, he persuaded President Roosevelt to send the American fleet to Constantinople during its world tour.

The Turkish Government, naturally, was pleased. Going further, Admiral Chester arranged for 12 young Turkish naval officers to return with the fleet and receive instructions at Annapolis.

One of these officers, Rouf Bey, was present when the Turkish Parliament ratified the Chester concession, with only 12 dissenting votes. He happens to be now the Grand Vizier of Turkey.

Not long ago, a representative of the Standard Oil Co. called on the Grand Vizier and said:

"I presume you understand that Standard Oil Co. is not back of this concession?"

"I presume you understand," returned the Grand Vizier, "that the Turkish Government is back of it."

If the story of the Chester concession ended here, it would need only an epilogue telling that American capitalists are getting ready to reap the fruit of Chester's long labors, but oil enters the plot, and oil, in its internal aspect, brings plot and counterplot, claim and counter-claim. No sooner had the Chester concession been ratified than protests from Briton and French sources began to be heard.

If the concession meant only the building of railroads in Turkey, the British and French might view the prospects with comparative equanimity. What galls is the fact that the concession opens up to Americans a territory which according to Admiral Chester, is estimated by experts to contain $4,000,000,000 worth of oil, or about the amount of the British debt to the United States. Just the statement of that fact indicates the dynamite in the situation. Both the British and the French put forth claims in opposition to the Chester grant.

Concession Runs Into Mosul Area.

Briefly, the French Contend that the Chester claim is invalidated by a prior concession granted before the World War for development of harbors and railroads in Northern Anatolia. The French have indicated to Secretary of State Hughes that they will not recognize the Chester concessions in so far as it impinges on what they assert are their own rights.

To understand the British claim, it is necessary to know that the Chester concessions runs into the Mosul area, whose oil fields have made it one of the principal bones of internal contention in the world today. Mosul oil was one of the issues that kept the last Lausanne conference from an agreement. It is a highly contentious issue before the present conference. The Turks claim that the Vallayt (Provence) of Mosul, where the rich oil fields lie, is part of their territory, to do with as they please. The British assert that Mosul is part of the territory of Mesopotamia, or Iraq, which they hold under mandate. At the last Lausanne conference the British asked that the dispute be referred to the League of Nations. The Turks demurred, saying they would have no chance against British influence in the league. They proposed, instead, a plebiscite, which the British declined to accept. There the matter rested, to come anew before the conference now sitting.

The British contend that the Turks not only have no authority over Mosul, but that even if they had, they would have no right to grant a concession in conflict with claims of the Turkish Petroleum Co. Lord Curson set out this view in detail at the last Lausanne conference. He said that just before the war a concession was given for the oil fields of the Mosul and Bagdad Vilayats by the Turkish Government to the Turkish Petroleum Co., in which Germans had an interest with the British. On the defeat of the Germans, he maintained, their interest passed to the British.

"The British Government, after full examination," said Lord Curson,

as reported in the official minutes of the proceedings, "were convinced, and remain convinced, of the validity of this concession. They felt, and feel, bound to uphold it."

In a statement declining to admit that Mosul was a part of Iraq, the Turkish delegate, Ismet Pasha, summed up the Turkish position with regard to the Turkish Petroleum Co.'s concession in the following words:

"All the treaties, agreements and conventions which England may have concluded in regard to a country which is still legally part of the Ottoman Empire can have no legal value. The more so because the populations have not been given a chance of expressing their wishes freely and safe from all pressure and foreign occupation."

The attitude of the American Government toward conflicting concessions in the Near East was set forth by Ambassador Child at Lausanne on Jan. 23, as follows:

"Where there are conflicting claims already in existence in respect to legal rights to resources, there should be provided a means for judicial settlement of the rights which would give full and complete assurance of impartiality.

"The American representatives feel in their duty to remind the conference that, without seeking special privileges or favor, the Government of the United States had not assented to the principle that it may be dissociated in the rights of peace from the usual consequence of association in war."

Admiral Chester Would Hold On.

How far the State Department would go in upholding the Chester concession against British and French counter claims remains to be determined.

In the opinion of Admiral Chester, the British and French claimants "have not a leg to stand on." He has announced his determination to hold on to the Chester grant against all comers, while Dr. Gouad Bey, who is now in this country as a special representative of the new Turkish Government, has declared, that no power on earth could induce Turkey to withdraw the concession.

Before continuing with an interview given the writer by Admiral Chester, it is, perhaps, pertinent to say that in some Washington quarters there is a feeling that his failure to name the financial backers of his project maybe be due not to any desire for secrecy but difficulty in interesting American financiers in the scheme. It is estimated that the amount needed for the projected works is $300,000,000. The question is whether American investors will be willing to risk large sums in a disturbed part of the world without any guarantee of permanent protection by the American Government.

However that may be, Admiral Chester appears to be supremely confident that his dream of a Turkey rejuvenated through American capital will be realized. His concession makes possible not only the construction of railroads and the working of mines and oil fields, but the building of canals, factories, banks, hotels, telephone and telegraph lines, and even, it is hinted, a new, model capital city on the site chosen by the Turkish Parliament. The plan goes so far as to contemplate a social welfare program, embracing the establishment of social centers

and organized sports, all with a view to the general improvement and Westernizing of the Turkish character.

The American nation, in Admiral Chester's opinion, has much to gain from the commercial development of Turkey.

"After the Revolutionary War, when we were practically bankrupt," said the Admiral, "we went out and developed the West and made a boom. In that way we paid our war debts. A similar process followed the Civil War. We built railroads and continued westward.

"Must Get New Ideas to Develop."

"Now there is nothing left in this country for us to develop. If we keep up with our current requirements we are doing well. To pay our debts, we must get new territory to develop. I've got it for the country. That the thing in a nutshell.

"Lausanne has nothing to do with this. It is not an issue between the Government of the United States and any other Government. The syndicate that I represent had gone into Asia-Minor just as commercial bodies have gone into South America. As American business men, we have the right to go to our Government for protection against any foreign Government that raises to interfere with a legitimate enterprise.

"I want to eradicate the idea that I have carried this country into trouble. This protection was designed under the Roosevelt administration. Wars broke out and prevented our taking over the property. Now we are ready to proceed.

"With materials from America, we're going to build another Denver, another Albuquerque, another Cheyenne. To become prosperous, Turkey waits only on railways to bring out its products. To illustrate, the cost of taking ore from the copper mines at Arghana to the border for smelting is $50 a tone—a prohibitive price. Railways will carry the ore at $2 a ton.

"If as I believe, there is enough oil to pay the British war debt to the United States, there is in the whole concession enough potential commerce to pay all the national debt of the United States.

"American business concerns have been trying to get into South America but have found that they can't compete with European nations in that field. The British and French have covered South America with banks.

Breaking Into Asia by Back Door.

"We've tried for 20 years to break into Asia through China, where John Hay established the principle of the open door, but have been hindered by European spheres of influence. Now we propose to go in through the back door—Asia Minor—which is the nearest door. All trade there is tending toward the West. Turkey is closer to our eastern coast by 5000 miles than China.

"France has forfeited the concession that she got from Turkey. She didn't put in all the money agreed on. Besides, France went to war with Turkey and the United States did not. Our concessions, moreover came first.

"Neither the French nor the English claim has a leg to stand on. I think that in both cases the Governments are being put up to make protests by their citizens, and that when the record is revived it will

be found that the claims are not of a nature to cause international controversy. The so-called British concession was granted in 1914 by the Turkish Minister of Finance who shortly afterward was deprived of office. It never was ratified by the Turkish Assembly.

"The Turks are united under Kemal Pasha. If England should try to coerce Turkey, she would lose India. I am for the Young Turks, who are fighting for the freedom of their country just as we fought for ours, against England."

Intriguing European Powers, according to Admiral Chester, have fastened on the Turk, for their own purposes, the reputation of being an "unspeakable" person.

"James Bryce," he said, "declared that the Turks were a lovable and honest people, but that Turkish Governments had been horrible. That is the case. Now the Turks have destroyed despotism. They look on us as their protectors.

"I have sometimes been accused of expressing pro-Turkish views because I am a concessionaire of the Turkish Government. The truth is the other way about. I was willing to become a concessionaire because I believe in the Turks."

Admiral Chester explained that the syndicate is given 18 months in which to make surveys. If at the end of that time it does not find enough minerals to make the project paying venture, it need not go further. The concession runs for 99 years. Turkey having the right to buy at the end of 30 years.

Admiral Chester is an ardent admirer of Roosevelt.

Speaking of a trip he made to Angora last spring in the interest of the Chester concession, the admiral said if Roosevelt had been alive he would have taken his picture out there and done more with it than he could have done on an order from the Sultan.

Although the archive has a great deal more on this subject that could fill a book of its own, I will only share three more very important points involving the Chester Concessions and the United States Government's involvement in the Armenian Genocide.

The estimated value of the overall concession as confessed to by Colby M. Chester was enough to pay the entire war debt of $22 billion dollars. And this a debt that was owed to the bakers in the United States, including that of Jacob H. Schiff, who had sent a special commission in 1909 to the Ottoman Empire to survey for the Chester Concessions.[101]

The other point of importance was the United States and their need for oil, which was believed to be on the verge of exhaustion of their domestic oil reserves in less than 20 years.[102] The estimated 8 billion barrels of oil found in part on Armenian inhabited lands, accounted for 1/6th of the world's known oil reserves.[103] This need for oil resulted in the United States' abandonment of the

101 Akron Beacon Journal, *WORLD CONVERT TURK LANDS INTO WORLD'S GARDEN SPOT,* (April 27, 1923, Akron Beacon Journal, Akron, OH) 15.

102 Henry Suydam, *AMERICA, FACING OIL EXHAUSTION IN 18 YEAR, TO DEMAND RIGHT TO UNDEVELOPED WORLD FIELDS,* (December 24, 1922, Brooklyn, NY) 2E.

103 Associated Press, *ASKED TO PARTICIPATE,* (June 28, 1925, Clarion Ledger, Jackson, MS) 1.

Armenians and their rights to lands which were legally awarded to them by the United States President, Woodrow Wilson. The U.S. subsequently partnered with the Young Turks, arming them and then later helping bring to power Mustafa Kemal and his Turkish Nationalist Movement, a relationship which appears to continues until today.

As for mention of the of the concession never materializing by an article written by Henry Woodhouse and then later on during a court case in New York, testimony given under oath the fact came out that the Chester Concessions did continue, to further dispel any doubts, I will present one of the only two newspaper articles of 1925 that were also the last mention in the news of the Chester Concessions. On June 10, 1925, *The Baltimore Sun* printed the following:

> ***Chester Regains Control Of Turkey Concessions***
>
> Retired Admiral And Two Sons Will Manage Exploitation Work.
>
> New York, June 9 (AP).—Henry Woodhouse, representing a committee of stockholders of the Ottoman-American Development Company, announced that at a conference today Admiral Colby M. Chester, retired, and his two sons, Colby M. Chester, Jr., and Commander Arthur Chester, accepted and invitation of the committee to assume full control of the Chester concessions in Turkey.
>
> The Chesters and the stockholders' committee, Mr. Woodhouse said, control ninety per cent of the stock of the Ottoman-American Development Company, which was organized to develop the concessions. Disagreements among stockholder which have hitherto prevented work on the concessions have now been settled, Mr. Woodhouse said.
>
> The concessions obtained from Turkey by Admiral Chester gave the holders the right to exploit the oil, gold, silver, platinum, copper and other minerals in an area of more than 50,000 square miles.

Chapter 29

The Bankers

"The hand that gives is above the hand that takes. Money had no motherland; financiers are without patriotism and without decency; their sole object is gain." – Napoleon Bonaparte

The clash of the gargantuan financial and economic interests of the Western powers in different areas of the vast Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the 20th century show that the Armenian Genocide was not merely a hate crime due to cultural and religious differences between Christians and Muslims. There are numerous accounts of Kurdish tribesmen periodically pillaging, with the blessing of the Sultan, hard-working Armenians, Greeks, and Assyrians. However, there is no record of an intent to completely uproot the Armenian population, as documented in 1894-1896 by Sultan Abdul Hamid and then in 1915-1923 by the Young Turk government.

The memoirs of British spy Aubrey Herbert shed light on a possible motive for the genocide of the Armenian people. He dictated his memoirs at the age of 43, bed-ridden in a hospital in the final year of his life. The passage in question is on pages 15-16 in *Ben Kendin: A Record of Eastern Travels* published a year after his death, in 1924:

> Salonika, by the blue sea and amongst the cypresses, is only a poor footstool for Olympus. It is a town of intrigues and persecutions. In the days of my first visit it was more free than Constantinople; there was not the same vigilance, and the Jews, who are the majority of this inhabitants, have always enjoyed a greater liberty than any other subject race in Turkey. They have, indeed, shared with the greatest heartiness in assisting other people to massacre the Greeks and Armenians, who are their commercial rivals.
>
> The coming storm had not yet broken, but already its mutterings were to be heard. The Grand Orient (The Chief Masonic Lodge of the Near East) was at work. There were links between New York and the bootbacks of Salonika, and again between Salonika and the unruly Albanians. Talaat was studying the literature of the French Revolution; Karasso was engaged in Freemasonry; Enver, in the mountains of Macedonia or in a sailing boat in the Gulf, was engrossed in tactics.
>
> The Jews of Salonika, generally known as *Dunmes* (converts), were the real parents of the Turkish revolution. They are a definite people—Hebrews, but indefinable as to creed. The popular verdict was that they were only nominal Moslems and were true followers of the Pentateuch, bowing their heads in the temple of Rimmon for the sake of profit. At that time, only the

most industrious student of the Near East knew of their existence. There was no man to prophesy that the *Dunmes* were to be the chief authors of the revolution whose results were to shake the world.

Who was Herbert referring to in New York? My research has led me to powerful U.S. bankers, most notably Jacob H. Schiff of Kuhn, Loeb & Co. This is the same man who made a financial contribution to the Bolshevik Revolution, the repercussions of which resulted in the retreat of the Russian army in Western Armenia with devasting consequences for the Armenian population. Prior to that, Schiff had financed a survey of the mineral wealth of Armenian-populated lands. This survey was carried out by James W. Colt and Armen Garo. Colt was also working with J.P. Morgan, who, judging by Colt's letters, was also interested in economic opportunities in Western Armenia.



Jacob H. Schiff and wife Teresa Loeb-Schiff (daughter of Solomon Loeb). Circa 1915 or 1920 (Bain News Service, publisher)

Following the promising results of the Colt survey, *The Courier* (Waterloo, Iowa) on May 20, 1909, Page 7, reported:

SCHIFF, ZANGWILL BACK JEW MOVEMENT

New York, May 20. – That Jacob H. Schiff, banker, and Israel Zangwill, author and head of the Jewish Territorialist organization, have come together in an effort to colonize in Mesopotamia, as a compromise of the Zionist colonization plans in Palestine, was the news received yesterday by Jacob Fishman, editor of the Jewish Daily News of this city. The invitations of Ahmed Riza Bey, president of the Turkish chamber of deputies under the new young Turk government, to create a Jewish state in Mesopotamia, was taken under consideration.

The society, the largest and richest Jewish colonization organization in the world, to which $45,000,000 was left in trust by the late Baron de Hirsch, sent a geographical survey commission to investigate conditions. The preliminary reports showed that the land was most fertile and that irrigation

was all that was needed to make it prolific. The Zionists readily accepted the scheme, for Mesopotamia is not far from Palestine.

It is thought that through the efforts of Mr. Schiff, who is now touring Europe, the allied Jewish organizations of the world can perfect the plan and the work of settlement can be begun at an early date.

It is estimated that it will take at least $40,000 to irrigate the territory, but with this expenditure and the cost of transportation added, the situation in Russia, where there are between 5,000,000 and 6,000,000 Jews in desperate conditions, not to speak of those of Roumania, numbering about 400,000 will be entirely relieved.

The invitation of Ahmed Riza Bey was extended through the chief rabbi and was sent throughout the entire world with the promise that the Turkish government will allow home rule to the settlers. There will be little or no effect upon the Jewish population of the United States, but a large amount of the necessary capital is expected to come from this country.

On May 27, 1909, *The Union Republican* (Winston-Salem, North Carolina) expanded on the story front page news:

THE ZION MOVEMENT.
JEWISH EYES TURNING TOWARDS MESOPOTAMIA.
PICK VALLEY OF EUPHRATES.

Is it the Beginning of the End?—

The Gospel Preached to Every Nation and the Jews Gathered Again in the Land of Their Patriarch Fathers.

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Private advices from London received in this city yesterday told of a meeting of the Jewish Territorial organization, at which Mr. Zangwill, Sir Andrew Wingate, Meyer Spielman and others declared that in the settlement of Mesopotamia is to be found the solution of the troubles which have beset the Jews since they were dispersed from Palestine.

Mr. Schiff is expected to arrive in London this week to confer with those men who have received assurance from the Turkish government that Mesopotamia will be given to the Jews to develop and govern as they see fit.

50,000 Zionists in U. S.

In the United States there are 330 Zionist organizations, with a total membership of 50,000. Zionists were divided at the last congress between the proposal to accept an offer from the British government to settle in a part of Africa which has since been found to be unacceptable and the proposal to center all energies on the acquisition of Palestine.

It is proposed to send at once an expedition of exploration through Mesopotamia for the purpose of gathering information which will guide the propagandists of the colony idea.

In cable messages from London friends of Mr. Zangwill said today that Mr. Schiff's co-operation will mean that the plan to found a colony in Mesopotamia will have that financial support which no other plan has had.

It seems that Schiff's ambitious plan, which he was carrying out with Henry Morgenthau, near the end of the World War I, to make Palestine the homeland of the Jews, had actually taken off right after the Young Turks rose to power.

The Tennessean (Nashville, Tennessee) published an article on January 19, 1911, page 1, documenting how well-connected Schiff and his cohorts were in the U.S. and what support they had for their plan to colonize the Near East.

HEBREWS HEAR LEADERS TALK

Roosevelt, Gaynor, Straus and Schiff Upon Judaism.

DELEGATES IN NEW YORK GUESTS AT BIG BANQUET

Col. Roosevelt, the Guest of Honor, Is Lauded as the Jew's Greatest American Friend, Who Practices What He Preaches—Immigration Laws.

NEW YORK, Jan. 18.—The delegates to the twenty-second council of the union of the American Hebrew congregations in session here voted unanimously today to hold the next conference in Cincinnati in 1913.

At the banquet tonight the delegates and their guests listened to addresses by Theodore Roosevelt, Mayor Gaynor, Oscar Straus, Dr. David Philipson of Cincinnati and Jacob H. Schiff, who also acted as toastmaster. Gov. Dix sent a telegram of greeting.

Col. Roosevelt, as the guest of honor, was praised by the toastmaster as "one who more than any other American, living or dead, has taught the world the lesson that, equally with any other citizen of this country, the Jew is entitled to the square deal—more than that, he not only preached theories, he turned them into actualities and called on of our co-religionists into the cabinet of the President of the United States, the highest office within his gift. We Jews owe him a debt of gratitude which I hope never will be forgotten."

DR. PHIILIPSON TALKS.

In Introducing Dr. Philipson, of the Hebrew College, Mr. Schiff spoke of the trend of the modern Jewish belief.

"With all the respect—ayer love—," he said, "I have for the old forms as our fathers practiced them, Judaism in American surroundings would soon cease to be a living force without these missionaries—as I have styled them—equipped at and sent out from the American Hebrew Collage."

Gov. Dix wished the delegates "Godspeed in the transcendent work you are doing for the good of mankind."

"The glory of the Jews," he said, "is that from the dawn of history they have revealed and manifested to the world the genius and essence of true religion, based on the worship of the one God, and on the inner spiritual life upon when depends the reality of the eternal and the hope and uplift humanity."

Mayor Gaynor said:

"Israel always has been a growing and advancing religious force. The history of the Jewish race," he continued, "discloses no period in which mere non-essential religious forms were not being gradually changed or abandoned in order to keep pace with the teachings of experience or to conform to the just local or national usages."

IMMIGRATION LAWS.

One of the features of the day was the severe criticism or federal immigration laws and their enforcement by Max J. Kohler and the reply of Charles Nagel, secretary of the department of commerce and labor.

Speaking of exceptional cases of unfortunates and "the stretching" of the letter of the law to help the unfortunates, Secretary Nagel added:

"You may call me a lawbreaker, but I wish to remind you that these

exceptions are acts of common justice, of mercy and humanity to save the separation of the members of a family.

"I am absolutely opposed to the illiterate test as a question of fitness for admission of the immigrant. Take a good, healthy uneducated workman; the fact that he does not know how to read and write makes him all the more desirable, as he will the quicker assimilate American ideals and customs and the language of his adopted country"

At the conclusion of Secretary Nagel's address, Chairman Schiff moved a rising vote of thanks to Mr. Nagel, which was given. Mr. Schiff apologized for the unjust criticism of Mr. Nagel and the department of commerce and labor.

"At the same time I want to emphasize this," Mr. Schiff said, "that the Jew, who has come to the United States, has never gone back again voluntarily. He is here to breathe the air of freedom. He comes as did the Pilgrim fathers and the Huguenots, and if he is sent back, particularly to Russia, he is driven back to hell."

MESSAGE FROM TAFT.

President Taft sent the following telegram from the White House:

"I greatly regret my inability to attend the banquet. I should like to be able to testify in my speech to my admiration for the Jewish people, my conviction that they constitute a valuable element in our American citizenship and make most effectively for artistic improvement, educational progress, the extension of charity and the maintenance of law and order.

One thousand diners sat down to tables and 500 of their guests filled the balcony boxes.

Mr. Roosevelt spoke extemporaneously in part as follows:

"Mr. Schiff had praised me in a way that I do not deserve. I've net good Jews and bad Jews just as I've met good Christians and bad Christians, and when I met a good man I stood by him and when I met a bad man I cinched him. A Santiaga, after one of the battles, I promoted eight men in my regiment and found later there were two Protestants, two Catholics and the rest of them Jews. I promoted men on their merits and I knew nothing of their faith previously."

Mr. Roosevelt said he hoped to see the time when the Jew and the Catholic would be equally eligible to the presidency.

STRAUS TRIBUTE

"The republicanism of the United States is the nearest approach to the ideals of the prophets of Israel that has ever been incorporated in the form of a state," declared Useas S. Straus, ambassador to Turkey, in his address. "America is peculiarly a promised land wherein the spirit of the teachings of the ancient prophets inspired the work of the fathers of our country."

Mr. Straus spoke upon "America and the Spirit of American Judaism." His address in part follows:

"The Spirit of American Judaism first asserted itself when Stuyvesant,

the Governor of New Amsterdam, would not permit the few Jews who had emigrated from Portugal to unite with the other burghers in standing guard for the protection of their homes. When the tax collector came to Asser Levy to collect a tax on his account, he asked if that tax was imposed on all the residents of New Amsterdam. 'No,' came the reply, 'it is only imposed upon the Jews, because they do not stand guard. 'I have not asked to be exempted,' replied Asser Levy. 'I am not only willing, but I demand the right to stand guard.'

"That right the Jews have asserted and exercised as officers in the ranks of the continental army and in every crisis of our international history from that time until the present day. The American spirit of and the spirit of American Judaism were both nurtured in the same cradle of liberty and united together in origin, in ideals and in historical development. The closing chapter of the chronicles of the Jews on the Iberian Peninsula forms the opening chapter of their history on this continent. It was Luis Sentangel, 'the Beasonfield of his time,' assisted by his kinsman, Gabriel Sanches, the royal treasurer of Aragon, who advanced out of his own purse seventeen thousand florins, which made the voyages of Columbus possible. Luis de Torres, the interpreter, as well as the surgeon and physician of the little fleet, besides several of the sailors who were with Columbus on his first voyage, were Jews.

NEAREST ISRAEL.

"While Zionis mis a child of despair in countries where the victims of oppression are still counted by millions, the republicanism of the United States is the nearest approach to the ideals of the prophets of Israel that has ever been incorporated in the form of a state. The founders of our government converted the dreams of philosophers into a political system, a government by the people, for the people, whereunder the rights of man became the rights of men secured and guaranteed under a written constitution. America is peculiarly a promised land, wherein the spirit of the teachings of the ancient prophets inspired the work of the fathers of our country.

"American liberty demands of no man the abandonment of his conscientious convictions; on the contrary, it had its birth not in the narrowness of uniformity, but in the breadth of diversity which patriotism fuses together into a conscious harmony for the highest welfare of all.

Considering the extent of Jacob H. Schiff's involvement in financing of the conflicts in the region, interest in the mineral wealth and colonizing Jewish settlements, which would eventually become Israel, it is important to get a better understanding of who Jacob H. Schiff is. The American Jewish Year Book (#5682), Volume 23, published in 1921, a year after Schiff's death, an account that offers good insight. It is titled "Jacob Henry Schiff - A Biographical Sketch" written by Cyrus Adler (1863-1940), a prominent educator, religious leader, and scholar (see https://archive.org/details/americanjewishye5682adle/page/n6).

An article published in *The Philadelphia Inquirer* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania), on July 29, 1907, Page 2, gives a broader picture of Schiff's vision:

AMERICA PROMISED LAND OF THE JEW

Banker Jacob Schiff Makes Telling
Address to Big Chautauqua Society

Speaks of Visions of Coming Days and
Declares New Arrivals Must Scatter

Special to The Inquirer.

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., July 28. – Earnest with his theme, positive in his belief, Jacob Schiff, banker and philanthropist of New York, uttered a declaration before the Jewish Chautauqua at its closing session today, which from the spontaneous response with which it was received by the great assembly of leaders of his race, showed that he had echoed the sentiment in their hearts.

"The hope of the restoration of the Jewish nation in Palestine was not the guiding star of Israel's ambition," he said: "The promised land of the Jew it seems to me is America."

"It is in this free land that the Jew drew his inspiration for higher citizenship," he continued, and again did the throngs lend emphasis to his assertion with applause.

He sounded a note of warning to the Jewish people in regard to the evils of tenement house crowding in the great cities and advocated a dispersion of the Jews through the South and West, or he fervently said, as he paused to lend telling effect to his remark:

"Israel would become a curse instead of a blessing to this Nation." He said that a remedy must be found for the overcrowding in the cities and declared his conviction that there must be a scattering of the foreigners if they are not to become a menace to the Nation, and such a condition will be reached when this industrial activity comes to an end, which he hoped would not come for a long time. Whether Jew or Gentile, this tide of immigrants must be diverted into the territory which needs them and where they can found homes and become merged into the Nation as "respected and happy and prosperous industrial units.

Vision of Coming Days

"As I stand before you," said Mr. Schiff, "there arises before me a vision of coming days – the dream of the American Israel of the future, of a generation not yet born, the children's children of the men and women who in this generation have come from all parts of the globe to the blessed shores

– of the thousand who come to free themselves from persecution, oppression, abridged civil rights and limited liberty. The vision which presents itself to me shows me a people of our faith, who have thrown off the shackles, the peculiarities and the prejudices which have handicapped their fathers – a great host, Jews in faith, but in one sentiment with their surroundings, warmly attached to their country, of which they have become part and parcel – a people among the best in the land, proud of their American citizenship, thoroughly imbued with its spirit, with its obligations, with its high privileges, but just as proud of their religion – almost a new type – these descendants of Jewish Pilgrim Fathers, true Americans of the Jewish faith.

"We owe it to ourselves and to those who come after us that we imbue our offspring with the love for our faith our fathers have implanted in us; that we demonstrate to them the beauty of our religion, the moral strength it imparts under all conditions; that we impress upon them the meaning of our faith, not alone to its adherents, but with the value of its teachings to all mankind; that we teach it to our children in the word of the Lawgiver: "When we sit in our houses, when we go on our way, when we rise in the morning and we lie down at night.' Because of the duty of the Jew, thus conceived, we should give our entire support to the Chautauqua, for no other agency is so well adapted to aid in bringing about the Jewish revival which is needed and can so well assure the maintenance of our faith, of its traditions and its spirit throughout the land, and more especially in the small communities now springing up everywhere, in which opportunities for Jewish life and learning are often wanting.

Not Zionism

"Not Zionism, a movement impractical if realization, should be needed to arouse our conscience as Jews; better that we recognize our duty to the Jewish educational institutions, of which I aver the Jewish Chautauqua can be and should be made on of the most efficient agencies. Rapidly the Jewish population of this country is increasing. Before long the newcomers are certain to seek better homes and wider quarters and wider quarters in the great and attractive territory which stretches from the Gulf to our northern boundary, from the Mississippi to the Pacific. Today not quite two millions, at not a distant day double that number are certain to comprise an American population of a Jewish faith. Today looked upon as a foreign element, in times to come, an integral part of a race of Americans yet in the making. Today students, tomorrow teachers; today pilgrims; tomorrow patriots. This is the vision, present, which passes before my eyes. My prayer, my hope, aye, my conviction is, that in due time it becomes a reality."

Thanks were voted to Mr. Schiff and while he was yet still in the hall a compliment was paid him by the adoption of a unanimous vote that 50,000 copies of the address be printed and distributed among the Jews. A fund was raised to carry out the resolution after the meeting closed.

"We should meet in some other place with an atmosphere of less gayety," said Secretary Charles e. Fox, of Philadelphia, after reading his report showing the expansion of the Chautauqua. "We need some place where study should not be subordinated to amusement." The suggestion was referred to

the Executive Committee and the next session may go to Chautauqua, N. Y.

Officers Elected

Officers were elected as follows: Chancellor, Rev. Dr. Henry Berkowitz, Philadelphia; president, George W. Ochs, Philadelphia; vice president, Israel Cowen, Chicago; treasurer, Frank Newberger, Philadelphia; secretary and director, Charles E. Fox, Philadelphia; field secretary, Miss Jeanette M. Goldberg, Galveston, Tex.; honorary vice presidents, Adolph S. Ochs, Milton Goldsmith, New York; Albert Hessberg, Albany, N. Y.; Mrs. Jacob H. Hecht, Boston; Max Senior, Cincinnati; Mrs. S. L. Frank, Baltimore; Mrs. August S. Frank, St. Louis; Rev. Dr. I. L. Leucht, New Orleans; Mrs. S. Lesser, Augusta, Ga.; N. Washer, San Antonio, Tex.; William J. Berkowitz, Kansas City, Mo.; Mrs. George Galland, Wilkes-Barre; Abraham Thalmier, Hartford, Conn.; Rev. Dr. William S. Friedman, Denver, Col.; Rabbi Samuel Koch, Seattle, Wash.; Edward Richard, Mobile.

It was shown by the report of Frank Newburger, the treasurer, that the expenses of the Chautauqua work last year was $7346, of which $1698 was for the traveling expenses of the field secretary and the balance for text books and incidentals. There is a balance of $1400.

Aubrey Herbert had made mention of a man named Karasso. Emanuel Karasso Efendi (1862-1934). Was a Sephardic Jew and one of the first non-Muslim members of the Ottoman Freedom Society, which later became part of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP). Karasu was the Grand Master the Italian "Mecedonia Resurrected" Masonic lodge in Thessaloniki, which many of the Young Turks were members.[104] He was a leading force in establishing "Maşrık-ı Azamı Osmani" (Ottoman Grand Orient), the first Masonic Grand Lodge of Turkey, of which Talaat Pasha was elected Grand Master on August 1, 1909.[105]



Emanuel Karasso Efendi

When Sultan Abdul Hamid II was deposed by the Young Turks in April of 1909, Karasso was among the delegation demanding that the Sultan step down. He would later become the Salonica deputy in the Ottoman parliament.[106]

104 David Livingstone, "Black Terror White Soldiers", (Sanililah Publications, ISBN-13: 978-1481226509, 2013), P. 241

105 http://www.mason.org.tr/en_history.htm

106 Ahsene Gül Tokay, "Macedonian Reforms and Muslim Opposition during the Hamidian Era: 1878–1908", *Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations* **14**:1 (2003)

Karasso was also a leader of the European affiliate of the B'nai B'rith International, a Jewish fraternal organization founded in New York in 1843, having moral, philanthropic, social, educational, and political aims, as well as The Alliance Israélite Universelle (Heb. לְאָרְשִׁי לְכָל־חי״יכ מיִרבָּח "All Israel are comrades"). U.S. Ambassador Henry Morganthau[107] and Jacob H. Schiff[108] were also members of B'nai B'rith International and The Alliance Israélite Universelle.



Delegation of the Ottoman parliament to depose Abdul Hamid II. Left to right: Rearadmiral Arif Hikmet Pasha, Emanuel Karasu Efendi (Carasso), Esad Pasha Toptani, Aram Efendi and Colonel Galip Bey (Pasiner), April 27, 1909.

107 Jewish Activities in the United States, Volume II of The International Jew, "…articles appearing in The Dearborn Independent from Oct. 9, 1920 to March 19, 1921; 'Jewish Rights' to Put Studies Out of Schools", (Dearborn, Mich., The Dearborn Publishing Company, April 1921), P. 174

108 The American Jewish Year Book 5663, October 2, 1902 to September 21, 1903, "National Organizations", (Baltimore, MD, The Jewish Publication Society of America, The Lord Baltimore Press, The Friedenwald Company, 1902), P. 88

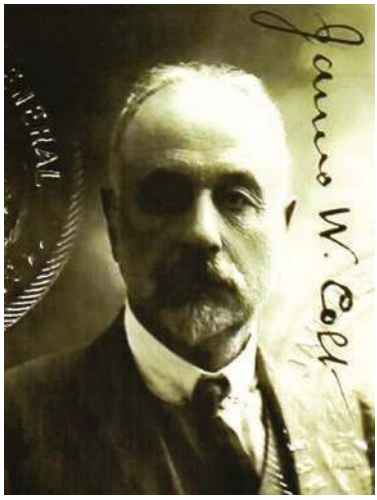
Chapter 30

The Colt Memos and Letter

"I feel confident that if the railroad had been constructed in the years immediately following the war by combined American, English and French capital as contemplated by Mr. Harjes and me and with the support of those three government that this whole Armenian massacre might have been avoided" – James W. Colt

As the previous chapters make it apparent, James Wood Colt, who worked for the investment bankers of J.P. Morgan and Jacob H. Schiff, has aided in the theft of their lands by the West and shares a responsibility for some of the most harmful deeds done against the Armenian people and.

When Colt died at the age of 83 years old, the *The Livingston Republican* (Geneseo, Livingston County, New York) wrote about his passing on February 20, 1941.



James W. Colt - Passport photo 1921

JAMES WOOD COLT, PROMINENT GENESEOAN,
SUCCUMBS TO ILLNESS

James Wood; Colt, 83, died in his home at 45 Center Street, early Monday morning after a brief illness.

Mr. Colt was born in Geneseo and at the age of 21 left for the West where he settled in St. Paul Minn., and became a partner in the contacting firm of Shepherd Seims & Co. While associated with his firm Mr. Colt played an active part in the rail road construction activities in that section having portions of the Great Northern, Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul and Pacific; and Northern Pacific Railroads under his direct charge. Later, in association with A. B. Stickney, he directed the building of portions of what is now know as the Chicago, Great Western Railroad. And still later as Vice President of Mac-Arthur Brothers, New York and Chicago contractors, he directed construction of the parts of, Western Maryland Railroad.

In 1909 Mr. Colt became associated with Admiral Colby M. Chester in a project for the construction of a railroad between Constantinople, Turkey, through Asia Minor to Bagdad. Mr. Colt spent two years in Turkey, laying

out the line of the and negotiating for what became known as the Chester Concession. The Turkish Government rejected the plan in 1911, but later adopted it in a modified form, although it has never been carried but.

Returning to New York, Mr. Colt again became associated with Mac-Arthur Brothers and over a period of 15 years he was active in the contracting field in the United states and Europe.

In addition to his business activities Mr. Colt was interested in horses and between 1890 and 1910 his steeplechase horses were among the best known on the American turf. Three times his horses won the American Grand National, the leading steeplechase in the United States. He also owned and raced horses in England and Frances. Mr. Colt was deeply interested in fox hunting and for many years was active in the Genesee Valley Hunt.

His son, James W. Colt, Jr., was also well known in hunting and polo circles having attained membership on the Hurricanes, international polo team, in 1931 at the time of his death in a polo accident.

Surviving Mr. Colt are his widow, Mrs. Frances Bacon Colt, daughters, Mrs. Sylvia colt of Geneseo and Mrs. Howard V. Shattuck, New York City; two sons, Henry F. Colt, Brookline, Mass., and Charles C. Colt, New York City, and 18 grandchildren.

Funeral services were conducted at 12 o'clock noon Wednesday in St. Michael's Episcopal Church, Rev. Milton A. Huggett, pastor.

Within the Colt archive which is housed at the River Campus Library of the University of Rochester, there were four memoranda written by Colt regarding his work in the Ottoman Empire, which, I believe, indicate who may have created furtile ground for the Armenian Genocide to take place. Most of the memoranda are not dated, therefore I have put them in the order, in which I think they were written:

FIRST DOCUMENT

Last week I read as an item of news that the Anglos-Persian Oil Company has decided to build almost immediately the pipe line connecting the Iraq (Mosul) Oil field with the Mediterreranean [sic] Sea.

This brought back vividly to my recollection the incidence of 1910-11 and 1912 which occurred prior to the abandonment of the Turkish concession by the group which I represented and the fact that this concession among other values, included these identical oil fields of Mosul.

Upon my reutnr [sic] from Turkey in 1910 and again in 1911 I reported to my directors that the Arghana Maden Mine alone was proably [sic] worth twice the entire cost of the railroad and that the oil fields were of inestimable value. I was unable however to persuade the monied men connected with the enterprise to do the things necessary to conclude the business with the Turkish government and upon their insistence the cautionment was withdrawn early in 1912. About this time however Mr. Herman Harjes of Paris came to New York and expressed a desire to know the exact status of the enterprise and after several interviews he agreed that upon his return to Paris he would send John Ridgely Carter to Constantinople to discuss with the then Turkish Government the modifications desired by us in the concession and the possibility of obtaining it under such modified terms the principal one of the these being that the government should guarantee one half the series of the bonds until such time as the railroad should earn the entire amount of such service. Three months

later I heard from My. Harjes that Carter had been to Constantinople and obtained the assurance of the competent authorities that the concession would be granted at our request and upon the terms stated above and asking me to come at once to Paris with proxies of all the stock and full authority to act. I at once complied with Mr. Harjes request but upon arrival there found that his senior partner Mr. J.P. Morgan had arrived unexpectedly from Rome and upon learning of the business in hand, had forbidden him, Harjes, to proceed further in the matter and so in August 1912 it was definitely abandoned.

Had the monied interests orifinally [sic] connected with the enterprise appreciated the value of the mineral and oil deposits granted by the Turkish government under the concession or had Mr J.P. Morgan, Sr. two years later understood the possibilities of these mineral deposits the group which I represented would now be the owners of these tremendous oil reserves and would be building themselves or in connection with some oil company like the Shell this same pipe line which it is estimated will deliver sufficient oil in the Mediterrenaen [sic] to supply most of the needs of the Near and the Far East.

Armenia

The principal part of the railway contemplated was located in the ancient kingdom of Armenia which after the World War was practically depopulated by the Turks and has become largely unproductive abandoned by its agricultural inhabitants. I feel confident that if the railroad had been constructed in the years immediately following the war by combined American, English and French capital as contemplated by Mr. Harjes and me and with the support of those three government that this whole Armenian massacre might have been avoided; that the country might have been devloped [sic] tremendously agriculturally and that the lives of over two millions industrious and innocent people would probably have been spared to continue their useful avocations in their native homes.

SECOND DOCUMENT

For something over a year past, the Ottoman-American Development Company has carried on negotiations with the Turkish Government for a Railway concession carrying with it the rights to all the mines, known or known, not heretofore granted to third parties, located within a distance of twenty kilometers to the right and twenty kilometers to the left of said railway, the terminal of this system to be fixed at or near the mouth of the Orentes River (the ancient port of Anioch) ahd [sic] the line to extend through the city of Aleppo to a crossing of the Euphrates River at or near Biredjik and to the city of Diarbekir where it joins a second line extending from Sivas, through the city of Harpout, to Diarbekir, and so on to the city of Bitlas and the Lake Van, with a third line extending from a junction point at some convenient location between the cities of Diarbekir and Bitlas to the cities of Mossoul, Kerkook, and Suleymanie, the latter of which is quite near to the Persian boundary. The total length of these lines approximates 1800 kilometers.

At the Sivas terminal, this system will connect with the railway which the Government intends immediately to build between Samsoun and Sivas and by this route make direct connection with the Black Sea. The concession carries with it the right of option to make surveys and geological examination of the regions traversed by the railway in contomplantion [sic], extending over a period of sixteen months from the date of its ratification by parliament and if at the end of this period the concessionaire shall decide not to accept the concession nor to build the railway, it can then withdraw its proposition, giving to the Government the result of its surveys and geological and mineralogical investigations.

During the session of the last parliament, all details were agreed upon with the

Ministry of Public Works, the concession and option were ratified by the General Staff and the Council of State, and were considered by the Council of Ministers and approved by a majority of that body, but owing to objection on the part of the Grand Visier, did not come before the parliament for discussion and ratification. In one or more interviews with members of the Committee of Public Works in parliament, nearly all of which committee is favorable to the granting of this concession to the American group, the Grand Visier has expressed himself as objecting to the concession in its present form because of its giving what he termed rights of monopoly in the mines located withing the zone of the railway, and has said that he would favor the substitution of a kilometric guarantee, similar in form to that given to the German road, and the mines now the property of the Government and such other mines as the Ottoman-American Development Company might itself discover and locate in conformity with the present mining law. From conversations held with the different members of the Committee of Public Works in parliament and with certain leaders of the party of Union and Progress in the House, the agents of the syndicate in Constantinople have become convinced that this proposition of the Grand Visier will meet the approval of the committee and of the majority in the parliament and that when the matter comes up for discussion in parliament at its approaching session, it may be possible to substitute the proposition of the Grand Visier as outlined above for that of the Development Company.

There are certain other minor changes in the terms of the concession desired by the Development Company which the Committee are prepared to discuss and which will undoubtedly be obtained. It is probable, however, that should a kilometric guarantee be given, the optional clause will be withdrawn from the concession and the Development Company will be asked to proceed at once with the construction of the railway. After the adjournment of parliament, two representatives of the Development Company made a hasty reconnaissance of that part of the line between Sivas and the city of Van passing by the way of Divrik, Arabkir, Harpout, Arghana Marden, Diarbekir, Zoch, Bitlas and the south shore of Lake Van, and have reported to the Development Company the results of this hasty examination.

About forty percent of the line is heavy work and the balance can be located in the plains of Harpout and Diarbeker and the valleys leading thereto. These valleys and plains are fertile and produce excellent crops, taking into consideration the antiquated methods employed in their cultivation. The harvest this year, in the vilayets traversed, was fifty percent in excess of the year preceding, and given means for transporting the surplus crop to market, this production might be multiplied several times. The flocks and herds were found in excellent condition and a good business might be expected in transporting their increase to market. The inhabitants are industrious, self-respecting and self-sustaining; there is very little begging and no absolute want was observed. The cities of Harpout, Diarbekir and Sivas were found unexpectedly clean, busy places, well governed and with no evidence of the liability to cholera and typhoid, which the average European expects to find in an oriental city. Diarbekir especially is a most interesting place and might readily become a Mecca for artists and antiquaries. No search for minerals was made beyond observation of the country directly along the line of march and no new mines were discovered. A somewhat hasty examination was made of the copper mines of Arghana from which, and from other data, which has been obtained, it appears that this mine is of great value; and the very rapid inspection of the immediate locality convinced the Engineer of the party that other large copper deposits, possibly of lower grade, exist in in the immediate neighborhood.

The abandoned workings of an iron mine close to Lake Van were examined and the ore upon anaylsis [sic] proved quite valuable, but owing to the caving in of the works and the lack of time, no estimate of quantity could be made at this time. All the indications, however, point to a very large deposit in this locality. No good coal was

found along the line examined. It was impossible, during the time at command, to examine that part of the line extending toward Mossoul and Suleymanie, but authentic reports on this region lead one to believe that there are large deposits of Petroleum in the neighborhood of Mossoul and Kirkouk which in the event of no discovery of coal along the line of railway could eventually be employed as fuel for the moving of its trains.

The statistics of the last census and the more recent statistics of the vilayets indicate a population in these regions of thirty to the square mile and this population, taken in connection with the volume of the imports and exports would convince one that the railway, when built, should at least earn operating expenses from its opening without taking into consideration the increase in agricultural and existing activities which is sure to follow the completion of such an important public work and without counting the traffic which would be furnished by the development of mines and such new industries as are sure to spring up along the line of the railway and its branches.

The writer has in mind especially the business which would be furnished by the mines at Arghana and at Lake Van and the possibilities of a great beet sugar industry in the Mousch valley. There is also a probability that upon the completion of this line to Lake Van all the pilgrim traffic to Jerusalem and Mecca from Persia, Russia and Eastern Turkey would choose this route instead of the more tedius [sic] voyage by the Black Sea and this business would add materially to the income of the railway.

The Development Company has fulfilled all of the requirements of the Government in regard to the deposit of caution money and to the form of its proposal so that no other proposition for this system of railways can be considered until that of the Development Company has been submitted to the parliament and there discussed and either rejected or accepted. It has further received assurances from the leaders of the party in power that its proposal shall be forwarded promptly and passed upon during the first half of the approaching session.

J.W. Colt [signed]

THIRD DOCUMENT

Memoir, James W. Colt

Immediately following the failure of the Turkish Parliament to approve the Ottoman American concession I left Constantinople with my family and returned to the United States. We rented a house in Englewood, New Jersey sent the boys to public school and I was retained by the MacArthur Company as business negotiator and was made President of the Ottoman American Development Company in order to keep that company alive. Early in the winter of 1911-12 I was summoned to the Morgan Bank to meet Mr. Herrman Harjes [sic] the active head of the Paris house. Mr. Lamont presented me and Mr. Harjes evidenced a certain interest in our situation vis a vis to the Turkish Government and asked me to state the matter to him briefly which I did. He then told me that former Ambassador to Constantinople, John Ridgely Carter, who had recently joined their house had suggested that he discuss this matter with me and that upon his return to Paris he would consider with Carter what might be done if anything and that Mr. Lamont would keep me advised. Later in the winter or early spring I learned from Mr. Lamont that Harjes has sent Carter to Constantinople where he had conferred with Talaat and the other members of the Government and had received assurance that the concession would be ratified by parliament in terms modified to suit our wishes provided the Morgan House would assume its financing and that Harjes had the matter under consideration. In May or early June I was sent for by Mr. Lamont who gave me a copy of cable from Harjes saying in substance that he was prepared to go forward with the Turkish business provided I would come over at once with proxies for all the stock assigned to me [sic] him. With some difficulty I

obtained these proxies and sailed about the 10th. of June called on Harjes the morning after my arrival in Paris only to be told that during the week occupied by my voyage he had conferred with Mr. J.P. Morgan, Sr. and that Mr. Morgan had forbidden him to undertake the business. Harjes was most apologetic and charming as always, but firm and so went glimmering my dreams of Arghana Marden and the Mesopotamians Oil fields. all [sic] of which many other valuable rights were included in the grants given to us by the concession. These oil fields are now the property of the Anglo Persian Oil Company acquired just after the great War.

FOURTH DOCUMENT

I have recent come from Russia, where I spent nearly a year in certain investigations of her resources and possibilities, saw the commencement of of the revolution in March, and the maximilist riots in July, and talked frequently with members of the two Commissions sent out by our Government, and especially with the members of the Railway Commission (several of whom, including the Chairman, Mr. Stevens, I have known for many years). I am convinced that we made a blunder in Russia, and that our present policy of what I might call aloofness is a great mistake. While this policy is the logical sequence to our initial error, it will, if persevered in, result in the most serious consequences to us and our Allies.

When our Commission reached Petrograd, they were met by insistent requests for money and many other necessities, such as : railway equipment, food, etc., and, to practically all these requests they acceded in full; granting among other things, large credits for the purchase of goods in America, and also agreeing to give Russian orders for railway cars, to the number of 40,000, and for locomotives to the number of 2500, preference over those of our own people already placed with our factories: and all this without a semblance of a return to us, merely to help on the new democracy and aid in the prosecution of the war.

This was our first blunder. The Oriental does not understand disinterestedness, and undervalues anything which costs him nothing. He rather scorns his benefactor as a soft sort of a fool whom he has let in. He looks always for the motive, and usually hits upon some explanation so grotesque as to seem unbelievable to us.

In exchange for our assistance, we should have asked and obtained the control and direction of the Russian railways, and of the mines supplying the same with coal and metal, and the direction of her food distribution. At present, her railways function to about 33% of their normal, her mines to about 25%, and her populated centres arennearing [sic] starvation because of her inability to distribute food to her people. I make this statement wittingly as result of an investigation into the grain resources of Russia, undertaken by my Company in association with Stahaef & Co. (a great Russian grain firm, having 900 Agencies) and the Armours of Chicago and others, conducted by experts, selected and sent out by the Armour Firm,. who reported more grain in Russia than in America today: in one district alone, where the average export for the last ten years is 100 million pouds, only 18 million pouds of the 1916 crop have been exported. (A poud is 36 English pounds, or roughly one half bushel).

At the same time, I was intimately conversant with a second investigation made by American associated interests into the steel, iron and coal industries and resources of Russia; and I was told by the Engineer in charge thereof, merely as an instance of what might be done, that one mettallurgical [sic] work on the Sea of Azof and not more than 150 miles from coal, could, if given a train-load a day, turn out a train of freight-cars each day; but they were unable to get the coal with which to start this ceaseless output of railway equipment.

It results from this that, of the 40,000 railway cars promised Russia by us, 10,000 can be produced by one Works within one year, or probably before we can transport

that number from America.

Note - The Engineer in charge of this investigation was Mr. Kneeland, former Chief Engineer of the U.S. Steel Corporation, who returned to New York in July last.

Before the arrival in Russia of Mr. Stevens and Commission, and at the request of the Railway Minister and the U.S. Military Attache, I made an investigation of the Mourman Road, then under construction, which connects Petrograd with the open sea to the North, in order to be able to report to Stevens on his arrival the situation in that quarter. The persons in charge of that construction were making demands for additional rolling stock and for food from America, but I found that the engines and cars then on the road were sufficient in number for the completion of the work before winter; much of this equipment was in need of repairs and none of it was functioning to capacity, but that was simply a question of orgainzation [sic]. As to food, I was told by the Purchasing Agent of the road at Archangel that he could get all the cattle and hay necessary if the Ministrev of Agriculture [sic] would keep "hands off", and, as I have stated above, there is plenty of grain in Russia. My conclusions in these matters, affecting the Mourman Road, were afterwards confirmed by Darling, of Steven's Commission, who subsequently went over the road with a mixed Commission of English, French and Russians. I have said above that our initial blunder was in giving Russia something for nothing: our second, and more serious one, consists in continuing that policy so far as material things go, and leaving her without the moral and administrative help she so much needs. Russia is a sick man in delirium, and must have skilled aid, even if it were necessary to force it upon her, and we still have the means of imposing our will upon her, for we have as yet made only trifling deliveries of the goods ordered on the strength of our credit; and, in view of occurrences subsequent to these arrangements, and the general disorganization of everything in Russia, we can with perfect consistency refuse to go further until and unless we are given absolute control of the channels of distribution and the sources of supply. I believe that an offer from us to do this would be hailed with joy by all the better elements in Russia, who comprise 85% of the population, and by the responsible Leaders of every party - except the Bolcheviks. I do not mean a Commission of theorists to go over and talk, but 15 or 20 thousand workingmen, who will go over there and do the trick themselves. They may be all men over military age, but enlisted for the way for the sake of convenience and discipline, and they should be led by some great national figure with a genius for organization, like Roosevelt, whose motives and aim are beyond question. I would joyfully accept service in such an organization under such a Leader, and I believe that tens of thousands of competent Americans would volunteer for this service, especially if they are informed as to the importance of this question, both in its bearing upon the final result of the way, and upon the burning question of ocean transportation.

10 - As to its bearing upon the final result of the war: A proper organization of the resources and transport service of Russia will feed the population, keep them quiet, and relieve the Army and Government Leaders of these harrassing [sic] details, and enable them to reorganize the Army ad make an effective opposition to the further penetration of the Germans in the the country: We might be able to co-operate and assist in this reorganization, and we would certainly obtain the assistance of the Orthodix Church in the propaganda which we should institute against the Bolcheviks and other German sympathisers [sic]. If this is not done, and the Army, through lack of supplies and intelligent reorganization, is allowed to disintigrate [sic] and melt away, the Germans will become possessed of the rich mineral and coal deposits of the Donets Basin, and of the Wheat and Grain-lands of the "Black Coutnry". They will draw upon Russia for forced labour, and possibly for soldiers, and they will be able to continue the war indifinitely [sic]. America can never throw into the scale enough men and food to offset what Germany will obtain from Russia once the back-door is open. To my mind, the

disaster in Italy is a bagatelle as compared with the calamity of opening the Russian border to Germany, for Italy has nothing to give Germany - Russia has everything.

20 - As to its effect upon ocean transportation:

We are straining every nerve to move a million men and their equipment, food, etc., to France, to keep their numbers good, and at the same time we are under contract to transport to Vladivostok large quantities of food, railway equipment, etc., for Russia. the transfer to Russia of 20 or 30 thousand competent men, for the purposes outlined above, would release us from the major part of our transport obligation to her, and leave the shipping necessary to carry it out free for service on the Atlantic in transporting troops to France. Would release it, because we would build the cars in Russia and find and distribute the food now there. And, further, the few ships new employed in this service to Russia - via the Pacific - would run no risk from submarines and could load back with rice from China or from Vladivistok (I am told there are 50 thousand tons of rice at this port).

In order to realize the program which I have roughly outlined, we (Americans) must have the enthusiastic support of our European Allies, who undoubtedly realize the gravity of the situation in Russia, and would welcome any reasonable proposal looking to its amelioration. I feel that the matter should be at once discussed in the proper quarters, but without publicity, and every effort made to send effective help to Russia. But I insist that there should be no talk about it until it be un fait accompli.

(Signed) J. W. Colt.
Paris, Nov. 16th, 1917

Chapter 31

Theodore Roosevelt Letters

When retired U.S. Navy Rear Admiral Colby M. Chester, retired, confessed to his crimes against humanity and the Armenian people, he implicated United States President, Theodore Roosevelt, as an accomplice.

At the time of his confession, President Roosevelt had been dead for over four years and could not defend his good name. For this reason, one must ponder this question: Did President Roosevelt have anything to do with this crime against the Armenian people for the sake of minerals found on Armenian inhabited lands?

President Roosevelt had a long history of sympathizing with the plight of the Armenian people going back at least to the Adana massacres of 1909.

To try to find answers to the question of Roosevelt's innocence, I paid a visit to the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., to search for evidence. Within the Theodore Roosevelt papers, a collection of almost anything you would want to know about Roosevelt on a person and professional level, I found letters that were written to him before, during and after he served as the 26th United States President (1901-1909).

The most famous of the Roosevelt letters that has been written about by Armenians is the May 11,1918 letter from Roosevelt to Woodrow Wilson's advisor and financer, Cleveland H. Dodge (1860-1926), where Roosevelt is clearly stating that the Armenians need U.S. intervention. This letter was in fact a response to Dodge, who was against such an intervention. The following is Dodge's letter, which will be followed by the famous May 11, 1918 response:

May 6, 1918.

Hon. Theodore Roosevelt,

Oyster Bay, L. I.

My dear Theodore:

I have felt, for some time, that I ought to see you and have a good talk with you about conditions in Turkey, and I said to Mr. Perkins yesterday to see if we could arrange for some time to meet this week. He has

just telephoned me of your kind suggestion that we lunch together a week from next Saturday, but hardly feel as if I can wait as long as that to unburden my mind.

I suppose I am somewhat biased in my feelings about Turkey, from the fact that six members of my immediate family are there. My son, Bayard, and his wife,-who is the daughter of Howard Bliss,-and their two babies, in Beirut; and my daughter, Elisabeth, and her husband, at Robert College, Constantinople. My interest in these two great American educational institutions, which have had such a marked influence in the Near East, is an inherited one, but I have become intensely interested not only in the college at Beirut and Robert Collage, but also in the great college in Smyrna, and the other missionary and educational institutions throughout Asia Minor. The great influence to Robert College in Bulgaria you probably know about. Nearly all of the liberal leaders in Bulgaria are graduates of Robert College, and were strongly opposed to Bulgaria joining with Germany and Austria in the War. The pro-German party, led by Emperor Ferdinand, precipitated the war in spite of all the liberal elements in the country, and all the news which I get from Bulgaria indicates that the people are sick of the war, and are afraid of getting into the grip of Germany and that Bulgarian army is not fighting outside of its own border. The State Department has received positive evidence that none of the Bulgarian trips are fighting on the Western front. I can, however, sympathize with you and the others who advocate a declaration of war against both Bulgaria and Turkey. IT certainly seems anomalous that we should not be at war with all of the countries with which our Allies are at war; but, nevertheless, I feel very strongly that in case of both Bulgaria and Turkey, we can be of greater assistance to the Allied cause by keeping on nominally friendly terms with Bulgaria and Turkey, because the work of our missionaries and educational leader in both countries are having an enormous influence in offsetting the strong German propaganda. I have recently read a repot from Mr. Heck, who was First Secretary to Mr. Elkus, and who remained in Constantinople until January fifth of this year, to aid Swedish Minister, who took over our affairs there, and he reports that the Turks hat the Germans, and are mortally afraid of getting into their grip in the future. The Turkish authorities are treating the American and all our institutions there with great consideration, and the work of the college has gone on without interruption. At Beirut there are more students than there are at Oxford and Cambridge combined, and we have nearly five hundred students at Robert College. It is estimated that the value of property owned by these colleges and the different missionary societies in the Turkish Empire, would amount to about twenty million dollars. Of course a declaration of war against Turkey would turn all these properties n to the hands of the Turks, and practically into the hands of the Germans, and all the splendid influences which are being exerted by the Americans would be completely lost. The hundreds of noble American men and woman who have been doing such heroic services in relieving the misery of the Armenians and Syrians and Greeks, and all the Staffs of the different colleges, would either be interned or suffer serious danger. Nevertheless, we all feel that if there was any real reason for our declaring war against turkey, we would sacrifice all that we have been working for the last century. The

Greek Government which is apparently anxious that we should declare war against Bulgaria, fails to realize that if we declared war against Bulgaria, it would be almost necessary to have a war with Turkey also, and in that case the enormous Greek population on the Aegean Littoral would probably be annihilated, because the only thing which is saving them today from starvation is the work our Armenian & Syrian Relief Committee. And that bring me to the principal point in my letter.

The Armenian & Syrian Relief Committee was organized in my office two and one-half years ago, and has raised over ten millions of dollars for the relief of the Armenians and Syrians, and also of the Greeks in Asia Minor, and of Armenians and Assyrians who have fled to the Trans-Caucausus and Persia. This fund has been very ably managed and the distribution of relief has been entirely in the hands of the American missionaries. It is probable that more of the Armenians have been saved than we realize. Many who were reported lost in the various deportations have been scattered throughout the country in the small towns and villages, and the large number safely reached the Caucausus and Persia. Probably a million to a million and a half of the Armenian race are still alive, but they are kept alive only by work of our committee. The sufferings of these poor people have been on my heart and conscience for the last two and a half years, and it has been on of the greatest joys of my life to be able to do something to help them. It is hard to suppress one's indignation at the Turkish authorities who perpetrated the awful deeds which have been done, but it is undeniable that these were instigated, if not supported, by the Germans.

Now, it is absolutely certain, and there is no doubt in the minds of any of us who are in the situation, that the moment this country should get into the war with Turkey, the beautiful Christ-like work which is being done by our people would instantly stop, and just as secure as the sun arrives tomorrow morning will it be that within a comparatively few months, every man, woman and child of the Armenian race, who is today living in the Turkish Empire, will be dead, because all restraining influences will be removed from the Turkish Government, and all possible means of relief will be destroyed. As I think of the awful possibilities involved, I want to appeal to you with all my hear to reconsider the view which you have publicly expressed, and even if you cannot come to my view of this situation, at least to cease your efforts to bring this country into war with Bulgaria and Turkey, remembering that if we wen to war with Bulgaria, would have to go into war with Turkey, Also.

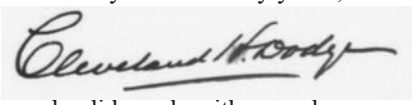
In this connection, I want to tell you that I have known intimately, for many years, Dr. Panaretoff, who is a Bulgarian Minister in Washington. He was one of the first graduates of Robert College, and almost the adopted son of old Dr. Washburn, who had the highest regard for him. Prior to his being appointed Minister here he was, for nearly thirty years, Professor in Robert College, and is thoroughly imbued with American ideas of Democracy. I now how seriously he deprecates the fact that Bulgaria entered the war on the side of Germany. He did all he could to oppose it, and poor man, lost his only don in one of the first battles in which Bulgaria was engaged. His wife is a charming American woman and all his sympathies, I can say confidentially,

are on the side of the Allies. He is, of course, in a very embarrassing and difficult situation, and feels terribly the accusation that he is a spy. I would vouch, with my life, that he has done nothing of that kind, and in fact, the poor man has no communication with his own country, and, as Mr. Lansing told Mr. Root and myself on Saturday, even if he wanted to be a spy he would find it impossible.

I have written a much longer letter than intended, but my heart is so full of this whole matter that I can hardly contain myself when I think of the awful horrors which would follow our declaration of war with Turkey.

I should like to very much to see you some day and have a good talk with you about the whole matter, but meanwhile hope you will consider my letter in the spirit in which I have written it, and believe me with warm regards to you all.

Cordially and sincerely yours,



P.S. Hearty congratulations on the splendid work with your boys are doing on the other side. My own sons, who is in the same regiment with young George Perkins, reached France safely last Friday, and I suppose will soon be in the fight.

A week later, Roosevelt responded:

May 11th, 1918.

My dear Cleve:

It is difficult for me to write you because of the very fact that six members of your immediate family are in Turkey. Now, my dear Cleve, kinsfolks of mine are in Germany. They are suffering at present from being there. My feeling has been from the beginning that they had no business to stay there. As regards Turkey my feeling is even stronger. I do not feel that any men should have permitted their wives and daughters to stay in Turkey since we have gone to war with Germany. Indeed, my feeling is that form the time of the sinking of the Lueitania every American in Germany, Austria, Bulgaria or Turkey should have proceeded on the assumption that ultimately this country would go to war with those four embodiments of satanic policies on this globe at this time, and should have governed himself accordingly. Any Americans in Turkey who now suffer will suffer purely from their own fault; and if they plead their presence in Turkey, after the ample warning they have had, as a reason why this nation should not do its duty, they are guilty of grave moral

dereliction.

I entirely agree with all that you say about Robert College and Beirut Collage in the past. I have no doubt that you are right when you say that there are Bulgarians and Turks (a few!) who are opposed to what their two countries have done joining Germany. There were Germans and Austrians who felt the same way. But all these men have proven utterly powerless to influence the policies of their countries. They are entitled to no consideration from s in shaping our international policy. It is a good deal worse than silly for us to repeat the worse than silly mistake of those Englishmen who kept insisting that there were Turks and Bulgarians who loved England, and so that England ought not to make active war on Turkey and Bulgaria. I do not for one moment believe that any effective body of Turkish opinion is against Germany, save as it is against all Christians – even against the Christians that let them massacre other Christians. There has been no sign whatever of the existence of any such body of effective opposition to Germany. Foolish person in England kept insisting on its existence, and did much damage by their insistence. In Turkey public opinion is nil and the people always obey any effective executive force, and obey nothing else. The surest way to strengthen the German hold on Turkey is to give the impression that the Allies are in any way divided. The perpetuation of Turkish rule is the perpetuation of infamy, and to perpetuate it on the theory that there are large numbers of Turks who have fine feelings by who never make those feelings in any way manifest, in an absurdity. If Robert and Beirut Colleges are used as props for the Turkish infamy and if they exert directly or indirectly any influence to keep the country from going to war with Turkey, they will more than counter-balance the good they have done in the past, and will make themselves by-words of derision for the future.

So far from "being of assistance to the Allied cause by keeping on nominal terms of friendliness with Bulgaria and Turkey", I am convinced we are of the very greatest damage to the Allied cause by so doing. Moreover, I feel that we are guilty of a peculiarly odious form of hypocrisy when we profess friendship for Armenia and the downtrodden races of Turkey, but don't go to war with Turkey. To allow the Turks to massacre the Americans and then solicit permission to help the survivors, and then to allege the fact that we are helping the survivors as a reason why we should not follow the only policy that will permanently put a stop to such massacres is both foolish and odious.

I have a most interesting letter on the subject from Einstein, formerly with our Embassy in Turkey. I will send it to you by George Perkins. Some suffering would be caused if we went to war with Turkey, just as some suffering was caused when we went to war with Germany. But the Americans now would suffer only as the English and French suffered three years ago, when their nations were doing their duty, and ours was shirking its duty. We have no business to expect the allies to do the fighting which alone will accomplish anything permanent while we play the utterly ignoble part of being neutral and hoping that somehow or other we can thereby both save our own skins and also accomplish something. The arguments advanced against our going to

war with Turkey are on a par with those formerly advanced against our going to war with Germany and then with Austria; only they are not quite as good. The Armenian horror is an accomplished fact. Its occurrence was largely due to the policy of pacifism this nation has followed for the last four years. The presence of our missionaries, and our failure to go to war, did not prevent the Turks from massacring between half a million and a million Armenians, Syrians, Greeks and Jews - the overwhelmingly majority being Armenians. Our declaration of war now will certainly not do one one-hundredth part of the damage already done by our failure to go to war in the past; and it will enable us to render service of permanent value for the future, and incidentally to take another step in regaining our self-respect.

We should go to war because not to do so is really to show bad faith towards our allies, and to help Germany; because the Armenian massacre was the greatest crime of the war, and failure to act against Turkey is to condone it; because the failure to deal radically with the Turkish horror means that all talk of guaranteeing the future peace of the world is mischievous nonsense; and because when we now refuse to war with Turkey we show that our announcement that we meant "to make the world safe for democracy" was insincere claptrap.

With regret, my dear Cleve, that I must so radically and so fundamentally disagree with you, I am

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Cleveland H. Dodge,
99 John Street,
New York City.

Dodge acknowledged receipt of the letter from Roosevelt a couple of week later:

May 20, 1918.

Hon. Theodore Roosevelt,
347 Madison Avenue,
New York City.

My dear Theodore:

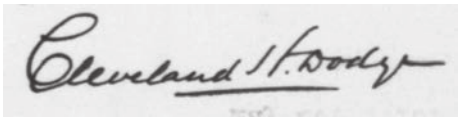
I want to tell you how much I appreciate your taking so much time to give your full views regarding the Turkish situation. I hardly think it would accomplish anything for us to continue the discussion any longer, but I must say one thing in reference to the remark you made regarding my family staying in Turkey. I think if you and your children had been situated as I and my children have been during the last few years, that you of all men would have felt as I have, - that I would have been ashamed of my children if they

had not responded to what was a very definite and direct call to duty. If all of the Americans had left their work a year ago, I do not think we would have been proud of them. Even if I wanted to have them come back, they are of age, and I think would have decided for themselves.

Trusting that you will have an interesting and successful trip in the West, believe me with warn regards to all the family ,

Very sincerely,

CHD.C



A few weeks later Roosevelt received a letter written by a Captain Nushan Der Hagopian. I only found this letter as I was looking to see if Shahan Natalie had ever written to him when he was still legally known as Hagop Der Hagopian.

Captain Der Hagopian, originally from Harpout, Armenia (born 1883), had written to Roosevelt on June 12, 1918, asking for his help to protect the Armenian's who were in desperate need. Captain Der Hagopian wrote:

P.O.Box 35
Berkely
California.
June 12, 1918

Mr. Theodore Roosevelt
Ex-President, U.S.A.

Dear Sir:

I trust you will excuse the great liberty I am taking in writing to you; I have been wanting to do so for some time, but until this moment I have not had the courage to do so.

When we glance through history we find men such as Washington and Garribaldi who sacrificed their lives for the welfare of humanity; this is happening at the present momen. In the midst of this horrible war we need the courage of the heroes in history. At this very moment there are numberless men and woman who are conscientious and humane and who would help but for the fact that they lack the opportunity.

In 1909, during the Armenian massacres by the Turks in Adana, Asia Minor, your noble sympathy for our race stirred the hearts of the Armenian people. No doubt you are doing the same thing to-day, nor more, but it seems to me that, at this time, more definite action is needed than is being given. In the midst of this gigantic struggle of the Armenian nation the people are crying out for Washington or a Garribaldi–for a savior of their nation.

In the battlefield at the Caucasian front where I was an eye-witness in 1915, it was one hundred per cent worse than was represented in the press. It was inuman—unspeakable.

The international policy of Europe and Turkey is so damnable that we can not keep quiet: the conditions in Armenia are unspeakable. There are men who are plotting to influence our U.S. government not to declare war against Bulgaria or Turkey. How can we tolerate such conditions? Armenia to-day is crying out for help against her foes—it is urgently necessary to declare war upon Turkey for Armenia's sake and for the sake of the whole civilized world. Armenia is holding the gate of the East; if this gate falls to the Huns, the devil of Asia will be let loose upon India and it will be hard task for the Allies to finish the game.

From day to day a dispatch comes from the Georgian and Armenian forces at the Caucasian front, saying that they are holding back the Turkish hordes whilst massacres are a daily occurrence.

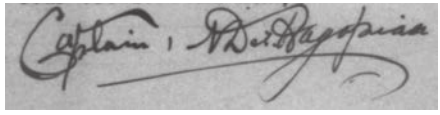
How long are these conditions to last? Drastic action should start at once. For this reason I wrote recently to Secretary Baker, explaining the facts and telling him that the Armenians in this country are willing to form a volunteer army if war against Turkey was declared. I was advised that the matter would be given special consideration, that it was put on official record, and further communication was promised. Finally I have decided to ask you to act as guide for us in this matter. We are willing to go and fight. Will you help us at this critical moment and be our Washington?

My suggestion to Sec. Baker was for the Armenians to join the American army if war was declared against Turkey; but the plan I am putting before you is different. I suggest that if you take this matter up, you should be free to lead the Armenians to any Turkish front you think necessary. I assure you that not only the twenty-thousand Armenians will stand by you in this venture, but there will be many thousands of noble Americans. In this way we may be led into the light and the coming generation will enjoy our share.

If you will forgive me, at your earliest convenience, with your option upon this matter, I shall be glad to present to you a plan for working out the campaign.

I am enclosing a copy of the "Forum" from July 1917 in which an article of mine appears. Another article upon Armenia will appear in the Century Magazine for July or August 1918. I am also engaged in preparing a book for publication upon conditions in Armenia, which will be out in the Fall; Prof. C.M.Gayley, Dean of the University of Calfiornia has written the Preface.

Your obedient servant,



Ex-President, Theodore Roosevelt was quick to respond on June 22, 1918, reaffirming his commitment the Armenian people.

June 22nd, 1918.

My dear Captain:

You know I have done all I can to get our country to act, and I shall

continue do to do.

Faithfully yours,

Capt. N. Der Hagopian,
P.O.Box 35,
Bekeley, Calif.

After reading the letter of support from Roosevelt to Captain Der Hagopian, I started to doubt if the confession of the Rear Admiral, Colby M. Chester. Perhaps it could have been a ruse by an old man who embellished history to give himself more credibility and a feeling of importance.

I then searched for letters to Roosevelt from various other Armenians, finding a few letters from the one man Armenian lobby, Vahan Cardashian.

In the fall of 1911, Cardashian wrote a letter to Roosevelt, similar to that which Captain Der Hagopian had, asking that Roosevelt lend his voice to the cause to defend the rights of the Armenians who were facing oppression and death at the hands of the Turkish government. Cardashian wrote on Ocotber 20, 1911:

VAHAN CARDASIAN
COUNSELOR AT LAW
55 LIBERTY STREET
NEW YORK

TELEPHONE 3402 CORTLANDT

Oct. 20th, 1911.

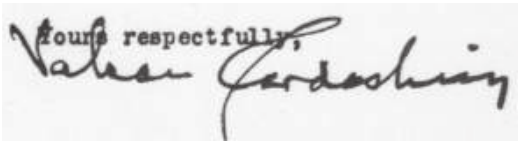
Col. Theodore Roosevelt: -

My dear Mr. Roosevelt: -

I am taking the liberty to enclose herewith a copy of a letter addressed by me to Dr. Andrew D. White, and a copy of his letter addressed to me, both dealing with the necessity of creating an American Committee, that may help to influence the Turkish Government in its treatment of the Christians, which, of late, has been immeasurably oppressive. In my letter, I state the reasons for the creation of such a Committee, its nature and its purpose.

I know well that your time is amply occupied; but, it is a fact that one who has ample time would not be much service on a Committee such as the one proposed. The Committee, to be effective, must consist of men whose names carry international weight. This committee will hardly make a considerable call upon your time. Perhaps, once in all, a meeting may be held. Thereafter, there may bot be anything else for it to do but to exist, unless, of course, an extraordinary development may call upon it to act.

With the expression of my deepest gratitude for your noble sympathy in my race, I am, sir,



[Enclosure]

VAHAN CARDASIAN
COUNSELOR AT LAW
55 LIBERTY STREET
NEW YORK

———

TELEPHONE 3402 CORTLANDT

C O P Y

Oct. 12th, 1911.

Dr. Andrew D. White,
Ithaca,
N.Y.

My dear Dr. White: -

After a long and careful deliberation, I decided, very reluctantly, to address myself again to you, depending largely, of course, upon your broad sympathy, your Christian humanity and your statesmanship. The question that has been engaging my anxious thought for some time past has been the necessity of providing some means for the safety of the Armenians in Turkey against the chronic Turkish and Kurdish aggressions.

As you well know, since the accession of the Young Turkey Party to power, the general conditions in Turkey have not changed. The central government has been either unwilling or unable to bring into play its authority in the provinces. The representations of the Armenian Patriarchate have met with the same evasive and dilatory a attitude as practiced by the Old Regime. Under the circumstances, there is actually no reasonable hope for any amelioration or improvement in those conditions. To the contrary, there are frequent alarming reports of threatened Kurdish or Turkish massacres of the Armenians. In fact, each day records a case of kidnapping, forcible conversion, unprovoked murder, desecration of a church or monastery, etc. The unavoidable result of these occurrences is a galling fear in the minds and hearts of the Armenians throughout Turkey of some approaching disaster.

I am not condemning any person or persons for this abnormal situation. I am simply calling your attention to the unavoidable conditions of irrefutable facts which we cannot ignore. Under these circumstances, I see clearly the coming cloud. That is, one or more massacres of the Armenians will take place, unless some preventive measures are adopted. Such measures must necessarily be initiated by an outside agency and such agency, for its weapon and power must depend upon its moral influence and public opinon. So if a number of eminent Americans were to organize a Committee and make a

declaration of intention, to the effect, that the Committee is a friend of Turkey; that, in view of the peculiar conditions prevailing in the Turkish Empire, it is solicitous for the protection of Christian life, honor and property; and that, in the event of mob violence against these Christians, the Committee will employ all its moral influence and other reasonable means for their protection; then, I believe, a step forward in the cause shall have been taken. I believe that the Turk in power would be anxious not to create any pretext that may be used by Europe as a justification in invading on his dominions. The Italo-Turkish conflict showed a decided change in their temper and disposition of Europe in its attitude to Turkey.

For such a Committee, I will mention at random the following gentlemen: Theodore Roodevelt, Andrew D. White, Bishop Greer, Gov. Baldwin, of Conn., Andrew Carnegie, Seth Low, Lyman Abbot, Charles Eliot, Arthur Twining Harley, Nicholas Murray Butler, Gen. Horace Porter, Chauncey M. Depew, Rollow Ogden, Willian Randolph Hearst, Henry Clews, etc.

I know that the gentlemen whose names I mentioned are deeply interested in the Armenian race. I also know that they are very busy men. If they wanted or desired (and I know that they do) that the Armenians should be spared the result of the fanaticism of the Turk, they cold, at least, spare a very little part of their time to serve on the Committee itself, as a reserve force, will have its mandator influences upon the polices of the Turkish government in regard to the Armenians.

Will you, at your convenience, look into this matter and let me know as to what you think of such a step, as proposed.

Yours sincerely,
Cardashian

October fourteenth 1911

My dear Mr. Cardashian:

Referring to your letter of October twelfth, I need hardly say that I have the deepest sympathy in the matter to which you refer,- indeed, I hardly know of any great iniquity of modern times at which I feel so indignant, from the bottom of my heart, as the treatment of the Armenians which Turkey has so long allowed, and doubtless to a considerable extent connived at.

I feel that at my age I can be of very little use to you, for, though constantly engaged with more work than I ought to undertake, I am just entering my eightieth year and rarely leave home, - in fact, for the first time in my life, have remained in Ithach through the entire summer.

But should you think that my name and what little I can do under the circumstances will be of use to you, you are at liberty to name me as a member of the committee to which you refer.

With all good wishes for your success in the matter,

I remain,

Very respectfully and

Sincerely yours,

(signed) ANDREW D. WHITE

Vahan Cardashian, Esq.
New York City.

About a week later (October 21, 1911), Roosevelt responded to Cardashian's request:

October 21st, 1911.

My dear Mr. Cardashian:

I thank you for your letter regarding your suggestion of the creation of an American Committee to influence the Turkish Government in the treatment of Christians. You know how cordially I sympathize with any movement to put a stop to the Turkish atrocities in this respect, but I a sure you will realize on thinking it over how impossible it is for me to head such a committee. I am really unable to go into anything further of any kind or sort at present. I am very sorry, and appreciate your writing.

With renewed expression of my sympathy and regret that I am unable to help y heading such a committee, I am.

Very truly yours,

Vahan Cardashian, Esq.,
55 Liberty Street,
New York City.

The next letter I found in 1911, was dated November 15. It was from James W. Colt. It was a very different letter than that of Captain Der Hagopian and Vahan Cardashian. Rather than asking Roosevelt to help the Armenians from oppression and dangers of the Turks, it was a letter to Roosevelt inviting him to help himself to what rightfully belonged to the Armenians and thus support the Turks in their efforts to exterminate the Armenian People. The letter also included a hand-written note documenting a telephonic response to agreeing to a meeting with Colt to further discuss Roosevelt's involvement in the Chester Concessions. The letter read as follows:

MAC ARTHUR BROTHERS COMPANY
HANDOVER BANK BUILDING
NEW YORK

November 15th 1911.

Col. Theodore Roosevelt,
Oyster Bay.
My dear Sir:-

You may recall having met me two or three times at Geneseo where I live, and where I am still a member of the Geneseo Valley Hunt.

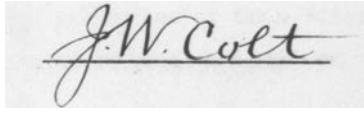
For two years past I have been in Constantinople and Asia Minor as a representative of the firm MacArthur Brothers Company, who are members of a certain American Syndicate seeking a Concession for the construction of Railways and the exploitation of Mines located principally in the ancient kingdom of Armenia.

I wish very much to have a few moments talk with you on the subject of this concession, which is of interest, not only financially, but also diplomatically to our own government, and which is now, or very soon, to be considered by the Turkish Parliament.

I am leaving on Saturday for the West Indies, to be absent about six weeks, and I beg, if possible, you will appoint me an interview within the next two or three days. I shall occupy only a few moments of your time and I especially desire your advice.

I am, Sir,

Yours very respectfully,



JWC/F

[hand written] Since writing the above, I have had a telephone conversation with your secretary at the office of "The Outlook" who has issue Friday 12:30 as a time that I may wait upon you.

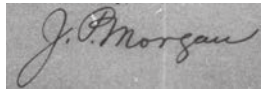
The Roosevelt letters contain hundreds of thousands of documents which were donated to the Library of Congress by Roosevelt's wife, Edith Kermit Roosevelt, following her husband's unexpected death. After extensive research, I want to share a key excerpt from a letter dated December 25, 1911, which written by J. P. Morgan. Knowing the history documented in this book, this reads as a confession to a sinister plan concocted by the ultra-wealthy and powerful whose actions resulted in the theft and murder of the Armenian nation and people:

[...]

Personally, I would like to see you president and I believe that if you should be interested that I could give you the names of the few men who control these two districts so that you could carefully test the sentiment. Appearing as it does that the whole world is facing a crisis which may result in new maps of empires being made, it behooves the people of the United States to have a strong and courageous man at the helm, and the people believe in you.

Trusting that you accept my Christmas wishes in the spirit in which they are sent I get to remain,

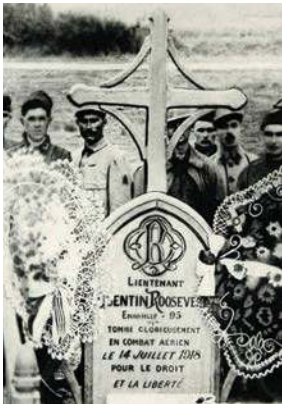
Yours sincerely,



It would seem from the letters found within the Theodore Roosevelt papers, what Rear Admiral Colby M. Chester claimed in his confession had some truth to it.

Although Theodore Roosevelt was able to fool the Armenian people for almost a decade with his sympathies, as a Christian, the outcome of his action speaks for itself.

As a Christian, I have to wonder if God had decided to intervene and end these harmful games being played on the Armenian people. Less than a month following what I would suspect was a disingenuous response to Captain Der Hagopian's request, which had the same intentions that Vahan Cardashian has had received 7 years earlier, Theodore Roosevelt's youngest son, Quentin, was killed on July 14, 1918 (Shahan Natalie's 44th birthday), in the theater of battle during World War I, in an aerial fight over German occupied France. Quentin Roosevelt, the youngest son of Theodore Roosevelt had been shot in the head with two bullets by a German pilot, causing him to crash his plane behind enemy lines. In less than 6 months following the loss of his son, on January 4, 1919, at the age of 60, Theodore Roosevelt would die after a blood clot had detached from a vein and traveled to his lungs. As for the interests in the Chester Concessions that Roosevelt had put in the name of his son, Kermit, it would seem that those did not bring enjoyment to him. After a lifelong battle with depression, on June 4, 1943, at the age of 53, while serving in the U.S. Army in Alaska during World War II, far from the theater of battle, Kermit Roosevelt would take his own life with a self-inflicted gunshot wound to the head.







Chapter 32

An Open Letter to President Wilson

With the untimely death of Theodore Roosevelt, it appeared to the general public that the Armenian people lost a powerful fighter for their cause. Roosevelt was a man who was famously known for his foreign policy: "speak softly and carry a big stick, you will go far." Next to Cleveland H. Dodge, Roosevelt was one of the most influential people in the United States and had the ear of President Wilson. It is worth pondering what would have happened if Roosevelt had lived. Would he had been successful in swaying President Wilson to do right by the Armenian people and declared war against Turkey?

With Roosevelt's passing, hopes of the U.S. declaring war against Turkey were rapidly fading. A German soldier and medic who witnessed the Armenian Genocide while serving as a second lieutenant in the German Sanitary Corps, which was attached to the Ottoman Sixth Army, Armin T. Wager, wrote an open letter to President Woodrow Wilson, appealing to him to help the Armenian people.



Armin T. Wager - 1890's

Wager's letter was published in the German language newspaper, *Berliner Tageblatt,* in January, 1919, and was submitted to President Wilson at the peace conference of 1919.[109] Although in the end, Wilson appeared to not help the Armenians as Wager had hoped, his open letter remained as witness to what had happened to the Armenian people and how the United States and Europe failed to help the people and nation of Armenia during their most desperate time of need.

109 Balakian, Peter (2003). The Burning Tigris: The Armenian Genocide and America's Response. New York: HarperCollins, p.318

AN OPEN LETTER TO PRESIDENT WILSON

BY

ARMIN T. WEGNER

(A German eye-witness of the Armenian massacres)

Berlin,

January 1919.

Mr. President,

In your message to Congress of January 8, 1918, you made a demand for the liberation of all non-Turkish peoples in the Ottoman Empire. One of these peoples is the Armenian nation. It is on behalf of the Armenian nation that I am addressing you.

As one of the few Europeans who have been eye-witnesses of the dreadful destruction of the Armenian people from its beginning in the fruitful fields of Anatolia up to the wiping out of the mournful remnants of the race on the banks of the Euphrates, I venture to claim the right of setting before you these pictures of misery and terror which passed before my eyes during nearly two years, and which will never be obliterated from my mind. I appeal to you at the moment when the Governments allied to you are carrying on peace negotiations in Paris, which will determine the fate of the world for many decades. But the Armenian people is only a small one among several others; and the future of greater States more prominent in the world's eye is hanging in the balance. And so there is reason to fear that the significance of a small and extremely enfeebled nation may be obscured by the influential and selfish aims of the great European states, and that with regard to Armenia there will be a repetition of the old game of neglect and oblivion of which she has so often been the victim in the course of her history.

But this would be most lamentable, for no people in the world has suffered such wrongs as the Armenian nation. The Armenian Question is a question for Christendom, for the whole human race.

The Armenian people were victims of this War. When the Turkish Government, in the Spring of 1915, set about the execution of its monstrous project of exterminating a million of Armenians, all the nations of Europe were unhappily bleeding to exhaustion, owing to the tragic blindness of their mutual misunderstanding, and there was no one to hinder the lurid tyrants of Turkey from carrying on to the bitter end those revolting atrocities which can only be likened to the acts of a criminal lunatic. And so they drove the whole people—men, women, hoary elders, children, expectant mothers and dumb sucklings—into the Arabian desert, with no other object than to let them starve to death.

For a long time, Europeans had been wont to regard Siberia as one of the most inhospitable regions in the world; to be condemned to live there was regarded as a most severe punishment. And yet, even in that place, there are fertile lands and, despite the cold of its winters, the climate is healthy. But what is Siberia compared with the Mesopotamian Steppes?

There we find a long tract of land without grass, without trees, without cattle, covered with stunted weeds, a country where the only inhabitants are Arab Bedouins, destitute of all pity; a stretch of grey limestone plains several miles in extent, bare wastes of rock and stone, ruined river banks, exposed to the rays of a merciless sun, ceaseless autumn rains, and frosty winter nights, leaving sheets of ice behind them. Except its two large rivers there is no water. The few small villages scarcely suffice to feed a handful of Bedouins, who, in their wretched poverty, regard any traveler as a welcome prey. From the dwellings which their race had held for Armenian women refugees devouring the flesh of dead horses more than two thousand years, from all parts of the Empire, from the stony passes of the mountain region to the shores of the Sea of Marmora and the palmy oases of the South, the Armenians were driven into this desolate waste, with the alleged purpose of forcibly transplanting them from their homes to a strange land—a purpose which, even had it been the real one, is repugnant to every human feeling. The men were struck down in batches, bound together with chains and ropes, and thrown into the river or rolled down the mountain with fettered limbs. The women and children were put on sale in the public market; the old men and boys driven with deadly bastonados to forced labour. Nor was this sufficient; in order to render indelible the stain on their criminal hands, the captors drove the people, after depriving them of their leaders and spokesmen, out of the towns at all hours of the day and night, half-naked, straight out of their beds; plundered their houses, burnt the villages, destroyed the churches or turned them into mosques, carried off the cattle, seized all the vehicles, snatched the bread out of the mouths of their victims, tore the clothes from off their backs, the gold from their hair. Officials—military officers, soldiers, shepherds—vied with one another in their wild orgy of blood, dragging out of the schools delicate orphan girls to serve their bestial lusts, beat with cudgels dying women or women close on childbirth who could scarcely drag themselves along, until the women fell down on the road and died, changing the dust beneath them into bloodstained mire. Travelers passing along the road turned away their eyes in horror from this moving multitude, driven on with devilish cruelty—only to find in their inns new-born babes buried in the dung-heaps of the court-yards, and the roads covered with severed heads of boys, who had raised them in supplication to their torturers. Parties which on their departure from the homeland of High Armenia consisted of thousands, numbered on their arrival in the outskirts of Aleppo only a few hundreds, while the fields were strewed with swollen, blackened corpses, infecting the air with their odours, lying about desecrated, naked, having been robbed of their clothes, or driven, bound back to back, to the Euphrates to provide food for the fishes. Sometimes gendarmes in derision threw into the emaciated hands of the starving people a little meal which they greedily licked off, merely with the result of prolonging their death-agony.

Even before the gates of Aleppo they were allowed no rest. For incomprehensible and utterly unjustifiable reasons of war, the shrunken parties were ceaselessly driven barefooted, hundreds of miles under a burning sun, through stony defiles, over pathless steppes, enfeebled by fever and other maladies, through semi-tropical marshes, into the wilderness of desolation.

Here they died—slain by Kurds, robbed by gendarmes, shot, hanged, poisoned, stabbed, strangled, mown down by epidemics, drowned, frozen, parched with thirst, starved—their bodies left to putrefy or to be devoured by jackals.

Children wept themselves to death, men dashed themselves against the rocks, mothers threw their babes into the brooks, women with child flung themselves, singing, into the Euphrates. They died all the deaths on the earth, the deaths of all the ages.

I have seen maddened deportees eating as food their own clothes and shoes, women cooking the bodies of their new-born babes.

In ruined caravanserais they lay between heaps of corpses and half-rotted bodies, with no one to pity them, waiting for death; for how long would it be possible for them to drag out a miserable existence, searching out grains of com from horse-dung or eating grass? But all this is only a fraction of what I have seen myself, of what I have been told by my acquaintances or by travelers, or of what I have heard from the mouths of the deportees.

Mr. President, if you will look through that dreadful enumeration of horrors compiled by Lord Bryce in England and by Dr. Johannes Lepsius in Germany with regard to these occurrences, you will see that I am not exaggerating. But I may assume that these pictures of horrors of which all the world has heard except Germany, which has been shamefully deceived, are already in your hands. By what right, then, do I make this appeal to you?

I do it by the right of human fellowship, in dutiful fulfilment of a sacred promise.

When in the desert I went through the deportees' camp, when I sat in their tents with the starving and dying, I felt their supplicating hands in mine, and the voices of their priests, who had blessed many of the dead on their last journey to the grave, adjured me to plead for them, if I were ever in Europe again.

But the country to which I have returned is a poor country; Germany is a conquered nation. My own people (the Germans) are near starvation; the streets are full of the poor and wretched. Can I beg help of a people which perhaps will soon not be in a condition to save itself for a people (the Armenians) which is in even more evil case?

The voice of conscience and humanity will never be silenced in me, and therefore I address these words to you.

This document is a request. It is the tongues of a thousand dead that speak in it.

Mr. President, the wrong suffered by this people is immeasurable. I have read everything that has been written about the war. I have carefully made myself acquainted with the horrors in every country on this earth, the fearful slaughters in every battle, the ships sunk by torpedoes, the bombs thrown down on the towns by air-craft, the heartrending slaughters in Belgium, the misery of the French refugees, the fearful sickness and epidemics in Roumania. But here is wrong to be righted such as none of these peoples has

suffered—neither the French nation, nor the Belgian, nor the English, nor the Russian, nor the Serbian, nor the Roumanian, nor even the German nation, which has had to suffer so much in this war. The barbarous peoples of ancient times may possibly have endured a similar fate. But here we have a highly civilised nation, with a great and glorious past, which has rendered services that can never be forgotten to art, literature and learning; a nation which has produced many remarkable and intellectual men, profoundly religious, with a noble priesthood; a Christian people, whose members are dispersed over the whole earth, many of whom have lived for many years in your country, Mr. President. Men acquainted with all the languages of the world, men whose wives and daughters have been accustomed to sit in comfortable chairs at a table covered with a clean white cloth, not to crouch in a cave in the wilderness. Sagacious merchants, distinguished doctors, scholars, artists, honest prosperous peasants who made the land fruitful, and whose only fault was that they were defenceless and spoke a different language from that of their persecutors, and were born into a different faith.

Every one who knows the events of this war in Anatolia, who has followed the fortunes of this nation with open eyes, knows that all those accusations which were brought, with great cunning and much diligence, against the Armenian race, are nothing but loathsome slanders fabricated by their unscrupulous tyrants, in order to shield themselves from the consequences of their own mad and brutal acts, and to hide their own incapacity for reconciliation with the spirit of sincerity and humanity.

But even if all these accusations were based on the truth, they would never justify these cruel deeds committed against hundreds of thousands of innocent people.

I am making no accusation against Islam. The spirit of every great religion is noble, and the conduct of many a Mohammedan has made us blush for the deeds of Europe.

I do not accuse the simple people of Turkey, whose souls are full of goodness; but I do not think that the members of the ruling class will ever, in the course of history, be capable of making their country happy, for they have destroyed our belief in their capacity for civilisation.

Turkey has forfeited for all time the right to govern itself.

Mr. President, you will believe in my impartiality if I speak to you on this subject, as a German, one of a nation which was linked with Turkey in bonds of close friendship, a nation which in consequence of this friendship has most unjustly been accused of being an accomplice in these murderous man-hunts. The German people knows nothing of this crime. The German Government erred through ignorance of the Turkish character and its own preoccupation with solicitude for the future of its own people. I do not deny that weakness is a fault in the life of nations. But the bitter reproach of having made possible this unpardonable deportation does not fall on Germany alone.

In the Berlin Treaty of July 1878, all the six European Great Powers gave the most solemn guarantees that they would guard the tranquility and security of the Armenian people. But has this promise ever been kept? Even Abdul

Hamid's massacres failed to bring it to remembrance, and in blind greed the nations pursued selfish aims, not one putting itself forward as the champion of an oppressed people.

In the Armistice between Turkey and your Allies, which the Armenians all over the world awaited with feverish anxiety, the Armenian question is scarcely mentioned. Shall this unworthy game be repeated a second time, and must the Armenians be once more disillusioned?

The future of this small nation must not be relegated to obscurity behind the selfish schemes and plans of the great states. Mr. President, save the honour of Europe.

It would be an irremediable mistake if the Armenian districts of Russia were not joined with the Armenian provinces of Anatolia and Cilicia to form one common country entirely liberated from Turkish rule, with an outlet of its own to the sea. It is not enough, Mr. President, that you should know the sufferings of these people. It is not enough that you should give them a state in which the houses are destroyed, the fields laid waste, the citizens murdered. The exhaustion of this country is such that by its own strength it cannot rise again. Its trade is ruined; its handicrafts and industries have collapsed. The asset of its annihilated population can never be restored.

Many thousands of Armenians were perverted to Islam by force, thousands of children and girls kidnapped, and thousands of women carried away and made slaves in Turkish harems. To all these must be given perfect assurance of their return to freedom. All victims of persecution who are returning to their homes after spending two years and more in the desert must be indemnified for the wealth and goods that they have lost, all orphans must be cared for. What these people need is love, of which they have so long been deprived. This is, for all of us, a confession of guilt.

Mr. President, pride prevents me from pleading for my own people (the Germans). I have no doubt that, out of the plenitude of its sorrow, it will gain power by sacrifice to co-operate in the future redemption of the world. But, on behalf of the Armenian nation, which has suffered such terrible tyranny, I venture to intervene; for if, after this war, it is not given reparation for its fearful sufferings, it will be lost for ever.

With the ardour of one who has experienced unspeakable, humiliating sorrows in his own tortured soul, I utter the voice of those unhappy ones, whose despairing cries I had to hear without being able to still them, whose cruel deaths I could only helplessly mourn, whose bones bestrew the deserts of the Euphrates, and whose limbs once more become alive in my heart and admonish me to speak.

Once already have I knocked at the door of the American people when I brought the petition of the deportees from their camps at Meskene and Aleppo to your Embassy at Constantinople, and I know that this has not been in vain.

If you, Mr. President, have indeed made the sublime idea of championing oppressed nations the guiding principle of your policy, you will not fail to

perceive that even in these words a mighty voice speaks, the only voice that has the right to be heard at all times—the voice of humanity.[110]

110 Andonian, Aram (1920). The Memoirs of Naim Bey: Turkish Official Documents relating to the Deportation and Massacres of Armenians. Great Britain: Richard Clay & Sons, Limited, p.72-84

Chapter 33

Still Arming the Enemy

By Ara Manoogian

[published on April 14, 2016]

"The sale of weapons to a government committing genocide is like the sale of weapons to Nazi Germany during World War II"

– Yair Auron, Israeli historian



Israeli Kamikaze drones (photo from socialunderground.com)

IAI Harop unmanned combat air vehicle (UCAV) developed by the Israel Aerospace Industries was used in combat for the first time, on April 4, 2016, by the military of Azerbaijan against Nagorno-Karabakh Republic (which Armenians call by its ancient name, Artsakh). The deployment of this UCAV, armed with 23 kg warhead, caused the death of seven Armenians during a ceasefire violation by Azerbaijan.

In 1921, Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin transferred predominantly Armenian-populated Nagorno-Karabakh to the Soviet Socialist Republic of Azerbaijan. For decades thereafter, Karabakh Armenians tried to restore historical justice and reunite with Armenia to no avail.

Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's Perestroika and Glasnost opened a new phase in the struggle of the Armenian people in Karabakh, in 1988. The local authorities of Nagorno-Karbakh Autonomous Oblast (NKAO) announced their decision to secede from the Azerbaijani SSR and reunite with Armenia. The Soviet government turned down the request. And the Soviet Azerbaijani authorities organized pogroms of ethnic Armenians in Sumgait, Kirovabad (now Ganja), and Baku.

On September 2, 1991, the Council of People's Deputies declared Nagorno-Karabakh an independent Republic within the borders of NKAO and the bordering Shahumyan Region of the Azerbaijani SSR. This declaration was followed by a referendum on the status of the NKR, on December 10, where the absolute majority voted in favor of independence.

As a result of this unrelenting determination, Azerbaijan escalated the

conflict to large-scale war against Nagorno-Karabakh.

In February 1992, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), including member states of the United States, France, and Russia, initiated an arms embargo against Armenia and Azerbaijan. This embargo was intended to help the OSCE to seat the opposing sides at the negotiating table.

A ceasefire agreement was eventually reached in 1994, brokered by the OSCE and, particularly, Russia, after Azerbaijan lost control of Nagorno-Karabakh and seven adjacent regions. More than 30,000 people died as a result of the war.

In the 22 years that followed, a peace treaty has not been signed, and the ceasefire has been violated with growing frequency, resulting in hundreds of deaths among the Armenian and Azeri military personnel. These borderline cross shootings are commonly initiated by the Azerbaijani armed forces. For over two decades, unsatisfied with the status quo, the Azerbaijani authorities have been threatening to start a war against Nagorno-Karabakh and take control of the independent republic.

Though the OSCE's request for embargo has never been repealed, Russia supplies arms to both Armenia and Azerbaijan. However, oil rich Azerbaijan has had an additional major arms supplier — Israel. Some of the early purchases took place before the ceasefire agreement, but the majority came later, when the oil prices in the world market skyrocketed. In 2012 alone, Azerbaijan purchased $1.6 billion worth of weapons from Israel, including sophisticated reconnaissance and attack drones from Israel Aerospace Industries.

Many Israelis have raised concerns over their government's arms deal with Azerbaijan. In his article, "Israel Must Not Sell Arms to the Azeris" (Haaretz, October 26, 2014), Israeli historian Yair Auron writes:

> Israel must refrain from such acts also because we are a people of Holocaust survivors. A tragic crime and humanitarian disaster could take place in the centennial year of the Armenian genocide, which continues to go unrecognized by most countries [including Israel].[111]

In mid-August of 2014, at the height of clashes at the line of contact between Nagorno-Karabakh and Azerbaijan, Eitay Mack and Yair Auron submitted an urgent request to the Arms Exports Department of the Israeli Defense Ministry to stop Israel's arms sales to Azerbaijan. They demanded that Dubi Lavi, the head of that department, 'use his authority to revoke or delay the corresponding permits issued by Defense Ministry, at least until the end of the current escalation.'

They received an ambiguous response, which implied undeterred resolution to continue the arms exports: "We have closely examined the statements in your letter. Security export is carefully examined <…> considerations of human rights and conflict zones worldwide are seriously weighed."

On April 2, 2016, Azerbaijan committed the deadliest violation of the armistice since 1994, launching a large-scale offensive all along the line of contact. In a matter of a few days, the death toll among the military forces and the civilians, by different estimates, ranges from 200 to 2,000. Russia managed

111 http://www.haaretz.com/opinion/.premium-1.622701

to broker a shaky ceasefire on April 5, 2016, which, nevertheless, has not put an end to Azerbaijani President's war rhetoric.

Two days after this major offensive, Tali Ploskov, Deputy Speaker of Israel's Knesset, paid a visit to Armenia to express support for Armenia and condemn Azerbaijan's deadly attacks against Nagorno Karabakh. At a meeting with her Armenian counterpart Hermine Naghdalyan, Ploskov described Azerbaijan's actions as terrorism against the entire region.[112]

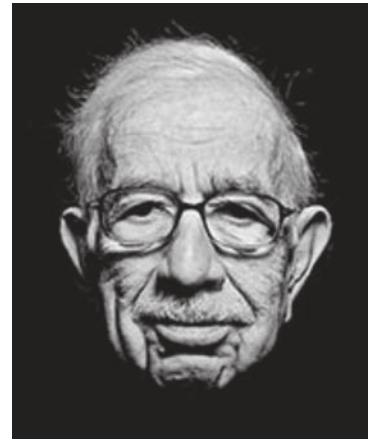


Israeli anti-tank laser missiles (photo from asbarez.com)

In an interview to the Voice of America's Azerbaijani Service, on April 8, 2016, Alexander Murinson, a researcher from the Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies at Bar-Ilan University of Israel, admitted to the pivotal role of Israel's arms supply in the commencement of the Azerbaijan's large-scale offensive. "On March 31, Israel supplied anti-tank laser missiles to Azerbaijan. Azerbaijan is the first country to purchase these missiles, which has, certainly, given advantage to its military capabilities," he said.[113]

"I am ashamed," said Israel Charny, a prominent Israeli historian, executive director of the Institute on the Holocaust and Genocide in Jerusalem, about the 3-day April war in Nagorno-Karabakh and Israel's contribution to the casualties, in his article, "Would Israel Sell a Used Drone to a Hitler?" published in Haaretz.[114]

"If the Nazis were not at all murdering Jews but 'only' were murdering say hated Slavs, Gypsies, and Jehovah's Witnesses; and if our beloved State of Israel were in existence; would you agree to our selling arms to the Nazis?" writes Charny.



Israel Charny (© http://unotes.hartford.edu)

On April 24, 2018, Yaniv Konovich wrote an article for Haaretz Daily Newpaper titled "Advanced Israeli Weapons Sold to Azerbaijan Exposed in Army-produced Pop Music Video" (Haaretz, April 24, 2018) in which he discusses the content

112 http://panarmenian.net/m/eng/news/209585

113 see Amerika icmalı - https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Eqm20FQEpT0 and "Voice of America: On March 31, Israel supplied laser anti-tank missiles to Azerbaijan" - http://news.am/eng/news/321409.html

114 The Armenian Weekly- http://armenianweekly.com/2016/04/12/sassounian-charny/

found in the footage of a music video produced by Azerbaijan's army that showcased Israeli made weapons in action. Israeli technology was not the only noticeable equipment present in this video. Czech military hardware was also present in the form of artillery and rocket launchers. Also, on April 24, 2018, California Courier publisher, Harut Sassounian, wrote an article titled "Czech Republic Sells Weapons to Azerbaijan Illegally via Israel" (The California Courier, April 24, 2018) which details how the Czech Republic went against European Union's recommendation, as well as the U.N. Security Council Resolution 853, which was adopted on July 29, 1999, and managed to sell its arms to Azerbaijan. Sassounian details how exactly these weapons ended up in Azerbaijan. Below is a segment from Harut's article.

> In the meantime, The Slovak Spectator revealed on April 17, 2018 that 'Bratislava [capital of Slovakia] airport is used as a transit point for smuggling Czech rocket launchers and howitzers to Azerbaijan…. The weapons are reportedly produced by the Czechoslovak Group Holding, owned by Czech Jaroslav Strnad, according to Czech Television…. An employee of the Slovak arms factory MSM spoke up and described how the old weapons are rebuilt in the Trenčín-based company and are then transported via Israel to Azerbaijan, the TASR newswire reported.'
>
> The MSM employee further described to the reporters of the Czech Television, as quoted by TASR, according to The Slovak Spectator: 'The whole process starts with bringing the old DANA howitzer that is disassembled directly in the company…. The new facilities, including navigation, camera and communication systems were sent from Israel, the employee added. He also revealed that they signed a contract for distributing 18 howitzers and 15 rocket launchers this year, and the same amount next year, as reported by TASR…. The company confirmed the delivery of DANA-M1 and RM-70 systems to Israel.'
>
> The Slovak Spectator 'even recorded one such transport on camera' confirming the delivery of the weapons to Israel and from there smuggled to Azerbaijan. 'The transport of one rocket launcher started on December 27, 2017, and was carried by a truck from Trenčín to the Bratislava airport, where it was moved to the plane owned by Azerbaijani airlines, Silk Way. It then flew to Tel Aviv in Israel, where the company Elbit, which was described as the end customer, is located. The data then revealed that the plane continued to Baku in Azerbaijan. Nothing is unloaded in Israel; there is only a stop to make sure the papers are correct,' the employee of MSM told the Czech Television. 'The plane flies directly from the Israeli airport to Azerbaijan,' The Slovak Spectator wrote.

Israel made billions of dollars by violating the arms embargo against Azerbaijan. But Israel's lucrative deal with Azerbaijan has cost tiny Nagorno-Karabakh scores of lives and has encouraged Azerbaijan to resume an all-out war.

Since its formation in 1949, Israel has received almost $135 billion of aid from the U.S., of which almost $95 billion is military assistance. As a country that receives more aid from the U.S. taxpayers than any other country, Israel should have honored the U.S. arms embargo against Azerbaijan. In reality, Israel has been working against U.S. interests, by undermining its powerful ally's costly efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement of the conflict.

Pursuant to an understanding signed between the U.S. Department of

Defense and the Israeli Ministry of Defense, the U.S. has the de facto veto power over Israeli third-party arms sales that the U.S. deems harmful to its national security interests.[115]

In order to enforce the embargo ignored by Israel, we, the people of the United States of America, must petition our government to take immediate action against Israel for supplying weapons to Azerbaijan contrary to U.S. interests.

Ironically, the largest arms sales to Azerbaijan today comes from one of the members of the OSCE — Russia that is not only the co-author of the OSCE arms embargo, but also the strategic partner of Armenia (which gets its share of Russian arms at a discounted rate).

115 "U.S. Foreign Aid to Israel" by Jeremy M. Sharp https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/RL33222.pdf

Chapter 34

Genocide Recognition

"I think the acknowledgement of the United States of Armenian Genocide is very important and crucial. Not because of the moral aspect of the issue. Because of the legal aspect of that problem. Have you ever heard holocaust gold in Swiss banks? As you know, Nazis put all of gold in Swiss banks and Swiss government denied to pay these to Jewish communities. And Jewish organization filed lawsuits in the United States and according to United States law, you can file any government, if the case related to crime against humanity. And Swiss government didn't have any other choice but to negotiate with claim or the committee this is the Jewish organization, and paid them an important amount of money. There are hundreds, maybe not hundreds, dozens of courts cases waiting in California or other states in the United States and the courts cannot move because they all decided it's a federal issue. Without American government legally considers 1915 as a crime against humanity, there can not be a law case against Turkey. And if United States acknowledged these as a fact, then Turkey had a very difficult time because they can boycott, block Turkish assets in the United States and against Turkish companies and this would at least open the gate of negotiation."

- Dr. Taner Akçam -- June 14, 2018 -- Yerevan, Armenia.

It seems that one of the most costly and time-consuming pastimes of Armenians, is their quest to gain official recognition of the Armenian Genocide by the United States government at a federal level.

As long as I've been alive, I have heard over and over again that the United States won't recognize this crime against my people, a crime that unequivocally is nothing less than a Genocide. This is not just based on historical documents, but what my grandparents witnessed first hand and filled my head with since I was old enough to communicate.

A few months ago, I read Siranush Ghazanchyan's article on Public Radio of Armenia that discussed recognition of the Armenian Genocide by the U.S. State of Indiana. This was quite a big news to Armenians, as this 48th U.S. state to have officially recognized the Armenian Genocide brought the number very close to 50.

In her report, Ghazanchyan quotes Giro Manoyan, leader of the ARF and head of the Armenian Cause Office (*HayTad)* as saying that Indiana's recognition of the Armenian Genocide will not directly affect the U.S. President's stance on the issue.

"According to the U.S. Constitution, the country's foreign policy is determined by the President. There is a court decision in the U.S. that recognition of the Armenian Genocide is a foreign policy affair. Therefore, it's up to the President to make a decision. This does not mean, however, that other authorities cannot take decisions on the Armenian Genocide," Manoyan said

in an interview with Public Radio of Armenia.

Manoyan believes, however, that the recognition will establish a generally favorable atmosphere. "At least two resolutions on Armenian Genocide recognition have been submitted to the US House of Representatives at different times. There is another resolution pending in the House today. All of this will create a favorable atmosphere, but will not directly lead to recognition by the President," Giro Manoyan said.

the Armenian lobby in the U.S., according to Manoyan, will keep working in two directions: to press for the passage of a resolution at the House of Representatives, and to build relations with the executive authorities in order to try and persuade that recognition is in the interests of the United States.

"The fact that Turkey is influencing the U.S. President's stance on the Armenian Genocide issue should be disgraceful. This is true not only for the incumbent, but also all previous Presidents besides Ronald Reagan, who used the term "genocide" in one of his April 24 messages," Manoyan said.

What will be the effect of the Armenian Genocide recognition by the U.S. President? According to Giro Manoyan, all these acknowledgements by U.S. States or by different countries are a pressure on Turkey. Recognition by the U.S. President will also be a pressure on Turkey. "The main objective is to force recognition by Turkey itself," he said.[116]

While Giro Manoyan is one of the most powerful Armenians in terms of championing the cause of U.S. recognition of the Armenian Genocide, the non-Armenian champion has to be the Congress Representative in my district of California (the 28th district), Congressman Adam Bennett Schiff (D-California), who has served in Congress for 18 years now.

Adam Schiff was born in Framingham, Massachusetts on June 22, 1960. He received a political science degree from Stanford University and a Juris Doctor degree from Harvard Law School. Not only does he serve as our congressional representative, he currently serves as the Chair of the Permanent Select Committee of Intelligence.

On the eve of the 102nd anniversary of the Armenian Genocide, the *Burbank Leader News* published an article written by Anthony Clark Carpio titled "Rep. Schiff asks Congress to recognize Armenian Genocide."

On previous Wednesday, Schiff and Representative Dave Trott (R-Michigan) introduced a bipartisan resolution (H.R. 220) that recognizes the genocide of Armenians by the Ottoman Empire (modern-day Turkey) that spanned from 1915 to 1923:

> Over 100 years ago, the Ottoman Empire undertook a brutal campaign of murder, rape and displacement against the Armenian people that took the lives of 1.5 million men, women and children in the first genocide of the 20th century," Schiff said in a statement. "Genocide is not a historic relic — even today hundreds of thousands of religious minorities face existential threat from ISIS in Syria and Iraq. It is therefore all the more pressing that the Congress recognize the historical fact of the Armenian Genocide and stand against modern-day genocide and crimes against humanity.[117]

116 Siranush Ghazanchyan, *Any recognition of Armenian Genocide adds pressure on Turkey – Giro Manoyan,* (Yerevan, Armenia, Public Radio of Armenia, November 7, 2017)

117 Anthony Clark Carpio, *Rep, Schiff asks Congress to recognize Armenian Genocide,*

To have a better understanding of what could possibly motivate him to champion the cause of official recognition of the Armenian Genocide, I would like to share relate what I heard from a dear friend of mine, Vartkes Yeghiayan, Esq., a man who had devoted most of his adult life to the Armenian cause. Vartkes passed away, on September 30, 2017.

When he worked in Washington, D.C., Vartkes had an opportunity to meet young Adam Schiff who was actively involved in the Armenian Genocide issues. After interacting with him, Vartkes discovered that Adam Schiff was a relation to the prominent New York banker, Jacob H. Schiff. Adam had told Vartkes that part of his motivation to help the Armenian people was to right a wrong done by Jacob Schiff. A kind of family debt he felt he had to settle.

Besides Manoyan and Schiff, there are literally thousands of prominent members of society who have spoken out in favor of the U.S. officially recognizing the Armenian Genocide. Many celebrities parrot what the experts on the subject like Manoyan and Schiff have been discussing in order to ensure official U.S. recognition.

But first, it is worth examining whether theirs is a valid agenda.

The Armenian Genocide has been a subject of contention long before the word Genocide was coined in 1943 by Raphael Lemkin, a lawyer of Polonized Jewish descent.

Before the word Genocide was coined, the crime against the Armenians by the Ottoman government was referred to as a crime against humanity.

The first governments to officially acknowledge this crime were Great Britain, France, and Russia. In their May 24, 1915 joint declaration, these nations accused the Young Turk regime of crimes against humanity and civilization:

> "Such massacres have taken place from mid-April at Erzerum, Terdjan, Egine, Bitlis, Moush, Sasun, Zeitun, and in all of Cilicia. The inhabitants of approximately a hundred villages in the vicinity of Van all have been killed and the Armenian quarter of Van besieged by Kurds. At the same time, the Ottoman Government has acted ruthlessly against the defenseless Armenian population of Constantinople. In view of this new crime of Turkey against humanity and civilization, the Allied Governments make known publicly to the Sublime Porte [Ottoman government] that they will hold all the members of the Turkish Government as well as those officials who have participated in these massacres, personally responsible."[118]

Over the years, many governments have recognized the Armenian Genocide, some in the form of a proclamation and others with resolutions.

One of the most important recognitions of the Armenian Genocide is that made by the post-WWI Turkish Government. This internationally recognized body, led by the Sultan, Mehmed VI, convened courts-martial, which found Talaat Pasha and others guilty of crimes against humanity with regard to Armenian massacres and sentenced the perpetrators to death.

(Burbank, CA, Burbank Leader News, March 24, 2017)

118 Richard G. Hovannisian, *The Armenian Genocide and the Ruse of Protective Dispossession,* (Los Angeles, CA, Southwestern Journal of International Law, February 22, 2017) vol. 23, p206

Although many will argue that the Sultan was a puppet of the Western powers, he was nonetheless internationally recognized as the legitimate leader of the Ottoman Empire. What he did, even if under pressure, was legally binding and internationally recognized. This being said, one of the first to recognize the Armenian Genocide was Turkey itself[119].

Although it should be gratifying for the victims and their descendants that the crimes against the Armenians were actually recognized by Turkey, however, American-Armenians who believe their government refuses to recognize the fact feel offended.

For as long as I can remember, the Armenian lobbying organizations, most notably the Armenian National Committee of America (ANCA), which is the lobbying wing of the ARF, has been supporting politicians who claim to be working towards the U.S. recognition of the Armenian Genocide, including the most prominent champion of the Armenian cause in Congress, Rep. Adam Schiff.

Each year in April, the ANCA speaks out to shame the U.S. government for their denial of the Armenian Genocide, blaming them for not officially recognizing the genocide due to the strategic relationship the U.S. has with Turkey, a fellow NATO member.

The ANCA have been supporters of numerous resolutions that have been presented to the House of Representatives by the politicians they have helped to vote into office in exchange for promises to achieve official recognition of the Armenian Genocide by the U.S.

On March 22, 2017, House Resolution 220 (H.R. 220)[120] was presented. H.R. 220 was co-authored by 16 Congressional representatives and co-sponsored by 108 more (totaling 124). These representatives had promised they would work to gain official recognition of the Armenian Genocide should they remain in office. So, H.R. 220 was their offering to the Armenian voters.

Within the text of H. R. 220, a very accurate and powerful claim is made, one that exposes all those who authored H.R. 220. It reveals the worthlessness of their promise to the Armenian voters and is an admission to have been lying in order to gain the vote and play on the soft emotional vulnerabilities our politicians had implanted in us and our own parents had helped to perpetuate.

HR220's opening paragraph reads:

> "Expressing the sense of the House of Representatives regarding past genocides, and for other purposes."

In the 8th paragraph, the 124 representatives claim with accuracy:

> "**Whereas the United States is on record as having officially recognized the Armenian Genocide**, in the United States Government's May 28, 1951, written statement to the International Court of Justice regarding the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, through President Ronald Reagan's April 22, 1981, Proclamation

119 Meline Anumyan, *Acknowledgment and Condemnation: The Trials of Young Turks in 1919-1921 AND 1926,* (Antelias, Lenanon, Printing House of the Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia, 2017) 223.

120 see appendix XV

No. 4838, and by House Joint Resolution 148, adopted on April 8, 1975, and House Joint Resolution 247, adopted on September 10, 1984; and"

The judicial branch of the U.S. government has recognized the Armenian Genocide, on May 28, 1951. This was followed by the House of Representatives' recognition, on April 8, 1975. Then, on April 22, 1981, President Ronal Reagan officially recognized the Armenian Genocide. If this was not enough, the House of Representatives re-recognized it. What the authors neglected to include is presented by the ANCA on their website (https://anca.org/armenian-genocide/recognition/united-states/), mentioning the 1996 House Resolution 3540, which once again officially re-recognized the Armenian Genocide as a genocide.

If this is the case, as confessed by the 124 elected representatives who had been telling the Armenian voters that no official U.S. recognition of the Armenian Genocide existed, yet co-authored/sponsored H.R. 220, what was their motive in deceiving their constituents?

One thing is certain — they have deceived the voters and, in doing so, have been holding back the Armenians from taking the next logical step of demanding reparations from Turkey.

It is important to note that the information about the U.S. official recognition of the Armenian Genocide was originally reported by a prominent member of the Armenian Diaspora community, Harut Sassounian, Armenian-American writer, public activist and publisher of *The California Courier*. At the time of his disclosure, Sassounian was the President of the United Armenian Fund and Vice Chairman of Armenian billionaire Kirk Kerkorian's Lincy Foundation, which provided close to $1 billion of humanitarian and infrastructure aid to Armenia.

As far back as June 13, 2008, in an article titled "US Recognized Armenian Genocide in 1951, World Court Document Reveals," which was written by Sassounian and published in *Asbarez*, an ARF-controlled news outlet, Sassounian touches upon the U.S. recognition, which H.R. 220 echoes. On June 5, 2012, Sassounian published "All 3 Branches of US Government Recognizes Armenian Genocide" in *The Armenian Weekly*, another pro-ARF publication. Despite these articles, the ANCA, the ARF, and the politicians they continue to claim that we have had no U.S. recognition.[121]

To make matters worse, Schiff and his fellow representatives in Congress continue to introduce resolutions that fortunately until now have not made it to a vote. Harut Sassounian has touched on the dangers of what the likes of Schiff have been doing in an email dated February 15, 2016:

From: Harut Sassounian
Sent: Feb 15, 2016 10:24 AM

121 Harut Sassounian, *US Recognized Armenian Genocide in 1951, World Court Document Reveals,* (Los Angeles, CA, Asbarez, June 13, 2008)

Subject: Re: Is our U.S. Recognition of the Armenian Genocide in danger of being lost?

I have explained this issue a million times in my columns, TV appearances and lectures, for many years.

Here it is one more time:

Has the United States recognized the Armenian Genocide the same way as many of the two dozen countries that we say have recognized it? Yes, absolutely.

If we say that the 2 House resolutions, Pres. Reagan's Proclamation, and the official document submitted by the US government to the World Court in 1951 do not count as "recognition," then most of the countries that we say have recognized it, have not recognized it either! How does such thinking serve our cause? Most of these countries that we say have recognized it, have simply passed a resolution by one of the Houses of their legislature, similar to the US. In fact, the US recognition is much more extensive than most of these countries!

We are confusing genocide recognition with a foreign policy orientation decision. Even the most pro-Armenian countries that we say have recognized the Armenian Genocide (Argentina, Uruguay, Cyprus, Greece), do not take the Armenian Genocide into account in their relations with Turkey.

Finally, continuing our misguided efforts to gain unnecessary recognition can have two major negatives for our cause:

1) all it would take is the one time that by a slim difference we lose a vote in a House or Senate Committee or God forbid in the full House or Senate, we would be doing a lasting damage for our cause, as the Turks would exploit it forever saying that the US Congress decided that the Armenian Genocide is not true! We came very close to such a drastic situation a few years ago when we almost lost the vote in the House International Relations Committee. At the last minute, we managed to win it by one vote!

2) when we continue our misguided efforts to seek unnecessary recognition, we are in fact casting doubt on the veracity of the Genocide and undermining its recognition.

By the way, the ANCA now lists the United States as a country that has recognized the Armenian Genocide. That is why in recent years, the ANCA has proposed congressional resolutions on recovery of Armenian Churches in Turkey or asking the US to pressure Turkey to recognize the Genocide rather than simple US genocide recognition.

Harut Sassounian

Now that we have established that the U.S. and Turkey have recognized the Armenian Genocide, and since the U.S. is therefore morally and legally bound to take action against those governments who have engaged in the act of genocide, it is time for the U.S. government to take appropriate measures to force Turkey to settle its debt with the Armenians.

With elections every other November, it is within our collective power to vote out of office those like Adam Schiff who have lied to us and who give us lip service to get votes.

Most people who have been told by leaders in the Armenian community

over and over again that we need to get the U.S. to officially recognize it, struggle with accepting the real facts. Because I know many will be confused in this way, I am including in this chapter the transcript of the video I shot on April 9, 2015, at the invitation of Harut Sassounian, who told me he was going to announce something very important. Besides the transcript and for those who would like to hear Harut Sassounian speak, can find the video on YouTube at https://youtu.be/94O5Vq5fEIw

Quest for Justice or Genocide Recognition?

By Harut Sassounian

(Video presentation can be views at: https://youtu.be/94O5Vq5fEIw)

More than a hundred years after the Armenian Genocide, and its recognition by dozens of countries, 48 US states, international organizations and scholars, Armenians should at long last consider the recognition stage over and turn their full attention to demanding restitution and justice.

Let us quickly review developments of this issue over the past 100 years: In the immediate aftermath of the Genocide, most of the survivors were scattered throughout the Middle East, and other distant lands.

They had no food, no shelter, and barely the clothes on their back!

They vainly hoped to be rescued by Christian European nations, enabling them to return to their ancestral homeland in Western Armenia and Cilicia from which they were so brutally uprooted.

Alas! It was not to be!

On August 10, 1920, the Treaty of Sevres was signed by over a dozen countries, including the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, Turkey and Armenia.

The leaders of these countries were committed to restore justice to the long-suffering Armenian nation.

The Treaty of Sevres recognized Armenia's independence and asked Pres. Woodrow Wilson to fix the borders between Armenia and Turkey.

Unfortunately, this treaty was never ratified.

The European powers reneged on their commitments to their "Little Ally."

The newly-established Republic of Armenia lasted only two years, before being swallowed up

by the Soviet Union and Turkey.

The destitute Armenian refugees, abandoned to their tragic fate, were

forced to settle down in permanent exile.

In those early years, their first priority was survival, fending off starvation and disease.

Gradually, they rebuilt their lives in new homes, churches, and schools.

Engaging in lobbying activities and making political demands were the last things on their minds.

Every April 24, Armenians commemorated the Genocide by gathering in church halls and offering prayers for the souls of the 1.5 million innocent victims.

Successive generations, particularly after 1965, the 50th anniversary of the Armenian Genocide, tried to break the wall of silence surrounding the greatest tragedy that befell the Armenian nation.

Tens of thousands of Armenians in communities throughout the world held protest marches, wrote letters to government officials and petitioned international organizations.

The Turkish government, along with the rest of the world, initially turned a deaf ear to Armenian demands for acknowledgement of the long-forgotten genocide.

But, as media outlets, world leaders, parliaments of various countries, and international organizations began acknowledging the Armenian Genocide, Turkish leaders, astonished that the crimes perpetrated by their forefathers were making headlines after so many decades, pumped massive resources into their campaign of denial, funded foreign scholars to distort the historical facts, engaged the services of powerful lobbying firms, and applied political and economic pressure on countries acknowledging the Genocide.

Since 1965, dozens of countries, including Canada, France, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, Belgium, Greece, Russia, Sweden, Argentina and Uruguay, have recognized the Armenian Genocide.

Even though, it is commonly assumed that the United States has not acknowledged the Armenian Genocide, the fact is that all three branches of the American government—executive, legislative and judiciary—have repeatedly acknowledged the Armenian Genocide.

The first time that the Executive branch made a reference to the Armenian Genocide was all the way back in 1951 in a document filed by the US government with the International Court of Justice (the World Court).

The second reference to the Armenian Genocide by the Executive branch was made by Pres. Ronald Reagan when he issued Presidential Proclamation 4838 on April 22, 1981.

The Legislative branch of the US government adopted two resolutions confirming the historical facts of the Armenian Genocide.

The first resolution, approved by the US House of Representatives on April 8, 1975, designated April 24 “as a day of remembrance for all the victims

of genocide, especially those of Armenian ancestry who succumbed to the genocide perpetrated in 1915."

A second resolution was adopted by the House of Representatives on September 10, 1984, designating April 24, 1985 "as a day of remembrance for all the victims of genocide, especially the one and a half million people of Armenian ancestry who were the victims of the genocide perpetrated in Turkey between 1915 and 1923."

Most people are unaware that the Judiciary, the third branch of the US government, has issued three federal court rulings concerning the Armenian Genocide.

Thus, with all three branches of the US government going on record reaffirming the Genocide, the United States has gained its rightful place in the ranks of righteous nations that have recognized the Armenian Genocide.

In fact, in many respects, the United States has compiled a more extensive record of acknowledging the Armenian Genocide than many other countries that have merely adopted a parliamentary resolution on this issue.

International organizations have also acknowledged the Armenian Genocide including the United Nations.

The UN Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities adopted a report in 1985, prepared by Special Rapporteur Benjamin Whitaker, acknowledging that the Armenian Genocide met all the U.N. criteria for genocide.

Two years later, in 1987, the European Parliament adopted a resolution recognizing the Armenian Genocide.

In addition, hundreds of Holocaust and Genocide scholars have issued joint statements confirming the facts of the Armenian Genocide.

After so many acknowledgments, the Armenian Genocide has become a universally recognized historical fact.

Regrettably, despite such widespread acknowledgment, some countries have yet to recognize the Armenian Genocide.

The countries that side with the denialist regime of Turkey, are not doing so due to lack of evidence or conviction, but, sadly, because of political expediency, with the intent of appeasing the denier.

One would hope that these governments would join most of the enlightened world in acknowledging the historical facts as they are, and not as the Turkish government wishes them to be!

Armenians no longer need to convince the world that what took place during the years 1915-1923 was a genocide.

This is why it makes no difference whether Pres. Trump acknowledges the Armenian Genocide

or the Congress passes another Resolution on the Armenian Genocide.

It's all done before. No need to repeat past acknowledgments.

However, the simple acknowledgment of what took place and mere apology would not heal the wounds and undo the consequences of the Genocide.

Armenians are still waiting for justice to be served, restoring their historic rights, and returning their confiscated lands and properties.

In recent years, Armenian-American lawyers have successfully filed lawsuits in U.S. federal courts, securing millions of dollars from New York Life and French AXA insurance companies for unpaid claims to policy-holders who perished in the Genocide.

In 1915, a centrally planned and executed attempt was made to uproot from its ancestral homeland and decimate an entire nation, depriving the survivors of their cultural heritage as well as their homes, lands, houses of worship, and personal properties.

A gross injustice was perpetrated against the Armenian people, entitling them, as in the case of the Jewish Holocaust, to just compensation for their enormous losses.

Restitution can take many forms. As an initial step, the Republic of Turkey should place under the jurisdiction of the Armenian Patriarchate of Istanbul all the Armenian churches and religious monuments which were expropriated and converted to mosques and warehouses or outright destroyed.

In the absence of a voluntary restitution by Turkey, Armenians should resort to litigation,

seeking "restorative justice."

In considering legal recourse, one should keep in mind that the Armenian Genocide did neither start nor end in 1915.

Large-scale killings were committed starting with Sultan Abdul Hamid's massacre of 300,000 Armenians from 1894 to 1896; the subsequent killing by the Young Turk regime of 30,000 Armenians in Adana in 1909; culminating in the Genocide of 1.5 million Armenians from 1915 to 1923; In subsequent decades, tens of thousands of Armenians were forcefully Turkified or deported by the Republic of Turkey.

Most of the early leaders of the Turkish Republic were high-ranking Ottoman officials who had participated in perpetrating the Armenian Genocide.

This unbroken succession in leadership assured the continuity of the Ottomans' anti-Armenian policies.

Today's Republic of Turkey, as the continuation of the Ottoman Empire, which Turkish President Erdogan recently acknowledged, is therefore responsible for the Genocide.

In the 1920's and 30's, thousands of Armenian survivors of the Genocide, were forced out of their homes in Cilicia and Western Armenia and deported to other parts of Turkey or to neighboring countries.

In the 1940's, these racist policies were followed by what in Turkish is called 'Varlik Vergisi,' the imposition of an exorbitant wealth tax on Armenians, Greeks and Jews, bankrupting the remnants of these communities.

During the 1955 Istanbul pogroms, many Greeks as well as Armenians and Jews were killed and injured, and their properties destroyed.

This continuum of massacres, genocide and deportations highlights the existence of a long-term strategy implemented by successive Turkish regimes from the 1890's to more recent times, to solve the Armenian Question with finality.

Consequently, the Republic of Turkey is legally liable for its own crimes against Armenians, as well as those committed by its Ottoman predecessors.

Since the Turkish Republic inherited the assets of the Ottoman Empire; therefore, it also inherited its liabilities.

Finally, since Armenians often refer to their three sequential demands from Turkey:

-- Recognition of the Genocide;

-- Reparations for their losses; and

-- Return of their lands,

Turkish denialists have concluded that once they recognize the Genocide, Armenians will then pursue their two other demands.

This is the main reason why Turkish leaders adamantly refuse to acknowledge the Armenian Genocide, fearing that its acceptance would lead to demands for compensation and lands.

They believe that by denying the first demand—recognition—they would be blocking the next two.

However, the fact is that commemorative resolutions adopted by legislative bodies of various countries, and affirmative statements by world leaders on the Armenian Genocide have no force of law, and therefore, no legal consequence.

Armenians, Turks and others involved in this still unresolved issue, must realize that recognition of the Armenian Genocide or the lack thereof, will neither enable nor deter its consideration by international legal institutions.

Once Turkish officials realize that recognition by itself cannot, and would not, automatically lead to other demands, they may no longer persist in their obsessive denial.

Without waiting for any further recognition, -- one hundred years of waiting is long enough -- Armenians must pursue their historic rights through legal channels, such as the International Court of Justice (where only states have such jurisdiction), the European Court of Human Rights, as well as individual country courts.

Therefore, justice must be pursued by all legal, political and economic

means.

After all, who could be opposed to Armenian demands for justice? Not even Turkish President Erdogan, whose ruling political party is called Justice & Development Party.

For Armenians, seeking justice means the recovery of all losses from the Genocide, including communal properties, such as churches, monuments, cemeteries, and schools, confiscated and looted properties, and the occupied territories of Western Armenia.

Therefore, one hundred years after the Genocide, recognition is not the end game, but the long overdue demand for justice, which means the recovery of everything that can be returned and compensation for whatever cannot be returned.

[David Gevorkyan]: ...I'm sure everybody has a number of questions that they would like to ask. I'd like to do one more pass with us and I want to - I really want to talk about, as the old saying goes, the elephant in the room. I want to ask the magic question. Why does the United States not recognize that genocide or other that word... the real reason - real reasons behind it.

[Harut Sassounian]: Uh - well... I hope - I hope you heard my speech.

[laughter]

[David Gevorkyan]: Right, right.

[Harut Sassounian]: I just - I just spent ten minutes explaining that the U.S. has recognized, repeatedly recognized - we just haven't got the news. Let me explain - this is very interesting. There's widespread ignorance in our Armenian community and because we are ignorant we affect the non-Arminian community to think like us. We tell them it's not recognized so the non-Armenians believe us because we ourselves are ignorant about our own issues what we're confusing in fact, it's not a recognition, what's confusing is there is recognition - there's no question about recognition. All the way back in 1951 - talking about the word "genocide" itself, if you go to before the word "genocide" you know you can go all the way to 1915 massacres and mass killings - yeah - crimes against humanity, yes everything but I'm talking - strictly let's use the word genocide it was used in 1951 by the US government in a document submitted to the world court so already in 1951, case closed, genocide is recognized by the United States.

If we did nothing else since 1951 our issue of recognition was already solved 60 years ago, but we keep saying we want recognition. What we really should say, but we don't distinguish, is that we have a president of United States - right now, president Obama - who despite his repeated promises, repeated condemnation of previous presidents, of [the] previous secretary of state, he just refuses to use the word genocide. That's different from not recognizing it. Not recognizing [it is] different from not reaffirming it or not using the term genocide, and in fact he takes the chicken way out of it by saying "I have not changed my mind." In his annual statements if you go back every year on April 24th he says "I have not changed my mind," but does not say what

was his mind. You have to go back and find out what is said before, put the two together, it is just silly word games - shameful. But let's not say that it's not recognized, because not only is it not true - let me add something even more serious - when we say it's not recognized we're really doing damage to our cause. We're raising a question in the people's minds, in the public at large, that there's something wrong with the genocide, that's why it's not recognized. In fact, what we should be saying is "It is recognized and anybody who refuses to use the word genocide, shame on them." So we shame them - and not go to politicians and ask them to pass one more resolution. We have plenty of resolutions that were adopted. As I said in my speech. In 1975 the whole House adopted unanimously, there was not one vote against it. '75 vote - if you go back - unanimous vote in the House of Representatives to adopt the resolution saying 'Armenian Genocide, one and half million killed, April 24 to be the day of the commemoration of the Armenian genocide'. '75. Then we go back to 1984 again. Again the House passes a second resolution. Well, how many resolutions are gonna pass before we convince ourselves and others that it was recognized? We should move on.

[David Gevorkyan]: I'm here to play the devil's advocate, that's about it. [To Gevork Nazarian] Give us your thoughts on the subject.

[Gevork Nazarian]: Well I certainly agree, I've been saying it for years, we have to say 'reaffirm' not 'recognize'. I think, exactly, sometimes we don't think too much that terms are important and we just use 'recognize' but it's actually reaffirming because it has been recognized and by -

[David Gevorkyan]: Because I see all over Facebook and Instagram especially, the youth and the activists who might not necessarily be involved everyday with the issue but they every now and then tend to make posts on Facebook and on Instagram and on social media. What - how should they approach it, because they actually are making a bunch of posts and then flooding the internet with evidence and statements and hashtags about the Armenian genocide.

[Gevork Nazarian]: Well, like I said, first of all just educate about the term, which is very important. Educate about these facts that Mister Sassounian also has rightly pointed out that there have been several important crucial resolutions, you know, saying - condemning Turkey for its genocide of the Armenian people and in fact, you know, it's even that 1951 actually the resolution submitted to the ICJ, International Court of Justice in The Hague was actually worked upon by Dr. Raphael Lemkin. So Raphael Lemkin was also the one who insisted that Armenian genocide is a textbook example and this is what was submitted to the United Nations and submitted by the US government to the ICJ in the Hague, citing the Armenian genocide specifically, using those words, 'The Armenian genocide', as a clear example of what constitutes a genocide. So -

[David Gevorkyan]: Agreed. We'd like to open up the floor to any questions anybody would like to ask any one of the panel members. Yes sir - all the way in the back.

[Ara Manoogian]: I have a question which is tonight we established that the genocide has been recognized by the United States. If that's the case then why over the last 20-30 years we've had lobbying groups and we've been supporting politicians for Genocide recognition. Isn't that redundancy and kind of a waste of our time and resources? Thank you. Anybody from the panel can answer that question.

[Dr. Garabet Moumdjian]: That's better for the activists. I'm the historian... [indistinct]

[laughter]

[Harut Sassounian]: Do you want me to answer it? Well, let's be honest and fair - and if we're wrong we're wrong if right or wrong, here's the picture. For a long time there was a need for all of us to struggle to get the genocide recognized. There was a time and a place for that, because a long time ago if you said 'Armenian', they didn't know what an Armenian was. If you said 'genocide' they never heard of the word. And there are still some people like that, but we've come a long way from fifty years ago, seventy years ago - a lot of the people in the world, there's - thank god there's internet - there's TV, there's all this Armenian activism worldwide. Most people who care about the world, unless they're hidden in some village in the middle of China, they're aware now. Even in Turkey millions of Turks now - the public at large I'm talking about, not the leaders. The leaders were aware all along, but the people in the hinterlands, in Anatolia, in villages, even they now have heard on their own TV sets, in Turkish, on the internet, that there was genocide. So we can congratulate ourselves for the fact that we've all done a great job. Our people, our organizations, political parties, the ANCs, and now in recent years the Armenian government with its embassies. No matter how much we criticize each other, let's be honest, we've done [a] relatively good job in spreading the word that there was a genocide. We've published books, there are scholars, there are movies. Can more be done? Yes. Is this necessary to do more? I don't think so. I think we've made our case. In court when you present your case, you've done a good job - that's it. You don't keep on proving your case over and over until you stumble and make a mistake and the whole thing crumbles. So we've made our case. The world knows it. As I said in my remarks, there are a few countries - major countries - and one of them is Israel. The other one is England. They don't want to say Genocide. Is it because they don't know it was genocide? No. Is it because they need more evidence? No. It just because of their relations with Turkey: economic relations, political relations. In fact, there are - you know - Geoffrey Robertson, the famous international lawyer, just published a book. In the book he made a freedom of information request from the British government - this is a similar law that we have in this country, they have it also in England - and he got all the internal documents of recent years. Not 100 years ago, just last few years ago, to see what the British leaders were saying to each other in their private meetings about the Armenian Genocide. And it turns out a lot of them - that they scratched, crossed over, you know, so that you can't read what they said because they're too embarrassed. It's scandalous if the world finds out what they were saying. One of the documents, surprisingly, they forgot to scratch over. It says, 'Well, our

position is shameful,' meaning the British government's position, 'but because we have economic and political dealings with Turkey, we have to take this shameful position of denying the genocide, saying it's not really genocide.' So at this point now, so there was a time where we needed to do that. Now in recent years do we want to continue doing this? Absolutely not. It's a complete waste of resources, manpower. We can be spending those funds, those energies that we have in a lot of other ways. Everything from strengthening Armenia economically, politically, militarily, our own communities filing lawsuits in international courts, getting a team of top-notch international lawyers, which costs a lot of money. Set up a fund, hire them. Do a lot of research. Lawyers are not going to get up just because we know it was genocide. You know, just go to court, international court and say it was genocide - or a European court. You need to have documents. You need to have research, and not just emotional statements. It takes a lot of time, it takes years - we haven't done this. We have to start at some point. Recently there are some steps being taken in that direction. So you need to organize this, you need to put money into it, get the experts, put all the documents in front of them and then decide which court you present which of the issues. You don't just go to any court and raise the genocide issue, because not all courts deal with past issues. There are questions about the Genocide Convention because it was in 1948, and they may not consider any issue before 1948. The World Court may not even want to deal with the issue. And then if you don't do proper research for the experts and you just blindly present an issue, and even on the technicality the court says they reject it - on a technicality, not because they rule against it - the Turks will take that, scream about it worldwide from rooftops, saying, "Aha, the World Court rejected the Armenian claims." So this is a very serious thing when it comes to genocide recognition we all get up and protest or do campaigns, we're activists. But when it comes to international law, I don't know if there's anybody here in this hall who's an international expert. I'm not, so you need to be an international legal expert. There are only a few people who qualify. very few among Armenians and even few non-Armenians. So we need to really get these people in a room, fund them, give them time, put all the documents in front of them and then come to the bottom line. That's what would scare the Turks more than anything else like resolutions, protests, lectures, and movies. Turkey has a bigger microphone than we do. They have a bigger loudspeaker than that we do. It's a major country. When they say something, when Erdoğan makes an announcement, the whole world hears it whether they like it or not. If when we say, or even the president of Armenia says something, only our Armenian papers carry it. We hear it. So there's a big difference between their ability to reach out to the world and us. But if you win a court case and there's an actual demand, a lot of people think that even if the court would decide something that Turkey will not comply with. That's another thing that's a falsehood. The European Court of Human Rights where Turkey is a member of European Council, not European Union, and Turkey has been a member of European Council, Council of Europe since the 1950s. There is a something called the European Court of Human Rights that is enforceable to all member states of the Council of Europe, and Turkey is a member. Since 1950 till today, Turkey has lost thousands of lawsuits - thousands of lawsuits - in the European

Court, and believe it or not, they have paid every single fine European Court has placed on Turkey - to the last penny. Why? If they ignore, don't pay a single dollar from the verdict of The European Court, they'll be thrown out of the Council of Europe and they will never ever join the European Union. So we have really important angles. All we have to do is approach it logically, get the help of experts and pursue it in an intelligent way, and I think a Centennial is enough recognition and let's move on to our real demands.

Chapter 35

Talaat's Conclusion

Many conclusions can be drawn from the archival documents found in Shahan Natalie's private archive. I believe that most of them speak for themselves. By studying what's presented, readers can make their own inferences. In the place of a conclusion, I would like to share a secret British document that I believe validates much of what we have presented in this book and gives the reader a better understanding of what was truly happening behind closed doors—where one can find the driving force of the West's secret war for oil and the ongoing Armenian Genocide.

No. 1259 Berlin, **140**

SECRET 5th December , 1920.

My Lord,

I have the honour to enclose a secret Report of a conversation between Talaat Pasha and a private friend of his, which took place in Berlin a few days ago.

Tallat Pasha's statements are not without interest and a good deal that he says is not improbable. I understand that his relations with the German Foreign Office are indirect and that there is dislike and suspicion on both sides.

Talaat Pasha appears to have got through most of the money which he secured during the war and is said not to be at all well off.

I would draw Your Lordship's special attention to the passages describing the nature of the assistance given by Moscow to Kemal Pasha.

Curiously enough another Turk, General Muhmoud Pasha, called at this Embassy to-day and spoke in much the same strain to a member of the Staff. He stated that he had been Minister of Marine and Public Works in 1912, 1913-1914, and had recently been taken to Malta as a hostage subsequently released. He said he was the personal friend of several Ministers in the present Turkish Cabinet. He stated that Djemal Pasha was now in Afghanistan and that Halil Pasha and Sami Bey are at Tashkend.

I have the honour to be with the highest respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

The Right Honourable

The Earl Curzon of Kedleston, K.G.,

Etc., etc., etc.

Enclosure in Lord D'Abernon's dispatch No. 1259 of Dec. 5 1920

BERLIN, **141**
December 2nd, 1920.

INTERVIEW WITH TALAAT PASHA

Talaat prefaced his remarks by a cursory Apologia for the entry of Turkey into the German Alliance in 1914. The efforts of his Government to attain an understanding with England were wain, owing to the opposition of Russia. Russia's interests in the Turkish Empire were more immediate and more vital from the point of view of the integrity and sovereignty of the country, than those of any other European Power. As far back as 1908 he had endeavoured to pacify English opinion by proposing a solution of the Armenian Quesiton. He invited England to nominate an Inspector, who would be furnished with Extraordinary powers in that Province. He visited England and the Government acquiesced, but withdrew their consent shortly afterwards, owing to the protest of the Russian Government.

In Spring, prior to the war he interviewed Sassonoff, and the question of the Dardanelles was exhaustively discussed. Talaat maintained that the Turkish Control of the Straits was after all the best solution of this most difficult problem. They would never be closed to Russia. Sassonoff replied that this held good as long as peace reigned, but in the even of war between Turkey and Greece, for example, the Straits must perforce be closed. Talaat replied that the obvious solution of the whole problem was a Russian-Turkish Alliance, whereupon Sassonoff laughed and the interview terminated.

The building of the Bagdad railway was merely one of the links in the long chain of interference with Turkish affairs of which the Powers were guilty, and which the Turkish financial situation facilitated. Viewed from a patriotic stand-point, Germany's designs in the Near East were the least dangerous, although Germany had estranged sympathy by assenting to the Emos Media Line. Marshall was the ablest of the Corps Diplomatique at the Porte. Neither Wangenheim's influence nor German pressure elicited a declaration in favour of Germany and the Cabinet remained sharply divided during August 1914. Enver and he insisted that Turkey could not remain neutral and demanded a declaration in favour of Germany because the best opinion reckoned with Bulgaria's sympathy with Russia and the intervention of Greece in accordance with her pledge to Servia. He could not assume that Constantine would break

his word. To allow Russia free use of the Dardanelles was to violate the agreement with Germany and was equivalent to the loss of the Straits because it assured an Entente victory. Entente supporters in the Cabinet declared that the intervention of England absolved Turkey from her obligation. English sympathy was general among the public. Certain Englishmen knew the Turkish Empire better than the Turks themselves – Fitzmaurice and Aubrey Herbert.

Things drifted. The Cabinet was unaware until 16th of August that Admiral Souchon had telegraphed Berlin for twelve officers and five hundred men to put the defense of the Straits in order. The untimely appearance of the Goeben and Breslau on the 11th August decided the fate of Turkey. The Cabinet had requested their disarmament without success. A fortnight later Souchon promptly bombarded Odessa and Noverossisk flying the Turkish and German flags. The Cabinet found itself with a fait accompli.

The alliance with Bulgaria was unpopular during the war. Talaat viewed Bulgarian intervention with mixed feelings. He was never anxious that Greece should join the Central Powers or that the Central Powers should gain a decisive victory. His visits to German Headquarters were not a pleasant memory. During the Brest Litowsk negotiations Czernin Kuhlmann and he agreed to recognize Turkish interests in the Caucasus but Ludendorff, who was in constant telephonic communication gave General Hoffman instructions to ignore the Turkish view although Enver assisted the Germans in Galicia with two divisions at a critical moment.

He visited Ludendorff in August 1918. He obtained an audience of thirty minutes after waiting two hours. He pointed out the weakness of the Bulgarian position in the event of an attack by the Allies during the Autumn. Ludendorff complained that the settlement of the Maritza Valley and other questions rendered Turkish-Bulgarian relations unsatisfactory. Talaat suggested that the German troops employed on expeditions to Odessa and Batum would be more useful in Macedonia. Their withdrawal would allay Turkish suspicions as to Germany's intentions in the Caucasus. Ludendorff refused.

Loyal co-operation with the astute Ferdinand of Bulgaria was very difficult. Turkish statesmen were not renowned for loyalty but they were honest in comparison with Ferdinand. He recalled an incident at Sofia. Returning to Constantinople his train stopped in Sofia and he observed unusual excitement on the platforms. Malinoff paid him a visit in his saloon and explained that a division had abandoned its post on the front, and was marching on Sofia with an ever-growing army of deserters and that the catastrophe was inevitable. He promptly affered to sear two Turkish [document damaged]

~~Malinoff declined and Talaat gather that~~ Malinoff was not particularly anxious to arrest the course of events. The conversation had lasted an hour when Ferdinand's A.D.C. invited him to an audience. For twenty minutes Ferdinand discussed various political questions. The duplicity angered Talaat who interposed abruptly that Malinoff had just intermewed him for an hour and he was au courant with the situation. Ferdinand merely replied "Interview Malinoff again, impress your point of view on him, as I, too, regard the situation more hopefully."

Reverting to the present situation Tallat said the treaty of Sevres was now driving the Turkish Nationalists into the arms of the Bolshevists. Enver had gone to Moscow and had obtained support for Mustapha Kemal in Armenia. Some two hundred thousand riffles and two and a half million pounds had been delivered and promises of more had been made. Enver's supporters had been given 'carte blanche' to organise Moslems from Turkestan to Asia Minor and incide them to embarrass England everywhere in the East. He did not approve of the conditions which the Soviet Government was anxious to impose. He had no fear of Bolshevist propaganda among Mohomedans. It was doomed to failure, being opposed to their mentality and to the Koran. Talaat regarded the whole adventure skeptically. His influence was sufficient to put an end to the unrest in the East should the occasion arise. Here in Berlin a semblance of an independent Turkish Government was maintained. Thus their Emir Chekkib Arslan was Minister of Foreign Affairs. They lived under false names to obviate embarrassing the German Authorities. He had been to Italy and Switzerland recently. His passport on that occasion (produced) was made out in the name "Monsieur Dupont a Swiss subject." His identity was fairly secure. In Rome a lady remarked his resemblance to Talaat Pasha!

The advantages of a reconciliation with the Turkish Nationalists to Great Britain were obvious. Mesopotamia, Turkestan, and the Caucasus could be readily tranquilized. The oid-fields could be secured to British exploitation. In fact order and peace in the Near East depended on reasonable settlement. An amnesty should be granted to the leaders and to the political prisoners in Malta. The Vilayet of Smyrna might become a free state akin to Danzig. Some Turkish influence should be permitted north of the line Alexandretta-Mosul. He had read Mr. Colby's note from the U.S. State Department on the oil-fields. Turkey was not an industrial country and needed no oil. A settlement in favour of Great Britain was a bagatelle if Turkey secured some financial help.

The struggle of Europe against Bolshevism would be facilitated by the support of the Mahohedan republics bordering on Russia which were a natural

barrier against Bolshevism or any other form of Russian penetration. He could count on the support of the twenty million Mahomedan subjects living within Russia. The permission to organise these territories was a weapon which Enver could use more readily against Moscow than with Moscow.

His sojourn in Berlin was disagreeable. Inactivity weighed on him. He could little understanding of the problems of the Near East which were the common stock of the Entente Foreign Offices. He cited with great indignation an invitation by a leading German politician to meet certain alleged Turks at dinner. These turned out to be Constantinople Jews. He concluded by saying that Fate was responsible for the concatenation of events since 1912 which culminated in the destruction of Turkey. Resistance to Fate took the form of adventures of which he was reluctant to approve.

Appendix I

The Murderous Beginnings of the Hunchakian Party

Alfarists

The so called "New Hunchakist" party was featured in *The New York Times* on October 28, 1903, following the murder of a member of the original Hunchakist in London. In the article found on page 9, titled "ARMENIAN LEADER SLAIN: London Excited by Development of Revolutionaries' Feud," the so-called "New Hunchakist" was referred to as the "Alfarists." The Alfarists were described by Armenians living in the United States as "the Turkish spy bunch of the Hentchakist party…who split from the old Hentchakist revolutionary body in 1896."

As for the man who was slain in London, it was Sagatel Sagouni, President of the Armenian Revolutionary Society, deemed the most prominent Armenian in London. Originally from Shamakhi, near Baku, he was an educated mining engineer who had graduated from the University of Tiflis. He had worked in the oil fields in Baku and was reported to have had an important position as an engineer. He was a scholar and a publicist, devoting what leisure he had to the Armenian cause, writing several political works and being active in the propaganda. Sagouni had moved to England from New York in 1902. He had become wealthy as a mining engineer while in the Caucasus and devoted his money to the Armenian cause. His branch of Hunchakist society was entirely passive and was opposed to violence. The convention of the Armenian Passivists had been a sensation in the United States, and it was suggested that the opportunity was chosen by the violent fraction of the Hunchakists as a favorable one for disposing of the principal leaders.

The Alfarist section of the Hentchakist Society was headed by a man named Alfar who was expelled from the society after the split in 1895, when it was alleged that the Alfarists were paid spies of the Sultan of Turkey. There was some attempt in 1902 to patch up differences, but the majority decided that the Alfarist only wanted to get control of the society's newspaper, the *Hentchak,* with the object of suppressing it. The Alfarists were an anarchistic group, and their split from the main body was due to the rejection of their socialistic and anarchistic doctrines.

Upon learning about Sagatel Sagouni's murder, Hovagim Maroukian, assistant editor of the Young Armenia newspaper, concluded that the crime was the outcome of a split that occurred in the revolutionary party in 1902. Maroukian said that the party was formed to secure the freedom of Armenia, and in 1902 it split over the question of Socialism. With the separation, according to Maroukian, came the disclosure by the "old party" representatives that $20,000 collected for use in freeing Armenia had disappeared. Immediately, as the organ of the old party, Young Armenia called for an explanation of the disappearance of the money. Receiving no clarification, Young Armenia inferred that the funds had been intentionally diverted from the purpose, for which they had been collected. This assertion angered the new faction. It was reported that a member of the old party had recently been assassinated in Cairo, Egypt. The second act of hostility was an attempted assassination of Mr. Kuregian in Boston, the summer before. And a third attempt to murder a member of the "old party" was intended to eliminate the first president, Nazarbeck, in Lausanne, 2 weeks prior to the London murder.

"Reformed" Hunchak Party

The "new" fraction of the Huntchaks would later be known as the "Reformed" Hunchak. This lovely bunch, in my humble opinion, made the Alfarists look like angels.

The Evening Star (Washington, DC) newspaper of May 26, 1906, Page 8 describes the "new" fraction of the Huntchaks:

> "The American Armenians are generally neutral, although the largest portion of the membership of the new society is found in this country. They are however, almost exclusively of the poorer class and the treasury is usually empty. This has been found difficult to pay the expenses of the agitators, and they have been compelled to resort to blackmail and other disreputable and even criminal practices to obtain money. They have been guilty of a number of murders. They do not hesitate at anything."

The Reformed Hunchaks were radical. They had attempted to assassinate the Sultan on July 21, 1905. Instead of killing the latter, the bomb that the assassins dispatched from the United States detonated took the lives of 40 innocent people. A month later, on August 26, they assassinated one of the richest Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, Apik Effendi Oundjian. He was a banker who had refused to be blackmailed by the Reformed Henchakists. The deceased Armenia Apik had suffered for close to a decade at the hands of the Hunchaks and the Ottoman government. In September of 1896, Apik Effendi, who then holding a rank given to him by Sultan Abdul Hamid of Bala, the highest dignity of the Empire after that of Vizier, was arrested and charged with alleged bribing of state functionaries and embezzlement of government funds. On October 5, 1896, the Democrat and Chronicle newspaper (Rochester, New York), reported on page 3 that Apik Effendi was able to secure his own release within a week by paying $100,000. This, however, was a short-lived freedom. Soon, a police report reached the palace that a document with a list of subscriptions to the revolutionary treasury was recently found in the possession of one of the recently arrested Armenian conspirators. That the list contained the name of Apik Oundjin Effendi with a very big price tag placed opposite. Within hours, Apik was once more under lock and key, this time charged with high treason. In his speedy trial, he was found guilty for conspiring with revolutionary Armenians against the sultan and, particularly, providing funds. This was based on perjured witnesses. All of Apik Effendi's wealth was confiscated, a moderate estimate of his fortune totalled around $10 million. The Democrat and Chronicle newspaper stated:

> …the sultan would be flying in the face of Providence to let such a chance go of replenishing his coffers. Whatever may be Abdul Hamid's weakness in the matter of blood-letting, his piety is undoubted, and he would not be likely to offend Allah by neglecting thoroughly to bleed this particular Christian. Millionaire Apik's factories, shops and villas and his fine palace overlooking the Bosporus were now in the hand of the sultan's confidential treason smellers. They have planted the subsequently discovered compromising documents galore, so that virtually all that remains to be done was to find Apik Oundjian guilty, in what passes in Turkey for due process of law, and then confiscate his property. If he manages to keep his head on this shoulders he will be an exceptionally fortunate Armenian.

He was sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment. The October 19, 1896 Democrat and Chronicle newspaper reported on the outcome of the case, stating:

> "In any proper court of justice the evidence would not have

> convicted a dog, but it was quite good enough for the sultan's creatures. The crime and the consequent sentence involved the forfeiture of this worldly goods, which of course, was the chief object."

On October 22, 1896, the Fort Wayne New reported that the most sensational trial ever known in Turkey was concluded and Apik Effendi was condemned to three years seclusion in the fortress. They had accused him of being the chief of the revolutionary committee, but later were unable to prove it. However, since it was established that he had a connection to the movement, he was given the minimum penalty possible. On December 12, 1896, the Democrat and Chronicle newspaper reported that on December 11th, Apik Effendi, had been pardoned by the sultan.

As a side note of the arrest of Apik Effendi, on October 6, 1896, the Belfast News-Letter (Belfast, Antrim, Northern Ireland) reported on page 6 the motive behind the arrest of Apik Effendi and a number of other notables in the Armenian community. It would seem that the treasury was nearing empty and after the arrests of the Armenians, the papers reported that the Sultan had made a present to the Ministry of finance of LT150,000 from his privy purse.

The final act of the Reformed Hunchak Party, which would be the beginning of the end to their criminal antics took place on July 22, 1907 with the assassination of Hovaness Tavshanjian, a millionaire rug merchant in Union Square, New York.

The assassin was quickly captured and a dragnet came down on all known Henchakists. Among those who were arrested was an Armenian priest, Father Martoogessian. The New York Times reported on July 30, 1907:

> Father Martoogessian, the Armenian priest whose name has been mentioned in connection with secret societies since the murder of H. S. Tavshanjian, was arrested last night and locked up at Police Headquarters.
>
> With him a number of Armenians were also arrested. Some of them were detained, but several who had been caught in the dragnet spread by the police through the Armenian quarter were released after being examined.
>
> Although the names of the priest and his associates are only entered on the blotter at Police Headquarters with the comment "suspicious persons," it is believed that the police acted only after getting evidence of a conspiracy explaining not only the murder of Tavashnjian, but a number of other, some of them committed as far away as Odessa, Russia.
>
> The information under which the police and the District Attorney have acted is believed to have come from many sources, and in the case of one of the prisoners of last night, Cappissian, proprietor of the Ararat restaurant at 154 East Twenty-seventh Street, it is believed that the arrest was made to save him from the vengeance of Armenian conspirators. It is understood that he has aided the District Attorney's office in the investigation of the matter.

A week later, on August 6, 1907, The Washington Post ran a story titled, "ALL SWORN TO KILL -- Constitution of the Hunchakist Society Found. DAGGERS ON SEAL OF ORDER – Members Said to Be Liable to Indictment for Murder. – Under Oath to Execute Sentences of Death Issued by Either the "General Assembly" or Other Central Body. Father Martogessian, Suspected of Knowing Something of the Murder of Tavshanjian, Helped From Society."

Special to the Washington Post.

New York, Aug. 5.—The district attorney has secured a copy of the "Fundamental Constitution and By-Laws of the Reformed Hunchakist Revolutionary Society." Attonry Manley had the document translated—it is printed in Armenian—and it proved an interesting bit of reading.

By the regulations of the constitution, every member of the organization must take an oath to obey all orders implicitly. The constitution states plainly that the "general assembly" and the various central committees have the right to condemn persons to death and carry out the punishment. It is the opinion of the district attorney's office that every member of the organization is liable to indictment for murder by reason of having taken the oath to obey the "fundamental constitution and the by-laws."

This new finding of the district attorney was unearth in a raid on the establishment of Stepen Kardarian, at 149 Tenth avenue. The raid followed information received by the Assistant District Attorney Manley to the effect that Kardarian had been a member of the central committee here a year ago, and at the same time that Father Martogessian is known to have been the general treasurer.

Says He Left Organization.

Kardarian was brought to the district attorney's office to-day and questioned. He says he is no longer associated with the organization. Father Martogessian has said the same thing, as have all the others rounded up since the beginning of the investigation to discover the man or men that ordered the killing of Tavshanian in Union Square two weeks ago today. Kardarian was not arrested, but is under surveillance.

The little document is bound in red, and on the cover it the seal of the Recormed Hunchakists, which is a flag, two daggers, hammer, and shattered fetters and chains. The preamble states that the constitution and by-laws were adopted in 1903 and subsequently amended at the general convention held in Cairo last year.

This is interesting as bearing upon the present investigation, for the reason that Father Martoggessian and the other terrorist members of the regular Hunchakist were expelled in 1903, and formed the Reformed Hunchakist Society. It was in this year the following general convention of the reformers at Cairo that the president of the original Hunchakist was tracked to London and slain. About the same time a regular Hunchakist was killed in Boston and other went from this country and was killed, after being frightfully tortured, in Odessa. Many members of the original Hunchakist organization were slain in 1903 and in the subsequent years.

May Issue Death Sentence.

Article 83 of the constitution says that the "central committee, by unanimous vote, can condemn any member to death, being responsible to the general committee," and then goes on to set forth that the general committee can condemn to death, without stating that body is responsible to anybody.

At the end of the constitution is stated most plainly that "every member of the society must take an oath to obey the constitution

and by-laws."

Father Martogessian, the unfrocked and degraded Armenian priest, under arrest for attempted robbery, and who is suspected of having something to do with the killing of Tavshanjian, was brought before Judge Foster in General Sessions to-day to plead to additional indictments. There have been found, in all, against him four indictments for attempted robbery, in that he tried to extort money from wealthy Armenians by threat.

Martogessian had no statement to make to-day, and his rumored confession implicating others was not forthcoming.

Little Bedros Hampartzoomian, the actual murderer of Tavshanjian, is still sullen and stubborn and refuses to tell who it was that put him up to the killing.

On August 13, 1907, The Baltimore Sun ran a story titled: "FIND POISNED WEAPONS – Detective Unearth an Arsenal Of Death-Dealing Implements. – HIDDEN UNDER PILE OF COAL – In Cellar Of an Armenian Restaurant In New York—Believed To Be For Use Of Assassins."

[Special Dispatch to the Baltimore Sun.]

New York, Aug. 12.—Cunningly hidden under a ton of coal in the cellar bin of an Armenian restaurant at 317 East Forty-fifth street, Detective Petroino and his men today unearthed a collection of death-dealing daggers, bombs, pistols and poisons, which combined in their equipment for the professional assassin all the elements of modern invention with mediaeval ingenuity in making vertain the death of the appointed victims.

One touch of any of the daggers or of the two short, sharp-pointed files would mean death. The bomb, if filled with the giant powder found beside it and exploded, would blow any ordinary house to pieces. In three covered pottles with solid stoppers was hydrocyanic acid, better known as prussic acid, whose very vapor is deadly, and of which a few pounds would be sufficient to kill the whole city's population.

Surrounded by these appalling tools District Attorney Jerome, with his assistants, tonight questioned for hours several Armenians, seeking to probe to the bottom of the machinations of the Hunchakist Society, which is credited with taking through its agent, the life of Hovannes Tavshanjian, a wealthy Armenian merchant, July 22, after he had refused to pay blackmail.

At 11 o'clock, after six hours of interrogations, interrupted only for dinner, Mr. Jerome left police headquarters.

Again and again through the evening Kissak Jelalian, of 148 Tenth avenue, had been hustled up from a cell to the inquiry room and subjected to every device the wit of this interrogators could supply in the effort to clear the mystery of the alleged murder society. Jalalian was arrested in an Armenian restaurant in East Twenty-sixth street Sunday night and was held in $5,000 bail by Magistrate Steinert to-day.

It is charged that he was an intimate of Hampartzoomian or Hagopian, who shot Tavshanjian, and that Jelalian accompanied the other man to Union Square on July 22 and pointed out Tavshanjian

as the man whom his companion had been appointed by the Hunchakists to slay.

After Jelalian's arrest Detective Petrosino hastened to Boston and there arrested another man, whose identity was bot been made known. Petrosino returned early today and at 5 o'clock went to 317 East Forty-fifth street with Detective Tichoos, of his staff. After futile interrogations of the tenant they went through the house in a comprehensive search, this yielding nothing till the cellar was reached. In a bin there was a ton of coal. Petrosino and Tichoos laboriously moved every bit of it and, under the floor, found the arsental already described.

The Buffalo Evening News ran a story on August 19, 1907 that shed some light on how bad thing were in the Armenian community due to the blackmail and murders of the Hunchakists. The story was titled: "DEVOTE LIVES TO MURDER. – Five Gangs of Assassins Busy Amoung Armenian and Turks in This Country."

From evidence obtained by the police in the investigation of the murder of H. S. Tavshanjian it appears that there are five gangs of assassins working among the Armenians and Turks in this and other countries, with Boston and Chicago as their headquarters.

They are grouped as follows, says the New York Tribune: First, a gang said to be emissaries of the Turkish Government, killing exiles from that country whom they have reasons to fear. Second, the two dissenting fractions of the Huntchakist Society, the "patriots" and the "revolutionary party." Third, men hired by blackmailers to kill the rich who refuse to accede to their demands. Fourth, men hired by the rich to kill the assassins.

That Tavshanjian was murdered by the blackmailers there is no doubt, but Father Kaspar Vartarian, whose body was found in a trunk in May, was a poor man, as was Rev. L. B. Chittjian, of Worcester, Mass., the head of the Huntchakist Patriotic Society, who was mysteriously murdered at Odessa in April, 1903. These crimes are attributed to Turkish spies.

The clearing up of murders of Tavshanjian and Father Kaspar the police may solve a series of mysterious assassinations in the last five years in different parts of the world. The persons suspected in the trunk mystery, were from Chicago and Bedros Hampartzoomian went from Chicago to Boston, where, it is said, he was given $300 to pay his expenses in the city while lying in wait for his victim.

Through the efforts of the police and Mr. Skinner, the American Consul at Marseilles, France, the official of that city arrested Goghos Sakaian, whom Inspector McCafferty believes to be Paul Sarkisian, wanted in connection with the murder of Father Kaspar. Counsel Skinner cabled the police authorities here:

"Sarkisian discovered body in his room. Believes Moradian and Ermoyain (his two accomplices also wanted) put it there. Fled alone, fearing consequences. His companions, Moradian and Ermoyian, are members of the committee whose nature is unknown."

"This is virtually a confession that this man is guilty," said McCaffery. "I believe he is. He said he fled alone; that is a lie. We know he fled when in company of his two accomplices to Montreal."

It being admitted that Father Kaspar lost his life because of his connection with the Huntchakist society, the question police are trying to solve is. Was the priest slain by secret agents in the employ of Turkish government officials, or was he a traitor to the revolutionary party?

The suspect in the trunk were known to be loyal Turkish subjects, and they had no connection with the revolutionary troubles in Armenia, is the answer to both queries, as advanced by Inspector McCafferty.

The assassination of Chittjian was brought to the attention of the federal authorities, and it was charged that he was slain by secret agents of the Turkish government, who had followed him over half of the continent and finally murdered him in Odessa. Since the killing of Tavshanjian and the finding out of the "Reformed Huntchakists," it is said that the priest was murdered by the same men responsible for the murder of the rug merchant.

That no less than 13 men were doomed to death became known through a statement made by S. G. Shaghalran, of Boston, after news of the murder of Father Chittjian reached this country. Mr. Shaghalran received a "death notice." And that it was not a idle one became apparent when at noon on July 7, 1903, Peter Kureglah was shot and fatally wounded as he was about to enter an elevated road station at Roxbury, Mass. His assailant was said to be Samuel Gulgein. It was discovered that at least one of the persons in the mysterious affair was a member of one of the Huntchakist fractions.

Then came the murder of an Armenian living in London, and after the commission of that crime another member of the society was mysteriously slain near Chicago.

The next name on the condemned list was erased when Garbed M. Kentoonin, a former resident of Harpoot and a prominent member of the Huntchakist organization, was found dead on May 23, 1903, in the apartment which he occupied on the top floor of the rear tenement house, 238 East Thirteenth street, this city. The Armenian almost beheaded, had in all 17 wounds on the body.

Kentoonin, aware that he was a doomed man, had led a life of a recluse. He was employed in a pencil factory on East Fourteenth street. He had few callers. For carving knives, bloodstained, where found on the floor of the apartment in which the butchered occupant had lain dead at least a day before the tragedy came to light.

And the gory list closes for the time being with the death of H. S. Tavshanjian. Archbishop Hoosep Sarajian's appeal to his people to work with the authorities had done much to bring the District Attorney's hands important evidence which it is hoped will ultimately result in breaking up the five murderous ganges.

On January 19, 1908, while the assassin Bedros Hampartzoomian was awaiting execution in the Sing Sing death cell and Father Martoogessian and several others connected with the Reformed Hunchaskists were waiting for their trials to be called, the St. Louis Post dispatch ran a story titled: "ARMENAINS BURN A SKYSCRAPER TO AVENGE ARREST – Evidence Shows Blackmailers, Angered at Tenant, Started New York Fire. – MERCHANT THREATENED – Rug Dealers Caught Hunchakist Who Said Loss Was Imminent."

By Leased Wire From the New York Bureau of the Post-Dispatch.

NEW YORK, Jan. 18. – Evidence is rapidly accumulating that the fire which a week ago destroyed the Parker Building, the skyscraper at Fourth avenue and Nineteenth street, caused the death of three firemen, and the loss of $6,000,000, besides stopping street traffic and the subway for two days, not only was the work of incendiaries, but was set in revenge by the secret Armenian society known as the Hunchakists.

The millionaire firm of A. & M. Karaghensian occupied all the fourth floor of the Parker Building, their business being the importing and manufacture of Oriental and domestic rugs. The firm is known to the trade as the largest in the world and carried a stock valued at more than $1,000,000. It has branch offices and factories in Paris, London and Constantinople. There is no doubt that the Parker Building fire started on the fourth floor, occupied by the Karaghensian firm. All the fire chiefs agree on that.

Got Threatening Letters.

During the last three years the New York representatives of the firm have received from time to time threatening letters from members of the band, demanding money ranging from $5000 to $50,000. Since the murder of H.S. Tavshanjian, the millionaire rug merchant and Persian Commissioner to the St. Louis World's Fair, who was shot down last July at midday in Union Square by Bedros Hampartzoomian, the life and property of Karaghensian have been in constant peril, and many detectives and bodyguards have been in his constant service.

There are more than 60 Hunchakists in New York, a score in Philadelphia and a half hundred more scattered through various other cities. These blakcmailers are under the direction and control of a man named Arzovian and are ready to do his bidding. Father Martoogessian and several others connected with the Hunchakists are now in the Tombs and their trials soon are to be called. Bedros Hampartsoomian, who was brought here from abroad to kill Tavshanjian, is waiting execution in the Sing Sing death cell.

Knows Secret, Letter Says.

The most recent letter demanding money was received by the rug merchant recently. It was signed "Nevrouzyan," and in part was as follows:

"I know a secret about the Karaghenshian Brothers, and, if you neglect to learn this secret it will mean a loss of $200,000 to you and brother, Askhag Karaghensian, and if you inform this to the Government it will make your loss still larger."

Thereupon, Mr. Karaghensian sent for Nevrouzyan and made an appointment in his salesroom in the Parker Building. Marked bills in small denominations were paid to Nevrouzyan, who was at once arrested by detectives. A jury found him guilty. The prisoner was sentenced Dec. 4 to one year and six months in Penitentiary.

Since the Parker Building fire last Friday night, investigation has been made as to the associates of Nevrouzyan and proof ahs been obtained that he is a member of the Hunchakists and has been in close touch with Arzovian.

Nevrouzyan is about 37 years old, rather tall, round faced and blue eyed. He has been in this country about two years, and has had

no regular occupation. He was a porter for a few weeks in an uptown rug store.

On February 27, 1908, The Buffalo Express newspaper reported that Father Levant Martoogessian, the Huntchakist leader, who has been on trial before Judge Malone, was found guilty of extortion. He was sentenced to two years and six months in Sing Sing prison.

Following the sentencing of Father Martoogessian, the Reformed Huntchakists hold a meeting to discuss what they saw as an unjust act. The New York Times reported on June 28, 1908 on the meeting:

HUNCHAKISTS UPHOLD ARMENIAN MURDERS

Proclaim Father Martoogessian, Now in Sing Sing, a Martyer to Freedom.

WARN OTHERS TO GIVE UP

Society in an Open Meeting Here Denounce the Authorities and Says Slain Men Deserved Their Fate

The Reformed Hunchakist Society, the former head of which, Father Levont Martoogessian, was sentenced to a term in Sing Sing for attempted extortion last Winter, held a meeting in the assembly hall of the United Charities Building, Twenty-second Street and Fourth Avenue, last night. The speakers, two of whom admitted that they represented the Reformed Hunchakists, pictured Martoogessian as a martyr, and while they deplored the murder of Tavshanjian, the wealthy Armenian rug merchant, last Summer, they declared that neither he nor his kind had ever contributed to the cause of Armenian freedom.

Tavshanjian was shot to death in Union Square by Harpartzoomian, an Armenian, who declared that he was avenging the wrongs of his country. The District Attorney started an investigation that showed that prominent Armenian rug merchants had been threatened with death if they did not contribute, and that a few hours after the murder of Tavshanjian other letters were mailed warning the recipients that they would meet the same fate as Tavshanjian if they did not contribute to the cause of Armenian freedom. It was disclosed that Martoogessian had called upon the merchants and, according to testimony at the trial of the priest, had demanded money under pain or death.

Last night when the Hunchakists were reminded that the District Attorney's investigation had shown that the central committee, the general assembly and the head of each circle of the nine had the right to impose the death penalty, they merely shrugged their shoulders.

The meeting, which was finally carried through in the Charities Building, had been held up by the police last Winter soon after the conviction of Martoogessian. Dr. S. A. Abkarian, who presided and who said that he did not belong to the Hunchakist, said that Mr. Wood hand said that there would be bloodshed if the meeting was held. Mr. Abkarian also said that Martoogessian had been sacrificed by the wealthy Armenian merchants, who, because of Turkish trade relations and the pressure of the Turkish Government, had been

forced to go on the stand at the trial of Martoogessian and perjure themselves. A strong influence had also been at work upon the District Attorney, he declared.

"Our Armenians," said Dr. Abkarian in the first speech of the meeting, which like most of the others, was in Armenian, "have ever before them the ghosts of their parents who have been massacred. This perhaps leads to the lack of mental equilibrium. Perhaps to that lack of mental equilibrium is due to murder of wealthy Armenian merchant last year. I sympathize with that man who lost his head and killed this countryman, but I condemn him also. He should be punished."

Dr. Abkarian said that he was present at the trial of Martoogessian and heard the wealthy merchants asked if Martoogessian had not been their pastor when he was asked for money. And the merchants had told an untruth, saying that he had not been. The Bishop Sardajian ahd said that he had not known that Martoogessian was a Hunchakist when he had ordained him. The speaker declared that the Bishop had resided at the Hunchakist meetings.

"Why did our most honored men," he demanded, "stoop to perjury? Was there not a power behind them driving them to that? Was there not a power that forced them, that pushed them, that made them? Was it the power of the Sultan working through their mercantile relations? Was it not the power of infamous Turk forcing them to commit moral murder in the City of New York? If not that, did the office of the District Attorney do its duty? I do not accuse Jerome or his assistants, but I ask did he do it?"

Moushegh Shahinian, the present head of the Hunchakist in this country, who lives in Boston, was the next speaker. Referring to the Armenian murders, he said:

"While you sould have condemned the murder, you should also have had the courage to go to the rich and say to them: 'Are you doing your duty? Have you contributed?' If you don't do this you have contributed to the glorification of the rich. Can you point to any one of the rich Armenian merchants who has ever given a sou to the cause of this country? They have shown a Turkish spirit. You have no right to kill a rich Armenian, but he had not right to kill his country. We ought to condemn a killing, but indifference upon your part to the cause is worse than the mere killing of any individual."

The last speaker was Mehran Sevasly, who has come from abroad to lecture in the Hunchakist cause. He admits that he belongs to the Hunchakist, and that he has spend many years in Cyprus. In Cyprus in the headquarters of the mysterious Central Committee, which has dispatched avengers to kill traitors in various parts of the world.

The meeting then adopted resolutions. The first of these declared the belief of the assembly that the Hunchakist was not a blackmailing organization. They continued:

"The District Attorney's charge to the jury that the Hunchakist Society and its members are an association blackmailers is entirely unfounded and subversive of the truth.

"That the meeting condones the inquisitorial and other methods of the Police Commissioner toward Huchakists, collectively and individually, and considers the same as derogatory to the principles

of justice which govern this state.

"This meeting further expresses its sympathy with Father Martoogessian, whom it considers a martyr to the cause for which he has labored and suffered and a victim to foul play on the part of unpatriotic Armenians."

As for the assassin, who was awaiting execution at Sing Sing, the Bridgeport Times and Evening Farmer newspaper reported on December 6, 1909, an article titled, "MEETS DEATH WITH CRUSIFIX TO LIPS – Armenian "Patriot" Goes to Electric Chair Saying He Did His Duty."

Ossining, N. Y., Dec. 6.—"I did my duty to my country. Jesus save me," gasped Bedros Hampartjoomaian, Armenian "Patriot", who was electrocuted at Sing Sing prison at 6:01 o'clock this morning for the murder of Hooames Tavshanjian, a millionaire Armenian rug importer, whom he shot to death in Union Square, New York on July 22, 1907. The condemned man walked quickly to the chair, a crucifix to his lips, murmuring, "I do my duty to my country; Jesus Save Me."

No other words passed his lips until he sat in the chair. "Good-bye, warden." He called out to Warden Frost. He kissed the cross again as the attendants bound the straps about his face.

The murder for which Hampartjoomian was killed created international interest. Hampartjoomian acted as an agent for the Inner Circle of an Armenian revolutionary society known as the Hunchachists. The socity demanded immense sums of money from Tavshanjian. The money, the society claimed, was to have been used in the revolutionary efforts to overthrow the rule of Turkey in Armenia. The police declared the society was using the revolution as a cloak for gigantic blackmail.

Tavshanjian received the demands made upon him with contempt. He was close friends of Abdul Hamid, whom the revolutionists were trying to depose, and declared he would give nothing to said the plot, even if it cost him his life. Only July 22, 1907, while standing in front of his place of business in Union Square, Hampartjoomian appeared and began firing. The rug merchant fell dead.

To close our telling of the Huntchakists Party and to get an idea as to their influence on the Armenians in the United States as well as possible corruption within the United States Government and their conspiring with the Sultan to the detriment of the revolutionaries, we will take a look at what The Times-Democrat (New Orleans, Louisiana) reported on November 19, 1910 on page 9, following Father Martoogessian's release from Sing Sing Prison.

BRAVE CHURCH'S WRATH

Armenians in New York Go on Religious Strike.

Brave Infant Damnation for Cause of Martoogesian.

Convicted of Murder, Priest Loses Habiliments Without Trial Required By Cannon.

New York Sun.

The "strike against God" was organized by several hundred Armenians who crowded Murray Hill Lyceum, at 160 East Thirty-Fourth street, to give a demonstrative welcome to Levont Martiigessian, the unfrocked Armenian priest released from Sing Sing Aug. 27 after having served two years and six months there for attempting extortion in the name of the Hunchakist society. Martoogessian had been arrested at the gates of Sing Sign upon the day of his release on warrants based on three more indictments for attempting extortion, but on Sept. 8 Judge Malone in General Sessions dismissed the indictments and he is now free, still wearing the clericals of his church.

The "strike against God," was Miran Sevasly, and Armenian lawyer from Boston, phrased the movement for the benefit of the meeting, is a revolt against the Primate of the Armenian Apostolic Church in the old country because he unfrocked Martoogessian without an ecclesiastical trial. Those who joined the strike last night swore to give up communion in the faith, to stay away from all services and to refrain from having any of their children baptized until the convict priest shall have been restored.

Less than a month ago Sevesly started this ecclesiastical strike in Boston, where the Hunchakist society is strong and where Father Martoogessian is held as a great martyr to the machinations of Turkish spies and Armenian traitors as he is by the brethren in New York. He told his audience that already there were more than 500 children braving infant damnation—a tenet still held by the Armenian Apostolic Church—because their parents had joined the strike and had refused to have them baptized.

BOSTON CHURCH QUAKES.

The church was in a fair way of being wrecked in Boston, Sevesly added, and when the strike spreads to New York diocese, would either have to prevail upon the primate in Armenia to reconsider the disbarment of Martuugessian or he would have no see left.

Sevasly and other speakers told the Armenians in explosive

polysyllables that as soon as Martoogessian was arrested following the murder of H. S. Tavshanjian, the wealthy rug merchant, by agents of the Hunchakist in the summer of 1907, Archbishop Semerjian had written the Primate in Armenia that Martoogessian had been arrested on a charge of complicity in the murder and advised that he be unfrocked. The Primate had acted upon this advice from the New York prelate without giving Fater Martoogessian an opportunity to be tried, as the canons of the church provide, the Boston leader said, and not until he was released from prison a few days ago had Martoogessian learned that he was not longer a priest in the church.

Mousheg Shahin, who was president of the Hunchakist Society at the time Martoogessian was arrested and whose recent appearance in New York let several prominent Armenians merchants to hurry their attempt to secure the further incarceration of the ex-priest on the supplementary indictments, took the floor at the mass meeting to supplement the history of what he called the conspiracy against Father Martoogessian. He read a manifesto which had been published by some of the influential members of the Armenian Church in this city since Martoogessian's release from prison. The document said that upon request the trustees of the Armenian Church in New York and furnished a copy of the communication which Archbishop Semerjian had sent to the primate three years ago and also of the encyclical of the primate unfrocking the priest. Both records were included, and the public statement concluded with the hipe that no true member of the church would recognize the convict priest or give him comfort.

Shahin read the names attached to the open letter and conjured the Armenians present to recollect them well. They were the men who had betrayed Martoogessian into the hands of the police on the trumped up charges, he said, and Martuoogessian could reveal if he wished the name of at least one rich rub merchant in New York who had confessed to him before his arrest that he and other rug merchants had to stand in with the Turkish consul and supply the Turkish government through that official with information concerning the activity of the Hunchakist Society and its members.

PLOTTING IN AMERICA.

Shahin, the former head of the Hunchakists, went still further into what he styled the wholesale plotting that had gone on against Armenians in America and in which the police heads of Boston and New York had lent themselves to the uses of the Turkish government. He referred to the fact that immediately following the murder of Tavshanjian six Armenians, including himself, were arrested in New York and held as suspicious persons. Although each of them was released it was not until he had gone through the photographing ordeal at police headquarters.

"And would you believe it," cried Shahin, "when Abdul Hamid was deposed by the revolution of the Young Turks last year and all of the records of the old Turkish secret service office were uncovered there were those six photographs taken on the top floor of the old police headquarters at 300 Mulberry street and a letter from Deputy Commissioner Woods telling who each man was and why he had been arrested."

The former president of the Hunchakists touched up Chief

of Police Watts of Boston by saying that right there on that very platform was a young man—his name was J. J. Bosdan—who had once been employed in clerical service in the office of Chief Watts and who had written to Bahri Pasha, the Turkish Governor of Adana, telling the names of all the suspected Hunchakists in Boston.

"A protest ought to be made to the President and to every Congressman," continued Shahin, "against this government's leading itself to such despicable spy purposes. And Mayor Gaynor ought to be commanded to secure the return of those six photographs from the government at Constantinople."

Martoogessian himself addressed the meeting and he was received with cheers. An interpreter said that the former priest was telling his people the story of how he was arrested, tried and convicted on testimony manufactured by enemies."

At the end of the speechmaking a long resolution which exonerated Martoogessian of the charges for which he served the prison sentence and which condemned the Archbishop and the Primate for his hasty unfrocking, was read by Sevasly, and passed with enthusiasm.

Appendix II

Patriotism Perverted

Patriotism Perverted

A discussion of the deeds and the misdeeds of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, the so-called Dashnagtzoutune

By
K.S. PAPAZIAN

Review and Commentary
By
Ara Khachig Manoogian

Patriotism Perverted was originally published by Baikar Press in Boston, Massachusetts in 1934. It is reproduced here with fidelity to the original work and the addition of a new foreword.

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FOREWORD

The patience of the Armenian community living in the United States reached its limits. These survivors of the Armenian Genocide of 1915-23, who took refuge in the land of "milk and honey," had escaped the horrors that befell on them in their ancient homeland, where they had been the victims of an Ottoman government-sponsored program of wholesale murder that the world powers had failed to prevent. Many had lost family members, friends and/or neighbors and had witnessed murder of the most brutal nature.

On December 24, 1933, Archbishop Leon Tourian, Primate of the Armenian Church in North and South America, was scheduled to celebrate Holy Mass in the Holy Cross Church on West 187th Street, in New York City. The tiny church was filled with devout worshippers. The altar was gayly decorated with flowers. Candles were lit. The pungent odor of incense filled the air and all morning a vested choir had sung of "Peace on earth, good will to men . . ."

The congregation stood up reverently when a stately figure in the full magnificence of ecclesiastical dress emerged from the vestry room at the rear of the church and remained poised at the end of the aisle. In his left hand the Archbishop carried a crozier of gold. With his right hand, holding a jewel-studded crucifix, he blessed the bowed parishioners.

Bound for the altar, the procession was led by a censer bearer, followed by twelve members of the choir abreast in couples. Then came the resplendent figure of the Primate. Two acolytes brought up the rear of the processional. Organ music filled the air, and the choir chanted softly as it started from the aisle. The devout crossed themselves. The candle lights flickered...

Suddenly from the right side of the aisle, a swarthy, pockmarked figure jumped into the aisle and stooped low. In his right hand was a double-edged 6"-long razor-sharp butcher knife. Simultaneously from an adjoining pew, a second assailant threw himself on the Primate and pinned back his arms, while the first one, with a pumping motion stabbed four times through the sacred robes at the Archbishop's vital section.

Carried out with thoroughly practiced savagery committed in the presence of a stupefied crowd, the murder was over in a few seconds. The figure of the Prelate lurched forward, then fell prostrate the full length of the aisle. The screaming, bewildered congregation stampeded to the door[1].

This treacherous act had been carried out by orders of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF), a left-leaning nationalist party, who ruled in the first independent Armenian Republic during 1918-20. The ARF had been frustrated by the Primate and his refusal to allow the Armenian flag of the first independent republic to be displayed next to the church altar.

Kapriel S. Papazian, the author of Patriotism Perverted, was a journalist for the newspaper, Baikar, a Boston-based newspaper. He had come to the United States prior to the start of the Genocide, landing on Ellis Island on July 14, 1914 aboard the S.S. Noordam. He was born in a village of Balagesi in Western Armenia in 1887 and became an American Citizen in 1922.

Agent E. Charlton Graves of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in his June 3, 1943 report noted:

1 John Roy Carlson, *Under Cover,* (New York, NY: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1943) p. 15-16.

> The Baikar Daily takes an active interest in the American political and national life, always remining the readers that this is the sacred duty of all good citizens toward their adopted country. It touches, editorially on all the subjects that affect the American scene and the American way of life, one way or another. The vigor and the outspokenness with which these subjects are discussed and analyzed in this paper proves beyond any reasonable doubt the honesty, the earnestness and the patriotism of the men editing and directing the policies of this publication, which is the official mouthpiece of all the men and women who are members of the Armenian Democratic Liberal Party.
>
> Mr. K. S. PAPAZIAN, who is a member of the Armenian Democratic Liberal Party, and who wrote the book "Patriotism Perverted", which is a history of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, advised that the Armenian Democratic Liberal Party can be compared to the Democratic Party in this country. The Party was originally organized as a revolutionary party to free Armenia from Turkey. The organization has now lost its revolutionary ideas. He stated that the Party has been accused of being Communistic, but this is not true.
>
> Mr. PAPAZIAN stated that his organization dislikes Communism and Soviet Government, but under the Soviet Government, Armenia has had peace and some prosperity for twenty years. If the Soviet Government was ousted from Armenia, the country would probably be taken over by the Turks, which, in his opinion, would be much worse than Russian domination. The attitude of the Armenian Democratic Liberal Party is that they do not agree with Communism but as long as Armenia has been better under Russia than any other country, and since they are too weak to maintain their independence, the country should be left alone and no trouble stirred up[2].

Patriotism Perverted is a valuable, yet lesser known history of the Armenian Genocide, written at a time when there was an urgency to tell people the truth of a darker past. The Armenian community who did not read Armenian, had to be informed of the hidden or forgotten facts about the ARF that worked against the best interests of greater community. Hardship that the ARF had brought on to the Armenian people in the past had seemed to follow them to the United States.

Papazian was best suited for this task of writing this previously untold history. Not only was he a seasoned journalist, he had also partaken in the revolutionary movement in the days when Armenians truly believed that their actions against their oppressors would gain them the long-awaited freedom and independence they once had before the Ottoman Empire. Already in his adulthood he witnessed what happened to the Armenians leading up to the atrocities that had uprooted him and his fellow Armenians, who had been forced to migrate to the United States and elsewhere in the world.

It has been over eight decades since Patriotism Perverted was written. Sadly, today not much has changed. The ARF has failed to learn from its mistakes and has often put own interests before the interests of the community it claims to serve. In the Armenian homeland, which became independent following the fall of the Soviet Union, the ARF has failed to follow its mission and oath. Instead, it has cozied up to, and became a part of, the corrupt ruling regime, who has not only pillaged the country of its resources, but caused a mass exodus, as a result of which Armenia lost half of its population in the past 30 years, a depopulation that is only comparable to that during the Genocide.

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2 Graves, E. Charlton. Federal Bureau of Investigation, File No. 100-4505: Boston, Massachusetts: June 3, 1943.

Today Armenia has a few dozen political prisoners, some of whom are former ARF members, who unlike the party's leadership and most rank-and-file members stayed true to their oath and stood up against the corrupt totalitarian regime in Armenia. They have bravely spoken out, some with their voice and ideas, a few having taken up arms.

The ARF leadership has remained silent in the face of systemic human rights abuses and corruption in Armenia and, as part of the ruling regime, became part of the problem both in Armenia and the Diaspora. I am hopeful that this volume will serve the purpose that Papazian had intended—to shed light on some of the darkest episodes of Armenia's modern history. I certainly hope it will be an eye opener and serve as a call to action for Armenians worldwide. It is a call to everyone, who cherishes the memory of their ancestors and the fate of Armenians in Armenia and the Diaspora, living with hope of a better tomorrow for their children and their ancestral homeland. It is a call to stand and be counted, to lend one's voice to justice and freedom. Complacency is murder. Time to take action is now!

Ara Khachig Manoogian
Shahan Natalie Family Foundation, Inc. (Los Angeles)
March 2018

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Original Dedication

DEDICATED

To the memory of those Armenian martyrs
who, for their devotion to their people and
their loyalty to their fatherland, met death
at the hands of their brothers

PREFACE

In the following pages I have tried to present to the English speaking Armenians of this country and to the American public in general, a fairly clear picture of an organization, that has received so much publicity in connection with the recent assassination in New York of Archbishop Leon Turian.

An understanding of the background, past activities, the purposes and the methods of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation my be important, if we are going to try to rid the Armenian-American community life, of the predatory inclination of this society. Its mode of organization, its discordant mental make up as expressed in its publications, its belief in the use of violence rather than persuasion and free discussion to overcome opposition, its tendency to disregard and distort the will of the majority in dealing with public issues, are all alien to our American ideals and Christian principles, and have repeatedly precipitated conflicts in the past.

This booklet, I hope, will help create in the minds of its readers a fairly adequate idea as to the moral and physical dangers with which our youth and our community are threatened on account of Dashnag activities. Such knowledge is necessary, if we are to ward off these dangers, and establish peace and harmony in our midst.

The task of presenting the Dashnagtzoutune in its true political and moral character was rather difficult, as this society has had the agility of repeatedly changing it face and color with perfect easy of conscience. At first they were nationalist diluted with socialism; then they turned out and out socialist, with Bolshevistic learnings, and adopted the red flag for the emblem. However, it co-operated with the imperialistic tyrants of Turkey. It now professes nationalism again, and even leans towards Fascism or Hitlerism, still clinging to the red flag and dangling a dagger, symbol of revenge and conspiracy, from its emblem.

I have tried to be fair in my presentation of facts and in my judgments. Most of my conclusions are based on facts of contemporary history, and are fortified with quotations from Dashnag publications and Dashnag authors.

My picture of the A. R. Federation will not be pleasing to the eyes of its devoted adherents; however, I have tried to cling to the idea, that at the least the rank and file of the society, although deluded and misled, still have patriotism for a motive, even though a distorted and perverted form of patriotism.

K. S. Papazian.

Boston, Massachusetts.
May 10, 1934.

Chapter 1

THE BEGINNING

The Armenian Revolutionary Federation, the so-called Dashnagtzoutune, was organized in the Caucasus, in 1890, through the consolidation of several secret revolutionary societies, that had as a common purpose or ideal, more of less definite ideas about the liberation of Armenia from the oppression of the Turks. The elements that composed the Dashnagtzoutune in the beginning, were Armenian intellectuals belonging to the Russian school of socialism, Armenian groups who were staunch nationalists, some pure and unadulterated Marxists, some liberals and some representatives of the bourgeois classes.

Speaking of the assortment of groups, Mikael Varandian, an ideologist and historian of the Dashnagtzoutune, states: "Right and left, moderates and radicals, those with national and all-human tendencies.... all imbued with the idea of the liberation of the Armenians in Turkey." ("History of the A. R. Federation", by M. Varandian, Vol. I, Page 59, Paris 1932.).

This idea of the liberation of the Armenians in Turkey was interpreted differently by different groups that sought the union. For socialists, liberation did not mean necessarily the independence of the Armenians of Turkey from the rest of the peoples composing the Ottoman empire. They rather imagined a condition where all workers, Armenian, Turkish, Kurdish etc., would enjoy universal freedom and be free from economic oppression. For the nationalist, liberation meant at least some measure of autonomy for the Armenians in Turkish Armenia.

The contending groups finally agreed upon the general principle, that they should shake off the abominable yoke of the Sultan, should annihilate the tyrannical and autocratic regime of Turkey, "should secure harmony between nationalities, safety for labor, and liberty for conscience, of speech and convictions". Their endeavor was going to be "to achieve equality for nationalities and religion before the law". (From the Program of the A. R. Federation, adopted in the General Convention of 1892, Pages 6 and 9).

The purpose of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation was defined in the following formula, as it is given in the above mentioned pamphlet, page 15,--"The purpose of the A. R. Federation is to achieve *political and economic freedom in Turkish Armenia,* by means of rebellion . . . .

It is worthy to note, that the attitude of the Dashnag society towards Armenian independence has been rather vague right from the beginning. It did not demand independence for Turkish Armenia. "The pioneers of Dashnagtzoutune, not only did not utter the word Independence in their public speeches but they did not have 'independence' as a demand", says M Varandian, in the "History of the A. R. Federation", page 118. The same Dashnag historian, in order to prove his point, quotes from the "Droshak" (The official organ of the Dashnag central Bureau) Nov. 5, 1893, the following lines:

"We are opposed to those views according to which independence of a people is an absolute condition for the amelioration of its lot".

The vagueness and equivocation was designed from the beginning, in order to appease the ultra radicals and socialists in the ranks of the organization. "Political and economic freedom in Turkish Armenia", was more acceptable to the groups, than political independence or autonomy for Armenians in Turkish Armenia.

This vagueness in the definition of their purpose, and the dilution of their national ideas with international and socialistic tendencies, made it easier for the Dashnag leaders, in later year, to subject the Armenian political demands to dangerous compromises with the young Turks. To run with the hare and hunt with the hound, has been the tactics of the A. R. Federation.

The idea or policy of an independent Armenia was forced upon the society, through the turn of political events that resulted from the Great War and the Russian Revolution.

The consolidation of these various revolutionary societies was engineered by Christopher Mikaelian, Simon Zavarian and Rostom Zorian, three leaders of ability and personal power, who, while they live, contrived to maintain harmony among the diverse and somewhat discordant elements that composed the Dashnagtzoutune.[3]

Even though a common purpose—the liberation of the Armenians from Turkish oppression—brought together these various groups, divergence of political principles and tendencies where not eliminated from amongst them: and this fact, in later years, became the cause of great confusion in the program and policies of the organization. From its very beginning the society has lacked consistency of purpose and method, and opportunism and lack of common sense had characterized most of its actions.

Chapter 2

ORGANIZATION

The organization is democratic in form only; its various committees and conventions are little more than debating societies and furnishers of money, for the achievement of the purposes of the society. The actual direction of affairs from the beginning has rested in the hands of the secret Bureau, which established itself in Geneva, Switzerland, and ruled its adherents with an iron hand and strict discipline. The common member are not encouraged to communicate with each other or with Committees about matters pertaining to the society. This has reduced criticism to a minimum and discouraged independent thinking.

Article 35 of the By-laws drawn up for the A. R. Federation District of America, and published by "Hairenik Press" in Boston, 1910, forbids communication between individual members with the following words:

" . . . . *it is never permitted* to a Dashnagtzagan[4] member to send circulars to

3 The word Dashnagtzoutune is the Armenian equivalent for Federation, and was adopted for the new society because it designated the alliance of various groups.

4 Dashnagtzagan means a member of Dashnagtzoutune. It this discussion the word Dashnag is also used to designate a member of Dashnagtzoutune.

members and committees".

On the other hand, the leaders and official bodies or Committees can withhold important facts and information form the rank and file, if they choose to do so.

The organization is rather oligarchical; and its followers have been taught to accept, without any discussion, the decrees and orders of the higher ups. Dr. Jean Loris-Melikoff, a personal friend of Christopher Mikaelian and one of the founders of the Dashnag society, speaks as follows: --"The truth is that the party was ruled by an oligarchy, for whom the particular interests of the party cam before the interests of the people and the nation". (La Revolution Russe et les Nouvelles Republique Transcaucasiennes, page 84, Liberalities Felix Alcan, Paris, 1920).

Section 7 of Article 57 of the By-laws for the American District, printed in 1910 by the "Hairenik" in Boston, describes as follows some of the duties of the Central Committee of America :--

"To communicate to Committees, by means of circulars, such news received from the fields of activity of our organization, (turkey, Persia, Caucasus) *that have nothing to do with conspiracies . . .*"

Chapter 3

TERRORISUM

Many plots, intrigues, conspiracies and terroristic enterprises are kept secret from the members. Many innocent members are made co-partners in plots without being apprised of the directing motives or purposes behind them. This privilege of secrecy had been often and gravely abused by Dashnag leaders.

The rank and file have continually been kept under the spell of their invisible rulers, who, through sensational though futile acts, managed to keep their own prestige high, and their coffers bulging.

To this day, the Dashnagtzoutune is the meeting place of divergent elements. In its "Report on Russian Armenia," the American Commission under Gen. James. G. Harbord, which was sent to the Caucasus by the Peace Conference in 1919, speaks as follows of the Dashnagtzoutune :--

"This is really a political society, rather than a party

"It contains three clearly defined elements, all of which are strongly socialist.

"a. The right wing composed of comitadji, (meaning secret revolutionists who believe in strong armed methods).

"b. The centre comprising intellectuals who control both wings.

"c. The left wing, which is almost Bolshevist."

Chapter 4

TERRORISM IN THE EARLY PROGRAM

Patriotism, and the influences of early leaders maintained loftiness of motives, if not prudence in activity, within the party. Gradually however, established traditions, and self interest governed the policies of the Dashnagtzoutune. Men of smaller intellect and questionable patriotism, and even opportunists, managed to place themselves at the helm of the society; and their began a process of degeneration; and questionable, and even criminal methods were resorted to, in order to achieve the purposes of the party.

Speaking of the Dashnag Society in the Caucasus, the report of the American commission under Gen. James G. Harbord declares again :--

"It is highly organized, has agents everywhere and still plays a dominant part in Armenian National life.

"The opponents of the Dashnagtzoutune say that, despite its patriotic work, it is only a relic of barbarism and must be suppressed.

"Its adherents maintain that it is a critical organ of Armenian life, and that its vicious elements being the inevitable product of former condition, will be eradicated as order is restored.

"It is probable, that the Dashnagtzoutune still employs terroristic methods, and undeniable that it is now a source of danger, *owing to the liability to precipitate conflicts*".

This report was submitted to the Peace Conference and the United States Government, in August 1919.

Terrorism has, from the first, been adopted by the Dashnag Committee of the Caucasus, as a policy or method of achieving its ends. In this they have followed Russian Socialist or Nihilists. Under the heading "Means", in their program adopted in 1892, we read as follows :--

"The Arm. Revolutionary Federation, in order to achieve its purpose through rebellion, organizes revolutionary groups . . . ." and these groups are to use various *means* or methods, which are given on page 17 and 18 of the program.

Method No. 8 is as follows:--

"*To wage fight, and to subject to terrorism the government officials, the traitors, the betrayers, the usurers, and the exploiters of all description*".

Method No. 11 is :--

"To subject the government institutions to destruction and pillage".

Dashnag publications are full of stories of terroristic exploits.

At first, these terroristic methods were resorted to in order to obtain money for the revolutionary movements in the Turkish territory. Says Dr. Jean Loris-Melikoff: "They made collection among the bourgeois and the great merchants. At the end, when these means were exhausted, they resorted to terrorism, after the teachings of the Russian revolutionaries, that 'the end justifies the means' . . . ." (La revolution Russe et les

Nouvelles Republiques Transcaucasiennes", page 81).

In a signed article entitled "Armenia, it's History and Customs", which appeared in "Hairenik", the official mouthpiece of the Dashnag Central Committee in the United States, the following is said on this matter.

"In addition, Turkish oppression was often quickly reduced or eliminated by the Dashnag policy of exterminating unduly arbitrary officials. Other effects practice was the intimidation of prominent men in order to obtain financial support. Those who refused were put on the "spot". In fact, it was very similar to the underground methods of modern racketeering, except that its goal was noble". ("Hairenik", Sept. 16, 1933).

If we are able to believe the late M. Varandian, who was a prominent leader of the society belonging to its inner councils, terrorist methods were often used in order to collect money from rich Armenians.

"The first attempt at collecting money by force was tried in Shousha. In the summer of 1902, our leader Christopher was there, with his soldiers.... The first flow of the "storm" fell upon the well-known millionaire, Isahag Jamharian.... the "storm" squad arrested him one night and took him to a lonely spot outside the city." They let him free when he promised to pay 30,000 rubles. However, he notified the police, and the abductors were arrested. "With his cynical betrayal, says Varandian, Jamharian forged his own tragic fate. And a few months after this episode, in Moscow, in broad

daylight, and in the courtyard of the Armenian church, in the presence of a great throng, this traitor paid for his sin; he fell under the blows of a dagger...." ("History of the Dashnagtzoutune", by M. Varandian, Vol. I Pages 325, 326, 327, Paris, 1932).

Jamharian had committed the sin of defending himself from the arbitrary demands of self-appointed and irresponsible saviors of our people, who had gone so far as to abduct him and threaten him with violence. He was, therefore, a traitor in the eyes of these people. He was still a traitor for the Dashnag historian Varandian, in the year of grace 1932, and was even denied the right to self defense.

All those who disagreed with the Dashnag leaders, or against whom the local Dashnag chiefs nourished a grudge, were denounced as traitors, and betrayers of the cause. Meteos Boliozian, a wealthy merchant of Smyrna, was thus denounced, although to this day there is no proof at all that he betrayed anyone to the Turkish government. However, according to Varandian, he was killed in 1902, by Dashnag terrorist Horen Sarkisian or Bedros Azizof of Magnisa. Here is how this episode is related by the Dashnag historian: "The two spies were being protected morally and materially, by the local Armenian Croesus, Mateos Baliozian, who was influential with the government circles . . . . The organization, naturally, did not retreat and punished the Armenian moths. Maksoud and Karekin (alleged spies) were subjected to terrorism. The same lot fell also on Baliozian who continued, stubbornly, to assist the police. His terror was organized by Hrach himself (1902), and the terrorist was Bedros Azizof of Magnisa. ("History of the Dashnagtzoutune", Vol. I. Page 450).

That terroristic methods were also used, in those early days, with the ranks of Dashnag leaders for differences of opinion and to satisfy personal grudges, is also admitted, by Varandian himself, in his famous "History of the Dashnagtzoutune", page 86.

"In the same year 1891 Gerektzian was killed in Erzroum, by the decision of the local Central Committee.... His "guilt" was, that he was against hasty revolutionary

moves, he preached prudence, he advised that long preparations be made. 'Whoever is not with us, is our enemy'—said the hot headed comrades of Gerektzian. They cast lost, and the lot fell on Comrade Aram Aramian, who has also killed Comrade Gerektzian.

"The Central Committee of Dashnagtzoutune condemned this step in 1892, in the presence of Aramian, and issued a special bulletin on it". But the Dashnag Center did not punish Aram Aramian for his crime. A verbal reprimand was considered sufficient.

Judging from the contents of the "History of the A. R. Federation", a written by Varandian, the early Dashnag organization has been very prolific in organizing and carrying out terroristic acts. IT seems that terrorism against their own co-nationals has been a prominent part of the revolutionary activities of the Dashnag leaders of the Caucasus. Organized to fight the Turks, these chieftains have been more successful in their fight against their Armenian opponents in Turkey, and the Caucasus, very often defenseless and innocent. Varandian exalts the terroristic activities of the A. R. Federation, in this history, pages 212-213, in the following glowing terms :--

"Terroristic acts, which, alas, have *very often* been directed against the internal adversaries—against betrayers, against unfaithful spies and against all kinds of traitors.... Perhaps there has never been a revolutionary party—not even the Russian *Narodovolets*, or the Italian *Carbonaris*—with such rich experiences on the road of terroristic acts, as the A. R. Federation, which in its difficult environments, have developed the most frenzied types of terrorists, and given hundreds of maters pistols, the bomb and the dagger, for the acts of revenge.

"The terror of the Dashnagtzoutune, although directed mainly against cowardly Armenians at first, gradually was turned against the enemy itself, and we see its hundreds f victims, Turkish, Kurdish, Russian, great or small tyrants.... etc."

One of the most unfortunate results of these terroristic methods, was the gradual development of a class of terrorist, who used their bullet and their dagger indiscriminately, both against those who betrayed the cause, and against those who were unfortunate enough to make personal enemies of Dashnag leaders. This class of terrorists enjoyed a place of honor within the society.

A partial list of alleged Armenian victims of Dashnag terrorism is given at the end of the discussion, (See Appendix I).

Chapter 5

ACTIVITIES AGAINST TURKEY

Under the leadership of Sarkis Gougounian, a dare devil student from Moscow, a band of some 100 Armenian enthusiasts were organized in Alexandropol, in the summer of 1890, crossed the Turkish border sometime in September of that year, and had some encounters with the Kurds. However, when the Turkish regulars appeared on the scene, they had to retreat. Their retreat into the Caucasus was cut off by the Cossacks. A good many were killed, most of them arrested, and Gougounian was exiled to Siberia.

Thus ended the so-called Gougounian expedition, in which the newly organized

Dashnagtzoutune had no part. On the contrary, its leaders tried to dissuade Gougounian from carrying out his plan, as a rash, premature and harmful move. They believed, at that time, that there should be a more careful and general preparation for an uprising against Turkey.

However, they soon discarded this more prudent policy of action, and adopted the methods of sensational, sporadic and partisan fights along the borders of Turkish Armenia. This method was tried for a few years, but without the desired results. European governments did not intervene in favor of the Armenians who has a result of these forays were subjected to more systematic and bitter persecution by the Turks and Kurds. The Hunchagist party had tried the same method of sensational acts and sporadic fighting in Constantinople, Sassoun, Zeitoun and elsewhere, and had failed to bring about European intervention. They had given up these methods as futile and harmful. The Dashnag society thought it would succeed where others had failed. Therefore it decided to carry the fighting into the Turkish capital, and to attempt a move, that would rattle the Sultan, and would cause the European powers to intervene and compel the Turkish Government to put into force the reforms promised for the Armenian provinces, under article 61 of the Treaty of Berlin. (See appendix III)

The Dashnag high command had decided to attacked the Bank Imperial Ottoman.

Accordingly, one day in August 1896, a group of young men entered the Bank in Constantinople, subdued the employees, barricaded themselves in, and threatened to blow up the bank with bombs and dynamite, unless the Sultan promised reforms for Armenia. The Sultan made no love, the represented these revolutionists as brigands. Dr. George Washburn, a famous missionary, goes even so far as to say in a book of his, that Abdul Hamid was aware of the plans of the Dashnags, and let them enter the bank in order to discredit the Armenian revolution and use it as a pretext for massacre. After waiting in vain for a whole day, and through the intervention of the Russian embassy, our heroes were safely escorted out of the bank and placed on board a European steamer and saved themselves; while 16,000 Armenians were massacred in Constantinople during the following two days by the Turkish rabble and the regulars[5].

However, the Dashnag leaders clung to the idea that sporadic uprisings and partisan fights wit the Turkish armed forces, were essential to bring about diplomatic intervention.

"The purpose of the Armenian movement, has been, says M. Varandian, the most prominent Dashnag ideologist and historian, from the beginning, to organize as far as possible a long drawn-out fight against the Ottoman tyranny, to create in the country a continuous *revolutionary* state, always having before our eyes the intervention of the *third factor*.... the European factor," (M. Varandian "History of the Dashnagtzoutune", page 302).

They ignore a fourth and most important factor, the people of Turkish Armenia.

Being all Armenians from the Caucasus, these people never took the trouble to inquiring into the actual condition in Armenia, and consulting the Armenians in

5 " . . . . it is certain that the Turkish government knew all about it many days before, even to the exact time the bank was to be entered, and the Minister of Police had made elaborate arrangement not to arrest these men or prevent the attack on the bank, but to facilitate it and make it the occasion of massacre of the Armenian population of the city". (Dr. George Washburn, "Fifty years in Constantinople", page 246).

Turkey. They even refused to co-operate with other secret societies, organized in Turkish Armenia, who believed on in methods of self defense against the Turkish and Kurdish oppressors, and in long and silent preparation for a general uprising in the distant future. They pursued their own disastrous methods.

Another futile expedition, that took place in the summer of 1897, and ended in a fiasco, was that of Khanasor. Its net result was disastrous for the Armenian population of the district between Van and Persia. Many Armenian villages were wiped out as a result of this adventure of the Dashnags, who for the most part, escaped with their skins intact.

The Khanasor expedition, so-called, was the result of the machinations of the Russian authorities, whose purpose was to encourage political unrest and turmoil along the eastern borders of Turkey. There is reason to believe, that some of the Dashnag leaders of Tiflis, were playing the game of the Russian government. Their more prudent leaders, as well as all other Armenian political organizations, opposed the undertaking as one that was certain to bring failure and disaster. However, the central authorities of Tiflis prevailed upon local opposition. Enormous amounts of money had been collected from the Armenians to organize and equip this expedition; therefore, they had to show results. The Russian authorities had to be pleased too.

The avowed purpose of the expedition of Khanasor, was to punish the Kurdish tribe of Mazrik, that had been scourge to the Armenian population of those districts. There were about 250 fighters in the band that attacked the camp of the Mazrik tribe in the plain of Khanasor just before daybreak, and set fire to the nearest tents and killed a few Kurds. The main body of the Kurds put up a stiff fight, and drive back the attackers, who in their confusion, fired upon each other.

The Dashnag band was in danger of being surrounded by the Mazrik fighters, and had to retreat to safety, leaving 19 in dead on the battlefield, according to “Droshak”, the Dashnag central organ, Nov. 11, 1897.

The Mazrik escaped punishment, their chief, Sharaf Beg, although declared killed in the fight in all Dashnag papers ever since, was still alive twenty years after Khanasor; and he took terrible revenge on the peaceful Armenian peasants.

To this day, Khanasor is celebrated every year, by the Dashnag society, and the rank and file is made to believe that it was a glorious victory; and that the blood thirsty Sharaf Beg was killed in the fight.

The rebellion of the mountain district of Sassoun in 1904, is another chapter in the revolutionary activities of the A. R. Federation. Sassoun had

already taken up arms against the Kurds and the Turkish soldiers in 1894, under the leadership of the Hunchagist leader Mourad and Damadian. This early movement during which the heroic mountainers fought bravely, was ruthlessly crushed by the regular army, and many villages were destroyed and the people massacred.

The new rebellion in 1904 was better organized and was led by Antranik, whose homeric exploits against the enemy, form some of the most glowing pages of the history of Armenian struggle for independence. However, it’s outcome was not any different than that of the earlier rebellion. After a series of long drown-out fight, during which the peasants and their leaders from outside displayed great bravery and inflicted

heavy losses on the Turkish troops, the rebellion was finally crushed, many mountain villages were destroyed and the revolutionists had to retreat to the districts of Moush and Bitlis.

This second Sassoun episode created a little more noise in the European press; a few more speeches, supporting the Armenian cause, were delivered from the rostrum of some European parliaments; some consular agents were dispatched to the scene of operations in order to send first hand information to their respective governments; and the incident was ended so art as European diplomacy was concerned.

The third factor—European intervention—never displayed any signs of effective action to force the Sultan to carry out the stipulations of Article 61 of the treaty of Berlin for Armenian Reforms.

These periodic fights with limited numbers of fighters, and scattered over isolated regions, involved great sacrifices of human life and money, but were not effective enough to wrest the least concessions from the government of the Sultan. It will hardly be an exaggeration to say, that all the revolutionary activities of the A. R. Federation put together, did not equal, either in magnitude or in actual results, the rebellion of the town of Zeitoun in 1895. For over three months, the inhabitants of this mountain town defended themselves against a regular army of 30,000, under Edhem Pasha, captured a whole Turkish regiment and forced the government to come to terms and grand some measure of autonomy for the district of Zeitoun. The Dashnagtzoutune had no part in that memorable fight.

The attempt on the life of Sultan Abd-ul-Hamid in 1905, constitutes the last episode of the revolutionary attempts of the A. R. Federation in behalf of Turkish Armenia. This was another of the spectacular but futile acts of the Dashnagtzoutune. Its success would not have helped the Armenian cause; its failure probably saved our people from greater misfortunes.

* * *

The Armenian struggle for independence was directed against the most ruthless tyranny in the world. Obstacles were overwhelming. Neither geography nor friendly diplomacy helped our cause. These facts taught a lesson to the early Armenagans[6] and Hunchagists, who, after a few spectacular exploits, gave up the method of armed insurrection with small numbers.

The Dashnagtzoutune would not learn any lessons from the experiences of others. Its doctrine was, that liberty is won by bloodshed only, and the more the Sultan is goaded into massacring the Armenian people, the stronger will become our claims for autonomy, and the greater will become the hope for European intervention.

As we have already stated, this expected intervention never materialized, and the Sultan was left free to deal with the Armenians as he saw fit.

Years of futile and wasteful struggle against the Turkish government finally forced the scholastic leaders of the Dashnagtzoutune, who had directed the struggle from

6 Armenagans were the earliest Armenian revolutionary society, formed in Van, directed by local leaders who believed only in patriotism and not in other *isms.* They preached self defense and tried to prepare the people for an uprising in the future. They afterwards joined the Ramgavar party.

their safe refuges of Geneva and Tiflis, to admit their defeat, but no their ignorance.

"We were defeated, says Mikael Varandian on page 191 of his hodge-podge of a 'History of the Dashnagtzoutune', and adds immediately, "but the enemy was not victorious either". This last sentence is simply a bravado in keeping with Dashnag mentality.

Although mostly disastrous in its final outcome, the Armenian revolution produced the beneficial impression among the Turks and Kurds, that the long oppressed Armenian infidel can also strike back at its tyrants. Some real fighters sprang up from among the people, who struck terror into the hearts of the Turks. The prestige of various revolutionary societies was built on the

personal bravery of these fighting patriots, who, like the great Antranik, later symbolized the struggle of the Armenians for independence.

The Dashnagtzoutune exploited the fame and prestige of Antranik and others, to the fullest extent. These heroic figures were represented as the product of the revolutionary school of the party.

Here is what Gen. Antranik has to say about this kind of exploitation by the Dashnagtzoutune.

"They say, that I have been the spoiled child of the Dashnagtzoutune.

"Fortunately my revolutionary teacher of 1889 was not the Dashnagtzoutune. I can not understand what right can a party have to appropriate its followers of the past, when its present is completely against its doctrines of the past and the national spirit?

"It would have been a good thing, of course, if the Dashnagtzoutune had had well-known and less-known heroes, whose teachers had been the intelligentsia belonging to itself.

"For decades it was the people of Sassoun, Moush, Akhlat and the Armenian people in general, who have sup- ported me and other soldiers like me; and we have been their soldiers only, and not the soldiers of the Dashnagtzoutune or any other party.

"When these brave soldiers, who sprung up from the bosom of the Armenian people, were fighting in the mother country .... the Dashnagtzoutune was only waging partisan quarrels in its press abroad, and exploiting the names of my inimitable fighting comrades. It is hard to under- stand therefore, whether we, fighters, are the ones who have nourished and spoiled the Dashnagtzoutune, or this latter has spoiled us?

"Today the Dashnagtzoutune is deprived of the right to speak in the name of those who fell like heroes". ("Antranik Speaks", pages 4, 5, 6, Paris 1921).

Chapter 6

ADHERENCE TO SOCIALISM

When the Russian Czar issued a decree in 1903, by which the government was going to confiscate the property of the Armenian church, the people rose in one body in defense of their rights. The authorities in the Caucasus, in order to weaken the Armenian people, incited the Mohammedan Tartars to attack them. Riots and murders increased to the proportion of massacres in many cities; while the police and the Cossacks turned a deaf ear to the appeals of the Armenians for protection.

Then the Armenians took up arms and defended themselves very effectively from this double attack. The revolutionary societies, with their organization and their leadership, naturally, played an important part in this conflict; and the Dashnagtzoutune won great credit and fame for its share in the fight. However, the claims of the Dashnag writers, that their own organization and their own partisan chiefs played the leading part in these internecine fights seem to be greatly exaggerated. The accounts of these clashes, which lasted almost a year and a half (1905-1906) and in which the Armenians were victorious, come mostly from Dashnag writers, and grossly overestimate the importance of the A. R. Federation as a fighting element.

According to H. Katchaznouni, the A. R. Federation did not take the initiative in that national struggle; it rather followed the popular movement. Here is what this veteran Dashnag leader, who was also the prime minister of the Armenian Republic from 1918-1919, has to say on the subject.

".... In Transcaucasia, the Dashnagtzoutune has been not so much as a leader or initiator in the past, as a follower of those movements, that have grown independently of itself. It was thus in 1903 (rebellion and demonstrations on account of the confiscation of the property of the church). It was thus during the period of 1905-1906 (bloody Armeno-Tartar conflicts); it was also thus during the first great labor movements (1903-1906), when the Dashnagtzoutune was being governed, in Baku, Tiflis and Batoum, by the policy and mode of action of the foreign socialistic parties". ("A. R. Federation Has Nothing More to Do", pages 7-8, by Hov. Kachaznouni, Vienna, 1923)

These conflicts and also the first revolutionary movements that broke out in the Caucasus after the Russo-Japanese War, threw the Armenian people and its organizations into close contact with the Russian socialistic parties. Many Dashnag leaders of the Caucasus had socialistic tendencies already; and they conceived the bright idea that the open adoption of socialism as a political program, would secure the support of Russian and European socialist leaders for the Armenian cause. Accordingly, about the year 1906, they adhered to the social-revolutionists of Russia. This step meant a deviation from their original program of the liberation of Turkish Armenia, and was bitterly opposed by some of the most eminent fighters in the ranks of the Dashnagtzoutune, such as Antranig, Mourad, Mihran, etc., mostly all Armenians from Turkey.

These men were pure and simple patriots. They did not give a rap for socialism or other isms. Mihran could not be won over to the viewpoint of the intellectuals and the secret Bureau. Therefore, he was assassinated one day.

In their convention of Vienna, that was held in 1907, the Dashnagtzoutune condemned Mihran to death.

Here is what M. Varandian writes about this decision.

"At last, here is the decision of the meeting about Mihran, which was passed unanimously, with one exception:—

1. "To consider the conduct of Mihran and his accomplices a grave offense against the organization and the Turkish-Armenian cause that it defends. On this basis, to consider them expelled from the ranks of Dashnagtzoutune.

2. "To recommend to the proper body, that it subject Mihran and his accomplices to the penalty that is fore- seen in the by-laws of the organization.

"(Soon the death penalty was carried out)". (M. Varandian, 'History of the Dashnagtzoutune, page 491, Paris, 1932).

The opposition, however, did not stop there. When in the above mentioned convention, which was held in Vienna in 1907, the Dashnags finally adopted and ratified the program of social-revolution, some of their most eminent fighting leaders, Antranik among them, left the party. His prestige among the Dashnag rank and file was so great, that the Bureau did not dare to put him on the "spot", like it did Mihran.

Here is what General Antranik has to say about this convention of Vienna, in his booklet, "Antranik Speaks", pages 7-8-9-10.

"At the Convention of Vienna, in 1907, the Dashnagtzoutune adopted the Caucasian Program, that is to say it renounced its real aim, which was the liberation of the Armenian people of Turkey, in order to pursue pan-human purposes.

"This, to a certain extent, meant the burial of the Turkish-Armenian cause.

"For three days, during which the Caucasian Program was debated, I opposed it with all my soul. Maloumian, who was presiding that day, protested, and declared, that I myself and a few others with me, were to blame for the prolongation of the convention.

"Then I answered—Let your blood be on your own heads. Do as you please, but don't close the doors of Russia against us. We have too many enemies already, don't make an enemy of Russia too; and do not furnish any excuse for reducing the Armenians of the Caucasus to the condition of the Armenians of Turkey.

".... I deemed it useless for me to stay in the Dashnagtzoutune, and I wrote my resignation from Varna and sent it to Geneva, so it could be published in the 'Droshak'. "From that day on, as I beheld the doings of the Dashnagtzoutune, I became more and more firm, in my convictions that brought about my resignation.

"Indeed, after that I saw that the Dashnagtzoutune made it a business to persecute the Armenian 'bourgeoisie'. Presumably to protect the rights of the workers, it caused strikes in Bakou and Batoum. These strikes harmed only the Armenian owners of oil establishments, from whom the same society had often begged for money. Many of them had to close their factories; thus making happy the Tartar factory owners. Tens of thousands of Armenian laborers were thrown out on the streets, and wandered without work. After the 'Ottoman Constitutional Regime', the Dashnagtzoutune spread its strikes from Constantinople out until it came to the rug factories of Harpert and Sebastia.

"From that time on, the Dashnagtzoutune remained faithful to its socialistic aims. When we had an independent Armenia, they preached socialism, from Karabagh to Sarikamish, to the Armenian people, eighty per cent of whom did not know the

alphabet. They wanted to teach socialism to

the Turks and Tartars too; and they shouted in their organs "Workers, unite without distinction of race!"

Adherence to socialism had other and more grave consequences for the Dashnagtzoutune and the Armenian people. At once the Russian government began to persecute the Armenian revolutionists, as the allies of the Russian revolutionary societies.

Formerly the activities of the Dashnagtzoutune were tolerated in Caucasian Armenia by the authorities, as they were directed against Turkey only. Now the Czar and his ministers saw a great danger in their presence on Russian soil. The leaders were arrested, exiled and persecuted. The Dashnags, according to their grandiloquence, were fighting the powers of both the Sultan and the Czar. But the position of the Armenians in the Caucasus became un- tenable, and the revolution was deprived of its only base where the operations against Turkey could be organized and started. On the other hand, European socialism failed to come to our help, as European diplomacy had already failed. The net result was a tremendous waste of energy and internal dissensions.

Chapter 7

YOUNG TURKS AND THE DASHNAGTZOUTUNE

The Dashnagtzoutune, while devoted solely to the purpose of Armenian liberation, had shunned the overtures of the young Turkish leaders in Europe for their co-operation in overthrowing the tyranny of Abdul Hamid. Now that they began to play high politics, they came to an under- standing with the Turkish Revolutionists. Some of the bases of this agreement between the Dashnags and the young Turks, which was drawn up in Paris in 1907, were the following:

1. The abandonment by the Armenians of the demand for the enforcement of 61st Article of the Treaty of Berlin[7]. This meant that the Armenians were not going to demand separate reforms for Armenia, but were going to work for a constitutional government for Turkey as a whole, and become citizens, with equal rights, of the Ottoman empire.

2. Rebellion against the Czarist government in the Caucasus; and the liberation of the various peoples of the Caucasus—Armenians included—from Russia, under the hegemony of Turkey. Dashnagtzoutune was to play a leading part in this movement against Russia.

3. The curtailing of the privileges enjoyed by the Armenian Patriarchs of Constantinople, under age old Firmans of the Sultans, according to which the Armenians were given some sort of autonomy in ecclesiastical, educational and purely Armenian community affairs. These privileges made it possible for Armenian community life to exist under Turkish oppression and tyranny.

After the young Turkish revolution of July 1908, when the Dashnagtzoutune for the

7 See Appendix III.

first time appeared in Turkey openly and as a legal political party, and a constitutional government was declared by the young Turks, a few seats were allotted to the Dashnag leaders in the Ottoman Parliament. One of the first acts of the Dashnag deputies was their agreement to a resolution whereby the Turks proposed the abrogation of the Article 61, of the Berlin treaty. This, at once, aroused opposition among the Armenian authorities and the people.

Chapter 8

AGAINST THE CHURCH

The intellectual leaders of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation have never been very friendly toward religion in general, and towards the Armenian church in particular. Their attitude has been, that the church should confine it- self to strictly religious and ritual activities only, and should play no other part in the social or community life of the Armenian people.

Such a doctrine is unthinkable even under the free institutions of advanced countries like the United States or England, where the church is always accepted as an active force in the social well being of a community. Under governmental regimes that obtained in Russia and Turkey, the national and community life of subject peoples was organized around their religious institutions; therefore, the application of the radical principles advocated by Dashnag leaders, would have been both absurd and disastrous.

However, as soon as socialism was adopted by the Dashnag leadership as a party program, they set out with the zeal of newly created converts to put it into application within the Armenian national life.

The Czar of Russia had proclaimed a constitutional form of government for his empire. A more liberal atmosphere prevailed in the political life of the Caucasus. Taking advantage of this opportunity, His Holiness Khrimian Hairik, who was then Catholicos of all the Armenians, ordered an ecclesiastical meeting of the Armenians of Russia, to be held in Echmiadzin. The purpose of the convention, as drawn up by His Holiness, was to be to adopt measures for improving the Armenian schools, for regulating and increasing the revenues of the church; and to draw up a constitution for the administration of church and community affairs that would be more in line with Armenian interests than the Balagenia—a law decreed by the Russian government for the administration of Armenian church affairs.

The ecclesiastical Assembly met in August 1906 at Echmiadzin, and was solemnly opened by His Holiness the Catholicos. The overwhelming majority of the lay delegates being Dashnags, these took charge of the affairs, ignored the ecclesiastical nature of the gathering, drowned the voice of the clerical members, and changed the assembly into a political meeting.

Archbishop Ormanian, in his “Azkabadoum”, speaks of this meeting as follows:

“Those who attended the gathering, forgot, from the first day, the sphere of educational, financial and electoral problems, which had been set for them, and began to invade other spheres .... *The Armenian Church and the clergy were declared to be harmful to the Armenian people; antichurch feeling was aroused; a campaign was*

declared against the ministers of the church. Even the authority of the Catholicos was scorned, notwithstanding the fact that their existence and activities originated in him." (Ormanian, "Azkabadoum", pages 5323, 5324, 5325, 5326).

According to the account given of this Ecclesiastical Assembly by M. Varandian, the program adopted provided that, *"The property belonging to the churches and monasteries be turned over to the possession of the people itself; that the Catholicos and the entire clergy have authority to deal only with purely religious, dogmatic and ritual problems and have no more connection with various national institutions and affairs; that these temporal affairs be henceforth governed by temporal bodies elected by popular, universal, secret and equal ballot, etc."* ("History of the Dashnagtzoutune", by M. Varandian, page 472).

"Unfortunately, all this was to remain on paper only", declares Varandian regretfully, for neither Khrimian Hairik, nor the saner minority of the Assembly would tolerate this attempt to remake the Armenian church in accordance with the "liberal spirit of the Dashnag ideology". The Catholicos saw nothing but danger in this farce of an Assembly, and most probably it was he who invited the police authorities to put a stop to it.

The attempt of the Dashnagtzoutune to dispossess the church of its property and its functions, and exploit them for its own purposes was thus frustrated. The church and the people had just rescued their sacred rights from the encroachments of the Russian Czar, and would not tolerate trespassing by Armenian despoilers.

The agitation against the church in Turkish Armenia, which was started by the Dashnagtzoutune soon after the declaration of Constitutional government in Turkey, was simply another phase of the hostile attitude of this society towards church and religion. This agitation had for its object, the opening of all the Armenian churches for political meetings. The church authorities and

the people opposed this agitation most vehemently, and there were widespread dissensions and fights in practically every Armenian community. This was known as the "Open, Close" controversy, and lasted three years.

In a great many instances, the Dashnag leaders made their henchmen break into the churches, throw open the doors, and start their political meetings, using the pulpit and the chancel as their platform.

This dispute was so violent, that there were many instances of riots among the disputants, and in one instance, at least, two Armenians who wanted to protect the church of Smyrna from being sacrileged, were then and there shot and killed by Dashnag terrorists.

The committee of Union and Progress, Turkish allies of the Dashnagtzoutune who controlled the Turkish government, secretly encouraged these internal dissensions; and the Dashnag violators of law and order were treated very leniently by the Turkish police and in Turkish courts.

This movement against the church was well supported by an anti-religious propaganda which was carried on systematically in the Dashnag daily and periodical publications. Being newly converted socialists, they represented everything religious and ecclesiastical as reactionary and medieval anachronisms. Unfortunately, many were the Armenian youths who followed these teachings; and faith in religion, respect for paternal authority and other solid social ideals in the hearts of many of the young

generation were undermined.

The anti-religious movement was carried to such extremes, that even the highest church dignitaries were treated discourteously by Dashnag leaders.

I shall cite one glaring example of this disrespect for religion and religious authority. The meeting of the Armenian National Council, which was a sort of a legislative body, always opened with a prayer by its president, the Patriarch, who was always an Archbishop. Custom and courtesy required the councilmen to stand up during these prayers. In one instance, while the Patriarch was reciting the Lords prayer, Mr. Shahrigian, the leader of the Dashnag group in the council, and one who was high up in the party, crossed his legs and kept his seat, declaring, after- wards, that religion did not mean anything to him.

The opposition of the clergy and people to these designs for using the churches for political meetings, sprang first of all from religious principles. The church

buildings were for worship only. Secondly, the Dashnag leaders, who claimed they had no other meeting halls, used these churches, wherever they were able to, for mass meetings against the Russian government, which had at this period (1909-1912) unearthed an alleged plot of the Dashnags against the authorities in the Caucasus, and had imprisoned many of their leaders. Such a movement against Russia was agreeable to the young Turks, but would embarrass His Holiness the Catholicos of Etchmiadzin, and would endanger the position of the Armenians in Russia. The Patriarchate would not allow the churches to be used for such agitation.

After throwing the entire Armenian community into dissension and disorder, this "Open, Close" controversy ended in the defeat of the Dashnag leadership.

The Armenians and the Armenian authorities in Turkey, based their opposition to the Dashnags principally on the following points:—

1. Their leaders were Russian-Armenians, and there- fore, ignorant of the peculiar conditions of Turkey; but they concluded agreements with the Turkish Authorities, over the heads of established official bodies.

2. During the period from 1908-1914 they frustrated the efforts of the other Armenian political parties and the Patriarchate to organize a united front to the Turkish government. They would rather ally themselves with the young Turks, than with their own co-nationals[8]. The popular conviction was, that the Dashnag leaders were bought by special privileges, seats in the Parliament, and offices.

3. Their socialistic program and propaganda among the youth and the peasants was obnoxious to the Armenians, who thought such doctrines had no place in a struggle for political freedom.

4. Their anti-religious propaganda and publications, undermined the morals of the youth.

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8 In the A. R. Federation, the Committee of Union and Progress, the so-called young Turks, who controlled the Ottoman government at this period, found ready and willing tools for their program of weakening the political authority of the Armenian Patriarchate, which represented the nation before the Turkish government. The young Turks encouraged the Dashnag leaders in their attempts to reorganize the Patriarchate and other ecclesiastical institutions depending on it, in accordance with the "liberal spirit of the Dashnag ideology," being sure, that their success would mean the weakening of the Armenian community throughout Turkey. Even after the Adana massacres of 1909, where 20,000 Armenians were killed, the Dashnagtzoutune supported the young Turkish viewpoint, and weakened the position of the Patriarchate, that demanded swift and drastic punishment for the instigators of that great crime.

Chapter 9

THE WORLD WAR

When the world war broke out in Europe, the Turks began feverish preparations for joining hands with the Germans. In August 1914 the young Turks asked the Dashnag Convention, then in session in Erzerum, to carry out their old agreement of 1907, and start an uprising among the Armenians of the Caucasus against the Russian government. The Dashnagtzoutune refused to do this, and gave assurances that in the event of war between Russia and Turkey, they would support Turkey as loyal citizens. On the other hand, they could not be held responsible for the Russian-Armenians.

The Turks were not satisfied. They suspected them of duplicity. This perhaps was not true, because the answer given the Turks was based on a resolution adopted by the convention. The fact remains, however, that the leaders of the Turkish Armenian section of the Dashnagtzoutune did not carry out their promise of loyalty to the Turkish cause when the Turks entered the war. The Dashnagtzoutune in the Caucasus had the upper hand. They were swayed in their actions, by the interests of the Russian government, and disregarded, entirely, the political dangers that the war had created for the Armenians in Turkey. Prudence was thrown to the winds; even the decision of their own convention of Erzerum was forgotten, and a call was sent for Armenian volunteers to fight the Turks on the Caucasian front.

Thousands of Armenians from all over the world, flocked to the standards of such famous fighters as Antranik, Kery, Dro, etc. The Armenian volunteer regiments rendered valuable services to the Russian Army in the years of 1914-15-16. However, their deeds of heroism and the blood they shed in the conquest of Turkish Armenia by Russia, did not help the Armenian cause. The Dashnag leaders declared, that the Russian government had promised freedom for Armenia. There was no foundation to this: and the deception was exposed finally. But thousands of Armenians had already answered the false call, and incidentally, millions were poured into the coffers of the Dashnag "National Bureau".

On the other hand, the methods used by the Dashnagtzoutune in recruiting these regiments were so open and flagrant, that it could not escape the attention of the

Turkish authorities, who were looking for an excuse to carry out their program of exterminating the Christian population which they had adopted as early as 1911. Many Armenians believe, that the fate of two million of their co-nationals in Turkey might not have proved so disastrous, if more prudence had been used by the Dashnag leaders during the war. In one instance, one Dashnag leader, Armen Garo, who was also a member of the Turkish Parliament, had fled to the Caucasus and had taken active part in the organization of volunteer regiments to fight the Turks. His picture, in uniform, was widely circulated in the Dashnag papers, and it was used by Talat Pasha, the arch assassin of the Armenians, as an excuse for his policy of extermination[9]. The

9 When the deportations and exile of Armenian leaders began in the summer of 1915. an Armenian lady, the wife of another Armenian deputy in the Ottoman Parliament, had gone to plead with Talat Pasha, asking the return of her husband from exile and probable death. During the interview, Talat Pasha produced a copy of the Dashnag paper "Horizon" in which Armen Garo's picture in the uniform of a volunteer was published, and, pointing to the picture, said, "Madam, look at our *mebous* (deputy)". Armen Garo, incidentally, was one of the "heroes" of the Bank Ottoman episode of 1896.

fact remains that the real representatives of the Armenians in Turkey, the Patriarchate and its organs, were never consulted by the Caucasian leaders of the Dashnagtzoutune in adopting their policies with regard to the Armenian people; yet, the disastrous consequences of these policies were suffered by the Armenians in Turkey.

Chapter 10

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION AND THE ARMENIAN EFFORTS AT DEFENSE

The Russians did not liberate the conquered provinces of Armenia; and after the revolution, their army abandoned the front, and left it defenseless against the Turks. The Nationalistic elements of the Dashnags in the Caucasus, along with the National Council of the Western or Turkish Armenians who had fled across the Russian border, tried to raise an army corps under the leadership of Gen. Antranik and the supreme command of Gen. Nazarbekoff, an old Armenian veteran of the Russian army.

The bolshevistic branch of the Dashnags, led by such leaders as Chamalian and Vratzian, who even up to this date are in the secret Dashnag Bureau in Paris, opposed the introduction of capital punishment as a disciplinary measure into this new army. They wanted regimental councils or "proletarian discipline". Much valuable time was wasted in this way. On the other hand, some Dashnag leaders did everything within their power to frustrate Antranik's efforts in Erzerum to organize a defense against Vehib Pasha's army. Antranik had opposed the corrupt methods and policies of the Dashnagtzoutune, therefore he had to be punished somehow. That punishment cost the Armenians the strongholds of Erzerum, Kars and Alexandropol, and the lives of multitudes.

Chapter 11

THE REPUBLIC

By a curious twist of Turkish and German diplomacy, the Armenians were forced to declare the independence of Russian Armenia, which was recognized by the Turks in June 1918, by the Treaty of Batoum. Turkish defeats at Karakilisa and Sardarabad, and the stiffening resistance of the Armenians were important factors in this recognition; but the main reason was, that the Turks wanted to separate Armenia from Russia and deal with it at their pleasure at a more convenient time. Secondly, they did not want an enemy army in their rear during their advance towards Bakou and the rich oil fields.

The Dashnag party found itself in the saddle. A ministry and parliament were formed, in which the Dashnags were the overwhelming majority. However, being long used to underhanded and violent methods as a revolutionary party, they failed to show any ability for governing and statesmanship. The ministry and the Parliament were often overruled by the secret and powerful Dashnag Bureau; and the agencies of law

and order were often flouted by Dashnag Mauserists[10], who had been thus far petted and pampered by the society for secret terroristic purposes, and could not be controlled now. They tyrannized the people and defied the government.

Speaking of the policies of the Armenian government, the report of Gen. Harbord's Commission declares as follows:—

"The policy however, is unfortunately affected by Dashnagtzoutune methods, which are always liable to precipitate trouble".

H. Kachaznouni, the former prime minister of the Armenian Republic, decries the methods of his own party in the following words:—

"Armenia was a democratic republic .... This was the form. But reality was otherwise. In practice, our party endeavored to control both the legislative body and the government.

"There was created an intolerable duality of authority; on the surface it was the Parliament and the government, while in secret, it was the party and its organs.

". . . . This state of affairs made very difficult the work of forming a serious and sincere coalition. Actually, the alien elements who entered the coalition were forced to pursue a policy which was not their own, since it was being developed and planned outside of the government and by party committees, to which they could not have access and participation.

"In Armenia there was no Parliament; it was an empty form without content.

"The problems of state were being discussed and solved behind closed doors, in the rooms of the Dashnag faction, and then declared from the rostrum of the parliament. In reality, there was not even a parliamentary faction, because this latter was under the very strict supervision of the Dashnag Bureau, and was obliged to carry out its orders. There was not a government either. This also, was ruled by the Bureau; it was a kind of executive body for the Bureau in the state. This was the Bolshevistic system. But what the Bolshevists are doing openly and consistently, we were attempting to veil under democratic forms." ("Dashnagtzoutune Has Nothing More to Do", by H. Kachaznouni, pages 31-32 and 38, Vienna, 1923).

* * *

Internal and external troubles were not long in following.

In internal affairs, the Dashnag government first of all failed to establish peace and a minimum of law and order within the country. Brigandage and oppression were frequent, and in many cases the arbitrary acts of the underlings of the Dashnag chiefs precipitated trouble. Secondly the socialistic legislation, passed by the Parliament, tended to retard the work of economic reconstruction of the country, by creating a large bureaucracy and supporting them at the expense of the peasants. For example, the farm crops were declared government monopolies and forcibly bought from the peasants at nominal prices and sold abroad by government agents who also collected the commission. The cotton crop was thus taken over by the ministry of agriculture,

10 The name Mauserist is from the mauser pistols with which these henchmen of the Dashnag leaders were usually armed.

and sold in Batoum in 1919 by Sarkis Araradian, the then minister of finance, who at the same time collected his commission.

"Among the administrative and legislative enterprises, says A. Khatisian, prime minister of Armenia, 1919-1920, we might mention the declaration of the agrarian laws, by which, land in Armenia was nationalized and given to the workers". ("The Origin and Development of the Armenian Republic", by A. Khatisian, page 115, Athens, 1930).

In a proclamation of May 29, 1919, the Dashnag Bureau, which was the real government, declared, that the "*Dashnagtzoutune, after realizing its political ideal, the establishment of a Democratic republic, and being true to its fundamental doctrine (socialism), will steer our ship consistently and with determination, through the channel of social reforms, to that haven of social justice, towards which the workers of all the nations are bound, and where the workers of Armenia, without distinction of race or creed, will find the realization of the ideals of the entire humanity*." Accordingly the people were invited by the Dashnag press, to rise and take possession by force of individually owned lands, and the property and lands belonging to the churches.

Third—the government failed to win the co-operation of other political parties.

Fourth—it could not maintain the dignity of the government against foreign representatives. A mere British general in Erivan dictated to the prime minister in a way that would be considered most insulting.

Fifth—It failed to organize the defenses of the country properly, because the trained and professional officers of the general staff were overruled by Dashnag chieftains who knew little or nothing about military science.

Externally.—

1. The Dashnag government waged three wars in two years and a half. The war on Georgia, in Dec. 1918, lasted only three weeks but caused untold calamity to Armenia. The war with Azerbaijan over Karabagh ended disastrously for the Armenians. Finally came the war with Turkey in the fall of 1920, which almost put an end to the republic and threatened the Armenian remnant with extermination. At least two of these wars were avoidable.

The war with Georgia, waged over the question of the district of Lory, was precipitated by certain Dashnag partisan leaders, over whom the government

had no control, and by the provocative acts of Russian officers in the Armenian army.

"It is not improbable, says H. Kachaznouni, that these (meaning the Russian officers) were inciting our military circles against Georgia, and creating a hostile atmosphere which was very favorable for beginning military operations.

"We had barely had an existence of 4 or 5 months as a state, and already we were engaged in war; while the country had thousands of ills that needed attention. And we waged war against a neighbor with whom we had the greatest need of allying ourselves closely. Wasn't Georgia our only avenue for keeping in touch with the civilized world? .... Independently of the attitude of Georgia, which was doubtless to be condemned, no little part has been played by our own incapacity, our own lack of experience in political life, and our own unpreparedness for conducting the life of a state." ("Dashnagtzoutune Has Nothing More to Do", by H. Kachaznouni, pages 34,

35).

The war with Turkey was indirectly the outcome of the Act of May 28, 1919, by which the government of the Armenian Republic, claimed possession of the provinces of Western or Turkish Armenia. If we remember that the existing Republic was recognized by the Turks under the treaty of Batoum, in which the Russian-Armenian envoys renounced all territorial claims over Western Armenia, we can readily comprehend why the Turks regarded the Act of May 28, 1919, as a provocation for war, and attacked the Armenian Republic as soon as they were ready.

On the other hand, the Armenian government overestimated its own strength, and created an immediate occasion for conflict by occupying the district of Olti.

We are again going to quote from Kachaznouni, the one time prime minister of Armenia, in order to show, that the Dashnag government failed to take measures to avoid this disastrous war.

"It is an irrefutable fact, says Kachaznouni, a flagrant fact, that we have not done everything that we should have done—it was our duty to do—in order to avoid war.

"And we have not done everything for the simple but unpardonable reason, that we were ignorant of the real strength of the Turks, and too sure of our

own strength. There lies the fundamental mistake. We were not afraid of war, because we were sure of being victorious. With the carelessness of inexperienced and ignorant men, we were not aware of the forces that the Turks had organized on our borders, and so we were not cautious. On the contrary, the hasty occupation of Olti was the gauntlet which we threw down, as if intentionally, to the Turks; as though we ourselves were desirous of war and went after it." ("Dashnagtzoutune Has Nothing More to Do", by H. Kachaznouni, page 41).

2. The arrogant attitude of the Armenian government towards Soviet Russia during the critical year of 1920, deprived the small and weak republic of a strong and natural ally.

The so-called "Armenian Cause", was centered on the issue of reforms for the Armenian provinces in Turkey; in other words, it was a demand on the part of the Western Armenians that they be protected from oppression and be given some measure of limited autonomy. This demand of the Armenians was recognized internationally by the 61st Article of the treaty of Berlin, which the great powers and Turkey had signed in 1878, after the Russo-Turkish war[11]. Internationally, therefore, the Armenian Cause, was the cause of the liberation of the Armenians of Turkey.

During the world war, the Armenian Cause was represented before the allied powers, by a National Delegation, representing the Western Armenians only, who spoke for their cause only.

This delegation, headed by Boghos Noobar Pasha, was recognized by the allies, and concluded formal agreements with them, according to which the Armenians were to have autonomy in Cilicia, under the protection of France. It was under these agreements, that the Armenian regiments fought for France in the Syrian campaign during 1917 and 1918. The final defeat of the Turks raised Armenian hopes for a free and autonomous existence in the greater part of Western Armenia, which was now abandoned by the Russian army.

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11 See Appendix III.

The appearance, on the diplomatic scene, of the representatives of the newly formed Armenian Republic in the Caucasus, complicated matters at once.

The Dashnag delegation led by A. Aharonian, instead of co-operating with the National Delegation in the work of achieving the freedom of Western Armenia, started right away to lay plans for the removal of the National Delegation. The Dashnagtzoutune could not tolerate the dominance of any other authority in Armenian life, but its own. They had repeatedly sacrificed the interests and jeopardized the physical existence of the Western Armenians, in order to follow the policies and views of their leaders from the Caucasus. They would stop at nothing now in order to discredit the National Delegation, which enjoyed the confidence of all the Western Armenians, and to take into their own hands the direction of the Armenian Cause before the Peace Conference.

Accordingly, on May 28, 1919, the government of Erivan, came out with a proclamation by which it declared the Armenian Provinces of Turkey—which the Western Armenians claimed from the allies—united with the existing republic. This proclamation is what is known as the Act of May 28. It was actually a usurpation of authority by a government which owed its existence to the incident of the Russian Revolution, which did not represent the Turkish Armenians, *and which had not even been authorized by its own parliament for this disastrous act.* The whole thing was designed in Paris, plotted in the Dashnag Bureau at Erivan, and foisted upon the public.

The immediate result of this act was the flaring up of an internal conflict among the Armenians, which made it impossible for the political factions to present a united front to the allies in the peace conference, which they had done up till then. The Social Democrats and the Peoples party withdrew from the government and the parliament of the republic, protesting that the government had no authority for such an unlawful act. This weakened the government even on its own home front.

According to Kachaznouni, the Act of May 28 aimed to put the National Delegation out of existence. This did not materialize. While on the other hand, the intolerance of the rulers at Erivan, made impossible the formation of a coalition government, composed of both Eastern and Western Armenians.

On the diplomatic front, the Act of May 28 created confusion both among our representatives and in the minds of the allied powers. The Armenian question was at first the problem of the liberation of Turkish Armenia, which

the allies had promised and for which the efforts of the Western Armenians had created the basis. Now, the Armenian question was something else. Accordingly, the allied powers saw in this Act of May 28, an easy way out of a difficult problem. Instead of liberating Western Armenia, and organizing it into a separate state, they decided to add some of the provinces of Turkish Armenia to the existing Republic. This was consummated in the Sèvres treaty[12]. However, they also attached a joker; that the final solution of the entire problem depended upon the course of the Russian revolution.

The cause of the freedom of Western Armenia was thus killed by Dashnag intolerance and intrigue. The treaty of Sèvres which recognized Armenia, at the same time, denied freedom to Western Armenia. It was signed by the representatives of the Republic at Erivan, on Aug. 10, 1920. The same men were to repudiate the Sèvres treaty and the claims of Armenians in Turkey by signing the treaty of Alexandropol

12 See Appendix VI.

on Dec. 2, 1920.

Chapter 12

DISASTER

The Act of May 28, 1919, which claimed Turkish Armenia for the newly formed Armenian Republic, that was recognized by the Turks under the treaty of Batoum, (June 4, 1918), prepared grounds for the attack of Mustafa Kemal on Armenia. As soon as the treaty of Sèvres was signed in Paris, the Turks began their attack. The Armenians were without allies in the Caucasus. The European allies were too far distant to give them aid. The country was not unified internally, and the army was demoralized by Dashnag military methods. The Armenian forces failed to make an effective stand before the seasoned Turkish troops. The key fortress of Kars was surrendered; and the Turks advanced as far as Alexandropol, where on Dec. 2, 1920, the Dashnag government, represented by a delegation headed by A. Katissian, signed a treaty that virtually ended the independence of Armenia, and put the fate of the Armenian remnant in the hands of Turkish Pashas. (The Treaty of Alexandropol is given at the end of this discussion, Appendix IV).

A timely intervention of Soviet Russia saved the Armenians. Concerning this Bolshevik intervention H. Kachaznouni declares:—

"The Bolsheviks entered Armenia without meeting any resistance. **This was the decision of our Party…..**

"There were two reasons for acting this way; First, we could not resist it if we wanted to. Second, we hoped that the Soviet authorities, backed by Russia, would be able to introduce some order in the state—a thing which we, all alone, had failed to do, and it was very plain already that we would not be able to do."

The Dashnags were driven out of authority in the newly formed Soviet Armenian Republic.

Chapter 13

AFTER THE DISASTER

The Dashnag leaders, however, could not reconcile themselves with the idea of being out of power. Especially, they were deprived of a sure means of livelihood and were utterly discredited before the Armenian public. Being of Bolshevistic tendencies, some of them, such as S. Vratzian, the present head of the invisible Bureau in Europe and a former editor of the Boston "Hairenik", were allowed by the Bolshevik Armenian leaders to stay in Armenia.

Two months and a half elapsed since the fall of the Dashnag government, when on Feb. 18, 1921, a serious rebellion under the leadership of Vratzian broke out in

Armenia against the Bolshevik government.

The Bolshevik forces were temporarily driven out of Armenia, but Vratzian's government was not sure of its own ability to hold out against them. They sought military assistance from the Turks by invoking the infamous treaty signed at Alexandropol, article 7 of which provided, that "whenever the Armenian government so desires, the Great National Assembly of Turkey undertakes to give armed assistance to Armenia, against internal and external dangers." The reentry of a Turkish army into Armenia would have meant additional destruction and disaster for this much harassed land. However, the Dashnag leaders seemed to prefer Turkish rather than Russian protectorate over what was left of the Armenian Republic. So, on March 18, 1921, Mr. Vratzian sent to Angora a formal appeal in which Armenia expressed the hope that "during her fight she would receive help from her neighbors; and in the first instance, the interests of the Turkish people would also require that Armenia should issue victorious from this fight and remain independent." Then the Turkish government was asked to let the Armenian government know, whether it "finds it possible to send military aid to Armenia; and if able to do so, to what extent and when?

"In making this appeal, the Armenian Government relies on the friendly relations that have been established under the treaty of Alexandropol, and which have been disturbed during the bolshevik rule." (The complete text of this appeal by Vratzian is given in Appendix V.)

Fortunately for the Armenian remnant, the awe of the rising power of the Soviet Union kept the Turkish army out of Armenia[13].

There was much bloodshed, until the Dashnags were again defeated by the Bolshevists, and driven out of the country. This civil war lasted almost three months, and cost Armenia the lives of tens of thousands.

Chapter 14

ACTIVITIES IN EXILE

The Dashnag leaders and former ministers came out now and declared that they had decided to follow a policy of loyal opposition, toward Soviet Armenia. However, they secretly fomented conspiracies against her. With an amazing flexibility of policy and conscience, they extended friendly hands to their former foes; the Mousavat party of the Azerbaijan Tartars, and the Mensheviks of Georgia. These societies were similarly exiled from their respective countries by the advent of the Bolsheviks. In

13 This appeal of Vratzian as the president of the newly formed Armenian government, was virtually the ratification of the treaty of Alexandropol, by which the Dashnag leaders declared to the whole world that Annenia has renounced all her demands on Turkey and has no more cause of dispute. The Turks utilized the above mentioned treaty and this last appeal of Vratzian as powerful weapons in the conference of the great powers at London, in March 1921, and again in the Lausanne conference in 1923, against the demands of the Armenians for a free national status on the soil of Turkish Armenia. They claimed that they had settled all disputes with Armenia, by the treaty of Alexandropol and for them the Armenian question did not exist any more. Thus was consummated the burial of the Armenian question, which was already killed by the representatives of the Dashnagtzoutune when they signed the treaty of Alexandropol on December 2, 1920. The organization that set out to free Turkish Armenia, finished by first repudiating, and then by interring that same cause.

1922 there was secretly concluded what is now known as the "Promethean" alliance between the Dashnags, the Tartars, the Georgians and the representatives of Daghestan Mohammedans. Its purpose was to organize a concerted rebellion in Transcaucasia against the Soviet Republics. Attempts to this effect were suppressed rigorously; but the secret agreement is still in force.

Failing in this, the Dashnags tried to consolidate all the Armenian political and other organizations abroad, with the idea of creating a sort of government without territory, the alleged purpose of which was to coordinate national and cultural activities of all the Armenian communities in different countries. The real motive behind this move was to use the united public opinion and the material resources of all the Armenians abroad, against Soviet Armenia.

This policy was vigorously opposed and frustrated by the Armenian Democratic Liberal party, which, although hostile to the principles of socialism or Bolshevism, championed, however, the cause of Soviet Armenia as the only political hope for the nation.

The Dashnagtzoutune tried next to cooperate with the Kurdish leaders in their rebellion against Turkey. They made their followers believe, that in case of success the Kurds were going to recognize Armenian rights over the territory of Turkish Armenia. There was no basis for such belief, as the Kurds claimed the same territory as part of their national program.

The Dashnagtzoutune mulcted its credulous followers of thousands of dollars to support the Kurdish cause. The Kurds were finally defeated in 1928. Net result:—much needed propaganda for the Dashnagtzoutune, waste of the hard earned money of the Armenian workers, and more oppressive measures by the Turkish government in dealing with the Armenian remnants in Turkey.

However, they sought other fields of activity, and finally managed to break up the unity of some of the corn- patriotic societies. These societies were formed in various lands by Armenians coming from the same home town in their old country. They tried to raise money, so as to rescue their refugee compatriots, send them into Soviet Armenia, and establish them in towns named after their old homes. These towns, which have been built in Armenia by these same compatriotic societies, are now growing and developing through the co-operation of the Armenian government. Some of these societies are now on the verge of disruption, however, on account of the opposition of their Dashnag members.

On all these various fronts the Dashnags met determined opposition from other political parties, from organizations devoted to the work of Armenian reconstruction and from the people in general. Their most serious mis- take has been a campaign of opposition, bordering on enmity which they have been waging against Soviet Armenia. This propaganda however, failed to dampen the patriotic ardor of the Armenians of the diaspora, and could not put a stop to their efforts at repatriating the refugees scattered in Greece, Syria, France and the Balkans.

Chapter 15

DISSASTISFACTION WITHIN THE RANKS

Dissatisfaction against this disastrous leadership began within the ranks of the Dashnagtzoutune right after the signing of the Alexandropol treaty in December 1920. For a while it was in secret. Soon it came out into the open.

Many leading Dashnags, who had always believed in socialism or bolshevism, demanded that their party stop its opposition to Soviet Armenia, liquidate itself, and join the communist party. Being refused in this, they severed their connections and went over, in groups, to join the communists, as there was hardly any difference in their ideology. These were branded as traitors by the leaders, who were able to maintain the party intact, thanks to their financial resources.

This process of disintegration was accelerated by the famous booklet of Hovhanes Kachaznouni, a life long Dashnag and one time prime minister of the Armenian Government, entitled, "Dashnagtzoutune Has Nothing More to Do."

After publishing his booklet, in which he tried to prove, that Dashnagtzoutune has no more ground for existence, and advising it to disband and support Armenia, Kachaznouni went over to Erivan and tendered his services to the Armenian government. His example was followed by many others, who were all "traitors", of course, for the Dashnag high command.

Soon it dawned on the more nationalistic elements in the rank and file of the party, that the present Armenia was really the beginning of a political future for the Armenian people; and they put a demand that the party stop its enmity to Soviet Armenia.

Convention after convention failed to satisfy this demand and finally many groups left the party and organized separately or joined the other parties friendly to Armenia. The most serious schism came two years ago, when almost the entire Dashnag organization in France came out openly against the policies of the Central Bureau.

These dissenting groups are mostly Western Armenians or Armenians from Turkey, who realized, finally, the betrayal of the Cause of Western Armenia by their leaders from the Caucasus, and saw the political blind alley into which they were being led by these unscrupulous intriguers, at the present time.

Chapter 16

THEY CONDEMN NOW WHAT THEY ONCE SUPORTED

The patent criticisms leveled by the Dashnagtzoutune at the present Soviet Armenia is that, it is not independent, and it is a communistic and not a national government. These criticisms have no ground to stand upon. The Dashnags themselves, while they were at the helm, tried to place Armenia under the protection of some great Power —the United States for one—through the League of Nations. The mandate of any great Power, if it had materialized, would have meant a limitation of Armenian independence.

Armenia has now secured its political existence, not by accepting the mandate

of a great Power, but by joining hands, as one of the federated republics, with the great commonwealth of nations known as the Soviet Union. Given the geographical, political and economic situation of Soviet Armenia, the severance of its federal ties from the Soviet Union, would mean nothing but ruination.

As to the communistic form of the government, it is perfectly in line with the socialistic program of the Dashnagtzoutune.

If the Dashnags were sincere patriots, they would ardently support the present political union of Armenia with Moscow. On the other hand, if they were sincere adherents of socialism, they would not oppose the application of socialism in Armenia now. They are neither. Their leaders are simply unprincipled opportunists, who lead their followers into a blind alley for their own selfish material interests.

What they condemn now, was in their program once. Here is what we read in the Dashnag program published in Boston, by the Hairenik Press, in 1911.

Under the heading "Political Demands", we read:—

"Led by socialistic principles, striving to attain our purpose not by political separation, but by reorganization of the body politic on federal foundations, and taking into consideration the real and ripened needs of the territory we live in, the party proposes the following demands." For Transcaucasia, these demands are as follows:—

1. "The democratic republic of Transcaucasia shall form an integral part of the federated republic of Russia, united to it in matters of self-defense, monetary system, customs and foreign policy.

2. "In all internal affairs, the Transcaucasian Re- public shall be independent, having its central parliament, elected by general, equal, direct, secret and proportional balloting. Every Transcaucasian, who is over 20 years old, shall have the right to vote, irrespective of sex.

3. "Transcaucasia shall send its representatives to the federal Parliament of Russia, elected in the same manner.

4. "The Transcaucasian Republic shall be divided into cantons, enjoying the widest self-rule. The communities likewise shall have self-rule in purely communal affairs.

5. "In deciding the boundaries of the cantons, the geographical and cultural characteristics of the population shall be taken into consideration, in order to form as homogenous units as possible.

6. "All the legislative, judicial and executive bodies as well as the officials shall be elected by the people, according to the above mentioned system.

7. "Direct legislation, and the rights of referendum and initiative."

Even a casual comparison of the above articles of the Dashnag program with the present reality of Armenia, will make it clear, that these demands of the A. R. Federation are more than fulfilled. While the very name of Armenia is eliminated from the above demands, it forms today not a canton of Transcaucasia, but one of the federated republics of Transcaucasia, and is united to the central Union of the Soviets, and enjoys freedom for cultivating its own national life and culture.

Chapter 17

ATTEMPT TO CONTROL THE CHURCH

Having failed in all their previous attempts to organize the Armenian diaspora into a unified body which they could use as a weapon against the Soviet Armenian government, the Dashnag high command decided to try another strategy.

For thirty years previously they had preached against church and religion. Now, all of a sudden, they discovered that they believed in religion and in the Armenian Apostolic church, as a bulwark of Armenian nationalism.

The church was being persecuted by the Soviet regime. Echmiadzin is robbed of its lands and of its means of sup- port. His Holiness the Catholicos is a prisoner in the ancient seat of the Armenian church and is constantly being hounded by the Cheka. Therefore, it will be a good thing for the Armenians to move the Holy See to some place outside of Soviet Armenia After this was achieved, the Dashnag high command thought, it would be easy to use the moral prestige of the Holy See, to discredit the Soviet Armenian leaders in the eyes of the people.

At one time in 1930, events seemed to play into their hands. His Holiness, Kevork V, died during that year. Dashnagtzoutune came out openly then and declared that the Soviet Armenian government was not going to permit the meeting of a Church Council at Echmiadzin for the election of a successor; or, if it did, it was going to dictate the election, as Catholicos, of a churchman who was already a tool of the Soviet secret police.

Both these prophecies failed. The Armenian government allowed the Church Council, with delegates from all over the world, laymen, and churchmen, to convene at Echmiadzin in November, 1932. The new successor to the throne of St. Gregory the Illuminator who was elected, His Holiness Catholicos Khoren, could not be accused by the Dashnagtzoutune as a tool in the hands of the Cheka.

However, they floated a new story; that the Soviets allowed the election of a man like Catholicos Khoren, because they knew that he enjoyed the confidence of the Armenian people abroad; and therefore, it would be easier for them to mislead them through him. This being the case, the churches and

churchmen would not be committing an offense, if they simply disregarded the decrees of the Holy See.

Almost from the first day of his landing in the United States, His Eminence the late Archbishop Leon Tourian had to fight these attempts to belittle the authority of the Catholicos, and the underhanded propaganda for moving the Holy See from Echmiadzin.

Church authorities who opposed the Dashnag designs and methods were everywhere denounced and subjected to indignities. They were represented as the tools of the Soviet secret police, who fomented conspiracies against the national aspirations of the Armenians and against the Dashnags. These churchmen were declared to be the allies of communists. At the present time, there is hardly any Prelate of the Armenian church, who has not fallen under this accusation, and who has not been subjected to persecution and calumny. A partial list of these churchmen is to be found at the end of this discussion (see Appendix II).

I shall mention only one notorious example of Dashnag insolence in dealing with church authorities who fail to please them. Patriarch Sahag of the Armenians in Syria, was bitterly denounced by Housaper, the Dashnag official organ of Cairo, Egypt, because of a recent encyclical in which His Holiness exhorted his flock to refrain from acts of violence and to cultivate brotherly love. The occasion for this pastoral letter, was the assassination in Beirult, last October, of one Aghazarian, a bitter opponent of the Dashnags. Neither the said murder, nor the Dash- nagtzoutune were mentioned in the pastoral letter. But the Housaper, denounced vehemently this "Cawing of iII Omen", and closed its editorial with the following inflammatory remarks:—

".....the gontag (pastoral letter) of the Patriarch is wicked.

"It is a cawing of ill omen, that threatens our people, who long for peace, with the dangers of new schisms.

"However, is it only our lot to be calm and circumspect?

"Let your blood be on your heads."

By controlling the churches in different countries, not only they hoped to win over the bishops and the prelates, to the support of their campaign against Soviet Armenia, but incidentally, to benefit financially, as these churches had property and income in a good many places.

Chapter 18

THE LAST DESPERATE DRIVE

Failure on all these fronts and the gradual disruption of their ranks, forced the Dashnag General Convention, which met in Paris in March 1933, to take drastic measures. They had to terrorize the diaspora into submission, and incidentally stop the gradual disintegration of the rank and file. There could be no better means to achieve this double purpose, than to start a violent campaign against their opponents. War against the enemy would bring internal unity. In this, they succeeded in part.

It was decided to create a secret Supreme Council with invisible headquarters, and a central Bureau for window dressing. The real power and the direction of affairs was to be in the hands of these few men in the dark. The policy of action adopted was secret intrigue, conspiracies and violence. Of these methods they were past masters. The declaration was openly broadcast that the only obstacle to their domination of the Armenian diaspora was the Armenian Democratic Liberal Party; therefore, they should be fought by every means and on every front.

The immediate excuse for a fight was the Tricolor flag of the defunct Armenian government. All of a sudden quarrels sprang up in Egypt, France, Greece, America and Bulgaria, over the flag which the Dashnags wanted to raise in every public function and at every public gathering place.

Acts of violence followed in the wake of these quarrels. Armenian leaders of official standing, both laymen and churchmen, were assaulted in Egypt, Syria, Greece, America, and elsewhere. Even murders were committed in some of these countries.

The much lamented Archbishop Tourian, Prelate of the Armenian church in America, was assassinated because he obeyed the orders of His Holiness, the

Catholicos, to keep the church away from political influences and to prevent its being used as a moral weapon in the hands of unbelievers and the avowed enemies of the government of Armenia. He did not belong to any political faction. He was a devoted servant of the church only, and had only her interests at heart. During the Armenian day exercises at the Chicago fair last year, he supported the decision of the committee in charge, which was to display only the Stars and the Stripes. He was opposed by a group of Dashnag adherents, who had insisted on bringing the Tri-color of the former Armenian government into the hall, in spite

of the decision of the committee. The Prelate's stand was supported by the votes of an overwhelming majority of the audience.

However, the Chicago incident was not the real reason for the Dashnag opposition to the Prelate. This antagonism started soon after he landed in this country in 1931, and tried to preserve the moral prestige of the Holy See of Echmiadzin, which was being represented by the Dashnag press as controlled by the Soviet Secret Service— the Cheka. The Archbishop also opposed the Dashnag propaganda in favor of removing the Holy See from Armenia to some other country. Their success in this move would have meant the closing of a spiritual center that has existed for sixteen centuries, and the final stamping out of Christianity from Soviet Armenia. Armenian bishops all over the world acted like Archbishop Tourian did, and most all of them incurred the enmity of the Dashnag society.

The incident in Chicago was used merely as an excuse to intensify the persecution of the Prelate. Led by the Hairenik, their central mouthpiece in Boston, the entire Dashnag organization went out on the war-path. Calumnies and indignities were hurled in abundance at the churchman who had dared to "insult the tri-color". For months, previous to the death of this saintly servant of God, bitter hatred and denunciation of him were spouted by the Hairenik and roared from platforms.

He was first represented as the agent of the Soviet Cheka, and his ousting from office was demanded. He was then threatened with violence, at first covertly, and soon, openly. Besides pouring out its venom and malice editorially, the Hairenik admitted to its columns communications which demanded that the Archbishop be punished ruthlessly. On July 27, 1933, it published a letter in which a monetary reward was promised to those who would teach the Prelate a lesson. The writer of another letter, published by the Hairenik on August 1, 1933, demanded that Tourian "be ruthlessly punished", and ex- pressed surprise that "Tourian has left Chicago without being punished".

The deplorable results of this fanatical agitation were soon to follow. On August 13, 1933, some young ruffians belonging to the Dashnag society assaulted the Prelate in Westboro, Mass. and would have caused him serious physical injury if they had not been prevented. Three of these were arrested, tried and punished. The Hairenik condoned this outrage in an editorial on August 17, 1933, and made heroes of the culprits, at the same time blaming the victim for the episode.

The overwhelming majority of the community supported the Prelate. His Holiness, the Catholicos of Echmiadzin, Supreme head of the Armenian church,

approved of the conduct of the Archbishop and sent him, repeatedly, his blessings and full confidence. He ordered that the controversy be stopped, and the community follow the Prelate. The Dashnags alone defied the authority of His Holiness, and

continued in their anarchistic opposition in a more violent fashion. Short of actually inciting their followers to murder the Prelate, the Dashnag publications did everything else, in order to injure him morally and materially.

In a virulent editorial entitled, "A Masterpiece of Pharisaism", *Hairenik* hurled blasphemy and insult at the late Prelate, who had published a pastoral letter for the Christmas season, exhorting his people to cast away hatred and selfishness and cultivate brotherly love and forgiveness. "*That unworthy clergyman is so shameless, that he is not even ashamed of giving such advice*," declares the Dashnag paper, and continues, "*Indeed, instead of addressing to 'the beloved people' those sermons, the sincerity of which nobody can believe, Archbishop Leon would have rendered an infinitely more Christian and patriotic service to this colony and this church, if he would have, at least under the inspiration of the great mystery of Christmas, the common decency of publicly confessing the sins he has committed, and, as a first step of repentance, he would re- sign once for all from his culpable leanings of dividing this colony and this church*".

This editorial appeared on December 21st, 1933, three days before the assassination of the Prelate in the Holy Cross Armenian church of New York. This horrible crime shocked everybody except the members of the Dashnagtzoutune, their leaders and their press. These latter could hardly conceal their satisfaction; their only regret was that eight members of their society were arrested and indicted for the murder. They even tried to excuse the crime, and held the victim and his supporters *morally responsible* for the bloody tragedy.

The Boston Hairenik, which had for six months preached hatred against the Prelate, and had inflamed the passions of its followers to white heat, came out with a brazen editorial in its issue of December 27th, 1933, and expressed the wish that the blood of the Archbishop would "*Finally bring to their senses all those who incite and inflame the passions of the masses*". With the same breath, the Dashnag sheet blamed the Cheka—Soviet secret police—and the opponents of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, for the unfortunate situation. "*Moreover, said the Hairenik, the opponents of the A. R. F. gradually became very rash and reckless in their inciting and intransigent conduct, and in a precipitous manner, brought upon us the stormy reality in which we are found*". The above sentences can only mean one thing, that those who dare to oppose the Dashnag society are bound to suffer punishment and physical injury. Such

language and mentality are becoming only to the Italian Mafia and the underworld gangsters.

Not one Dashnag paper condemned the murder with- out reservation. Some even excused it, as did the Paris *Harach* in its issue of January 5th, 1934, in the following words.

"*If the Dashnagtzoutune or any Dashnag has suggested this murder, under such horrible circumstances, and without any excuse, they also should be tried and condemned*."

Of excuses, the Dashnagtzoutune had plenty, of course.

Armenian public opinion did not hesitate in coming to the decision that the group that had so bitterly hated and persecuted the Archbishop was closely connected with the instigators and the plotters of the murder. A mighty wave of indignation and protest

swept the Armenian communities all over the world and the United States. Public mass meetings were held in which the Dashnag society and its leaders were charged with responsibility for the crime; and the people, stirred to the bottom of its soul, demanded that the actual murderers, as well as the organizers of the murder, be found and handed over to justice.

Special memorial services were held in the Armenian churches all over the world, and the death of the Prelate was mourned by the highest ecclesiastical authorities. He was declared a martyr. All national organizations and groups came out officially, and expressed deep sorrow for the crime. All the Armenian press condemned the A. R. Federation as the author of the crime; that is, all, except the Dashnag press, which acted true to its traditional method of blackening the character of their victims. Even after his death, the late Prelate was subjected to calumnies and slander.

Whatever the fate of the nine Dashnags who are now under indictment in New York for the murder of the Archbishop, the Armenian public will always be firm in its conviction, that the demands of justice will be only partly satisfied until the real instigators and plotters of this horrible crime are found and punished.

The late Archbishop Leon Tourian was martyred for his faithfulness to his duty and his God.

Chapter 19

CONCLUTION

Dashnagtzoutune was organized for liberating Turkish Armenia. Its leaders, all Armenians from the Caucasus, failed to take into consideration the peculiar political and social conditions under which the Armenian people lived in Turkey; and their insurrectional attempts and methods were used as excuses by the Turkish authorities for massacres and renewed oppression.

Its opportunism, its internal corruption and terroristic methods prevented the best Armenian elements from joining the movement for Armenian independence; while its adherence to the Russian socialism created confusion and wasted much precious energy in the maelstrom of the Russian revolution.

Its high handed acts in dealing with the instituted Armenian authorities in Turkey, created internal quarrels and prevented the formation of a unified front against the Turkish government before the world war, and in the allied conferences, after the war, thereby preventing the solution of the Turkish Armenian question independently of the course of the Russian revolution. This failure was consummated in the treaty of Sevres. By their signing this treaty themselves, instead of the Armenian National Delegation, the rightful representatives of the Armenians in Turkey, the Dashnag government of the Armenian Republic invited the Turkish attack on itself and hastened its own downfall.

The former ministers and officials of the Armenian Republic fomented internal dissensions and quarrels wherever they went, in order to impose their will on the Armenian people and its institutions. Being always believers in terroristic methods, the Dashnag leaders encouraged physical violence against their opponents, with the result, that many acts of violence have been committed by their followers during the

last few years in various countries.

While the Armenian people, as a whole, and all its organizations, political, charitable, ecclesiastical etc. see a political future for our race in the present Soviet Armenia, and therefore support it despite its communistic regime, and desire to bring their assistance to its reconstruction, the Dashnagtzoutune stands alone in its opposition, advocates its separation from the federal union of the Soviets, and foments plots against its government.

Thus we behold the picture of the A. R. Federation as an enemy of the nucleus of Armenian political life; as an organization that has degenerated so far, that it can be compared with the Italian Mafia, and the gangsters of this country. It stands alone and condemned by the Armenian public. Its hands are raised against everybody, its plottings and crimes have rocked the conscience of all decent Armenians, and have disgraced our people before the civilized world.

APPENDIX I

A PARTIAL LIST OF ARMENIAN VICTIMS OF TERRORISM

1. *Isahag Jamharian*, a wealthy Moscow millionaire, stabbed to death in 1902, within the enclosure of the Armenian church at Moscow, by the agents of a group who had previously abducted him and tried to extort money. ('History of the Dashnagtzoutune',' by M. Varandian, pages 325-326-327).

2. *Mateos Baliozian*, a wealthy Armenian merchant of Smyrna, was murdered in 1902, by one Horen Sarkisian, a member of the Dashnag secret group. ('History of the Dashnagtzoutune', by M. Varandian, page 450). Baliozian was accused of betraying Armenian revolutionists to the Turkish government. This suspicion had no basis. The more probable motive of his murder was that he would not give financial aid to local revolutionary chieftains.

3. *Gerektzian* was killed in Erzerum in 1891 by the decision of the local Dashnag committee. They cast lots and the lot was drawn by Aram Aramian, who killed Gerektzian. ('History of the Dashnagtzoutune', by M. Varandian, page 86).

4. *Mihran*, a famous fighter of the A. R. Federation, had opposed the adoption of socialism as a program by the society. In his opposition he even had threatened to use violence. He was found guilty by the Dashnag Convention of Vienna in 1907 and was condemned to death. This sentence was carried out in 1909. ('History of the Dashnagtzoutune', by M. Varandian, page 491).

5. *Abbot Arsen Vartabed* of the monastery of Akhtamar, near Van, and his secretary Mihran, were brutally murdered in 1904 by Ishkan, a notorious Dashnag chieftain. Ishkan and his gang attacked the monastery one night, dragged the abbot and his secretary out, shot them first and then stabbed them to death. The bodies were then cut to pieces and thrown on the shores of lake Van. Arsen Vartabed was a saintly and patriotic clergyman. He had opposed the designs of Ishkan , who wanted to control the property and the income of the monastery. After his death, Ishkan and his gang pillaged the ancient monastery.

6. *Dehertzi David* was a very capable and trustworthy man in the ranks of the Dashnags in Van. He enjoyed the confidence of the local Committee and knew all the secrets of the society. He was therefore sent into Persia on a secret mission.

Returning to Van he found that his fiancée had been gravely mistreated by Aram, the chief Dashnag leader in the district. He was immediately disarmed and imprisoned at Aram's order, but managed to escape. Maddened with thoughts of revenge, he betrayed everything to the Turkish authorities, causing the arrest of many, and the confiscation of all the weapons of the society. He was one day shot and killed early in 1908.

7. *Garjgantzi Manoug*, a former Dashnag, who had opposed the authority and the arbitrary acts of Ishkan, Dashnag leader, was shot and killed in 1910. However, the murderer was shot by a companion of his victim and died in a few days, after charging Ishkan with responsibility for the unfortunate episode. 8. Berdos Capamajian, the mayor of Van, a wealthy and ambitious man had antagonized Ishkan. He was shot and killed one winter night in 1912 while-entering his carriage with his wife and daughter.

9. *Hampartzoum Arakelian*, the well known 70 year old editor of the journal "Mushag" of Tiflis, and a powerful and relentless foe of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, whose biting pen and sarcasm had mercifully lashed the Dashnag stupidity and arbitrariness for many years, was one night stabbed and killed in his bed by terrorists. He had often been branded as a 'traitor' by the Dashnag papers. Popular opinion blamed the Tiflis Committee of the Dashnags for this crime, which was followed as usual, by a campaign of falsification and calumny in the Dashnag press throughout the world. This was in 1918.

10. *Garjigian*, a Dashnag of high rank, who occupied a ministerial chair in the newly formed Armenian Republic at Erivan, was shot and killed late in 1918 by another Dashnag, an officer of the army, Egor Der Minasian. The real motives for this murder were never made public by the government. The probable causes may have been dissensions within the Dashnag party.

11. *Bedros Atamian*, manager of the Ramgavar paper, 'Nor Alik', was attacked on a street in Saloniki, Greece, on the night of November 4, 1926, and hit on the head and stabbed. He died in the hospital after a few hours. Arshak Enofkian, a Dashnag, was arrested for this crime, just when he was going to sail from Saloniki for Marseilles, France, on a false passport. The case was tried before the criminal court in Saloniki, on January 26, 27, and

28, 1928. Arshag Enofkian was found guilty as an accessory, and was sentenced to four years of hard labor and a fine of 15,000 drachmes.

12. *Dekhruni*, intellectual, a member of the Hunchagist party, was shot and killed in 1929 in Beirut, Syria. A Dashnagtzagan, Kuchuk Stepan, was accused of the murder, but was acquitted finally. Dekhruni was a vehement opponent of the Dashnagtzoutune, and public opinion blamed the Dashnag Committee of Beirut for this murder.

13. *Sarkis Keyijian*, intellectual, a dissenting Dashnag, who opposed the Bureau in Paris, was shot to death in Athens, Greece, July 20, 1933. Several Dashnagtzagans were accused of this murder by the authorities and are still under indictment.

14. *Mihran Aghazarian*, a Hunchagist editor and a bitter foe of the Dashnagtzoutune, on whose life an attempt had already been made several years ago, was shot and killed in Beirut, Syria, October 13, 1933. The murderers have not been arrested so far, but the Armenian public accused the local Dashnag society openly for this crime, and the victim was given a national funeral.

APPENDIX II

ARMENIAN CHURCHMEN PERSECUTED BY THE ARMENIAN REVOLUTIONARY FEDERATION

Archbishop Leon Tourian, who was brutally murdered on Dec. 24, 1933, in the Armenian Holy Cross Church of New York, allegedly by Dashnag terrorists, was not the only churchman of high rank persecuted by the Armenian Revolutionary Federation. This society waged a campaign of calumny and persecution against all those leaders of the Armenian people, who would not allow the exploitation of the church and this national institutions by the Dashnag trespassers. This campaign existed for some time, but assumed a more violent character in the last few years.

The following are the most prominent churchmen who are being persecuted by the Dashnagtzoutune:

Most Rev. Archbishop Mesrob Magistross:—This churchman was formerly the Prelate of Tiflis, Caucasus. During the world war he presided over the so-called National Bureau, that was engaged in recruiting and equipping the Armenian Volunteer regiments for the Russian Army. This Bureau was under the control of the Dashnagtzoutune, and the Archbishop was everywhere advertised as a great patriot in the Dashnag press. A few years ago this eminent churchman was appointed to the Prelacy of the Diocese of Perso-India. On account of his friendly attitude toward Soviet-Armenia, the Dashnag society represented him as a communist to the Persian government, and, as a result of this false accusation he was expelled from Persia.

Rt. Rev. Bishop Roupen Manasian. He is the Prelate of the Armenians in Mesopotamia. For years this churchman has been subjected to persecution in the Dashnag press. He was even at- tacked once in the city of Bagdad. The Dashnag papers tried to discredit Bishop Roupen as "the agent of the Cheka", and published a long drawn fabricated story about him to prove their accusations. The Bishop brought a libel suit against "Housaper", the Dashnag organ of Cairo. The mixed tribunal of Cairo, com- posed of Egyptian and European judges, found "Housaper", and its publishers guilty. They were condemned to pay a fine and the expenses of the trial.

Bishop Roupen was also accused by the Dashnag society as being a bolshevik. However, the government of Irak would not heed these false accusations; and the late King Feisal expressed his confidence and respect for the Prelate by receiving him into royal audience.

Most Rev. Archbishop Housig Zohrabian, The prelate of the Armenians of Roumania, was regarded as a most worthy clergyman while he was supposed to be friendly to the Dashnagtzoutune. But when he opposed the intrigues and exploitations of this society and shut the gates of the prelacy against the Dashnag leaders and workers, a campaign of persecution and calumny was started against him. Archbishop Housig defended the church interests vigorously, and defeated all the intrigues against his office and the Armenian Prelacy of Roumania.

Right Rev. Bishop Garabed Mazloumian, The prelate of the Armenians in Greece, who refused to be a tool in the hands of the enemies of Armenia. He was attacked one night and beaten by the agents of the Dashnags, who also sheared his beard in order to insult the aged prelate. He was also accused as an "agent of the Cheka" before the Hellenic government; but this false accusation was not given any credence.

His Eminence Most Rev. Archbishop Torcome, Patriarch of Jerusalem:—While he was the Prelate of Egypt he donated a precious emerald ring for the benefit of the Independence Loan of Armenia (1920), and had services of thanksgiving held in the churches. After the establishment of the Soviet regime in Armenia, Archbishop Torcome, as a patriotic Armenian, maintained a friendly and correct attitude towards the new government. He would not allow the ex-ministers and dignitaries of the former government, who had established themselves in Egypt after being expelled from Armenia, to plunder the income and the property belonging to the ecclesiastical institutions of Cairo and Alexandria, and suppressed all their attempts of exploitation with a vigorous hand. Therefore, he aroused the bitter enmity of the Dashnags against him. *Housaper*, the Dashnag paper in Egypt, and all its colleagues, insulted and columnized the Prelate in a most infamous manner. They even organized an attack on the Prelacy; they represented him as a Bolshevik to the Egyptian government, and did everything within their power to prevent his being chosen to the Patriarchate of Jerusalem.

His Holiness Khoren I, Catholicos of All the Armenians was also subjected to attack by the Dashnag press. His first *Gontag*, (encyclical) was declared to be "inspired by the Cheka". The Pontiff was represented as a "man-machine" and his orders and instructions were declared to be void and without any value. The Dashnag press openly preached rebellion against the execution of those orders. This was done in the name of "popular rights". His Holiness the Catholicos and the Supreme Spiritual Council were all represented, continually, as the agents of the Cheka, and Echmiadzin was declared to be a nest of the Bolshevik secret police. The editorials of "Hairenik", the Boston

organ of the Dashnagtzoutune, have been filled with these misrepresentations for the last six months.

His Holiness Sahak, Catholicos of Cilicia, now established in Antilyas, near Beirut, Syria, was also subjected to an infamous attack by "Housaper", the Dashnag paper of Cairo, Egypt. After the unfortunate murder of Mihran Agazarian in Beirut last October, His Holiness published a pastoral letter, inviting his flock to be calm and peaceful, observe brotherly love, refrain from acts of violence and be law-abiding citizens of the land where they have taken refuge. In its issue of Dec. 6, 1933, "Housaper" denounces this Pastoral letter as a "Cawing of Ill Omen", and insults the 85 year old Patriarch as "wicked", as one who was raised to his office by the Sultan, and as *"one who incites national disruption".*

APPENDIX III

THE 61st ARTICLE OF THE TREATY OF BERLIN

After the close of the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78, in which the Turks were thoroughly beaten, the European Powers met in a conference at Berlin, to settle all the problems effecting Europe as a whole, and to draw up a peace treaty between the two combatants. In this conference, the Armenian question was recognized as an international problem, under the Article 61 of the treaty.

Here is that Article—

"The Sublime Port (meaning Turkey) undertakes to carry out, without further delay, the improvements and reforms demanded by local requirements in the provinces inhabited by Armenians, and to guarantee their security against the Circassians and Kurds. The Sublime Port will, periodically, make known the steps taken to this effect to the Powers, who will superintend their application."

APPENDIX IV

THE TREATY OF ALEXANDROPOL

The text of the treaty signed between the Armenian delegation and the Turks at Alexandropol, has never been published by those who were responsible for it. Neither Mr. A. Khatisian, the head of the delegation that signed the treaty, nor Mr. S. Vratzian, the head of the Armenian government of the time, who have both written voluminous histories of the Armenian Republic, embody the text of the treaty in their books. This omission may be due to the consciousness of guilt and shame in their hearts.

The following is a translation of the document as it was published in the Turkish press:—

Article 3—As it is evident from Turkish, Russian and all other world-statistics, and from the established social situation, we again, at this occasion, confirm that there is no territory within the Ottoman borders where the Armenians form a majority. (Articles 4 and 5 draw the boundaries of Armenia and Turkey according to which, the cities and districts of Kars, Ardahan, Ikdir, Alexandropol, also the Mt. Ararat and other important territories were left to Turkey. Armenia was almost halved and reduced to the boundaries drawn in the treaty of Batoum in 1918).

Article 6—Hereafter, with the good intention of preventing any act or episode, that may disturb tranquility through agitation and incitements, the Republic of Erivan undertakes not to allow any military organization, excepting a division of 1500 paid soldiers with 8 field or mountain cannons and 20 machine guns, which will protect the

borders of the country; and lightly armed gendarmerie which will be able to keep the internal order of the country.

The Armenian Republic is free to erect fortifications to protect the country from enemies, and to place as many heavy guns in these fortifications as it desires. These heavy artillery will not contain obuses of 15 centimeters and long range guns of 10.50 caliber, and other howitzers, which could be used in the army if necessary.

Article 7—The government of Erivan agrees that, the Turkish minister or representative, who will reside in Erivan after peace is established, supervise and examine these matters. In exchange for this, whenever the Armenian Republic so desires, the Grand National Assembly of Turkey undertakes to give armed assistance to Armenia, against internal and external dangers.

(The rest of Article 7, and Article 8, relate to the question of repatriating refugees and fugitives).

Article 9—The government of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, although it has been obliged to maintain an army for two years and at great expense, and though it has a right to demand an indemnity as a result of the war against Armenia which it has been compelled to wage, gives up this indemnity, because it has an extreme respect for the accepted and well known humanitarian and judicial principles.

Article 10—The government of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey undertakes, with all sincerity, to assist the development of the Republic of Erivan, and the solidification of the authority of the Erivan Republic, as it is described within the boundaries drawn in Article 4.

Article 11—The government of Erivan declares, that it considers as null and void the Sevres Treaty, which is absolutely disavowed by the government of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey. It undertakes to withdraw its delegations of Europe and America, that are tools in the hands of some imperialistic governments and circles. Both parties assume mutual obligations in good faith to remove all kinds of misunderstandings that exist between the two nations.

As a proof of the sincerity of its desire to develop in peace and to respect the rights of good neighborliness with Turkey, the Armenian government is willing to keep away from the government those persons who pursue imperialistic aims and will disturb the tranquility of the two people. (Article 12 allows that the Secretariat of Religions of the Turkish government have the right to confirm the election of the religious head of the moslems living in Armenia).

Article 13—The two contracting parties mutually under- take not to prevent the free passage and transit of persons and merchandise belonging to the other party, over their railroads and highways.

Turkey, being under obligation to prevent menacing agitations by imperialists against her existence, will keep under her own control the railroads and the means of communication of the Republic of Erivan, until the signing of a general peace, so that, the quantity of arms to be imported will not be any more than specified in Article 6, on condition that this control will not interfere with the freedom of transportations. Also, the two contracting parties will prevent the entry into the Republic and the residence therein, of officials and unofficial bodies and representatives belonging to the imperialistic powers.

Article 14—The government of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, will have the right to organize in Armenia temporary military measures against attacks that threaten the independence and the territorial integrity of the Turkish state, on condition that the rights that are guaranteed the Republic of Erivan are not to be interfered with.

Article 15—The Republic of Erivan agrees to consider as null and void all those stipulations of treaties she has signed with any power, which relate to Turkey and are harmful to the interests of Turkey.

APPENDIX V

VRATZIAN'S APPEAL TO THE TURKS FOR MILITARY AID

As the president of the Armenian government, Simon Vratzian sent an urgent appeal to the Turkish government, asking that military supplies and Turkish troops be sent into Armenia, to help the rebel government fight its Armenian adversaries. The official document was handed to Behaeddin, the representative in Erivan of the Turkish high command, to be forwarded to Angora.

Here is the text—

"Please forward the present request promptly to your high authorities, and as I have explained to you, urge on them for an immediate answer.

"The fight of Armenia against the bolsheviks, and for its own freedom and independence, serves, as we are convinced, not only Armenia itself, but also the interests of all the nations of the Near East.

"For this reason, Armenia hopes, that during this fight she will receive help from her neighbors, and first of all the interests of the Turkish people also require that Armenia should come victorious out of this fight and remain independent.

"Relying on this conviction, the Armenian government requests the government of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, that, in the name of the mutual interests of the two peoples, and as speedily as possible, it

1.—"Return the Armenian war prisoners that are now on the war front of Erivan.

2.—"Give the Armenian army some ammunition under certain conditions; first of all cartridges for Russian three-lined rifles and for Turkish mausers; or else rifles of the Russian and Lepel system.

3—"Communicate with us, if the government of the Grand National Assembly finds it possible to send military aid to Armenia, and if able to do so, to what extent and when?

"In making this appeal, the Armenian government relies on the friendly relations that have been established with the treaty of Alexandropol, and which were disturbed during the bolshevik rule."

Respectfully
SIMON VRATZIAN
President of the Armenian Government.

Erivan,
March 18, 1921.

APPENDIX VI

THE SÈVRES TREATY

The Articles 88-93, Section VI, of the treaty of Sèvres signed by the Allied powers and the Armenian Republic on the one hand, and Turkey on the other, relate to Armenia and its independence. The following is a translation of those articles as they appeared in Armenian papers.

Article 88.—Turkey recognizes Armenia as a free and independent state, in accordance with the step taken by the Allied powers.

Article 89.—Turkey and Armenia, as well as the other high contracting parties, agree to submit to the arbitration of the President of the United States the problem of the frontiers to be established between Armenia and Turkey in the vilayets of Erzerum, Trebizond, Van and Bitlis, and to accept his decision in the matter; also all

other measures which he may prescribed in regard to an outlet on the sea for Armenia, and with regard to the demilitarization of the Turkish territories adjacent to the above boundaries.

Article 90.—When boundaries are drawn according to Article 89, and the above mentioned vilayets or definite parts of them are ceded to Armenia, Turkey hereby renounces all her rights and claims over territories thus ceded. The amount and nature of that part of the public debts of Turkey, which is apportioned to Armenia, also the rights that are to be transferred to Armenia are to be determined in accordance with the stipulations of Articles 241-244 of the present treaty.

Subsequent agreements will settle, if necessary, all those problems which are not settled in this treaty and which are likely to arise, gradually, in relation to the transfer of the above provinces.

Article 91.—In the event that the territories indicated in Article 89, are transferred to Armenia, a commission for boundaries will be appointed, (the formation of this commission will be decided later), in order to draw up the boundaries between Armenia and Turkey within three months.

Article 92.—The boundaries of Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan will be determined by direct agreements between those states.

If under any circumstances, these governments fail to decide upon their boundaries through mutual agreements, and the decision prescribed in article 89 is already given, in that event the boundaries will be determined by the principal powers.

Appendix III

THE ARMENIAN REVOLUTIONARY FEDERATION

(DASHNAGTZOUTIUN)

A.R.F. HAS NOTHING TO DO ANY MORE

THE MANIFESTO

of

HOVHANNES KATCHAZNOUNI

First Prime Minister of the Independent Armenian Republic

Translated from the Original by *Matthew A. Callender*
Edited *by John Roy Carlson (Arthnr A. Derounian)*

Published by the
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ARF emblem, showing dagger and other Dashnag symbols

INTRODUCTION

However the propagandist may try, historical truth cannot be subverted forever in a free country. However hard Dashnag propagandists may try to twist and bury the truth, and glorify the failure of their Independent Armenian Republic, truth must eventually prevail. Now, for the first time in English, is a deep and incisive selfstudy by a competent Dashnag observer.

The author was a pillar of Dashnagtzoutiun. He was the first prime minister of the Republic. He knew every Party secret before, during, and after

Hovhannes Katchaznouni the founding of the ill-fated Republic.

Few were in a position to know more, nor to express themselves with greater clarity, logic and foresight than Hovhannes Katchaznouni.

Unlike most Dashnag leaders who were revolutionists, and reared in the early Russian socialist-revolutionary schools, Katchaznouni was born in Akhaltzkha in the Caucasus, the son of a revered Armenian priest. He was graduated from the Architectural School of the University of Moscow. His notable works include the magnificent Cathedral at Baku, among many other·s.

This booklet is a condensation of his parting words to Dashnagtzoutiun, given in the form of an address to the Party congress in 1923-words which proved remarkably prophetic, and currently are as true as when they were first spoken.

In reprinting Katchaznouni's address neither the translator nor the editor are assumed to agree or disagree with his views. Katchaznouni's work is published at this time as a refutation to the grandiose, exaggerated and even outrageously false claims of the Dashnag leadership today, mouthed by men who for the most part were mere party functionaries during the days of the Republic, but through the years have blown up themselves into intellectual giants, saviors of Armenia, etc.

Katchaznouni's work is a basic source of Dashnag history, and the Armenian Information Service considers it a privilege to be able to present, for the first time, the writings of this Armenian patriot and prophet to an American audience.

JOHN ROY CARLSON

August, 1956
(Arthur A. Derounian)

TO THE READER

This is a manifesto which I am presenting to the Convention of foreign branches of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation convened during this month of April, 1923.

Deeply convinced that all the questions raised here will be subjected to the most serio1:1s consideration of not only the members of the Party but also of every single Armenian, I thought it was my duty to have this manifesto published and thereby make it public property.

I am having it printed complete and without any alterations[1] except the final three or four pages which contain concrete proposals that are reserved to the governing bodies of the Party.

HOVHANNES KATCHAZNOUNI

Bucharest, July, 1923

Comrades:

These matters have had my deliberate and serious consideration. I do not know whether you, too, have arrived at the same conclusions. Allow me to say more: I am afraid that my final conclusion-those very difficult words which I shall here state with all singleness of heart-will cause general embarrassment, perhaps resentment, in the Convention.

I am prepared for that.

I only ask that you believe: a) that it is more difficult for me to write and sign those words than for you to listen to them from my own lips; b) that those words are not the result of thoughtless or petty, transient dispositions or hasty resolve. I beg of you therefore that you be patient and approach the matters with an open mind, unhampered--something which is not easy for men who have lived a Party life and have thought from a Party angle.

Let me now proceed with my subject.

In order to present my conclusions in proper sequence I feel it is necessary for me to refresh your memory with the various phases of the Armenian Cause - from the Great War to the Lausanne Conference 1 - and the role played by the Dashnagtzoutune during that period. So that I may not abuse your attention, I shall curtail my speech and present to you a concise yet accurate commentary.

At the beginning of the Fall of 1914 when Turkey had not yet entered the war but had already been making preparations, Armenian revolutionary bands began to be formed in Transcaucasia with great enthusiasm and, especially, with much uproar. Contrary to the decision taken during their general meeting at Erzeroum only a few weeks before, the A.R.F. had active participation in the formation of the bands and

1 Except for abridgements, made for the sake of brevity by the translator and the editor, Katchaznouni's utterances appear verbatim.

1 In the Treaty of Lausanne, signed July 24, 1923 between the Allies and Turkey, reference was no longer made to Armenia or Armenians. Both had ceased to exist in the eyes of both Turkey and the Allies. Thus the "Armenian Question" and the question of Armenians was buried in the grave of diplomatic silence.

their future military action against Turkey.

In an undertaking of such gravity, frought with most serious consequences, individual agents of the Transcaucasian A.R.F·. acted against the will of our superior authority, against the will of the General Meeting of the Party. Why? This example urges us to recall that the A.R.F. in Transcaucasia in the past had been a follower rather than an originator of movements that had their inception beyond their control. Thus it was in 1903 (rebellions and demonstrations on the occasion of the seizure of Church properties); thus it was in the year 19051906 (bloody encounters between Tartars and Armenians) ; and thus it was also during the first big movements of the laboring classes (1903-1906) when the A.R.F. was being led at Baku, Tiflis and Batoum by the policies of foreign socialistic parties.

The same characteristic line of action appears, as we see a little later, in the conduct we pursued afterwards generally.

It would be useless to argue today whether our bands of volunteers should have entered the field or not. Historical events have their irrefutable logic. In the Fall of 1914 Armenian volunteer bands organized themselves and fought against the Turks because they could not refrain themselves from organizing and refrain themselves from fighting. This was in an inevitable result of a psychology on which the Armenian people had nourished itself during an entire generation: that mentality should have found its expression, and did so.

And it was not the A.R.F. that would stop the movement even if it wished to do so. It was able to utilize the existing conditions, give effect and issue to the accumulated desires, hopes and frenzy, organize the ready forces - it had that much ability and authority. But to go against the current and push forward its own plan - it was unfit, especially unfit for one particular reason: the A.R.F. is a people's mass strong in instinct but weak in comprehension.

If the formation of bands was wrong, the root of that error must be sought much further and more deeply. At the present time it is important to register only the evidence that we did participate in that volunteer movement to the largest extent and we did that contrary to the decision and the will of the General Meeting of the Party.

The Winter of 1914 and the Spring of 1915 were the periods of greatest enthusiasm and hope for all the Armenians in the

Caucasus, including, of course, the Dashnagtzoutiun. We had no doubt the war would end with the complete victory of the Allies; Turkey would be defeated and dismembered, and its Armenian population would at last be liberated.

We had embraced Russia whole-heartedly without any compunction. Without any positive basis of fact we believed that the Tzarist government would grant us a more-or-less broad self-government in the Caucasus and in the Armenian vilayets liberated from Turkey as a reward for our loyalty, our efforts and assistance.

We had created a dense atmosphere of illusion in our minds. We had implanted our own desires into the minds of others; we had lost our sense of reality and were carried away with our dreams. From mouth to mouth, from ear to ear passed mysterious words purported to have been spoken in the palace of the Viceroy; attention was called to some kind of a letter by Vorontzov-Dashkov to the Catholicos as an important document in our hands to use in the presentation of our rights and claims - a cleverly composed letter with very indefinite sentences and generalities which might be interpreted in any manner, according to one's desire.

We overestimated the ability of the Armenian people, its political and military power, and overestimated the extent and importance of the services our people rendered to the Russians. And by overestimating our very modest worth and merit we were naturally exaggerating our hopes and expectations.

The deportations and mass exiles and massacres which took place during the

Summer and Autumn of 1915 were mortal blows to the Armenian Cause. Half of historical Armenia - the same half where the foundations of our independence would be laid according to traditions inherited from the early eighties and as the result of the course adopted by European diplomacy - that half was denuded of Armenians: the Armenian provinces of Turkey were without Armenians. The Turks knew what they were doing and have no reason to regret today. It was the most decisive method of extirpating the Armenian Question from Turkey.

Again, it would be useless to ask today to what extent the participation of volunteers in the war was a contributory cause of the Armenian calamity. No one can claim that the savage persecutions would not have taken place if our behavior on this side of the frontier was different, as no one can claim the contrary, that the persecutions would have been the same even if we had not shown hostility to the Turks. This is a matter about which it is possible to have many different opinions.

The proof is, however - and this is essential - that the stru6gle begun decades ago against the Turkish government brought about the deportation or extermination of the Armenian people in Turkey and the desolation of Turkish Armenia. This was the terrible fact!

Civilized humanity might very well be shaken with rage in the face of this unspeakable crime. Statesmen might utter menacing words against criminal Turkey. “Blue”, “yellow”, “orange” books and papers might be published condemning them. Divine punishment against the criminals might be invoked in churches by clergymen of all denominations. The press of all countries might be filled with horrible descriptions and details and the testimony of eye-witnesses .... Let them say this or that ... but the work was already done and words would not revive the corpses fallen in the Arabian deserts, rebuild the ruined hearths, repopulate the country now become desolate. The Turks knew what they ought to do and did it.

The second half of 1915 and the entire year of 1916 were periods of hopelessness, desperation and mourning for us. The refugees, all those who had survived the holocaust, were filling Russian provinces by tens and hundreds of thousands. They were famished, naked, sick, horrified and desperate floods of humanity, flooding our villages and cities. They had come to a country which was itself ruined and famished. They piled upon each other, before our own eyes, on our thresholds dying of famine and sickness . . .

And we were unable to save those precious lives. Angered and terrified, we sought the culprits and quickly found them: the deceitful politics of the Russian government. With the politically immature mind peculiar to inconsequential men, we fell from one extreme to another. Just as unfounded was our faith in the Russian government yesterday, our condemnation of them today was equally blind and groundless.

By an extraordinary mental aberration, we, a political party, were forgetting that our Cause was an incidental and trivial phase for the Russians, so trivial that if necessary, they would trample on our corpses without a moment’s hesitation.

I am not saying that we did not know the circumstances. Of course we knew and understood and so we stated when it was necessary to explain the situation. Deep down in our hearts, however, we did not grasp the full meaning of that wordformula; we forgot what we already knew and we drew such conclusions as though our Cause was the center of gravity of the Great War, its cause and its purpose. When the Russians were advancing, we used to say from the depths of our subconscious minds that they were coming to save us; and when they were withdrawing, we said they are retreating so that they allow us to be massacred ....

In both cases we misinterpreted the consequence with the purpose and intention. We sought proofs of Russian treachery and of course we found them - exactly as we sought and found proofs of the same Russians; undeniable benevolence six months before. To complain bitterly about our bad luck and to seek external causes for our

misfortune - that is one of the main aspects of our national psychology from which. of course, the Dashnagtzoutiun is not free.

One might think we found a spiritual consolation in the conviction that the Russians behaved villainously towards us (later it would be the turn of the French, the Americans, the British, the Georgians, Bolsheviks - the whole world - to be so blamed). One might think that, because we were so naive and so lacking in foresight, we placed ourselves in such a position and considered it a great virtue to let anyone who so desired to betray us, massacre us and let others massacre us.

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE: Up to this point the words of the author have been translated verbatim in order to give an idea of Mr. Katchaznouni's logical mind and the exposition of the facts that drove him to present his "Manifesto" to his colleagues at the 1923 Convention. From here on, and solely for the sake of brevity, we shall quote excerpts of his arguments which led to his decision as to why the Dashnagtzoutiun, in his opinion, should "decisively end its existence" because "there is no work for the Party."

THE INDEPENDENT REPUBLIC

Armenia was a Democratic Republic. It had the proper organs of a democratic-parliamentarian government: a legislative body composed of the people's representatives and a responsible administration. The Parliament was composed of representatives from the four existing Parties and minorities with the widest true democratic principles. The government received its authority from the legislative body and was responsible to it. This was the form. But the reality was otherwise!

In practice our Party tended to subject to itself, to control, the legislative body and the government. We did not have the courage, nor the ability to declare an open dictatorship, but

did not wish to remain within parliamentarian limits either and tried to establish in Armenia the Ittihad[2] system - a party dictatorship disguised as a democracy. An intolerable dualism resulted from it - on the surface the Parliament and the government; behind the scenes, invisible, the Party and its organs.

There was no Parliament; it was an empty form without content. The problems of state were being discussed and solved behind closed doors, in the rooms of the Dashnag faction, and then. declared from the rostrum of the Parliament.

In reality, there was not even a parliamentary faction, because this latter was under the very strict supervision of the Daslrnag Bureau, and was obliged to carry out its orders. There was not a government either. This, also, was subject to the Bureau; it was a kind of executive body for the Bureau in the state. This was the Bolshevistic system. But what the Bolsheviks are doing openly and consistently, we were attempting to veil under democratic forms.

The Armenian Parliament opened on August 1, 1919. The elections took p1ace in accordance with the democratic procedure - general, equal, direct and secret balloting - but it was strange and disheartening that 72 out of 80 members were Dashnags, with only four members from the other parties.

There was no opposition party to act as a check. We Dashnags seemed to be victorious but did not understand that it was not a Parliament but the caricature of a Parliament.

2 The Ittihad (The Committee of Union and Progress) represented the resurgence of the Young Turk movement in 1909 against the oppressions of Sultan Hamid. It started as a revolutionary movement friendly to the Dashnags and Dashnag aspirations, but it soon followed, the established pattern of massacre, bloodshed and rabid Turkish fanaticism

Following the Bolshevik rebellious efforts of May 1920, there was a "coup d'etat" and the A.R.F. Bureau (the so-called "Bureau Government") replaced the Parliament with its own dictatorial rule. By order of the Bureau the resignation of prime minister A. Khadissian was accepted on May 5, and by order of the Bureau Dr. H. Ohanchanian was ordered to form a new cabinet; the latter presented the already-prepared list of ministers in the same meeting in which he was ordered to form a new cabinet. That was the Bureau itself. Parliament was ordered indefinitely recessed. The Armenian Parliament had given a dictatorial government to the Dashnagtzoutiun - to the Bureau.

This was against the decision of the 9th General Meeting of the A.R.F. and had many disadvantages, but it also had the advantage of coming out in the open in its true form and color.

The Armenian-Turkish war which broke our back began in the Fall of 1920. Would it have been possible to evade it? Probably not. The crushed Turkey of 1918 had recovered during the two years. There came forward patriotic, young officers who formed a new army in Asia Minor. They saw the necessity of attacking in the Northeast, and also in the Southwest against the Greeks which they could not do without first crushing their flank on the Armenian front. One cannot say that the Turks really had such a plan, but it is possible that they did and it was also probable that the war with us was inevitable.

Despite these hypotheses there remains an irrefutable fact. That we had not done all that was necessary for us to have done to evade war. We ought to have used peaceful language with the Turks whether we succeeded or not, and we did not do it. We did not do it for the simple reason - no less capable - that we had no information about the real strength of the Turks and relied on ours. This was the fundamental error. We were not afraid of war because we thought we would win. With the carelessness of inexperienced and ignorant men we did not know what forces Turkey had mustered on our frontiers. When the skirmishes had started the Turks proposed that we meet and confer. We did not do so and defied them.

Our army was well fed and well armed and dressed but it did not fight. The troops were constantly retreating and deserting their positions; they threw away their arms and dispersed in the villages.

Our army was demoralized during the period of internal strife, the inane destructions and the pillages that went with out punishment. It was demoralized and tired. The system of roving bands, which was especially encouraged by the Bureau-government, was destroying the unity of the military organization. The instruction of the army, its military spirit, its organization and discipline and therefore its power for defense had deteriorated to the last degree, and that was a surprise to the government: the government and the ministers of war did not know their own army.[3]

And then the government made a fatal mistake. Intending to increase the number of troops, it called under arms additional men who were past middle age and tired, overburdened with family and financial burdens. They were made to put on the military uniforms in a great hurry; rifles were put into

their hands and instantly sent to the front. These were readymade deserters which caused additional defections and demoralization in the ranks of the army.

When on November 2 [1920] the victorious armies of KaraBekir had reached Alexandropol, the Bureau-government presented its resignation. It could not stay in power any longer; it was beaten, and on account of its defeat it had been discredited.[4]

Then it became necessary to begin negotiations with the Turks and it became necessary that those who negotiated should be new faces. After a short indecision,

3 For corroboration see Appendix I.

4 For the proclamation of Surrender see Appendix II.

the government of Simon Vratzian was formed, composed of Dashnags and social revolutionaries. Dashnag ministers belonged to the "Left" wing of the Party, while he, the prime minister [Vratzian] was known to be a man of the Russian orientation, and the socialist revolutionaries had personal ties in the Armenian Bolshevik circles. There was a remote hope that in the event the Bolsheviks came to power (a fact we were beginning to understand was inescapable) a government with such a com-position would be able to find a common language with the new comers.

The Turks had already occupied Alexandropol. In the mean-time the Armenian Bolsheviks at the head of the Red troops entered Itchevan and Dilijan. Was there an understanding be-tween the Bolsheviks and the Turks? In our ranks that conviction was widespread. I think, however, that it was wrong; at all events there is no positive proof. It is probable that the Bolshevik agents (or individuals with Bolshevik leanings) were trying to destroy our Army from the inside, but for that it was not necessary to have an agreement with the Turks.

The plot of the Bolsheviks was not the reason for our defeat, nor the power of the Turks (which was not important at that time), but our own ineptness! Of course the Bolsheviks benefited from our defeat and that was very natural, but it was not essential that they should have come to an understanding with the Turks for that purpose.

On December 1 (or November 30) our delegates signed an agreement with the Turks in Alexandropol[5] which was not much different from the cruel treaty of Batoum. On December 1 that same Vratzian government resigned and relinquished its power to the Bolsheviks.

The Bolsheviks entered Armenia without meeting any resistance. This was the decision of our Party. There were two reasons for acting this way; first, we could not resist it even if we wanted to - we were defeated; second, we hoped that the Soviet authorities, backed by Russia, would be able to introduce some order in the state - a thing which we, all alone, had failed to do, and it was very plain already that we would not be able to do.

It was our desire to let the Bolsheviks rule the country with-out any obstruction to remain loyal to the new government, to cooperate with their useful work. This decision was not unanimous. There was irreconcilables who did not expect anything good from the Bolsheviks; they demanded opposition and fighting, even though the defeat was inevitable. Small was their number; when the proposal was refused those most in opposition left the country and fled.

There was also another minority, opposed to the first one: this one wanted to approach the Bolsheviks as a party matter and form a political block with them. These were segregated and came to be known as Leftist Dashnags, and made declarations in Bolshevik spirit. They did not succeed. The Bolsheviks with reason distrusted them, and discarded them.

THE PARIS MEMORANDUM

In the meanwhile, what had been our diplomatic activity with the outer world during our liberty as an independent nation - Constantinople, Europe and America - and what were the results? In the Spring of 1919, the Paris Delegation of our Republic presented a Memorandum of our demands to the Peace Conference at Paris jointly with the National Delegation of the Armenians in Turkey. According to that Memorandum the frontiers of the Armenian State would include:

A. The Caucasian Republic with enlarged territory (the entire district of Erevan, the districts of Kars without the northern part Ardahan, the southern section of the Tiflis terirtory, the south-western part of Kantzag);

5 See Appendix III for provisions of the humiliating Treaty signed by the Daghnags under the tragic and ill-fated Vratzian regime.

B. The seven vilayets of Turkish Armenia (Van, Bitlis, Dia:rbekir, Harpout, Sivas, Erzeroum and Trebizonde, excluding only the south-ern section of Diarbekir and the western section of Sivas);

C. The four sanjaks of Cilicia (Marash, Sis, Djebel-Bereket and Adana with Alexandretta).

A vast state was being organized and demanded - a great Armenia from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean, from the mountains of Karabagh to the Arabian Desert. Where did that imperial, amazing demand emanate? Neither the government of Armenia nor the Dashnagtzoutiun had envisaged such a childish and foolish plan. On the contrary, our Delegation had carried with it from Erevan very moderate demands, commensurate with our very modest ability.

How did it happen that our Delegation signed the "From Sea to Sea" demand? It was told that if they did not demand those fascinating frontiers, the Turkish-Armenians (through their National Delegation) would sever their Cause from that of the "Republic of Ararat" and will apply to the Powers accordingly. Our Delegation was also told that America would not accept a mandate over a small Armenia but would accept one over a "From Sea to Sea" Armenia. Because it would have been dangerous to proceed with the defense of our Cause with two separate bodies, each with a contradictory demand, and because the American mandate was what we wanted, our dele-gates signed the Memorandum and presented it to the Powers.

I wish [therefore] to prove once more that our Party has not managed national affairs, has not had a strong win, has not followed our own program, but it has been led by others and has allowed the others to lead our Party.

The Paris Memorandum of course thrilled us. A kind of mentality was created according to which the drawing of frontiers on paper actually gave us those territories. To doubt it was a treachery. Of course there followed the rude awakening - the Treaty of Sevres;[6] the refusal of the Senate of the United States to accept the mandate; even the frontiers drawn by President Wilson did not satisfy us. We thought he could have demanded a larger territory .... There were the usual complaints that the powers were unfair, did not appreciate us and did not compensate us according to what we deserved.

THE AGONY BEGINS

The agony of the Armenian Cause began in 1922. At the London Conference[7] was heard for the first time the word "Home". The Treaty of Sevres was entirely forgotten. There was no question of an independent Armenian State. Only a doubtful "Home" in someone else's home. This was the blow dealt us in March. Things got worse at Lausanne toward the end of the year. No "Home" was demanded for us. The Turks politely refused everything. The Great Allies, in a desperate gesture, confessed and bewailed that they had done everything possible to help the Armenians but could not do anything.

Then, here came comrade Tchicherin and offered in the name of Soviet Russia to locate the Armenians of Turkey in Crimea, on the shores of Volga, in Siberia. Thus, the "State" was reduced to a "Home", and the "Home" was converted into colonies in Siberia. The mountain did not even give birth to a mouse. . . . This was the past.

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6 Under Article 88-93, Section VI of this treaty signed between the Allies and Turkey on August 10, 1920 Armenia was formally recognized by Turkey and the Allies as a "free and independent" state-a state more of the mind than of fact- which was promptly deserted by the Allies, rescinded by the Turks, abused and misgoverned by the Dashnags, and finally put to rout by the waiting Soviets.

7 As a result, Italy entered the war on the Allied side, May 23, 1915.

If we are to evaluate the work we did and the results we obtained, we must confess that we have nothing to boast about from the time we declared the independence of our Republic. We must admit that our burden to organize a State and lead it was far beyond our strength.

We have always miscalculated and have always encountered with unpredictable situations because we have been unable to foresee them. And it is evident, to me at least, that it was on account of our ineptness, individually, that prevented us from conducting affairs of state properly. We have been unable to distinguish the State from the Party and have introduced party mentality into matters of state. We have not been statesmen.

Let no one take offense from these words which are not spoken with any malice but are a mere self-estimation. Is it not true that I myself have been among the incompetents on the front line, your collaborator, equally responsible in our defeat?

What is the present?

We have a small Republic today between the River Araxe and Lake Sevan, nominally free, but in reality one of the fringe countries of the re-established sovereign Russian Empire. There is no Turkish-Armenia, neither State nor Home, not even an international political Question any more, killed and buried at Lausanne. Generally speaking, the Armenians in the Dispersion are not a political element for Armenia today.

The immediate subject of solicitude for the Armenian political mind must be the existing Republic, the Armenians who live in it and around it. I underscore this sentence vigorously and call it to your special attention, for that will be the starting point of our future action.

The Armenian Republic is a Soviet and the Armenian government today is a Communist dictatura. Is it possible to come to an agreement with the Bolsheviks? We have tried and have been refused. The fact is that the Bolsheviks do not wish to recognize our importance.

Let me go a step further to explain my thoughts. I ask myself: if, by a miracle, the existence of Bolsheviks in Armenia depended on myself, if it were possible for me to remove them from Armenia in a single second, by the movement of a single finger of mine, would I make that movement? I answer without hesitation that I would not. Not only would I not do it, but I would cut off my entire hand so that even in my dream, by mistake or inadvertently, I might not be able to make that dangerous movement!

Was the arrival of the Bolsheviks a calamity for our country? This is an unexpected question coming from a Dashnag. The Bolsheviks are necessary in Armenia under the present political conditions and there is no other force that could take their place. This is the truth. Let us not be carried by narrow political ideas.

We had exhausted all our resources, had come to an impasse as Government and as Party in the fall of 1920. Had the Bolsheviks delayed their arrival, we, ourselves, would have asked them to come because we were so weakened and powerless and there was no other force in the country to replace us.

Look at the consequences of their coming:

We governed our country for two and a half years; it is nearly two and a half years the Bolsheviks have governed it. We had wars with Georgia, Azerbeijan and Turkey. The Bolsheviks have had none. We had continual internal fights - Agapapa, Zot, Zanki-Bazar, Vedi-Bazar, the valleys of Milli, Sharour, Nakhichevan, Zangezour. The Bolsheviks have had no internal fights, except those in connection with the "Februarian" revolt. We had kept the entire country under arms, in constant fighting, we had kept all working hands on the battlefields at a time when there was the greatest demand for construction work. The Bolsheviks have freed the people from that calamity, from that heavy burden.

In our time the people were decimated or exhausted from famine. We destroyed bread-producing lands like Sharour and Veti, cattlelands like Agapapa, wantonly and without benefit to us. We gave to the armies of Kiazim Kara-Bekir (along with much other wealth) the harvest of 1920 - the only abundant one since the famine years. Today, I hear Armenia is not hungry any more, is not clamoring for bread, one might say, and I believe it because the people had time to sow and to reap.

We tried hard to re-establish communication with the outer world but did not succeed. The Bolsheviks did it. During our time Armenia groped in darkness, all movement and activity ceased half an hour after sunset because we had no means for providing lighting. The Bolsheviks brought much kerosene from Baku and saved the country from the slavery of darkness. Of course these things are not very important you might say, but is it not a fact that we could not achieve even that little? The Bolsheviks were necessary for Armenia then and they a:re necessary for Armenia today.

Nevertheless the Bolshevik system in its entirety is not acceptable for us. But what can we do? Perhaps, fight it from without?

THE FUTURE

European cities are full of emigrant malcontents of all kinds who publish newspapers, write books, call protest meetings, threaten, curse the Bolsheviks .... I know of no other "work" that is more futile and miserable than what is being done. Is it with these thundering words that they will blow off Soviet heads? That is not a fight nor a struggle but an exposition of a despicable stupidity. The fighters against the Bolsheviks must fight from within so that the blow may tell; but to hide behind the frontiers and show one's fist from a safe distance - it is gesture which, at all events, is not worthy of Dashnagtzoutune.

To fight from without, to carry on an anti-Bolshevik propaganda from abroad, when our words are not heard inside the country, is an inane and indecent thing. What are we to do then?

It is here that I shall state the very grave word, which, I know will embarrass you, but which must be said at last, and said simply, without concealment or attenuation: THE ARMENIAN REVOLUTIONARY FEDERATION HAS NOTHING TO DO ANY MORE.

Our Party has done everything it could do and is exhausted. New conditions of existence present new demands and we are unfit to respond. We must therefore leave the field to others abler than ourselves.

Is it necessary to repeat again the new conditions? Here they are: Turkish Armenia does not exist anymore; half the Armenian people have been massacred, others are dispersed in the four corners of the world, the other half is homeless and bleeding, in need of long rest and recuperation; the Armenian Republic is united with Communist Russia as an autonomous state; to separate our State from Russia we cannot, even if we wish - and we must not wish it, even if we were able to do so; the Party is beaten and has lost its authority, has been expelled from the country, cannot return home, while in the colonies it has no work.

This is the situation today.

The Party cannot say "I shall therefore create work for me" no matter what kind of work. That "therefore" is a mistake of logic. The sentence must be reversed to: because I have no work to do I must cease to exist. Work is not for the existence of the Party, but it is the Party that must exist to do the work, and where there is no work for the Party, there can be no Party.

When I said the Dashnagtzoutune has nothing to do any more, I did not express myself correctly. It has one more final thing to do, a supreme duty to the Armenian

Cause and toward its own past. It must, and by its own decision, with full cognizance, decisively end its existence.

I ask you, would the political liberation of our country, which has been our aim and work thus far, die with us? It would be extreme megalomania on our part to think so - not only megalomania but a very naïve conception of historical facts. It is fo1 the very purpose of assuring our National Cause, not to do any harm to it, that I propose the dissolution of our Party.

The Dashnagtzoutune cannot assist the Bolsheviks. It is necessary that it may not be overthrown, and in order that it may not be upset the Dashnagtzoutune has only one means - to depart from the scene. And since the Dashnagtzoutune has nothing else to do anymore - neither at the present time nor in the future, it must end its existence. Our Party has lost its "raison d'etre," its reason for existence. This is the bitter truth. Shall we have the coi1rage to confess the truth and arrive at the proper conclusion?

And the only conclusion is that we must end our existence.

With comradely salutations,

HOVHANNES KATCHAZNOUNI

Bucharest, March 1923.

Editor's Note: Although highly critical, Katchaznouni has also been merciful toward the Dashnags by omitting the allimportant historical fact that Armenian Independence was by no means due to Dashnag efforts or heroics, but rather, it was forced upon them by the Turks. The event came about as the Turks-plotting to conquer Armenia at a later date, but first wishing to sever Armenia from Russia as her possible ally—gave the Dashnags a 72-hour ultimatum to declare Armenia a free and independent state or face immediate invasion. These revelations are found in Appendix V.

APPENDIX I

ARF leaders are wont to boast of their "glorious" independent Republic. Katchaznouni's testimony is fully corroborated by the testimony of another eyewitness, Leon Z. Surmelian, an author now residing in Cali-fornia, who in his autobiography "I Ask You Ladies and Gentlemen" (B. P. Dutton & Co., New York, 1945), made the following observations:

"Father heaped again his scorn and sarcasm on the Armenian Revolu-tionary Federation. 'It's destroying our nation! It has ruined our schools, disunited our people. What do your leaders know about international politics? Wasn't it all this revolutionary foolishness that caused the Massacre?' " -Page 63.

*

"Going to Armenia was like going to war. Onnik, Eugenia and I had our picture taken; I might never see them again. Turks, Tartars and even Soviet Russian troops were attacking our new-born Republic from all sides, and its population was dying of famine and epidemic diseases." -Page 206.

*

"I ate an apple and one of the soldiers picked up the core I threw away, and swallowed it greedily. Oh, my God, our soldiers were hungry. I recalled Napoleon's

statement; an army marches on its stomach, and was plunged into gloomy thoughts. How could we stop the Turkish Army with hungry men?

But hunger was not the only reason for their glum, dour expressions. The officers called them 'Donkey's head!' 'Stupid creatures!' and such un-complimentary names. Products of Russian military colleges with their social and martial traditions, these Russianized officers were using the methods employed in the old Tsarist army. No wonder communist propaganda had made so much headway among our troops." -Page 216.

*

"'For two months I have been breathing the free air of independent Hayastan,' he [Nurikhan] said, cynically. He was disillusioned, like many Armenians who had come to Erivan to see the miracle of independent Hayastan with their own eyes. He wanted to go back to Tiflis. I suffered one disillusionment after another. Our army, as I saw it, was incompetent or in utterly indifferent hands. We just did not have the -right men, we did not have real Armenians at the head of our troops." -Page 217.

*

"We were told Kars could hold out for at least six months. The Armenian Army, even though it numbered only about thirty thousand men, and was ill-fed and ill-clothed, was considered quite capable of coping with anything the Turks had to offer. We had heard and read much about our army's victories at Sardarabad, Nakhichevan, Olti, Zankezur, Karabagh.

Kars fell. The Turkish occupation of this key fortress meant the collapse of our front, but the Chief-of-Staff did not seem to be affected by the debacle at all: he came to his office promptly at ten o'clock, drank his cocoa promptly at eleven o'clock, and left promptly at three o'clock. Things continued as usual in the ministry of war; the same old indifferent expressions on the faces of generals and colonels.

It was practically a hopeless struggle from the very beginning, but I thought with the right leadership we could have kept Kars either by a successful resistance or through the intervention of Soviet Russia, which professed friendship for our people: all we had to do was to adopt a pro-Soviet policy. Politically we were a naive and inexperienced nation." -Pages 209, 220.

*

"The Turks had won the war, and further resistance was futile. Armenia sued for peace. The Grand National Assembly of Ankara, speaking through its 'People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs,' demanded, and got, half of the territory of our Republic, and almost all the arms, ammunition, mules and rolling stock Armenia had. And while negotiations for a suicidal peace treaty were going on at Alexandropol, the government sent us to Nor Bayazet, to resume our agricultural studies."-Page 220-1.

*

"The Armenian Government had signed an agreement with Soviet Russia and withdrawn from power. Armenia had to choose between Soviet Russia and Kemalist Turkey, which under the circumstances was tantamount to choosing between life and death. What disturbed me was the attitude of the natives toward this sudden change in regime; they were too glad about it." -Page 231.

APPENDIX II

After about 2½ years of mismanagement and corruption, in the course of which it underwent four regimes, the Armenian Republic finally breathed its last. Torn within itself, distraught, tortured, with the populace clamoring for "bread and peace" which

the Bolsheviks promised, the Dashnags surrendered Armenia meekly, without a fight—abjectly, humbly, and in some instances even gratefully. A large number of leaders and followers, sharing Katchaznouni's views, remained behind to become citizens of the new 'state.

December 2, 1920

Erivan

H.H. ARMENIAN REPUBLIC

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

PROCLAMATION

In view of the situation created by the external conditions, the Government of the Armenian Republic decided at its session of December 2, 1920, to resign from power, and to turn the whole military and civil authority over to the Supreme Commander of the Army to which office is appointed War Minister Dro.

[Signed] S. VRATZIAN

President of the Council of Ministers

Ministers: A. HOVHANNISIAN

A. KHONTGARIAN

H. DERDERIAN

DRO GANAYAN

Certified copy of the Original:

[Signed] H. TOUMANIANTZ

Chief Executive [of Council of Ministers]

APPENDIX III

Simultaneously, within a few hours of each other, while one Dashnag delegation headed by the retiring prime minister was negotiating with the Soviets at Erivan, another delegation headed by a former prime minister, negotiated with the Turks at Alexandropol - surrendering Armenia first, from the point of view of chronology, to the Soviets, then some hours later (with the participation of minister's who had already resigned from office) to the Turks: by all odds a masterful though asinine effort at double-dealing. Soviets do not recognize this treaty.

Highly significant is Article 8, wherein Dashnags agreed "to forego their rights to ask for damages . . . as a result of the general war," thus closing the doors FOREVER to reparations for the enormous destruction of Armenian life and property.

Now revealed for the first time in English are the provisions, in their entirety, of the secret Treaty of Alexandropol, signed on December 2, 1920. It is a humiliating treaty, whose contents heretofore have never been divulged by the ARF. A reproduction of the original treaty in Turkish, together with a translation into modern Turkish, appeared in Vol. II, No. 1 of "Die Welt Des Islams" ("The World of Islam"), published by the well-known book firm, E. J. Brill, Leiden, Holland.

"THIS IS THE TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN TURKEY AND ARMENIA AT GUMRU [ALEXANDROPOL]

On the one part the Turkish Government and on the other part the Armenian

Republic, for the purpose of putting an end to the hostilities and to find a thesis of agreement, have sat down for an examination of the facts.

On the part of the Turkish Government:

General Kazim Kara-Bekir Pasha, Commander on the Eastern Front

Hamid Bey, Vali of Erzeroum

Suleyman Negati Bey of Erzeroum

On the part of the Armenian Republic:

Alexander Khadissian, Prime Minister

Avram Gulhandanian, Minister of Finance

Stepan Gorganian, Minister of the Interior

After due verification of their powers of attorney and the validity of their certificates of authority, the discussions have resulted in the following agreement:

1. State of war between Turkey and the Armenian Republic has been ended.

2. The frontier between Turkey and Armenia, as seen on the attached map (starting from the mouth of the Lower Karasou, the River Araxe, the Arpatchai, north to Kekatch, from thence to the valley of Karahan, eastern Teghnis, eastern Great Kernel, Kiziltash, major Aghbaba Mountains) is the limit. The final determination of the frontier will be decided by a mixed commission on the spot two weeks after the signature.

Armenia will not interfere in the administrative form to be chosen by general election and that administration's jurisdiction in Mount Kouki, 10,282 - 8022 - Mount Gamasour, 8160 - the village of Koutoulak - Mount Saat, 7868, - the houses in Arpatchai, 3080, Mount Kemourlu, 6930 - Sarayboulak, 8071 - the station Ararat - the southern part of the estuary of the Lower Karasou on the Araxe River (Nakhitchevan, Shahtakhti, Shamour) and the administration of this zone shall be under Turkish protection. [The numerals above are those on a military map of the time.]

3. The Government of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey may be able to consider the wishes of the Armenian Republic about the relocation of the entire native population back into the territories designated in the second article, existing in the old Ottoman boundaries which shall remain to Turkey, by irrefutable historical, ethnic and legalistic rights, accepts their return by a general election within those territories, within three years after the ratification of this treaty. A mixed commission will decide the form of this.

4. So that the possibility of villainous activities and movements resulting from the incitements of imperialistic governments be once for all and permanently prevented and disallowed the Republic of Erevan undertakes not to maintain any military organization beyond a gendarmerie corps of 1500 riflemen with 8 mountain or field guns and 20 machine guns for the protection of its internal peace. There will be no military conscription in Armenia any more. The Armenian Republic is free to build fortifications and place in them as many heavy artillery pieces as it wishes for the protection of the country against external enemies. In this heavy artillery are 15 cm., shells and 15 cm. long rifles that can be used, and lesser ones used in field armies. No larger guns will be found.

5. After the peace the Government Erevan accepts to permit the Turkish representative or ambassador in Erevan to be free to investigate all these matters at any time. In return for that the Grand National Assembly promises military assistance to Armenia in any internal or external trouble.

6. The two parties permit the return of refugees to their hearths across the old

boundaries with the exception of those who, during the general war, went to the enemy's army and took arms, and those who crossed occupied territories and participated in massacres, and mutually assure the privileges of minorities obtained in the most-civilized countries to those who repatriate themselves.

7. Those of the refugees mentioned in Article 6 who do not return to their hearths within the limit of one year after the ratification of this treaty, besides not being able to benefit from the generosity of the said article, their legal claims also will not be heard.

8. Despite the great expenses which the Grand Assembly of Turkey incurred for its army during two years because of the urgency of the war it had to wage against Armenia, it renounces its right to demand lawful damages, and in the same manner the two parties forego their rights to ask for damages because of the changes which took place as a result of the general war.

9. The Grand National Assembly of Turkey promises to render assistance in the most sincere manner for the complete formulation and defense of the Armenian Republic mentioned in the Second Article with utmost integrity.

10. The Erevan Government declares and considers void and null the Treaty (of Sevres) which was absolutely rejected by the National Grand Assembly of Turkey, and by recalling the delegations who have been tools in the hands of the imperialist countries and their government circles in the purlieus of Europe and America, promises its determination to eliminate all kinds of misunderstandings between the two countries; the Republic of Erevan promises to keep away from government circles those pugnacious men who run after imperialist aims and play havoc with the peace of the two nations so that it may give proof of its sincerity for the maintenance of peace and tranquility and the rights of Turkey as a good neighbor.

11. The Armenian Republic admits and vouchsafes the authority of the vicar of the chief of Sheri of the National Grand Assembly of Turkey to ratify the appointment of the chief Mufti, elected by the direct vote of muftis as well as the organization and enactment of the rights of the people living in the country for the realization of their aspirations and religious sentiments. [The chief Mufti and muftis were to be quartered in Armenia for the benefit of Moslems living there].

12. The two contracting parties mutually promise not to hinder· the free passage of any person or any merchandise belonging to any person on all routes (also of Armenia and Iran), from side to side, by sea and between any country in transit operations. The Turkish government assures the freedom of transit operations between Sharour, Nakhitchevan, Sbahtakht, and Djoulfa via Iran, Magou and Armenia.

The Armenian government promises not to impede general transit operations of merchandise, carriages, railroad wagons between Azerbaijan, Iran, Georgia and Turkey,

The Turkish State will take all railroads and transportation routes in the Erevan Republic under its own control in order to prevent treacherous acts against its integrity and totality by imperialists until complete peace is established and the two parties will forbid the official and unofficial agents of imperialist (Entente) powers from causing any damage or disturbance inside the Republic.

13. The government of the National Grand Assembly can take temporary military preventive measures in Armenia against attacks that may threaten its territorial integrity on condition that such measures do not disturb the rights of the Republic of Erevan conceded in this territory.

14. All treaties signed by the Republic of Erevan with any country that relate to Turkey or are harmful to the interests of Turkey, the said Republic agrees to consider absolutely null and void.

15. Commercial relations between the two parties will begin and ambassadors

and consuls will be exchanged upon the signature of the treaty.

16. Regulations for telegraphic, postal, telephone, consular and commercial relations will be established by mixed commissions according to the provisions of this treaty. Meanwhile Turkey will be authorized by the State to resume telegraphic, postal and railroad communications between Armenia and occupied territories as soon as the treaty is signed.

17. In accordance with this treaty, concerning Armenia, by the provisions of the special treaty for the evacuation of territories under Turkish occupation and the repatriation and exchange of prisoners, the determination of the frontiers of the Armenian Republic will immediately be put into effect. The civilians and notables held will be delivered. The exchange of prisoners will be effected by a mixed commission.

18. This treaty is subject to ratification within a month. The ratified copies will be exchanged at Ankara. The plenipotentiary high representatives have signed this treaty of peace and frontier demarcation. This treaty, being in two copies, has been constituted at Kumru-Alexandropol on the date 2/12/1336*. In the case of any dispute agreement can be arrived at by reference to the Turkish text."

* December 2, 1921. The Turkish year 1336 corresponds to 1921 A.D.

APPENDIX IV

Armenians look upon former Turkish regimes as Jewry looks upon Nazi Germany. Some Armenians, as do some Jews, believe that their former tormentors "will never change." Apparently not so with Dashnag leaders. Though the Turks had just bled the nation white and the Anatolian deserts were still strewn with the bleached bones of a million martyrs, Dashnags sought help and protection from Turkey as provided in the Treaty of Alexandropol. This shameless act placed the ARF on record as willful collaborators with the assassins of their Armenian brethren in return for the mere promise to govern an "independent Armenia" under Turkish tutelage.

In a final effort to displace the Soviets (to whom they had surrendered Armenia on Dec. 2, 1920) and occupy the country with Turkish help, the Dashnags on February 18, 1921 staged a well-planned counter-revolt against the Bolsheviks. But soon finding themselves in urgent need of help, Simon Vratzian the last prime minister and symbol of Dashnag failure and chicanery, sent the following desperate note to Behaeddin, representative in Erivan of the Turkish high command.

"Please forward the present request promptly to your high authorities, and as I have explained to you, urge them for an immediate answer.

The fight of Armenia against the bolsheviks, and for its own freedom and independence, serves, as we are convinced, not only Armenia itself, but also the interests of all the nations of the Near East.

For this reason, Armenia hopes, that during this fight she will receive help from her neighbors, and first of all the interests of the Turkish people also require that Armenia should come victorious out of this fight and remain independent.

Relying on this conviction, the Armenian government requests the government of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, that, in the name of the mutual interest of the two peoples and as speedily as possible, it:

1. Return the Armenian war prisoners that are now on the war front of Erivan.

2. Give the Armenian army some ammunition under certain conditions; first of all cartridges for Russian three-lined rifles and for Turkish mausers; or else rifles of the Russian and Lepel system.

3. Communicate with us, if the government of the Grand National Assembly

finds it possible to send military aid to Armenia, and if able to do so, to what extent and when?

In making this appeal, the Armenian government relies on the friendly relations that have been established with the treaty of Alexandropol, and which were disturbed during the bolshevik rule."

Respectfully,

SIMON VRATZIAN

President of the Armenian Republic

Erivan, March 18, 1921.

Distrustful, the Turks refused to help their Dashnag allies. The Soviets finally ejected them from Armenian soil in April, 1921.

APPENDIX V

The highly complex sequence of historical events which preceded the formation of an independent Armenia on May 28, 1918 may be delineated as follows.

Following the October, 1917 revolution the Bolsheviks relaxed their interest and withdrew from the Caucasus region, turning over to the Armenians their munitions, and leaving them in possession of a relatively large territory including the vilayets of Trebizond, Moush, Erzeroum and the regions of Kars, Ardahan, Karabagh and Nakhitchevan—a total area which later became known as "Wilsonian Armenia."

The Caucasus was then governed by a Trans-Caucasian Federation composed of Armenians, Georgians and Azerbaijan nationals, with a representative assembly, the Seym. In December, 1917 Turkey signed an armistice with the Seym and, together with the Russian withdrawal hostilities ceased.

In the meanwhile, and in order to resist further intrusion by the Allies—which the Bolsheviks and Turks jointly feared—Turkey entered into a common pact with the Russians. Under these conditions the pan-Turkish dream of expansion eastward remained dormant. But in May, 1918 she had recovered sufficiently and begun a bloody march eastward. Turkey now feared that a continued advance on the Caucasus might involve her with Russia so she demanded that Armenia, Georgia and Aberbaijan dissolve the Seym and declare themselves free and independent states, so she could deal with them individually at her convenience. The Soviets were in no position to interfere as they were busy with the aftermath of the October revolution.

Christian Georgia and Moslem Azerbaijan acquiesced readily, leaving the Armenians to shift for themselves. The Armenians resisted, forcing Turkey to grant the Dashnags a 72-hour ultimatum from "eight o'clock in the evening of May 26." This, and subsequent events are narrated in graphic detail in "The Armenian Republic" by Simon Vratzian (Imprimerie Navarre, Paris, 1928) from which the following excerpts are taken:

Page's 127, 129: "Unfortunately the Caucasian Federation does not exist. Therefore the Seym has resigned. . . . The Armenians are left in the middle, alone, without friends, without protection, abandoned by all, victims to the treachery of their neighbors. A more horrible condition is difficult to imagine. What to do? To whom to apply? Where to seek salvation?"

Page 131: "The declaration of independence came more on account of external pressure rather than from the will of the National Council," Vratzian wrote. He then noted that the declaration was actually made on May 30th (instead of May 28th as celebrated by the Dashnags) when negotiations with the Turks began. On June 4, 1918 a formal Treaty of Peace was signed between Turkey and the Armenian Republic.

What was Armenian Independence like? Vratzian paints a graphic picture. Page 155: "Thus passing between the fire and the sword, Armenia was called an independent state. Its independence was not received with applause and acclamation. On the contrary, by many it was considered a misfortune, like a mother who has born a sick child, the Armenians beat their heads in grief.

Yes, the independence of Armenia was born from the sea of suffering and tears. Many did not believe it. The words 'Independence' and 'Republic' were used in quotation marks. And the reasons for believing thus were strong, truly horrifying were the conditions; independence under these conditions seemed a mockery.

In reality there remained in Armenian hands only a small sliver of territory-hardly 12,000 square kilometers, poor and half-demolished. Snuggled among arid mountains in a deaf corner of the world, over-burdened with refugees and orphans, surrounded with teeth-gnashing enemies, without bread, without medicine, without help. Famine and sickness, ruined and looted, tears and poverty, the terror of massacre!

And on the other side, the victorious army of Enver, energized by panTurkish dreams which were trampling on the body of Armenians in their march toward Apsheron [the oil wells of Baku, and the Caspian Sea] and Turkestan."

Page 175: "Around November 20th the government was transferred from Tift.is and enthusiastically reforms were made .... But this enthuciasm did not last long, and behold the escape of people and ministers from Erivan, where living conditions were desperate for those not used to black bread, sleeping on floors and lice. . . . Thus a situation was created where Armenia had three ministers of food-and yet no food!"

In another book, "Independent and United Armenia," Vratzian added: "Tears, misery and chaos were everywhere. Who had the heart to think of independence under these circumstances? Who was going to realize and protect that independence? ... For an Armenian intellectual under the existing conditions independence was equivalent to a return of Turkish tyranny, to a new era of martyrdom, and by this is explained that session of the Armenian Council which considered 'independence' more like a home in mourning where lay a dead body."

When, in final desperation-with Turkey again threatening to loot, massacre and rape survivors of the holocaust since 1915—the populace accepted Soviet rule [to which Dashnag leaders themselves offered no resistance] thousands of Dashnags remained behind to become citizens of the new state. On November 20, 1923 they met in Erivan. The stenographic minutes of the "Convention of Former Dashnags of Armenia" were published in 1924. The report showed the presence of 247 delegates, the time. After a trip to the United States Katchaznouni returned to Armenia and spent his last years on native Armenian soil.

The Armenian Information Service . . .

. . . Seeks to disseminate accurate information on Armenians in the United States; defend the historic Armenian Church; protect the Armenian good name against its detractors, whether they be Dashnags, or others; and promote better understanding between Old stock Americans and the New.

. . . In addition to a list of booklets just initiated, The Armenian Information Service publishes the "Armenian Reporter" which seeks to enlighten and interpret, in

the light of our history and our future here, those problems which personally concern American citizens of Armenian background.

Also published: “The ARF: a Study in Political Gym-nastics,”-50¢.

In Preparation: “Dashnag Collaboration Abroad with the Nazi Regime”

“Record of Dashnag Collaboration with Arab Diplomatic Officials.”

Armenian Information Service
Suite 7D, 471 Park Ave.
New York 22

“The pen is mightier than the sword”

Appendix IV

THE YOUNG TURK

By REAR-ADMIRAL COLBY M. CHESTER, U. S. NAVY

(The National Geographic Magazine, January, 1912, Volume XXIII, Number One)

DURING the better part of the past four years I have resided in Constantinople, making trips to the interior of Turkey, the islands of the Egean Sea. Egypt, and several of the lost colonies of the Empire.

I have dined in the palace of that arch-fiend the recent noted ruler of the Turkish Empire. Abdul Hamid; also in some of the homes of prominent Turks, and I fell warranted, therefore, in speaking of them from the standpoint of one who has known them at close range.

During the early part of the year 1908 the growing discontent with the existing regime in the Ottoman Empire on the part of all the different races of this very cosmopolitan country—Turks, Greeks, Armenians. Bulgarians, and Arabs—aroused a cry of distress that was heard throughout all christendom. From outside the boundaries of Turkey, among the western nations of Europe, Christian people pressed their administrators for a declaration that should either put an end to the despotic rule of Abdul Hamid—the Nero of the age—or drive the Turk out of Europe.

Suddenly from Saloniki, in the south of Macedonia, Enver Bey and Niazi Bey. two young Turkish army officers of never-dying fame, raised the standard of revolution, and a wave of reform was started from within the Empire itself that spread from border to border with lightning rapidity.

It was on July 4, 1908, the birthday of the United States of America and of republican government, that a new era was inaugurated in Turkey. It took a number of days to organize the rebellious subjects of the Sultan, after these young officers had lighted the fuse which was eventually to blow this despotic ruler from his throne; so that it was not until an ultimatum wired to Constantinople demanding the proclamation of the constitution was received and acted upon that it was finally granted to the people.

On July 24, however, Abdul Hamid, learning that his last remaining support, the Albanian troops, whom he had for many years bribed to sustain his tottering power, had deserted him, and that the threat to march on Constantinople with 200,000 men was to be literally carried into effect, submitted to the inevitable and signed the irade that was to make him a figure-head in governmental ad-ministration.

WHO ARE THE YOUNG TURKS?

The term "Young Turk" is applied to that vast class of Moslem subjects who were disaffected by the glowing burden-placed upon them by the despotic action of the ruling power. This term applies alike to young and old, male or female; those who lived in Turkey or were spread broadcast over the face of the earth by expatriation or the fear of death by residence in the fatherland. This so-called Young Turk party comprised Christians and Jews, as well as Turks, and embraced parts of all the various races which go to make up the nation.

The "Committee of Union and Progress" was a secret society organized within the

kingdom, the ranks of which were recruited from the Young Turk party. Members were obliged to take a most sacred oath to devote their whole energies to the redemption of the country, to obey every order given through the channels of the society, never to re-veal its secrets, and to kill any person, however near and dear to them, whom the committee might condemn to stiffer death. The harshness of this creed was due to the necessity of fighting with fire the devil who ruled the nation, and who had organized the most diabolical espionage system ever conceived—a system that created suspicion between man and wife, brother and sister, or even mother and child, lest an indiscreet word should bring death from the edict of the despot whose bloody sword was ever suspended over his trembling- subjects.

No member of this committee was ever permitted to know more than four others. Five was the maximum number allowed to meet together in a single group; but the secret chain leading up to the central figure or group, which was all supreme, was so carefully concealed that no one to this day has been able to discover the ultimate source of that wonderful power.

No one who has not been an eve-witness to the effect of both the old and new regimes in Turkey upon its people can realize the change that now took place.

RETURN OF THE EXILES

The announcement that constitutional government had been granted to Turkey soon spread to all parts of the world; aged exiles and those who had fled from the dread machinations of Abdul Hamid returned and filled the capital to its utmost capacity; and as they were all members of the Young Turk party, the power that this remarkable secret organization wielded over the people became the prime factor in the administration of the government.

The people of the nation. who were at first stunned by the suddenness of the change, began to shout the new word "liberty," which had just entered their vocabulary, with all the changes that could be played upon it. and in every quarter of the Empire celebrations took place, the inhabitants simply going wild with joy for their deliverance from slavery.

Addresses were made by Mohammedan and Christian speakers in streets, in squares, in mosques. and in churches. Fraternity became for the first time the sentiment which seemed to bind all creeds, races, and tongues together in harmonious accord. Moslem and Christian leaders embraced and kissed each other in public, while tears rolled down the checks of thousands as they took part in the festivities.

Burial services were performed for the Armenian martyrs of 1896, which were taken part in by Mohammedans and Christians alike. Crowds of former conflicting religious sects formed vast parades, led by their priests; and, although the followers of _Islam greatly exceeded all other sects in numbers, Christian fathers were invariably given the seat of honor in the carriages which accompanied them.

All looked to the Committee of Union and Progress for guidance, and these men worked with great circumspection. Abdul Hamid was distinctly told that as long as he ruled according to the constitution his life would be spared, but that he would be held to a strict accountability for his actions. He was, nevertheless, promptly put under surveillance to insure his good behavior. Naval vessels, which had been left to rot in the port, because this wily ruler feared that someone might do as he had done with the fleet, in making it the means to drive his own brother off the throne of Turkey, were put in commission and moved to an anchorage in the Bosphorus. where the guns bore directly on Yildiz, and thus the Sultan became practically a prisoner in his own palace.

PROMINENT PART PERFORMED BY AMERICANS

Americans little realize what an important influence their countrymen and countrywomen have exerted in bringing about constitutional government in Turkey. Talcott Williams, LL.D., in an address in Brooklyn, N. Y., October 15, 1908, stated: "Many causes have combined, many factors are present, many influences have turned

the hearts of men in that Empire but, if we ask ourselves what the governing and final factor is which has brought about the first of the world's bloodless revolutions, which has seen a people divided and dissevered by creed, by race, by language, by every conceivable difference which can separate the sons and daughters of men, suddenly act together, we do ill if we forget that for 80 rears the American missionaries have been laying the foundations and preaching the doctrine which makes free government possible."

The great educational system founded by these Americans comprises at present more than 300 common schools in the Empire, 44 high schools, 8 colleges, normal school, and 5 divinity schools. This scholastic work is spread out all over this former "garden spot of the world," and has leavened the masses with high ideals of living, knowledge of free institutions, and longings for better government.

Such an authority as Gladstone has placed upon record a statement that "American missionaries in Turkey have done more good to the inhabitants of that country than has all Europe combined. And Mr. James Bryce, the British Ambassador to Washington, goes even further. and states: "I cannot mention the American missionaries without a tribute to the admirable work they have done. They have been the only good influence that has worked from abroad upon the Turkish Empire."

THE "UNSPEAKABLE TURK" NO LONGER EXISTS

It should not be forgotten that Turkey of today is not the Turkey depicted in our child's history, nor is it in fact the same country that it was three years ago. The people of Turkey as a body have long since passed from the pale of the "unspeakable Turk," and many of them stand out as the peers of any people in the world in general intelligence, character, and all the qualities that go to make good citizens; but of course as yet they are wanting in sufficient experience to guide without assistance the ship of state to the high plane at which they are aiming. This experience they are fast acquiring, and are already as far advanced in the practices of government by the people as were those of the United States at the end of the first decade in our history, having had our example to guide them.

During my stay among these people I have found men of sterling character and unswerving integrity—men well fitted to lead their country through crises similar to those through which our own nation passed in its struggle for birth.

While we Americans have done much toward the enlightenment of the Turk, I should say in all fairness to them that they have earnestly sought education through following the precepts of the Koran (their Bible), in which is combined the tenets of both religion and legislation. A short selection from this book, so often misinterpreted. will illustrate its teachings. It reads:

"The duty of every Mussulman is to acquire science.
Science is the life of the heart.
The learned shine in the world like stars in the sky.
Knowledge is the immortal soul of man."

THE TURKS ARE APT SCHOLARS

And that the Turks are apt scholars no one can doubt who has lived among them. One of the younger classmen of the Beirut American University presented me, when I was last there, with a copy of a speech made by Dr. Bliss, its president, on the responsibilities of popular government, which this young student had taken down stenographically and typewritten himself. This young man. a Syrian by birth. spoke English well, and more than a dozen other languages. Yet he was but an average scholar in the college.

At Constantinople on more than one occasion I have witnessed the presentation of some of Shakespeare's plays by the young women of the American College for Girls that would compare favorably with any similar representation in our own country. Many of the girls who took part in the plays were but 16 or 17 years of age, and had not studied the English language, in which the dramas were given, more than one year. There was no self-consciousness or stage fright among these girls, because they were

actuated by a common desire to acquit themselves well without any regard to the effect made upon others.

The Turkish people are reaching out to other civilizations for help to recover from the tyranny and stagnation that has bound them so long in slavery. They look to America particularly as the one nation of the West that has no political ambition to subserve in its action toward them, and we should help them to work out their natural destiny for which we have already helped lay the foundation.

Sir William Ramsay has said: "Constantinople is the center about which the world's history revolves. It is the bridge that binds the East to the West, the old to the new civilization, which must be brought into harmony before the culmi¬nation of all civilization can appear. bringing 'Peace on earth and good-will toward men.'

Sir William also says, in derogation of his own people: "The heated struggle between the English and Germans for influence to Constantinople has much impeded the establishment of peace and order in Turkey." Nothing truer has been said of the "near eastern question."

THE YOUNG TURKS HAVE ACCOMPLISHED MUCH

We have been told that the Young Turks have made a failure of constitutional government. Let us see how these abused people have acquitted themselves during the past three and one-half years, since the formation of democratic government in Turkey, as compared with the work of other nations.

A brief summary of the events occur-ring in this eventful epoch is necessary for a full understanding of the subject.

The storm of 1908 came so unexpectedly upon

the horizon of Europe that the powers were stunned for the moment. The sudden change of policy in the Turkish Empire, however, was too good and opportunity not to be taken advantage of, and on October 3, 1908. Austria-Hungary announced her annexation of the Turkish provinces, Bosnia and Herzegovina. This aggressive measure, being in absolute contravention of the Treaty of Berlin, made in 1878, at the end of the Russo-Turkish War, by the united powers of Europe, was the entering wedge for the despoliation of the Turkish Empire, which had long been threatened.

A mild protest was made to this act, as being a stab to the very heart of universal peace measures, in which the world at large was interested: but, as the leading protesting powers had been guilty of practically the same offense in times past, the effort to stay the act was with-out cohesion or force; and, as Austria-Hungary held the nine points of the law in her possession of the territory, over which that country had been granted suzerain powers under the Treaty of Berlin, and having, through an alliance with Germany, her great army at her back, the political conscience of the disgruntled parties was quickly healed by the bare hope of something good out of the wreckage coming to them.

Bulgaria now declared, and secured, her independence from Turkish rule, and thus the Empire was shorn of another considerable portion of its European territory. The Young Turks protested against this arbitrary move on the part of their now grown-up son, but the threatening attitude of the powers, coupled with a hope that this sacrifice would enable them to hind the remaining states of the Empire into a more cohesive union, led them to peaceably accept this declaration of Bulgaria's independence.

Russia, foreseeing no end to the carving of Turkey for other interest, thus begun, put in a claim for some of the spoils, which might have been hers but for the action of the "disinterested" powers in signing the Peace of Berlin.

Greece then claimed the island of Crete, over which she hail been grated and held suzerain powers for 30 years, on the identical ground put forward by Austria - Hungary upon taking Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Young Turks now rose up in their might and vowed that Turkey would fight to the death any further attempt to despoil her of territory, and so strongly was this threat, which was practically an ultimatum, backed by the sentiment of the whole Moslem race, that England, fearing for the peace of Europe, used her influence to postpone

action on the claims of Russia and Greece. She practically promised, however, that their claim should he favorably considered at an opportune time in the near future.

This stopped for a while aggressive measures against Turkish territory and permitted the Young Turk party to take up the prosecution of reforms, so urgently needed in the Empire.

A REVOLUTION SPEEDILY CRUSHED

But for a few months only was peace allowed to reign in the near East. From out of a clear sky, on April 13, 1909, burst a War cloud that threatened to throw the country back into anarchy.

Abdul Hamid had, with his characteristic cunning and a liberal supply of money, taken advantage of a mild dissension among the delegates in Parliament which had met in December of the preceding year, to instigate a mutiny in the army and navy stationed at the capital against constitutional authority. At the same time he sent emissaries to the interior of the country to appeal to the religions fanaticism of the poorer classes, and inaugurated a racial warfare between the Turks and Armenians that at once put constitutional government in jeopardy. It was evident that Abdul Hamid's main purpose in bringing about intestine strife was to show the powers that Turkey could only be ruled by his strong right arm and that he alone could put a stop to the conflict.

So near to success did he come in his Nefarious aim that on April 24 the London Times published an article to the effect that constitutional government was dead, and that England should at once recognize Abdul Hamid as the supreme ruler of the land.

The conviction was so general among foreigners that a commission from Parliament was prevailed upon to warn the commander-in-chief of the Macedonian army, Mohammed Shefket Pasha, whose troops were then marching on the capital, that if his army entered the city it would bring about a massacre of Christians, and then would follow European intervention. ''Go back," said this Oliver Cromwell of his country to the parliamentary committee sent to communicate this information, "and attend to your parliamentary duties. There is no power tinder heaven that can keep my army out of the city." And so it proved.

All military authorities unite in saving that the taking of Constantinople by the constitutional army, April 26, 1909, was one of the most brilliant and successful campaigns in history. It is not necessary to describe it here; but, as far as the safety of Christians, the bugbear of Turkey's foes, is concerned, I can state that ladies of my party traversed the streets

of Constantinople while the conflict was raging with as little danger and less fear than they would have had in crossing Broadway, in New York city, during an election day excitement.

The spectacle of Shefket Pasha's grand army of 30,000 as fine a body of men as ever crossed a parade ground, augmented by a contingent of volunteers, containing among the private soldier, peers of the realm and officers of high rank, both of the army and the navy, for whom there were not suitable commands, taking possession of Constantinople was an inspiration long to be remembered. It Was an evidence of patriotism rarely seen elsewhere, and which bodes ill for the enemies of such a people.

The greatest factor in this example of discipline was the absence of intoxicating liquors among both officer and men, and we could but contrast it with the stories of other battles in the east between Mohammedan and Christian troops, where a barrel of whisky was regarded

former as an equivalent to a reinforcement of one hundred me, for by rolling the barrel of whiskey before an advance guard of the enemy it was sure to be greedily attacked, to the advantage of the abstemious Turk.

This counter revolution in Turkey, which Shefket Pasha did everything in his power to make a "bloodless" as was the revolution of 1908, was so quickly and completely suppressed that constitutional government was placed upon a higher and

firmer basis than before, and on the day the London Times (to which I have referred) was read in

Constantinople, Abdul Hamid was the nation's prisoner, never again to rise his weapons of bloody intrigue. His impeachment was done in strict accordance with the constitution and the religions law of the land, and his shameful reign came to a final ending by the selection of his illustrious successor, Mohammed V, who had been confined in a palace on the Bosporus for 33 years of his life, the period of his predecessor's reign, and who is now the beloved ruler of his people.

TROUBLES IN ALBANIA

No country in the world ever gained the priceless blessing of freedom without some trials. In October, 1910, the province of Albania, one the western colonies of Turkey bordering on the Adriatic Sea, began to give trouble, and as a matter of course it was announced by European news-gatherers, who by the way give us all our information regarding Turkey, that this was due to the underlying hatred of the followers of Islam for all Christians, and that it was for the purpose of exterminating them that this conflict was inaugurated by the Turk.

It should be remembered that during the last Years of Abdul Hamid's reign the Albanians were his most trusted adherents in the army. In order to maintain their loyalty to his person he had released the colony from the payment of taxes and cajoled them into doing his bidding by many acts of favoritism not accorded to the tromps recruited in other parts of the country. In this way he kept their fealty. But when the new order of things was established and liberty and equality became the watchwords of the nation, the Albanians accepted all that was coming to them of the first, but declined to give up any of their former privileges in the interests of equal rights. They demanded that only the Albanian language should be used in the schools and that the dominant race—the Turks—who had acquired possession of the country by conquest—the strongest claim that any people can set up—should have nothing to do with the internal policy of their land.

Naturally the rifling powers of the Empire could not agree to any such conditions, and an Albanian revolt against constitutional authority followed. The Albanians are a hardy mountainous race of men, who have kept themselves poor and their land barren by internecine wars ever since they, as a part of the Mohammedan race, conquered the country.

It was declared by the numerous interested sympathizers with the revolutionists in Europe that the Turks could never conquer Albania. But in spite of this widely dispersed impression, Mohammed Shefket Pasha, who had now become Minister of War in the Cabinet, went with a portion of the army to the scene of the revolt. and in less than six weeks the Albanians were suing for peace by presenting him with the usual ceremonious bowl of milk as a token of submission.

Like General Grant, Shefket Pasha was called a "butcher" for the drastic and energetic measures used by him in putting down the rebellion, and a cry of "foul massacre of the Christians" went up from all over Europe. No attention was paid to the fact that the majority

the inhabitants of Albania are of Mohammedan persuasion, and that the conflict was due neither to religion nor race. but to politics.

Hardly had the Albanian revolution been put down before another broke out in the Yemen, the southeastern part of Turkey in Asia. The Bedouin tribes in the Arabian desert attacked the outlying military stations there, very much as our own Indian races have repeatedly done in the United States. This outbreak was of such proportions as to necessitate reinforcements front all parts of the Turkish Empire, and the European military posts were depleted of troops in consequence. The Albanians, still smarting under the condign punishment inflicted upon them during the late uprising, at once took advantage of this situation to again take up arms, such as they could command—and there were many willing sympathizers to bring them supplies—but this outbreak

was so short-lived as to hardly warrant newspaper mention.

UNITED IN TRIPOLI

The outcome of the Yemen insurrection is best told in a statement made by Hilme Pasha, a former Grand Vizier of Turkey, as recently published in a letter from Constantinople. He says: "Tukey's ex-enemy in Yemen, the Imam Yahra, who concluded peace and friendship with the Sultan, is declared to have spontaneously promised to render solid assistance to his Moslem comrades in Tripoli." Another newspaper dispatch refers to the "solid assistance- as an armed force of 10,000 men from this tribe contributed to the defense of Tripoli.

This would seem to prove the truth of what has frequently been stated by Turkish sympathizers: that it is only necessary a- foreigners to strike a blow at the integrity of Turkey to bring about a coalition of Mussulmen in defense of the Empire.

During these internal trials of the new Turkish government, Greece again demanded that the promise made by England, that she should be put in possession of the beautiful island of Crete, should be fulfilled, and took advantage of Turkish misfortunes in Yemen to press her claim. But the Young Turk party promptly informed the British authorities that not another inch of territory would he given up to any power. They announced that Turkey- would fight to the death to maintain her sovereignty in Crete, and that England herself would surely be brought into the conflict with disastrous results to the peace of Europe if this claim was pushed. With such an alternative staring her in the face, Eng-land was forced to disavow her promise to Greece. and the Ottoman flag still floats over Crete.

It is too soon to predict the outcome in the present conflict in Tripoli, but if it results in a "holy war," as is not unlikely, it would seem that there can be but one result in the issue. Emperor William II, a few years ago, made a speech in Jerusalem, in which he said. in effect: "Allied as I am with my good friend Abdul Hamid, the Padishah of 225,000,000 Mohammedan subjects, Turkey, in combination with my grand army, need have no fear if the whole world combines against us."

Emperor William, by this appeal for Moslem support, was but inviting in advance the very danger to western Civilization that now threatens.

But what nation is there that does not appeal to the divine power that rules its destiny when the stress of war comes?

"God favor our righteous cause," is the cry on the lips of every believer, whether he be Moslem, Jew. or Gentile; or, to quote from an inscription found upon the walls of the imprisoned British troops at Delhi during the Indian insurrection:

"When war is rife and strife is nigh. God and the soldier is all the cry; When war is over and peace requited. God and the soldier is always slighted."

CORRUPTION IS AT AN END

I have thus attempted to give a brief account of Turkish history during the past three and one-half years, which is a

record of stupendous trials that have beset the Young Turk party in their efforts to help the country in its way to-ward reforms and a new national life.

The question is: Have the Young Turks fulfilled, as far as might be expected under the prevailing difficulties, promises made when they took office? The answer may be summarized as follows:

It is only necessary to note the happy, smiling faces of the inhabitants in Turkey today to realize that despotism is a thing of the past. Order in the Empire

has been kept under the most trying circumstances. Fraternization of the different races, which at first might have been interpreted as the exuberance of the freedom of action permitted by the constitution, has continued. Fear has been banished, ambition for knowledge strengthened, and thought enlivened.

Corruption, which. under the old regime, was rampant, is now speedily brought to justice. so that today there is no more honest administration of governmental affairs in the world than in Turkey. The strength of the foreign policy of the government is

demonstrated by the stand it took against England in the case of the island of Crete, while the stability of the. internal program of the Yong Turks is shown in the frequent successful rapid-transit movements against revolutionists. If we would but "look for the good that is in the worst of its instead of the bad that is in the best of us," we would find sonic characteristics of the Turkish race that we might emulate to advantage. I do not except from these many of their religious forms. The total abstinence front intoxicating liquors among the Moslems is due to a strict tenet of their religious creed.

The Mohammedans worship the same God as do the Christians, with a devotion that is inspiring to any one devoutly inclined; and even in their reverence of the great Head of the Christian church they set an example worthy of emulation. If one would visit the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem and see the devotional attitude of the Moslem guard the government of Turkey is forced to maintain there to keep the peace—not between the Mohammedan and Christian, but between the Christian sects themselves, who they worship at the shrine of our Saviour—he will be forced to blush for his own religion while he pays a tribute of respect to Islamism.

That detestable subject of polygamy among Mohammedans of today is not fully understood by us. While plurality of wives is permitted by the Koran. its practice is unquestionably dying out in Turkey.

THE LEADING WOMAN OF TURKEY

One of the finest women I have ever met, who is of the Mohammedan faith is now engaged in Constantinople in a propaganda for the education of the women of Turkey, which is full of promise for the social status of the mothers of the country.

To this grand woman I cannot refrain from paying a tribute of greatest respect. I Helideh Salih, a graduate of the American College for Girls, is the leading woman in Turkey in popularity and influence. She is at the head of this organization for the redemption and uplift of her countrywomen. Already has the government, at her instigation, officially installed five Young Turkish women at this magnificent American school of learning, in cooperation with her work.

I am sure that American women could not read the pathetic cry of this Turkish woman to more civilized womanhood for their support and sympathy without a heart pang that would shake their very souls, I wish I might give it in full.

"Come," she says, "to this land where the most terrible want of know ledge exists. Come and help us to disperse the dark clouds of ignorance." That grand American woman. Miss Helen Gould, has already answered her appeal with munificent aid through the American College for Girls, which now has hundreds of young women students of pure Turkish blood, where during the Hamidian reign it had but one.

I have stated that Turkey is as far advanced in popular government today as were the American people at the end of the first decade of its constitutional history. This is no idle statement, and, as a matter for comparison, I would like to recall a brief outline of the events occurring in our own country during this period:

In the heyday of our prosperity, we are apt to forget the mistakes made by our forefathers in their efforts to establish popular government, only remembering the grand things accruing from their endeavors, after a long experience in handling the Ship of State.

Three years after the Treaty of Peace established between the revolting American colonies and the Mother Country. 1783 (the same period of time that has elapsed since the constitution was poi-claimed in Turkey), we find, according to history, that the citizens of the various States in the American Union discovered, by experience, the disabilities to which they were subject from a want of proper system, and began to clamor for reform.

Commissioners, called together at a weak-hearted convention in Annapolis, announced that "the crisis is arrived, at which the people of America are to decide the solemn nestions, whether they will reap the fruits of independence and of union, or whether, giving away unmanly jealousies and prejudices, or to partial and transitory

interests, they will renounce the blessings prepared for them by the Revolutions."

During seven or eight years, in fact, after the War for Independence ceased, the nation was humiliated to the quick by the defeat of our armies in conflict with Indian tribes, similar, in some respects, to the races that have made trouble for the Turks; and as late as 1798 a strong party—the Federalists—under the leadership of Alexander Hamilton, were contemplating an alliance with England, and the cry "Let us have a king!" was quite as frequently heard as "Support the President!" and such reaction against constitutional government finally led to the perfidy of Aaron Burr.

America. as a Christian nation, now well advanced in years, bearing a history replete with unselfish action towards weaker nations, can well afford to continue the practice of the Golden Rule in its attitude with respect to these people of the "Near East," who are the pioneers, among Mohammedan races. in the struggle for government "of the people. for the people. by the people;" and, if upheld by Christian sympathy. will surely spread the doctrine of freedom which came down to us as a birthright from our forefathers, who purchased it for us at a fearful cost of blood and treasure.

This spirit, set up here in Turkey, has been carried like a tidal wave through Persia. the States of Central Asia. right into the very heart of the great Empire of China, where is begun an irrepressible conflict for liberty, toward which the whole world is marching.

To America. the first-horn child of political and religious liberty, this Eastern civilization turns in its hour of trial for the sympathy and encouragement which we so naturally should give, as the one power that can help them in their battle against despotism and oppression. Persia is now struggling in the throes of political reform. and is knocking at our door for a kind word to aid her in her efforts to secure freedom.

Shall we not, then, in the name of Him who died to make men free, ex-tend to the regenerated people the hand of fellowship, as we watch, with sympathy and hope, their struggles for this divine right bequeathed mankind?

Appendix V

MAINTENANCE OF PEACE IN ARMENIA

HEARINGS

BEFORE A

SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
UNITED STATES SENATE

SIXTY-SIXTH CONGRESS.

FIRST SESSION

ON

S. J. R. 106

A JOINT RESOLUTION FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE- IN ARMENIA

Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Relations
1919

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MAINTENANCE OF PEACE IN ARMENIA.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1919.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to the call of the chairman, at 10.30 o'clock a.m. in the room of the Committee on the Philippines, Capitol, Senator Warren G. Harding presiding.
Present: Senators Harding (chairman), New, and Williams.
The subcommittee had under consideration the following resolution:

[S. J. Res. 106, Sixty-sixth Congress, first session.]
JOINT RESOLUTION For the maintenance of peace in Armenia.

Whereas the withdrawal of the British troops from the Caucasus and Armenia will leave the Armenian people helpless against the
attacks of the Kurds and the Turks, and whereas the American people are deeply and sincerely sympathetic with the aspirations
of the Armenian people for liberty and peace and progress: Therefore be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That in the opinion of the Senate, Armenia (including the six vilayets of Turkish Armenia and Cilicia), Russian Armenia, and the northern part of the Province of Azerbaijan and Trebizond, should be independent, and that it is the hope of the Senate that the peace conference will make arrangements for helping Armenia to establish an independent republic.

Sec. 2. That the President of the United States is hereby authorized to use such military and naval forces of the United States as in his opinion may seem expedient for the maintenance of peace and tranquility in Armenia until the settlement of the affairs of that country has been completed by treaty between the nations.

Sec. 3. That the President is hereby authorized to suspend the foreign enlistment act to the extent necessary to enable Armenians in the United States to raise money and arm and equip themselves as an armed force to go to the aid of their countrymen in Asia Minor.

Sec. 4. There is hereby appropriated out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated the sum of $---to enable the President to execute the foregoing resolution.

Senator HARDING. The first witness desiring to be heard this morning is Mr. Sevasly. You may state your name and your residence to the stenographer, and proceed.
Senator W ILLIAMS. And your occupation?

STATEMENT OF MR. MIRAN SEVASLY.

Mr. SEVASLY. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, will you permit me to thank you for the opportunity you have given the Armenians, or the American citizens of Armenian

birth, to appear before you and state briefly their case on behalf of the Armenian people, toward whom we know this great Republic entertains much genuine sympathy. I should not care, perhaps, to go into any detail on the political aspects of the Armenian question. I shall not speak, except by referring to it, of the question of the mandate which I know is exercising the minds of many American citizens. I shall not even refer at any length to the future status of Armenia, or to the political frontiers of Armenia, because these I consider matters that will have to be disposed of by the peace conference. I will only refer just by way of parenthesis to the service the Armenians have rendered during this last war which entitle them to be considered as belligerents. They have contributed more than 100,000 men to the Russian army, and that army has been sent to the front in Poland, where it fought with the Russians against the Central Powers.

Senator WILLIAMS. Those were Russian Armenians?

Mr. SEVASLY. Russian Armenians. In the second place, the Armenians. have held the Caucasian front against the Russians for more than a year, and thus helped England to bring about their success in their Mesopotamian campaign against Turkey. Were it not for the fact that the Armenians have held the Caucasian front, England would not so easily have brought that campaign to such a successful conclusion.

Senator WILLIAMS. Or the Mesopotamian campaign?

Mr. SEVASLY. Yes.

Senator WILLIAMS. Or the Palestine campaign, either?

Mr. SEVASLY. Or the Palestine campaign. Lord Cecil testified to that in an official document which he sent some time ago to the president of the Armenian delegation in Paris.

Senator WILLIAMS. Gen. Allenby also recognizes that fact.

Mr. SEVASLY. Yes, sir. The Armenians have not only done that, but they have contributed to the forces that have fought in the Holy Land and in Syria against Turkey. Also from this country about 2,000 volunteers went to the front, thanks to the labors of the Armenian National Union; 2,000 volunteers went from here to fight in Palestine, and they did fight valiantly, and they decided the battle in favor of the Allies against the Turks, and it was the result of that battle that enabled the Allies to conquer Syria and to take Jerusalem, and opened the way to Armenia and Cilicia. But they have done more. One thousand Armenian volunteers went to the French front and fought gallantly on the plains of Picardy and Champagne, and of those 1,000 men hardly 50 have survived. To say after all this that the Armenians should not be considered as belligerents and should not be entitled to the same consideration as the Arabs or the King of Hedjaz is, I respectfully submit, a misnomer.

Senator WILLIAMS. Who. has been contending for that?

Mr. SEVASLY. Well

Senator WILLIAMS. Go ahead with your own statement.

Mr. SEVASLY. It is not only that, gentlemen, but the Armenians have lost 1,000,000 men because they have refused to side with the Turkish barbarian. An alliance was offered to them. They were told that if they sided with the Turks they would be given everything, but they refused it completely, and at a convention held at Erzeroum on the eve of this war, in 1914, the Armenians refused to side with, the Turks. These considerations are so well known to you, as the distinguished Senator opposite has so well testified, that I thought it was unnecessary to dilate upon this situation.

Now, another situation, which it was thought was very unfair to the Armenians, was the terms of the armistice with Turkey. Turkey was allowed practically to be in control of the Armenian provinces.

Senator WILLIAMS. Well, upon that, let it be stated that the United States was not a party to that armistice, because she was not at war with Turkey.

Mr. SEVASLY. Well, the situation now is this, that in this part of the country, in Cilicia, the Armenians have gone in there, there has been a gradual influx of Armenians into that country, and as the English and French have some troops there, and as the country is contiguous to the sea, there is more safety there, and I am glad to say there are some 200,000 Armenians now who are inhabiting that country, and normal conditions are being restored.

Senator WILLIAMS. That is southwestern Armenia.

Mr. SEVASLY. Yes, sir.

Senator WILLIAMS. On the Mediterranean litoral; Alexandretta and neighboring towns. A sufficient force of French and other Allies are there at this time to maintain order and to protect the inhabitants, that is what you mean?

Mr. SEVASLY. Yes. Normal conditions are being restored, the stores are being opened, and after this troubled situation, and the deportation of Armenians and massacres, now they are gradually picking up; and they have two daily papers in the city of Adana, and that shows their recuperative powers.

Now, the country between Cilicia and the Caucasus here [indicating on map] has been very much depleted. There has been a very large depletion of the Armenian population by reason of deportations and massacres. That is the part of the country that has suffered most, I think. I do not like to exaggerate numbers, but I think about 750,000 Armenians have actually disappeared—have died from deportations or massacres.

Senator WILLIAMS. You mean the country between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea in northeastern Armenia That is what you are referring to now V

Mr. SEVASLY. Yes; from here to this part [indicating on map].

Senator WILLIAMS. Up along southeast of the Black Sea, you indicate?

Mr. SEVASLY. Yes.

Senator HARDING. You say 750,000 Armenians have disappeared?

Mr. SEVASLY. At least that many.

Senator HARDING. Do you know relatively the number massacred?

Mr. MALCOM. By the number massacred, do you mean those who have died by massacre, or those who have died from deportations and everything else

Senator HARDING. Suppose we use the term that covers both.

Mr. MALCOM. According to the last report—

Senator WILLIAMS. To get this plain, I would like to ask a few questions.

Senator HARDING. Well, Senator, I have asked Mr. Sevasly a question and he has not answered it.

Senator WILLIAMS. I did not hear it. Excuse me.

Senator HARDING. I want to know the number of those who have Buffered through the mistreatment of the Turks.

Mr. SEVASLY. The reports that we have from there, through travelers who have come from there, and from our ambassador, Mr. Morgenthau, and others, is that at least 800,000 Armenians have disappeared, either by massacre or by famine, and being deported across the desert, and it is a question whether in that part of the country there are—I do not know, but I do not think that the number is more than 100,000 of Armenians left in central Armenia.

Senator HARDING. Let us clear that a little bit. You say there have disappeared 800,000 from a section in which only 80,000 are left. Do I understand you aright?

Mr. SEVASLY. No; I say all told, whether you take Cilicia or whether you take all Armenia, the total number of Armenians who have died from massacres or deportation or from famine is not less than 800,000.

Senator WILLIAMS. Or from being sent out into the desert?

Mr. SEVASLY. We have reports from the missions and from our State Department, the consular reports, and all of these reports corroborate the statement I am-giving you. It

would be a long detail to give it to you.
Senator WILLIAMS. I am afraid you and the chairman do not understand one another. Let me ask you a few questions. How many Armenians have been killed during the war on the Flanders front, in the Caucasus, in Palestine, and everywhere else, as far as you know?
Mr. SEVASLY. Fighting men?
Senator WILLIAMS. Yes; fighting men.
Mr. SEVASLY. The fighting men killed in France are about 950. I do not know exactly what the numbers are in Palestine; but I will state that they are about 2,000.
Senator WILLIAMS. In Mesopotamia were there any?
Mr. SEVASLY. No.
Senator WILLIAMS. How many were killed in the Caucasus fighting against the Turks, either of Russian Armenians or Turkish Armenians?
Mr. SEVASLY. I would say not less than 35,000.
Senator WILLIAMS. How many Armenians were massacred, deported into the desert, or elsewhere, during the war?
Mr. SEVASLY. During the war I may say that two-thirds or three-fourths of the population of central Armenia, of the six provinces and Cilicia, have been deported, and not only from there but from parts of Turkish territory that do not come within the so-called provinces of Armenia.
Senator WILLIAMS. I understand. In the seaport. towns, upon the littoral, there was a population mainly Greek or Turkish, but containing many Armenians; and there were some of them in Constantinople. Now, all of these men, women, and children who were subjected to what is called "the white death," who were stripped and despoiled and turned loose in the desert without food—upon the desert or el where—what figures have you go that you can give the committee in regard to that?
Mr. SEVASLY. I thought that was a question which had already been thrashed out, and practically the consensus of opinion had been made. I have not got any details here, but there is a memorial of the delegation of integral Armenia which refers to them. I shall leave a copy of that with you.
Senator WILLIAMS. Find the place, so that the stenographer can copy it in his report.
Senator HARDING. Is this information covered in the documents you want to file?
Mr. MALCOM. No.
Senator WILLIAMS. I want to get those things separate from one another.
Mr. MALCOM. We can furnish memoranda on that, if you wish it.
Mr. SEVASLY. I can furnish you a memorandum at any time you like.
Senator WILLIAMS. Very well; give it to the stenographer. Now, let me ask this question: Give us a historical and chronological narrative as well as you can of what has happened since the armistice in the way of actual warfare and the destruction of life and property in Turkish Armenia.
Mr. SEVASLY. Well, I would like to say that of the population of Armenia, about half a million took refuge in the Caucasus. I would like to refer to that because it is very important. Half a million of those Armenians escaped these massacres and deportations, and went into the adjoining country and took refuge in the Caucasus, where they are now, and one of the great problems we have is to enable these people to come back to their country and settle, and they will not go there to settle now because there is no security, because the Turks have organized a large army of 30,000 or 40,000 men at Erzeroum, and are bent upon attacking those immigrants who left Armenia and who should come back there for the purpose of reconstructing the country, with the Armenians in the Trans-Caucasus.
Senator WILLIAMS. I understand that. I understand that the Georgians to some extent,

as well as the Turks, have been attacking the Armenians lately. My question is this: I wish you would state now—and if you can not, give subsequently to the stenographer a statement—as accurately as you can concerning the history of the attacks upon the Armenians since the armistice was signed, and give the number of lives destroyed, of men, women and children, and the amount of property destroyed. If you can not give it now

Mr. SEVASLY. I do not think I can supply a detailed report now, but the situation is this, that the Turks have not disbanded their army that the Turks are all armed and the Armenians are not armed; that the Turks have got an army of about 30,000 or 40,000 men, which is against the very stipulations of the armistice terms, and that they are bent upon attacking, and in fact they have started to attack, according to the telegrams which were published yesterday, the Armenians who have migrated from Turkish Armenia into Russian Armenia, and whose repatriation is necessary for the reconstruction of the country. That is a very important fact. And there have been partial massacres at a place in Russian Armenia, called Karabagh, against which the Armenians protested, there being a protest by the Catholicos, the primate of the Armenians, to the English general who was in the Caucasus, a formal protest, corroborated by the protest of the Armenian Patriarch at Constantinople, and of the Armenian Government of Erivan. There were partial massacres at Aleppo a few months ago, and we had daily reports in the Armenian papers in Constantinople of the state of unrest and want of security throughout this country.

Senator WILLIAMS. That is not the point I am trying to get. The British have withdrawn their forces?

Mr. SEVASLY. They are withdrawing them.

Senator WILLIAMS. And I am informed that there has been a new massacre of Armenians, many of them retreating across into Persia, together with the British and American citizens or subjects that happened to be there. But the object of my last question is to find out, if you know—or if you do not just say that you do not— the number of Armenians, according to the best information you have, who have been massacred in the late attacks of the Turks, Georgians and Kurds since the British troops have been withdrawn, or during the retreat of the British troops.

Mr. SEVASLY. The reports are that about 600 Armenians have been massacred in the district of Karabagh. Now, I do not know whether the British troops have already withdrawn, but I am perfectly sure that they are withdrawing, and that they are withdrawing from Batoum. They had troops along the railroad line from Batoum to Tiflis and along the railroad line to Bakou, down in the large oil center.

Senator WILLIAMS. As a matter of fact, they have withdrawn except for a garrison at Batoum and a garrison at Bakou, to protect the future withdrawal which has not yet been completed. They have withdrawn the protection from the line of railroad between the two places.

Mr. SEVASLY. We say this, that it would be necessary to keep that line, because it is the only line through which relief can go into Armenia, and we have that relief work there. Col. Haskins has gone there, and before Col. Haskins, Mr. Hoover sent men under Capt. Abraham Tulin, and he came back a month ago, and I have had frequent conversations with him on the situation of the country, and what he says refers to the future management or protectorate by America. He says that if America will accept the protectorate it would not be necessary to have more than 10,000 to 20,000 troops for the protection of the country; that all those bugaboos about that part of the country being a sort of Mexico in disguise are ill founded; that it is not so; that the prestige of America, with a few troops there, would be ample to keep the peace, to see that Armenia is safeguarded or protected during the reconstruction period.

Senator WILLIAMS. I would like to ask you this question: Suppose America should

send a small force there and invite the principal allied and associated powers to join her; is it your opinion or not that an international force could be organized, with such reinforcement as the native Armenians could give, that could enforce peace in the territory?
Mr. SEVASLY. I think so, Senator.
Senator WILLIAMS. You are not an expert, of course, on military affairs, so that you are no judge of how many troops would be necessary.
Mr. SEVASLY. No, sir; I am simply repeating what this captain told me. I am not a military man, at all.
Senator WILLIAMS. If the United States Senate passed a resolution similar to this, what in your opinion would be the moral effect upon Turkey and upon these people who are now trying to exterminate the Armenian race in order to put an end to the Armenian question?
Mr. SEVASLY. Among English-speaking men it is said it would act like magic on the whole of the East, upon the whole of the eastern world. Once they know out there that the eagle is soaring around Ararat there will be no trouble whatever.
Senator WILLIAMS. You think, then, that the moral effect of the passage of the resolution, even if not a soldier or marine was ever sent, would be great; that the prestige would be very valuable in the preservation of the Armenian race?
Mr. SEVASLY. The moral effect will be great; but a few soldiers would—
Senator HARDING. Would add to the moral effect?
Mr. SEVASLY. Yes; I mean it would be the outer sign that this thing, that this paper, is not printed matter alone, but that it has—
Senator HARDING. Punch to it?
Mr. SEVASLY. Yes; punch to it. I do not know that I am putting my case properly.
Senator WILLIAMS. Go ahead with your statement.
Mr. SEVASLY. Now, there is the question of relief which is very important out here. If no troops came there, the relief work would be very difficult. I believe Col. Haskins was at Erivan, which is a small Armenian republic. The Armenians there organized a small republic there, having their seat at Erivan. That is in Russian Armenia.
Senator HARDING. I wanted to ask you this: Suppose the Armenians were free from the menace of massacre and warfare, have they food and supplies sufficient to undertake the work of reconstruction?
Mr. SEVASLY. They need help just like the populations of other states, of Serbia and other countries, need the help of others.
Senator WILLIAMS. In that connection, Mr. Chairman, Batoum is upon the Black Sea?
Mr. SEVASLY. Yes.
Senator WILLIAMS. That is held by the entente, by the allied forces?
Mr. SEVASLY. England has possession there.
Senator WILLIAMS. That is a seaport?
Mr. SEVASLY. Yes.
Senator WILLIAMS. That is also one of the termini of the railroad that runs from the Black Sea to the Caspian?
Mr. SEVASLY. Yes.
Senator WILLIAMS. So that if that country was to be supplied it would have to be supplied through Batoum?
Mr. SEVASLY. Yes, sir.
Senator WILLIAMS. It could not be well supplied through the Mediterranean over the railroad?
Mr. SEVASLY. The railroad is not completed through there, and the country there is mountainous and rugged.

Senator WILLIAMS. Yes. I am talking about the trans-Caucasian Armenia Russian and Turkish Armenia. That country could not be supplied except through Batoum? It could not be supplied through the Mediterranean from Alexandretta or another port, because of lack of railroad facilities?
Mr. SEVASLY. Yes, sir.
Senator WILLIAMS. There is a railroad there to the Caspian at Bakou. Wherever it runs, it does run across there?
Mr. MALCOLM. Yes.
Senator WILLIAMS. So that the entrepot or the depot for the distribution of supplies now is through the Black Sea?
Mr. SEVASLY. Yes.
Senator WILLIAMS. And the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, and from Russia?
Mr. SEVASLY. Yes.
Senator WILLIAMS. So that the French occupation of Alexandretta and the Mediterranean littoral does not relieve this situation?
Mr. SEVASLY. No, sir.
Senator WILLIAMS. That is what I wanted to get at.
Mr. SEVASLY. No, sir. In the first place we were told that the French had sent an army of 10,000 or 12,000 men. In fact, I made representations to the State Department on the subject, and I was told about a fortnight ago that the French had sent 12,000 men, and it made a wrong impression on me, as I understood that the 12,000 men sent by France were to replace the Britishers who were going to withdraw from the Caucasus.
Senator HARDING. Yes.
Mr. SEVASLY. Now, we had some reason to believe that that information was not altogether correct—I mean, the way I put it to you. It seems the French are sending soldiers, but they are not sending them to the Caucasus. They are sending them to cover the territory—
Senator HARDING. Which is French?
Mr. SEVASLY. No; to cover the territory which comes within the pale of the **secret treaties of 1916 [SEE CHAPTER 11].**
Senator HARDING. Within the French sphere of influence?
Mr. SEVASLY. Yes.
Senator WILLIAMS. Can you tell me the distance, approximately or accurately, or if you can get it, put it in the record later, from Alexandretta to Batoum?
Mr. SEVASLY. I have not got it handy now.
Senator WILLIAMS. And also the distance from Alexandretta to Bakou. My object is to show that if the French troops had Alexandretta it could not be of any preventive force in connection with the massacres that have been going on.
Mr. SEVASLY. The papers and telegrams say that the French intend to cover the territory as far as Mardin; that is south of Armenia. There is a straight line from Alexandretta to Mardine [indicating on map]. Well, it will have this effect, that the people will think that the French are coming up that way. But it is a far cry from Mardine to the trans-Caucasus.
Senator HARDING. Proceed. Our time is slipping by.
Mr. SEVASLY. Yes. I beg the committee to take into consideration the pressing need of protecting the Armenians in the trans-Caucasus. If the British troops are withdrawing, there is an army that the Turks have organized, the north. The stock of ammunitions the Armenians the is being exhausted, of and after such a protracted war and ordeals, these people need to be protected. Supposing this league of nations goes through to-morrow, unless some one of the great powers accepts the responsibility to constitute the. Armenian State, there will be no Armenians left to make it.
Senator WILLIAMS. The Armenian question will be settled by the extermination of

their race?
Mr. SEVASLY. Yes. There has been great evidence of progressive tendencies of this historic race; but I am not going to dilate on their past history, which is known to you. The Armenians have appealed to the country long ago. I remember presenting a memorial to the State Department long before the league of nations was on the tapis, and America accepted 75 years ago the moral mandate by sending your missionaries and educational workers, and opening up schools and colleges. We are not going to close this way, now.
Senator WILLIAMS. That is not involved in this. This is merely to maintain peace until the treaty.
Senator HARDING. You would hardly argue that that is ground for assuming a mandatory? Because under those circumstances we would be mandatories over all the earth. We have our missionaries everywhere.
Mr. SEVASLY. I would not say that it is ground, alone, but it is an issue that is of moral value.
Senator HARDING. I wanted to ask you a specific question. In his resolution, Senator Williams has a provision authorizing the President to suspend the foreign enlistment act, as to enable the Armenians in this country to raise and arm and equip troops here.
Mr. SEVASLY. I fully indorse that.
Senator HARDING. How much of a military force do you think that. the Americans of Armenian origin, or the nonnaturalized Armenians, in this country, could raise?
Mr. SEVASLY. Well, I am not a good statistician.
Mr. GULESIAN. Eight or ten thousand.
Mr. SEVASLY. I should say from seven to ten thousand men, we could get. I know many Americans who have said they were perfectly willing to go out there and serve. I think if you passed the resolution it would be a very good thing to pass. They will be able to get these quarters and organize a unit in this country, and that would prevent America from having to send her own soldiers there later on.
Senator NEW. Would the force of Armenians be sufficient—Armenians, I mean, that you could raise in this country; would that force be sufficient—to meet the military needs of this situation?
Mr. GULESIAN. Practically, altogether.
Mr. SEVASLY. If we raise a unit here it will take some months before this unit is prepared: We have in this country an Armenian general, and there is another of the greatest Armenian generals, Gen. Antranik, who is coming here for this purpose, in order to give effect to section 3 of the resolution. We have a man who has been trained at the military school in Paris, who I believe is here, in Washington to-day, and he will submit the plans. He and the other generals who are coming over will submit the plans to the State Department showing how this plan can be carried out.
Senator NEW. Have you any idea how much of a military, force would be necessary there? I know you said you were not a military man, and that you were not qualified to speak definitely on that subject, but have you any kind of an estimate? Would it take 15,000 or 30,000 or 50,000?
Mr. SEVASLY. I will say what this American captain told me, the gentleman who was sent by Mr. Hoover to Armenia in charge of relief work—
Mr. SEVASLY. He told me he did not think more than 20,000 were needed for it. Of course, I can not speak with authority of that.
Senator WILLIAMS. Let me ask you this question. Whatever might be the force the Armenians could raise in the United States, would there not be a pretty large force now in the French and British Armies and in our own Army that would be very glad, if released, to cooperate with the force raised here to go to Armenia, in behalf of their

own people?
Mr. SEVASLY. I think that meets the situation, too. But we applied some months ago—in April last I sent this memorandum to the State Department on this very subject—and I made a suggestion in the way that the honorable Senator spoke of, that the Armenians who are now in the American Army should be engaged in this.
Senator HARDING. There are a lot of them in the French and British Armies, too, as separate units.
Mr. SEVASLY. Yes; as separate units. We think that if we can send from here an organized body of 10,000 to 15,000 men, it may be that there would be a conjunction of Americans; and there is already in Silesia an Armenian legion, to which I referred in the beginning of my address. With this Armenian legion and the nucleus of the Armenian Army in the Caucasus, which is now ill supplied with munitions, we could very easily form within a comparatively short period the nucleus of an Armenian Army in whose hands will be placed the duty of the protection of the State against all intruders.
Senator HARDING. Have you anything else?
Mr. SEVASLY. No, sir.
Senator HARDING. The committee will be glad to hear now from Mr. Gulesian.

STATEMENT OF MR M. H. GULESIAN.

Mr. GULESIAN. Mr. Chairman and Senators, I also want to thank you gentlemen on behalf of our people that you were good enough to give us this time this morning.
I think the whole situation here, the moral aspect as well as, in a way, the military aspect, depends on that Senate resolution. If the Senate resolution passes the Senate here, the moral effect, not only upon Turkey but upon England, France, and the rest of the Allies, will be such that practically the thing will be solved. We can easily raise here 10,000 Armenians, most of whom have served in the late war, as well as Armenians from Egypt, and as well as Armenians from the Caucasus and from France and Bulgaria, and part of the Balkan States; so that the number of men we need is between 10,000 and 20,000, and that will be sufficient.
I had a little experience at Plattsburg in the first year, when they took 1,200 or 1,500 of us and gave us military training. Suppose that we had a man like Gen. Leonard Wood or Col. Theodore Roosevelt or like any one of three or four others; within three months they could control Armenia and police the whole country. Let this glorious land that we have learned to love send to Armenia such a force. That is all we need, a small number and the accompanying moral support. There is no nation in the world that has the sympathy for the Armenians that this country has. We have learned to love them; and over 50,000 Armenians will go back just as soon as we have the moral support of the United States.
Now, this great and generous country can spare 50,000 Armenian citizens. They are all anxious to go back because their country is suffering, and because Armenia Is the under dog, and their sympathy is with them.
I talked the day before yesterday, after getting your telegram, with Dr. Washburn, who went all over that territory that you look at on that map [indicating]; and the British colonel told me 5,000 soldiers would be sufficient, and within six months he could recruit Armenians and Greeks and other nationalities in there, enough to keep perfect order.
Senator WILLIAMS. All Christian nationalities?
Mr. GULESIAN. Yes, sir; because they can not get along with the Turk who murdered our fathers and brothers and violated our sisters and mothers. Turks will not stay in a Christian government. If once this, resolution passes. giving moral support to the Allies

in Paris, and with the treaty signed with Turkey setting aside Armenia and designating its boundaries, the Turks will at once leave Armenia and go back to Turkish territory, just as it was in the Balkans in the Russo-Turkish War. When Bulgaria was set free, what was the condition? The Turks left all, and went over and settled in Asia Minor. Therefore, there are very few Turks left in the Caucasus or in the Balkan States. Then the Armenians and Turks now, with the love that they have learned for the United States, will receive with open arms America and the American flag. And there will be no Aguinaldos in Armenia. Here they have stood for centuries. And really a nation that has suffered as Armenia has suffered for centuries, which has its history, and its traditions, certainly has great virtue.

If the United States turns its back now, the nation is lost; so I plead in the name of that nation. If you can not give anything else, give us this, and give us the benefit of the moral effect. If you do not, there will be nothing of us left.

I was here 10 years ago to see President Cleveland as a delegate to this country, and during those times the Monroe doctrine and other things prevented; but those times are gone by. Many precedents have been broken, and we have gone over now to help other countries.

We look at this country, which is our own mother country, so many of us. We have thousands of Armenians here who are university graduates, able and capable, and many business managers here. They are all willing to go back.

One man asked me yesterday if I wanted to go back. The Lord has been good to me in this country, because I have had every

opportunity. I would be willing to go back there to-morrow and give up everything and be just as poor as I was when I landed at Castle Garden 35 years ago, penniless and friendless; because those poor pee are dying, and the only hope left for us is in the United States. Do not let this nation die out. It is in your hands. If it was the life of an individual for which we pleaded, how much would you consider; if a man's life was at stake, if he was going to be hung to-morrow? You would consider seriously before you made your decision. But this is a nation, a Christian nation. If we can not appeal to the United States, to; gentlemen like you, I do not know where we will go to.

Senator WILLIAMS. Let me ask you a question. Does not Armenia geographically and racially not only furnish the outpost of Christianity in Asia, but does it not furnish a barrier against all oriental invasions of Europe?

Mr. GULESI AN. Yes, sir; it has been a bridge between Asia and Europe; yes, sir.

Senator WILLAMS. And has been for centuries.

Mr. GULESIAN. Yes.

Senator WILLIAMS. The barrier?

Mr. GULESIAN. Yes.

Senator WILLIAMS. Away back to Ghengis Khan's time, and it remains so to-day.

Senator HARDING. I wanted to ask you relatively how many people of Armenian origin and Armenians naturalized there are in this country?

Mr. GULESIAN. Approximately, between 125,000 and 150,000 throughout the country.

Senator WILLIAMS. What was that?

Senator HARDING. Of Armenians born in the United States.

Mr. GULESIAN. I say the total of Armenians is between 125,000 and 150,000.

Senator HARDING. How many of those are naturalized?

Mr. GULESIAN. The majority are, I think; nine-tenths are naturalized. We are naturalized as soon as our fifth year is over.

Senator WILLIAMS. I want to say, Mr. Chairman, in that connection, and let it go into this hearing, that I had occasion once to look into this matter, and **of all the foreigners who come to the United States the Armenians stand at the head of the list in being**

naturalized.
Mr. GULESIAN. It is true.
Mr. MALCOM. I can furnish the committee with some figures on that.
Senator WILLIAMS. I know that. I have looked it up.
Mr. GULESIAN. We make a business of becoming American citizens, and **many of us have married American girls**, particularly around in Massachusetts, most of them what we say Yankees," and they make the best wives I ever met.. We will not' go into that; but when you go back to the time of the Crusades the Armenians were the only ones that helped the Crusaders with cattle and arms and food.
Senator WILLIAMS. Yes.
Mr. GULESIAN. And this nation is worth saving, and all we need is the small step, if this thing goes through, and let the glorious flag of America go up...there and help.
Senator HARDING, The point I was getting at is, if we gave the authority for the recruiting of this volunteer army for Armenia, it would just be constituted of American citizens in the main, would it not?
Mr. GULESIAN. It certainly would, in my judgment, although I am not an attorney.
Senator WILLIAMS. You mean American citizens of Armenian origin?
Senator HARDING. Yes; but I am speaking of the legal term "American citizen."
Senator WILLIAMS. I thought perhaps you meant our own boys; although a great many of our own boys would very willingly go, so far as that is concerned.
Senator HARDING. Yes.
Mr. GULESIAN. There is a business point that the business man can not overlook. Here is Armenia. It is a virgin country. All of its industries, etc., from the time of Abraham, have never been changed. Now, when that country opens we will need farm implements, we will need electrical machinery and machinery of all kinds, and we will have to, and will, buy from America, and the commerce of the United States with Armenia will be tenfold more than under the Turkish Government.
Senator W1LLIAMS. In that connection let me ask, has not Armenia, or has it, great resources of iron and coal, and some resources in the way of copper and is there not a part of the Caucasus country southeast of the Black Sea that raises cotton very successfully?
Mr. GULESIAN. Wonderfully. All through that section and in the valleys between the mountains; the most fertile country, growing cotton, barley, wheat, and rice; the most wonderful country in the world.
Senator WILLIAMS. Have the mountains of Armenia ever been exploited to any extent for iron and coal, and the balance of it?
Mr. GULESIAN. Not far from Aintab, when I was a boy, **an English company came to open up that coal, but the Turks put so many obstacles in the way that the people closed it up.**
Senator WILLIAMS. But **there is iron and coal, and to an extent copper and petroleum** near the seacoast?
Mr. GULESIAN. Yes.
L Senator WILLIAMS. Between the Caspian and the Black Seas?
Mr. GULESIAN. Yes.
Senator HARDING. Do you mean to have the committee under-stand that the methods of agriculture are in a primitive state and are unchanged since the time of Abraham?
Mr. GULESIAN. That is because the Turks never allowed any improvements of any kind whatever. These are facts that every student or traveler, or native, at least, will testify to. They have nothing but the common sickle. You will see hundreds of men and women in the wheat fields today taking the sickle in the hand and reaping, just the same as you will see a man in this country clean up the edge of a lawn.
Senator W1LLIAMS. Under the Turkish rule, if a man had bought a machine he would

at once have disclosed the fact that he was a capitalist and he would have been taxed to death.
Mr. GULESIAN. Yes; he would have been taxed to death. He would have been murdered right off.
Senator WILLIAMS. Just as soon as they discovered that a fellow had something they raised the taxes on him right away?
Mr. GULESIAN. I was born in the city of Marash. **The iron is on the surface there, in the rock, and a man will take a cold chisel and a harmer and knock it right off the ore is so rich**. The whole town is full of Armenians, and no Turks are there at all. **All through those countries there are copper and iron and zinc and coal in abundance, and they never have been touched from time immemorial**.
Senator WILLIAMS. You mean they have never been touched in any scientific way?
Mr. GIILESIAN. Yes.
Senator WILLIAMS. They have been getting those metals out for themselves, those who used them?
Mr. GULESIAN. No, sir. Lord Kelvin, in his book on the **copper and gold mines at the foot of Mount Ararat**, speaks of that. They have never been developed in any way. So that this country will not only do one of the greatest humanitarian acts, giving us moral support, but I believe it **will gain a great deal financially**, and have the everlasting blessing and prayers of the poor, suffering Armenians. I do not believe that you gentlemen, or the United States Senate, will turn your backs. There are many good men in it. I trust them.
Senator WILLIAMS. I want to ask you a question, here. Senator Lodge, in his resolution which has been included by me as section 1 of this resolution, speaks of the Province of Azerbaijan. I had my doubts about the population there. He seems to think it is chiefly Armenian. I thought the Azerbaijanians were a separate race. Enlighten me on that as fully as you can.
Mr. GULESIAN. They are mostly mixed races, all through that section. There is no distinct race, excepting in a part of Cilicia. Senator
WILLIAMS. No; I am talking about Azerbaijan.
Mr. GULESIAN. They are mostly mixed races.
Senator WILLIAMS. That is what I thought. I doubted the propriety of including that in the resolution, because I doubted if it was sufficiently Armenian to become a part of the Armenian republic. Of course it would leave boundaries that could not be strategic, but we are not hunting strategic boundaries now; we are hunting ethnological boundaries.
Mr. MALCOM. When I come to make my statement, I will explain that.
Senator WILLIAMS. Suppose you do it now.
Senator HARDING. Let this speaker finish, and then he will take it up.
Senator WILLIAMS. I wanted to get it in the record with this statement that he is making now.
Senator HARDING. The chairman has no objection, except for the consumption of time.
Senator WILLIAMS. I thought it would save time. Go ahead, then.
Mr. GULESIAN. It is all through that section a mixed population. The majority all through that section are Armenians, because it borders all along on Armenia, and we have a large population of Armenians.
Senator WILLIAMS. I know it borders on Armenia, but what does it border on on the other side?
Mr. GULESIAN. On Persia.
Senator WILLIAMS. That is what I thought. I thought these—
Mr. GIILESIAN. They are friendly with the Persians.

Senator WILLIAMS. I thought so; but I thought they were a separate race from the Persians and the Armenians, speaking a separate language. Is that true or not, or do you know?

Mr. GULESIAN. I do not exactly know just how much there is, really, in mixed races, and the Armenians always catch the language.

Senator WILLIAMS. Yes; I know, but—

Mr. GULESIAN. I do not want to take any more of the gentlemen's time. I have made my plea, and I hope you will look into this matter.

Senator HARDING. All right. We will now hear Mr. Malcom.

STATEMENT OF MR. X. VARTAN MALCOM.

Mr. MALCOM. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen: A question was asked about Azerbaijan. The northern part of this Province is inhabited wholly by Armenians (indicating on map). The southern portion, which is now a part of Persia, is inhabited by some Armenians and also other races, including Tartars. The Armenians claim this northern section only (indicating on map) because the principal race there is Armenian.

Senator WILLIAMS. Then this ought to be amended to include— no; Senator Lodge has got it right. He says, "the northern part of the Province of Azerbaijan," and so forth.

Mr. MALCOM. Yes. Now, may I address myself, Mr. Chairman, to your question as to the number of Armenians in this country? It is rather interesting.

Senator HARDING. Yes.

Mr. MALCOM. I have made a very careful study of the subject and published a little book about the Armenians in the United States. My statistical authorities are derived from the reports of the United States Government.

Senator HARDING. What is that book?

Mr. MELCOM. It is entitled "The Armenians in America."

Senator WILLIAMS. I have read that; but go ahead and tell the committee.

Mr. MALCOM. The number of Armenians who are actually residing in this country to-day is about 80,000. In order to save time I shall be pleased to submit a memorandum on the Armenians in America.

(The memorandum referred to is here printed as follows:)

Mr. MALCOM. Something was said about the primitive manner in which business and agriculture are conducted in the old country. I do not want to say anything against Mr. Gulesian's opinion on that, but I am rather more familiar with that subject. The Armenians over there are not absolutely ignorant about the use of agricultural implements. In recent years they have got some machinery to plow the fields, and in some places they have also introduced English and American machinery for grains and wheat.

Senator WILLIAMS. Is that in Russian or Turkish Armenia?

Mr. MALCOM. I am speaking of Turkish Armenia. Of course, what there is of these implements is not very much, but agricultural machinery is known, and used wherever possible. Armenians who have returned to Armenia from the United States have introduced considerable machinery into Armenia which, relatively speaking, is small. But I do want to say that they are not absolutely ignorant of it, and if they had

an opportunity I believe they would have more. The Armenians are a very progressive people.

Senator WILLIAMS. Is it not true that they used it about as far as they dared, under the Turkish system of taxation?

Mr. MALCOM. Yes; as far as they. dared. Now, **with regard to the mines, there are some valuable mines**, and I might add that about 1909 **Kuhn, Loeb & Co., of New York [Jacob H. Schiff]**, sent a special commission to study these mines in Armenia. I happened to be in Constantinople at that time, and **Mr. Chester**, who was the representative of this concern, proposed to the Turks to build certain lines of railroad throughout Armenia—I am referring to Turkish Armenia— provided this company would be permitted to use the mines on each side of the railroad for a number of years, at the end of which the railroad would be returned to the Government. I am referring to this as an important fact, for the reason that a great concern like **Kuhn, Loeb & Co., which are interested in investing its money**, made a special study of the mines and natural resources of Armenia and they were willing to invest a large sum of money to develop the country if the Turkish Government would let them do it. In connection with this subject I will read some extracts from a memorandum prepared by G. H. Paelian, secretary of the Armenian Engineers Association, in regard to the natural resources, etc., of Armenia. [Reading:]

There are many forests in the country, mainly in the northwest of Mersina, Hajin, Dersim, Arghana-Maden, and the Taurus and Amanus Mountains.

As regards mineral resources, according to Consul General Cr. Bie Ravendal, of Constantinople, "It may be truthfully asserted that Turkey is exceedingly rich in valuable minerals, and that its mineral wealth has hardly vet been touched." This has also been the testimony of English and German explorers. Its chief mineral products are:

Coal, found mainly in the region of Kharpout, Palu, Sivas, Keumur Khan (coal region), Chemeshgazak, in the mountains of Armenia, and at the foothills of the Taurus Mountains.

Copper mines at Arghana-Maden, near Diarbeldr, are regarded to be some of the **largest and most productive in the world**. The production is limited to black copper, which amounts to approximately 1,500 tons during the last few years, containing 70 to 75 per cent pure copper. Copper ore is also found at the hinterland of Trebizond (Gumish Khanah, Herasund, Karahissar, etc.), all in the districts of Kharpout and Adana.

Iron ore is found near Van and in the Adana region (the output of which is 40,000 tons per year); also in Bigghar Dagh and Beirut Dagh, in the vicinity of Zeitoun.

Chrome mines are near Mersina, the output of which was 1,800 tons in 1900. There are others near Alexandretta, etc.

Silver mines at Bulghar Maden produce annually 57,200 lab of silver and 400 tons of silver lead. Silver is also found near Adana and Kharpout (Kebban Maden), near Gumush Khanah, etc.

The estimated output of **zinc** in 1911 from mines of an Anglo-French concern operating in the Mersina region was 2,000 tons.

Salt is abundant in Armenia. The mines at Sivas, Erzeroum, and Van yield a large output annually.

Other mineral products are **emery**, found in Adana; **asphalt**, on the Euphrates; **gold** at Bulghar Dagh, near Kharpout, and Van.

Lead at Bulghar Dash; **platinum** on the shores of the Choruk River and in Sasoun; **petroleum** near Trebizond and east of Lake of Van, etc.

For industrial development Armenia possesses all the requisites—raw material and power. It has large area of **mineral wells**, **coal**, and a considerable amount of **water**

power (the power for the electric lighting of Tarsus is secured from the Cydnus River); but in the hands of the Turks the country still remains practically unexploited.

Armenia is a **wheat-growing country** and old-fashioned flour mills are common everywhere, although modern hydraulic power mills equipped with modern machinery—two in Mertina, three in Tarsus, several in Sivas, etc.—have been installed.

Cicilia is the center of the **cotton** industry. In 1913 there were 35 cotton ginning plants and four cotton spinning and weaving mills in Adana and Mersina, one in Tarsus, one in Trebizond, and one in Arabkir for the manufacture of "manousa" (home-spun dress goods).

The rug industry is being carried on in Caesaria, Sivas (500 looms, 1,500 operatives), Adana and Kharpout (170 looms, 500 operatives).

There are five ice factories in Adana, two in Mersina, two in Tarsus, and one in Trebizond.

There are tanneries in Aintab, Marash, Sivas, and many other cities, also soap factories.

Besides the above, silk and wool weaving, hand embroidery, making of ornamental weapons, copper vessels, leather goods, shawls, silver and gold thread laces, wine, olive oil, etc., are common industries in Armenia.

Armenia, or in fact the whole of the prewar Turkish Empire, has been considered a field with great potentialities for the European and American manufacturers. Many capitalists saw great possibilities for commercial and industrial enterprises, and had applied for numerous concessions for the construction of railways, electric plants, telephones docks, warehouses, etc. But in spite of all their efforts progress was exceedingly slow. The principal causes for this were the rivalry of the powers to secure control of Turkey and the corrupt Turkish Government. The following figures concerning the Turkish finance of the six Armenian vilayets (Erzeroum, Bitlis, Diarbekir, Sivas, Kharpout, and Van) for the year 1911 will serve to illustrate the latter point:

Revenues……	$8,809,090
Expenditures……..	7,639,764
Main heads of expenditures:	
Army…….....	3,098,124
Finance department……..…….....	1,103,625
Gendarmerie…….....	862,039
Home office…….....	1,079,175
Ulemas (Mohammedan religious institutions)…….....	92,130
Public works…….....	235,708
Education…….....	233,886
Agriculture…….....	65,494

From the above figures it will be seen that of the total revenue only $538,088, or about 6 per cent (the last three items), was expended for the development of the country and the welfare of the population. The remainder was spent for the army (over 36 per cent) and the horde of taxgatherers and the "Ulemas"—the religious fanatics who, like parasites, lived on the hard-working farmers of the country.

Turkey's doom has put an end to all these reactionary causes and the country will soon be opened up for European and American commerce. The long-anticipated industrial "boom" is finally at hand. The Armenians will no doubt become a factor in this industrial "boom" and a link between the hetrogeneous population of the Near East and the European and American traders; they will continue in their role of bringing the civilization of the west to the people of the east. But who will finance the country?

Before the war it was Germany's dream to transhape Turkey into a German colony. Austria controlled a large part of Turkey's trade. England and France, and to a certain extent Italy, and Belgium, lost no opportunity in extending their commerce into the country.

The war had brought about radical changes, Germany and Austria are eliminated from the competition for some time to come, and Europe is busy repairing its own losses. It is America's opportunity to step into this field, finance the country and control its commerce. It will not require a vast capital and within a short time Armenia will become self-supporting. American commerce will then extend through Armenia to Russia and to Persia and the vast countries of Asia.

America by her participation in the war has become the world power and by virtue of her new merchant marine, her financial situation, and her friendly relation with the Allies is in excellent position to undertake this work.

[End reading]

Now, addressing myself particularly to this joint resolution, I desire to say something in regard to the first part of it. It seems to me that there is established precedent favoring the recognition of Armenia—I mean integral Armenia—as an independent state. We now have Poland, Ukrainia, the Czecho–Slovak Republic and kingdom of Hedjaz, which before the war were parts of other countries. In the case of Poland, Ukrainia, and the Czecho-Slovak Re-public no objection was raised against making them independent States, even though a part of the territories of which they are now composed belonged to Russia.

Senator WILLIAMS. At the time we did that Russia had ceased to be an ally and had become, under a new government, an enemy.

Mr. MALCOM. I think that is very pertinent, Senator Williams; but what about Hedjaz, a new Arab kingdom. Turkey was not at war with the United States, and yet the United States recognized the independence of Hedjaz by permitting her to sign the treaty of peace with Germany on an equal basis with the United States.

It seems to me, further, that the recognition of Armenia as an independent State by the United States may help to prevent the distribution of the integral Armenia among the powers. It is quite apparent to me at least, that **under the secret treaties of 1916, to which England, France and Russia were parties, they are going to divide up Armenia** unless we keep it intact by recognizing its independence, and furthermore

Senator WILLIAMS, By the way, that treaty has been canceled by the defection of Russia.

Mr. MALCOM. Is it, or will France and England—

Senator WILLIAMS. And also canceled by France. France, in the conference at Paris, waived and surrendered its rights under that convention.

Mr. MALCOM. Was that put in writing, or was it simply an oral statement?

Senator WILLIAMS. I do not remember—I never did know, rather, go that I can not say I do not remember; but I am perfectly sure that France has waived that right. Whether she did it in writing or in the conference, or whether she did that by Clemanceau's waiver before the conference, I do not know; but it has been waived.

Mr. MALCOM.. We Armenians—

Senator WILLIAMS. You are talking about a convention whereby Alexanderetta and the littoral there—

Mr. MALCOM. The littoral was given to France.

Senator WILLIAMS (continuing). Were to go to France; yes.

Mr. MALCOM. Yes.

Senator WILLIAMS. That has all been set aside.

Mr. MALCOM. Russian Armenia to Russia?

Senator WILLIAMS. Yes.
Mr. MALCOM. And Armenia bordering on Mesopotamia, to England.
Senator WILLIAMS. Russia's part of it was vacated by her defection to the enemy, and France's part was voluntarily waived. France may be seeking a mandate, but not anything else.
Mr. MALCOM. The point I desire to call to the attention of the committee is this, that even if that is so—that is, if there is some understanding that France and England have given up their rights under this treaty, even if that is so—it seems to me that the recognition of integral Armenia as an independent state would—
Senator WILLIAMS. That would strengthen it?
Mr. MALCOM. It would strengthen the understanding. Moreover, an independent, free State of Armenia in this section of the world will be a safeguard, it seems to me, to the future peace of the world. The Armenians have for centuries fought for political liberty and independence. They want to be free. Now, if something turns up and parts of Armenia are under different mandates or under "spheres of influence" between Russia, Italy, Greece, or England, or France, there will be a division of Armenian territory and population, which is unnatural. This division will never satisfy the Armenians. By recognizing the independence of Armenia as a whole the United States will certainly bring about a united Armenia, and at least help to prevent future troubles.
Senator WILLIAMS. I quite agree with you about that; but so far as the division of Armenia itself into separate mandates is concerned, it is my opinion, and I suppose it is yours, that France and England and Italy and Greece are all very anxious that the United States should take over the mandate—they are more than willing to have her do it—until Armenia is put upon her feet. However, that question is not involved in these resolutions at all.
Senator HARDING. You are speaking of the aspirations of Armenia. In view of that fact, I want to ask you, would the people of Armenia, prefer recognition as an integral State under their own policies of self-determination to any mandatory as proposed in the treaty?
Mr. MALCOM. No; I would say, speaking for myself, that the Armenians would prefer a mandatory, under the present circumstances.
Senator WILLIAMS. For a limited period?
Mr. MALCOM. For a limited period.
Senator HARDING. You mean by that, that they are not capable of self-defense?
Mr. MALCOM. Our population is scattered, and for that reason we are not able to concentrate. our forces and defend ourselves adequately at the present time [pointing to the map of Armenia]. You know that the Armenians in Turkish Armenia have been driven to the south and are now scattered in Mesopotamia as far as Bagdad. According to our best information, there are over 700,000 of them in the Mesopotamian plain, which is not included in what is called Armenia.
And, again, another very large number of Armenians who lived in Turkish Armenia before the war have been driven into, or have taken refuge in, Russian Armenia. Therefore we are divided and scattered to such an extent that it would be impossible for us to defend ourselves; not that we have not physical power to do it if we were all together, but the conditions are such that we can not do it.
Senator WILLIAMS. It is true that a lot of those Armenians took refuge within the British lines in Mesopotamia?
Mr. MALCOM. Yes; they did.
Senator WILLIAMS. Those that survived the trip across the barrens?
Mr. MALCOM. Yes. I have talked with American missionaries and Red Cross workers, and particularly an excellent gentleman, whom I would have liked to have here, Capt. Hyde, of the Red Cross, a distinguished physician. He was sent to Armenia

and made his head quarters in Aintab for six months. He told me that the Armenians in the Mesopotamian valley were wandering back into Cilicia, because the English and French troops were there and there was a great deal of protection there. If we had protection in other parts of Armenia, all the survivors, whether now living in the north, Russian Armenia, or in the south, in Mesopotamia, would gradually come home, and at the same time I feel confident that if the Armenians could be gotten together they will be able to defend themselves.

Senator WILLIAMS. I saw a story in a newspaper, and it seemed incredible to me, that some of these refugees got as far down as Palestine.

Mr. MALCOM. Yes.

Senator WILLIAMS. Coming through that long, long trip.

Mr. MALCOM. Yes. I would like. to answer any other questions you have to ask.

Senator HARDING. What do you know of the motive for the withdrawal by the British of their armed forces from Armenia?

Mr. MALCOM. Speaking for myself only, that is a thing, of course, for which there must be some reason. There must be some object that the British Government has in view. The British Government has given reasons—namely, labor troubles in England, the desire of the troops to return home, internal troubles and various other causes. My own personal view—and that is not the view of other Armenians, I say this without any hesitation—is that **I believe England wants to bring a crisis; she desires to bring the Armenian question to a final settlement.**

Senator WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. MLCOM. I think she has made this particular threat in order that the Armenian question may be settled once for all.

Senator HARDING. Do you think they are trying to force a mandatory on the United States?

Mr. MLCOM. No, I do not think they are trying to force a mandatory on the United States, but I think they are trying to have the United States take a stand one way or another, so that Great Britain may know what to do. It may be that if the United States does not take the mandatory, something has got to be done, and France and England must do it jointly or in accord.

Senator HARDING. You think, then, that they are taking the present position in order to force us either to take a mandatory or permit them to go in, uncontrolled?

Mr. MALCOM. I do not know. I do want to say that my personal opinion is that they are trying to bring the issue to a head.

Senator WILLIAMS. Have you got any information that Great Britain is seeking to be mandatory of Armenia? Is she not rather seeking to avoid it?

Mr. MALCOM: From all I have heard, Great Britain does not want to take the mandate of Armenia, but not because Armenia is not worth while.

Senator WILLIAMS. If it did not go to us, would it not go to either Italy or France?

Mr. MALCOM. It seems to me it would go to England or France; I think it would be divided up between these two powers.

Senator WILLIAMS. However, that question is not involved here.

Mr. MALCOM. I think, from all our information on this side, England and France and Italy and Greece all want the United States to take the mandate of Armenia, because it is best for the Armenians and because it will prevent any of these European powers getting it and thereby gaining an advantage over the others.

Senator NEW. Suppose a mandatory was accepted either by France or Italy, would it not work out the same results to Armenia that would be brought about by the acceptance of a mandate by the United States?

Mr. MALCOM. No.

Senator NEW. Why not? That is what I want to know.

Mr. MALCOM. In the first place, neither Italy nor France is financially and economically able to help the Armenians. They have not got sufficient for themselves.
The second reason is that England and France and Italy—in fact all these European powers—have for years made a football out of Armenia. For these reasons the mandate of the United States is the best mandate for Armenia. America is wealthier; it is disinterested. By taking it over it will wipe out a cause for intrigues between the powers at the expense of the Armenians. Moreover, under American protection or care many Armenians will go back to Armenia with their American experience and their wealth.
Senator NEW. Mr. Chairman, I think that this is a very important phase of this question, and I would like very much indeed to pursue it myself, further, but I have got to ask to be excused now. I must be on the floor at 12 o'clock.
Senator WILLIAMS. So far as this resolution is concerned, all of this recent testimony and discussion is irrelevant. There is no question involved here of a mandatory.
Senator NEW. Yes, but for general reasons I would like to pursue this inquiry if I could; but I must go now.
Senator WILLIAMS. Is not the chief reason why the Armenians would prefer a mandate of the United States, rather than of any of the others, because the United States would be the only altruistic power that would consider solely the interests of the Armenians?
Mr. MALCOM. That is what I wanted to say; but I have said it in a different way.
Senator HARDING. Now, to revert to the inquiry. You have just spoken, probably because of your native interest in Armenia-
Mr. MALCOM. Yes.
Senator HARDING (continuing). Of the desirability of an American mandatory from the Armenian viewpoint. You are an American citizen?
Mr. MALCOM. I am.
Senator HARDING. I want to ask you what you think of the mandatory from the viewpoint of an American?
Mr. MALCOM. I will give you a very frank answer, Senator Harding.
Senator HARDING. Very well.
Mr. MALCOM. I should say that the United States is in honor bound to help Armenia to get on her feet, whether it assumes that obligation under the word "mandate" or something else, because the war is not at an end yet; the treaties have not been signed and ratified; and the Armenians being belligerents in fact and having sacrificed much blood to defeat Germany and her associate, Turkey, are entitled to help. I feel that legally the United States is bound to send some help to them and to do something for them until the status of Armenia is finally settled. Other than that I have no opinion as to whether or not the United States should take any mandatory. But speaking for myself, and as an American citizen—and not having in view the service of the Armenians in the war and their present plight—I believe the United States should respond with some help. I came to the United States in my youth. I received all my education here and I feel just as much an American as anyone. As an American I feel in my heart that the United States should at this crisis give the Armenians a hand. America is in honor bound to do it. And I say this because I have talked with native Americans who for the last two or three years have been working in Armenia. I have met there Americans of the Yankee type; I have heard many of them say to me that they feel that America should do something for Armenia. And there is a legal as well as a moral justification for this. The war is not at an end; the treaties have not been signed; the Armenians are still fighting and we should take some step to protect them with the British and the French.
Senator WILLIAMS. Until their status is settled?

Mr. MALCOM. Until their status is settled.
Senator HARDING. Let me pursue it a little further. If your basis of argument is correct, that their participation in the war binds us in honor to assume sponsorship, then does not the same argument apply to every race or nationality of aspiring people that. had any participation in the war?
Mr. MALCOM. Not exactly. For example, in the case of Poland and in the case of Ukrania and in the case of the Czecho-Slovak Republic, those people can defend themselves. They are not in danger of annihilation. The United States has already helped them, and there is no reason why the United States should not help the Armenians just a little.
Senator WILLIAMS. To the same extent?
Mr. MALCOM. To the same extent. I do not say that the United States should go out and police Europe. I am against that. Neither do I say that they should police Armenia. But do say that the Armenians are just as much entitled to the help of the United States as Poland and other countries to which it has already given help. I might add here that no other country is asking for the same kind of help from the United States. No other people are in need of such help as is needed to save the Armenian nation.
Senator HARDING. Now, right there, will you say specifically what you think the United States ought to do to offer that help? I want the specific thing.
Mr. MALCOM. Yes; I will answer that. Just at the present time I suppose that is what you mean.
Senator HARDING. Yes. What is our honor-bound duty now, that you think we ought to do?
Mr. MALCOM. I think we ought to send to Armenia at least 10,000 troops and some war ships. The presence of the troops will be enough to keep peace; to protect the lives of 2,000,000 Armenians in the northern part of Armenia. It will save a noble, Christian nation. When I say that we should send 10,000 troops and a few battleships, I do not mean that these soldiers are going to fight. I want to impress upon the committee that during the last four years hundreds of Americans, men and women, have gone to Armenia, for the American relief committee, and have traversed the length and breadth of Armenia, and not one of them has been molested. You who have never lived in Armenia can not understand the respect that the natives have for Americans. An American missionary that you may not hire to do your clerical work, is a king in Armenia; and the presence of American troops, of a government that has not declared war against Turkey, will not only be welcomed by the native Turks themselves, but will have a steadying effect in keeping peace and protecting the Armenians. I believe that as a military step the United States should at least send a small detachment of troops for a short period of time.
Senator HARDING. You recognize, of course, that the sending of these troops there would be an act of war?
Mr. MALCOM. For relief work, where you are not going to fight, it seems to me it is for protection, not war.
Senator HARDING. You would not send them unarmed?
Mr. MALCOM. You would not send them unarmed. Many people in the city of Washington here carry arms; they have permits to go armed.
Senator HARDING. You do not mean to say that the sending of any troops into any foreign land is anything else but an act of war?
Senator WILLIAMS. What is that?
Senator HARDING. I am asking if he does not think that this sending of troops into Armenia would be an actual act of war? Senator WILLIAMS. There is no doubt about it.
Mr. MALCOM. You are not sending those troops to fight the Turks. That would be an

act of war. You are sending troops there to protect Armenians, who have fought on the side of the Allies. In the present state of the world helping to save the Armenians is not declaring war against Turkey.
Senator WILLIAMS. There is no dispute about this, that whether it is an act of war or not, it is a casus belli if Turkey chooses to so regard it; but she is too weak and too much on her knees to everybody to do it. The English have sent small detachments to the small States there, and the Turks themselves have never made any effort to resent it.
Senator HARDING. We have had a tremendous clamor in this country for the withdrawal of our troops from Russia, because we are not at war with Russia. We have never been.
Senator WILLIAMS. We are at present at war with the present Government of Russia. We have had American troops fighting them.
Senator HARDING. However, that is not a matter of importance.
Mr. MALCOM. Is there anything else I can say?
Senator HARDING. You spoke of wanting to leave a document with the committee.
Mr. MALCOM. I should like to offer this brief I have prepared for your record.
Senator HARDING. That may be put in the record.

(The memorandum referred to is here printed in full in the record as follows:)
MEMORANDUM BY THE ARMENIAN NATIONAL UNION OF AMERICA.

Armenian National Union of America,
Washington, D. C., September 27, 1919

Hon. HENRY CABOT LODGE,
Chairman Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

DEAR SIR: On behalf of the Armenian National Union of America, which represents Armenians and American citizens of Armenian origin now residing in the United States, I beg to submit herewith a memorandum in support of Senate resolution 38, of which you are the author, and of Senate joint resolution 106, of which Senator John Sharp Williams is the author.
Cordially, yours,

M. Vartan Melcom.

I.

There is established precedent in support of Senator Lodge's resolution favoring the recognition of integral Armenia as an independent state. Poland, Ukrainia, Finland, Czecho-Slovak Republic, and the Kingdom of Hedjaz, which, before the war, were under the domination of other Governments, have been officially and semiofficially recognized as independent states. In the case of Finland, Poland, and Ukrainia no objection was raised against the formation of these new countries, although they previously formed a part of the Russian Empire, one of the Allies. The example of the Kingdom of Hedjaz is even more pertinent. Here was a piece of territory that belonged to Turkey, against which the United States was not at war, and yet the United States has virtually recognized the independence of this Arab kingdom by permitting its representatives to sign the treaty of peace with Germany upon equal basis with that of the United States and other allied and associated nations.

II.

The recognition of integral Armenia as an independent state by the United States will prevent the division of Armenia among European powers. It is apparent that under the secret treaty of 1916, to which England, France, and Russia are parties, Armenia was to have been divided between these powers, without, of course, consulting the wishes of the Armenians. The provisions of this treaty violates the principle enunciated by the President and incorporated into the treaty. with Germany, viz: "Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached the stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a mandatory until such times as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the mandatory." Senator Lodge's resolution, therefore, carries out the provisions of the quoted paragraph and at the same time gives notice to the world that this country will not acquiesce in bartering the rights and liberties of smaller nations to satisfy the imperialistic ambitions of European powers.

III.

The independence of integral Armenia is a necessary safeguard for the future peace of the world. The Armenians will never be satisfied until they have regained the independence of their country as a whole. No people can live happily and in peace if their population and country is divided up against their will. It is a foregone conclusion that the divisions of Armenia into "spheres of influence" will be a sure cause for war. Thus in recognizing the independence and territorial boundaries of Armenia the United States will help to create a united Armenia and materially aid to prevent future wars. Moreover, the peace of the Near East necessitates the creation of a state which shall perform the part that Switzerland is now playing in the heart of Europe. Armenia will be an element of order and equilibrium in that part of the world. The Armenians will check the spread of Pan-Turananism from Constantinople to India, and will arrest the spread of Bolshevism from Russia to the Mediterranean. They will serve the highest interests of civilization and peace and progress in the Near East. America, therefore, by espousing the Armenian cause will be laying the foundation of a permanent peace throughout the world.

IV.

Armenia's contributions in the present war entitle her to independence. From the beginning of the war these people refused offers from the enemy and threw in their lot on the side of the Allies. Over 150,000 of them served on the eastern front with Russia. After the Russian collapse the Armenians, single handed, resisted the Turko-German advance towards Baku in the Caucasus. By keeping Turks fighting in the Caucasus region, according to Lord Cecil, they helped the success of the British campaign in Mesopotamia and Syria. In France only one-tenth of the Armenians who joined the " Legion Etrangers," returned alive. Over 8,000 Armenians, mostly volunteers from the United States, fought in Palestine under Gen. Allenby, who has credited them with valor and glory. When the United States entered the war, hundreds of Armenians in this country volunteered and thousands were drafted and many of these died on the field of battle. "The Armenians have therefore been belligerents. Their losses due to the war, which exceed a million (out of a nation of four and a half million souls) are proportionately much heavier than those of any other belligerent."

V.

The Armenians need immediate assistance or else over two million of them now concentrated within a small area in the northern part of Armenia are in danger of annihilation. Senator Williams's resolution which authorizes the use of the naval and military forces of the United States to help protect the Armenians is urgent, and the United States, as well as France, England and Italy are duty bound to give her assistance. The war is not ended. None of the treaties have been fully ratified, and this small assistance should be given to the Armenians as a part and continuation of war work. In the hour of need Armenia did her utmost for the Allies, and the United States with her allies is now honor bound to send help to her until the war has been actually settled, and her status and rights determined.

VI.

Whatever troops or warships the President may deem sufficient to send will not be for fighting purposes, but merely for a steadying effect. The United States need not contribute over 10,000 soldiers to assist England and France, whose troops are already on the spot, to protect the Armenians. Americans are not going there to fight. They are going there merely for effect. It is impossible to depict with words the great influence the United States exercises in the Near East. All the natives—both Turks and Christians—regard Americans with a certain reverential awe and respect which is difficult to describe. During the last four years hundreds of Americans have traversed the length and breadth of Armenia to help the refugees and not one has ever been molested. Small detachments of British and French troops (both at war with Turkey) have quietly occupied parts of Turkey, and no attempt has ever been made to oust them. The fact is that the Turks themselves have lost and suffered so terribly during the war that they will welcome allied occupation. The United States is regarded as absolutely disinterested and altruistic and her presence will be the guiding factor to calm the fears of the natives and keep peace. Moreover, it must be born in mind that the military power of Turkey is practically null, although sufficiently strong enough to do harm to the defenseless Armenians. Constantinople, the seat of the Ottoman Government, is occupied by the Allies; Smyrna is in the hands of the Greeks; Cilicia is protected by British and French troops. All the territories lying south of the Armenian border, that is, Mesopotamia, Arabia and Persia, are under British control. Thus the whole of Asia Minor is practically in the hands of the Allies of the United States. This is a fact which strongly refutes the possibility of any fighting and loss of life in this region.

Respectfully submitted on behalf of the Armenian National Union of America.

M. VARTAN MALCOM.
Washington, D. C., September 27, 1919.

Senator HARDING. Have you any other representatives of the American committee who would like to be heard
Mr. MALCOM. No, sir.
Mr. SEVASLY. There is this memorial of the Armenian delegation which we would like to file, and I want to be permitted to file a short memorandum, which we have prepared, but my stenographer has made some clerical mistakes, and I will submit it on Monday morning.
Senator HARDING. Very well.
Mr. SEVASLY. One thing about the number of Armenians that are left. Thre are 3,500,000 left, of whom 2,000,000 are in the Caucasus, and about 150,000 in Constantinople, and

about 200,000 in Cilicia; so that when the integral Armenia is constituted, there will be an influx of Armenians to fill those gaps. I say that because my friend thought that this information was not supplied. I did not think it was necessary because I thought that you knew the whole situation as well as we do.

Mr. GULESIAN. I just want ot say that the actual theory was when the treaty was signed with Turkey, it was understood that Armenian should be set aside, independent. Therefore I think American troops will be received with open arms, and there will be no objection or trouble anywhere.

Mr. SEVASLY. Senator Harding asked why England was withdrawing troops from there. Of course we speak of our own opinions. I do not share the opinion as to why England is withdrawing her troops. I have no doubt England is swayed by pro-Islamism; her interests in Persia and Afghanistan and India may have something to do with it. But I have also recent information that some of the troops, that are Indians, want to go back home. England is actually withdrawing her troops. It is not because England wants to make this country hurry up and accept a mandate. I do not think that is what is behind it. Of course that is only personal opinion.

Mr. MALCOM. The United States Government landed some troops some time ago in Smyrna. That is an act of war, it seems to me.

Senator WILLIAMS. No; I want to be careful not to put this on any ground that is not true. We landed those troops to protect American interests in the port from destruction. That is a totally different proposition.

Mr. MALCOM. Yes, I think so.

Mr. SEVASLY. Capt. Tulin told us a little gunboat would be sufficient. He landed there with two men, and there was opposition there from the Georgians, and he said, "These two men have come here in the interest of the American Government," and that had a restraining effect, and the relief work was conducted afterwards successfully.

Senator WILLIAMS. Of course you are only quoting a hearsay bit of testimony, and I think we had better inquire into that question.

Mr. SEVASLY. If the committee thinks that I should ask Capt. Tulin and Capt. Hyde to come before the committee, they have both been there and have just come from there—

Senator WILLIAMS. Where are they?

Mr. SEVASLY. They are in New York.

Senator WILLIAMS. If they can get here before we finish the testimony, I think we would like to hear them.

Senator HARDING. We are going to hear from Mr. Phillips, of the State Department, on the question, and when we devote another forenoon to the hearings we will notify you.

Mr. SEVASLY. I will get them here.

Senator HARDING. You can be notified at your Washington office?

Mr. SEVASLY. Yes.

Senator HARDING. Well, I think we can hear Mr. Philips on Tuesday.

Senator WILLIAMS. You can rely upon it that the committee will be in session on Monday or Tuesday.

Senator HARDING. So that if you can get them here by that time, if you think you might reasonably undertake to have them here on Tuesday, unless we change our plans, we will resume this subcommittee hearing on Tuesday. You can communicate, Mr. Malcom, with my office.

Mr. MALCOM. Yes, sir.

Senator WILLIAMS. We will go on, then, on Tuesday at 10.30 o'clock.

Senator HARDING. Yes.

Mr. MALCOM. Yes.

Senator HARDING. I have no objection to hearing these men, if they can make it brief. We are going to hear from Mr. Phillips, of the State Department, on Tuesday.
(Thereupon, at 12.30 o'clock p. m., the subcommittee adjourned until Tuesday, September 30, 1919, at 10.30 o'clock a. m.)

MAINTENANCE OF PEACE IN ARMENIA.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1919.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS,
Washington, D. C

.
The subcommittee met, pursuant to adjournment, at 10.30 o'clock a. m., in the room of the Committee on the Philippines in the Capitol, Senator Warren G. Harding presiding.
Present, Senators Harding, New, and 'Williams.
The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Sevaaly was asked some questions the other day, and he has requested the privilege of filing a supplemental statement, which he presents.
Senator WILLIAMS. I move that leave be granted, Mr. Chairman.
Senator HARDING. There is no objection, and the statement will be printed.
(The statement referred to is here printed in the record as follows:)

SUPPLEMENTARY DATA ON THE ARMENIAN SITUATION.
WASHINGTON, D. C., September 29, 1919.

1. The distance between Alexandretta and Batoum is about 500 miles.
2. The distance between Malatia and Batoum is about 250 miles.
3. The number of Armenians attacked and killed in the trans-Caucasus exceeds 10,000. The Armenians were attacked at
Nakhitechevan and at Karabsgh in the course of the present year by the Tartars, and it was the intervention of the British that stopped the slaughter at Karabagh.
4. The question was raised by Senator Harding as to whether the sending of troops on the trans-Caucasus would be considered as an act of war against Turkey. I respectfully submit that it will not be so considered, as that part of the territory which the American troops will police does not form a part of Turkey, and is considered part of Russia. The troops, therefore, will be on friendly soil, to protect the inhabitants who are threatened from the north by the Tartars and from the south by the Turks.
I beg the committee most urgently to disregard for the present such questions as the mandate and the future political status of Armenia, and to advise that the helping hand of this great Republic should be extended to the Armenians at this critical phase of their existence by dispatching at once a few battalions of American troops to the trans-Caucasus to protect the inhabitants until the Armenian question is settled, and Armenia's independence is safeguarded.
MIRAN SEVASLY,
Representative of the Armenian National Delegation.

Senator HARDING. TS there anything else, now, Mr. Sevasly?

Mr. SEVASLY. Nothing else, except that Capt. Tulin, with whom I communicated, has not been able to get here. I wrote him two telegrams and sent him a special-delivery letter and I have just had a telegram saying that he can not come to-day.
The other gentleman I mentioned, Capt. Hyde, was not very much in that part of Armenia with which we are concerned now, the trans-Caucasus, but was in other parts of Armenia. He will be here this morning and he telephoned me and I waited for him at the hotel for awhile, but he did not turn up. I left word for him to come here, and I expect him to come in at any moment. He is a Red Cross man.
Senator HARDING. Very well; if he comes we can hear him.
Senator WILLIAMS. Mr. Chairman, I suggest that we go into executive session with Mr. Phillips. There might be some matters that he would want to state to the subcommittee that he would not want to make public.
Senator HARDING. There is no objection to going into executive session.

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Senator WILLIAMS. It can all be taken down except what we agree really ought not to be taken down by the stenographer, if
anything. I suggested to Mr. Phillips that he might make as much of his statement in open session as he liked, and when he got to the point where he did not want to talk in public, we would go into executive session. When we reach a point where we think or he thinks it really ought not to be made public, that need not be taken.
Senator HARDING. Mr. Phillips, would you rather have it that way?
Mr. PHILLIPS. I think that would be very satisfactory.
Senator HARDING. Well, I have no objection to that, myself.
Senator WILLIAMS. Then we will make the testimony available when we get through with the executive session.
(At this point the public were excluded from the room, and the committee proceeded m executive session.)

STATEMENT OF HON. WILLIAM PHILLIPS, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE.

Senator WILLIAMS. Mr. Phillips, I wish you would make a statement of this Armenian question; tell us what happened, what is about to happen, and our relation to it, in your own way.
Mr. PHILLIPS. Mr. Chairman, as I understand it, there are two questions before us, dealing with Russian Armenia: (1) What, if anything, is to be done to prevent the massacres in Armenia from continuing. (2) What can be done to overcome the famine conditions. A situation has developed in Armenia as a result of the withdrawal of the British from the trans-Caucasus which subjects the whole transportation of food-stuffs in Armenia to the attacks of the various people who are antagonistic to the Armenians. If the transportation system can be protected so that food supplies can pass through, then the danger of a famine is substantially averted; but the danger of an invasion of Russian Armenia and consequent massacres remains.
Senator HARDING. Mr. Phillips, right there let me ask, what relation has the famine to the massacres?
Mr. PHILLIPS. Of course there are two questions involved, but if the transportation system can be controlled, the movements of the Armenian troops can be facilitated, and also the food supplies can be assured.
The trouble with the country now is that it is weak; that it is in a condition of starvation; that the Armenians themselves can not get back to the soil. They are held up, absolutely. There is no enterprise possible in the country. If American food can

pass in, if American agricultural implements or supplies, and instruments to help them get back to the soil, can be provided, if they can be distributed, if the railroads can be protected, of course in a military way, we feel that the Armenian people can begin' to look after them-selves.

Senator WILLIAMS. In that connection let me ask, is there not a question also of allowing the Armenians who are in Russia, or rather who have gone across the Armenian line into Russia, and those who have been driven down into Anatolia, to get back, themselves, to the soil—the men themselves coming back to the land?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes, sir.

Senator NEW. I was going to ask if the State Department had any sort of an estimate as to what would be required in the way of a military force to keep these roads open to transportation?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Gen. Harbord was sent out recently to Armenia to investigate just that point, and to advise us how much of a military force would be necessary to preserve peace. Gen. McCoy is with him, who was dealing with the subject of transportation. We have" not received any report at all from that mission, which is now just in the midst of its work. They are traveling about by motor car through Turkey, and evidently are not in contact with the telegraph, so that we have not had word from them. I telegraphed to Constantinople two or three days ago in hopes that they might have some word from Gen. Harbord which I might give to you this morning, but nothing has reached Constantinople as yet from him.

Senator HARDING. You would think it important for us to know that before acting?

Mr. PHILLIPS. It is very important.

Senator HARDING. Is it not absolutely essential that we should know that?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes; absolutely. The estimates have been varying tremendously, from two or three thousand men up to 50,000 or 60,000 men. Now, in 1915, during the Turkish deportations and massacres of the Armenians, about 350,000 of the Armenians resident in Turkey moved up to the trans-Caucasus, leaving behind them all their belongings. At that time there were about 160,000 Armenians who were fighting with the Russians then; in other words, those 160,000 Were associated in the war with the Entente Allies against Germany and Austria.

Senator WILLIAMS. The Russian Armenians, you mean?

Mr. PHILLIPS. The Russian Armenians. But the country became tremendously overcrowded, the refugees could not find any work, and that is where the famine conditions first set in; because a large number of able-bodied Russian Armenian men were in the army, while 350,000 refugees were added to the local population, thus having less producers and more consumers than in normal times. Later, after the Russian revolution and the dissolution of the Russian Army, when in 1918 the Turks invaded part of Russian Armenia, they destroyed everything they could possibly lay hands on—all the agricultural instruments and all the live stock—and the result was a frightful mortality.

Then came the American Food Administration and, cooperating with the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief, they did some very effective work and were able to distribute on a large scale supplies which saved thousands of lives.

But the trouble is that those people who were saved have not been able to get back to Turkish Armenia. They are still living in the trans-Caucasus, and the conditions are so unsettled there that they can not move back to their former homes.

Taking up the question of foodstuffs first, the only way that they can be moved—

Senator WILLIAMS. Will you allow me to ask you, there: There are two cognate questions here, are there not, the destruction of the Armenian race by famine and the destruction of the Armenians by massacres?

Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes.
Senator WILLIAMS. By Kurdish and Georgian attacks?
Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes, Kurdish, Turkish, Tartar, as well as Georgian. The only way to handle the food situation is through the railroad, which has its port of entry at Batoum, and then from Batoum to Erivan. That is the only railroad in Russian Armenia. It is not a straight line from Batoum to Erivan. It runs up to Tiflis and then down to Erivan, so that although the distance between these two cities is only 200 miles, the railroad covers a good deal of territory by reason of going to Tiflis and back to Erivan.
The British have been guarding. part of that road, but they are leaving, and that means that that whole railway system will be disrupted.
What we fear from the withdrawal of the British, apart from the famine conditions, is the invasion of Armenia by the Moslems. It has been reported to us that there is a. concerted action between the Turkish National Party, the Azerbaijan Tartar Government, and then certain Kurds; that there are a large number of Turkish officers in those regions organizing the Moslem forces, and that the **Azerbaijan Tartar Government is financing and backing the movement**. They want, if possible, **to get rid of all these Christians**, and they may think that this is a good moment to do it.
Senator HARDING. Is that your understanding that that whole antipathy to the Armenians is religious?
Mr. PHILLIPS. There is a combination of political and religious antipathy. There is a desire on the part of the Turks to control politically all the outlying districts of Turkey, including Persia and the countries adjoining India. They hope to bring this about through pan-Touranism, which has for its aim to rally under their rule and leadership all peoples of Turkish race in Europe, and more especially in Asia. Parallel to that comes the pan-Islamic movement, to which they give a religious aspect, opposing Moslems to Christians. Through pan-Islamism the Turks had hoped to rally all Moslems throughout the world under their own religions and political leadership. The two movements were working very strongly together at the beginning of the war, and the Germans tried very hard to use those two great movements in order to further their own designs against the Entente Allies. Through the formation of the Kingdom of the Hedjaz the pan-Islamic movement may be considered as having failed for the time being. But I believe that the pan-Touranian— that is, the racial political ambition of the Turks—is probably still in their minds: In other words, there is a political design seconded by a religious movement, and it is hard to separate the two.
Senator HARDING. Does the political program involve massacre?
Mr. PHILLIPS. I am afraid so—and history has shown it—because the Christian people are in their way, and that is the method they have of getting rid of anything that is in their way.
Senator HARDING. Precisely what do you mean by "in their way," Mr. Phillips? Why are the Christian people in the way?
Mr. PHILLIPS. Of the Moslems?
Senator HARDING. Not of the Moslems, but of the—what shall I call it? What is the term you used—pan-Touranism?
Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes. In the midst of this pan-Touranian movement are the Armenians, who are Christians and who are not Turks, and whose geographical position, besides their religion, race, and civilization, is in the way of these pan-Touranian aspirations of the Turks, because between the Turks of western Turkey and the Turks of the Caucasus and of Central Asia there come the Armenians, who are Christians of the Circassian race.
Senator WILLIAMS. Who are racially not Touranians?
Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes; not Touranian; that is, not Turkish. The Turks have been endeavoring to solve their problem, and they have succeeded very well. They have

weakened the Armenian people enormously, of course, by both famine and massacre.
Senator WILLIAMS. Now, at the time I introduced the original resolution, which has been referred to this committee, I suspected that overwhelming wholesale massacres might at almost any moment take place if the British withdrew, and I somewhat feared that that might affect not only Armenians but also British and Americans in the country. I wish you would give the committee such information as the State Department has received since that time, about what actually happened.
Mr. PHILLIPS. 1 can give out these telegrams.
Senator WILLIAMS. Very well.
Mr. PHILLIPS. This is a telegram dated September 25, from the American mission in Paris, and it quotes a telegram received from Col. Haskelr, an American officer who was sent out, about two months ago, representing the whole supreme council, to handle the relief situation for Armenia on behalf of the allied and associated governments. [Reading:]

[Paraphrase.]

With regard to the military requirements of the present situation in the Caucasus, the American mission in Paris has received the following telegraphic information from Col. Haskell, who personally investigated conditions in Armenia and stated he found the situation horrible beyond description. Col. Haskell states that relief can and will reach in time to prevent attacking if he, Col. Haskell, be provided with troops and the situation in Russian Armenia will be saved by the equivalent of an American brigade of reinforced infantry. Col. Haskell states that Tartars are attacking on the south and east, with Tartar uprisings which are increasing throughout the interior. In his opinion the fate of our Armenian allies might be decided by the arrival of even one regiment. Unless troops are rushed the Armenians may at any time be ex-terminated.

Col. Haskell is right there on the spot now.
Then here is another telegram which comes from Constantinople. This is a report from Mr. F. Tredwell Smith, who was on the American Persian Relief Commission. I will read this also. He was at Constantinople on the 19th instant, coming from Erivan, Tirumia, Nakhichevan, and Tabriz. [Reading:]

[Paraphrase.]

The American commissioner at Constantinople telegraphs the department under date of September 20 stating that Mr. F. Tredwell Smith, who is with the American Persian Relief Commission, passed through Constantinople on the 19th instant, coming from Erivan, Urumia, Nakhichevan, and Tabriz. Toward the end of August, crossing for the second time the Tartar lines from Nakhichevan to Tabriz, he found that the atmosphere was altogether changed. He found that a Britisher's life was no longer safe, because there were no British troops. He also found that the Americans, too, were in danger. On July 20 the Tartars commenced battle on the Armenians at Nakhichevan and, at the end of a three-day battle they drove out the British along with the American relief workers and started a massacre of Armenian women, children, and men at Nakhichevan. The number of victims is estimated between 6,000 and 12,000. Americans testified to Mr. Smith that when they crossed into Persia at the Julfa Bridge the river was full of headless, mutilated bodies. When Mr. Smith returned along this river into Russia human bodies were still seen along the river banks.
Halil Bey, who was formerly the commander of the Turkish troops on the eastern front, is now the commander of the Tartars and is bringing in Ottoman Turks from Bay-azid

via Maku over the narrow-gauge railway in order to attack Erivan. It appears that nothing but allied force's can stop the fall of that city. Tabriz and Northwest Tezeia are at once affected by what happens in the Caucasus. No American has been safe in Urumia since the tragic events which took place in May and June last and the 5,000 Assyrian refugees in Tabriz, who now exist on aid received from the American Relief Commission, lead a most precarious life. Should Erivan be captured by the Tartars it is probable that the anti-Christian and antiforeign propaganda will be renewed and the lives of both Oriental Christians and of Americans will be in danger at Tabriz. In the district of Nakhichevan the life of any Britisher is completely tyrannized, and the British consul residing at Tabriz will not permit any Britisher to enter that country. Should Americans, by attempting to arrange peace without being supported by force, anger the Tartars, then Americans also would be in the same position as the British. Allied forces would at once receive respect from the Tartars. 'The commissioner at: Constantinople summarizes Mr. Smith's conclusions in the following
Manner:
First. In order to protect southern Caucasia and to prevent the otherwise inevitable massacre of noncombatant Armenians as Tartans advance, allied troops are urgently needed in that country.
Second. There is very serious danger for Erivan.
Third. Ottoman Turkish troops are constantly arriving to increase the Tartan.
Fourth. Any Tartar success in South Caucasia will render Northwestern Persia unsafe for westerners.
Fifth. During the months of May, June, and July; in other words, long after the conclusion of the armistice, these occurred outrages affecting citizens and allies of the allied powers and which required prompt attention.

Possibly you have the telegram from Mr. James W. Gerard?
Senator HARDING. I do not know that it has been put in the record.
Senator WILLIAMS. Read it, anyhow.
Senator NEW. Is that from Mr. James W. Gotrard?
Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes; James W. Gerard.
Senator WILLIAMS. To whom is that telegram addressed?
Mr. PHILLIPS. This is a telegram from Mr. Gerard in New York to the Secretary of State.
Senator WILLIAMS. We have not got that. We have nothing here but this telegram.
Mr. PHILLIPS. This telegram is as follows [reading]:
New YORK, September 19, 1919.
SECRETARY OF STATE.
Washidglon, D. C.
To-day received confidential cablegram from Paris representative Armenian Republic, of which the following are parts, and will ask you to please telegraph to President: "Azerbaidjan, under direction Turkish officers, making preparations for .war against Armenia. Georgia and Azerbaidjan entered into alliance avowedly to attack Denikine, but actually to attack Armenia. British already left Armenia and Haskell arrived without soldiers. Absolute lack ammunition. Georgians forbid transportation through Georgia all products except flour. Have absolutely no more money, population exhausted, people starving everywhere, from 30 to 50 persons found dead in streets of Erivan daily. Population naked, no drugs, no more possibility resistance; will soon be completely annihilated. Within month absolute extermination is feared, thus solving Armenian question. Turks consider us responsible for overthrow their empire. Words lacking describe horror situation. You may come too late to save us.

JAMES W. GERARD.

Senator HARDING. When was that written?
Mr. PHILLIPS. That was a telegram from Mr. Gerard to the Secretary of State, dated the 19th of September. The quoted telegram, Mr. Gerard says, is just received from Paris. He does not give its date.
Here is another telegram from the American mission in Paris [reading]:

[Paraphrase.]

A telegram from the American mission in Paris, dated September 26, states that the Armenian forces now consist of men poorly equipped and armed, about 10,000 in number. Against them there are about 40,000 Turk! troops advancing on Allessio and a considerable Tartar force advancing on Erivan, these Tartars being led by Turkish officers. All reports received by the mission from Dr. Barton, Mr. Moore, Admiral Bristol, and Col. Haskell, as well as from Armenians and British, state that the Armenian forces are overwhelmingly outnumbered and that it is almost certain that they will be crushed if reinforcements and munitions do not arrive in the near future. Owing to the fact that most of the Armenian inhabitants of Turkish Armenia took refuge and are now concentrated in Russian Armenia, the conquest of Russian Armenia by Tartars and Turks would probably result in the practical annihilation of the Armenian nation.

We are dealing now with Russian Armenia and not with Turkish Armenia, because the remaining Turkish Armenians of the bordering
provinces are practically all in Russian Armenia.
Senator HARDING. Why is it that the signing of the armistice has not stopped the massacres?
Mr. PHILLIPS. What is that?
Senator HARDING. **Why has not the armistice agreement stopped these Turkish massacres**?
Senator WILLIAMS. **Principally for the reason that Russia has never recognized it.**
Mr. PHILLIPS. I have tried to describe the precarious and critical situation of Russian Armenia, due to the existing famine, which will grow worse unless the whole railroad line be controlled, and due to the danger of an invasion of the country with massacres and plunder which usually accompany such invasions and which have already taken place at some places.
The State Department has considered this as a purely humanitarian question. On that ground it made a strong representations to the British and French and caused a warning to be communicated to the Turkish authorities in order to have them check their own people from undertaking, with other Moslems, an invasion of Russian Armenia.
I think within a very few days we ought to be able to hear something from Gen. Harbord as to the needs of the situation from the military standpoint, and I think he will be in position to report very fully on that.
Senator HARDING. How many Americans are Over there in Armenia?
Mr. PHILLIPS. Most of them are on relief work, possibly about 70; but I think more may have gone in lately.
Senator HARDING. Are they all Americans?
Senator NEW. There are a few naturalized?
Mr. PHILLIPS. I suppose a few naturalized; yes.
Senator HARDING. How many British are there?
Mr. PHILLIPS. I would not be able to say at all. I think, really, that is all I have. There is a great deal of correspondence, but I have touched upon the principal points.

Senator HARDING. If you find after you go back to your office that there is anything else that you think would be enlightening upon the subject, will you just send it to the stenographer to he put in the record?
Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes, sir: I will.
Senator NEW. As soon as you hear from Gen. Harbord, let us know. That is the greatest importance.
Mr. PHILLIPS. Yes.
Senator HARDING. If that is all with Mr. Phillips—Mr. Sevasly, have you communicated with the gentleman you spoke of?
Mr. SEVASLY. Yes, sir. This is Capt. Hyde, of the Red Cross.
Senator HARDING. We will hear what he has to say.

STATEMENT OF MR. GEORGE B. HYDE.

Senator WILLIAMS. What is your occupation?
Mr. HYDE. I am by profession a physician. I am living on a farm in New Hampshire.
Senator WILLIAMS. Where have you been, recently?
Mr. HYDE. I am just home from Turkey. I was stationed most of my time at Aintab, which is in the southern part of Cilicia.
Senator WILLIAMS. In what capacity were you stationed there?
Mr. HYDE. I was there on the relief work in the Aintab district, reaching out into Mesopotamia. I was a captain in the service of the Red Cross.
Senator WILLIAMS. Tell us what you know about this business.
Mr. HYDE. Would you give me just some indication as to the line of information you want?
Senator WILLIAMS. We want to get at the situation in Armenia as well as we can; the situation of the people, and what armed force, if any, they have got; what armed forces are against them; what protection they have, if any, of their own, or outside of this—just the situation?
Mr. HYDE. Yes, sir. My first touch with the Armenian situation was at Cantara.
Senator HARDING. Put your finger on the map where that is.
Mr. HYDE. That is down on the Suez Canal [indicating on map]. I had charge of the district also from Bilis up to Marash, and over into Mesopotamia to the east [indicating on map], where I found about 7,000 Armenian refugees gathered in a concentration camp by the British. Most of them had come down through the hands of the Arabs and down through lower Mesopotamia. They had been gathered up and were being cared for.
I arrived at Aleppo, which is just 80 miles below Aintab, the night after the massacre. This was the first week in March.
Senator HARDTNG. Last year or this year?
Mr. HYDE. The present year, 1919. Approximately 500 Armenians were massacred in Aleppo at that time. Aintab was one of the gateways through which the deportation took place. Coming down from the Taurus Mountains, they came out by way of Aintab and Marash, by way of Afritis, by way of Biredjik, and by way of Ourfa, which lies 150 miles to the east.
Aintab had a normal population of about 70,000, about one half of whom were Armenians and the other half Turks, with a few Kurds.
When I arrived there there were perhaps 2,000 Armenians in the city. The British had occupied the city a little before, had a regiment there, with some field artillery, and a troop or two of cavalry.
There was also a regiment sent into Marash about the same time, mostly Indian troops.

The refugees arriving back, coming back from below Aleppo, they were dispersed down through Homs and Hama and about Damascus.

A great many were forced out in the desert to the east and southeast of Damascus, and a great many of them were left down in northern Syria, in the mountain section there. I might say that the Syrians were not affected by the massacres directly, but they were systematically starved to death by the Turks, so that whole villages of quite large numbers were practically destroyed. I have never seen, in any section, so many starving children as I saw in the Lebanon district of Syria. They were concentrated there. The Armenians began arriving at Aintab at the rate of about, 1,500 a week. The British Army furnished the funds for our feeding, and I received at the time I was at Aintab, through the British Army, practically $10,000 a month for feeding purposes.

Within a few weeks I had picked up more than a thousand orphan children and placed them in two orphanages which were organized. I had organized an industrial department which gave employment to about 1,000 Armenian women, and we were feeding from 2,500 to 4,500 refugees not gathered in institutions of any kind. Aside from that, I took one of the largest buildings in town and organized it into a rescue home for the women who were still held in the Turkish harems. Of these there are at present in that section of Turkey, speaking of the section of southern Turkey and Mesopotamia and Arabia, approximately 200,000 still in the hands of the Turk, the Kurd, and the Arab.

Just before I went there an order had been issued from Constantinople that all Armenians should be released, and to a large extent the Turk opened his doors and turned them out, and there was no place for them to go. They were the prey of the disorganized bands of soldiers and the brigands that infest the whole country, and most of them necessarily drifted back to the houses they came out of. We went about systematically to take them from the houses as rapidly as possible, and we used to get approximately 150 to 250 a week. They were kept in the rescue home until they had reestablished their normal condition as nearly as possible, and then, if possible, repatriated. Fortunately, at that place many of our refugees came from near Adana, or the Adana section, and we were able to retain them. We had a great many from Sivas whom we were obliged to keep because they could not be repatriated, as the country was not occupied at that time.

We had many from Diarbekr and Malatia.

The condition of these women as they came out of the Turkish homes was very pitiful indeed. Many of them had no idea that any Armenian men were left alive anywhere, and they were in the most abject condition of terror that I have ever seen, and I thought that I had had a little experience along that line before I went to Turkey.

It usually took several months to establish a normal psychology among the women. We found great difficulty in rescuing many of these women. If an inkling got to the Turks that we were after certain women they were immediately sent away to some other town, or sent farther back into the country. Not in the town of Aintab, but in neighboring towns, they were killed. That happened in several places not far from Aintab.

We succeeded in taking out of the harems of Aintab perhaps nearly a thousand, and we thought we had secured perhaps half of them. Now, that whole country consists of a large central city with a great many small villages, and each of these villages had from 50 to perhaps 150 women and girls, and there it was quite impossible to get them out. The British forces were so small that they could not occupy the whole territory, and if, as we attempted to do, we sent to a single town and compelled them to give them up, the other towns took alarm and removed them beyond our reach. That happened over and over again, and it was felt that we were putting their lives in greater jeopardy than by leaving them alone.

Gentlemen, if you will just excuse me; if you will tell me whether I am telling you

things that you do not want to hear, I will be obliged.
Senator WILLIAMS. No; just go ahead and tell the story in your own way.
Mr. HYDE. Many of those women, after it was known that we had a rescue home there, began coming in from out of Mesopotamia, down the river, down as far as Der Zor. Der Zor lies almost half way between Aleppo and Bagdad. It is just on the edge of the Arabian desert, and it was one of the great deportation centers. It was believed that not less than 300,000 to 500,000 Armenians met their death in what is known as the Der Zor district. There are many of them held by the Arabs, and it is quite impossible to get them away from the Arabs except by purchase. They are sold with a good deal of freedom.
Ourfa is in the heart of Mesopotamia, about 150 miles east. I might say that in Aintab practically all Armenian houses had been destroyed by the Turks, not by gunfire but by deliberately destroying them. The walls are built of stone, and the floors, roofs, and framework of wood, so that they would pull out the wood and thus destroy the house; so that the housing problem during this coming winter is one of the greatest difficulties.
At Ourfa the massacres reached at least 35,000. Of a population of 35,000 in Ourfa before the war, only about 2,500 or 3,000 had returned, up to two and one-half months ago.
The wells of the Armenian section in Ourfa had been closed up and sealed because they were filled with human bodies, and I myself saw in the old quarries surrounding the city the bones and skeletons and half mummified bodies of hundreds and thousands.
Their property is all in the hands of the Turk. They had good farming properties in all that section. It is a good farming section. They have been used by the Turks for the last five years, and **have not been returned in accordance with the terms of the armistice**. This has been avoided by certain legal technicalities. In the first place, they seized the property of the Armenians as abandoned property, and sold it to the Turkish bank, and it was resold, so that the title is vitiated. At least, that was the construction.
It is very difficult for the Armenian at present to find anything to do which will give him a livelihood. **I have never seen people more anxious to take care of themselves than I have found the Armenians.** I was able to give employment to perhaps 1,500, and they were most efficient and faithful workers; and if some large public enterprise could be conducted, like road building or something of that kind, which would give employment, it would be the best form of relief that could be furnished them.
Senator HARDING. Will you address yourself more particularly to conditions of famine and massacre?
Mr. HYDE. I will say that among the people in that part of the country—I refer to Marash, Ourfa, Aintab, and Aleppo, the condition was one of extreme fear of recurring massacres. There had been a massacre in Aleppo in March, and in July in Ourfa, and to some extent in Marash, and there was great apprehension both on the part of British officers and the Armenians themselves. The feeling was universal that if the British troops were withdrawn and their places were not taken by some other force, there would not be any Armenians left. Of course there are very few men left in that section.
The great proportion of the refugees are women and children. It is estimated that there are in southern Armenia approximately 150,000 to 200,000 orphan children.
Senator HARDING. Where are the men gone?
Mr. HYDE. The men were massacred. In conducting the deportation, the men were usually the first to be massacred, and in the towns in which I was, the leading men were selected first, the educated men and the principal men of the Armenians, until in many sections they lack the leading spirits that they had previous to the deportations.
There need be no famine conditions in the part of Armenia in which I was located. While the crops are not up to normal, there was food enough to practically support the

population; but it is all in the hands of the Turks, and they hold it at famine prices.
There is no doubt that the British Army, through the feeding operations, have been instrumental in saving the lives of a great many of the Armenians in that part of the country.
Senator WILLIAMS. Do you know anything about the conditions in Russian Armenia?
Mr. HYDE. No, sir; I have not been in Russian Armenia, and all I know of it is at second hand. I came from Constantinople to Taranto in Italy on a British transport that was loaded with officers and men coming from the Caucasus, and I have met many of our released workers who had been in the Caucasus. I understand the food conditions there are vastly worse than they are in Cilicia and other parts of Armenia. One of the complaints that they made to me was that they were unable to get their food supplies through to their destinations. They were stolen en route.
Senator WILLIAMS. There is only one railroad up from the neigh-hood of the Mediterranean going toward the Caspian, and one from Batoum to Erivan, and one to Bakou. They are all, are they not?
Mr. HYDE. Yes, in that section.
The situation about Adana was somewhat better, because there were larger bodies of troops occupying the country there, and they had not had the refugee problem anywhere nearly as acutely as we had had it farther south, because they had not reached Adana in any large numbers as yet.
Senator HARDING. You are a physician?
Mr. HYDE. Yes.
Senator HARDING. You were in the medical service of the Army?
Mr. HYDE. I was in the medical service of the Red Cross, sir.
Senator HARDING. You would not be in position, then, to pass any judgment on the military force necessary to protect?
Mr. HYDE. No, sir; I would not at all venture an opinion except as I saw the occupation of the country by other forces, and knew what the results were from that occupation.
Senator HARDING. I guess that is all, unless you have something else to ask, Senator?
Senator WILLIAMS. I have nothing further.
Senator HARDING. We are obliged to you, Captain.
Mr. SEVASLY. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Malcom telegraphed to me that he had some witnesses. I do not know who they are or what their testimony is to be. We had a Capt. Tulin who was to be here. I do not know whether any telegram has gone from this office asking him to be here to-day. I sent him a special delivery letter and two telegrams yesterday.
There is another gentleman who could have come in touch with him. I really think that Capt. Tulin, who was sent by Mr. Hoover to that part of the Caucasus which has just been referred to by the Senator, might be an important witness.
Senator HARDING. We will send word to Mr. Malcom that we will hear him Thursday morning. Is Thursday morning agreeable to you, Senator?
Senator WILLIAMS. Yes.
Senator HARDING. This meeting will now be adjourned.
(Thereupon, at 11.30 o'clock a. m., the subcommittee adjourned until Thursday, October 2, 1919, at 10.30 o'clock a. in.)

MAINTENANCE OF PEACE IN ARMENIA.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 2, 1919.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS,
Washington, D. C

The subcommittee met, pursuant to adjournment, at 10.30 o'clock a. m. in the room of the Committee on the Philippines in the Capitol, Senator Warren G. Harding presiding.
Present: Senators Harding (chairman), New, and Williams.
Senator HARDING. We will hear Mr. Tulin now.

STATEMENT OF MR. ABRAHAM TITLIN.

Senator HARDING. Will you give your name to the stenographer and your official connection?
Mr. TULIN. Abraham Tulin.; No. 50 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York City. I am a lawyer by profession and was a captain of Infantry in the United States Army during the war. My age is 37.
Senator HARDING. Go right along and make such statement as you would like to have the committee have, in your own way and follow your own course, and if anybody wants to interrupt, we will interrupt. you.
Mr. TULIN. I wish to make a short statement, and then, to appreciate it, I think it would be better if you asked questions as to the details.
Senator HARDING. Very well.
Mr. TULIN. After the armistice, on November 11, at which time I was on the staff of Gen. Bell at the headquarters of the Second American Army at Toul, I was assigned to duty in Paris, and about February 1 was attached to Mr. Hoover, who was the director general of the supreme economic council and of the American relief administration for the relief of needy populations of Europe and of the war zone in general.
In March of this year Mr. Hoover sent me to Armenia to investigate conditions there, to report upon them. and make such recommendations, with regard to what action the American relief administration should take, as I thought proper. I left Park for Armenia on March 13, and arrived in Batoum, on the Black Sea, I think. on April 7, 1919. From there I went to Tiflis, where I stayed five days. investigating the transport conditions and gathering such other information as I could; and then I left Tiflis and proceeded to Alexandropol, and from there I went to Kars, and thence back to Alexandropol, and down to Erivan. Alexandropol is in the extreme northern part of what used to be the Russian Province of Erivan. It is now a part of the de facto Republic of Armenia. whose capital is Erivan. From Kars I went back to Alexandropol, and thence down to Erivan, and thence to Echmiadzin, and as far south as Igdir, which is close to the southern border of the Armenian Republic, and a number of minor places.
These places that I have mentioned are the central points there. I carried on my investigations to the smaller places in the country generally around. That was the extent of my trip; and that was the territory 1n which I carried on lily investigations.
Senator WILLIAMS. What position were you occupying?
Mr. TULIN. I was the representative of Mr. Hoover, the representative of the American relief administration under that $100,000,000 fund which Congress appropriated. I was a captain in the American Army at the time. I have only recently demobilized; just

recently come back.

The best information that I could get regarding the number of Armen1ans in this territory, which is now included in the Republic of Armenia, as I have marked on a map here, is that there were in April, 1919, when I was there, approximately 750,000 Armenians there. There were also Tartars and Kurds in that same territory. The Tartars and the Kurds were, however, in the minority. In that territory the Armenians are unquestionably in the majority.

Senator HARDING. You do not include Tartars and Kurds in that 750,000?

Mr. TULIN. No. The 750,000 relates to Armenians only.

Senator HARDING. Approximately how many of the Tartars and Kurds are there?

Mr. TULIN. That would be mere guesswork. They are very much fewer than the Armenians in that territory. For example, the Tartars live in villages by themselves; that is, where they live in villages at all. Some of them are nomads. The Kurds, likewise, live in villages by themselves. There is no such thing in that region of the world as a village where in one house will live an Armenian and in the next house a Tartar, as in America, with our mixed population. The separate populat1ons keep to themselves.

The number of Tartar villages which I encountered was perhaps one to ten Armenian villages. That would be about the proportion in that territory. It is an overwhelmingly Armenian territory. Of these 750,000 Armen1ans perhaps 400,000 are not natives of this territory; they are refugees from the six vilayets of Turkish Armenia, who fled north in advance of the massacres, or who had escaped from the massacres, and had taken refuge in what was then the Russian Province of Erivan and the Russian Province of Elisavetpol, where they were under the protection of the Russian Army. I should say that not more than 350,000 of the Armenians now to be found, or who were in April to be found, in Russian Armenia, were natives of the place. The country never did support a very large population—this particular country that I am talking about.

Senator WILLIAMS. That is in Russian Armenia?

Mr. TULIN. Russian Armenia.

Senator WILLIAMS. Near the Caucasus?

Mr. TULIN. In the Caucasus.

Senator WILLIAMS. In the Caucasus; yes.

Mr. TULIN. It is the southernmost part of what used to be called the Caucasus.

Senator WILLIAMS. That is about the most conglomerate population in the universe, is it not—Tartars and Kurds and Armenians? It never has been populously settled for the simple reason that a large population could not live on the country?

Mr. THIN. That is true, Senator.

Senator HARDING. Are you speaking of what is known as the trans-Caucasian section?

Mr. TULIN. Yes, sir.

Senator HARDING. South of the mountains?

Mr. TULIN. South of the mountains. I am speaking of the extreme southern part of that region. Georgia is also a part of that

region, and I am speaking of the country south of Georgia. The blue-shaded portion of that map indicates the present Republic of Armenia.

Now, the condition of those people was indescribable when I was there. It was absolutely heartbreaking. They were dying of hunger. They had been starving for months. They were living on grass and roots. I saw many of them in the fields picking grass and roots, and I saw afterwards when they cooked this grass. They would cook it and try to eat it then, because it was impossible to eat the raw grass. They could not digest it. It would cut their stomachs. A very large number had died of hunger and the diseases which hunger brings on and accentuates before I came there, and I saw many of them literally dying right before me. I did not have to look for that sort of thing at all. It

forced itself upon your vision wherever you went. At every little railroad station you would see them right along the tracks. Statistics on that subject are terrible, but they do not begin to tell the truth. In the city of Alexandropol, for instance, in the district of Alexandropol, where there were something like 110,000 Armenians congregated, the mayor of the city told me on April 17, when I got there, that 140 people had died of hunger there the day before, and 168 the day before that, and that they had averaged 150 deaths a day from starvation right along; and I saw with my own eyes that it was more than true. That was a conservative statement. They had begun to make some efforts at collecting the orphans—the children, rather. I went through several so-called orphanages, which were no more than bare buildings, usually old Russian military barracks, with no furniture, where they gathered those poor children. Those children were terrible, simply barely breathing skeletons of children, and the men and women were the same.

Now, they have a government at Erivan, an Armenian Government, which was not doing very well, but was doing the best it knew how under the circumstances. It was impossible to have an efficient government with a population almost 100 per cent of which was starving, was dying of hunger, and with no means. This Armenian Government very nobly endeavored to maintain an army for the protection of the people, an army which from any western standard— from our standard—was a joke, but which, nevertheless, was a wonderful thing in view of the circumstances.

The President of the Republic showed me a detachment of that army at Alexandropol the day that I got there. He came from Erivan to meet us. He pointed out with a great deal of justifiable pride that those soldiers had not had any bread for five days; but they were sticking. Most of them were without shoes; but they were sticking.

Senator HARDING. They were armed?

Mr. TULIN. They were armed; they had rifles. I do not know what munitions they had. It was not so much the spirit of discipline as it was, I think, **a very strong spirit of patriotism and nationalism**. There is no doubt that **there is a strong spirit of nationalism among the Armenians** which subordinates nearly every other emotion that they have just now. For purposes of protection that army is ineffective in its present condition. They are willing enough; no question about that. But they have not the means and they have not the strength. People who have not anything to eat and who have not had anything to eat in a long time and have not any munitions, and so forth, can not be very effective soldiers, with the best will in the world.

Senator HARDING. Now, right there, if it will not interrupt you: Did the Hoover administration bring food relief to those people?

Mr. TULIN. We did, Senator. We rushed food to them as soon as it could possibly be rushed. I did not leave the country until the food had arrived—that is, the first consignment that we sent—and it was pouring in in a steady stream.

Senator HARDING. That added to the effectiveness of the Armenian army, did it?

Mr. TULIN. It certainly should. I did not stay long enough to see it, but it should have added to the effectiveness of those soldiers.

Senator HARDING. The next question that naturally occurs to me is, will the continuation of rationing make a sufficiently strong force there to protect those people?

Mr. TULIN. I do not believe so.

Senator NEW. Are they still continuing the rationing?

Mr. TULIN. I believe that they are, sir.

Senator NEW. Tell me, please, of what do those supplies consist, other than flour?

Mr. TULIN. They may have sent in some beans. I know that we sent in rice. But it is mostly cereals, and principally flour. We sent in some milk for the children and the orphans.

The committee for the relief of the Near East was sending in medical supplies and clothes and things like that with which we had nothing to do. Our contribution was flour, principally, and by the time we all left Paris, about the end of July, we had sent in many thousand tons; I would not dare to state the figures offhand, because it might be inaccurate, but I know it was many thousands of tons.

Senator WILLIAMS. Was any ammunition or anything of that sort going in?

Mr. Tuux. Not that I know of, Senator: We had nothing to do with it, anyhow. No American agency had anything to do with it.

Senator WILLIAMS. You do not know of anybody else sending any in?

Mr. Tumx. The British were there. They may have given them some. I do not know.

Senator HARDING. What was the numerical strength of this army of which you speak?

Mr. TULIN. I believe that they claimed that they had 30,000 men, but I doubt it very considerably. I think their figures were largely exaggerated. I doubt if they could muster more than 6,000 or 7,000 men at the outside; that is just my private judgment. It is very hard to find the individual facts upon which I base that deduction, but that was my impression, I know. I think they exaggerated their own strength.

Senator WILLIAMS. Was there not a good deal of that Armenian army that was subject to call, if they were called out?

Mr. TULIN. I think necessarily so. I think that might justify their figures; but of the real army, I doubt that they had more than 6,000 or 7,000 men.

Senator WILLIAMS. So that if they had 6,000 or 7,000 men under arms, they might have represented more that could be called from their villages?

Mr. TULIN. I think that is about it. Now, to my mind, the problem of seeing to it that the supplies which are sent to save the Armenian population from starvation get to them, is one of the most pressing problems in Armenia.

There is also, of course, the problem of assaults from Tartars and Turks—massacres; but I really believe that the problem of insuring the continuity of food going in there for at least a year is the most important thing, because they could not plant this year. I do not believe they planted 10 per cent of the normal crop this year which. means, of course, that they will have to be kept alive until after the next harvest, a year from now.

Senator HARDING. The basis of this appeal consists of two things— one the starvation or famine situation, and the other the massacres of the Armenians?

Mr. TULIN. Yes, sir.

Senator HARDING. Can you tell us what sort of bodies carry on these massacres?

Mr. TULIN. Well, in my judgment, Senator, the danger of massacre is in two sections only. One is the Kars section shown on your map there, which is in the extreme west of the Armenian Republic, and the other is in Nakhichevan, which is on the Persian border. Those two districts only in the south, and the other in the west, are populated preponderatingly. by Tartars. The Armenians there are in a very small minority. There had been Armenians there.

Senator WILLIAMS. It is in this latter district that he is talking about that the representatives of the State Department say that recent massacres have taken place, where they spoke of bodies being thrown into the river in great numbers.

Mr. Ttriam. There is where we anticipated massacres, when I was there, and where they have undoubtedly broken out since. Everybody who was there anticipated them. It was inevitable that they would come. The Tartars in these two sections are extremely bitter against the Armenians—extremely hostile. I will give you an illustration. I will relate an incident that occurred at the time I was there, and you will gather the intensity of that hostility. We tried very hard to find seed grain for the Armenians, so that they could plant and harvest a crop and become self-sustaining. They did not

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TRANSCRIPT ENDS AT PAGE 49 and STARTS AGAIN ON PAGE 58 (WHICH IS REPEATED AGAIN WHERE IT BELONGS) AND THEN TO PAGE 51, MEANING THAT PAGE 50 IS MISSING

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only the sending of a military force there, but the retaining of a military force, unless you are going to expel the Tartars.
Mr. TULIN. I believe, sir, that it would be necessary to maintain a military force in Nakhichevan for some considerable time.
Senator NEW. How much of a military force?
Mr. TULIN. The British, immediately after this incident I related, sent down a battalion of troops. They had had no troops there before that at all, and Gen. Milne, who was their commander in chief, rushed down a battalion of troops, about 1,000 men, to maintain order in that region. I understand that since then the British have withdrawn their troops from Nakhichevan, with the result that massacres broke out.
Senator NEW. Yes. The massacres are renewed the minute that the troops are withdrawn?
Mr. TULIN. That is true; at least it has been true so far. In Kars there is substantially the same situation as in Nakhichevan. The population there is overwhelmingly Tartar. There are 230,000 Tartars in the Province of Kars, by actual recent count.
Senator HARDING. Where did you say the Armenian Army is located?
Mr. TULIN. It is located in Armenia generally. They have some troops at Erivan and a few at Alexandropol, and a few at other places.
Senator HARDING. I do not know anything about military matters, but I wanted to get at the practicability of taking a battalion or two battalions of this Armenian Army of anywhere from 7,000 to 30,000, as you describe it, and sending them down to Nakhichevan or Kars. Is there any possibility of that?
Mr. TULIN. I do not think so, Senator. That would simply precipitate more bloodshed. I do not think that the Armenian Army is in a condition to stand up against the Tartars. The Tartars are well fed; they have been well fed right along; and they are well armed. Now, I will relate another incident from which you can draw your own deductions. We had a conference at Alexandropol at which were present the president of the Armenian Republic—
Senator WILLIAMS. Before you go into that, let me ask you: If we sent any troops there at all, would we not have to send them from the Mediterranean by way of Alexandretta and Abana?
Mr. TULIN. No, sir.
senator WILLIAMS. How would we get them there?
Mr. TULIN. By way of Batoum and Tiflis.
Senator WILLIAMS. Through the Straits of Constantinople and to the eastern end of the Black Sea?
Mr. TULIN. Yes, sir. That is the only practicable mode of entry into the country now. There is no railroad line up through Asia Minor. You would have to march them overland through very wild country in Asia Minor, and it would not be practicable.
Senator NEW. I notice on the map a railroad to Bakou.
Mr. TULIN. Yes, sir.
Senator NEW. But apparently there is no railroad from Batoum, either east or south?
Mr. TULIN. Oh, yes; there is.
Senator NEW. It is not shown on that map.

Mr. TULIN. This map will give you the railroads better than the one you have. [Exhibiting another map.] There is the railroad. It goes up there, and you take this map and you can follow it. [Indicating.]
Senator NEW. That is north [Indicating.]
Mr. TULIN. Yes; it has to go that way because of the mountains. It can not go straight. You pick it up here, and it goes up here, and this is the main line of the coast. Then it goes east to Tiflis. From Tiflis one branch goes on over eastward to Bakou. The other branch goes south to Alexandropol. Thence one branch goes west from Alexandropol to Kars.
Another branch goes from Alexandropol still farther south to Erivan, all around here [indicating], because of these very high mountains here, all the way around to Erivan—and still farther south to Nakhichevan. Now, that is the only way to get anything into the country by this route, Batoum, Tiflis, Alexandropol, and then to Kars in one direction and Erivan and Nakhichevan to the south.
Senator HARDING. Are these railroads in pretty good order?
Mr. TULIN. No; they are in very poor order, particularly the rolling stock. There has been no new rolling stock provided, and they have suffered five years of war.
Senator HARDING. That condition is not peculiar, of course, to Armenia?
Mr. TULIN. No; that is not peculiar to Armenia.
As I was saying, in the Province of Kars you have substantially the same situation as in Nakhichevan, and massacres are to be expected there and must be guarded against, if they have not already occurred.
Senator NEW. What is the meaning of the word "burun?" I see it all along this coast.
Mr. TULIN. Those are Turkish words on that map.
Mr. SEVASLY. Burun means a cape, a promontory.
Mr. TULIN. These are British maps with the Turkish words on them.
Senator HARDING. Now, Captain, our time is slipping along pretty rapidly. What are the practical things to do?
Mr. TULIN. The practical things are to guard the means of communication to the Armenian people—that is the first thing—and to guard the Armenian people in the outlying sections of Armenia against massacre; that is the second. Both require occidental troops. Both can, in my judgment, be effectively done with less than an American division of troops; with about 20,000 men, probably. I say 20,000, because that is the number of troops that the British had in that whole territory, a much larger territory than I have described. They went clear to Bakou, and we would probably have to go clear to Bakou also in order to insure a supply of oil for running the railroad.
Senator WILLIAMS. And in order to protect the railroad all the way through, itself?
Mr. TULIN. Yes, sir. The British had about 20,000 troops, of whom more than one-half were Indians; Punjabis, who are not fighting troops. The Ghurkas are the Indian fighting troops, and the Punjabis they use on lines of communication, for guard duty, etc. They had more than 10,000 Indian Punjabis included in this total of 20,000 troops they had in the entire region.
Senator HARDING. You mean the British?
Mr. TILIN. The British; and they maintained the line of railroad, and there were no massacres.
Senator NEW. The Punjabi will guard, all right, unless he has to shoot?
Mr. TULIN. That is it.
Senator HARDING. I asked him if he ever heard any public discussion about a mandate for Armenia.
Mr. TULIN. There is no doubt that all the Armenians want the United States to take a mandate. That is true, however, of almost all the Eastern populations. I encountered the same thing in Constantinople. **The Armenians certainly look to the United States**

as their great protector. Whatever help they have gotten so far has come from the United States, with the very necessary and efficient cooperation of the British. Let me make that very clear. We could not have saved a single Armenian life had it not been for the hearty and loyal and generous cooperation of the British in that region. They made it possible for us to deliver that flour. They got us trains; they gave us protection, and so forth.

Senator WILLIAMS. We furnished the goods and they kept the route open?

Mr. TULIN. They kept the road open. It was a very important thing.

Senator HARDING. What do you know about the British withdrawal being hastened in order to force action on our part?

Mr. TULIN. I do not know anything about that, Senator. I should say that that was not the fact, if you want my opinion.

Senator HARDING. Of course that is all you can give.

Mr. TULIN. The reason I say that is that I observed pretty carefully the condition and the mental attitude and sentiment of the

British white troops that were there. I talked and conferred with a good many of the British higher officers, all their general officers over there, pretty thoroughly, on the situation, and met a good many of the lower ranking officers, and the men. Those troops were very tired. They wanted to go home. The staying there was irksome to them. Most of them had been fighting in Mesopotamia for about 4 years and had never had a leave home. They had not seen their homes in 4 years. It was not like the troops on the western front, who got leaves to England every six months or so. They had been out there in the desert and the wilderness for all that time, and they wanted to go home. The war was over. It required a great deal of tact on the part of the British higher officers to keep their troops there and to avoid trouble. In think that is the real reason that the British are getting out; it is because they can not hold their troops there any longer. They do not want to stay.

Senator WILLIAMS. That is the reason that an American company or two came pretty near mutinying up along the White Sea.

Mr. TULIN. I think that is sufficient reason.

I want to say a word before I close, Senators, about guarding the line of communication. That line of communication runs through Georgia. Now, to my mind, the Armenians are in as much danger from the Georgians as they are from the Tartars. The two races hate each other with a hatred such as does not grow around here at all. You have no idea of the hatred that there is in that part of the world. It is a hatred which is not only national, but personal between every individual of one race and every individual of the other.

Senator WILLIAMS. It is racial and religious, inherited?

Mr. TITLIN. Yes, sir; and old grudges being repaid. And if there are not troops guarding that railroad and guarding the food sent on that railroad from Batoum to Alexandropol, that food we send there to save the lives of the Armenians will never get there. I really think that that is far more important than preventing the massacres, although there may be enough in that. But that is a much simpler problem than preventing the massacres. The mere presence of a battalion of American troops in Batoum, for instance, and a platoon here and there at way stations, and possibly a couple of battalions in Tiflis, would insure the running of that railroad and would avoid trouble.

Senator NEW. Are you a native-born American?

Mr. TIJLIN. I am not.

Senator NEW. What is your original nationality?

Mr. TITLIN. I was born in Russia.

Senator NEW. You are a Russian, then?

Mr. TULIN. Yes sir.

Senator NEW. From what part of Russia?
Mr. TITLIN. I was born in the Province of Grodno. I was brought over here as a baby.
Senator NEW. I merely asked because your name and all indicated a foreign origin.
Mr. TITLIN. I am not an Armenian.
Senator NEW. No.
Senator HARDING. Do you want to ask the captain anything further?
Senator WILLIAMS. No.
Senator NEW. No.
Senator HARDING. This is very interesting, but we must hasten along because of our limited time. Have you anything else you want to offer, Captain?
Mr. TULIN. No, sir.
Senator HARDING. We are much obliged to you for your statement.

STATEMENT OF GEN. ARCHAYNE TORCOM.

Senator HARDING. What is your connection, General?
Gen. TORCOM. I must speak through an interpreter, because I do not speak English well enough to testify directly.
Mr. SEVASLY. His English is not very adequate. He speaks French fluently, because he was brought up in France. If you wish me to translate from his French into English, I will be very glad to do so.
(From this point Mr. Sevasly translated orally the answers of the witness, which were made in French, into English.)
Senator HARMING. What is your citizenship and your military connection?
Gen. TORCOM. I was born in Caesarea, in Cappadocia. Caesarea is considered as forming a part of what is called smaller Armenia.
Senator NEW. Little Armenia?
Gen. TORCOM. Little Armenia. I am a member of the Armenian nation, born Armenian and nationalized Armenian.
Senator HARMING. It requires, does it not, a suspension of the rule of the committee in order for him to testify? The rule is that none but citizens of the United States shall testify before the committee. I think we might suspend the rule and hear him.
Senator WILLIAMS. Yes.
Senator HARDING. We are assuming to go into outside affairs here. It is the general rule of the Committee on Foreign Relations not to hear those who are not citizens of the United States.
Senator WILLIAMS. No; it is not a rule, but we have diverged from that idea very seldom. I move that we take his testimony.
Senator NEW. You are an American citizen, Mr. Sevasly?
Mr. SEVASLY. Yes, sir.
Senator NEW. We might obviate that by permitting Mr. Sevasly to testify as to what Gen. Torcom says.
Senator HARMING. In view of our extending the scope of this inquiry as we have, I think we might suspend the rule.
Senator NEW. I think we might do so.
Senator HARDING. We will suspend the rule, if there is no objection, and let the general proceed to tell us what he has to say.
Gen. TORCOM. At the age of 12 my father was massacred in Cilicia, and we left for Bulgaria. At that time the Bulgarians were sympathetic with the Armenians, because they themselves had undergone massacres at the hands of the Turks. In my younger days I secured my elementary education in Switzerland and France. Subsequently

I went to Bulgaria to go through my military service, being a Bulgarian citizen at that time. I graduated in 1903 as a sublieutenant—second lieutenant—in the mi1itary school in Bulgaria.

In 1907 I was sent by the Bulgarian Government to France to go through the course in the military school at St. Cyr. I subsequently served in the Swiss Army; went through the course in the Swiss Army, in the cavalry, and in the mountain artillery, and the infantry. My service in Switzerland had for its object to make myse1f acquainted with the mountain situations and the way to cope with them, because we were then preparing, in the Balkans, for a war against Turkey for the purpose of saving Macedonia.

In October, 1912, war was declared between Turkey and the Balkan States, including Greece, Serbia, and Bulgaria. I went through the first campaign in the Bulgarian Army against the Turks. I received three wounds and was given two Bulgarian decorations, including the highest.

I advised the Bulgarians not to march against the Serbians, on the eve of the Serbian-Bulgarian war, because I was in favor of all the Balkan Christian States clubbing together and forming a sort of confederation, and I wrote a book to that effect in French at the time. A copy of this book I have left with Mr. Sevasly to read.

In 1914 I did my best to dissuade the Bulgarians from joining the Central Powers against the Entente Allies; but for political reasons, which I need not give here, because it would occupy too much of the committee's time, the Bulgarians did not follow my advice. Then I resigned from the Bulgarian Army; and then, joining hands with the Bulgarian Gen. Demetrieff, I left Bulgaria and joined the Russian ranks, and fought against the Central Powers under Gen. Brussilof.

In August, 1914, I was wounded in Galicia.

In 1915, when the Bulgarian War began, I sent back all my Bulgarian decorations to King Ferdinand and protested energetically against their action, and my protest was published in the columns of the European papers.

In 1915 and 1916 I received my second and third wounds in hard fighting with the Russian Army in Galicia and in the Carpathian Mountains. I served with the Russian Army until 1917, and I received a Russian decoration.

Senator WILLIAMS. Now, give us some idea of this Armenian situation, as you understand it?

Gen. TORCOM. In 1917 I went to Armenia for the purpose of organizing a military force, but by reason of the situation created by Russian bolshevism it was difficult for us to realize our scheme. We had no money, we had no arsenals, we had not the equipment, and no allied country came to our rescue, because we were surrounded on all sides by the Tartars and Kurds, the Turks and the Georgians. For this purpose I will submit to the Senate a statement that I gave to the British Government in 1919, in January. [Handing printed state-

Senator WILLIAMS. This is printed in French and is entitled "Armenian notes and documents sent by Gen. Torcom, chief of the Armenian men. The same notes and documents were sent by Gen. Torcom to the ambassadors for the United States, France, and Italy in order to be transmitted to the ministers for foreign affairs of their respective Governments."

Would the committee like the English translation of this in the record?

Gen. TORCOM. I beg, Mr. Chairman, that you will permit me to present the English. I have ready also the translation.

Senator HARDING. Is this document here?

Gen. TORCOM. Yes.

Senator HARDING. That may be inserted in the record.

(The document referred to was not furnished for insertion in the record.)

Gen. TORCOM. Having regard to the fact that we were surrounded on all sides by these

different enemies that I have mentioned, and that Russia had abandoned the front, the reply to the Armenians was a terrible one. From Riga to the Black Sea the Armenians had contributed some 80,000 men to the Russian Army, but bolshevism prevented us from taking those troops to Armenia, because the distances are very great, money was necessary, and means of transportation. Therefore it was a catastrophe.

I asked from Tiflis the sending of French and English rescue troops, but, unfortunately, both the French and the English had a lot on their hands on the Russian front and they could not send us any reinforcements. We realized in January, 1918, that perhaps our only ally at those times was the snow that was covering the Armenian plateaus, because no country was coming to help us.

permit me to have a little office and a man who can translate my project; we can organize here one division of three regiments of [this paragraph is incomplete, but is reproduced as printed in the document]

It was under these conditions that we got together—collected, as it were—all the Armenians or troops available in Erzeroum, and we proclaimed the independence of Armenia. We did that notwithstanding the fact that we were placed in such a disadvantageous condition; but we had to do that for the moral effect of it. We had to do that for the future generations, and in the name of history, and we did that with arms in our hands. We did that because, although much inferior to the enemy, we did not want to have any dealings with the enemy, because we knew that here in America we would some day find friends who would see that that independence is duly respected.

All I wanted to say was this, now, at this juncture, that the Armenians have done all they possibly could, and they fought very valiantly, having regard to all the surroundings.

Senator NEW. Let me make a suggestion. We have only about 12 minutes left this morning. This is very, intensely, interesting to me; and I would like to have the General in the time remaining tell the committee what he thinks is necessary to be done now in Armenia.

Senator WILLIAMS. In this connection, yes. Your ideas upon that subject are set out here on this page of this printed document printed in French, addressed to" His Excellency."

(Senator Williams here read in French the passage of the document referred to.)

That is what you have in mind, is it not?

Gen. TORCOM. Yes; that is all right.

Senator WILLIAMS. Is the English of that here?

Mr. TULIN. It is not translated there, no; but the General has already had a translation made, which he has.

Gen. TORCOM. I need only your permission to furnish that.

Senator HARDING. You may file with the stenographer the English translation of these documents, and make them a part of the record.

Senator WILLIAMS. Here is something I want to call attention to. Here, under clause 8, it says, and I will read it in French, as follows:

(Senator Williams here read the passage referred to in French.)

Senator WILLIAMS. That contains a promise on the part of Armenia to recognize her proportional part of the Turkish debt.

Gen. TORCOM. Yes; when we have our independence, fully.

Senator WILLIAMS. As a general part of the proposition of independence she wants her part of whatever the reparation commission adjudges as coming to her, and she wants to pay her part of the Turkish debt. I think that is right important.

Gen. TORCOM. If you will allow me, I will now answer your question, and as to these other matters, we can leave them to a subsequent meeting.

Senator WILLIAMS. You might just put it in writing.

Senator HARDING. The measure relates to the organization of an army in the United

States made up of those who came from Armenia?
Gen. TORCOM. That is all right.
Senator HARDING. I want to touch upon the possibilities of that enterprise.
America can not send her troops at once, then she must do all that is needful to persuade the British to retain their trod there, and ass to their numbers, until we can organize those units, in respect of which I am going to submit to the committee my plan. That is the first question, as to what must be done immediately.
There is not a day to lose about it. We will speak about the political conditions later on, but about this, that is necessary to save the country, without long discussion, by an act, and I am sure that in this country where virile acts are so well considered and accepted, this virile act will be adopted. I am sure that America will give a lesson to the Old World by taking action.
(From this point to the end of his testimony Gen. Torcom testified in English language without the aid of an interpreter.)
In Armenia all the population is not available because our country is not in our own hands. We have in the Caucasus and in the Balkins 1,000,000 population. We will concentrate that population into Armenia.
The problem is to be solved by sending one division of troops there, or to get the English to stop withdrawing and keep the British division in Armenia, and then immediately to organize those Armenian who are in the United States, in Canada, in the Balkans, in Egypt, and in other places and to take them there. Capt. Tulin stated that they had 10,000 men by only 6,000 organized, because they had no money and no food and no equipment.
Senator HARDING. I see in this note which you have sent to the ministers of the various allied countries, that you have requested that the Armenians serving in the French and British and American and other armies be permitted to unite in an Armenian corps.
Gen. TORCOM. Yes, sir; that is our right: and I am sure that if it had not been for the intrigues of the Old World, our sacrifices during the war would have been recognized.
Senator WILLIAMS. There were Armenians serving with the British in Mesopotamia?
Gen. TORCOM. Yes; thousands.
Senator WILLIAMS. And with the British in Palestine?
Gen. TORCOM. Thousands.
Senator WILLIAMS. And there were Armenians in the American regiments in France?
Gen. TORCOM. Yes, sir; thousands.
Senator WILLIAMS. You desire to have it fixed, if possible, so that these various Armenian soldiers serving under these various flags may be united into one corps as an Armenian army?
Gen. TORCOM. That is the first thing; but we have no money, and we can not get in Paris $10,000,000 for our propaganda. That is the whole thing. I think here in the United States, in free America, we will find it possible to give to this unfortunate country a little help, to save it, at once.
Senator WILLIAMS. You want us to show the American flag and have the Armenians gather around it?
Gen. TORCOM. That will be all right. Now, on the second question I have for you a little statement. I beg you to permit me to collaborate with your committee. I am here to collaborate if you will.
As to the first and immediate thing to do, I am of the same opinion as Capt. Tulin is, that it is to send at once to Armenia enough troops to keep the line, because without those means of commun1cation being kept the relief can not reach the Armenians. If

those Armenians who are here. We have 120,000 in America, of whom about 40,000 are unmarried men from 20 to 45, and in my travels in Canada and elsewhere I have seen Armenians, many of them, who are ready to go to Armenia. The only question is the question of organization and the question of money.

Senator WILLIAMS. I tell you what you do. Can can make that statement which you desire in writing, and translate it into Engl1sh for him,

Mr. Sevasly, and let him file it with the stenographer. That is satisfactory, is it not, Mr. Chairman?

Senator HARDING. Yes.

Senator NEW. Here is also a confidential statement for the information of the committee that has been made by the general. I suggest that it be made a part of the file of the committee; not, however, to be given out. I think it ought to be kept in confidence.

Then, also, **here is a copy of the secret treaties entered into between Britain, France, and Russia as to the zones of influence in Asiatic Turkey [see Chapter 11]**, and I think that the committee ought to have these.

Senator WILLIAMS. I think that has gone by the board, through the debacle of Russia in the first place, and in the second place by the waiver of France.

(The documents last referred to were filed with the clerk of the comm1ttee.)

Gen. TORCOM. I will finish with a word. We can make one division of troops in the United States; one brigade in Canada. When I was there they came to me and asked to go to Armenia. Those were officers demobilized. Now we have about three divisions in the Caucasus, in the Balkans, France, England, Syria, and Egypt. If we have four divisions with those men we would organize, but would make 80,000 men, and we can occupy all the Armenian lands, and we will be free allies, a free little nation, and we will owe that to the United States of America, and you will not hear anything more of the massacres. There will be no more Kurds, no more Georgians, no more massacres. When the Kurds know that we have a division they will be our friends, and the Tartars, also. We are no barbarous nation. We have in many places a large Turkish population; but if we have 10,000 or 5,000 troops there will be no massacres. **We ask the American Nation to give us the opportunity to control our own affairs**. The necessities are money and organization.

Senator WILLIAMS. And arms and ammunition?

Gen. TORCOM. Yes.

Senator HARDING. Do I understand that in addition to the permission to organize this army in this country, you want it financed here?

Gen. TORCOM. Yes.

Senator HARDING. By whom?

Gen. TORCOM. I think the Nation, the American Government, w1ll give us enough to organize, like the Jugo-Slavs, like the Czecho-Slays. Why not the Armenians the same? If we occupy our lands we can give sufficient security for the money.

Senator HARDING. That is precisely the point I am trying to get at, whether you are seeking to have the American Government finance your undertaking or whether you want permission to have it financed among the friends of Armenia?

Gen. TORCOM. My dear Chairman, there are two ways. Let the American Government do it and we will give security for what we need for the organization of this army, perhaps a hundred million dollars or two hundred million dollars, and we would have from the Armenian territory ample security; or, if any Americans will furnish the money necessary; any capitalists. But in any case, I think in America they will find the way.

Senator WILLIAMS. Of course, the Armenian Republic can not issue or float any bonds until after it has been organized and recognized by the world. No capitalist would invest in the bonds of an inchoate, unrecognized country.

Gen. TORCOM. The first thing to do is to organize the army.
Senator WILLIAMS. Yes; that is self-evident. Well, Mr. Chairman, with this understanding, that the general can prepare his statement in French or Armenian, which will be translated into English and submitted to the stenographer later, I think we may adjourn.
Gen. TORCOM. I am here, but I do not know your language, and the condition is that I have all the documents and I will bring you what is necessary. I hope you will give me the permission to work with you for Armenia. I must have a little office and two or three collaborators.
(At 12.10 p. m. the subcommittee adjourned until Friday, October 10, 1919, at 10.30 o'clock a. m.)
(The statement referred was not submitted by Gen. Torcom.)
(The translation into English of the Armenian independence proclamation act submitted for the record by Gen. Torcom is here printed in full in the record, as follows:)

ARMENIAN INDEPENDENCE PROCLAMATION ACT AT MARINE (ERZEROUM), THE 31ST JANUARY (13TH FEBRUARY), 1918, IN THE PRESENCE OF THE TROOPS, THE POPULATION, AND THE PROVINCIAL DELEGATES OF ARMENIA.

ARMENIAN MILITARY MISSION.

Armenian popular legend, so dear to our hearts, suggests the epoch of the building of the Tower of Babel as the beginning of our nation and of our first independence.
Haig, whose name we bear, did not wish to submit to the proud Belus, and So he removed from Babylonia. And when this despotic ruler pursued out "Nahabed," Haig bravely went forth to meet him and killed him in the neighborhood of Lake Van, in the district called the Valley of the Armenians (Haiotz Tzor).
Thus it was an idea of liberty and of justice which directed the origin of our people, and this idea triumphed.
But it was by contest that the early Armenians carried their independence. And it is again by contest that, during more than twenty centuries, Armenia Major, and Armenia Minor, and the further Armenia of Cilicia, which gave so many glorious pages to the history of the Crusaders, have organized and developed themselves.
The existence of the Armenian nation is summed up in one word: *Combat*. A continual ceaseless struggle, often victorious, more often unequal and grievous, because enemies roundabout Armenia are numerous. But during the periods of success, as well as during the periods of most terrible reverses when all seems lost, faith does not abandon the Armenians, and the Armenians do not give up the contest.
It is thus that throughout the vicissitudes of centuries one of the most ancient peoples of the world has survived so many other powerful nations who have fought with them.
On April 16th, 1375, Cilicia, that jewel of Armenian possessions and the refuge of our independence, fell under the thrusts of the enemy.
Submitting to brutal force, but never subdued, the Armenian people have at no time disgraced themselves.
Proud of their moral independence and having confidence in their future, the Armenians have during five centuries and a half continued their struggle for liberty.
The last stage of this struggle has caused the whole world to shudder with horror and to be thrilled with admiration.
No pen, no words, could describe the shocking martyrdom of the Armenians during these last forty years. As innocent victims, the Armenian people have groaned and suffered during forty years under that most barbarous form of government—the

Turkish regime.
An unspeakable government, took upon itself to destroy our nation by systematic massacres and deportations in mass.
From the shores of the Bosphorus to the confines of the Caucasus, and from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean, Armenian blood has been shed in torrents.
It is four years since Germany provoked the general war for challenging the dominion of the world, and just as Belgium, Poland, Serbia, Montenegro, have been unwillingly thrown into the bloody arena, so also has Armenia been atrociously ill-used.
Many hundred thousands of our brothers and sisters have been basely massacred, others have found a slow death in the deserts of Syria and Mesopotamia.
The land of Armenia, once so prosperous, is now reduced into a land of ruins and desolation.
Like a flourishing forest which the Vandals wished to cut down, the Armenian nation has been pitilessly decimated.
This nation has seen falling round it the largest number of its children. But, from the stumps of the forest other buds have sprouted, which already lift up toward the sky their verdant branches—full of life.
The Armenian nation, in spite of all the injustice it has undergone, in spite of all the massacres, all the betrayals, all the abandonments, was not willing to die.
That nation shall live.
Although our hearts were wrung by the immense tragedy of Russia, which paralyzed our strength, we Armenians, nevertheless. rushed forth, a few from everywhere, to the soil of our old Fatherland, to defend the sorrowful remnants of our people, of that people which would not despair, and which has been waiting during five hundred and fifty years, suffering and bathed in blood, for the hour of its final deliverance.
To-day that hour has. at last, struck.
In the name of the Armenian people, in the name of all the martyrs who have suffered in our land, in the name of the most sacred principles of justice, of right, and of liberty, I, Colonel Torcom, Commanding the Armenian Corps, and Chief of the Garrison of Garine (Erzeroum), to-day your head, tomorrow your equal, proclaim the independence of Armenia.
Long live free Armenia.
Long live the Armenian army.
Long live the Armenian nation.
Long live our great and noble Allies.
Long live their glorious arms.
Woe to those who should dare to raise their hand against our nascent liberty.
Garble (Erzeroum), the 31st January (13th February), 1918.
Colonel Torcom.

After the ceremony of reading this act, the dear soldiers of my Armenian Corps hailed me as: “The First General of Armenia.”
I accept this title with joy and pride.
General Torcom.

Here follow the signatures:
A. ARCHAGOUNI,
Armenian Priest in charge of Garine.
S. ANANIAN,
President of the Council for the Defense of Armenia at Garine.
O. ARISDAGUISSIAN,
S. KEKLIKIAN,

S. TOURIGIAN,
S. ABDALIAN,
B. AKHIKIAN,
N. MELIKI&N,
Members of the Council for the Defense of Armenia and Provincial Delegates.
N. BOULOUDIAN,
R. NIKAILIAN,
D. AGHASSI,
N. PIROUMIAN,
Members of the various Armenian Committees and Provincial Delegates.
HAKKI PASHA,
Vice-President of the Municipal Council.
HAMDI EFFENDI,
Member of the Municipal Council.
The most eminent members of the Turkish population.
True copy of the original in Armenian.

Lieut. Colonel D. DAVITIAN,
Chief of the Chancellery of the Armenian Military Mission.

MAINTENANCE OF PEACE IN ARMENIA.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 10, 1919.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS,
Washington, D. C

The subcommittee met, pursuant to adjournment, at 10.30 o'clock a. m., in the room of the Committee on the Philippines, in the Capitol, Senator Warren G. Harding presiding.
Present: Senators Harding (chairman) and Williams.
The CHAIRMAN. We will hear Mr. Smith now.

STATEMENT OF MR. WALTER GEORGE SMITH.

Senator HARDING. Please give the stenographer your name and your connection, and so forth.
Mr. SMITH. My name is Walter George Smith. I am a member of the Philadelphia bar and one of the commissioners for the relief of the Near East.
Senator HARDING. You are a former president of the American Bar Association; you might add that.
Mr. SMITH. Well, you might put that in parenthesis. That came from the chairman and not from me.
Senator HARDING. What is your official connection?
Mr. SMITH. I am one of the commissioners for the relief of the Near East. The

committee for the relief of the Near East has recently been incorporated by act of Congress under the name Near East Relief. It will meet for formal organization in New York next Wednesday, and at that time the commissioners for the relief of the Near East, which represent the committee for the relief of the Near East, will go out of existence.

The commission for the relief of the Near East consists of Dr. James M. Barton, of Boston; Dr. J. H. T. Main, president of Grinnell College, Iowa; Mr. Harold Hatch, of New York; Prof. Edward C. Moore, of Cambridge, Mass.; Dr. W. W. Peet, of Constantinople; Rev. Dr. Stanley White, of New York; Mr. Arthur Curtis James, of New York, and myself. Have I given them all, Mr. Jaquith?

Mr. JAQUITH. Yes, sir.

Mr. SMITH. These commissioners were sent out to Turkey in the early part of last winter in order to superintend the distribution of subscriptions by the American people for those who had suffered from Turkish persecution, irrespective of race or creed. Five of the commissioners, that is, all but Dr. Stanley White and myself, sailed in January, and on their arrival in Constantinople Dr. Main was sent up to Tiflis in Georgia to take charge of relief in the region that is known as the Caucasus. Prof. Moore went to Derindje, which had been formerly a German depot of supplies, and is situated on the Gulf of Ismet about 40 miles from Constantinople. There, ships bearing relief supplies from the United States were discharged, and their contents put in warehouses. Mr. Hatch took charge of financial matters. Dr. Peet gave special attention to Affairs in and about Constantinople. Mr. James remained in Paris as the representative of the commission.

Toward the middle of March Dr. Stanley White and his wife, and I accompanied by my sister, arrived in Constantinople. We found Dr. Barton had gone into the interior. Dr. Peet and Dr. Moore, who came occasionally from Derindje, and I, proceeded to effect an organization of the relief work.

Dr. Main, with an exceedingly inadequate force, was endeavoring to carry on the work of the commission in the Caucasus. The Caucasus was the crucial point for relief, although there was much necessity in other parts of the Turkish Empire, particularly in Anatolia and in Syria.

I should digress at this point to say that for 100 years missionaries of the Congregational Church of the United States, and later, missionaries of the Presbyterians, had erected stations in different parts of the Turkish Empire. These had gradually developed until they represented an investment of millions of dollars. There are great colleges at Beirut? Kharput, Mersivan, and other points throughout the Turkish Empire.

When the desolation and suffering caused by the Turkish massacres came to the knowledge of the American people, these gentlemen, who were specially interested, formed the American committee for Armenian and Syrian relief. They appealed to the public, and subscriptions amounting to about $10,000,000 poured in, which they distributed among the afflicted people.

Subsequently, largely to avoid any possible inference that this relief was being used or could be used for proselyting purposes, the committee for the relief of the Near East was formed, and on its board of directors were representatives of all religious bodies—Catholics and Protestants and Jews—and every effort was made and has been made to show that the purpose of the committee was purely benevolent and not religious and not political.

Two hundred and fifty men and women—doctors and nurses, engineers, and other persons whose services would be needed—were shipped off to Constantinople, arriving in March. They were divided up into parties and assigned to different stations, and as rapidly as it was possible, owing to the disturbed condition of the country and the great lack of transportation facilities, these parties were sent into the interior. Meantime,

however, they were occupied with care of the supplies and repair shops at Derindje.
All sorts of relief supplies were brought on ships furnished by the Government of the United States through the Army and Navy Departments, without charge.
Meantime the whole country was carefully organized from headquarters in New York; and throughout the Union in every one of the States, appeals were made for subscriptions. It is safe to say that not less than $30,000,000 has come from these efforts, representing the dime subscriptions of Sunday-school children, and the $100,000 subscriptions of wealthy friends of Armenia in New York.
In addition to these funds, Mr. Herbert Hoover's department, by authority of Congress, appropriated a portion of the funds put at his disposal for the relief of the suffering, and since last March, 5 tons of flour have been furnished each month by his department and transported into the Caucasus. One of his able assistants, Mr. Howard Heinz, was sent to Constantinople in January, where he established headquarters at the American Embassy, with the cordial assistance of Admiral Mark L. Bristol, who is now the American high commissioner there. Mr. G. B. Ravndal, the consul general; who is a commissioner at this time, gave such assistance as he consistently could to the work of the commission. Dr. Stanley White, as soon as transportation could be furnished, which was given him by Admiral Bristol, went with a party of workers to Syria.
I wish now to direct the attention of the subcommittee particularly to the situation in the Caucasus. The term "Caucasus" covers that high plateau bounded on the south by the Taurus Mountains and on the north by the Caucasus Range, and extending from the Black Sea to the Caspian, and containing within its limits, in an irregular parallelogram, from the Black Sea to the Caspian, the new Republic of Georgia, the capital of which is Tiflis. The provisional government of Armenia, whose representatives are here, are in nominal control of a stretch of country south of Georgia, bounded on the east by Persia, the Tartar Republic of Azerbaijan, and on the west by the Province of Trebizond, and by another organization of Tartars, the name of which for the moment I have forgotten. It has no outlet to the sea as at present situated—either the Mediterranean or the Black Sea.
The country is mountainous and pastoral. There are, however, fertile valleys. The only line of railroad, built by the Russians, extends from Batoum, which is the Black Sea port, to Bakow on the Caspian Sea, and runs through Tiflis, the capital of Georgia. From Tiflis a branch runs southwestward through Erivan and Alexandropol to Kars.
On the other side of the. Taurus Mountains are six vilayets— which is the Turkish name given to separate provincial political governments—with Turkish governors. In those six vilayets in 1916 there was a population, variously estimated, of 1,000,000 Armenians. At the beginning of the war these Armenians were asked to throw in their lot as an organization with the Turks in the war against the allies. Their reply was that they were Ottoman subjects and ready to perform their duty as such, but that as an organization they would not accede to this request. Forthwith massacres began, and 700,000 of these people were killed. It is estimated that there remain about 200,000 survivors in those six vilayets, which historically and geographically form part of Armenia, as the term is understood.
There is also, adjoining to the eastward of those vilayets, the ancient country of Cilicia which extends to the Mediterranean Sea, and where there was also a considerable population of Armenians.
The country of Russian Armenia, the capital of which now is Erivan, where the provisional government exists, had been thoroughly war worn during the campaigns following 1915. Villages had been destroyed, depots had been blown up, and all of the reserve provisions that might have served for the sustenance of the people who subsequently came in, were either destroyed or carried off by the Turks. Into that bare region, after 1915, at various times, the survivors of the Turkish massacres and

persecutions came in hordes. There was simply nothing to feed them with. It was winter weather. They stretched along the railways and at different stations, as far as Tifis, and were particularly congested at Erivan, at Echmiadzin, about 15 miles from Erivan, the ancient capital of Armenia, where the head of the national religion, the Catholicos, has his residence, and where the ancient cathedral is, and further west at Igdir, across the plain of Mount Ararat. There these refugees, clothed in rags and almost literally without any food, were assembled.

Dr. Main will tell his own story when I have finished my testimony, and will describe the conditions as he found them in March of this year.

After I had given such attention as I thought necessary to the work of organization in Constantinople, at the invitation of Mr. Howard Heinz, through the courtesy of Admiral Bristol, I went on the converted, yacht *Noma*, leaving Constantinople on Easter Sunday, to Batoum, and then to Tifis, to Erivan, to Alexandropol, to Echmiadzin, and to Igdir. By that time the spring weather had abated the rigors of the cold, the grass had turned green in the fields, and there was some opportunity for these wretched people to get sustenance from the roots and grasses that I saw them gathering in the fields. Even then, however, I saw people dying in the streets of Erivan and Alexandropol. I saw evidence, too strong to be overcome, of actual cannibalism at Igdir, and the utter impossibility of any private organization, or indeed any public organizations at that time, saving many of the weaker of these people.

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In Tiflis Mr. Willoughby Smith had been United States consul prior to the war, and two young men from America, Capt. Arroll and Capt. Elder, who had remained in Persia during the war, had taken charge of certain funds that came in generous profusion from different sources for relief work in Tiflis, I was surprised and greatly pleased to see how effective that work was. There were factories, to employ women and young people, for wool and cotton goods. There were orphanages for the children where I saw hundreds well fed and well cared for. There were were hospitals for contagious and noncontagious diseases, well organized; headquarters, under the care of Dr. Main, and everything to give encouragement.

At Alexandropol our station was just being organized, and the situation was still very deplorable.

At Erivan the Armenian Government had brought order out of chaos. They had well-drilled and well-organized force of soldiers, whose clothing was manufactured by the Near East charitable work. There were schools and other relief organizations, besides soup kitchens, organized. I'm speaking now of Erivan and not of Alexandropol.

At Igdir the Armenian Government had established orphan asylums, but its poverty and embarrassment were such that they could not maintain them, and they were subsequently taken over by our relief work.

After a very thorough inspection, considering the brevity of time, of these works, and hours of consultation with the provisional government at Erivan, Mr. Heinz and I came back satisfied that a very good beginning had been made in the relief, but that the burden was staggering for any private organization. Mr. Heinz's main purpose was to secure assurances from the Armenian Government that, when and if they were recognized, they would repay all the money expended by the United States Government for relief, and that the provisions could be transported and distributed.

On returning to Constantinople from this expedition, and after a visit to our warehouses at Derindje, and after considerable effort to organize local relief in Constantinople, I became satisfied that I should go to Syria and Asia Minor to look after interests of the commission there, with special reference to the Catholic population on Mount Lebanon.

I ought to say here that the best statistics I have been able to secure of the Armenians now living would place them at about 1,500,000 in the Caucasus region, and others in various points in the Turkish Empire, particularly at Angora, Aleppo, Beirut, and Damascus, bringing them up to perhaps 2,500,000 throughout the Turkish Empire. The massacres, deliberate and arranged for, through starvation, have depleted the Armenian population of the Turkish Empire since 1896 by about 2,000,000. Those who were massacred under Abdul Haimd at Urfa, at Adana, and other places, were about 1,000,000. Those who have died, either as the result of deliberate murder, or who have fallen by the wayside and died of exhaustion or starvation through the deportations, are variously estimated at from 800,000 to 1,000,000.

The British military authorities estimate that 500,000 refugees from the six vilayets of Turkey are in the Caucasus.

Mr. SEVASLY. How many?

Mr. SMITH. Five hundred thousand. The last statistics that I was able to secure indicated that about 200,000 of these people were on the verge of starvation, notwithstanding all of the efforts that were made to feed them.

When the British campaign began in Mesopotamia and their troops advanced to Bakou, they stationed soldiers, many of them Hindoo soldiers, along the line of railway from Batoum to Bakou, small squads under the command of subaltern officers being stationed at each point near and along the railroad.

The Georgian population is highly volatile, and strongly tinged with bolshevism. It was only the presence of the British troops that made it possible for relief trains from Bakou to get into Armenia, and even then there was often great friction.

A glance at the map will show the committee that there is no way of getting into the provisional republic of Armenia at present by rail excepting from Batoum. I have stated—and I must apologize to the committee if I seem somewhat discursive—that I had planned to go down into Asia Minor. I had take passage in the early part of June, when Dr. C. D. Ussher, medical missionary in charge. of our work at Erivan, arrived in Constantinople with a plan for the repatriation of the Armenian refugees. He had been in consultation with the Kurdish chiefs. I ought to say that to the south of the Turks, to the east and the southeast, are the Kurds and Tartars, and to the west of the Armenian republic are other Tartars, and to the north are Georgians. The Kurds, the Turks, and the Tartars are bitter enemies of the Armenians. The Georgians are simply jealous, selfish, and unfriendly, but not actually and deliberately hostile.

Dr. Ussher believed that by an arrangement with certain Kurdish chiefs and with the Turkish political authorities a peaceful method of repatriation for these people might be arrived at. He had worked out a plan which had a great deal of merit and was considered significant by the British diplomatic authorities in Constantinople to whom he had submitted it.

Pondering over that plan, and on consultation with my colleague, Dr. Barton, who had by that time returned from the interior and was exceedingly ill at a hospital in Constantinople, and with Dr. Peet, I concluded that the exigencies of the situation were so great that I should go with Dr. Ussher to Paris and see if something could not be done to arrest the policy of drift which was rapidly, or gradually and surely, solving the problem as the Turks wished it solved, and that was by the starvation of the Armenians.

Leaving Constantinople on the 15th of June I traveled as rapidly as possible with my sister and Dr. Ussher. Through the courtesy of the admiral and the permission of the captain we went on the destroyer Barney, which piloted the battleship Arizona from the harbor of Constantinople as far as Malta, then went to Naples, and took train to Paris, and arrived in Paris on the 22d of June. There I found Mr. Henry Morgenthau; Mr. Herbert Hoover; Mr. C. L. Vickery, secretary of the relief commission; Mr. H.

C. Jaquith, the assistant secretary; and Mr. Hemphill, treasurer of the commission, in consultation over the situation. My colleague, Dr. Moore, owing to ill health, had retired from Constantinople and had passed through Paris a short time before, and had laid before the gentlemen interested, his anxieties with regard to the situation.

Dr. Main was compelled by the affairs of his college at Grinnell, Iowa, to leave the Caucasus. What day was it, Doctor, that you left?

Mr. MAIN. The 17th of May.

Mr. SMITH (continuing). And he had gone on to America when I arrived in Paris. He had been succeeded by Mr. Ernest Yarrow, a very able member of the commission staff, in charge of affairs in the Caucasus.

Mr. Morgenthau and the others and I entered into conference with Mr. Herbert Hoover, and as a result Col. William M. Haskell, of the United States Army, who had won a distinguished reputation for his efficient services in Roumania and elsewhere in the Balkans on the staff of Mr. Hoover, was assigned to the Caucasus, and to him was given all the authority of the committee for the relief of the Near East, and, in addition thereto, the representatives of the allied Governments in session in Paris gave him full diplomatic authority as far as they were able to do it, and thus equipped he went on to the Caucasus at as early a date as possible, and is now established there in full control of all of the relief works, both those of the food administration and of the Near East relief committee, and with full control over the staff.

Meantime, Gen. John G. Harbord, who has won a most enviable reputation during the war as chief of staff of Gen. Pershing, was approached with the suggestion that it would be valuable if he would go to the Caucasus and make a careful examination of every question involved. I had the honor to consult with Gen. Harbord, and he showed me the plan which he intended to pursue, and the schedule of questions that he intended to investigate. They covered everything that anyone interested in the matter, either from a humanitarian or a commercial or a political point of view, could possibly wish to know.

Gen. Harbord, I have since learned, organized a staff of carefully chosen Army officers, amounting in all to probably more than 40, and has proceeded with them to the Caucasus and is now there. The morning papers indicate that he was fired On, probably by brigands, somewhere in the neighborhood of Kars, which the cable report has "Kharson." He was down in the southwestern portion of Armenia at the time of this occurrence.

It had now got to be about the 15th of July, and the situation looked very favorable. The British troops were policing the Cau
casus. The most efficient management had been introduced upon the
relief work. We had at Derindje a large supply of necessary medicines, clothing, and other necessities of the refugees. Our revenue in New York from charitable sources was coming in in an encouraging way. We had carefully reorganized our superintendence work in Constantinople by engaging, through the agency of Mr. Arthur Curtis James, Maj. Davis G. Arnold, of the United States Army, who had served very creditably during the war as a member of the Rainbow Division, and personally, though very anxious, I was very much encouraged as to the situation and turned, after five months of constant and continuous, trying work, to take some vacation by visiting some friends in the south of France pending the sailing of my steamer either for America, if occasion should require it, or to complete my investigations by going back to Syria.

I returned to Paris about the 1st of August. I found that Mr. Henry Morgenthau had gone up to Poland as special commissioner to investigate conditions there; that Mr. Vickery, the secretary of the Near East Relief, and Mr. Jaquith, were in Paris, and that telegrams had been pouring in day by day and almost hour by hour from the United States consul at Tiflis, from the Army intelligence officers who had been sent

out to report to the proper department of the Government, and from our workers, that owing to the fact that the British cabinet had made public announcement that their troops would be withdrawn from the Caucasus on the 15th of August, organized military bodies of Turks, Kurds, and Tartars were massed at strategic points upon the borders of Armenia, that massacres had already begun, and that as soon as the British troops were withdrawn the wretched population would be overwhelmed and the relief workers would be necessarily withdrawn. You can imagine, gentlemen, the anxiety of the situation. From what I have stated to you, I knew, from my personal observation, the peril; and I knew, too, without criticizing anyone or any organization or anybody, that the peace conference had known since the 15th of March that this was impending, because the British Government had served notice upon their colleagues that they would withdraw their troops upon the 15th of June.

Senator HARDING. Right there; did you learn any statement of the impelling motive of that early withdrawal?

Mr. SMITH. I will come to that, sir; but I can only conjecture. The British had continued their troops, however, to the 1st of August, because, perhaps, the peace conference had suggested, and the Italian Government had looked with some favor upon, sending Italian troops to take the place of the British along these lines of railroad. The delegates of the United States in Paris at that time were Mr. Polk, Gen. Bliss, and Mr. Henry White. They were all quartered at the Hotel Crillon with their staff. I had many personal interviews with Mr. White and Gen. Bliss and with other gentlemen who were familiar with Near East affairs, but I failed to see Mr. Polk: I waited on Nubar Pasha, who is a diplomatic representative of the Armenians, his colleagues being Mr. J. H. Malcom, and Prof. Agopian of Roberts College.

At that time the labor conference was in session at Luzerne. It was suggested that pressure was being brought to bear upon the British cabinet by labor leaders to withdraw their troops from all foreign points. On investigation I found that this was not so, as far as it applied to Armenia, because the labor conference had passed a strong resolution urging the British cabinet to retain their troops there.

Senator WILLIAMS. That is, to maintain them in the Caucasus?

Mr. SMITH. To maintain them in the Caucasus for the present. I saw various gentlemen with whom I discussed the situation, whose names it is not necessary to state, but I found that it was impossible to gain anything officially, and I decided to make an appeal to the conscience of the world upon this subject. The situation was too awful for me to stop to consider any questions of etiquette. I saw the people dying on the streets and in the villages, and gathering grass and sitting around and cooking it, and I knew there would be an end of the Armenian question unless something was done and done quickly.

The Young Turks, led by Enver Bey, Talaat Pasha, and Djemal Pasha, who were in control of the Turkish political machinery until the fall of Constantinople, and who were acting with full knowledge and the connivance and approval of the Austrian and German Governments, had planned for the total extinction of the Armenian race in Turkey, and if the British troops were withdrawn their plans would be completely carried out, although they themselves were fugitives from justice.

In consequence of this conclusion I wrote an appeal to the public in the nature of a protest, which was published by the New York Herald on August 13, and telegraphed by the Associated Press to the United States in brief. I then went to London and saw various members of the British Parliament and various members of the British cabinet, and also the editor of the London Times. In consequence of the sympathy and appreciation of the situation by the Times, by the Manchester Guardian, and by other newspapers in England, finally I received unofficial assurance that for the present the troops would not be withdrawn.

Now, Mr. Chairman, in response to your first question I will say that I endeavored to find out what was the motive for the apparent precipitancy in the withdrawal of the British troops. I, of course, was absolutely an unofficial person. The commission, as I have endeavored to make clear, had no political purpose whatsoever, and, as a commission, had no political plan for the relief of these people, but it was absolutely essential to go into politics to the point of having them protected; so I endeavored, as I say, to find out what was the reason for the apparent precipitancy in the withdrawal of the troops. It seems that the British, as we all know—it is a matter of common knowledge now—are in a very embarrassing financial position. They, with the French, have borne the brunt of this war. One million seven hundred and fifty thousand of their soldiers have been killed. Their fleet has saved the world's civilization from the Germans. They are tired and war weary and deep in debt. Two million pounds a day they are expending in excess of their income.

It is natural, therefore, that they should turn to other parts of the world, and say, "Here is a purely benevolent enterprise. We do not need Armenia; we have Mesopotamia; it is not necessary to protect our road to India. Why should we, after we have policed that country since last March, be kept there at an expense of I do not know how many thousands of pounds per month? What will America do?" My answer to those gentlemen was this: "You know our constitutional system of government in the United States. You know that America can do nothing except through Congress, and you know that Congress is responsive to the sentiment of the people. The American people do not know this situation. Their interest in Armenia is apparent from their 100 hundred years of missionary undertaking and their enormous generosity within the last few years." I said, "I am not blaming anybody; I do not know the secret reasons of it; but the fact is that the Paris conference, which has ben adjusting boundaries of the nations of the world that have been at war, has held up this Turkish question for nearly a year. The Turks were on their knees and ready to accept anything at the close of the war. They were not disarmed. They are in full possession of all the interior country excepting Mesopotamia, Palestine, Smyrna where the Greeks are, and Constantinople which is occupied by British, Italian and French troops at an occasional point here and there.

In order to decide this matter as to what America may do, there must be time for the American people to be educated as to the situation. I may say, without egotism "—I am talking now to a British member of the cabinet or to a member of Parliament—"that until these dispatches came from me the Americans knew nothing about the exigencies of the situation. They knew that the Armenians were starving, but they did not know that the British were going to withdraw their troops" "But," the British member of the cabinet responded to me, "we gave notice last spring, and it was stated in Parliament." "Yes, but you did not bring it home—it was not brought home, at least—to the American people; nor was it brought to the conscience of the British people. Now we know it, for the first time." "Well, how long will it take?" I said, "At least three months, and that is a short time for Congress to act, if Congress will act. I have no right to say that Congress will act. I know the jealous feeling of conservatism about our extending our international relations or our regulations into remote parts of the world."

Under those circumstances, finding that the troops were not to be withdrawn at once, feeling that my mission was accomplished so far as that was concerned, and it being very late in the season and being somewhat uncertain, I concluded that it was best for me to return to the United States rather than to return to Syria, and I arrived in New York on the 13th of September.

Now, Mr. Chairman, you have before you a resolution introduced by Senator Williams, and, at the risk of telling you something that you are exceedingly familiar with, I want to direct your attention to what that provides for.

The CHAIRMAN. You have the revised copy?
Mr. SMITH. I have a copy dated the 9th of September.
The CHAIRMAN. Yes.
Mr. SMITH. And it shows what was in the mind of Senator Williams when he got Mr. Hitchcock to introduce it. I would like to read it into the record if I may be permitted to do so.
Senator WILLIAMS. Let me see that a moment. I have an amended resolution pending before the subcommittee. Yes; this is the amended resolution.
Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir. Now, I take it what I have said at such wearisome length has been really to give you the atmosphere, and I am sorry to have taken so much time and trespassed so much, but you must pardon me. No question has ever been before you gentlemen, or ever will be before you, which is so momentous as this question. I say it with all the sincerity of my being, and I wish I could say it to all the people of the United States.
Senator HARDING. You say that with such emphasis and in such striking language; do you mean to say from the political viewpoint or the humane viewpoint?
Mr. SMITH. I mean particularly the humane viewpoint; and after all, Senator, although you gentlemen, of course—and I am talking of elementary things—are bound by your oaths to support the Constitution of the United States and to do everything in a constitutional way, everything else is mere red tape to be torn up and cast aside in the presence of such a question as you have before you now, and when the conscience of the American people is aroused to this thing, anybody that opposes it will be cast aside.
Senator HARDING. You mean everything except our constitutional duty?
Mr. SMITH. Yes; everything except your constitutional duty. You will understand that. I will read Senator Williams's resolution. [Reading:]

Whereas the withdrawal of the British troops from the Caucasus and Armenia will leave the Armenian people helpless against the attacks of the Kurds and the Turks—

That is perfectly true, as my colleague, Dr. Main, will testify in a few moments—

and whereas the American people are deeply and sincerely sympathetic with the aspirations of the Armenian people for liberty, and peace, and progress—

That is absolutely true, Senator; absolutely true, as is shown by the tangible gift of $35,000,000, quite irrespective of anything else—

Therefore be it
Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That in the opinion of the Senate, Armenia (including the six vilayets of Turkish Armenia and Cilicia), Russian Armenia, and the northern part of the Province of Azerbaijan and Trebizond—

Senator WILLIAMS. Right there, ought not that to be stricken out?
Mr. SMITH. Opinions differ as to that—whether that Province where there are situated 300,000 Armenians ought to be vacated by the Armenians and not be a part of the Armenian Republic. Opinion must be expressed by these Armenian gentlemen, who are familiar with it.
Senator WLLLIAMS. All right.
Mr. SMITH (continuing reading):

Resolved by the Senate. and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That in the opinion of the Senate, Armenia (including the six vilayets of Turkish Armenia and Cilicia), Russian Armenia, and the northern part of the Province of Azerbaijan and Trebizond, should be independent, and that it is the hope of the Senate that the peace conference will make arrangements for helping Armenia to establish an independent republic.
SEC. 2. That the President of the United States is hereby authorized to use such military and naval forces of the United States as in his opinion may seem expedient for the maintenance of peace and tranquility in Armenia until the settlement of the affairs of that country have been completed by treaty between the nations.

Now, observe, gentlemen of the subcommittee, the adoption of that section does not commit the United States to anything excepting the maintenance of peace, and tranquility for the time being. I will come back to that. [Continuing reading:]

SEC. 3. That the President is hereby authorized to suspend the foreign enlistment act to the extent necessary to enable Armenians in the United States to raise money and arm and equip themselves as an armed force to go to the aid of their countrymen in Asia Minor.

I will take that up again in a moment. [Continuing reading:]

SEC. 4. There is hereby appropriated Out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated the sum of $_____, to enable the President to execute the foregoing resolution.

Now, gentlemen, always with the limitation of our Constitution, on you and your colleagues and the House of Representatives depends at this moment **the question whether 1,500,000 of the most gallant, the most enterprising, the most intelligent people in the world are to be exterminated.** Let me submit that proposition. The ordinary idea of the average American, of the Armenian, is that of a **clever, superclever, mercantile man**. It is supposed, and charged by their **pro-Turkish enemies of all kinds, that they are parasites and bloodsuckers, and that the reason they are hated and persecuted by the Turks is because of their religion, and because, wherever they go, they impoverish the poor Turk until murder and assassination is almost necessary.** Now, 85 per cent of the Armenian people are agricultural people. It is only 15 per cent of those people who are handicraftsmen and professional men. It is true that the Turks, with great consistency and impartiality, have spared none of them. The most refined, accomplished, and gentle ladies have been sent out into the desert and plundered and plundered until the cleaver of the butcher would have been merciful instead of the death they encountered.

I know of an instance of 34 Catholic nuns who were so treated until only two of them remained. I have heard the story from her own lips of an Armenian girl, her face torn and gashed, who stood up in the line and was offered her life if she would turn Mohammedan, and when she would not, the blow fell, misdirected. She fell in a heap of the slain, and her sister, coming along, looking for her, noticed the twitching of her legs and pulled her out. In an even, monotonous, passionless voice she tells the story. She is 17 years old. She goes along to her work.
I have heard the story from an American missionary lady who had been there for years, her story of going along with these refugees until she herself, worn, bedraggled, and exhausted to the last extent, was forbidden by the Turks to go outside of the Empire.

Senator WILLIAMS. Why?
Mr. SMITH. Because she knows the truth.
In thy face of that there were now strong influences at work in America, and in London, and in Constantinople and everywhere, to give the Turks another chance.
Senator HARDING. I want to ask you this. You made a very startling statement a while ago about the ruling powers of Turkey, and about the **Governments of these other countries, sanctioning these massacres by Turkey**?
Mr. SMITH. Yes; I did.
Senator HARDING. Was that called to the attention of the peace commission?
Mr. SMITH. The peace commission, Mr. Chairman, knows all that Dr. Main and our colleagues know, and infinitely more. Intelligent, able young United States officers, vigorous, fine fellows, whom I have met everywhere, have penetrated that whole country, and have written reports on it. British officers have done the same thing.
Senator HARDING. How then, is it possible that the peace commission has not taken cognizance of that situation?
Mr. SMITH. That is a mystery, Mr. Chairman, that I would not undertake to solve.
Senator WILLIAMS. Do you not think it is mainly because they have had so much work to do that something had to be left to the last?
Mr. SMITH. That is what I have said in my published articles, and what I believe to be, after all—
Senator HARDING. They do not usually leave until the last the massacre of human beings.
Mr. SMITH. That is a matter upon which I have my own view, but I do not care to express an opinion. But I want to drive this home to the consciousness of anyone who is interested in the story. The reason why the Armenian Christians are persecuted in Turkey, is twofold. First, they are temperate, they are industrious, they are thrifty, and wherever it is possible they do flourish.
Second, for 1,000 to 1,300 years they have refused to give up their religion. All they needed to have done was to have turned Turk—Mohammedan—and all this would have been removed from them.
Senator HARDING. Is that the explanation of the Tartar attacks?
Mr. SMITH. The Tartars plunder them.
Senator HARDING. And the attacks of the Kurds?
Mr. SMITH. The Kurds are the same way. Neither the Tartars nor the Kurds—you understand it would not do for me to be dogmatic after a brief visit out there, but the fanaticism is on the part of the Turks, not on the part of the Kurds or the Tartars. But the initial thing to understand is that with the Turk the Mohammedan religion is so inseparably intertwined with his political system that it can not be separated. As it was stated to me by an Armenian, the saying is, "The Sultan is the shadow of God on earth," and when he, or the three whom I have named, in his name issue their order, the Turk will kill his nearest and dearest friend and save his soul by doing that. It is difficult for occidental people to understand that, but it is the fact. And it is also a fact, as pointed out to me by my oriental friend, of whose absolute impartiality I have not the least doubt, that it is a capital crime against the Turkish polity for a man to give up the Mohammedan religion. He can be hanged for it, and men are hanged for it. Under those circumstances, to have a compact body of exceedingly intelligent people on the flank of the Bagdad region—and the plan was thought out in Berlin and in Vienna and in Constantinople—was a political danger that they did not propose to tolerate. I have said that it was with the full knowledge and connivance of those governments that these massacres took place. That is a very serious statement to make; but let me refer you to Mr. Henry Morganthau's story, where he shows that, step by step, when he was ambassador at Constantinople, he did the best he could with the Turkish Government

to have this thing stopped. And the recent publications by the permission of the new German cabinet of Dr. Johann Lepsius, showing that some of the German officers protested before the thing went on.

Now, I say, this being the case, the problem that you gentlemen have to solve, with the background of what I have endeavored in this very brief, sketchy, and inadequate way, to state to you, is this: Is it possible for you under the Constitution, and is it expedient for you, in view of the fact that you represent the sentiment of the American people for the maintenance of tranquility and peace in Armenia, after the settlement of these affairs of the country has been completed by treaty by the United States, to send troops to take the place of the British troops, or to do something to save American interests. Now, and this is elementary law—

Senator WILLIAMS. By the way, I just read a letter this morning making the suggestion that perhaps we ought to put in that resolution, if we pass it, "in cooperation with the troops of our recent allies or associates;" in other words, to try to get an international force instead of a purely American force. My idea was that it was not necessary to say that in the resolution.

Mr. SMITH. Certainly not.

Senator WILLIAMS. Because by negotiation, if we wanted to send a division there, or whatever we wanted to send, we might get the French or the Italians or the British to send some with us.

Mr. SMITH. Certainly.

Senator WILLIAMS. I understand the feeling of Britain, among the people there, just at present, tolerably well. They think that Great Britain is being imposed upon in pocketbook and otherwise, and is being called upon to police the world, and they think that the policing ought to be cooperative, if not here and there exclusively by somebody else; but I did not put that in the resolution, because it struck me---does it not strike you SO, Senator—that that would be useless.

Senator HARDING. That can be done by the department.

Mr. SMITH. It is surplusage.

Senator HARDING. Mr. Smith's testimony is very interesting, but out of courtesy to other witnesses who are waiting here to be heard, our time being limited, we must ask you please to be as brief as possible.

Mr. SMITH. I wanted to direct your attention to the practicability of this third clause in the resolution, namely, for the recruiting, equipping, and financing of an Armenian Army in this country— volunteer, of course. That I must leave to these Armenian gentle-men who are here. I asked the secretary of war of the provisional republic, whose name I do not recall for the moment, what was the man-power of Russian Armenia when I was there. He stated that it was about 30,000. I want to say that one of the first questions that comes to the lips of a red-blooded American when he is told this tale, is, "What sort of a people is this that stands up and lets itself be knocked down like so many bullocks, without resistance? They must be a poor, cowardly race." The fact is that the Turks were very careful to deprive them of their arms. They had no chance, except in Russian Armenia. They are now organized under the command of a general who is now in London, and will be in the United States. They have an Army of 18,000 to 20,000 men, the finest young men in that part of the country. They are terrific fighters when they are properly armed.

Senator WILLIAMS. Not only that, but Gen. Allenby paid them a high compliment for the part that they had taken in Armenia and in Palestine, in holding back the Turkish forces that might have stopped the British on the Euphrates.

Mr. SMITH. These people have suffered more than any other people in the world. And they have not been passive; they have not simply stood up and been persecuted. Probably 30 per cent of their population in Turkey were killed because of the war; but

notwithstanding that, they have been of enormous importance in that campaign, as Gen. Allenby points out.

One other thing, and I am, regretfully, done. And the reason I am "regretfully" done is that as soon as I have ceased and have gone away from here, immediately I will commence to remember things I ought to have said to you, and I will not get another opportunity.

Another thing. How much treasure would she expend, how much would the United States be willing to lose or to invest, in that country? I want to avoid all the complications that I can. I do not know what the peace conference is going to decide, but my opinion is that if the Armenian republic should be set up, with an outlet on the Black Sea and an outlet in the province of Cilicia, those two provinces would pay interest on a loan of $250,000,000. That would enable the provisional government to pay off eventually every dollar of investment made here. It is not a charitable gift that is needed; it is just helping these people out.

Now, on the other hand, as to the constitutional question, I do not say it reproachfully or satirically or ironically, but it is a fact that we have made no difficulty whatever about landing our troops in Costa Rica and at other points in South America to save a sugar plantation. We have them now in Haiti. There are 200 people at work on a benevolent mission in Armenia, and there are millions of American money invested there, simply on that ground. I have seen the moral effect of one beardless subaltern British officer, away off in the mountains of Armenia, with two or three Hindu soldiers at his beck. These people fall back. They are savage enough, but they are afraid of the occidental soldier. And so a very small force has a, great effect. If one battleship could go up from Constantinople and appear off these coasts and send aeroplanes up. in the air so that these tribes could see them, the moral effect would be enormous.

Let me read you exactly what the situation is to-day, and then I am done. This is from Col. Haskell. It is a cablegram to the Near East Relief in New York, from Tiflis. It was received on the 5th of October. [Reading:]

TIFLIS, October 5, 1919.
NEAR EAST, New York:

No. 182. Following summarizes activities to date. Functions ACRNE era assumed September 5. Army personnel arrived 15. Property funds being inventoried. Reorganization includes division of central office into five sections, comprising (1) administration; (2) investigation of actual conditions, needs; (3) operation of orphanages and hospitals and industrial work; (4) purchase, storage, transportation, distribution; (5) preparation budgets, disbursements, auditing, and exchange. Field assigned into districts and subdistricts to operate from Tiflis, Batoum, Kars, Erivan, Alexandropol, and Karaklis. Eight hundred thousand destitute, 250,000 homeless being afforded every relief possible by distribution bread, flour, wheat, and soup kitchens. Now have 2,510 (?) tons wheat, ex-cargoes Kickapoo Dimitri may shortly secure from Kouban; doubtful if remainder of total 8,100 tons this account, owing needs volunteer army. Transportation greatly complicated by fact Armenia, Georgia, and Azerbaijan. Entire rolling stock inadequate at best. Urgent representation made Georgia agent, virtual embargo all exports hither, delaying shipment relief supplies of Armenia. Armenia also objects feeding Armenian refugees now Akhalkalaki Borgom, and other districts not in tentative boundaries of Russian Armenia, on ground peace conference likely cede these territories to other States. Denikines requisitions and embargo on shipments of foodstuffs from north Caucasus southward, increases local prices, greatly limits available supply. Transportation in securest trains; robberies frequent since completion withdrawal all British except from Batoum; lack train guards, and uncurbed general

lawlessness constantly imperil our relief shipments outlying districts and force us to organize train guards and R. T . 0. service. Poor terminal facilities Batoum additional handicap. These difficulties rapidly being overcome. Closer checking of foodstuffs distributed already made quantity available reach increased number. Organization now completed, extending operations daily; central distributing dump establishes Alexandropol, where hoped build some reserve for emergency, also obtained large military barracks from Armenian Government where fifty to sixty thousand refugees will be concentrated and employed on roads, public works, to reduce cost maintenance. Thirteen thousand two hundred twenty-five orphans in 49 orphanages in operation throughout Russian Armenia, together with women, are now being employed in light industrial work which hope will be self-supporting soon as exportation manufactures from trans-Caucasia commences. Fourteen hospitals, 1,800 occupied beds, already operating; others planned. Aim our work hundred per cent relief. Possible of attainment by expansion present organization.

HASKELL.

That is the situation, Mr. Chairman. Here is another cablegram from Col. Logan, just received. [Reading:]

PARIS, October 1, 1919-10.47 p. m.
G. food 17 your food 198 the following cable just received from Haskell:

TIFLIS, September 27.
"Have just completed inspection Armenia. Relief situation complicated by fact that Armenian Government sympathizes with Denikin, while Georgia and Azerbijan allied against Denikin. Tartars aided and assisted by Turks have compelled Armenian population to abandon Igdir and are pressing Kars and Erivan. This situation largely increases number of refugees and makes shipments from Kouban uncertain. Part of wheat obtained in Kouban by exchange of Kickapoo cargo still undelivered. Railroad through Nakhechivan to Persia has been interrupted some time and will remain so until conditions improve; only dependable source of supply under these conditions United States or other outside sources. Supplies on hand sufficient until December 1. Estimate 800,000 Armenians destitute, most of whom will require assistance until fall harvest next year. Estimate we need 7,000 tons wheat flour or equivalent monthly, beginning December 1. In addition, one cargo child-feeding supplies to arrive December 1 to supplement diet for 150,000 children for succeeding three months. Caucasus requires an early mixed cargo of ordinary tools, farming implements, shoes, crockery, kitchen utensils, glassware, soap, window glass, building nails, electric-light bulbs, woolen and cotton cloth, underwear, and quinine and other simple drugs. These articles can be traded for tobacco and rugs, but not for staples under existing conditions. Caucasus will require $500,000 monthly from December 1 in addition to supplies enumerated for expansion and relief program supervision of railroad and increased personnel. Forward supply of staple commissaries for 100 American personnel for three months beginning December 1. Over half grain secured Navorissisk in exchange for Kickapoo cargo already delivered Batoum and balance understood to be en route."
LOGAN.

Here is a cablegram from Mr. James A. Malcolm, who is the representative of the Armenian Government in London. [Reading:]

LONDON, October 5, 1919.

SEVASLY,
751 Old South. Building, Boston, Mass.:
Have transmitted your cable to Nubar. Gen. Antranik is here collecting funds amongst Armenians and buying and sending clothing to trans-Caucasia, hoping that as many Armenians, men, women, and children, as possible may he saved. They are now apparently all but abandoned by their Christian friends and are without arms and ammunition to defend themselves. A distressing, perilous, harassed, and hunted condition confronts those who have escaped the fury of their Moslem, Turk, and Tartar enemies who now threaten them again on all sides. Rigors of approaching winter add to danger. Antranik considers that a very moderate foreign force would suffice to occupy and give tranquility to Armenia, and that two years' occupation would be sufficient to give Armenians breathing time to resettle and create a militia strong enough to defend themselves and their country. End of six months after occupation one-third of foreign force may be withdrawn. End of one year one-third more, and end of two years remaining third. If not too late, strikes permitting, Antranik, subject consultation Nubar, will sail for America and place himself at the disposal of Senate committee.
JAMES A. MALCOLM.

And now, with profound apologies for being so prolix, and with the most earnest appeal to you gentlemen not to delay what you do, because unless something is done this thing will be carried out just as sure as we sit here, I submit the measure to your wisdom and your compassion.
Senator HARDING. It has been a very interesting revelation. We will now hear Dr. Main.

STATEMENT OF MR. J. H. T. MAIN, PRESIDENT OF GRINNELL COLLEGE.

Senator HARDING. Doctor, give us your name and occupation, and proceed with your statement as you like.
Mr. MAIN. J. H. T. Main, president of Grinnell College member of the commission sent over by the American Committee for Relief in the Near East, appointed in February a special commissioner to go to the Caucasus.
I left Constantinople the last of February, 1919, arrived at Batoum on the 1st of March, and from that time until the 17th of May was in the Caucasus studying conditions and trying to secure the cooperation of other organizations, especially the Hoover organization, for the purpose of extending our relief in the district known as Russian Armenia. I should like to say as a preliminary that I should like to reaffirm, with all possible emphasis, everything in detail that has been said by Mr. Walter George Smith. I was in the Caucasus for two months and a half and a little more. I made a very careful study of every phase of the situation there. I went there for the purpose of investigating that situation. I did not go there for the purpose of organizing and administering the situation. I went there for the purpose of investigating it and for the purpose of doing what I could to bring to the attention of the world this situation as it actually existed.
Now, I think it is worth while for me to state that I went to Batum with two American boys as helpers. When I got to Tiflis I found three Americans in charge of the work there and in Erivan. For six or seven weeks I, with those few Americans, was in the face of the appalling situation that existed, namely, about 500,000 starving people, without any cooperation, without any help, without any apparent effort on the part of the authorities in Constantinople or elsewhere to assist me in taking care of the situation and in organizing a force adequate to meet the relief situation. I feel that the situation in which I was involved was an impossible situation; that I was called upon

to deal with a situation that was beyond the reach of human capacity for at least six weeks of the time when I was there.

Senator WILLIAMS. You mean with the means at your disposal?

Mr. MAIN. With the means at my disposal and with the staff that was sent with me. No staff was sent with me. Two American boys went with me up there. They were young college men, capable, energetic, enthusiastic, but without experience; and, of course, we were not able under the circumstances to deal with the situation.

I arrived in Tiflis on the 9th day of March, and I tried to organize the relief work as far as I was able to do so with the two boys that I took with me and with the three men already there. One of those men, immediately after my arrival, took sick with typhus fever, and the result was that we had only four men to deal with the entire situation. I determined, however, to try and report the situation to the authorities in Paris and in Constantinople.

On the 10th of March I sent two telegrams to Arthur Curtis James and to Mr. Heinz, I think. I have not copies of those telegrams, I am sorry to say, here, but I sent telegrams to the authorities in Paris and Constantinople, urging their cooperation in getting adequate assistance into Tiflis and into the Caucasus.

Shortly after that, on the 19th, I went to Erivan and Alexandropol, Karaklis, and the other towns in the famine region. I arrived in Alexandropol on the 20th day of March. What did I find there? I found about 60,000 Armenian refugees, chiefly women, children, and old men. When I went out on the morning of the 20th of March and walked on the street one block, within the range of my vision four men fell dead from starvation. They were lying on the streets, and it was reported to me by the committee in charge of native workers that 190 corpses had been picked up on the streets that morning before we arrived. That shows the condition that existed all over Russian Armenia. That simply typical of what existed everywhere else in the other towns. Alexandropol is a town of probably, normally, 35,000 people. When I arrived there that morning there probably were 100,000 people there, because of the enormous number of refugees from Turkish Armenia who were there waiting for repatriation into their own country.

Another thing I would like to call your attention to here, and that is the destruction of these towns by the Turks. **The Turks occupied Alexandropol and did not withdraw when the armistice was signed, and did not withdraw when the Turkish Government broke up as incapable of carrying on the war any longer.** When they **left the town of Alexandropol on the 26th of December, 1918, they mined the town in its important spots.** The railroad terminals and the transportation facilities were all mined, and when they withdrew from the town on the 26th of December, 1918, they put time fuses to the mines they had deposited, and all of **the important public buildings, especially the transportation facilities of the town, were destroyed. Remember, that was after the armistice and the Turk had withdrawn from the war. This was done with the connivance of the German authorities, who were with them**; and also many other Germans were in Tiflis at that time and were cognizant of the situation.

From Alexandropol I went to Erivan, which is the seat of the Armenian Government, and I made it my special business to investigate as far as I could the Armenian Government, and I must say, after having studied the Georgian Government a bit, and after having studied the situation, so far as I could, existing at Bakou where the Tartars were in charge, that the only one of the governments that had been established in the Caucasus region that was functioning with any degree of success was the Armenian Government. The Armenian Government had distinct ideals as to what it wanted to do. They had a definite purpose; they had a righteous purpose, to establish themselves as an organized community discharging the normal governmental functions. I was

particularly anxious to study the situation from the governmental point of view because I had been assured that the Armenian Republic was nothing but a paper republic; that it was not competent; that the men in charge of it were grafters; that they were feathering their own nests; that they were doing everything to build up their own interests and were not interested in the people as a whole.

So far as I was able to determine there was nothing of this sort to be discovered. They were doing an energetic piece of work; they were constantly on the job; they were constantly trying to protect their interests and to help the Armenian refugees who were within. their borders, having fled from the Turks. You must remember that the Erivan Government had a tremendous task. They not only had to feed themselves—and they did not have anything to feed themselves with—but they also had to provide in some fashion for the refugees from Turkish Armenia. I want to say with all possible emphasis that the Erivan government, if I am able to pass a judgment on it at all that is worth while, was doing the best piece o f work that was being done in Asia Minor when I was there.

From Erivan I went to Echmiadzin and studied the situation at that point, and the situation was simply a repetition on a smaller scale of the situation that existed at Alexandropol. When we drove into the town of Echmiadzin—I think it was on the 21st or 22d of March—just outside of the town we passed a refugee graveyard, and we went over to where they were burying the dead that had picked up in the village. Echmiadzin is a small town of probably 7,000 or 8,000 people. They were burying the dead that had been picked up on the streets the night before, and there were 35 of them, and they had dug square pits, 10 feet deep, and were putting seven in each pit. They were throwing the bodies in, indiscriminately, men, women, and children, and were then throwing loose dirt upon them, and when we came up to one of these pits they were just beginning to cover the seven bodies that had just been thrown in there, and hands and legs and arms were sticking out as if imploring the people who might be watching them to have pity on Armenia. It was one of the most touching sights I saw on all my travels. The last sight that I saw was the hand of a woman stretched out from the loose earth, as if imploring the people of the world to have pity.

The situation was the same all over. Later I went to Igdir. At Igdir there was cannibalism—or not cannibalism, because cannibalism means the killing of people and eating them. These people had rifled graves and taken out the bodies of the dead and had cut off the soft parts and used them for food. That situation is infinitely worse than cannibalism, from what we might consider ordinary, normal, human methods of satisfying hunger.

Senator HARDING. Where was this?

Mr. MAIN. This was in Igdir.

Senator WILLIAMS. Carrion cannibalism!

Mr. MAIN. It was worse than cannibalism.

Mr. SMITH. If I might make a suggestion, Mr. Main, at this point, recent advices show that our people have been driven out of Igdir, the advance of the Tartars having come in there. It is only 30 miles from Erivan.

Mr. MAIN. Yes. All this time I was sending telegrams and letters, trying to get the attention of the world to Russian Armenia. I had before me a literally impossible task. I was dealing, or trying to deal, with an impossible situation. Finally, on the 4th or 5th of April, Mr. Heinz came, as the result of some of these telegrams, and made investigations on the ground for himself, with Mr. Jaquith. You came, did you not, Mr. Smith?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

Mr. MAIN. You were there the first week in April?_

Mr. SMITH. Yes. We left Constantinople on Easter Sunday.

Mr. MAIN. I had been in the Caucasus, you see, one full month before these people arrived. With these people came 30 helpers from America. Twenty of them were women and 10 of them were men. Within a short time we distributed these helpers all over the country, trying to use them so as to meet the most crying conditions; sending them particularly to Erivan, because that was the center of the famine district; and in charge of the medical work there was sent Dr. Ussher, to whom reference was made by Mr. Smith.

On the 10th of April Capt. Tulin came as the immediate representative of Mr. Hoover. Capt. Tulin had come directly from Paris. When Tulin arrived in Constantinople it was his intention, by direction of Mr. Hoover, to go to Syria, but by accident a letter came into his hands which I had written to Commissioner Peet, and that letter dealt with the situation in Russian Armenia in such a way that lie, contrary to his implied orders, changed his plan and came to Tiflis instead of going to Syria. He arrived in Tiflis on April 10; and on the 16th I went with Tulin to Kars, Alexandropol, and Igdir, and all the other towns in the famine district, and on the basis of that, using that tour as a basis, he made his report to Mr. Hoover and also to Mr. Heinz, and on the 15th of May his report and his statement of the situation began to bear fruit, because on the kith of May the first supplies came from Mr. Hoover as the result of the report made by, Capt. Tulin; and from that time until this, supplies have been coming from the United States relief administration. I do not know what the situation is at present.

Mr. SMITH. They are still coming, according to the reports?

Mr. MAIN. They are still coming; and an adequate staff was sent.

Senator WILLIAMS. What was that date?

Mr. MAIN. The 15th of May. You see, I reached the Caucasus March 1. It was the 15th of May before any adequate consideration of the famine situation had received attention; before any adequate work was done toward relieving it. I stayed, as I have stated, in the Caucasus until the 15th. and it was on the 15th I went to Batoum. and on the 17th I left Batouin for Constantinople. Now, I have run hastily over the situation, because I did not think it necessary to enter into detail because Mr. Smith has done it, but I should like to have you ask me questions so that I can save time in that way.

Senator WILLIAMS. Have you any of those reports to which yon referred?

Mr. MAIN. They are all on file in the office of the Committee for the Relief of the Near East, in New York. I think Mr. Smith has some of them.

Mr. SMITH. If you would like to read them into the record. I have these here. [Indicating papers.]

Mr. MAIN. I do not know that it is necessary.

Mr. SMITH. That is your letter to me. [Indicating.]

Mr. MAIN. This telegram I sent on March 10 from Tiflis. This is to Mr. Heinz in Constantinople. This is a telegram to Mr. Smith. I said, "I am sending telegrams to Heinz and James." Heinz was in Constantinople at the time. James was in Paris. This was regarding conditions there which required immediate treatment.

Senator HARDING. If you want those to go into the record, just mark what you want, and the stenographer will put them in, unless you want to read and comment on them.

Mr. MAIN. I think that I might read this telegram.

Senator HARDING. Very well.

141717-106

Mr. MAIN [reading]:

Am sending telegrams to Hatch and James regarding conditions here which require immediate treatment. Trust vou will use utmost efforts to secure large amount from

congressional appropriation. Flour sold at twelve and half to British food commissioner at Batoum.

Then, I sent, on the same day, a long telegram to Cleveland Dodge, at New York, and a telegram to the Secretary of State on March 29. Mr. SMITH. That ought to go in the record.
Mr. MAIN. I will ask the stenographer to put that in. That is a long telegram.
Senator WILLIAMS. That is all right. Let it all go in the record. Hand it to the stenographer.
Mr. MAIN. It may all go in; yes.

(The report, with telegrams referred to. is here printed in full in the record, as follows:)

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR RELIEF IN THE NEAR EAST,
Tiflis, April 30, 1919.
MY DEAR MR. SMITH: I wish to submit for your consideration the following memoranda in regard to the Caucasus branch of the work of the American Relief Committee in the Near East.
1. I arrived at Batoum on March 1 end immediately began an investigation of the Caucasus conditions. Five days later I arrived in Tiflis and began a systematic study of the whole Caucasus situation viewed from the Tiflis standpoint.
I found that the office accommodations were very inadequate. The committee was occupying several rooms in the house of the American consul, Mr. F. Willoughby Smith. The confusion and disorder that resulted from the inadequacy of the accommodations seriously interfered with the efficiency of the work, both in the office and in the field at large. I decided immediately that a change in the office conditions should be made as soon as possible. The result sought was not achieved until April 1, when the present office building was available for occupancy. The committee is just now, April 30, beginning to hope sometime in the future for an adequate office organization.
2. After a brief survey of the administrative arrangements I decided that Mr. Arroll was not temperamentally fitted to be director in chief of the Caucasus work. So strongly convinced was I of this that I wrote a letter to one of our commissioners at Constantinople, Mr. H. A. Hatch, under date of April 13, from which I quote as follows:
"Mr. Arroll has been in charge of the office and is a man of energy and ability. My first impression is that he is not the man for the place. I am sure that the executive committee in New York would not approve of him for this position. I am hoping that additional workers will reach Tiflis within a few weeks so that I may have an opportunity to look them over carefully with a view to assigning a man here to have full charge of the work in Tiflis and the Caucasus, or to become a partner of Arroll in it."
Unfortunately among the workers who arrived on April 4 none seem to have the qualifications demanded of an administrative head.
3. I found almost at once that an unfortunate official relationship existed between the American consul, Mr. Smith, and the committee, and I wrote a letter under date of March 19 to Mr. Cleveland H. Dodge on the subject. I quote from this letter :
"My view of the situation leads me to suggest that the close relationship between the consul and the relief committee has been unfortunate. I shall want to talk with you at length regarding this matter when I return to New York. Meanwhile I trust you will not permit the New York committee to take any action perpetuating the relationship now existing between the consul and the committee when the new consul arrives. I understand this will be very soon."

Immediately following this letter I began a general change of policy in the office in the hope of eliminating completely the consul from. the official domination he had exercised over the committee. This change of policy has gone forward successfully and quietly and without unpleasant comment. The arrival of the new consul, Mr. Wood, a few days ago will make additional changes in policy easy.

4. I made an effort at once to secure a complete financial review of the transactions of the committee, but found this impossible. I found there was no unified accounting system. I decided to remedy this serious fault in the work. -of the committee by appointing Mr. H. A. Maynard treasurer, and I instructed him to gather all possible information in regard to moneys received and expended and to prepare at the earliest possible moment a complete statement of the financia1 situation of the committee. He began work on this problem at once. Short1y after beginning his investigation he fell sick with typhus fever. This, of course, interfered with the plan I had in view. No one else in the staff was qualified to do the work assigned to Mr. Maynard. Mr. Maynard is now convalescing, but it will be some time before he is able to return to active service as a member of the committee. Meanwhile I have asked Mr. William A. Yoder to become the bookkeeper of the committee and so far as possible to make an investigation of our past financial activities. This is no small task and wil1 require considerable time for completion. As soon as Mr. Maynard returns to active service I hope for a statement which wil1 in some sense meet business requirements.

5. The magnitude of the work to be done in the Caucasus became at once apparent to me and the consequent insufficiency of the program for relief as outlined by our commissioners at Constantinople. I was convinced that the American committee would be unable to carry forward its program, modest as it was, on the basis of voluntary contributions from the American public. I felt sure that the end of relief work on this basis was in sight. Hence I reported to the members of the committee in Tiflis the necessity of conserving our resources and of developing relationships, both in the Caucasus and in America, which would give permanency to the relief program until such time as it could be committed to an established Government. With this end in view I sent telegrams to Mr. Dodge, of New York, Mr. Hatch at Constantinople, and Mr. James at Paris calling attention to "the frightful and menacing conditions in the Caucasus." I also asked that steps be taken to secure "a generous part of the congressional appropriation." I also wrote at length regarding the Caucasus conditions to Mr. Hatch, urging immediate and aggressive attention to the Caucasus needs. These appeals finally had consideration. Maj. Stoever, representing Mr. Hatch, came to Tiflis April 3/4 for the purpose of investigating the refugee situation. On April 10 Capt. Tulin, representing Mr. Hoover, arrived from Paris. On Wednesday, the 23d, you came with Mr. Howard Heinz, Mr. Hoover's representative. All of these men, including yourself, have made personal investigations, and all agree that the Caucasus famine situation is one of extraordinary seriousness. They have already made brief reports by wire and will make personal reports in due course of time.

6. The inadequacy of the office force in Tiflis has been a serious handicap on the efficiency of the relief work. Tiflis is the nerve center of the Caucasus region. All of the railroads of the South Caucasus center here. Railroad administration is hampered by the fact that, while the railroads are continuous lines, they cross the boundaries of three Governments, namely, the boundary of the Georgian Government between Batoum and Tiflis, and again the boundary of the Georgian Government between the Republic of Georgia and the Republic of the Aserbaidjan Republic, between Tiflis and Bakou; and again they pass the boundary between the Georgian Republic and the Armenian Republic south of Tiflis. There have always been governmental difficulties at the boundary points. Transportation problems, as a result, have been extremely annoying and in some cases almost impossible of solution. Conditions at present are improving,

and I am happy to say that our supplies have been passing to their destination during the past week or 10 days without materia1 interruption. The results so far achieved have been secured after many interviews and arguments. The Georgian Government has felt that it has not received due consideration from the American Relief Committee. It claims—whether rightly or wrongly—that it is charged, because of its location, with the responsibility of transportation, and that as a consequence it should receive sympathetic consideration which, until recently, the American committee has not given.

7. On April 4 new arrivals from America-10 men and 20 women—reached Tiflis. After a few days they were assigned to their respective stations. It appeared at once that among them was no man qualified, both by temperament and experience, to become the administrative head here in Tiflis. Dr. Ussher had been mentioned for this position, but on investigation it was the universal opinion among those who had been in touch with him that he was not the man for this particular task. His specia1 qualifications did entitle him to appointment as medical director for the Caucasus, with headquarters at Erivan. This is the appointment that was considered and approved in Constantinople prior to the arrival of Dr. Ussher, and also prior to my departure for Tiflis. His appointment was consequently reaffirmed by me a few days after his arrival in Tiflis. Dr. Ussher took with him as his assistant Miss Wilson, one of the two stenographers that were members of the new group.

Other members of the new group were assigned as quickly as possible. These assignments I made, in response to appeals that could no longer be ignored, and they left Tiflis with an office staff, as before, quite inadequate in numbers to meet the demands of the Caucasus situation.

8. In addition to the incidental problems touched upon in these memoranda three fundamental problems have outlined themselves before me with emphasis:

First. The supplying of food to keep alive a half million refugees, 200,000 of whom are now and have been for some time on the verge of starvation.

I should add that these figures are the estimate of qualified observers who have been in the Caucasus for months, including the officers of the intelligence staff of the British division located in Tiflis.

Second. The organization and development of refugee orphanages. I came to Tiflis with a distinctly formulated prejudice against orphanage work, because I felt, as I have said frequently, that it was mortgaging the future and placing obligations upon the American committee which it could not possibly fulfill. After a survey of the whole field I quickly reached the conclusion that it was the duty of the committee to care for the refugee orphans, regardless of future obligations and complications. The refugee problem appealed to me as the problem of a child left at the door and crying for comfort and help. Consequently, on my recommendation, all the refugee orphanages not already under our control have been taken over by the American committee. The committee assumes such responsibility, feeling that the heart of humanity will respond to the appeal the orphanages make. Of course, all of us assume that a government will be established in the Caucasus under a capable mandatory power which will assist in carrying forward orphanage service for refugee children as long as it may be necessary.

Third. Purchasing seed grain and transportation for it to districts where conditions are favorable and where repatriation seems possible. The committee has been doing its utmost, so far as its limited staff would permit, in this connection.

9. The brief outline of the Caucasus situation in these memoranda shows that the Caucasus situation is one of compelling urgency. I have hesitated to write on the subject, as I have desired to write, because I was convinced that writing on the subject (already described many times by workers who had been in the field for the ‘past

year) would not avail. Your presence here makes it unnecessary for me to describe in detail the Caucasus condition. I am simply giving an outline as a basis on which you will be able to make a personal report when you return to Constantinople and the United States. A technical report of the Caucasus situation, as I have observed it, would require a sizable volume and would take more time than I can command.

10. Doubtless you are aware that Mr. Heinz, of Constantinople, representative of the Hoover committee, has called to the Caucasus five men from his own staff and eight men from the staff that has been serving in relief work in Belgium. I am sure you agree with me that the coming of these men will not relieve the obligations of our own committee. The men detailed by Mr. Heinz and Mr. Hoover will be expected to give their chief attention to flour distribution and to the financial arrangement involved in the whole process of distribution. There will still remain for our committee the great opportunities for industrial work, the development of our orphanage program, and the supervision of the orphanages now under our control and the others soon to be added to them. There will remain for our committee the general program of relief work, with its innumerable details and ramifications. Many native managers and helpers should be replaced by Americans. The enlargement of the American staff, as compared with the native staff, is one of the most fundamental claims of the relief situation. The number of American helpers that could be advantageously used is very large and probably is not available for immediate service. I beg you to consider, however, the possibility of sending at the earliest possible moment 20 additional men and a number of additional women. Among the women, particularly, should be qualified office workers. I do not know what the probabilities are for securing this number, having no information whatever as to the assignments already made. I am sure, however, that there is no greater need for help any place in Asia Minor or Europe than exists now in the Caucasus.

11. I have already mentioned in these memoranda the importance of .an adequate accounting organization in the Tiflis office—an organization that will embrace in the scope of its work the entire Caucasus. The accounting staff should have in it the elements of permanency and should be selected, as far as possible, on the basis of proved capacity for office efficiency. There has been no satisfactory accounting in the past—it has not been possible. Money has been received and given out; there has been no techn1cal bookkeeping; the relief work has been benevolence pure and s1mple, practically without business control. This lack of method may be excused on the ground that it was in accordance with the totally disorganized condition of society and government during the earlier periods of our relief activities. To-day, however, there is nothing to be said in favor of the continuation of this lack of method. The results achieved in spite of it are deserving of the warmest praise. We are now entering upon a new era in our relief work and must adopt methods that will harmonize with technical business standards.

12. I have written to Dr. Peet at Constantinople regarding the organization needs of our relief work. The anticipation of these needs involves questions of some difficulty just as would be the case in any developing organizat1on. But let me suggest for your consideration and the consideration of the other members of the committee who may be in Constantinople, that there is urgent need of a committee courier service. The nucleus of such a service has already been formed in the appointment of Mr. Arroll as field director. He will be on the road most of the time visiting the various relief centers. He should have at least two or three assistants, so that every relief center may be visited once a month, or oftener if necessary, by some one from the Tiflis staff. There is no banking system in the Caucasus that provides an adequate method of exchange. Money must often be carried from place to place. This service should he assigned to our own couriers and not to those loaned for the service by the British forces or to

men that may be willing to oblige the American committee. Quite as important as the carrying of messages and money is the personal contact between the Tiflis office and the workers in the field.

13. There should be a medical staff and a base hospital under the charge of the committee in Tiflis. As conditions are, it is possible to organize just one medical unit, viz; The one in charge of Dr. Ussher, at Erivan. One is not enough; there should be three or four. In the absence of any hope of developing additional units at the present time, the committee should make every effort to place at the disposal of our workers an abundance of disinfectants, soap, muslin, and simple remed1es, such as quinine, aspirin, and castor oil. The essential remedy, as conditions are at present, for refugee diseases is cleanliness. The development of surgical facilities may wait for future action.

14. The transportation problem has been one of the most difficult problems with which our committee has had to deal. We are now apparently obtaining good results so far as the train service is concerned.

In addition to the train serv1ce there is need for competent supervision of our motor service. Motor transportation requires a manager with a competent group of mechanics.

15. An orphanage staff must be created at once. Twenty thousand refugee orphans (perhaps the number will reach 25,000) will be in charge of our committee on May 1. There will be orphanages large and small, from Tiflis to Erivan and in every town of importance in the Caucasus. In Tiflis alone there will be 26 orphanages.

The proper supervision f the orphanages will require administrative and executive ability of the highest type. The number of women needed as nurses, instructors, and helpers will be large. There are many American women already in Europe who would be glad to give themselves to this service who only need information regarding our purposes and needs to lead them to accept a call and to report quickly for duty. There is opportunity for a constructive program in connection with the orphanages which no other field offer. Under right direction the orphanages will perpetuate the ideals in which our relief work is based and give permanence in the future life of the Caucasus region to the principles underlying American instructions. The American committee can not afford to ignore this opportunity.

16. In intimate relation to the orphanages in the developing industrial program. From the “orphanage home” the older boys and girls are given a chance to learn some of the manual arts in our factories, organized primarily for this purpose. They learn weaving, spinning, dyeing, carpentering, and other fundamental manual arts. The opportunity for development in industrial work is very great. We have as yet only given it a start. It has gone forward successfully and proves the importance and desirability of developing it in a much more systematic way. For this purpose an industrial director should be secured. It is believed that this work may be made practically self-supporting. More important than this is the fact that it furnishes many of the supplies needed for relief purposes.

17. I have wired to Dr. Peet four times asking him to send Mr. Yarrow to Tiflis. In view of the information coming to me regarding him, I believe he may be qualified to become director of the Caucasus relief work. The finding of a suitable director is a matter of superimportance. The only person that appears to be available at present is Mr. Yarrow, hence I trust you will use your influence to the utmost to secure his appointment for this particular service. It is a challenge to any man of ability and administrative experience, and will repay a hundredfold any amount of energy and devotion put into it.

18. It is in general extremely important that the distinctive work of the American Committee for Relief in the Near East should not be weakened by the coining of

the representatives of the Hoover organization; in fact, the coming of these seasoned workers makes it all the more obligatory on our committee to carry on its own service with renewed energy and consecration. If our committee fails to do this it will be discredited in the estimation of the American people and will fail in the presence of one of the greatest humanitarian opportunities that men have ever been called upon to meet and accept.
Respectfully submitted.

Mr. MAIN. I am adding as a supplement to this letter copies of a few telegrams that were sent by me shortly after I arrived in Tiflis:

[Telegram to Heinz, Constantinople, March 10, 1919.]

Am sending telegrams to Hatch and James regarding conditions here which require immediate treatment. Trust you will use utmost efforts to secure large amount from congressional appropriation. Flour sold at twelve and half to British fool' commissioner at Batum.

[Telegram to Cleveland Dodge, New York City, March 10, 1919.]

Caucasus conditions frightful and menacing. Rapidly growing worse. It is concentration region for refugees from other parts. People starving; dying. Cannibalism affirmed by British officers. Cash urgently needed. We should have generous part of congressional appropriation. It must come quickly to avail. Have cabled James asking him to cooperate. It would greatly help us to know probable political future of Caucasus and Asia Minor. We need information.

[Telegram to secretary State. Washington, for Vickery, May 29, 1919.]

I have been studying refugee concentration points along the former boundary line between Russian and Turkish Armenia. Alexandropol, a large center, and Etchmiadzin, a small one, are typical. In the one are 68,000 refugees, by actual census at our bread and soup stations. In the other there are 7,000. Refugees have streamed into these places hoping to find it possible to cross the border into their former homes in Turkish Armenia near Kars. Concentration at these two places and many others without food or clothing and after a winter of exile in the Caucasus and beyond has produced a condition of horror unparalleled among the atrocities of the great war. On the streets of Alexandropol on the day of my arrival 190 corpses were picked up. This is far below the average per day. One-seventh of the refugees are dying each month. At Echmiadzin I looked for a time at a refugee burial. Seven bodies were thrown indiscriminately into a square pit as carrion and covered with the earth without any suggestion of care or pity. As I looked at the workmen I saw a hand protruding from the loose earth. It was a woman's hand and. seemed to be stretched out in mute appeal. To me this hand reaching upward from the horrible pit symbolized starving Armenia. The workmen told me that the seven in this pit were the first load of 35 to be brought out from the village that morning. The cart had gone back for another load.

The refugees dare not go forward. They halt on the borderland UL their home. The Turk and Kurd and the Tartar have taken possession of their land and will hold it by force of arms. A line almost like a battle-line from the Black Sea region, where is located the Southwestern Republic with Kars as its capital, to the Caspian Sea, where Baku is the capital of the Azerbeijan republic, together with a line of Turks, Kurds, and Tartars between these two extremes holds the refugees where they are.

The total number is more than 330,000. To these must be added the local inhabitants, also suffering indescribable hardships. The Allied forces on the Turkish side are not in sufficient numbers to dominate the situation. The only solution is a considerable number of troops to be used as a policing force supplied by a mandatory power. Many Armenian soldiers would be available for such service. Such action must unhappily await the findings of the peace conference, and the votes of governing bodies. Every moment of delay means enlargement of existing horrors.

The Armenian Republic on the Russian side of the line and our relief committee working together are not able adequately to feed the refugees. Meanwhile seeding time is here and passing. Another season of famine is inevitable unless there is immediate action by some compelling power. The world appears to be unconscious of the overwhelming human tragedy that is being enacted in the Caucasus. The Turk and his racial confederates are carrying forward with growing efficiency the policy of extermination developed during the war by the method of starvation. Starvation is aided by typhus, and already as if in anticipation of the hot season cholera is developing.

At this last moment can Christian civilization do something to restore and heal? In the emergency I have told the officials of the Armenian Republic that our committee would take ever the orphanages until some mandatory power is given authority to assist in establishing order and giving financial stability to the peoples concerned. This move on my part I firmly believe is demanded by the conditions and by the most elementary principles of humanity. Should our Government delay in reaching out a helping hand to these suffering people? The question of political expediency ought to be forgotten in the presence of this world catastrophe. These people look to America. Our Government is under moral obligations to respond. Give this wide publicity. Report to Dodge and Shaw.

M

Mr. MALCOM. How many Armenians are there in the Armenian Republic which has been set up in this region known as Russian Armenia.

Mr. MAIN. The general estimate is that there are nearly a million.

Mr. MALCOM. And do you think that that million is on the verge of starvation by famine and destruction by enemies that surround' them?

Mr. MAIN. When I left there it was generally understood that there were about 500,000 refugees in Russian Armenia who were on the Point of starvation. That was the estimate of General Beach of the British intelligence office, and he had gotten his information from members of his staff who were located in various parts of Russian Armenia. I, as representing an American commission, accepted his figures and did not make any attempt to corroborate them. It would not have been possible for me to do so, as a matter of fact.

I want to emphasize particularly my conviction that the only way—the best way, at any rate—to stabilize conditions in Asia Minor is to give some support to the Armenian Republic. I feel very strongly convinced of that. I regard it as absolutely certain that something can be done to stabilize that unhappy country if the Republic of Armenia, with such treatment as they, by right, ought to be given, receives the support of the United States, or the allied nations, as may be decided.

Senator HARDING. Let me interrupt you right there, Doctor. I am in sympathy with the Armenian Republic idea. How are we going to get Russia's approval of this thing?

Mr. MALCOM. It is not necessary. Was Russia's approval secured in the case of Poland?

Mr. MAIN. Of course that is a question that is international, and is beyond the reach of my ability; and beyond the reach of anybody, it seems to me, because there is no Russia.

Senator HARDING. There is no Russia represented at the peace conference.
Senator WILLIAMS. There is no government over all Russia now by anybody. The practical question there would be, whether you get the consent of Georgia. It will not be Russia. There will arise some questions of boundaries between the republic of Georgia and the republic of Armenia.
Mr. MAIN. I presume that the peace conference is able to adjust those questions, and some sort of international body would take that up.
Senator WILLIAMS.. Yes.
Mr. MAIN. Of course there are other questions of a similar nature about Erivan, and so on.
Senator WILLIAMS. Of course the people that have been negotiating the treaty have already taken part of Russia—Russian Poland, for instance, and make it a part of Poland—and they did not wait for the consent of Russia simply because there was no Russia to consent. There were half a dozen different Russias, the Ukraine and the Letts, and so on, all divided and split up while the Bolsheviki and the others were fighting.
Senator HARDING. What do you think, Doctor, of the probable effectiveness of a volunteer army, recruited in this country, equipped by the American Government, for stabilizing military affairs in the Armenian republic?
Mr. MAIN. I think it would be very effective.
Senator HARDING. Do you think it would be ample?
Mr. MAIN. You say a recruited military force. You did not suggest the number.
Senator HARDING. Well, of course, a division—whatever is necessary. What I mean by that is, if I can clarify it, we have the stumbling block of directing an organized American military force. I do not believe we can do it with a conscripted army.
Mr. MAIN. No, I do not believe so.
Senator HARDING. But supposing we recruited the Armenians from the Allies, or wherever they are, and permitted the recruiting in America of a volunteer army composed practically of those of Armenian origin; would that solve the problem of this Armenian Republic?
Mr. MAIN. I should think it would. The mere presence of an American force there under American authority would contribute at once—
Senator WILLIAMS. This would not be an American force. It would be a volunteer army. It would not be a force under the American flag.
Mr. MAIN. You mean it would not be under our flag at all?
Senator WILLIAMS. It would not be under our flag, but under the Armenian flag; but it would be composed of American naturalized citizens, for the most-part, of Armenian origin.
Senator HARDING. One more question. Mr. Smith, I think, suggested this to my mind. He spoke of sending marines and battleships to Haiti, etc.: Would the sending of an American naval vessel with marines to the Black Sea port of Batoum tend to the result you have spoken of?
Mr. MAIN. It would contribute immediately, yes, to stabilize the situation.
Senator HARDING. The reason I asked you that is because, apparently, it would require no act of Congress to do that sort of a helpful thing; would it?
Mr. MAIN. Well, but it has not been done.
Senator HARDING. I quite agree with you.
Mr. MAIN. I feel that Armenia is on the verge of extermination, and I feel that, if we are to save Armenia at all, something must be done quickly, and I am not here to say to the Senate how it shall be done; but I feel that within the next six months, if the British troops withdraw, unless something is done there will not be many Armenians left, and it will be a charge against humanity if that thing is allowed to go on. I feel

very strongly that way.
Senator HARDING. Suggestions to the Senate that are helpful are very welcome, and there would be no presumption on your part in suggesting.
Mr. MAIN. No; there was not. anything of that sort involved in my talk, and I do feel that whatever is done must be done quickly or Armenia is gone.
Senator HARDING. That would be one of the quick things to do, to send a battleship with marines right straight to that port.
Mr. MAIN. I would be in favor of that, surely. I talked with Admiral Bristol and other men who were over there, and the general impression is, just as one talks in a very easy way in social intercourse, that American ships of war over there and American marines and American troops in adequate numbers would greatly contribute to the restoration of peace and order.
Senator HARDING. We might send them to Batoum with the same propriety that we have put them on the Dalmatian coast, might we not?
Mr. MAIN. Yes.
Mr. SMITH. Are they properly on the Dalmatian coast?
Senator HARDING. I spoke ironically. I allowed that to be inferred.
Mr. SMITH. We have not any interests on the Dalmatian coast.
Senator HARDING. Have you any inquiry that you want to make of the doctor, Senator Williams?
Senator WILLIAMS. No; only this suggestion. If before you leave you think of anything that you have in documentary shape that you think would be informing to the public and the Senators, I wish you would hand it to the stenographer to be printed in the hearings.
Mr. MAIN. Here is a document that has been published, that might be helpful.
Senator WILLIAMS. Very well; let that go in the record.
(The document referred to is here printed in the record in full, as follows:)

AMERICA'S DUTY IN ARMENIA.

[This paper by Mr. Main shows with irresistible logic that America has a sacred mission to perform in the liberation of Armenia. (James W. Gerard.)]

(The map referred to below is not here reproduced.)

Armenia as it will reappear on the map, according to the terms of a memorandum officially presented by the delegation of integral Armenia to the peace conference in Paris on February 26, 1919: Area, between 125,000 and 135,000 square miles. Population, 4,300,000, divided approximately as follows: Armenians, 2,500,000 (there are about 1,000,000 more Armenians in other parts of the world); other Christians, 500,000; Turks, Circassian, Arabs, Persians, 500,000; Tartars, 300.000; Kurds, 200,000; other religions, 300,000.
The American Committee for the Independence of Armenia.—Executive committee: James W. Gerard, chairman; Charles Evans Hughes; Elihu Root; Henry Cabot Lodge; John Sharp Williams; Alfred E. Smith; Frederic Courtland Penfield; Charles W. Eliot; Cleveland H. Dodge.
General committee: Charles Evans Hughes, honorary chairman; James W. Gerard, chairman; William Jennings Bryan; Alton B. Parker; Elihu Root; Henry Cabot Lodge; John Sharp Williams; Charles S. Thomas; Lyman Abbott; Gov. Bartlett, New Hampshire; James L. Barton; Gov. Beeckman, Rhode Island; Alice Stone Blackwell; Charles J. Bonaparte; Gov. Boyle, Nevada; Nicholas Murray Butler; Gov. Campbell, Arizona; Gov. Carey, Wyoming; Gov. Catts, Florida; Gov. Cooper, South Carolina;

Gov. Cox, Ohio; Charles .Stewart Davison; Right Rev .J. H. Darlington; Cleveland H. Dodge; Gov. Dorsey, Georgia; Charles W. Eliot; Right Rev. William F. Faber; Admiral Bradley A. Fiske; Lindley M. Garrison; James Cardinal Gibbons; Martin H. Glynn; Samuel Gompers; Madison Grant; Lloyd C. Griscom; Gov. Harding, Iowa; Gov. Harrington, Maryland; Albert Bushnell Hart; Sara Duryea Hazen; Myron T. Herrick; John Grier Hib-ben; Gov. Holcomb, Connecticut; Hamilton Holt.; George A. Hurd; Richard M. Hurd; Henry W. Jessup; Robert Ellis Jones; Gov. Larrazolo, New Mexico; Gov. Lister, Washington; Edward C. Little; Julian W. Mack; Norman E. Mack; William T. Manning; Elizabeth Marbury; Right Rev. William H. Moreland; Gov. Norbeck, South Dakota ; Frederic C. Penfield; George Haven Putnam; Right Rev. P. N. Rhinelander; Ernest W. Riggs; William Henry Roberts; Gov. Robertson, Oklahoma; Jacob G. Schurman; Gov. Smith, New York; Gov. Sproul, Pennsylvania; Oscar S. Straus; Right Rev. A. C. Thompson; Gov. Townsend, jr., Delaware; Right Rev. B. D. Tucker; Right Rev. William W. Webb; Benjamin Ide Wheeler; Everett P. Wheeler; Right Rev. J. R. Winchester; Stephen S. Wise; Gov. Withycombe, Oregon.; Gov. Yager, Porto Rico.

[By John Hanson Thomas Main,[1] president Grinnell College.]

I am in no mood this morning for a formal address. The atmosphere of the place from which I have come still lingers with me. I have come out of a welter of human misery, the like of which perhaps, is without parallel in the history of the race. Life, the most precious gift of God to man, where I have been has been treated as if it were the cheapest thing. Five hundred thousand (some estimates name 750,000) Were starving to death in exile. There in exile was a nation dispossessed. Nations have been on the point of starvation before, but not dispossessed and in exile. The Armenians were starving away from home. This represents a new agony in the history of the world. A half million or more dying, homesick, without a crust; dying on the streets and in the alleys and in the by-ways; in strange villages, in strange cities, and in strange places. Can you imagine the horror of such a situation?

The last of March I was in the town of Alexandropol, a town of perhaps 35,000 people. I went up and down the streets to study the situation. Snow was on the hills yet, for this is a town 4,000 feet in elevation, surrounded by hills and mountains; ice and slush were on the streets. Sixty thousand refugees from Turkish Armenia were on the streets, in the passages, lying huddled together in the doorways. There were children, Many of them less than a year old; there were old men, very few young men, scattered about in this town of desolation, without hope, yet still clinging to the hope that they might even yet return home—home to them being devastated Turkish Armenia. Multiply this number by five or ten or more, and reproduce for yourselves this condition in other places. Watch these people, delicate women, many of them, plucking up the sprouting grass by the roots for food; note the sanitary conditions; note the prophecy of disease and death already expressing itself; note the men dying in your presence. In a walk of two blocks, four men fell dead before me in Alexandropol. Go out in the morning and watch them pick up the corpses of the night before; 190 of them were picked up the first morning I was in this town. Go into the refugee graveyards and notice the desecrated graves and skeletons lying out on the ground, from which had been taken the flesh.

With all the horrors of those suggestions before me yet, what can I say this morning

1 Dr. Main was in Russian Armenia as a special commissioner for the American Committee for Relief in the near East from March 1 to May 17. The foregoing extracts from a baccalaureate address, delivered by him on June 22, 1919, contain valuable information on the conditions which now obtain in northern Armenia, and they also interpret, we believe, the mind and conscience of America with reference to world questions. (The American Committee for the Independence at Armenia.)

in this happy place? Yet all this that I have been sketching to you in these brief words was in view of the mountains, beautiful in the distance; in view of the hills near at hand; and there above those mountains and hills was the glory of sky, and in the air was the opening promise of the coming spring; and in the trees the birds were singing. All nature, if we hut looked up and off, was passing beautiful. There is no country in the world more beautiful than this, when we look at it as nature, as God made it and gave it to those people and to the world. This, all of this, the horror and the beauty, was in this world of ours. In this world where America is, where are the fertile plains and the rivers, where are the "pastures clothed with flocks," where are "the valleys covered over with corn"; where also is our boasted free government.

This Russian Armenia, with its exiles from Turkish Armenia, with its concentration of human misery, and our America which we rejoice in this day, are both in the same little world—not as far apart actually to-day as Massachusetts and Iowa were apart when this college was founded. I came from the Caucasus to New York in 10 days of actual travel. It was actually 13 days, but I was on a slow steamer and the time might have been reduced on a ship of ordinary speed to 10 days. Ten days of actual travel! This is all that is necessary to come from Tiflis to New York; and this may become a common thing if transportation is provided between New York and Batum, a seaport on the Black Sea.

I never think of the Armenian people, a part of them struggling to establish a government in Russian Armenia, a part in exile, longing to go back home to Turkish Armenia, without thinking of America. This people has a claim on America. God forbid that we should sit here in the quiet of this place and Ignore it. If we do, we are committing a sin in the sight of Heaven. Every struggling people has a claim on America. If I can make this class understand this one thing, I shall have achieved my purpose this morning.

America has no right to proclaim her Government as an ideal Government or to talk about: an ideal government unless when the call comes she is willing to give an expression of it practically to those who need it and who want it. Our Congressmen sometimes give us the impression that they regard themselves and the fathers as having made something over here on this side of the sea to set off by itself, something remote, 3,000 miles away, and separated from the rest of the world by an impassible barrier. They venture to say that we are not interested in the problems over there and are not to be contaminated by contact with them or their problems and their perplexities and their territorial confusions. America is good enough for us; of course it is good enough, and if we understand what we are saying we may repeat the slogan we hear so often to-day, "Let us be Americans." But we can not be Americans unless we adjust ourselves to the eternal purpose in the mind of the race to achieve freedom, which purpose was implanted in the race by the eternal God.

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This Government is expressive of the capacity of man for self-government, but, more than that, it is a prophecy that he is going on in the way of self-government, and that he will create something better in the future than he has created in the past. For., God forbid, that we should think that we have reached the end of this business of self-government. This Government is the evolution of to-day for this generation—the evolution in us and through us of the divine purpose that man should have the chance of a free life. It represents the growth of some thousands of years, and it was not created anew back in 1875. Why, this Government is no more an experiment than this globe is an experiment in world building. It is an expression, this globe is, just one little expression among many great ones, of the creative processes going on forever. This world is a part of the nature of things, that expresses itself in this wide universe, just as this Government is an expression of the nature of things in the human soul—an expression of the creative energy unfolding itself gradually out of the spirit of man. We

grow together. We are partners in an infinite plan. I do not know that this Government of ours in this form ‘is going to endure. You do not know. I hope it will.

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I venture to recall that exposition of the social principle, of the governmental principle—the eternal social principle, the eternal governmental principle—found in the parable of the Good Samaritan. This parable does not belong merely to Galilee; it does not belong merely to the first century of our Christian era. It belongs to all time. And it covers the whole realm of social and political relationships for men of action, for politicians, for statesmen, for all people who are agents to carry forward the world to better things. If our public men and our Congressmen could get this fundamental fact into their consciousnesses and so approach the problems of this critical time, this world would go on a little better.

It applies, the principles of that parable, to this dispossessed and beaten and bruised country that I have been talking about. and we over here are in danger of being like the priest and the Levite who went by on the other side. They drew unto themselves; they were content with their own business. They have become a reproach to the human race and a by-word and a stench in the nostrils of the generations of men that have come since then. Why? Simply because they passed by. They were mighty nice people, no doubt, this priest and this Levite. They simply passed by. And yet this world, this Government of ours, is doing the same thing all the time in one way or another. Nevertheless, we hold the priest and Levite up to eternal condemnation for doing what they did—the very thing that we are in danger of doing.

Will this Government of ours pass by on the other side? If it does, It will be and ought to be open to the condemnation of the world.

If this Government is asked to take a mandatory for any portion of Asia Minor, it should say, “Yes!” Why? Well, there are many reasons, but One of them is because the Armenians want it so. Every Armenian with whom I talked on this subject, whether Russian or Turkish Armenian, whether high or low, whether rich or poor, said, “We want America. America is our only hope.” I heard that hundreds of times, just those words. Are we going to listen to that call or are we not?

In the next place America helped to win this war. She did not do it all, but she helped win this war, and probably it would not have been won if we had not gone in. Moreover, America, chiefly through its President, formulated the ideals for which we were fighting in this war. He did this as no-other man. It will so be written in the histories of the world. He formulated the ideals of democracy—applied them to this world war and announced to the peoples of the earth that we were fighting for those ideals.

And, in the third place, we have had much to say about the terms of peace.

Now, taking these three things together, let me affirm with all the emphasis. that I can command that America has implicitly committed herself to assist in carrying forward to successful completion the terms of the peace treaty. From the point of view of political, international obligation there is no escape for America. If she withdraws, it will be simple desertion.

But suppose we are not asked to take a mandatory. Then I say America has a right to demand it. America went into this war with no selfish aims. with no territorial ambitions, with no boundary problems. Just why she went into the war has repeatedly been stated—to make the world safe for democracy and a better place to live in, in contrast with the claims of the opposing nations that might makes right.

But it is a question of duty. America should demand the privilege of helping a dispossessed people that needs help, should help this people to come to self-consciousness as a governing power. America should not wait to be asked. Her duty is clear. The conditions of scores of years make the appeal; if we do not understand, we are merely obtuse.

We hear that it will cost much if we go into the business. The humiliation. of such a statement! We have spent thousands of millions to wage this war. and to light the battles how many millions have died! Nobody knows the whole bloody story. And now shall we say it is going to cost us money if peradventure we do something to make the principle for which we fought secure in the world? How contemptible it is! Why, the problems of this war are just getting formulation. Men and women, we have not won the war yet. We fought the battles; we are on the eve of declaring peace, but the important problems that have been thrown upon the world as a result of this war—those problems we are Just beginning to discover, Just beginning to formulate them. And whether or not we win this war will depend upon how we solve those problems. We are a part Of the whole business, whether we think so or not. America is concerned with every problem of rehabilitation and reconstruction. It is a privilege and a duty we can not escape.

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We are told that a mandatory will be a difficult thing. Well, of course. There are many difficult things that we ought to do, that we must do, whether we want to do them or not. But the Armenians are worth any cost of time and. labor or money that may be involved. The Armenians are the one stabilizing influence in the group of nations that dwell in the region between the Caucasus Mountains and Constantinople. I want to say it again, they are the one stabilizing influence. They have the social virtues. They adhere. to the recognized standards of everyday life. They believe in property rights. They believe in human rights. They are willing to work. They are eager to learn. As a stabilizing influence, if given national unity under proper guidance, the Armenians will be a genuine power in upbuilding an old civilization, a modern civilization in the Near East. Trouble! Why, the trouble would be small compared with the result to be achieved. Furthermore, this Government of ours was created in trouble and in dire distress; it was created to help the world out of trouble and, if necessary, to make trouble. On the trouble that men take and on the service that men give depend the salvation of the race.

For centuries the Armenian people have maintained themselves as a national unit, as a racial group. They have held to their ideals, to their religion. They have maintained themselves till now. At this moment they hold out their hands to America and say, "Help us; our only hope is in you. Give us a rule of Justice, a rule of equity before the law. Teach us the ways of fellowship in democracy." This is the supreme reason why America should ask a mandatory relationship to Armenia.

This Nation of ours is the custodian of a great trust, namely, the last expression of organized democracy, the last great expression of the divine insistence on a free life, the last expression, I say, in government with genuine world interest and relationship. Shall we wrap that trust up in a napkin and hide it? Shall we retire within ourselves? Shall we not ask the question, "Who is our neighbor?" Shall we not hear the command of God and the command of the human race, "Help one another"?

Mr. MALCOM. Do you think, Dr. Main, that the landing of some troops at Batoum would keep the railroad line open?

Mr. MAIN. It would contribute, decidedly.

Mr. MALCOM. How many troops do you think it would need to keep the line open to Erivan, because that is essential to carry food there?

Mr. MAIN. I do not think it would require many troops. I think the Georgian Government would yield to the influence of the United States and be open to argument in that else, or to diplomatic discussion at any rate. My impression has been all along that 15,000 or 20,000 troops contributed by America in some fashion or other—I do not say in what fashion—would stabilize that entire country.

Mr. MALCOM. You mean 15,000 to 20,000 troops under the American flag?
Mr. MAIN. Well, I had not thought of that. That is a new phase of it, I had assumed that of course if American troops went there they would go under the American flag.
Senator HARDING. I do not think they can go any other way.
Mr. MAIN. I inferred from what you said about suspending the law as to foreign enlistments, that possibly—
Senator HARDING. The landing of Marines is one proposition; but the other proposition about which I asked you was the recruiting of an army of American Armenians in this country, which we would undertake to equip.
Mr. MAIN. And that would not be sent under the American flag?
Senator0 HARDING. No.
Mr. MAIN. I should say 15,000 troops could stabilize that country.
Senator WILLIAMS. Do you know how many troops the British had from Batoum to Bakou
Mr. MAIN. There was no definite statement given us.
Senator WILLIAMS. Do you know from any source?
Mr. MAIN. The British themselves would not report this, but there was a general belief that there were 20,000.
Mr. JAQUITH. There were 16,000 troops in the Caucasus on the 1st of June, including a large contingent of Indian troops. In fact, most of the troops in the Caucasus under the British were Indian guards.
Senator WILLIAMS. I understand that, but you mean the total British force was 16,000?
Mr. JAQUITH. The total force—
Senator WILLIAMS. The total force in the Caucasus?
Mr. JACQUITH. In the Caucasus was 16,000.
Senator WILLIAMS. Bakou and Batouni and all the railway lines to outlying points being protected?
Mr. JAQUITH. Yes, sir.
Senator HARDING. Did you come in contact with the Armenian military organization at all?
Mr. MAIN. Yes; I saw them at various times.
Senator HARDING. It has been reported here that they number approximately 30,000, but that only about 6,000 are prepared for service.
Mr. MAIN. That was the understanding that I had.
Senator HARDING. What would be the effect of aiding in the equipment of that army?
Mr. MAIN. I think it would be very salutary and helpful.
Senator HARDING. Do you think if the Armenian Army was equipped with rifles and machine guns and light artillery they could stabilize the situation?
Mr. MAIN. I do; yes.
Senator WILLIAMS. And plenty of ammunition, of course.
Mr. MAIN. I do. My feeling has been all along that there should be cooperation extended by the other nations—by some nation, the British, or if not, by the United States—to give courage and hope to the Armenian people. We must remember all the time that the Armenian people have been under an autocratic Government for 500 or 600 years, and they do not know how to exercise as yet the functions of government very well. They ought to be protected and helped and led along so that gradually they would be able to assume the functions of government in some rational way. I should think it unfortunate if we were to leave Armenia to care of herself—I mean the world. I am not trying to impose an obligation on the part of the United States, except that I think there is a moral obligation on the United States to give more, as contrasted with

other nations over there.
Senator HARDING. I quite sympathize with that point of view. I want to get at this. I will ask you the question and you can answer it or not as you please. Did you encounter evidences of a manifest design to draw us into sponsorship for that country?
Mr. MAIN. The general impression I had from the British people was that they expected America to come in and Gen. Beach and others who talked about it would simply say, "We hope America will come in and take charge of Armenia." That is about the way they put it. Now, you could not interpret that as design on their part, but it may have been design.
Senator HARDING. Did anybody say to you that it had been suggested at the peace conference by our representatives that we would do that?
Mr. MAIN. Yes, I heard that repeatedly; and I had hoped that it was true, as a matter of fact. My own feeling on the subject is that America—I am speaking of the American people from the humanitarian point of view—is under a moral obligation to see that Armenia has a chance. That is all. I feel pretty sure, as Mr. Smith said, that the only race in Asia Minor that is capable of developing from the point of view of education and from the point of view of culture, as we understand that word, and from the point of view of steadiness of character, from the point of view of adhering to the ordinary social standards of life, are the Armenians at the present time, and if you were to give those people a chance in a district included in Asia Minor, that they would gradually contribute to the stabilizing of the whole country. The Turks and the Tartars and the Kurds are not able to do it.
Mr. MALCOM. You mean the whole of Armenia—integral Armenia?
Mr. MAIN. Yes.
Senator WILLIAMS. Let us ask you a leading question—what a lawyer would regard as a leading question: Is it not your opinion that if we hold up this Government until it has a chance to organize itself, then the Armenians can take care of themselves?
Mr. MAIN. I have felt that way; yes, sir.
Senator WILLIAMS. In other words, the danger at the beginning is the danger of disorganization, and the inability to organize owing to the chaotic condition of everything around them?
Mr. MAIN. Certainly. The Armenian Government at the present moment has not a ghost of a chance unless it has some sort of help from outside; that is my feeling about it, that it has not a ghost of a chance; and it will not be six months until the Armenian Republic will be gone.
Senator WILLIAMS. It can not keep its feet on one place long enough to stand up.
Senator HARDING. I am going to ask you the question that every objector raises.
Mr. MAIN. That question could be answered in various ways. In the first place, the United States has been interested in Armenia for 100 years; that is, the people of the United States.
Senator HARDING. I understand that.
Mr. MAIN. They have established schools over there, colleges and missionary schools, and they have felt a fraternal interest in Armenia for 100 years. and the Armenian people have reciprocated, and the Armenians with one accord look to America as their salvation. They do not look to England in that way; they do not look to France in that way or to Italy in that way. There is a spiritual interrelationship between Armenia and the United States which, to my mind. imposes upon the people of the United States—I say, the people of the United States—a moral obligation. England has no such interest in Armenia. England has her way open to India through Mesopotamia; she has another way open through Palestine; and as Mr. Smith said. England has been heavily burdened by this war and does not see why she should be called upon to protect Armenia. I feel very strongly that England is right in that view.

Senator HARDING. She has not hesitated to burden herself with anything that she wanted.
Mr. MAIN. I think England has got to do something to rehabilitate herself, and to restore her financial condition. There is no possibility of doing it in Mesopotamia. There is a way to do it if she keeps the way open to India.
But America has been interested in Armenia from the moral point of view, from the educational point of view, and from the Christian civilization point of view, and it seems to me for America to withdraw now, after having gone into the war and assumed obligations in connection with the war to assist in carrying out the terms of peace, that she would be neglecting a moral obligation— denying a moral obligation.
Senator HARDING. I quite agree with that and do not want to seem to be in the position of arguing. I am trying to clarify.
Mr. MAIN. That is all right. Go on.
Senator HARDING. The British premier has stated precisely the same sentiment. Lloyd-George and the President are in accord in that sentiment. But when the war ends, Great Britain comes along and takes whatever may serve her interests, and then apparently withdraws from the burden of the rest, which she does not require.
Mr. MAIN. Only in a very slight degree.
Senator HARDING. Except that Armenia is wholly Christian, and Korea is not.
Senator WILLIAMS. Oh, Mr. Chairman, Korea is really a part of the territory of Japan, and these people are seeking to stand up alone and seeking help while they get on their feet.
Mr. MAIN. They are seeking independence.
Senator WILLIAMS. I wanted to ask you for your opinion, at any rate, as to this: If we showed a disposition to cooperate with the Armenians and give them some help, military and naval, whether then there would not be cooperation not only on the part of Great Britain but of France and Italy; Great Britain, being relieved of the entire burden would be willing, perhaps, to do her part, and France and Italy would be willing to do theirs. Of course that is all conjecture; but what is your notion about it?
Mr. MAIN. I think that any movement that was backed up by the governments involved in this terrible situation would contribute to peace and order there. But there is no such movement at present. England is threatening to withdraw.
Senator HARDING. Now, I want to tell you, I am a lot in sympathy - with this whole situation. I do not want to give you a wrong impression.
Mr. MAIN. You are not.
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Senator HARDING. But you have expressed an opinion in reply to Senator Williams's question. Ought not this to come from the peace conference in Paris rather than from the people in the United States?
Mr. MAIN. The peace conference does not seem to be doing anything.
Senator HARDING. At least, then, we will place some of the blame where it belongs.
Mr MAIN. In the meantime the Armenians are being slaughtered.
Senator HARDING. I know; that is the pity of it.
Mr. MAIN. If the United States Senate can do anything, then I beg the United States Senate to do it.
Senator HARDING. Of course, we can not do anything with the cooperation of the House.
Mr. MAIN. Well, of course—
Senator WILLIAMS. Mr. Chairman, as to the peace conference doing something, of course, the peace conference has not yet taken hold of the Turkish situation. I mean, it has not completed its work on the subject. That will all be settled as a part of the treaty

of peace with Turkey.
Mr. MAIN. The point that I am trying to get at is what authority is there for establishing boundaries for modern Europe? Where does that authority rest; on the peace conference?
Senator HARDING. Exactly. There is no other authority.
Mr. MAIN. What can we do to secure the attention, to this appalling situation, of the peace conference?
Senator WILLIAMS. All we can do about the boundaries is to recognize the Republic of Armenia with certain boundaries. We can do that; just as we could, if we wanted to, recognize the independence of Mesopotamia to-morrow.
Mr. MALCOM. We can recognize the independence of the whole of Armenia in the same way.
Senator HARDING. We can do precisely what this resolution provides. We can ask the peace conference to do that. We only give the expressed sentiment of legislative America.
Mr. MAIN. Of course, I have given my voice to the resolution. I have reaffirmed everything that Mr. Smith said on that point.
Senator WILLIAMS. We could do not only what this resolution expressly proposes, but if America chose, it could recognize the independence of Armenia in that region. But, of course, we do not want to do that, because that would be taking upon us the functions of the commissioners and conferees who are arranging the world peace; so that Senator Lodge thought that it was wise to go only that far.
Mr. MAIN. My interest in the situation at the present moment is to save the Armenians. Now, whatever can be done by the Senate and the peace conference, to do that, ought to be done, and I do not think that we ought to consider the question of the obligation of Great Britain, or her selfish interests, or anything of that sort. Armenia appeals to us, and has done it from the first. I was not in Tiflis 15 minutes before I heard from Armenians, "America is our only hope."
Senator HARDING. But there you have overlooked the big question that must be considered by the Senate and by the Congress. Anything we do here other than a purely humane work is essentially an act of belligerency.
Mr. MAIN. Yes; I understand.
Senator HARDING. Mr. Smith conveyed to us the inference, whether he wanted to do so or not, that somebody was insisting on the maintenance of the Turkish Empire.
Mr. SMITH. I repeat it, and take the responsibility for it.
Senator HARDING. Now, if that be true, somebody in the allied forces is favorable to the Turkish ambition. That is a fair statement, is it?
Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.
Senator HARDING. So that you are embarking on a course that brings us in conflict ultimately with some of our Allies; so that you can not ignore the British and French position in the matter. You do not know what their wishes are in this case.
Mr. SMITH. One moment. I desire not to argue, but if the British troops are in the Caucasus now, any of them at all, and they have not committed any act of belligerency or done any hostile act to any of their Allies, how could we be doing any hostile act if we supplanted them, war weary as they are and leaving things undone?
Senator WILLIAMS. What I propose to do in this resolution is a casus belli if Turkey chooses to make it such, but my reliance was that Turkey by no means would choose to make it such.
Senator HARDING. Yes; I agree to that. **<u>But reaching back further, who is back of Turkey?</u>**
Mr. Swim. May I ask you and Senator Williams whether it was an act of belligerency when we sent troops into South America and into Haiti? We have 200 American

workers now in danger in Armenia. Are we going to withdraw and not send Marines to protect them? We would send them if those people were in Cuba. It is merely a matter of distance in this case; but the battleship *Arizona* is over there and she can turn and run up the Black Sea perfectly well.

Senator HARDING. I do not think that it was an act of belligerency in every case; and the only thing to be considered in this case is whether or not some one is especially in any way interested in the Turkish future, so that they will take issue with us.

Senator WILLIAMS. There is a, difference between an act of belligerency and furnishing another nation with a casus belli that they may consider an act of belligerency if they choose. There is no doubt about that being an act of belligerency that would justify Turkey; but I am relying upon it that she is in no condition to consider whether she is justified just as she has already considered when we took Constantinople and put these other troops in there and took possession.

Mr. MALCOM. But you are talking about the Armenian Republic in Russia. Therefore it has no bearing on the Turkish situation any more than our sending troops to Archangel has on the Turkish situation, just at present.

Senator HARDING. That is true, and it is not true. We are proposing in our resolution to create an Armenian Republic out of a considerable portion of Turkey, too.

Mr. MALCOM. I am especially interested in, and beg this committee to do this, to send immediate help to protect and maintain the life of a million or two Armenians concentrated in the north, in the Armenian Republic. If this population perishes this coming winter, there will be no Armenians to constitute a future Armenian State.

Senator HARDING. We have gone rather far afield in this discussion. I suggest that we take a recess until 2.30 o'clock. Let us finish these hearings to-day. I have taken the liberty of saying that we would hear any of these gentlemen who are citizens of Armenia.

Senator WILLIAMS. Very well. I feel we have taken a certain jurisdiction over the subject by hearing American citizens on the same subject, and of course, there is no reason why you should not hear those people.

(At 12.30 o clock p. m. the subcommittee took a recess until 2 o'clock p. m.)

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to the taking of the recess, at 2 o'clock p. m.

STATEMENT OF MR. J. H. T. MAIN—Resumed.

Senator HARDING. Dr. Main, was there something else you wanted to say?

Mr. MAIN. I wanted to reemphasize, with all the possible energy I can command, what I said this morning with regard to Senator Williams' resolution. I think that it should be passed. I think my colleagues here, Mr. Smith and Mr. Jaquith, will agree with me on that, and that it will furnish the means of saving Armenia. I do not see how Armenia can be saved unless your resolution is passed and acted upon. It is very well, of course, to consider the possibility of getting a volunteer army consisting of Americans and Armenians who may go over there; but it will take six months to do it, and in the meantime the Armenian Republic would be wiped out and the Armenian people would be further destroyed. Conditions are such at the present moment that we dare not do anything to delay the situation. I feel strongly convinced of that—so strongly that I can scarcely talk of it without emotion. The situation has impressed itself upon my mind so that I think of it night and day; and I think if Armenia is to be saved and the Armenian people— and I think they are essential to the stabilization and civilization of. Asia Minor—they have got to be saved at once; and I think that the United States ought to

go ahead in that matter. I think it is up to us to do something to vindicate ourselves as the promoters of Christian civilization and good order in that part of the world, where the people are looking to us to do it. I mean by "the people" the Armenian people. I am not interested in the cross currents of interest that may be involved in this or that opinion for or against. I believe that it is the duty of America to see that something in the interest of humanity is done there. We must do it, it seems to me, in order to vindicate our right to be called a Christian nation. I feel so strongly about this, as I said a moment ago that I can not speak of it without emotion. I believe that the judgment of mankind would condemn us if we allowed conditions to go forward as they seem to be going now, without doing something to help the Armenian people.

I think that is all I want to say about that, to any extent; but I feel very strongly about it, and I can hardly talk of it without breaking down.

Senator HARDING. You gave to the stenographer the matter that you wanted inserted in the record, did you?

Mr. MAIN. Yes sir. I think that is sufficient from me.

Mr. MALCOM. The next witness is Mr. H. C. Jaquith, assistant secretary of the Near East Relief Committee.

Senator HARDING. Will you proceed, Mr. Jaquith?

STATEMENT OF MR. H. C. JAQUITH, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE NEAR EAST RELIEF COMMITTEE.

Mr. JAQUITH. My name is H. C. Jaquith; residence, New York; No. 1 Madison Avenue.

The only contribution that I have to make in addition to what Mr. Smith and Dr. Main have made is to supplement by a few pictures which I took the first week in June and the last week in May, together with a map which I had Capt. Moore mark for me at the time I was in Tiflis, and to place before you the facts regarding the amount of money and the personnel that are already operating in the Caucasus, and the relation of that personnel to our committee.

Senator HARDING. Do you mean the representatives of your relief organization?

Mr. JAQUITH. Under Col. Haskell.

(Mr. Jaquith here exhibited a number of photographs to the Committee.)

In Paris, with Mr. Smith, Mr. Hoover, and Mr. Morganthau, action was taken with the peace council to secure some form of political authority for some representative to go into the Caucasus. That was taken independent of the peace conference, and instigated by people acting in a private capacity, and as a result of that activity Cool. Haskell was appointed at the request of Mr. Hoover and given power from the peace council as high commissioner. There being no funds available at that particular time from Government sources, and the American relief administration fund having been closed on the 30th of June by act of Congress, the Near East relief committee was asked if we would be willing to contribute a definite amount of money to finance Col. Haskell's additional personnel that ought to be sent into the Caucasus, and the railroad transportation officers to replace the British that were being withdrawn from the Caucasus. The committee voted to expend $500,000 per month for the months of August, September, October, and November.

Senator HARDING. $2,000,000 in all?

Mr. JAQUITH. Yes, sir. Since the first of the year we have expended in the Caucasus $4,750,000. That is in addition to the $8,000,000 expended by the American relief administration, and they have placed at the disposal of the people in the Caucasus 31,000 tons of flour. There are 5,000 tons of flour per month being distributed at present, which were allocated before the 1st of July, and that flour supply will last until the 1st

of December, 1919. The value in flour is about $600,000, making the expenditure of American money at present in the Caucasus $1,100,000 per month, $600,000 of that being from Government sources and $500,000 from private philanthropy.
The flour supply will be exhausted, according to Col. Haskell's cablegram, the 1st of December. The Near East Committee obligated itself to spend only $500,000 a month for those four months; So that, aside from the pressing wants of military cooperation, our committee on last Monday met to consider the other pressing questions of continuing the relief which, according to Col. Haskell's cablegram, must be continued until the crops of 1920 are in, and the sending of 7,000 tons of flour per month, for it is very difficult to realize, but it is the fact that the day I left Erivan there was just enough flour in the city of Erivan to supply half enough bread for the Erivan children, to say nothing about the adults. Fortunately a caravan of flour had left Tiflis for Erivan, which I met on the way. But there was nothing in the stores, money was of no value, and the exchange of goods was the only way that the life that was maintained in the Caucasus was continued. So that those are the facts, so far as the committee is concerned.
There were 55 American officers who went out with Col Haskell. Some of them had been with him in Roumania. Some of them went from Paris. These men have been scattered through the interior of what is called Armenia, and have been appointed governors over various governments and communities in the Armenian Republic. These officers, furthermore, have been, by mutual agreement between Azerbaijan and Georgia, given the power of life and death and the administration over the disputed territories between these two republics. Of course, that is merely a nominal arrangement on the basis of moral persuasion, because there are but one or two men in each of those communities, with nothing to maintain order or to back up their authority.
According to Co1. Haskell the British troops have been withdrawn except in the vicinity of Batoum.
Senator HARDING. Does the map you have here indicate the lines of the proposed republic?
Mr. JAQUITH. Yes, sir. This was drawn by Capt. Moore, in Tiflis, who was the head of the American mission. This territory in here [indicating the Republic of Armenia on map] is definitely Armenian. He marked this [indicating] because it was what he called "no man's land"—disputed territory.
Senator WIILIAMI. What is the name of that? What province is it in?
Mr. JAQUITH. It is no province. It is just a river valley that runs down north of Karaklis and south of the Georgian town which is the farthest on the railway. That is territory disputed by the Tartar government of Azerbaijan [indicating on map].
Senator WILLIAMS. Is there some way of determining the Armenian part of the country and the Tartar part, or are they mixed up inextricably in vilayets?
Mr. JAQUITH. This part is mixed up [indicating]. This part north of this line is Armenia.
Mr. MALCOM. That is, north of Nakhichevan is Armenian and south of Nakhichevan is not wholly Armenian.
Mr. JAQUITH. It is difficult to divide between Tartar and Armenian. The geographical location is bordered by a mountain range between Erivan and this center called Shusha, where the British officers were massacred.
Senator WILLIAMS. Yes.
Mr. JAQUITH. I was here the last of May, and the Turks had left Kars only three weeks before. The supplies from this section which should have gone to the Armenian Army at Kars—the supplies which had been left by the Turks at Kars—were assigned by the British to Gen. Denikine, in the north Caucasus. These supplies would have been available to the Armenian Army of 10,000 such as it was, if they had remained within the boundaries of the Armenian Republic.

When the division came, last May, of this section into the three republics of the Caucasian section, the railroad stock was principally at Batoum and Tiflis and Bakou. Consequently there are only 24 engines in more or less workable order south of this line and distinctively the property of the Armenian Government [indicating on map]. Consequently the transportation problem has been the typical problem for the relief situation, and that is the excuse for holding the central office in Tiflis, in order to assure the cooperation of the Georgian Government with the supplies, which necessarily must go through there into Armenia.

South of here [indicating on map] there has been absolutely no communication, south of the former boundary line between Russia and Turkey. The farthest that any Americans had gone on the 1st of June was Kars. The connection with Turkish Armenia had been entirely cut off, and the refugees who had drifted up this way [north] to seek protection had absolutely no opportunity of returning to their former homes.

Senator HARDING. This territory bounded by these lines [indicating on map] represents the proposed Armenia in Russia?

Mr. JAQUITH. Yes; the territory within this line here, that is recognized by the other two republics in Russia as constituting the Armenian Republic [indicating on map]. There has been no decision by the peace conference or any other outside faction, but it is simply a question of mutual agreement in the Caucasus as between this Georgian Republic, and Azerbaijan, and the Armenian Republic.

Senator WILLIAMS. But it does not include the territory in the resolution?

Mr. JAQUITH. No, sir.

Senator WILLIAMS. Now, this was Turkish Armenia, and that is Russian Armenia [indicated on the map]?

Mr. JAQUITH. And there is a clear distinction indicated by the railroads. They, of necessity, have been operated in the Russian language, **because there have been an attempt to Russianize the Armenians** since they have been in that particular locality. The roads in there are particularly good, and the military maneuvers and machine guns mounted on automobiles can be handled very easily through there. I traveled by automobile when it was necessary.

Senator HARDING. Was your relief work limited to this division?

Mr. JAQUITH. That is the Caucasus division. The other end is from the standpoint of Turkish Armenia south.

Senator HARDING. When you start your present relief work from Constantinople south for the other parts of Armenia, where do you land your supplies; down on the Mediterranean, or where do you land them?

Mr. JAQUITH. We land our supplies at Derindje.

Senator HARDING. That is on the Black Sea?

Mr, JAQUITH. No; on the Sea of Marmora.

Mr. MALCOM. Derindje is a few miles from Constantinople, on the Sea of Marmora.

Senator WILLIAMS. That is where you start from, is it?

Mr. JAQUITH. That is where we land all our supplies. All the supplies that have been sent over have been landed there.

Senator WILLIAMS. Then where do you go by rail?

Mr. JAQUITH. We ship by rail as far as Aleppo.

Senator WILLIAMS. That is what I was trying to get at before. Why do you not land them at Aleppo first?

Mr. JAQUITH. Because, in the first place, there are two large warehouses here. built by the German Government, which were in control of the Bagdad railroad. At Derindje there are five-story elevators with water connections, where you can load from the boat into the warehouse, and load onto the train and go over the Bagdad Railroad.

Then, just before you come to the Taurus Mountains, there is a town called Oulakishla. The supplies for the interior are then taken by automobile to Caeserea, Sivas, and Kharput. That is the extent to which the relief work has been able—that we, as a relief committee, have been able—to administer relief in Turkish Armenia. There is this stretch between Kharput and the Russian boundary line in which there is absolutely no relief work conducted, so far as our committee is concerned. And we have made a distinct division in the field, one being administered from Constantinople and the other being administered from the Caucasus, with Tiflis as the head office.

Senator WILLLUIS. Some relief work has been going on, but that is for Russian Armenia through Batoum

Mr. JAQUITH. That is for Russian Armenia entirely, and that is merely used as a distributing spot and a port of entry for our supplies.

Mr. MALCOM. Who took these photographs?

Mr. JAQUITH. Myself; part of them, and another man who was with me took the others.

Mr. MALCOM. They were taken in the Republic of Armenia?

Mr. JAQUITH. In the Republic of Armenia in the last week in May.

Senator HARDINGS. Do you want to ask any question, Senator Williams?

Senator WILLIAMS. One of these cablegrams says "800,000 Armenians destitute, most of whom will 'require assistance until fall harvest next year." Do those people want quinine?

Mr. JAQUITH. For malaria.

Senator WILLIAMS. I thought they were pretty well above the malaria altitude.

Mr. JAQUITH. No, sir.

Mr. MALCOM. Have any steps been taken to provide flour and other things for the Armenians there after the 1st of December?

Mr. JAQUITH. Mr. Ricard, who is a member of our executive committee, and who was Mr. Hoover's representative here in America, is making inquiry. I hope that other members of the executive committee are making inquiries to find out what the wants of the incoming committee may be in order to supply 7,000 tons of flour per month beginning the 1st of December, together with the rest of the work which must be maintained at approximately $500,000 per month.

Senator HARDING. How many people does that ration?

Mr. JAQUITH. I do not know the exact number that will ration. It was the amount which was requested by Maj. Green to be sent in in order to meet the needs, and we are assuming that it is ministering to all those who are not able to secure provisions from any other source. I believe, from my experience in Paris, that the cooperation of the Allied Governments can be secured if the United States will contribute a portion of the necessary military and financial support for the maintenance of order, which in n. way whatever would implicate the United States in the question of a mandatory, and at the same time would mean the saving of these people, 800,000 of whom will be removed from the Russian Caucasus by death and starvation within the next four or five months unless something is done.

Senator HARDING. What leads you to that conclusion?

Mr. JAQUITH. Conversations with Mr. Hoover, based upon his conversations with the British authorities, that the British, and also the Italians I believe, would, according to Mr. Hoover's report, be willing to cooperate in a move to police Armenia.

The fact that the Italian troops were not sent in as originally announced in May, to supplement the English, was, according to the Italian Government, due to financial reasons and not to military reasons. Troops were available, but the financial difficulty in the way was so great that they could not accept the obligation of substituting for the British troops.

Senator WILLIAMS. Italy is nearly bankrupt, is she not?
Mr. JAQUITH. Yes; more than that. And I believe, from these conversations with Mr. Hoover and other men in Paris, that the United States Government, if it cooperated with the other Governments in sending troops, would receive the full support of the other Governments of Europe in policing.
Senator WILLIAMS. Have you looked into the question as to whether there was any authority under the law to give to Armenia a part of that $10,000,000,000 that we floated to be loaned to our Allies?
Mr. JAQUITH. Mr. Ricard, at our executive committee meeting on October 6, said he had consulted with some members of the Treasury Department, and felt that it was wholly within the power to utilize some of the $10,000,000,000 for relief measures in the Caucasus.
Senator WILLIAMS. I asked that question because, if the act is to be strictly construed, it applies only to our Allies, and as we never declared war on Turkey, Armenia would not be one of our allies, and we have no right to give her a dollar of it. I asked you about that because I am thinking of amending that resolution so as to permit that, a part of it, to go to Armenia.
Mr. JAQUITH. Mr. Ricard's advice. which he was going to verify before our meeting on October 14, was that this was given to Russia; and that Russia was considered an ally, and therefore we could allocate a part of that fund to Russia.
Senator WILLIAMS. Yes; even though it is like, under the good old law of our ancestors, declaring war on the king in the kings name. That is all right, is it not?
Senator HARDING. Yes.
Mr. JAQUITH. Mr. Hoover has no funds under that $100,000,000. That account has been squared.
Senator WILLIAMS. We have a part of the $10,000,000,000 fund left?
Mr. JAQUITM. Yes.
Senator WILLIAMS. I think about $500,000,000 is left. I do not know how much it is.
Mr. MALCOM. You having been in the Republic of Armenia, will you state if it is the opinion that if help is sent there immediately so that the population might be protected and supplied with food this winter and next spring and fall, then after that the Armenians would be able, in some measure, to be self-supporting?
Mr. JAQUITH. I believe that if the Armenians were permitted to put in one crop of wheat and harvest it, the American people or the American Government would not be asked for further financial aid and relief measures.
Senator WILLIAMS. You mean so far as the food question is concerned?
Mr. JAQUITH. So far as the food question is concerned.
Senator HARDING. The question was about their power to defend themselves, also.
Mr. JAQUITH. The question, of course, is as to a lack of food and a lack of ammunition; and let me remind you that these photographs which I have shown you are typical, and although there may be 30,000 men available, the last year and a half or two years has depleted the energy of the Armenian people to such an extent that the first requirement is adequate food in order to bring them up to a physical basis where they can carry guns. Now, there are, according to the best information that I have been able to secure, 10,000 men who are under arms, physically able to fight, and who are partially equipped, but the lack of equipment and the lack of food and the lack of ammunition have been the three determining factors in forbidding the increase of that armed force.
Senator WILLIAMS. Let me ask you this. It seems self-evident from these hearings that what Armenia needs next to food is armament, munitions, discipline, and organization in a military sense. In order to have that, she must have money or credit from somewhere. Is it or is it not your opinion that she could be safely lent a certain

amount of money based upon her bonds indorsed by us, payable, say, within 10 years if she chose, with an ultimate limit, say, of 20 years? Do you think she could meet a reasonable loan upon those terms, without costing our Government anything in the long run?
Mr. JAQUITH. I think there is more probability of the Armenian Government returning a portion of the money which would be loaned to her than there is of some of the other countries to which we have already made grants of money.
Senator WILLIAMS. I do not want it as a mere comparative matter.
Mr. JAQUITH. I would not want to say in 10 years.
Senator WILLIAMS. There is no doubt that many of them—Russia, for instance—never will pay a cent.
Mr. JAQUITH. I was referring to Poland.
Senator WILLIAMS. Poland will pay, all right. But if Armenia could float a bond, say, at 5 per cent, with our indorsement, payable at their option in 10 years, but ultimately payable in 20 years, it is your opinion that that would be met, or could be met?
Mr. JAQUITH. It could not be met in 10 years. It would have to be 20, because during the first 10 years it is going to take every cent in order to establish the Government, and the people, and the school system.
Senator WILLIAMS. What I said was, payable at their option in 10 years, but payable ultimately in 20 years. I thought maybe they might get along a little better and faster than we think, and if so, the sooner the thing was canceled, the better.
Mr. JAQUITH. It is sure that as soon as the Armenians are able to get back onto their fields and establish their businesses, it will he less than two years before they will be self-supporting; and within approximately that same short period they will be carrying on trade with those on the outside, and they will begin to accumulate a surplus both of goods and of money.
Senator HARDING. Do most of them have title to the land?
Mr. JAQUITH. Yes, in Russian Armenia.
Senator WILLIAMS. They are just like pretty nearly every other country in Europe, are they not, at present; what they need most is credit?
Mr. JAQUITH. They need credit.
Senator WILLIAMS. Yes.
Mr. JAQUITH. But there is no place in Europe that is in the same physical condition as Armenia is in at the present time. Speaking of Russian Armenia, the other countries are poor, but here is a group of people who have not even the bread of life unless it is supplied to them from the outside.
Senator WILLIAMS. Is not old Serbia in just about as bad a fix?
Mr. JAQUITH. No, sir.
Senator WILLIAMS. Well, I do not know.
Mr. JAQUITH. Mr. Hoover, I believe, has taken the question of Armenia closer to heart than that of any other section in the whole relief administration, and I know that he speaks with greater feel regarding this situation in the Caucasus than of any other field limier the administration of the American Relief Association.
Senator HARDING. Are you pretty intimate with Mr. Hoover?
Mr. JAQUITH. I had a conference with him just before we went to the Caucasus.
Senator HARDING. Did he present this question to the peace conference?
Mr. JAQUITH. He did present that question to the peace conference, and as a result of his presentation and conferences with Mr. Morgenthau, Col. Haskell was appointed, and he believed at that time that the British troops would remain in the Caucasus until some settlement had been made by the peace conference of the Turkish question, which would then be finally settled.
Senator WILLIAMS. Butt the British had already given notice, back in May, that they

would not.
Mr. JAQUITH. They gave notice, which was read on May 12. I read it, and it said, "We are withdrawing and the Italians are going to take our place. This in no way affects the solution by the peace conference and is purely a military measure."
Senator WILLIAMS. Why is it that Italy did not go to take their place?
Mr. JAQUITH. Because of financial reasons.
Senator WILLIAMS. I see.
Mr. JAQUITH. Italy had the troops, and at that time if the question had been properly discussed and financial cooperation had been g1ven, I believe, and Mr. Hoover believes, that Italy would have gone into the Caucasus.
Senator WILLIAMS. Oh, yes; the Italian will go anywhere if he is given the money.
Mr. JAQUITH. And Mr. Hoover inferred—at least, the last word he had from the British Government before leaving France was— that they were willing to cooperate in any policing that might be undertaken from a purely humanitarian standpoint.
Senator WILLIAMS. That is my opinion. My opinion is that while they have grown excessively, tired of being left with the burden resting exclusively upon their own shoulders, added to the balance of the burden that they have in Africa and Asia, outside of their own dominions, even, they are perfectly willing to contribute their share upon any basis that may be fixed by the council, or by internat1onal negotiation.
Mr. JAQUITH. That was Mr. Hoover's last word before he left for America, and that, I think, is one of the most effective arguments against any negotiation that may be made, that the British are withdrawing because of selfish reasons and are willing to seal the fate of 800,000 Armenians by so withdrawing from the Caucasus.
Let me explain, a moment, that all the time that the British troops were in the Caucasus they never had more than a small machine gun squad in each one of these centers, with three armored ears at Erivan, and railroad transportation officers at each junction. In other words, the. bulk of the British troops were kept in Russian Armenia.
Senator WILLIAMS. The British flag did the balance?
Mr. JAQUrrH. The British flag did the balance. A far smaller number of troops would be required to maintain order in the Caucasus than is generally reported by our correspondents, at least from Constantinople and Tiflis. 16,000 did do that for six months or more, and with practically no opposition.
Senator WILLIAMS. Most of them are not Englishmen, but Hindoos, under English officers?
Mr. JAQUITH. Under English officers.
Senator WILLIAMS. Just the stripes and the flag. Is not the United States flag just about as highly considered there as the British flag?
Mr. JAQUITH. I think the fact that 55 American officers seem to be maintaining a semblance of order with the American flag is an indication of the fact that at least one American is as good as one Englishman. I will not draw any further comparison.
Senator WILLIAMS. Have you finished your statement?
Mr. JAQUITH. Yes. If there are no further questions, I have finished, Senator.
Senator WILLIAMS. If there is anything else you think of later that you want to supplement your statement by, just put it under the head of supplemental statement submitted by you and give it to the stenographer.
Mr. MALCOM. You said in the. early part of your testimony that the American committee for relief in the Near East has spent $4,750,000 in the Caucasus. Is that correct?
Mr. JAQUITH. No. The total sum the American committee spent in the Caucasus from January 1 to date is $6,750,000.
Mr. MALCOM. Another question. You spoke of Mr. Hoover sending $8,000,000 worth of foodstuffs to Armenia. Can you tell us who made this arrangement on behalf

of the Armenians?
Mr. JAQUITH. Mr. Nubar Pasha in Paris, the president of the Armenian national delegation.
Senator HARDING. Whom will we hear next?
Mr. MALCOM. Before I introduce the next witness I wish to offer this map for the record. It shows the boundaries of integral Armenia and that portion of it in the Caucasus which has declared its independence and established a government under the title of the Armenian Republic.
I now take great pleasure, Mr. Chairman, in introducing Mr. Katchaznouni, former prime minister of the Armenian Republic, and his associates who, very happily, arrived in the United States yesterday and who are here now.
Senator WILLIAMS. Just indicate to the subcommittee your name, age, occupation, official relationship to the Armenian people, and the sources of the information you are about to give.

STATEMENT OF MR. OHANNES KACHAZNOUNI, F0RMER PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE ARMENIAN REPUBLIC.

(This witness testified through an interpreter.)

Mr. KACHAZNOUNI. My age is 51. I was prime minister of the Armenian Republic from July, 1918, to August, 1919. I am officially delegated by the Government and Parliament of Armenia to present to the American people and Government the situation in Armenia and to seek the allied, and particularly the American, aid in meeting that situation.
Senator WILLIAMS. Just indicate to the committee what you regard as most important and significant from the Armenian standpoint and from the standpoint of American opportunity at this moment.
Mr. KACHAZNOUNI. The first general statement I will make is that the Armenian people, having suffered terribly during the war, are now desirous and anxious to have the cooperation of America to enable Armenia to establish a free and independent Government within her historic boundaries.
The first request I wish to make is that the Government, which has functioned in Russian Armenia now over one year, should be recognized as the Government of the Republic of Armenia. The said Republic now needs the moral, physical, and material aid of America to be able to protect its boundaries and maintain order within its boundaries. Since the boundaries of the present Republic include only those of Russian Armenia, in the interest of justice, also the other portions of Armenia which are included in Turkish Armenia should be as well included in the Armenia that we ask to be recognized as an independent state.
Senator WILLIAMS. Have you read this bill and seen the boundaries of the Armenian Republic fixed in the first section of the bill, and are those boundaries that agree with your notions?
Mr. KACHAZNOUNI. The delegation of integral Armenia has defined the boundaries of Armenia. They have eliminated the Persian Armenia, known as Azerbaijan.
Senator WILLIAMS. Then the boundaries as defined by them agree with that, except as to Azerbaijan?
Mr. KACHAZNOUNI. The Persian portion of Armenia; yes.
Mr. MALCOLM. The memorandum of the delegation has been filed in the minutes of this hearing.
Senator WILLIAMS. Yes; I know that. Proceed.
Mr. KACHAZNOUNI. I wish to state now the specific aid that Armenia requires.

Armenia requires, first, military aid—a force sufficient to hold the line from Batoum to Erivan, the capital of Armenia—and in my opinion, possibly 4,000 to 5,000 men would be all that would be required to hold that line. She needs moneys to equip a force of 30,000 or 40,000 men to be organized in Armenia.

Senator. WILLIAMS. If the Armenians in Armenia organizes a military force to the extent they are capable of, whatever it may be, and if, as you say, 20,000 Armenian volunteers are raised in America, either unnaturalized or naturalized Armenians who are here, and all of those are placed under the Armenian flag, how many soldiers under the American flag, in your opinion, would be required to police the country?

Mr. KACHAZNOUNI. In my opinion, subject to what I have stated, 4,000 American troops would be sufficient for holding the line from Batoum to Erivan, and also for internal needs of Armenia, in addition to the Armenian troops to be organized in Armenia and also in America.

Mr. CARDASHIAN. Mr. Kachaznouni wants particularly to emphasize the fact that the majority of those 4,000 men will not be needed in Armenia, but to hold the line which is not in Armenia.

Senator WILLIAMS. Yes; I put my question "to police and control the country." Go ahead.

Senator HARDING. Is that all that he wants to say?

Mr. CARDASHIAN. Yes, sir.

Senator HARDING. The subcommittee thanks you for your statement.

Mr. CARDASHIAN. The prime minister says that there is one thing that he wishes to repeat, if you will permit him.

Senator HARDING. Certainly.

Mr. KACHAZNOUNI. I wanted to bring out certain facts as to the nature of the material aid required, which I think I omitted.

Senator HARDING. Very well.

Mr. KACHAZNOUNI. We wish to have necessary material aid for an army of 30,000 men in Armenia—food, munitions, and supplies for one year.

The second part of the aid that we ask is food for the civil population, in order to enable it to live, and also to enable that civil population to build up its homes, if possible, and reestablish itself in business. That is all that we require of America.

Senator HARDING. What do you mean by material aid for the reestablishment of business and homes? Do you mean credit?

Mr. KACHAZNOUNI. Every aid that we ask for must be made by way of loan; we are, of course, willing, and we are sure we are able, to repay the loans we contract.

Senator HARDING. The way you stated it, it was indefinite.

Senator WILLIAMS. What guaranties or securities do you think the Republic of Armenia would be able to give, whether upon its customs or its mines, or what would be the nature of the guaranties?

Mr. KACHAZNOUNI. We have not formulated a definite plan upon the question of guaranty, but we are willing and ready to give as guaranty all the resources of our country. We have two guaranties. **One is that Armenia is a very rich country in natural resources**; the second is that the Armenian is an industrious and thrifty person, and he always pays his debts. Before the war, Russian Armenia produced much more than it consumed, and its administrative expenses were less than the revenues of the particular region.

Senator WILLIAMS. I understand that, perhaps in Russian Armenia especially, **there are oil, coal, iron, copper, and manganese.** Now, it might be that **instead of the Government furnishing this credit to the Armenian Republic, corporations or syndicates might do it** in case Congress did not want the Government to extend the credit, and in that case do you feel—of course you can not commit your Government

here, but do you feel—that your Government would be willing to turn over certain of these industries as guaranties to the corporations for furnishing the money
Mr. KACHAZNOUNI. I have no doubt about that.

STATEMENT OF DR. G. PASDERMADIIAN, VICE PRESIDENT OF THE ARMENIAN NATIONAL DELEGATION TO THE PEACE CONFERENCE.

Dr. PASDERMADJIAN. I am vice president of the Armenian national delegation resident in Paris, but now I have come as the diplomatic representative of the Armenian Republic to the United States.
Senator HARDING. Originally you were sent to the peace conference in Paris?
Dr. PASDERMADJIAN. Yes; I was elected as vice president of the Armenian national delegation in Paris, and acted in that capacity during my stay there. I now come as the representative of the Armenian Government in America.
Senator HARDING. As the minister of the new Republic?
Dr. PASDERMADJIAN. Yes, sir; but not yet recognized.
Senator HARDING. Do you desire to make a statement or do you just wish to be questioned?
Dr. PASDERMADJIAN. If you will be kind enough to ask questions, I will try to answer.
Senator HARDING. Just tell what you know that you think would be useful to the committee.
Dr. PASDERMADJIAN. I will explain our situation.
Senator HARDING. That is the best thing to do.
Dr. PASDERMADJIAN. You, of course, know that Armenia played a very important part in the Great War. We fought with the Russians and we refused to join the Turks. We fought with the Allies in many countries, and in doing so we lost many men. Had we chosen to aid the Germans we would not have had any serious losses. The fact is that we refused to cooperate with the Germans and the Turks, and we fought for the liberation of Armenia on the Allies' side, but since the armistice the situation in Paris was such that no allied help has been given us. We have received not a single rifle nor any ammunition to assist us in defending our people, and we are now surrounded by the hostile communities who, taking advantage of our known lack of means of self-defense, are continually her-asking us.
Senator HARDING. Now, before you get away from that with what armies did the greater part of the Armenians fight?
Dr. PASDERMADJIAN. With the Russian armies. We had 160,000 men in the Russian Army, besides over 10,000 volunteers. I myself fought as a volunteer. With the French Army in Syria we had 5,000 Armenians fighting under the French flag. We had 1,000 Armenian volunteers in the French Foreign Legion. Armenians everywhere fought with the Allies. We naturally expected that after the armistice we would get necessary relief from our Allies.
But, as I stated, we have received absolutely nothing from them, except certain food relief from America.
Now, what we ask of America is more of moral and economic character than physical only. We have a military force which lacks food, supplies and munitions. We need only a few thousand American soldiers for their moral effect. They will never have to fight, because the Turks will see that America is for Armenia and they will not fight. We want help for one or two years, until we are organized.
Senator HARDING. You have been an officer?
Dr. PASDERMADJIAN. Yes, sir.
Senator HARDING. Do you think that you could have 300,000 effective Armenians

under arms if equipment and munitions were furnished for them?
Dr. PASDERMADJIAN. Very easily, sir. We could have 67,000; but we now need an army of 30,000 only.
Senator WILLIAMS. When you say you could .have 67,000 you mean that you would have to rob .the cradle and the grave to get them ? You would have to take the young boys and the old men?
Dr. PASDERMADJIAN. Yes, sir.
Senator WILLIAMS. Like the Confederacy did; rob the cradle and the grave?
Dr. PASDERMADJIAN. Yes, sir.
Senator WILLIAMS. But you can raise 30,000 of military age?
Dr. PASDERMADJIAN. Yes.
Senator WILLIAMS. That is between 30 and 45?
Dr. PASDERMADJIAN. No; between 20 and 30 or 32.
Senator HARDING. Are they fairly trained in military tactics?
Dr. PASDERMADJIAN. Yes; and we have plenty of officers who fought for four years in the Russian armies.
Senator HARDING. So that you need only arms?
Dr. PASDERMADJIAN. Arms and munitions and some supplies, of course; and a few officers, if possible. We have officers, but we need, too, the Americans to cooperate with us in everything. We have thousands of soldiers who were in the Russian army, but we want some American officers to help reorganize our army, especially in the technical field.
Senator WILLIAMS. Of course the Armenians are an old European race, placed by migration in Asia. When I use the words "old European" in this connection, I am not reflecting upon the Armenians; but in addition to whatever force you want to use, do you not also want the prestige of some European flag?
Dr. PAADERMADJIAN. Yes.
Senator WILLIAMS. Of course, in saying "European" I am including the Americans, because we are all European.
Dr. PAADERMADJIAN. Yes.
Senator WILLIAMS. So that you do want the prestige of some European flag?
Dr. PASDERMADJIAN. Yes.
Senator WILLIAMS. You think you need but a very small force?
Dr. PASDERMADJIAN. Yes; to reorganize our own force.
Senator HARDING. I wanted to ask you, not as an intimation of our decision, but I am trying to arrive at what seems to be a possible thing to do: Do you think, if this country could provide arms and munitions and ammunition, and at the same time send a battleship to Batoum with a force of marines, that that would greatly relieve the situation there?
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Dr. PASDERMADJIAN. That will relieve the situation throughout Caucasus; but until the American flag shall be in Erivan, the people who are living at Erivan will not know what is at Batoum. Our neighbors, the Orientals, are very impressionable.
Senator HARDING. We can send marines inland, for that matter.
Senator WILLIAMS. Senator Harding said with a force of marines in Batoum. Of course, he meant to send the marines farther inland, along the line of the railroad?
Senator HARDING. Yes; to Erivan. You think the moral effect of that would be great?
Dr. PASDERMADJIAN. Yes, sir; the moral effect.
Senator HARDING. Do you want to ask any other questions, Senator?
Senator WILLIAMS. No.

Senator HARDING. You do not care to have him dilate upon these details?
Mr. CARDASHIAN. No.

STATEMENT OP MR VAHAN CARDASHIAN

Senator HARDING. Please state your name to the stenographer.
Mr. CARDASHIAN. Vahan Cardashian; age, 36. I am an American citizen and a member of the New York bar. I am now doing volunteer work for Armenia—honorary.
Senator HARDING. Are you a native of Armenia?
Mr. CARDASHIAN. Yes, sir; if Armenia is given the boundaries she rightly claims, I shall be.
If you will permit me, Mr. Chairman, I shall say for Mr. Gerard that it was his purpose to attend this session, believing it would be held on Saturday, but late yesterday afternoon he received a telegram from you, whereby you fixed the date for hearing for to-day, so that, owing to a prior important engagement, he has been prevented from being here.
Senator WILLIAMS. By the way, he sent me a telegram this morning, that I intended to show you, but I left it in my office, Mr. Chairman.
Mr. CARDASHIAN. Ambassador Gerard has a memorandum that he wishes submitted to you, which I now submit to your committee and ask that it be made apart of the record.
Senator HARDING. It will be made a part of the record.
(The memorandum referred to is here printed in full in the record, as follows:)

THE AMERICAN COMMFITEE, INDEPENDENCE OF ARMENIA.
1 Madison Avenue, New York.
Hon. WARREN G. HARDING,
Chairman Subcommittee, Senate Foreign Relations Committee:
I shall first offer five leading reasons which, in my Judgment, impose upon America the solemn duty to help Armenia at this Juncture:
I. During my ambassadorship at Berlin I knew that Imperial Germany felt as bitterly as the Turks did against the Armenians, because the Armenians of Russia and of Turkey turned down the Turco-German offer of autonomy made of them conditioned upon their lending united support to Germany and Turkey as against the Allies, and also because without the Armenian support to Russia the Turks would have conquered the Russian Caucasus and Joined hands with 24,000,000 or more Turanians of the Caucasus and the trans-Caspian, which success on the part of the Turks would have forced Russia to bring divisions from the Austro-German fronts to the Caucasus, thus offering Germany an opportunity to concentrate against France. The fidelity of the Armenians to the allied cause cost them 1,000,000 lives.
II. Von Ludendorff, in his book, states that the principal factor that forced the breakdown of the German Army in the west was due to the lack of fuel supply, because the Turks did not get to Baku in time. It should be recalled that the Russian-Caucasus Army went home in December, 1917; that the Turks and Tartars fought the Armenians, who remained the only faithful allies of the allied and associated powers; and that the Turks did not reach Baku until September, 1918; that is, eight months after the defection of Russia. It is well for Americans to pause and think as to what would have been the outcome, or the duration of the war in the west, had the Turks reached Baku eight months earlier than they did, which they would have done had the Armenians not resisted them.
III. Gen. Allenby has said that the Armenian volunteer battalions on the Palestinian front took a leading part in the victory he carried over the Turks in September, 1918. And Gen. Von Sanders, the German commander of the Turkish Army in Syria, has

said that the breakdown of the Turkish front in Palestine was due to the fact that the Turks, against his orders and advice, had sent two divisions to the Caucasus, where they fought the Armenians.

IV. It is the plain duty of America, as it is the plain duty of Great Britain and of France, to aid the exhausted Armenian people to protect itself, because the Armenians helped us win the war.

V. America, as a member of a special copartnership, as represented by the allied and associated powers, has the bounden duty to contribute toward the fulfillment of the purposes for which said copartnership has been formed. The liberation of Armenia is one of the principal purposes of that copartnership.

It is a source of keen disappointment to the friends of Great Britain and of France that they, who were attacked by a militarist Germany, have failed to make good their plain and repeated professions and pledges that the liberation of Armenia would be one of their first concerns, and that efforts are now being made to divide up Armenia as the spoils of the war. We did not enter this war to enable anyone of our allies or associated powers to aggrandize itself at the expense of a subject nationality which, to the last remained true and faithful to our cause. It is the plain duty of America to tell Great Britain and France, in the interest of our friendly relations with them in the future, that America shall not and will not make itself a party to any act of spoliation by them of Armenian territories. I feel that the duty of America toward Armenia is not to shift or shirk her share of responsibility toward Armenia, but it is to see to it that Armenia is given her legitimate rights and be insured in those rights. We can not consider the alleged rights of the powers of the entente in Armenia— rights or claims which have been acquired under the old system of things—because with our entry into the war a new international relationship has come into being; and if we are to guarantee, to any extent or under any form, the peace of the world, then we must insist that the rights of Armenia must be given preference over the provisions of the secret treaties under which some of the great powers seek to despoil Armenia. It would be inconsistent on the part of the victorious powers to do what they condemned Germany for having attempted todo.

Before I specify the nature of aid that Armenia requires, I desire to be permitted to state that the life of Armenia can not be made safe and secure, unless we see to it that the Turks to the west of Armenia have been rendered impotent and harmless. About 3,000,000 Turks, who may be found in Turkish Anatolia, must, no doubt, enjoy free opportunity for development under an enlightened Christian rule, but under no circumstances should they be left free to engage in their old game of intriguing, by exciting the rivalries of European Powers on one side, and by purchasing their Pan-Islamist or Pan-Turania adventures on the other.

It is well for Americans to know that there can be no peace in the world unless the Turks have been separated from the Turanians of the Caucasus and the trans-Caspian and confined within the boundaries of northwestern Anatolia. The Armenians shall constitute a block from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean, and thus cut off the Turks of western Anatolia from the Tura-Mans of the Caucasus and the trans-Caspian. That done, and with the presence of the British in Persia and in Mesopotamia, and with the provisional occupation of the Baku region by one of the Powers of the Entente, until the reorganization of Russia, Armenia will have no neighbors to disturb her peace, and it will be comparatively easy for her to work out her internal reorganization.

The proposed Armenian State shall consist of Russian Armenia and of parts of the Seven Provinces and Cilicia in Turkish Armenia. The normal population of Armenia in 1914 was estimated at 5,800,000 of which 3,000,000 were Armenians, and rest Turks, Kurds, and other Moslems, and non-Armenian Christians. About 1,000,000 of Armenians have perished during the war, and according to Turkish and German

reports an equal number of Moslems have either perished or moved elsewhere. While in Turkish Armenia the Armenians now number hardly a quarter of a million, there are about 2,000,000 Armenians in Russian Armenia, which is now known as the Armenian Republic, and over 1,000,000 other Armenians in the continuous regions of Armenia and elsewhere, the great majority of whom are expected to return to Armenia. It is to be noted that the 1,000,000 Armenians, who have perished during the war, did not all live in Armenia proper. A considerable number of them lived in other parts of the former Turkish Empire.

From the foregoing it is to be inferred that in point of population the Armenian element will constitute the majority in the future Armenian State.

The Armenians have been terribly shaken throughout the war and will need the helping hand of a great power for a number of years. A million or more Armenians are to be repatriated; orphanages are to be founded; a modern governmental system is to be organized for the entire country; an Armenian Army is to be created, for which there exists ample human material; means of transportation is to be constructed, etc. These, in brief, shall be the functions of the aiding power of Armenia.

Armenia is said to be rich in natural resources and is capable of paying back all moneys that she must borrow for her reconstruction. I am, of course, not forgetting the essential fact that Armenia must be indemnified for her losses; and I have no doubt that the peace conference will devise necessary means to exact adequate indemnity from the Turks for Armenia, in which event the loans that Armenia must immediately contract may be paid back in a short time.

I respectfully ask your subcommittee to recommend that the United States Senate take the following steps:

1. That the United States Senate adopt a resolution calling on the President to recognize the Armenian Republic as the de facto government of Armenia.
2. That America send at once food for civil population of Armenia, and food, munitions, and supplies for an army of 30,000 Armenians in Armenia.
3. That the United States Government authorize the Armenians in this country to call out volunteers (of whom there may be 10,000) and also enable the Armenian Government to get volunteers in the regions of Constantinople and Bulgaria (where there is said to be 10,000 available men), and that America help these volunteer forces to be equipped and transported to Armenia.
4. That the United States Senate adopt a resolution in favor of the independence of Armenia, including Russian Armenia, the Seven Provinces, and Cilicia in Turkish Armenia; and in favor of the exaction of adequate indemnity from Turkey for Armenia.

(Signed) Dams W. GERARD.

Mr. CARDASHIAN. I think that without any impropriety I may say that I have made the Eastern Question a subject of close study for the last 18 or 19 years and while I have not traveled throughout the whole country, yet I, have written on the subject a great deal and lectured on the subject a great deal, and I feel that I can speak quite definitely on anything that I will take the liberty to touch upon.

The present situation that requires to be met refers purely to Russian Armenia. But I shall cover the whole subject. In 1914 there was an Armenian population of 2,800,000 in what is designated in your resolution as Armenia. Out of that population, about 1,500,000 were in Turkish Armenia, and the remainder were in Russian Armenia.

In what is known as Turkish Armenia, this part of it [indicating on map], there are now hardly a quarter of a million Armenians left. There are 350,000 Turkish Armenian refugees in Russian Armenia [indicating], and other refugees elsewhere, so that if all the refugees of Turkish Armenia were to be repatriated, there might be about three

quarters of a million Armenians in Turkish Armenia.
Senator HARDING. You say in old Turkish Armenia there are a quarter of a million Armenians left?
Mr. CARDASHIAN. Now.
Senator HARDING. What other population is there now?
Mr. CARDASHIAN. There are Turks and Kurds and Kizil-Bachiz and Yezids, and down here there are Assyrians, and Fellaheen here [indicating -on map].
Senator HARDING. All told, they number about how many?
Mr. CARDASHIAN. All told, between 1,000,000 and 1,200,000, estimated.
The total population of Turkish Armenia in 1918 was estimated at 3,788,000. The Armenians constituted a plurality of the population, namely, 1,403,000, and the Turks and the Kurds combined were about 1,425,000.
According to Turkish reports, the Turks and Kurds have also lost considerably during the war, as the Armenians have lost. The whole region here, which was invaded by Russia—
Senator HARDING. How have they lost?
Mr. CARDASHIAN. Through destruction by enemies and through hunger and pestilence and exposure. Here the whole of this region of Armenia was invaded by Russia in 1914 and the spring of 1915. The Turks fled westwardly—big caravans of 50,000, 100,000 or 200,000—and those that remained in those regions died from pestilence and hunger.
In the fall of 1917 in the city of Diarbekr, which had a normal population of 65,000, of which 35,000 were Turks and Kurds, the Armenians were destroyed by the Turks. To the 35,000 Turk and Kurd population was added a refugee Turk population of 30,000 coming from this district and from farther east [indicating on map]. In the fall of 1917 heads were counted in this city and there were only 6,000 Turks and Kurds left. The balance had died from hunger and pestilence. So that the Turks have lost almost as considerably as the Armenians; and, as a matter of fact, the president of the Turkish delegation to the peace conference stated that 3,000,000 Turks and Kurds were lost during the war, due to the criminal conduct of the former Turkish Government. That is, he was accusing the Young Turks of criminal conduct in order to whitewash his own government, holding that the same criminality that destroyed the Armenians also destroyed Turks and Kurds.
Senator WILLIAMS. He was trying to extenuate the matter of the charge of attempted racial extermination?
Mr. CARDASHIAN. Yes.
Senator HARDING. What has become of the property of the refugee Armenians who have gone to other sections? Is it seized by anybody?
Mr. CARDASHIAN. All the personal property has been seized and turned over to the Turks and Kurds, or sold at nominal prices, 5 or 10 per cent of the actual value of the chattels, and the real property has been likewise disposed of. The Turks have left their own homes, which ordinarily were not as good as those of the Armenians, and moved into the homes of the Armenians; so that when Armenian refugees come back they find that their homes have been occupied by the Turks and the Kurds.
Senator HARDING. Is it going to require military force to dispossess them?
Mr. CARDASHIAN. No; I do not believe any serious resistance will be offered on the part of the Turks to the occupation of Turkish Armenia. The Turks already do know that they have lost Turkish Armenia. They also know that they have lost Mesopotamia and Palestine, and now what they are trying to save is Anatolia, west of the Taurus Mountains. They are bitterly opposed to the occupation of Smyrna by the Greeks and of Adalia by the Italians; so that really they are trying to hold on to Anatolia, west of the Taurus Mountains, and also they will make tremendous efforts to hold on to

Constantinople.
But about Armenia they know—they feel—that they have lost. As a matter of fact, in their papers—I get many Constantinople papers—they are talking of surrendering by negotiation three out of the six Armenian Provinces, which, in their view, together with the Armenian Republic, should constitute the Armenian state.
Senator WILLIAMS. What are the names of those three Provinces?
Mr. CARDASHIAN. Erzeroum, Bitlis, and Van, with an outlet at Trebizond.
Senator WILLIAMS. What is the population of Trebizond? Do many Greeks live there?
Mr. CARDASHIAN. The population was 682,000, of which 200,000 were Greeks, 180,000 Armenians, and 302,000 Moslems and others in 1914. Some time ago I read a report by the Greek Archbishop of Samsun to the effect that the Greek population of Trebizond has been cut down by three-fifths. Let me add that an understanding has been effected between the Greeks and the Armenians, whereby the Greeks have consented to Trebizond's becoming a part of Armenia, with the condition that the Greeks there shall enjoy cultural autonomy. Also Mr. Venezilos, in his memorandum which he submitted to the peace conference, advocated that Trebizond be a part of Armenia.
Senator WILLIAMS. Are you sure of that?
Mr. CARDASHIAN. Yes.
Senator WILLIAMS. That is of the greatest importance.
Mr. CARDASHIAN. They concluded that agreement, did they not, Doctor?
Dr. PASDERMADJIAN. Yes.
Senator WILLIAMS. That gave Armenia that port upon the Black Sea, and there was, in my opinion, for quite a while the notion that perhaps we might be presented with a Greek question there somewhat similar to the Italian question at Fiume, claiming the Greek town upon the ground of plurality of population.
Mr. CARDASHIAN. The Greeks could have cultural autonomy there if they desired it.
I would like to tell you something about the Armenian boundary proposition. What is described here as the Armenian Republic is recognized as constituting Russian Armenia, and the boundaries thereof are not subject to question. It was so recognized by the former Russian Empire.
Senator WILLIAMS. The Russian Province of that name?
Mr. CARDASHIAN. Yes; and let me say that the pending boundary disputes the Georgians and the Tartars have with the Armenians are without any legal validity, since the legal title to the Caucasus rests in Russia.
In so far as Turkish Armenia is concerned, it is not a mere geographical appellation, as it has been at times asserted; it is a legal title. The six Provinces and Trebizond and Cilicia have been subjects of conventional agreements between the Turkish Government and the powers representing the Armenians in three instances. Under the treaty of Berlin, Armenia was designated as the "six Provinces." In 1895 the ambassadors' memorandum described the six Provinces and Cilicia as Armenia, and in 1913 the ambassadorial conference at London defined the six Provinces and Trebizond as Armenia.
Senator WILLIAMS. How does that description of those Provinces of Turkish Armenia, and those vilayets, as recognized by the Berlin treaty, accord with the boundaries in this resolution?
Mr. CARDASHIAN. It differs to a certain extent. We have voluntarily cut out the southern parts of the Provinces of Van and Diarbekr, in view of the fact that there are a considerable number of Kurds there; and also we have reduced the northwestern part of the Province of Sivas, which is an Armenian speaking section.

Senator HARDING. Where do you cut off Sivas?
Mr. CARDASHIAN. Here it is [indicating on map].
Senator WILLIAMS. What do you do with Azerbaijan?
Mr. CARDASHIAN. We cut that out, too. Now, if you will permit me I shall emphasize the vital necessity of Armenia's outlets on the seas. Armenia must be brought into direct contact with the civilized nations of the world. The aid that you propose sending to Erivan—northern Armenia—requires a port on the Black Sea; so, Armenia must have a port on the Black Sea; and when we must send aid to central Armenia we must have a port on the Mediterranean, through Cilicia. Thus, you see, without these outlets, Armenia will lack essential economic arteries, and therefore can not live. And of the two, Cilicia is the more important.
Senator WILLIAMS. What ports do you have on the Mediterranean?
Mr. CARDASHIAN. We have the ports of Mersina and Alexandretta
Senator WILLIAMS. Where is Adana?
Mr. CARDASHIAN. That is 45 miles from the seashore.
Senator WILLIAMS. Adana is no longer a port. The waters are shallowed, are they not?
Mr. CARDASHIAN. Yes, sir. Cilicia is about 16,000 square miles in area. Here in the northwestern part is where the last stand was made by the last Armenian kingdom. That is where the Armenians lost their independence in 1375. The majority of the Turkish Armenians are now found in this region [indicating on map]. They constitute a plurality of the population to-day; namely, 150,000 Armenians as against 95,000 Moslems, out of a total population of 415,000.
Senator HARDING. You take only a very small section of Aleppo?
Mr. CARDASHIAN. Only a very small section, what is known as the Marash region. It is about 6,100 square miles in area. It is an Armenian-speaking section.
And let me say that, in 1878, the Turks juggled with Armenian boundaries. For example, they attached a part of the Province of Adana to Aleppo, and also they added a part of the Province of Mosul to Van; and also they juggled on this side [indicating].
Senator WILLIAMS. I did not know that Turkey had gotten sufficiently civilized to gerrymander. Has it?
Mr. CARDASHIAN. Oh, yes. They are past masters at that.
Senator WILLIAMS. I thought that was a Massachusetts pursuit.
Mr. SMITH. They are quick to learn some things.
Mr. CARDASHIAN. The essential thing for us to bear in mind is that out of the 2,500,000 Armenians we shall have within the boundaries of Armenia, 2,000,000 are now in the Caucasus. Out of these 2,000,000, 1,300,000 are to be found within the boundaries of the Republic of Armenia, plus 300,000 to 350,000 refugees from Turkish Armenia; that is 1,650,000. Add to this 350,000 to 400,000 other nationalities, and we have a population of about 2,000,000 within the Armenian Republic. You see that the bulk of the Armenian people—their center—is there, and the important thing to do is to save them from destruction by famine; and the essential thing that they do need is to have the line from Batoum to Erivan opened up so that we may be able to send food munitions, and supplies for an Armenian army of 30,000 and food for the civil population until the next crop. And as they are organized, with the determination of the Armenian boundary question by the peace conference they will gradually come down and occupy the rest of Armenia.
Senator WILLIAMS. Let me ask you a question right there. We learned this morning that about 16,000 British troops occupied and protected the railway line from Batoum to Bakou.
Mr. CARDASHIAN. Yes.
Senator WILLIAMS. I understand from you that what we will need in this particular

is to occupy and protect the line only from Batoum to Erivan. What is that distance as compared with the distance from Batoum to Bakou?
Mr. CARDASHIAN. It is about in the center—about one-half.
Senator WILLIAMS. Half. So that, if anything, we would need fewer troops?
Mr. CARDASHIAN. Yes. The British centered a larger number of their troops at Bakou than they had farther to the west, at Batoum.
Senator HARDING. The actual mileage is more than two-thirds of the distance to Bakou?
Mr. CARDASHIAN. It is a circuitous route to Erivan.
Senator HARDING. The road goes way around here [indicating on map].
Mr. CARDASHIAN. I understood Dr. Pasdemadjian to say that the British had hardly 300 or 400 troops within the boundaries of the Armenian Republic, and that as a connecting link between their Batoum and Bakou posts.
Mr. JAQUITH. The only additional troops were those they sent down as guards in the trains.
Mr. CARDASHIAN. That is all; three or four hundred troops.
Senator WILLIAMS. We have got to hold the line, if we go there, with more than that. When you speak of the number of British troops within the Armenian Republic, that is only on that part of the railroad running through Armenia; but that part of the railroad running to Batoum has got to be protected, too, and that part running through Georgia and then deflected down to Erivan; so that we can not afford to confine them only to Armenian territory. They must stretch to Erivan, anyway, and perhaps to the eastern boundaries of Armenia. So that the Senator is right in saying that about two-thirds of the distance that the British protected we would have to protect.
Senator HARDING. You do not expect any supplies from Bakou?
Mr. CARDASHIAN. From Bakou?
Senator HARDING. Yes.
Mr. CARDASHIAN. No; the supplies would come from here [indicating].
Senator HARDING. You might get oil from Bakou.
Mr. CARDASHIAN. The supplies would come from Batoum.
Senator HARDING. You expect your supplies to come from Batoum through Tiflis?
Mr. CARDASHIAN. Yes, sir.
Senator HARDING. Here is the line. You are interested in the railroad line from Tiflis.
Mr. CARDASHIAN. If I may be permitted one more word—
Senator WILLIAMS. Where would you get your oil for your army, and necessary for your motors, and everything else, unless you could keep up the transportation to Bakou
Mr. CARDASHIAN. I would answer that question in this way, that with the presence of the American flag here, the relations with the Tartars would be composed very easily, without going to Bakou. And also., if I may be permitted, I would add that the attitude of the Russians toward the Armenians is very friendly, but the attitude of the Tartars and Georgians is unfriendly. The attitude of the Russians is decidedly friendly to the Armenians. Gen. Denikine has sent some munitions there. Russian leaders have said that Russian Armenia, they know, must unite with Turkish Armenia, and that they have no valid reason to withhold that from the Armenians, because the Armenians maintained a correct attitude toward Russia, and that they were the only people there who remained faithful to Russia throughout the war.
Senator WILLIAMS. It would be a sort of a protection for that part of the Russian border.
Mr. CARDASHIAN. Yes. And in addition to that, Russian Armenia represents nothing of value to Russia except so much land. As long as that was a means to get to the

Mediterranean it was of value. But as long as you draw the line here [indicating] you may draw the line higher up; and now that the Dardanelles will be open to Russia, the strategic value of Armenia will not exist for Russia. Thus there shall no longer be any justifiable economic or other reason for Russia's coveting Armenia.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, I wish to take the liberty of enumerating the points which, in my humble judgment, ought to be considered.

First, if we want to be able to extend any help to the Armenians we ought to have an official Armenian body to deal with, and that Armenian body ought to be a government and, therefore, if possible, a recommendation should be made, (a) that the Armenian Republic be recognized as a de facto Government. We have got to conduct business with some organized and officially recognized body; (b) that we should at once send over food, munitions, and supplies for the organization of an army of 30,000 men; that (c) in order to reach Erivan we should make necessary provision for the holding of the line from Batoum to Erivan; (d) that provision be made for the feeding of the civil population until the next crop; (e) and that steps ought to be taken to organize an Armenian volunteer force here in order to send them over as auxiliary to the Armenians in the north, so that with the determination by the peace conference of the Armenian question, they ought to be able to come down gradually and occupy the whole of Armenia.

Senator HARDING. Do you think there would be any difficulty in organizing a volunteer Armenian army here?

Mr. CARDASHIAN. No. There is an intense passion on the part on the part of the Armenian young men to get into this thing.

Senator WILLIAMS. To do what?

Mr. CARDASHIAN. To get a volunteer force.

Senator WILLIAMS. Oh, yes.

Mr. CARDASHIAN. As a matter of fact, my office in New York is every day visited by a large number of young men who have served in the American Army, aviators and others, captains, lieutenants, said that he had gone as far as Chicago, and found that many Armenian young men had given up their employment and had been waiting to be called out, expecting that such a movement would be started.

Senator WILLIAMS. I notice that in enumerating your points you said nothing about any troops at all to go over under the American flag.

Mr. CARDASHIAN. Yes; I covered that in the first recommendation, that the line ought to be held from Batoum to Erivan.

Senator WILLIAMS. I misunderstood you. Very well; I am through.

Mr. SEVASLY. How many thousand troops would go out at once?

Mr. CARDASHIAN. About four or five battalions would suffice to hold the line from Batoum to Erivan. That is what the British had, as a matter of fact. We have the record of the number of troops the British had to keep to keep the line open, at Tiflis and at Batoum and at Bakou.

Senator WILLIAMS. It is 20 minutes after 4 o'clock now. I think We have finished. There is no one else to be heard?

Mr. MALCOM. There is no one else. I want to say, in behalf of the Armenians, that we thank the committee for giving us this opportunity of presenting the Armenian case to you, and the facts of the Armenian situation.

Mr. SEVASLY. We thank you very much, and I think we have closed our case now.

Mr. SMITH. I understand, Mr. Chairman, that this closes the taking of the testimony by the committee.

Senator HARDING. Unless there is some need to reopen it. Mr. SMITH. Yes; to reopen it.

(Thereupon, at 4.22 o'clock p. m., the subcommittee adjourned, subject to the call of

the chairman.).
(Several documents and communications received during and after the close of the hearings are, by order of the chairman, here printed in the record, as follows:)

THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF ARMENIA,
1 Madison Avenue, New York, September 24, 1919.
Hon. JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
The Senate, Washington, D. C.
MY DEAR SENATOR WILLIAMS: I am annexing hereto copy of a cablegram which the American committee received to-day, through the Department of State, from the Armenian Patriarch, the Locum-Tenens of the Armenian Catholic Patriarchate, and the representative of the Armenian Protestant Community, Constantinople.
Yours, sincerely,

[Cablegram to the American Committee from the Armenian Patriarch, the Locum-Tenens of the Armenian Catholic
Patriarchate and the representative of the Armenian Protestant Community.]

Armed forces are being organized by Turkish agitators and are aided by the Government for the purpose of preventing the establishment of an Armenia which is independent and integral, and the Government of these Turkish agitators are furnishing the Moslem population on the frontier line of the Armenian Republic, Azerbaidjan, and in Turkish Armenia with arms for the purpose of making an attack on the Armenians who have collected in the Caucasus and are looking for an opportune occasion to massacre the Armenians generally before the decisions of the conference can be executed by the Allies. These people have already killed in many districts large numbers of Armenian peasants who have no means of protection. Artificial movement is being excited in Armenian vilayets by Turkish agitators, who are trying to promote the continuance of the existence of the Turkish Empire in its present territory and these agitators are making threats to commit further massacres if no notice shall be taken by the Allies of the claims of the Government of Turkey. It is their hope in this way to exert influence on the conclusions which may be reached by the entente powers. This artificial movement has been brought to the notice of the Allies but the situation of affairs is dangerous and a speedy solution of the Armenian question must be reached and military measures must be taken at once to save the very existence of our fellow countrymen. We trust that you will make an appeal of an urgent nature to your generous commissioner, suggesting that he shall make the real position known and that he may procure intervention of an immediate character. We repeat that we are deeply grateful.

[Copy of telegram of Oct. 11, 1919, to the Secretary of State from the American mission, Paris.]

We have no report from Gen. Harbord except that he is probably sailing from Constantinople about October 15. In reply to our telegram dated September 25, Col. Haskell, Tiflis, has sent the following undated telegram, received yesterday:
"1. Plan to continue relief work through winter.
"2. Much can be accomplished politically as high commission without troops, but small allied military force essential for police and protecting communications, restore quiet and order, and permit establishment normal conditions. Equivalent American Infantry regiment minimum present needs. This regiment would be available as nucleus for constabulary recruited from loyal population if larger force required later.
"3. Personnel Near East relief consists 11 regular officers, 14 demobilized

officers, 20 men, and 25 women.
"4. All relief workers have remained in Kars and Erivan, but relief work has been suspended in several districts along Turkish border and toward Azerbaidjan, due to occupation those parts Armenia by Kurds and Tartars with assistance Turks said to be demobilized. No personal danger Americans anywhere. All British troops withdrawn from Armenia several months ago, except few observers left for moral effect and whose recent withdrawal has encouraged activities Kurds and Tartars, who believe Allies were finally abandoning Armenians.
"5. Relief supplies not in danger, though small quantity abandoned previous my arrival."

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, October 15, 1919.
The Honorable WARREN G. HARDING,
United States Senate.

SIR: When your subcommittee considering the resolution introduced by Senator Williams in regards to the dispatch of troops to Armenia heard Assistant Secretary of State William Phillips, Mr. Phillips was requested to send a subcommittee any telegram the department might receive from Gen. Harbord or any further information in regard to the situation in Russian Armenia.
In conformity with the desire of your subcommittee, I have the honor to transmit herewith copy of a telegram, dated October 11, from the American mission, in Paris.
I have the honor to be, sir,
Your obedient servant.
ROBERT LANSING.

Inclosure: Copy of a telegram, dated October 11, from the American mission in Paris,

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, October 22, 1919.
The Hon. WARREN G. HARDING,
United States Senate.
SIR: Referring further to the resolution introduced by Senator Williams regarding Armenia, I have the honor to inform you that the Rev. James L. Barton, D. D., director of the American Commission for Relief in the Near East, who has just returned to this country after an extended tour in the Near East, has sent to the department copy of a report which he made on the 14th of June to Admiral Bristol at Constantinople.
I send you herewith a copy of the report. In transmitting this document to the department on the 17th of October, 1919, Dr. Barton says: "There is nothing in it I would change if I were rewriting it to-day."
I have the honor to be, sir,
Your obedient servant,
ROBERT LANSING.
Enclosure: Report made to Admiral Bristol by Dr. Barton, June 14, 1919.

AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOB FOREIGN MISSIONS,
Congregational House, 14 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass., June 14, 1919.
Admiral Menu L. BRISTOL,
United States Senior Naval Officer,
Turkey American Embassy, Constantinople.

DEAR SIR: I have just completed an extensive tour of inspection of local conditions in Asia Minor. Anatolia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Cilicia. Syria, and Palestine. In accomplishing the tour I traveled over 5,000 miles, of which over 2,000 were covered by automobile.

Among the chief places visited, where from one to four days were spent in conferences, with all classes of people, including allied and native officials, were Konia, Adana, Tarsus, Marash, Aintab, Aleppo, Beirout, Damascus, Haifa. Jerusalem. Ourfa, Mardin, Diarbekir, Harpoot, Malatia, Sivas, Cesarea, Tokat, Amasia, Marsovan, and Samsoun.

After passing Tel Abiadh on the Bagdad Railroad until reaching the Black Sea, I was within purely Turkish territory outside the protection and restraint of allied military occupation. This latter part of the journey was taken with the full approval of Gen. Allenby, from whom permission was obtained in person In Cairo.

In purely Turkish areas I was treated with the highest courtesy by all Turkish officials, all of whom vied with each other in showing special courtesies and honor. In every case opportunity was sought and obtained for conferences with local Armenian committees, some of which had been appointed by the local civil government. Others were self-constituted. Repeated and very frank conferences were also held •with the Turkish civil and military officials in every place visited.

Permit me to make a few observations upon some conclusions from which it seems impossible to escape.

1. The Armenian nation has been terribly stricken in the loss of the majority of its leading, constructive thinkers, who were in Turkey at the outbreak of atrocities.
2. I saw no indication upon the part of Turkish officials anywhere of ever a spirit of regret, much less of repentance, at what had taken place, and no genuine purpose to deal justly with the Christians.
3. I heard repeatedly long justifications of their acts upon the ground that it was necessary for their self-defense; many claiming that the Turks had suffered more than the Christians, and were in greater need of outside aid.
4. The spirit of race hatred upon the part of the Turks Is everywhere dominant, and it is not lacking among the Armenians and Greeks.
5. Turks everywhere, under and outside areas of allied military occupation, constantly threaten Armenians, to complete the gruesome task left incomplete four years ago.
6. The Turks are well armed, while the Armenians have no defense.
7. Outside the area of allied military occupation Armenians do not dare to ask for any rights or concessions or the restoration of their property, but live in abject terror from day to day. Their one plea is for assurance of safety.
8. Local civil Valis, Mutasarifs, etc., are weak men without power to cope with hostile conditions. Many, probably the most of these, are under the domination of Aghas and ex-officials, who are still bent upon carrying out the plan of Christian extermination.
9. If the Armenians can be given the assurance of adequate protection, they will quickly recover from the shock, and become self-supporting and move. Without this assurance they are hopeless.
10. Unless all Turkey is quickly occupied by an adequate military force, there is grave danger that the atrocities of four years ago may be reenacted in an exaggerated form.
11. There Is no possibility that the Turks can give the Armenians a government that can be acceptable; they have neither the capacity nor the inclination.
12. Only by giving Armenia a safe government can the work of our relief committee be successfully prosecuted. The Christian races in Turkey are in danger of

extermination unless early action is taken. I therefore urge the careful consideration of the points herein touched upon.

I have the honor to remain,

(Signed) JAMES L. BARTON,

Director, American Commission for Relief in the Near East.

Appendix VI

Interview With Talaat Pasha

(From British Spy Aubrey Herberts 1924, Ben Kendim: A Record of Eastern Travel)

PART VI

TALAAT PASHA

I met Talaat Pasha when he first came into power, after the Turkish Revolution of 1908, and subsquently saw him in his days of prosperity and in his days of adversity. I knew him when he was concentrating the entire energies of his strong personality on Ottomanising the Turkish Empire; and later when, after the lesson of the Albanian rebellion, he had come to the conclusion that the only hope for his country was decentralisation and autonomy for the provinces like Albania and Arabia.

Some time after the Armistice, when the Chief Censor still sat upon his throne, I received a letter from Talaat Pasha, in which he declared that he was not responsible for the Armenian massacres, that he could prove it, and that he was anxious to do so. He said that he believed that good relations between Britain and Turkey were essential to the welfare of both peoples, and he invited me to meet him in any neutral country that I chose to name. I was startled at receiving this letter, and took it to a distinguished man who is famous for his spotless integrity.

"I want you to listen to this letter," said I, as he ate his breakfast, and I translated it to him. When I came to the signature, the man of spotless integrity leapt to his feet as if he had been stung.

"What did you want to bring me into this for? Couldn't you have left me out? It's illegal to correspond with the enemy." I told him that I wanted the support of his excellent reputation; I wished to be in good company when I was engaged in doubtful proceedings. However, after discussing the pros and cons, I wrote to Talaat Pasha, saying that I was very glad to hear that it was not he who was responsible for the Armenian massacres, but that I did not think any useful purpose could be served by our meeting at that time.

In February 1921 Sir Basil Thomson asked me to see him at Scotland Yard. He invited me to go out immediately to Germany to meet Talaat Pasha. I told Sir Basil that I was prepared to go for him, but I had no confidence in the bona fides of Mr. Lloyd George and his Government, and I asked him to put his request in writing, which he did.

I arrived at the German town of Hamm on February 26. It was a miserable industrial village, that seemed to be inhabited by potential suicides. In Germany generally, I had the impression that one has on a battlefield after the battle is over—the effort is finished, and the work that remains is to bury the dead. Talaat sent me an unsigned telegram to say that he was coming, and arrived at nine o'clock that evening. "Ah!" he said, "how many things have happened since we last met." He had brought a primitive dinner with him, which he ate in his bedroom, for I had dined before he came.

He had grown much thinner, and his good looks were sinister; his black hair was turning grey; his eyes were very bright, glittering while he talked like the eyes of a wild animal in the dusk. The urbanity of his manners remained the same. He was neat

and well dressed, but obviously poor.

We discussed our future plans, and I said: "Highness, you Turks are very inconsiderate in the places you select for me to meet you. First the Dardanelles, and now this horrible town, Hamm, where you and I together are as conspicuous as a monument. On the principle of hiding a pebble on the beach or a flower in the garden, I suggest to you that we go somewhere else, where we can move in crowds." "Anything you like," said Talaat. "We will go to Düsseldorf to-morrow."

That night he and I were both tired, and did not talk long. He talked frankly and with detachment. He was like a man who, after a great catastrophe, sums up his position, speaking of his liabilities with a wry smile, and of his assets with some complacency. He himself had always been against the attempted extermination of the Armenians; it was, in any case, impossible, and a country that adopted such methods cut itself off from civilisation. He had twice protested against this policy, but had been overruled, he said, by the Germans. "In England you hear only one side of the case," he said. "Now, I don't know what is happening in Ireland, and I don't believe all I hear, but you are certainly doing some very stiff things to the Sinn Feiners; and, after all, what is your Irish problem to ours of Armenia? Can any nation go through a war and acquiesce when it is stabbed in the back? What would you have done if you had had Sinn Fein enclaves all over England, fighting you during the war?" He said that he was in favour of granting autonomy to minorities in the most extended form, and would gladly consider any proposition that was made to him.

"You remember," he said, "years ago, I asked you to go to Lord Milner and beg him to become Governor-General of Armenia. I knew that we had either to reform ourselves or to perish, and I knew that we were incapable of reforming ourselves when every man's hand was against us, and all the world was waiting to exploit our country. But your Government, rightly or wrongly, had decided upon a Russian policy, and would lend no official support to Englishmen entering Turkish service, or, indeed, do anything that was disliked by St. Petersburg. You English cannot divest yourselves of responsibility in this matter. We Young Turks practically offered Turkey to you, and you refused us. One undoubted consequence has been the ruin of the Christian minorities, whom your Prime Minister has insisted on treating as your allies. If the Greeks and the Armenians are your allies when we are at war with you, you cannot expect our Turkish Government to treat them as friends."

The next morning we left for Diisseldorf. As we walked to the station, I asked him whether he did not think that power was the dearest thing on earth to men. He answered that it was the dearest thing that he had known, and that nothing compared with it; but that one could have too much of a good thing, and that he was not anxious to be tried in the future as he had been in the past. He was very anxious for a settlement, and he was well placed to arrange a settlement, for he was in touch with Mustapha Kemal, and indeed all those in authority in Turkey.

We took an empty second-class compartment, but as we left the station a German engineer entered our carriage. Talaat said, in Turkish, to me, "We cannot talk French in Germany; it is too unpopular, and I do not know English. We had therefore better talk Turkish." To this I answered, "As you like, although my Turkish is rusty."

The German engineer, who was intelligent and bloodthirsty, interrupted politely, "Was fiir eine Sprache sprechen Sie?" (What language are you talking?) "Turkisch," said Talaat, and for some time we all three talked bad German, which he occasionally translated, for my benefit, into Turkish.

Then Talaat said to me, speaking in Turkish: "A curious thing has happened. This German believes that you also are a Turk, as he hears you talk Turkish to me. Now, for the first time, you are going to hear the whole truth about the Allies and your own country." I said to Talaat, "Please do not lead him on, for if he attacks my country I shall answer him." Talaat's reply was, "This conversation is going to be extremely interesting for me."

The German, answering Talaat's skilful questions, said that he believed the English were the cleverest people in Europe and the easiest to deal with, and that England and Germany could come to terms without difficulty, for, although they were rivals, they had many common interests. It was a different matter when he spoke of the French. He spoke of France with unmeasured and immeasurable bitterness. "Fighting, conquering and being beaten Germans understand," said he; "we would be hypocrites to pretend anything else. We have been beaten, and we accept our defeat. Essen was the pride of our country; it made guns, it was the strength of Germany; now we must make sewing-machines instead of machine-guns. What we do not understand is all this sanctimonious talk to which we are being subjected in our humiliation. Let conquerors dictate their terms as conquerors; do not let them pretend that there is civilisation or Christianity behind them when they inflict such terms upon us."

He had the Teutonic instinct of the showman which we share. He was almost passionately anxious that Talaat and I should see Frau Krupp's villa outside Essen, and realise her many virtues. Not even the Bolshevists had attacked her when they were in power, he told us, and she was a simple kindly German woman. Talaat Pasha made caustic comments in Turkish.

The German engineer had been to Russia. "Petrograd is a very sad place now," said he. "It always was a sad place," replied Talaat. "The Russian is a kind man; he is a brute when he is in a crowd. Bolshevism is the essence of the Russian crowd."

At Essen the German engineer got out, with cordial farewells to his Turkish ally, mixed with a great blast of invective against the French. "We are beaten, utterly beaten," said he; "but you cannot keep a nation such as ours down for ever. We will never forget the French insults, and the black troops, and the time will come when our children, or our grand-children, will march into France, and we will finish with the French once and for all. I shall not see it, but I am happy in the knowledge that it will come to pass."

I had other opportunities of hearing the conversation of Germans, and I do not believe that this engineer was exceptional. I had never seen such hatred in the war: it was so savage that one felt it like a concrete thing.

For the next two days the ex-Grand Vizier and I had many conversations, which were sometimes reminiscent and desultory, and at other times very much to the point for the purpose of the memorandum I was to write for Sir Basil Thomson; and I have thought it best to divide our conversations into two parts—firstly, his war memories and generalisations; and secondly, his sketch of an Anglo-Turkish agreement, with the advantages that it would bring to both countries.

"Rightly or wrongly," said Talaat Pasha, "you made friends with Russia: that was your policy at home, and that was your policy at the Embassy in Constantinople. I liked Sir Gerard Lowther; he was an English gentleman, and I suppose he carried out his orders; but never, I think, in the history of the world, did one Power have such a commanding position and so obsess another as did Great Britain Turkey when we made our revolution. For if the leaders liked you, the people adored you; they took the horses out of your Ambassador's carriage and they pulled it up to the Embassy. That was a very little thing, a small symbol; they would have let it go over their bodies if he had wished it. There was nothing in those days which we would not have given if you had asked it of us. But you wanted nothing of us, and gratitude cannot live on air. The Ambassador was cold; Fitzmaurice was hostile; we had to find means to live. But even after our estrangement, we still tried to regain your friendship. We accepted Kiamil, our determined opponent, as Grand Vizier, to please you. It did not please you—nothing that we could do pleased you. You drove us into the arms of Germany. We had no alternative: anything else was political death and partition."

I asked him at what point friendly relations between ourselves and Turkey became impossible. He said, at the time when Mr. Asquith made his speech on the question of Adrianople. Sir Edward Grey saw Tewfik Pasha; he and Mr. Asquith both

said the same thing, publicly and privately. “If the Turks go to Adrianople, they must take the consequences.”

Talaat continued: “I went to the Turkish Cabinet, and said: ‘This is bluff; neither Russia, France nor England is prepared to do anything. I resign now. You can. continue, but I shall go down to the Chamber and will tell them why I have resigned, and you will fall.’ Meanwhile troops marched on Adrianople, and British prestige received a great blow, as no penalty followed.”

He then talked about the war, and his own experiences in it. He said that in his opinion soldiers were the salt of the earth, but that they were often stupid people. He himself had been present when the Brest-Litovsk Treaty had been signed. Czernin was also there, but they had been beaten by Ludendorff and Hoffmann. Ludendorff counted for everything, the Kaiser for very little. Talaat Pasha said that once Count Czernin had shouted in a burst of passion: “By God, if I ever have a reincarnation I shall be born a British subject, even if I have to be born black.” “Ah,” said Talaat, “I do not know if he would say that now. It is sad for you; you have lost a great deal of your prestige.”

Talaat went to Bukarest, but would not sign the Treaty. He broke off relations with the Germans over the question of the Dobrudja. He said that this action of his was supposed to be responsible for the fall of Radislavoff, whose place was taken by Malinoff.

I asked him what had been their relations with the Germans during the war. He laughed and said, “Detestable.” He said that what the Turks had wished for was not a war that should end war, but a war without a decisive victory on either side. If we won, as we had won, it meant the partition of Turkey. If, on the other hand, Germany won, it meant the enslavement of Turkey. On one occasion a Q.M.G. arrangement had been come to between the Turks and the Germans without his knowledge. He found himself completely handcuffed by the Germans, and said to the Council of Ministers, “I often wondered why the English wanted to fight the Germans, but now I know.”

He talked at length of the end of the war. He had been on a mission in Europe, where he had seen the kings, the military leaders and the politicians. His account was dramatic. He had seen the Emperor Charles, who was, he said, “bon enfant” in Austria. The Emperor, he said, wanted peace, in order to enjoy his Empire, and for his Empire’s sake; the continuation of war would be the end of Austria. He saw Hindenburg, who said that the time for making peace was over-ripe. He talked with the Kaiser. “Quand le Kaiser m’a vu, it a criO, ‘Eh bien, Talaat, si c’est la trahison de vouloir la paix, moi aussi je suis traitre. Je veux la paix.’” He returned to Turkey with Tewfik Pasha, whose son was Talaat’s military secretary. On the way they received a telegram inviting them to the palace at Sofia for an audience with the Tsar Ferdinand. Then came another telegram cancelling the first, and saying that there would be a reception at the station for them. Tewfik Pasha was inclined to be affronted, but Talaat told him that the Tsar Ferdinand was “un homme tres ruse,” and would not have changed the programme without a very good reason.

There were enormous crowds at the station at Sofia. “Moi j’ai apercu tout de suite que quelque chose s’etait passé.” Malinoff came up to Talaat and said, “It is finished. The Irth Division have broken; Bulgaria is done, and we have sued for an armistice.” Talaat replied, “You are wrong to have done this; we should all have asked for an armistice together. What terms shall we be given now?”

He went to see King Ferdinand. That monarch talked to him only of the character of the new Sultan, and Turkish politics. He avoided immediate political issues. Talaat grew restive, and interrupted: “Your Majesty, I have had an hour’s talk with Malinoff, and I know what has happened. What are you going to do now?” King Ferdinand, he said, threw out his arms in a gesture of despair.

Prince Boris, said Talaat, had great charm, but he did not believe that he took the defeat very much to heart. He showed no sorrow, and in the ex-Grand-Vizier’s opinion

he was as much in favour of peace as was the Emperor Charles, though possibly for different reasons.

Tewfik and Talaat pursued their journey to Constantinople, where Talaat Pasha laid his resignation before the Sultan, who refused to accept it. Talaat said to the Sultan: "It is essential for your Government to have some one else to talk to the victors. They do not like me: my personality is disagreeable to them. Choose Rahmy ; they will be glad to have discussions with him." Talaat's advice was not taken, but he was allowed to resign.

He spoke with angry indignation of the imprisonment of Eyub Sabri, his friend, and of Rahmy Pasha and other Turks who were our prisoners in Malta. By what right, he asked, were these men—many of whom had been against the war, and were pro-British—seized during the Armistice and imprisoned for two years without a trial? No other country had been treated like that. "It is only to us poor Turks, to whom you are always preaching principles, that you behave like that," said Talaat Pasha.

Khairy Effendi, formerly Sheikh-ul-Islam, had been in the Government that had declared war upon us. He was liberated, while others, who had opposed the war, were held prisoners. It was possible that Rahmy Pasha had been imprisoned in Malta because of the expulsion of the Greeks, but as a matter of fact Rahmy had vehemently opposed this measure. He knew that the littoral Greeks (Greeks on the coast) would give the Allies what assistance they could, but he thought their help would be insignificant; and he believed that if they were expelled, it might very easily bring King Constantine and the Greeks into the war against Turkey. But the Germans had insisted, and neither Talaat nor Rahmy felt that they could be "plus royaliste que le roi."

Rahmy had treated the English throughout the war with a friendship that was more than consideration. He asked me if Rahmy had not been officially thanked by our Minister in Athens, Sir Francis Elliot, for his kindness to our people. I answered that all he said was true, and made Englishmen like myself very heartily ashamed. Our Government was sent to us as an affliction from God.

The ex-Grand Vizier talked much about himself. He said that he was born a rebel, and that when he was young he had read much French literature, which added an extra varnish to his mutinous soul. The condition of Turkey was enough to make any one, with a spark of manhood in him, fierce. Talaat came across the infamous Fehim, Chief Constable of Constantinople, whose amiable habit it was to seize any woman who caught his fancy, forcing her husband to play some version of the part of Uriah.

I asked him if he thought the spies of Abdul Hamid very efficient. "No, not very," said he. "Mine were fairly good, I think; but then, I had much to appeal to with my people, and also I used your English system. "What?" said I. "Well," he said, "we were told that the noble youths of England offered their service gratis to the secret police. Was not that true?"

I remembered how I had found myself in Turkey some ten years before, when the Committee had fallen from power, and when the position was extremely precarious, and as I had been friendly with Talaat in the days of his greatness, I went to see him in Constantinople in the day of his defeat. We were in the office of the Committee of Union and Progress, and as he and Djemal Pasha and I were passing through a dark hall, a man stepped out from the shadows, holding something to Talaat's chest. I imagined that it was an attempt at assassination; it turned out, however, to be only a petition.

As we drove through the streets of Stamboul in a carriage, I asked him if he was afraid of being murdered. He answered me that life was so hard that, if one had to fear death also, the burden would be too heavy to bear. On this occasion I repeated my question, and asked him if assassination was often in his mind. He said that he never thought of it. Why should any one dislike him? I said that Armenians might very well desire vengeance, after all that had been written about him in the papers. He brushed

this aside.

He made a number of inquiries about old friends, and asked warmly after Louis Mallet. Speaking of Enver, I said I liked him, and thought him modest, but not at all clever. "No," he said, "you could not call him clever, though he is a brave man and patriotic." He spoke of his own family; he was living with his wife in Berlin, he said, and, like most people, he had been selling all that was available; but he looked forward to a swift ending of these troubles. England and Turkey would soon be on terms of friendship.

Next morning, he told me that good news had come from England. Bekir Sami Bey had been invited to tea with the Prime Minister. They had, he believed, agreed upon the autonomy of Armenia, where the majorities were recognised, and to an inquiry in Thrace and Smyrna.

"Now," said the ex-Grand Vizier, "let me make a summary of my proposals to you, which amount to an Anglo-Turkish alliance. Though I am not in power at the present moment, you will find that these proposals are acceptable to those who are, and their acceptance will bring peace to you as well as to us.

"Let us realise the present complicated position," said he. "My thesis is, that there is only one civilisation in the world, and that if Turkey is to be saved she must be joined to civilisation. Before the war, I was anxious that England should be her teacher; you will remember that, and my proposals about Lord Milner. Well, England refused, and the war came; then, quite frankly, I looked to Germany in victory to do what we had once hoped for from England. For I believed that Germany would win the war. In that belief we signed a treaty with Germany one month before war was declared. Germany has not won; we have all been defeated.

"The house that we had has been burnt to the ground, but that house was badly built; it was full of draughts, and it was not sanitary. We still possess the site upon which it stood. Our geography is a fortress to us—a very strong fortress. Our mountains are the strongest of our forces. You cannot pursue us into the mountains of Asia; and stretching back into Central Asia are six republics, composed of men of our blood, cousins, if not brothers, and united now by the bond of misfortune. I will speak of that later. Then, too, the war forced us to cut our losses, and that is an advantage. We shall be no more troubled by the rebellions of the Albanians, the Macedonians and the Arabs," said the ex-Grand Vizier.

He elaborated the situation. The urgent need of Turkey was to be helped, and for this help he and his friends looked eagerly to Great Britain. But the Turks would not accept help at the price of financial or military servitude. Mr. Lloyd George, in his opinion, had believed that Turkey could be destroyed, and had been persuaded that this was the case by his Greek friends, Venizelos and Sir Basil Zaharoff. Mr. Lloyd George was wrong. Talaat did not wish to exaggerate the strength of Turkey, but he thought that England ought not to underrate it. If there was not a unity of ideas between Angora and Constantinople, there was, at any rate, unity of ideals.

"Now," he said, when again speaking of the six Red republics, "they are red, but not deep red. They are Moslem populations, and are naturally influenced by all that Turkey does, and they are affected by all that Turkey suffers. Bokhara is a potential force; there are latent possibilities to be developed there for good or for evil. At the present moment," Talaat Pasha continued, "Turkey is at war with England, and we are engaged in propaganda throughout the East, and inciting India, though not very effectually. Turkey is, in fact, pursuing a policy of enlisting as many people as she can against Great Britain, and undertaking all possible reprisals open to her."

It was, he admitted, an ineffective reply to the French policy of conscription of native races in Africa, and it was a pity that this policy of Turkish propaganda had not been begun earlier, and had not been better organised.

"It is not a grand policy," he said. "No grander than yours has been. Yours was

a violation of the Armistice, and ours was the best that we could do." He said it was a "jeu de gamin," and compared it to cutting telegraph wires. That might do very little damage, but, on the other hand, it might do a great deal of harm.

"Turkey," he said, "is a Power, and, do what you will, she will remain a Power. There is, at the present moment, only a political hatred of Great Britain in Turkey." He would go so far as to say that there was more hostility to us amongst the Arabs and the Hindus than amongst the Turks. The Crimea, although it happened long ago, was not forgotten; the Dardanelles would not weigh in the balance against it. England had often intervened on behalf of the Turks, and they were a grateful people. He could not pretend to know the Indian question, but he did not believe that there was any real hatred of us in India.

He discussed Bolshevism with acute dislike. He said it might suit Russia; it could not suit the rest of the world. The human race could not change, or, at any rate, not to that extent, outside Russia. It could not accept such a lunatic system. "But," he continued, "as the Russians chose to go in for Bolshevism, that is their business. There is no danger to Turkey in it now; nor do I consider that it is a peril to England, as long as it remains in its own borders, and with propaganda for its only weapon."

There were many of his countrymen who hoped that Bolshevism would boil over the Russian border, and go foaming into Europe, foreseeing salvation to Asia in a general European catastrophe. He was not one of those. He did not want a safety that came from ruins. He preferred to see an ordered Europe, and a peaceful Turkey helped by Great Britain. But he would refuse to join an anti-Bolshevist alliance at the present moment, when his country was at war.

Men, said the ex-Grand Vizier, were Bolshevik by conviction, by policy, or by interest. He might be the last; he was certainly not the first. An alliance with the Bolshevists was purely a matter of expediency. You might say it was a double-edged sword, but its edge, as far as the enemies of Turkey were concerned, was sharp, and its dangerous edge to Turkey was very blunt. The Turk and the Bolshevik had nothing in common but a temporary alliance, a convenience from the point of view of Russia that answered a need from the point of view of Turkey.

He had not been to Moscow recently, nor had he seen Lenin, but he had seen Trotsky at Brest-Litovsk, and had a poor opinion of him. Trotsky, he thought, like the majority of the Russian Jews, was a degenerate.

He told me that Enver was at the moment in Moscow, for the same reason that he, Talaat, might have been there, not through any liking of Bolshevism. Enver, he said, was colourless, as far as policy was concerned. He was doing the best in his power for his country.

Halil Pasha (whom I had last seen between Sanayat and Kut on the day that Townshend surrendered) was also in Moscow. He was an exception, and had a penchant towards communism. Djemal Pasha was engaged in propaganda against Great Britain in Turkestan.

He spoke of the natural antagonism between the principles of Bolshevism and Islam: fire and water were not more different. I asked him what part pan-Islam was likely to play in the future, and he expressed the Nationalist, or the Young Turks' point of view. Islam, he said, in itself is a grand religion, and though it was preached in the desert, it is still compatible with civilisation, and can be adapted to modern needs. But, in common with all other religions, it can swiftly become intolerant in the hearts of fanatics. By their actions the Young Turks had shown that they did not mean to use pan-Islam as a weapon. That had been the policy of Abdul Hamid, but it was a short-sighted policy, because in the end it could not succeed, and meant war between Islam and the rest of the world, and that could have no other result for Islam as a creed than fanaticism and barbarism.

The deeds of the Young Turks were a proof that they did not favour pan-Islam.

Had they not incurred the greatest unpopularity by putting the rayah (native Christian) on a level with the Moslem? There were other features of their policy that gave offence—amongst them their intention to abolish polygamy.

His party had deliberately adopted the milder and less fanatical creed which was useless as a fiery torch.

He spoke of the Caliphate question, using the usual arguments, and again wondered what demon of

madness had taken possession of the British Government. If the question of the Caliphate was satisfactorily settled, a big step would be taken to restore our popularity among the Indians. I said it was always more easy to raise a storm than to allay it; and I asked him if there was any Turk with sufficient prestige to calm the Indian agitation, if such a course was ever desired by Great Britain. He said that the trouble in India would cease automatically when we entered into friendly relations with Turkey. We could send any Turk to India whom we pleased. He laughed, and added, "It is very unlikely that your Government would trust me. But if they did, I would guarantee to do my best."

I asked him if he thought it likely that the pan-Turanian movement would develop. He answered that the events of the last years had given all those who were related a closer sense of kinship. Often men only remembered a poor brother when they themselves became poor, but he saw no future in our lives for Turanianism, though Asiatics were drawing closer to each other.

He said that he had written a memorandum on the Armenian massacres which he was very anxious that British statesmen should read. Early in the war, in 1915, the Armenians had organised an army, and had attacked the Turks, who were then fighting the Russians. Three Armenian deputies had taken an active part; the alleged massacres of Moslems had taken place, accompanied by atrocities on women and children. He had twice opposed enforced migration, and he had been the author of an inquiry which resulted in the execution of a number of guilty Kurds and Turks.

He and his friends were willing to consider sympathetically any proposition for Armenian autonomy. But facts must be faced. Even if all the Armenians who had been driven into the Caucasus were to return, they would represent only a small fraction of the population, who are mainly non-Armenian. He himself favoured the rights of minorities in its most extended form. After President Wilson's speeches, and in the present state of the world, opposition to this principle was folly. If Great Britain came to an amicable agreement with Turkey, she would be in the position to do what she liked with regard to Armenia. The first, and most practical, step would be the organisation of an efficient gendarmerie to pacify and create order in that country.

His references to Egypt were casual. He said that he had made a speech to the Egyptian students in Berlin on the Milner concessions, when he quoted a Spanish proverb, "Take all you are offered, then ask for more." This, however, had made the extremists, who wanted everything at once, angry. Something, said Talaat, must be done for Egypt. The British difficulty was that we had promised so much and such contradictory things, and had done very little.

He thought that we had serious trouble ahead of us in Mesopotamia, though we could, of course, lessen our difficulties by retiring to the province of Basra. He saw no strong native ruler for Mesopotamia. He said: "You English seem to think that these Arabs respect their countrymen because they are descended from the Prophet. Not a bit of it; it is only we Turks who do that, and we do it because we know them so little. For us they have the glamour of their descent and their holy places, but to each other they are only beggars, differing in the degrees of their poverty."

He spoke with respect of the Emir Feisul, and said definitely that it was quite certain that renewed good relations would come about between the Turks and the Arabs.

Talaat Pasha spoke with more emphasis and fire of Greece than of any other question. Greece had no title to Smyrna. To give Smyrna to Greece was in contradiction to all that we had promised, and was a reward to her for the massacres that had taken place there. Smyrna was Turkish, and must remain Turkish. He rejected a compromise which I suggested, but with-out violence. "No, no," he said; "you must give us back Smyrna, and peace will be restored, and when peace is restored all the resources of Asia Minor will be at the disposal of Great Britain. Asia Minor is a rich land, crying aloud for development, and the only serious condition that we will ask you, excluding your friendship, is recognition of our independence. The other details can easily be arranged. There is, of course, the question of the islands. If we are ever going to have peace, steps must be taken to see that the islands immediately adjacent to the mainland are not made a sanctuary for Greek *comitadjis*. I asked him if a compromise could not be arrived at with regard to Thrace, and he answered that no compromise was possible with regard to Eastern Thrace, for Constantinople could never rest in security under the guns of her enemies."

He was, however, quite ready to agree to the internationalisation or to the neutralisation of the Straits. He looked upon the occupation of the Dardanelles by the Greeks as provocative, and wished to bring it to an end. When Russia was out of action, he said, the question of the Dardanelles had almost ceased to exist. He had lately been approached by a Greek official, whose name he gave me, on the question of coming to an understanding. But the time was not ripe. The Greeks said that Mustapha Kemal was bluffing. Very well; let them prove that by the force of arms. I asked him what he thought would happen in the Balkans. He replied that he had been informed that a rising amongst the foreign population in Serbia was likely to take place in the spring, but he was not sure how reliable the information was, nor how formidable the insurrection was likely to prove[1]. He thought that ultimately Serbia and Bulgaria would be driven into an alliance. Very intelligent Greek diplomacy would be required if Greece was to be saved. The hatred against her in Bulgaria was undying; and Serbia could never be satisfied until she reached the sea, through Salonika. Greece had enemies everywhere, and her friends were neutral. She had also incurred the jealousy of Italy. He thought that Italian policy had been remarkably clever, and that Italy had surmounted the worst of her difficulties. Her sympathy to Turkey would repay her.

The ex-Grand Vizier then talked of Europe generally, but asked me to respect certain confidences of his. It was evident from his conversation that he and the **Turks of Angora were in close touch with the big forces of the moment, and with all the chief European Governments, except that of Great Britain**. He said he thought the Irish situation had been badly handled. It was the first time in our own days that we had had to deal with a question of that kind, and we had made crude mistakes. He had seen some of the Sinn Feiners in Germany, but had a poor opinion of them. He thought that the position in Germany itself was dangerous, and he believed that the French were determined to go into Germany, though he did not think that such an action would bring them any nearer to getting their money. A French invasion of Germany would drive the Germans to join hands with the Bolshevists, Relief might then come to Turkey through European chaos, but, as he had said before, he hoped for relief through other channels.

I asked Talaat Pasha if his views were Right or Left, and he answered that he was Liberal, but would not admit to any political colour, saying that politics changed, and that patriotism was constant.

"Now," said Talaat Pasha, "I have put all my cards on the table, and I hope you will be able to persuade your Government of these facts, which, after all, can easily be proved. We are ready to make great concessions to achieve our object, which is peace and friendship with England. I do not want power nor office; I speak for myself, but I am in the centre of things. Mustapha Kemal in Angora will not be in disagreement with me; and Bekir Sami Bey is saying in London to-day what I am saying in Düsseldorf

1 This did not happen.

to you. His propositions have been favourably considered; the Allied Governments propose to have an inquiry into the question of Smyrna and of Thrace. The Armenian question is on the way to being settled. Bekir Sami has had friendly discussions with Mr. Lloyd George at Downing Street, and now I have said all I have to say. If the British Government desire it, peace can be obtained immediately, and with it the development of Asia Minor. You can never achieve the partition of Turkey. England and Turkey are not industrial rivals, but customers, who depend upon each other, and surely it is better for customers to be friends."

I said good-bye to Talaat Pasha, and we went our different ways. I returned to London, where I saw Bekir Sami Bey several times. He was a straight man and a gentleman, who was ready to go to the limit of concession to obtain peace and British friendship. His proposals, which did not materially differ from those of Talaat Pasha, like many other things of that time, were discreetly broadcasted, it was said, from Downing Street, and became known to the Bolshevists, who demanded Bekir Sami Bey's head upon a charger, and duly received it.

The Greeks advanced triumphantly during the Eastern Armistice. Negotiations broke down, and war raged again in Asia Minor, and so things continued for a year. The Foreign Office was ignored, and the Eastern policy of No. 10 Downing Street remained a mixture of frivolity and fanaticism, until Mr. Lloyd George effectively combined them in his speech of August 4, 1922. That fervent oration was sent out as an Army Order to the unhappy Greek troops, whom it hurried to their doom. For the sake of the Greeks and Turks, and, indeed, our own reputation, it is a pity that Talaat Pasha was not able to have his way and to achieve peace. But if the revolver of the murderer had spared him, it is not likely that he, or indeed any other man, would have been able to convince Mr. Lloyd George of the truth of facts. They might as easily have persuaded Sir Basil Zaharoff.

Talaat returned to Berlin, where he was immediately murdered by a Persian Armenian. He died hated, indeed execrated, as few men have been in their generation. He may have been all that he was painted—I cannot say. I know that he had rare power and attraction. I do not know whether he was responsible or not for the Armenian massacres. All I know is that he was fearless; and any one who, like myself, only knew him superficially, found him to be kindly and with a singular charm.

So died Talaat Pasha, the Young Turk, and, I incline to think, the genius of that movement. But, Young Turk leader though he was, he still had much of the old Turk in him. He was not envenomed against England by the protracted persecution of Mr. Lloyd George. Is what Talaat Pasha proposed to me, what Bekir Sami Bey suggested in London, and the peace terms that Ali Fethi Bey brought fruitlessly to deaf ears in London in 1922, still open to us to-day, or is the chasm that separates us from Turkey and from Islam unbridgeable? I think not. Our interests lie together, and whatever the reason may b; it iS a, fact that the Tua and the Englishman, in nine cases out of ten, get on with each other and like each other. We have been left the heirs of the incompetency of Mr. Lloyd George and his Government, and the Turks have inherited the legacy of hatred that recent years have bequeathed to them.

But the Turks have a proverb, which those Englishmen who were sent out between the lines on the various occasions when an armistice was proclaimed during the war often heard. It became familiar to them between mounds of Turkish and British dead—"Eski dost Dushman olmaz" (an old friend cannot be an enemy). If we can convince the Turks that we have a similar sentiment here, the memory of recent quarrels may be forgotten in the recollection of a more ancient understanding.

Appendix VII

The One Hundred Names of Perpetrators

The first level list of organizers of the extermination of the Armenians in Western Armenia.

1. Talaat Pasha—minister of the interior,, former grand vizier, president of Ittihad Central Committee, fugitive. [Assassinated.]
2. Said Halim Pasha—a parliamentarian (senator), former grand vizier, former minister offoreign affairs, and ex president of the Central Committee of the Ittihad. [Assassinated.]
3. Enver Pasha—minister of war, commander of the Ottoman Army, fugitive. [Allegedly killed in battle in Turkmenistan.]
4. Djemal Pasha—minister of marine, fugitive. [Assassinated.]
5. Hayri Bey—senator, former sheikh-ul-Islam; it was he who announced the Fetva of the Jihad (the Holy War).
6. Ibrahim Bey, senator, former minister of justice, violent Armenophobe; he played a sad role in the continuity of thegovernment with Patriarch Zaven. It was he who organized the Tchetes [Tashkilati MausoussehJ [massacre] from criminals detained in the central prison of Constantinople.
7. Shukri Bey—former minister of education in 1914, parliamentarian of Kastemouni, editor of Zeman (pan-Turk) newspaper.
8. Ahmet Nessimi Bey—former minister of agriculture and commerce and of foreign affairs.
9. Halil Bey—ex-president of the Council of State, minister of justice, before that president of the Chamber of Deputies.
10. Mustafa Sherif Bey—former minister of agriculture and trade.
11. Kemal Bey former minister offood, member of Ittihad Central Committee.
12. Jambolat Bey—deputy, former minister, prefect of police [Constantinople], organizer of the annihilation of the Armenian intellectuals of Bolis, with Talaat's cooperation.
13. Ali Munif Bey former minister of public works and undersecretary of state for internal affairs. He was vali (governor), of Mount Lebanon (Syria), after the suppression of the autonomous status of this region.
14. Dr. Nazim and (members of Ittihad CC) fugitives.
15. Dr. Behaeddin Shakir—("des tournees dans les Six vilayets Armeniens.") [They toured the six Armenian vilayets with the valis] and organized Tchete bands for the extermination of the Armenians of the six vilayets with the cooperation of another monster, propagandist Hilmi. Both are fugitives abroad. [Behaeddin was later assassinated.]
16. Nejadi Bey—responsible representative of the Ittihad in Bolis.
17. Midhat Shukri—secretary general of the Ittihad.
18. Kutchuk Nazim—member of Ittihad CC.
19. Hilmi—the Ittihad central delegate at Erzerum, simply a scoundrel, the acolyte of Drs. Nazim and Behaeddin Shakir.

20. Nail Bey—responsible envoy of the Ittihad Central at Trebizond.
21. Riza Bey—a member of the Trebizond Ittihad.
22. Ibrahim Bey— responsible representative of Armenians at Bursa, the organizer of the deportation of the Armenians of that city.
23. Mehmeddje—sent from the capital with the mission to destroy the Armenians ofBrusa, known for his savagery. He was an agent of the first section of the Turkish secret police at Constantinople and an agent of Ittihad.
24. Abdurhman Bey—special envoy from the capital, member of the commission on "well-abandoned"(des bien delaisses) properties.
25. Agha Oghlou Ahmet—editor-in-chief of the pan-Turkish newspaper, Terdjiman Hakitat, propagandist deputy, one of the Ittihad leaders, a fugitive in the Caucasus.
26. Younousse Nadi—editor-in-chief of the pan-Turkish newspaper, Yemi-Gune.
27. Zia Geok Alp—a professor at the University of Constantinople, member of Ittihad CC.
28. Mehmen [Mehmed?] Emin—Turkish poet and deputy from Mosul.
29. Feyzi Bey—deputy from Diyarbekir, one of the main organizers of the massacres and a renowned xenophobe.
30. Dr. Reshid—vali of Diyarbekir, merciless and savage who destroyed the Diyarbakir Armenians.
31. Mahmud Nedim—deputy from Urfa, one of the assassins of the Armenian deputies Vartkes [Serengulian] and Zohrab [Krikor Zohrab].
32. Haled Bey—deputy from Erzindjan. He threw into the Mourad [Euphrates] River near Kemak close to 800 infants.
33. Seffoullah—deputy from Erzerum, the chief of the bands that organized tthe terrors of Erzerum with the cooperation of his sons and well-known Turk Jafer Agha.
34. Tabib Effendi—deputy from Ankara.
35. Ali Bey—deputy from Der Zor, chief of bands.
36. Osman Bey—vali of Bursa. He has directed the deportation of Armenians from the province.
37. Muhammer Bey—vali of Sivas, one of the most notorious for his savagery, the annihilator of the Armenians of Sivas, Samsun, Amasya, Tokat, and other such places. (Arrested.)
38. Zulfi Bey—deputy from Diyarbakir.
39. Mazhar Bey—deputy fromErzinga, brother-in-law of Haled Bey (no. 32.)
40. Djemal Bey—vali of Trebizond, the annihilator of the Armenians of that province, a fugitive in Berlin.
41. Tahaine Bey—vali of Erzerum, more recently the vali of Syria.
42. Sabit Bey—vali of Kharpert, the organizer of the massacres. (Arrested.)
43. Mamduh Bey—the mutessaref of Erzinga, then vali of MusuL A monster who became infamous in the acquisition of the belongings of the Armenian detainees.
44. Atef Bey—vali of Ankara, who after annihilating the Armenians of that

province was charged with the same mission in Kastemuni.

45. Jevdet Bey—vali of Van, one of the organizers of the massacres and atrocities at Van.
46. Cherkez Rishdi—commander of the gendarmes in Diyarbakir, acolyte of the vali Dr. Reshid, Tchhete chief and the assassin of Vartkes and Zohrab (the Armenian deputies).
47. Ismail Hakki Bey—vali of Adana.
48. Djemal Bey—mutessaref of Samsun.
49. Salih Zeki Bey—kaimakam (lieutenant or deputy) of Devolan (Caesaria). He organized the atrocities in Caesaria, personally torturing the detained Armenians. For his services, he was promised the position of mektubji of Constantinople; in 1916, he was sent to Der-el-Zor to organize the extermination of the surviving Armenians. He excelled in this mission, wiping out more than 60,000 deported Armenians and throwing thousands of children into the Euphrates.
50. Fuat Bey—mutessaref ofMalatia, former mutessaref of Van, chief of bands.
51. Zekia Bey—mutessaref of Talas. He imprisoned the students of the American College of Caesaria.
52. Mazhar Bey—mutessaref of Ismit.
53. Zekeria Bey—vali of Adrianople, a monster organizer of the deportation.
54. Midhat Bey—mutessaref of Caesaria.
55. Ghani Bey—responsible Ittihad secretary of Sivas.
56. Bedri Bey—governor of Mardin (Diyarbakir).
57. Ihsan Bey—governer of Sevarek (Diyarbakir).
58. Halis Bey governor of Bisheri (Diyarbakir).
59. Nuri Bey—vice governor of Lijeh (Dyiarbakir).
60. Nedjib Zade Kader—governor of Palu (Kharpert)
61. Zulfizade Adil—governor of Slivan (Diyarbakir).
62. Naji Bey—one of the active agents of Ittihad in Trebizond, directly communicating with Constantinople.
63. Dr. Abdullah—responsible secretary of the Ittihad in Haimana (Ankara). He played an important role in the misfortunes of Armenians.
64. Nejati Bey—president of Ittihad in Ankara.
65. Ghani Bey—a plenipotentiary representative of the Ittihad at Adrianople.
66. Hassan Fehmi Bey—one of the assistants of the vali of Kastemuni; responsible secretary of the Ittihad.
67. Cemal Djemal Oghlu Bey—responsible secretary of Ittihad in Chankri (Ankara).
68. Ibrahim Bey—secretary of Ittihad at Bursa.
69. Ferid Bey—secretary of Ittihad at Konia.
70. Aghiai Bey—secretary of Ittihad at Aleppo.
71. Atar, Zade Hakki—responsible representative of the Ittihad.
72. Betri Bey—director general of the police, prefect and interim vali of

Constantinople. He played a deplorable role in the arrests of the Armenians and was himself one of the organizers of the extermination project. A fugitive.

73. Reshad Bey—director of the political section, attaché to the Prefecture of the Constaninople police. Now a businessman.
74. Ali Reza—vice director of the political section and the Constantinople police executioner. Now a Constantinople businessman. A monster.
75. Halim Oghlu Zia—commissioner of the political section.
76. Ahmed Bey—former prefect of police, recently vali of Sivas.
77. Ibrahim Bey—director of the Central Prison, organizer of the deportation of Armenians from the Izmit region (Bardizag, Ovadjuk, Adapazar, and environs). He was responsible for the planting of explosives in the monastery of Armash in order to blame the Armenians. He is in Constantinople where he directed the tortures (nocturnal crimes) with the aid of the worst of the prisoners freed from the Central Prison.
78. Rifat Bey—police prefect of Sivas, presently at Constantinople, member of the Envali Metrenbe (the commission on selling the possessions of the deported Armenians.)
79. Mahmud Bey—commissioner of Sivas, assistant of the vali Muhammer, and chief of the Tchete [there].
80. Mehed Bey—police prefect of Trebizond.
81. Zeki Bey—police prefect of Caesaria.
82. Guiridli Sami—vice commissioner of Gesaria.
83. Reshag Bey—police prefect of Kharpert.
84. Behaeddin Bey police prefect of Ankara.
85. Mehmed Bey—from Sivas, vice commissioner. One of the destroyers of Tokat.
86. Reshid Bey—vice commissioner of Adapazar.
87. Mahmud Jelaleddin—prefect of police, infamous for his atrocities.
88. Kevrahle Zade Memduh—police prefect of Diyarbakir.
89. Ibrahim Effendi—commissioner of the gendarmes of Ankara.
90. Salih Effendi—commissioner at Merzifon (Marsovan).
91. Turkhan Bey—police prefect of Erzerum.
92. Behij Bey—advisor to Enver at the ministry of war. Director of recruitment of officers.
93. Halil Bey—commander ofgendarmes of Sivas, the assistant of Muhammer Bey.
94. Halil Pasha—Enver's uncle (father's brother), the organizer of the Tchetes, who assassinated Vartkes and Zohrab in the vicinity of Urfa, then Aknouni, a leader of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, Khajag a professor and publicist (an Armenian from the Caucasus), [Ruben] Zartarian, editor-in-chief of the Azadamard newspaper [of Constantinople], Sarkis Minassian, a professor of literature and editor, Dort-Dagavarian, a former deputy, holder of a degree in Sciences, and Jangulian, a former revolutionary.
95. Aly Chefik—commander ofthe gendarmes of Sivas, assistant to Muhammer, now in Samsun.

96. Faik Bey—commander of gendarmes, assistant to Ibrahim Bey (no. 77)
97. Ali Said—a health official in Trebizond, an operator in Bolis.
98. Major Talaat—one of the destroyers of Trebizond.
99. Ismail Hakki Bey—commander of the gendarmes of Bursa.
100. Ibrahim Effendi—commander of the gendarmes of Izmit.

There is also said to be a list of 200 as well as a list of 600, which includes non-Turks who were involved, collaborated or supported the Armenian Genocide.

Appendix VIII

PROJECT OF A RAILWAY SYSTEM

IN ANATOLIA WITH MINING

CONCESSIONS

Historical account of the project.

In May 1909, the undersigned proposed to the Ministry of Public Works by a detailed report the application of a new financial combination for the realization of the new railway lines projected for the eastern provinces of Anatolia.

The principle of this combination consisted in appropriating to the financial service of the lines to be constructed the overplus of the tithes that the construction of these railways engendered in the crossed provinces; but as experience has shown that this overplus of the tithes had succeeded to cover only about 50% of the charges resulting from the insufficiency of the collections of the railway lines established in different parts of the Empire, it was necessary in addition, in order to not surcharge the State budget, to grant the concessions of the mines situated in a zone of 20 kilometers on each side of the lines to be constructed so as to allow to the concessionaire (grantee) to replay by the eventual benefits of the mines exploitations the other 50% of the financial charges of the railway.

The above mentioned principle was officially accepted by the Ministry of Public Works at that time, and, relying upon my assurances, Dr. B.M. Glasgow came to Constantinople and presented his first application on July 6th 1909.

After several modifications these are the essential conditions under which an agreement was reached between the Ministry and the representative of the J.G. White & Co. firm, Dr. B. M. Glasgow:

1) The Government granted to the Concessionaire an option of 16 months for making on his own account the geological study of the region and the examination of the following railways:
   A. From Sivas to Van passing through Kharpout, Arghans, Diarbekir and Bitlis.
   B. From a point to be determined on the line of Sivas-Diarbekir to Youmourtalik through the valley of Djihan.
   C. From a point to be determined on the line of Diarbekir-Van to Moussoul, Kerkouk and Suleymanieh.
2) The lines enumerated here above were to be of a 105 centimeters track.
3) The Government granted no financial assistance to the Concessionaire for the construction and the exploitation of the projected lines. As a set-off the Government granted, for the first 20 years the exclusive concession, and during the whole duration of the concession, the right of exploitation of all the mines known or unknown laying in a zone of 20 kilometers on each side of the lines constructed by the concessionaire.

4) During the first fifteen years, the mines laying in the granted zone would be free from the payment of proportional royalties foreseen by the regulation of mines; from the sixteenth year, if the gross collections of the railway should equal 12500 francs per kilometer and per year, the concessionaire would have to pay the totality of the average mining taxes appertaining to the mines worked (exploited) by him. If, on the contrary, the said gross collections be under 1200 francs per kilometer, the concessionaire would pay these royalties, but after deduction of the sum necessary to complete up to 12500 francs the account of the gross collections per kilometer.
5) The concessionaire had to terminate the whole of the system within 8 years, including the sixteen months for the preliminary studies.

It is under this shape that the affair of the railways of the eastern Anatolia has been addressed on August 16th1909 to the Chamber of Deputees in order to obtain the approval of the Parliament for the conclusion of a preliminary contract with Dr. B. M. Glasgow.

Just at this moment Mr. A. Chester intervened in the name of another American group, proposing to construct the same lines but of standard guage and moreover to pay integrally from the beginning the mining taxes.

Following this intervention, the Chamber, in the sitting of August 20th 19009, decided, though approving the principle itself of the affair and the line mentioned in the project, to put the business to competition and to grant the concession to whoever will offer the best conditions.

The conditions proposed by Mr. A. Chester finally were the best, and it is with him that they began to negotiate the business. And from this moment the affair entered in a phase full of mysteries and intrigues.

After long negotiations, the Ministery of Public Works signed and addressed on February 25th 1910, to the approval of the Counsel of Ministers (cabinet-council) to be submitted to the Chamber, the projects of the agreement elaborated with the group represented by Mr. Chester.

The essential conditions of the new project were the same as those of the project Glasgow, with this only difference that the lines had to be of normal guage of 1 m. 44 cent. and that the concessionnaire had to pay integrally the mining terms foreseen by the law.

In spite of these hard conditions for the enterprise, the Grand Vizir of that time Hakki Pasha whose connections with the German Embassy are well known, did all he could to delay this affair in his portfolio during months and months. And when in November 1910, on my urgings, some Deputees of Anatolia once more brought to the attention of the Grand Vizir that this project of November 25, 1910, assumed to make declarations so faint and so compromising for the future of the project in questions, that I had, in order to dissipate the misunderstandings created intentionally around this affair by our State men themselves, to present a detailed report on January 18th 1911 to the Grand Vizir, to all the Ministers, the Deputees and the Senators.

The conclusions of this report were as follows:

1) Considering the topographic difficulties of the region and the lack of sufficient traffic, the lines in question had to be constructed with narrow track in order to

make possible the realization of the enterprise.

2) By granting a zone of 20 kilometers for the mine exploitations the State would do no material sacrifice, but moreover, thanks to this combination, would create an important mines industry in the country.
3) Considering the political importance of the project, the State should facilitate by all possible means the organization of this enterprise and not impose such heavy conditions as these foreseen in the convention elaborated with the group Chamber.
4) The delay of 16 months for the geological studies was insufficient.
5) An indispensable facility, it was proper to allow an exclusive right of 20 to 25 years on the mines of the granted zone.
6) In order to rectify the anti-economical spirit of our mining law, in force now, it was necessary to exact only the minimum payment of the mining taxes, which would represent a participation of the State of 2 to 20% in the net benefits of the enterprise according to the nature of the worked mines.
7) Because of the financial difficulty of the enterprise which is not at all guaranteed by the State, the government had to appropriate at least the mining taxes of the granted zone in order to cover partially the deficits of the railway.
8) Considering our exceptional political situation, the State ought not have put at the bidder's mercy a railway project of such an importance. As a proof of the dangers of this prevailing it is enough to quote the intervention of Col. Schaeffer.
9) Considering the political aims of Germany and Russia for the provinces which will be served by the projected system, it was a political necessity to engage in this enterprise neutral capital as that of the United States.
10) Considering the economical and political difficulties of the enterprise, it was necessary to renew the negotiations with the American financiers and to put the affair on a serious and rational basis in spite of the mistakes made in 1909.
11) If energetic measures should not be taken in order to disengage this enterprise from the intrigues coined by the foreign countries, the constitutional government would have a very great responsibility towards the country in putting, almost knowingly, our eastern provinces without any means of defense, at the mercy of Russian armies.

A few days after this remittance of this report, Hakki Pasha in his quality of provisional Minister of Public Works began new negotiations with the representatives of the "Ottoman American Development Co", and these negotiations lasted until the end of April 1911.

During these negotiations the representatives of the Society who, taking profit out of these continual postponements had had time to better study the affair, tried to rectify as much as possible the mistakes committed in the past. Here are the notifications which were then introduced in the projects of Feb. 25th 1910:

1) The lines had to be constructed with narrow track.
2) The section Sivas-Kharpout was suppressed as it was to be granted to the French group who was taking charge of the construction of the system of North of Anatolia.
3) Instead of going up to Van, the Society could if necessary stop at the western bank of the Van Lake with the right of organizing a service of navigation on the lake, but without any right of monopoly.
4) For the difficult section of Youmourtalik-Kharpout, in case the construction expenses should surpass the sum of 160,000 francs per kilometer, the State had to advance the differences which would be repaid when the receipts of the lines would bring on interest of 5% on the capital of first establishment.
5) The delay of preliminary studies was fixed at 2 years instead of 15 months.

6) Regarding the mineral concessions, the concessionnaire would have the right to work the mines known and worked up by the State, and besides an exclusive right on the zone of 20 kilometers during the 2 years of the preliminary studies.
7) The concessionaire had to pay integrally all the proportional royalties foreseen by the law in force.

After two years of postponement, it is under this form that the project of the railways of Eastern Anatolia has been sent a second time to the Chamber on April 30, 1911 by its adversary the Grand Bizir Hakki Pacha to be contested there later by his subordinates: Houloussy bey and Moukhtar bey.

During the parliamentary holidays, the Grand Vizir Haki Pacha in order to follow his views confided in Houloussy bey, a creature of the Bagdad society the portfolio of the Ministry of Public Works and in order to put the Chamber on its re-opening before an accomplished fact had opened negotiations with the Bagdad society in order to grand them a part of lines included in the project of the American group and by this mean to finish with the said project.

Being at this moment in Switzerland, but immediately informed by the Constantinople papers, I have, by correspondence, attracted the attention of my political friends to this queer attitude of the Grand Vizir and his subordinate Houloussey bey, the Consequence of this was that those negotiations with the Bagdad society were then interrupted.

In November 1911, when the Chamber of Deputies took up again the discussion of the project, Houloussy bey, notwithstanding the actual Cabinet and the new Chamber of Deputies will be obliged to give a satisfactory solution to this important question before the parliamentary holidays.

SOME STATISTICAL DATAS CONCERNING THE PROVIDCES WHICH WILL BE CROSSED BY THE PROJECTED SYSTEM.

1. Sandjak of Kozan.

It forms part of the Adana Vilayet and extends itself on the right bank of the river Djihan throught the valley of which future railway is to ascend towards the high upland of Armenia.

The total area is of about 8,000 sq. kilometers and the population of the sandjak is of 78,105 hinhabitants, i.e. about 9,7 inhabitants per sq. kilom.

The Kozan sandjak has beautiful forests of an area of 51,410 hectares which are actually unworkable because of the scarcity of means of communication.

The Taurus chain which covers the greatest part of this province, is very rich in iron layers, coal, copper and argentiferous lead, only one of which is actually worked near the caza of feke.

The corn production of the Kozan sandjak in 1909-1910 had been according to the official statistics of the Ministry of Agriculture, the following:

	Sowed area in hectares.		Obtained harvest in tons.	
Wheat	20,437		30,996	
Barley	5,280		14,874	
Oats	535		873	
Rye	710		920	
Millet	710		659	
Maize	205		209	
Sorghum	35		38	
Rice	9		10	
Total	27,921	hectares	48,579	tons of cereal

The following figures gave a summary of the kinds of domestic animals existing in the sandjak of Kozan in 1909-1910:

Horses, mares and stallions		9,638	
Asses		6,199	
Cows		39,147	
Oxes and Bulls		16,955	
Calves and heifers		19,005	
Buffalos		1,096	
Sheeps		17,418	
She-goats		100,786	
Camels		761	
	General total	211,005	heads of cattle.

2. – Sandjak of Marach.

After having crossed the sandjak of Kozan on the length of about 100 kilometers, the projected railway must penetrate into the sandjak of Marach from South East following always the valley of Djihan and crossing the said province almost in diagonal.

The sandjak of Marach extends itself for the aea of 15,600 sq. kilometers and has actually 233,808 inhabitants i.e. about 15 hinhabitants pper sq. kilom.

In spite of the fertility of its soil, actually this sandjak having no carriage road towards the maritime ports, can not export any of its agriculture products.

All the chain of Taurus crossing and covering the greatest part of the area of this province is very rich in mineral layers and is admirably wooded. Actually in the mountains of Zeitoun an iron mine is worked and its production supplies the local industry of Marach. A geological examination of this region would surly discover the copper and silver layers which were so advantageously worked in these regions in the time of the Armenian kingdom.

The cereal production of the Sandjak of Marach in 1909-1910 was the following:

	Sowed area in hectares.		Obtained harvest in tons.	
Wheat	30,113		40,405	
Barley	8,632		9,690	
Rye	9,422		9,873	
Millet	8,753		5,692	
Maize	1,245		3,084	
Sorghum	2,227		745	
Rice	454		1,597	
Total	60,846	hectares	71,086	tons of cereal

The number of domestic animals in the same year was the following:

Horses	11,503	
He-Mules	10,399	
Asses	27,713	
Oxes and Bulls	59,940	
Cows	106,498	
Calves and heifers	69,980	
Buffalos	10,772	
Sheeps	202,288	
She-goats	228,015	
Camels	1,345	
General total	728,453	heads of cattle.

3. – Sandjak of Malatia.

The total area of this province is of 14,485 sq. kilometers and this area, by nature of ground, is distributed as follows:

Cultivable grounds	762,102	hectares
Mountains, uncultiv. gr.	547,698	“
Pastures	43,091	“
Forests	95,636	“
Total	1,448,527	hectares

The total population of the sandjak of Malatia is of 281,168 inhabitants i.e. about 20 inhabitants per sq. kilom.

It is the most fertile of the three sandjaks of the Vilayet of Mamurat-ul-Aziz, but having no means of communication with the maritime ports for the sale of its commodities, its agricultural production is forcibly limited by its local consummation. In reality, according to the official statistics, in 1909-1910 only 42,090 hectares have been cultivated for the grain production in this province which has 762,102 hectares of good ground fitted for the culture and which are actually employed as xx unprofitable pastures by the nomadic tribes.

The grain production in 1909-1910 was as follows:

	Sowed area		Obtained harvest in tons.		
Wheat	27,771	hectares	40,405		tons
Barley	9,028	“	9,690		”
Rye	1,017	“	9,873		”
Millet	1,232	“	5,692		”
Maize	2,133	“	3,084		”
Rice	909	“	1,597		”
Total	42,090	“		71,086	of corn

The statistics of the domestic animals in the same year shows the existence in the sandjak of Malatia of:

Horses	4,079	
He-Mules	4,130	
Asses	26,736	
Oxes and Bulls	36,865	
Cows	21,750	
Calves and heifers	8,040	
Sheeps	123,249	
She-goats	182,058	
Camels	734	
General total	407,641	heads of cattle.

4. – Sandjak of Kharpout.

The total area of this province is of 9,955 sq. kilometers, which by nature of ground, are distributed as follows:

Cultivable grounds	538,749	hectares
Uncultivable mountains	394,959	“
Pastures	55,200	“
Forests	6,545	“
Total	995,453	hectares

The total population of the Kharpout sandjak is of 383,531 inhabitants i.e. about 38 inhabitants per sq. kilom. This exceptional density of the population is the sandjak of Kharpout is explained by the high fertility of the plain of Kharpout-Mezre where the great majority of the population is distributed.

The future railway must cross this prosperous plain and penetrate then into the upper valley of the Tigre.

In the mineral point of view this province is also very interesting. It was from Keban-Maden that since centuries came the great part of the silver consumed in the Orient. This famous silver mine is abandoned since about forty years, because of the lack of fuel and of improved means to attack the great mass of very rich ore in the depth of the mine.

The chain of Taurus which covers the central part of this province contains very important mineral wealth, but they are not all explored.

The grain production of the Kharpout sandjak in 1909-1910 was as follows:

	Sowed area		Obtained harvest in tons.	
Wheat	36,742	hectares	46,697	tons
Barley	16,979	“	16,446	”
Rye	1,018	“	693	”
Millet	3,851	“	3,036	”
Maize	18,183	“	7,200	”
Rice	209	“	297	”
Total	76,982	“	74,369	of corn

In the same financial year this province had:

Horses	3,400	
He-Mules	3,969	
Asses	16,958	
Cows	22,140	
Oxes and Bulls	28,835	
Calves and heifers	14,549	
Buffalos	3,750	
Sheeps	127,805	
She-goats	111,500	
Camels	707	
General total	332,613	heads of cattle.

5. Sandjak of Arghana.

In forms part of the vilayet of Diarbekir and extends on both banks of the upper Tigre for a total area of 8,530 sq. kilom. This area, by nature of ground, is distributed as follows:

Cultivable grounds	661,100	hectares
Mountains, uncultivable gr.	139,900	“
Wooded grounds	53,00	“
Total	853,000	hectares

The total population of the Arghana sandjak is of 174,872 inhabitants i.e. about 20 inhabitants per sq. kilom. A great number of the inhabitants of this province devote themselves in preference to work in the mines finding them more within their reach and this is the reason why, in spite of the fertility of the soil, and the great extents of free grounds in the province, the agriculture production is comparatively less important here.

In 1909-1910 the grain production was as follows:

	Sowed area		Obtained harvest in tons.	
Wheat	18,727	hectares	58,987	tons
Barley	1,818	“	2,592	”
Millet	736	“	1,825	”
Maize	18	“	65	”
Rice	53	“	1,034	”
Total	21,352	“	64,503	”

The statistics of the domestic animals in summarized as follows:

Horses	1,622	
He-Mules	1,222	
Asses	21,292	
Cows	17,708	
Oxes and Bulls	26,190	
Calves and heifers	9,890	
Buffalos	685	
Sheeps	41,658	
She-goats	85,234	
Camels	734	
General total	205,601	heads of cattle.

6. Sandjak of Diarbekir.

The total area of the Diarbekir dandjak is of 17,530 sq. km. This area is distributed by nature of grounds as follows:

Cultivable grounds		1,369,200	hectares
Mountains, uncultivable gr.		328,600	"
Wooded grounds		55,200	"
	Total	1,753,000	hectares

The total population of the province is of 187,100 inhab., i.e. about 10,6 inhabitants per sq. km.

The soil of the Diarbekir sandjak, admirably watered by the abundant streams crossing this province is one of the most fertile in all Anatolia, but, because of the lack of the means of communication, it is very little cultivated now. In fact, from the 1,369,200 hectares of free good cultivable grounds, in 1909-1910 only 66,513 hectares were cultivated for the corn production, i.e. 5% of the total area of arable land.

The corn production in the same year was as follows:

	Area sowed		Harvest obtained in tons.	
Wheat	49,909	hectares	63,360	tons
Barley	12,909	"	13,968	"
Rye	43	"	54	"
Millet	1,832	"	3,985	"
Rice	1,818	"	6,435	"
Total	21,352	"	87,802	"

The animal production of the same financial year was:

Horses		6,903	
He-Mules		3,604	
Asses		19,685	
Cows		15,210	
Oxes and Bulls		30,077	
Calves and heifers		6,405	
Buffalos		5,609	
Sheeps		370,681	
She-goats		167,051	
Camels		46	
	General total	625,360	heads of cattle.

The Diarbarik sandjak exports each year about 100,000 sheep to the markets of Egypt and of Haleb.

From the point of view of mines this province is also very interesting. One know there several deposits of copper, of argentiferous lead, of iron and of coal which are not worked now.

7. Sandjak of Seert.

It forms part of the vilayet of Bitlis and extends itself for an area of about 7,000 sq. km. Its's total population is of 131,964 inhabitants, i.e. about 17 inhabitants per sq. kilom.

The soil of this province is very hilly; fruit cultures are chiefly developed in the sandjak of Seert which furnishes the greater part of the fruits consumed in the cities of Diarbekir and Bitlis.

The grain production in 1909-1910 was as follows:

The total area of the Diarbekir dandjak is of 17,530 sq. km. This area is distributed by nature of grounds as follows:

	Area sowed		Harvest obtained in tons.	
Wheat	8,427	hectares	9,000	tons
Barley	1,954	"	5,282	"
Rye	242	"	327	"
Millet	3,882	"	2,294	"
Rice	231	"	473	"
Total	17,736	hectares	17,466	tons

The number of domestic animal in the same year was:

Horses	8,300	
He-Mules	7,026	
Asses	14,297	
Cows	16,885	
Oxes and Bulls	16,089	
Calves and heifers	5,578	
Buffalos	2,711	
Sheeps	95,973	
Ordinary goats	57,035	
Angora goats	88,955	
General total	313,049	heads of cattle.

The sandjak of Seert us vert rich in mineral deposits. There are met incontestable traces of ancient exploitations of iron mines of copper, silver and gold. One knows several coal beds, petroleum springs and important deposits of rock-salt. There are actually 6 salt-mines worked in the sandjak of Seert with an average annual production of 10,000 tons of salt. The production of these salt-mines is sent to the neighboring vilayets, even up to Moussoul by way of the Tigris.

8. Sandjak of Bitlis

It extends on the eastern bank of the lake of Van covering an area of about 7,200 sq. kiolm. with a population of 149,694 inhabitants, i.e. about 19 inhabitants per sq. kilom.

The soil of this provinces is very hilly and consequently unfit for the culture of corns, but as a set-off it is very rich in mineral deposits.

The corn production in 1909-1910 in this province was:

	Area sowed		Harvest obtained in tons.	
Wheat	5,901	hectares	4,662	tons
Barley	2,968	"	1,187	"
Rye	5,762	"	3,330	"
Millet	2,281	"	2,056	"
Rice	1,822	"	472	"
Total	17,834	"	11,707	"

The number of domestic animals in the same year was:

Horses	876
He-Mules	1,250
Asses	6,553
Cows	11,730
Oxes and Bulls	8,288
Calves and heifers	4,044
Buffalos	1,289
Sheeps	55,194
Ordinary goats	57,278

Angora goats	8,502	
General total	155,004	heads of cattle.

9. - Sandjak of Mouch.

The sandjak of Mouch covers an area of about 8,000 sq. km. with a total population of 160,496 inhabitants, i.e. about 20 inhabitants per sq. km.

The sandjak of Mouch is the greatest grain producter in the East of Anatolia. It is situated on the high central upland of Armenia. The air there is of a remarkable purity and the climate is very salubrious.

Without counting the two plains of Boulanik and Malazghert which form part of the sandjak of Mouch, the great plain of Mouch covers alone an area of about 240,000 hectares of good cultivable ground of exceptional fertility. In spite of this high altitude of 1,400 m. the plain of Mouch produces all the crops of temperate regions, namely: the grains, rice, cotton, grapes and all sorts of fruit of renowned quality.

In spite of the fertility, because of the lack of means of communication for the outlet of its products, in 1910 only 60,664 hectares of the plain of Mouch were cultivated which corresponds to ¼ of the free arable grounds. In the same year of total production of grain in the whole sandjak of Mouch was the following:

	Area sowed		Harvest obtained in tons.	
Wheat	114,143	hectares	113,275	tons
Barley	38,091	“	42,405	”
Rye	7,182	“	7,047	”
Millet	17,994	“	30,766	”
Maize	193		380	
Rice	28	“	108	”
Total	177,605	“	216,874	tons of corn

These figures provide sufficiently the agricultural importance of the Sandjak of Mouch which even with actual conditions of transport produces and exports a big quantity of corn to the neighboring provinces. It is beyond doubt that, as soon as this province shall be connected with Youmourtalik by railway, it will double and triple its agricultural production in the space of 2 or 3 years after the opening of the railroad, as happened with the line of Koniah and Angora.

The average price of the ton of wheat of Mouch is now varying with the condition of the harvest.

Year of very good harvest:	66 francs	per	ton	
“ average harvest	89	“	“	“
“ bad harvest	220	“	“	“

The number of domestic animals in 1910 was as follows:

Horses	10,956	
He-Mules	432	
Asses	5,710	
Cows	24,137	
Oxes and Bulls	34,825	
Calves and heifers	16,810	
Buffalos	19,051	
Sheeps	338,490	
Goats	133,095	
General total	583,506	heads of cattle.

The sandjak of Mouch exports now an average of about 100 thousand sheep per year to the markets of the South towards Constantinople via Erzeroum – Trebizonde.

10. - Sandjak of Van.

It extends around the lake of the same name for a total area of 22,700 sq. km. This area is distributed very approximately as follows:

Arable ground	1,153,000	hectares
Uncult. mountains	434,600	
Woody mountains	135,000	
Marshes	2,000	“
Lakes	545,400	“
Total	2,270,000	hectares

The total population of this province is actually of 169,000 inhabitants, i.e. about 7,4 inhabitants per sq. kilom.

The agricultural production in 1909-1910 was as follows:

	Sowed area		Obtained harvest in tons.	
Wheat	30,226	hectares	29,400	tons
Barley	13,354	“	7,318	”
Rye	9,327	“	4,510	”
Millet	4,781	“	2,661	”
Total	57,688	“	43,889	”

According to these figures from the 1,153,000 hectares of free cultivable grounds, only these 57,688 hectares were cultivated i.e. about the 5%.

The animal production in the same financial year was:

Horses	9,377	
He-Mules	396	
Asses	5,168	
Cows	50,263	
Oxes and Bulls	34,277	
Calves and heifers	27,960	
Buffalos	16,490	
Sheeps	360,447	
Ordinary Goats	47,450	
Angora goats	35,500	
Total	587,928	heads of cattle.

The vilayet of Van which is formed by the two sandjaks of Van and Hekkari, exports annually about 200,000 sheept towards markets of the South of Constantinople via Trebizonde.

11. Sandjak of Moussoul.

The sandjak of Moussoul extends for a total area of about 38,000 sq. km. on both banks of the middle Tigris.

The total population of this province is of 207,584 inhabitants about ¾ of whom live in the fertile oriental part of the sandjak which is on the left bank of the Tigris. The area of this region, which occupies at the foot of the mountains of the Kurdistan a vast extent of ground of extreme fertility is of about 8,000 sq. km. and has a population of 150,000 inhabitants which about 18,7 inhabitants per sq. km.

As to the other 30,000 sq. km. which are situated to the West of the Tigris this immense extent is in the great measure desert and is inhabited by a nomad population of about 50,000 inhab.

The future projected railway will follow the left bank of the Tigris, while the Bagdad line must cross the deserts before arriving at Moussoul.

The agriculture production of the sandjak of Moussoul in 1910 was:

	Sowed area		Obtained harvest in tons.	
Wheat	66,704	hectares	58,341	tons
Barley	30,954	“	21,776	”
Rye	23	“	72	”
Millat	818	“	3,066	”
Rice	4,182	“	9,266	”
Total	102,681	hectares	92,521	tons of corn

The number of domestic animals in the same year was:

Horses	7,708	
He-Mules	5,462	
Asses	7,812	
Cows	9,330	
Oxes and Bulls	8,266	
Calves and heifers	8,650	
Buffalos	100	
Sheeps	347,349	
Goats	112,146	
Camels	768	
Total	407,591	heads of cattle.

It must be noted that the figures shown in the official statistics refer only to the cattle owned by the sedentary population who paid the lawful taxes. The immense herds of the nomads of the desert do not enter into this table.

The mountains of Kurdistan which cover the oriental part of the sandjak of Moussoul are very rich in metalliferous deposits. In the time of the traveler Olivier one was working still mines of copper, silver and gold, but since that time these mines have been abandoned. Besides the metalliferous deposits one knows several important beds of coal, one of which is situated just on the line of the future railway of Harpout.

Amongst all these mineral riches it is especially the immense extents of petroliferous ground of this province that will have an importance in the development of this enterprise. The outcrops of the petroliferous beds are aligned on the left bank of the Tigris for an extend of 150 kilometers parallel to the direction of the big river of Djizerd as far as the limits of the sandjak of Kerkouk and beyond.

12. Sandjak of Kerkouk.

It covers an area of about 20,000 sq. kilom. With a population of 115,700 inhabitants, i.e. about 5,8 inhabitants per sq. km. The agriculture production in 1909-1910 was as follows:

In forms part of the vilayet of Diarbekir and extends on both banks of the upper Tigre for a total area of 8,530 sq. kilom. This area, by nature of ground, is distributed as follows:

	Area sowed		Harvest obtained in tons.	
Wheat	34,727	hectares	55,100	tons
Barley	22,063	“	29,266	”
Millet	909	“	855	”
Rice	349	“	1,230	”
Maize	182	“	403	”
Total	58,230	“	86,854	tons of corn

The animal population of the sandjak of Karkouk is very important. Here is the list of the domestic animals according to the statistics of 1910:

Horses	6,286	
He-Mules	6,570	
Asses	35,350	
Cows	26,750	
Oxes and Bulls	16,168	
Calves and heifers	2,900	
Buffalos	1,671	
Sheeps	679,000	
Ordinary goats	161,052	
Angora goats	23,200	
Camels	4,020	
Total	962,967	heads of cattle.

The sandjak of Kerkouk exports each year about 200,000 sheep to the markets of the South and Egypt.

The future railway crossing the middle of the sandjak of Kerkouk for the length of 140 kilometers will control an area of 5,600 sq. km. of the best petroliferous grounds of the Mesopotamia. In fact, according to the indications of the specialists who have studied this petroliferous zone, the grounds extending between Erbil, Altun, Keupru, Baba Gourgour and the city of Kerkouk are considered as being the richest and it is just n these regions that one meets these primitive exploitations dating back to more than 2000 years where the natives draw the raw petrole out of wells or rather of trenches of 5 to 10 meters of depth.

13. Sandjak of Suleymanich.

It is at Suleymanich that the future railway line will stop at a distance of about 30 kilometers from the Turco-Persian frontier to be prolonged in the future towards Hamadan and Ispahan in Persia.

The sandjak of Suleymanich covers an area of about 17,000 sq. kilometers and actually 67,080 inhabitants i.e. about 4 inhabitance per sq. kilom.

The chain of Kurdistan which is very rich in mineral deposits, but they are not at all studied yet.

The agricultural production of this province in 1909-1910 was:

	Area sowed		Obtained harvest in tons.	
Wheat	16,315	hectares	17,982	tons
Barley	14,700	“	9,172	”
Millet	187	“	124	”
Maize	23	“	62	”
Rice	8,109	“	21,504	”
Total	39,334	“	48,844	of cereals

The number of domestic animals in the same year was:

Horses	2,833	
He-Mules	875	
Asses	2,935	
Cows	11,580	
Oxes and Bulls	9,740	
Calves and heifers	are lacking	
Buffalos	750	
Sheeps	284,000	
Goats	99,900	
General total	412,615	heads of cattle.

Let us recapitulate in two tables the principal statistical data concerning the provinces which will be crossed by the new projected railway lines.

Sandjaks of:	Total area In sq. km.	Total population	Number of inh. per sq. km.	Cattle
Kosan	8,000	78,105	9,7	211,005
Marach	15,600	233,808	15	728,453
Malatia	14,485	281,168	20	407,641
Kharpout	9,955	383,531	38	332,613
Arghana	8,530	174,872	20	205,601
Diarbekir	17,530	187,100	10,6	625,360
Seert	7,000	131,964	17	313,049
Bitlis	7,200	140,694	19	155,004
Mouch	8,000	160,496	20	583,506
Van	22,700	169,000	7,4	587,928
Maussoul	38,000	207,584	5,5	407,591
Kerkouk	20,000	115,700	5,8	962,967
Suleymanich	17,700	67,080	4	112,615
Totals	194,700	2,331,102	192	5,933,333

Sandjaks of:	Cultivable grounds	Land cultiv. in1910 hectares.	Proportion of cultiv. gr. %	Grains obt. in 1910 tons.
Kosan	unknown	27,921	--------	48,579
Marach	unknown	60,346	--------	71,086
Malatia	762,102	42,030	5,5%	53,124
Kharpout	538,749	76,982	14,3%	74,369
Arghana	661,100	21,352	3,2%	64,503
Diarbekir	1,369,270	66,513	4,8%	87,802
Seert	inconnu	17,736	--------	17,466
Bitlis	inconnu	17,834	--------	11,707
Mouch	inconnu	177,605	--------	216,874
Van	1,153.000	57,688	5%	43,889
Maussoul	inconnu	102,681	--------	92,521
Kerkouk	inconnu	58,230	--------	86,854
Suleymanich	inconnu	39,334	--------	48,844
Totals		766,813	hectares	917,618

Total area of the 13 sandjaks: 194,700 sq. km.

Total population of 13 sandjaks: 2,331,102 inhabitants

Average density of the population: 11,9 inhab. per sq. km.

Total number of cattle: 5,933,333 head of cattle

Area of grounds cultivated in 1910: 766,812 hectares

Total harvest of cereals in 1910: 917,618 tons.

To sum up the projected railway system must serve directly the 13 above mentioned sandjaks which cover in whole a total area of 194,700 sq. kilom. and have a population of 2,331,102 inhabitants i.e. about 12 inhabitants per sq. km.

But it must be taken into account that in the total area the 75,700 sq. km. representing the area of the 3 sandjaks of Moussoul, Kerkouk and Suleymanich are inhabited by a population of only 390,364 inhabitants, i.e. 5 inhabitance per sq. km. and this for a simple reason that nearly the half of the region is represented by a vast desert which occupies the west bank of the Tigris.

As a set-off, the northern provinces are better distributed with respect to the density of population; in fact, setting aside these 3 sandjaks of Mesopotamia, the 10 other sandjaks with a total area of 119,000 sq km. and a population of 1,940,738 inhab.

represent an average density of population of 16,3 inh. per sq. km.

According to the official statistics of the Ministry of Agriculture, in 1910, which was the average year, in the whole of these 13 sandjaks only 766,812 hectares have been cultivated for the production of grain, i.e. about the 3,9% of the total area.

But, relying on the exact data concerning the sandjaks of Malatia, Kharpout, Arghana, Diarbekir and Van, according to which there have been cultivated respectively the 5,5% - 14,3% - 3,2% - 4,8% and 5% of the free arable grounds in the said provinces – we can conclude from this that: setting aside the desert grounds and the uncultivable mountains, under existing conditions, only about the 10% of the free arable grounds in said provinces are cultivated.

The total production of the grain in the same yar 1910 was of 917,618 tons. Having no means of exportation, this quantity of grain was as habitually consumed on the spot; this corresponds to the average consummation of 393,6 kilos of corn per head of inhabitant, including of course the food of the domestic animals.

This figure of 393 kilos of corn per head, which is much superior to the average of the civilized countries, proves pretty clearly the state of extreme indigence of the population of these interior provinces, in spite of the prodigious fecundity of the soil and the great variety of the agricultural products.

One of the principal causes which have reduced the eastern provinces of Anatolia to this state of chronic misery, is certainly the lack of means of relation with the maritime ports. But it is out of doubt that, once connected with the port of Youmourtalik by rail system, the economic and social physiognomy of this fertile region of Anatolia will take a quite different aspect and will very quickly reconquer its former riches of the time when it nourished a population 10 times more numerous.

Moreover the example of the lines lately constructed in the western provinces of Anatolia has proven that, as soon as they are connected with the ports, the interior provinces double and even triple their agriculture production in the space of a few years.

THE PROBABLE TRAFFIC OF THE PROJECTED SYSTEM.

The absence of statistics covering all the branches of the economic activity of the provinces which will be served by the projected system, makes nearly impossible to foresee exactly what will be the probable traffic of the line in question.

But, as a general rule, on all the railway lines established in Turkey, almost the ¾ of the traffic serves for the exportation of agricultural products towards the maritime ports; then taking for basis the results obtained on the lines constructed in the other provinces, it will be possible to foresee approximately the importance of this movement of the agricultural products on the projected system.

Let us take first the case of the line from Haidar-Pacha to Angora of a length of 579 kilometers.

The construction of the line began in 1889 and was finished in 1893. It crosses the sandjaks of Ismidt, Erthogroul, Kutshia and Angora. The Government has appropriated to the service of the guarantees of the line the totality of the tithes of these 4 sandjaks.

But, before the opening of the railway, the amount of the tithes of those four provinces was only of 110,000 ltqs per year and in an almost stationary state for years. With the opening of the railway the extent of the cultivated grounds becoming almost double the agricultural production segmented in the same proportions.

Here are the amounts of tithes collected since this time in the sandjaks of Ismidt, Erthegroul, Katahia and Angora. These constantly increasing figures of tithes are the best proof of the rapid development of the agriculture production.

Years	Worked Km.	Amount of Tithes in ltqs.	Increase with reference to the tear 1890
1890	92	109,931	0
1891	116	133,467	21%
1892	217	172,858	57%
1893	334	179,353	63%
1894	579	195,926	78%
1895-99	579	174,584	59%
1900-04	579	224,268	104%
1905-1909	579	264,847	141%

According to these figures, already in the second year after the opening of the railway, the increase of the agricultural production of the served country was shown by an overplus of collection of 78%. But after this blunt increase of the years 1893 and 1894 there were a series of 4 years of bad harvest, after which a sensible diminution was started. After this passing crisis in the second series of 5 years 1900-1904 the increase of the agricultural production took again its ascendant progressing and attained the cipher of 104% compared to that of the year 1890. In the third period of 5 years from 1905 to 1908 this increase attained 141%.

In other words, the direct effect of the railway on the agricultural production was an increase of 141% in a period of 15 years after the complete opening of the line in question, and this increase has been very sensible the first year even of the opening of the railway by an overplus of 78% over the anterior production.

Amongst the 4 provinces which were crossed by the 579 kilom. of railway, it is the vilayet of Angora that this economic transformation has been very sensible and this for the simple reason that the 3 other provinces, by their geographical position were not as completely deprived of facilities of transport for the exportation of their agricultural products as was the vilayet of Angora.

In fact, the vilayet of Angora, which covers a total area of 83,000 sq. km. and is possessed in 1890 a population of 892,901 inhabitants, i.e. about 10 inhabitance per sq. km., produced before the opening of the railway only an average of 225,000 tons

of grain per year and this quantity of grain was consumed on the spot. The total area of cultivated ground was only about 210,000 hectares which represented the 4% of the total area of the grounds susceptible of cultivation.

Now according to the recent statistics of the Ministry of Agriculture in this same vilayet in 1910 a total area of 510,363 hectares has been cultivated for the production of 604,769 tons of grain. Comparing these figures to those of the year 1890, we see an increase of 143% for the surface of cultivated grounds and of 168% for the agricultural production.

If we take now the results obtained in the sandjak of Koniah were in 1897 the construction of the line of 445 kilometers was achieved, we shall see an increase of the agricultural production still more sensible. In fact, before the construction of the railway the amount of the tithes collected in the sandjak of Koniah was of an average of only 52,000 ltqs per year. In 1898, the very first year of the exploitation of the railway the State collected 90,260 ltqs of tithes i.e. an increase of 73% of the production of the proceeding years. In the following years this increase continued as follows:

Years	Collected Tithes	Increase
1899	96,580 ltqs	85%
1900	102,970 ltqs	98%
1901	100,496 ltqs	93%
1902	100,258 ltqs	92%
1903	96,793 ltqs	86%
1904	91,309 ltqs	75%
1905	117,610 ltqs	126%
1906	111,760 ltqs	115%
1907	131,386 ltqs	152%
1908	145,882 ltqs	180%
1909	151,752 ltqs	192%
1910	183,501 ltqs	253%

Summing up: In these two provinces of Western Anatolia we se and increase of 60 to 90% of the agricultural production immediately after the opening of the railways, and this increase after a stop of 4 to 6 years continued gradually and attained the figure of 141% in the vilayet of Angora after 15 years and of 253% in that of Koniah after 13 years of exploitation of the railway.

Considering the great difference existing between these two provinces of Western Anatolia and those which will be served by the projected system, as to fertility of soil, abundance of streams and density of population which is only of 10 to 11 inhabitants per sq. km. in the vilayets of Angora and Koniah, while it is of an average of 16,3 in the 10 eastern sandjiks, it is beyond doubt that the happy influence of the railways will be more sensible in the eastern provinces of Anatolia, where, besides the above mentioned advantages, there is another factor of social character vary important in the point of view of economic development of the region. This factor is the presence in the provinces in question of an important proportion of Armenian population, which by its spirit of initiative and its capacity for work will bring a ver officiant help for the economic development of the country.

But in spite of all these geographic and ethnographic advantages in favor of the provinces which interest us, lets us take as basis of our previsions the result obtained in the western provinces, namely: let us suppose, that we shall have in the present case an increase of 75% only in the agricultural production and that the railway must count for the first period of 5 to 10 years upon the traffic of exportation of this quantity of agricultural products towards the port of Yousourtalik.

The system as it is projected actually according to the project of agreement elaborated, includes the following lines:

Youmourtalik	0 Kilom.	
Marach	156 kilom.	
Malatia	360 kilom.	
Kharpout	462 kilom.	
Arghana	532 kilom.	
Diarbekir	609 kilom.	
Seert	746 kilom.	
Bitlis	806 kilom.	
Datvas	836 kilom.	(on the lake of Van)

Seert	745 kilom.
Moussoul	1,086 kilom.
Kerkouk	1,141 kilom.
Suleymanich	1,246 kilom.

Setting aside the sandjak of Kosan, which because of its geographic situation will not benefit much from the new line and the 2 sandjaks of Seert and Bitlis which are not producers of corn, we shall have the following assumed table for the qualities of corn to transport towards the port of Younourtalik or towards

(PAGE 31 MISSING)

Sandjaks	Number of sheep to export.	Distances to transport.	Rough collections in francs.
Marach	20,450	156 kilom.	15,951
Malatia	24,649	360 kilom.	44,368
Kharpout	25,561	462 kilom.	59,045
Arghana	8,131	532 kilom.	17,260
Diarbakir	74,136	602 kilom.	223,149
Seert	19,194	746 kilom.	72,553
Bitlis	11,058	806 kilom.	44,483
Mouch	67,698	836 kilom.	282,977
Van	72,089	836 kilom.	301,333
Hekkari, almost as much as that of Van			
Moussoul	49,509	986 kilom.	244,079
Kerkouk	135,800	1,111 kilom.	774,239
Saleymanich	56,800	1,246 kilom.	353,864
Totals	637,344		2,734,834

Adding the sum of 2,734,834 francs coming from the traffic of sheep to the sum of 14,648,800 francs representing the traffic of grain we shall have a total sum of 17,383,634 francs for the probable gross receipts on account of the principal exportation of these two most important elements of the region, which would correspond to a gross kilometric receipt of about 13,000 francs per year for the entire system of 1336 kilometers.

Summing up thanks to the prodigious fertility of its soil and the density of its population, the region of eastern Anatolia will surely assure a more intense traffic to the future railway than the one stated in the vilayets of Angroa and Koniah, where for the first period of 5-6 years the gross receipts of the line were only of 8 to 10,000 francs per kilometer and attained the sum of 15 to 16,000 francs after a period of 15

years.

While in the present case the exportation of corn and cattle alone will assure a traffic of 13,000 francs per kilometer to the lines of Eastern Anatolia, without counting the traffic coming from the transportation of passengers, of importation goods and of transit for Persia which will be very important on the line Youmourtalik-Suleymanich, on which will certainly pass the majority party of the traffic of importation and exportation of the South of Persia. Estimating to 3 to 4,000 francs per kilometer the receipts coming from the other elements of traffic on cam be certain that the total traffic of the projected system will attain the sum of 16 to 17,000 francs per kilometer in the period of the 5 first years immediately after the opening of the whole system to exploitation.

Dr. G. Pasdormadjian
Deputee of Erzeroum

Appendix IX

WHY ARMENIA SHOULD BE FREE

ARMENIA'S ROLE IN THE PRESENT WAR

DR. G. PASDERMADJIAN

(Armen Garo)

WHY ARMENIA SHOULD BE FREE

ARMENIA'S ROLE IN THE PRESENT WAR

BY

DR. G. PASDERMADJIAN

(ARMEN GARO)

EX-DEPUTY FROM ERZEROUM IN THE OTTOMAN PARLIAMENT

FORMER COMMANDER OF THE SECOND BATTALION OF THE ARMENIAN
VOLUNTEERS ON THE CAUCASIAN FRONT

REPRESENTATIVE IN AMERICA OF ARMENIAN NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CAUCASUS.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

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FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OP STUDENTS

SECRETARY OP THE MASSACHUSETTS JOINT COMMITTEE FOR A LEAGUE OP FREE NATIONS

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DR. G. PASDERMADJIAN
(Armen Garo)

TO THOSE WHO WERE MARTYRED

AND

TO THOSE WHO DIED ON THE FIELD OF BATTLE

FOR THE LIBERATION OF ARMENIA

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INTRODUCTION

Armenia has become a touchstone of victory in the great war for freedom and humanity.

If Armenia is granted national independence it will mean that in the making of the peace treaty the forces of democracy and human progress have triumphed over the forces of imperialism and shortsighted reaction. It will mean that in the future the rights of the small nations are to be recognized as well as those of the great. It will mean that international justice is to be the foundation of the new world order. The triumph of the principle that is involved will mean that the war has been won because its moral aims have been achieved.

But if the Armenians were to be thrust back under the yoke of Turkey, it would mean that injustice, massacre and atrocity are to be permanent features of the world of the future. It would mean that the justice-loving nations of the world will prepare for inevitable conflicts that are to come. It would mean that the war which was fought to end war has been lost.

National independence for Armenia will mean that the old order of secret intrigue and orthodox diplomacy has given way to a new order of open democratic diplomacy, based on the self-determination of nations and the principles of international justice. It will mean that the peace which ends this war will be a democratic peace, a peace of the peoples, a peace that will last. It will mean that imperialistic aims, secret treaties and selfish greedy interests have given way before the conception of a world organized for righteousness and permanent peace.

National independence for Armenia will mean that the Balance of Power, which has always considered the subject nations of Turkey as mere pawns in a diplomatic game, has been replaced by a League of Free Nations opening the way towards a world federation and the parliament of man. It will mean that the old chaos of international anarchy is to be replaced by a new world order in which peoples and nations shall be free to live their own lives, to speak their own language, to worship in their own religion and to develop their own civilization, in the fullest friendship and democratic co-operation with the other free nations of mankind.

National independence for Armenia is a touchstone of victory because it will mean that mankind has come to recognize that there is a moral law in the world, which applies to nations as well as to individuals. It will mean the overthrow of imperialism, militarism and the philosophy of force. It will mean an invaluable extension of the principle of democracy in the world. It will mean that the way will be open to develop the great highway between Europe and Asia amid political conditions of a stable and durable peace. It will mean that mankind can proceed to cultivate again the valleys of the Tigris and the Euphrates and that once more after centuries of desolation this region will become one of the garden spots of the earth.

What should be the boundaries of the new Armenian nation? I have before me Stanford's Linguistic Map of Europe, a map based upon the most careful scientific research and conscientious scholarship. This map shows the area in which the Armenian speaking population is dominant as extending to Adana and Alexandretta on the Mediterranean, almost to the Black Sea near Trebizond, to Tiflis in the Caucasus Mountains and to Lake Urmia near the western boundary of Persia on the East.

At the edges this Armenian territory shades over into regions occupied by Turks and Kurds. In the interest of international justice and permanent peace in the future the boundaries of the new Armenia ought to be extended as far as the Armenian race extends as an important element of the population, because the Armenians have proved

their capacity for self-government even under the almost impossible conditions of Turkish misrule, while Turks and Kurds have again and again proved incapable of governing themselves, much less of governing others. The hope for toleration of racial minorities, which is the indispensable condition for peace in areas of mixed population, would be many times greater in a government by the Armenians than in a government by Turks and Kurds.

Armenia is a touchstone of victory in this war because, unlike Belgium, it lies so far beyond the range of accurate news reports and the limelight of public opinion, that it is likely to be overlooked unless a settlement is approached in a new spirit of international justice. The horrors of the Armenian massacres have been so unendurable that many people have had to try to escape from thinking about Armenia in order to keep their sanity in the midst of such wholesale horror. But oblivion is no remedy for the problem of Armenia and the world of the future will not be safe for democracy or for anything else unless Armenia and the problem which it represents is permanently solved in the Peace Conference. I do not believe that any indemnities or annexations of territories or any imperialistic gain of this war is worth the life of a single American soldier, but I do believe that only by giving Armenia its independence, by establishing the principle of international justice, of which Armenia is a concrete example, and by creating a League of Free Nations as the basis of the new world order, will we be enabled to say that the sacrifices of these young men shall not have been in vain. Thus Armenia becomes the touchstone of victory in this great war for freedom and humanity.

GEORGE NASMYTH.

BOSTON, MASS.
DECEMBER 12, 1918.

‘

TRANSLATOR’S PREFACE

DR. PASDERMADJIAN, the author of this pamphlet, is a native of Erzeroum, and a member of a family which, both in the past and in the present, has been an object of barbarous persecution at the hands of the Turks. When the Russians in 1829 captured Erzeroum for the first time, 96,000 Armenians, with the encouragement of the Russian government, left that city and the outlying villages with the Russian army, and emigrated towards the Caucasus, where they founded three new cities, Alexandropol, Akhalkalak, and Akhaltsikh. Only 300 Armenian families remained in Erzeroum, refusing to leave their homes, even in face of the Turkish despotism. Among these was the Pasdermadjian family.

In 1872 the Turkish government had Khatchatour Pasdermadjian killed, simply because he was a well-to-do and influential Armenian, and, therefore, undesirable. In 1877 during the Russo-Turkish war, the Pasdermadjian family was subjected to the basest kind of persecution by the Turkish government, which still owes the Pasdermadjians 36,000 Turkish *liras* ($180,000), the value of a quantity of wheat wrested from them by the military authorities. During those same hostilities, taking advantage of the war conditions, the Turkish governtment planned to hang Haroutiun Pasdermadjian, on the ground that he was in communication with the Russian army; but he was saved through the intervention of the British consul. When the Russian army occupied Erzeroum in 1878, the Pasdermadjians naturally gave a very hospitable reception to the two Armenian Generals, Loris Melikoff and Lazareff. After learning of the family’s history, Loris Melikoff asked Haroutiun Pasdermadjian to emigrate to the Caucasus. He promised to bring the influence of the Russian government to bear on Turkey and to claim the family’s extensive real estate and various sums of money which the Turkish government owed them. But Haroutiun Pasdermadjian refused the kind offer, saying that he could not leave the country which contained his martyred father’s grave. When the Russians, in accordance with the terms of the Berlin Treaty, were forced to evacuate Erzeroum, the Turks came back and began anew to persecute the Pasdermadjians in every possible way. In 1890 the Armenians of Erzeroum made a protest against Turkish despotism, and demanded to have the reforms promised in the Berlin Treaty carried out. The first bullet fired by the Turkish soldiers during those disturbances was aimed. at Haroutiun Pasdermadjian; but he was saved through the heroism of a group of young Armenians. In the massacres of 1895, the Pasdermadjians were again attacked by an armed Turkish mob, but were saved from plunder and murder through the stubborn resistance of all the members of the household, including the servants. Afterwards, three members. of the family, Hovhannes, Tigrane, and Setrak, were imprisoned for a long time as revolutionists. In reality, they were imprisoned simply because they had not allowed themselves to be slaughtered like sheep by the Turkish mob. In February, 1915, when the present Turkish government began its organized slaughters to eliminate the Armenians from the world, the first victim in Erzeroum was Setrak Pasdermadjian, because he was an influential Armenian and had had the courage several times to protest against the unlawful acts of the government. The remnants of this numerous and ancient Armenian family are now scattered throughout Mesopotamia.

The author of this booklet, Garegin Pasdermadjian, is the son of Haroutiun Pasdermadjian and the grand-son of Khatchatour Efendi. He was born in 1873, and received his elementary education at the Sanasarian College of Erzeroum, being one of its first graduates (1891). In 1894 he went to France and studied agriculture

in the college at Nancy, intending to return and develop the lands belonging to his family according to the modern agricultural methods of Europe, and in that way give a practical lesson to the Armenian peasants. He had hardly begun his course when the great massacres of 1895 revolutionized the plans of the younger generation of Armenian students. Out of the 26 young Armenians at the Univercity of Nancy, four, Sarkis Srentz, Haik Thirakian, Max Zevrouz, and Garegin Pasdermadjian, left their studies and returned to participate in the effort at vengeance which the Armenian Revolutionary Dashnaktzoutiun (Federation) had decided to organize in Constapotinople.In 1896, Garegin Pasdermadjian and Haik Thirakian, under their assumed names of Armen Garo and Hratch respectively, took part in the seizure of the Ottoman Bank. This European institution, with its 154 inmates and 300 million francs ($60,000,000) of capital, remained in the hands of the Armenian revolutionists for fourteen hours as a pledge that the European ambassadors should immediately stop the Armenian massacre in Constantinople and give assurances that the reforms guaranteed to the Armenians in the Treaty of Berlin should be carried out. On behalf of the six great powers, signatories to the Berlin Treaty, the chief interpreter of the Russian embassy, Mr. Maximoff, made a gentleman's agreement with the young Armenian revolutioists to fulfill their demands. Trusting to Mr. Maximoff's word of honor, the Armenians left Constantinople. But immediately after their departure, the massacres were resumed with more intensity, while the reforms have remained a dead letter to this day. Such were international morals in 1895.

After these events Garegin Pasdermadjian returned to Europe to continue his unfinished studies. Mr. Hanoteau, however, the French foreign minister at that time, would not allow the Armenians who had been connected with this affair to remain in France, so young. Pasdermadjian went to Switzerland and studied the natural sciences at the University of Geneva. In 1900 he completed his course and received the degree of Doctor of Science. Unable to return to Turkish Armenia, as was his desire, Dr. Pasdermadjian went to the Caucasus and settled at Tiffi in 1901. There he opened the first chemical laboratory, for the purpose of investigating the rich mines of that region.

National events, however, prevented him from pursuing his research work. Having been a member of the responsible body of the Armenian Revolutionary Dashnaktzoutiun (Federation) since 1896, he took part in all the movements which aimed to protect the moral and physical well being of the Armenian people from Turkish and Russian despotism. For example, in 1905, when the Caucasian Tartars, with the approval of the Russian government, began to massacre the Armenians in divers parts of the Caucasus, Dr. Pasdermadjian became a member of the Committee created by the Armenian Revolutionary Dashnaktzoutiun (Federation) to organize defence work among the Armenian people. In November of the same year, when the Armeno-Tartar hostilities began right in Tiflis, under the very nose of the Russian administration, he was entrusted with the command of the Armenian volunteers to protect Tiflis and its environs. During the seven-day struggle which took place in the streets of Tiflis, 500 Armenian volunteers faced nearly 1400 armed Tartars, and drove them back with heavy losses.

The situation in the Caucasus was almost normal, and Dr. Pasdermadjian and his idealistic colleagues were about to resume their main object, —to carry arms and ammunition from the Caucasus to the Turkish Armenians in order to prepare them for self-defense, when the Turkish revolution came in 1908. The Armenians in Erzeroum, as well as the party to which he was a member, telegraphed to Dr. Pasdermadjian and strongly urged him to become their candidate in the coming elections for Representative to the Ottoman Parliament. After seven years of professional studies, Dr. Pasdermadjian had been able to create for himself in the Caucasus a life fairly prosperous financially. He had just secured the right to develop a copper mine, and was about to work it in partnership with a large company. His business required that he should stay in the Caucasus to continue his successful enterprise, but he yielded to the moral pressure of his comrades and left his personal affairs to go to Constantinople as deputy of Erzeroum.

During his four years in Constantinople as a deputy, Dr. Pasdermadjian devoted his entire time to better the economic conditions of the Armenian vilayets, and especially worked for the railroad bill, of which he was the real author, but which was known to the public as Chester's bill. Its main object was to build railroads as soon as possible in those vilayets of Armenia which were considered to be Russia's future possessions. For that reason neither France nor Germany wished to undertake it, lest they should arouse the enmity of Russia. Another fundamental object was to build those lines with American capital, which would make it possjble to counteract the Russo-Franco-German policies and financial intrigues, for the benefit of the Armenian people. But in spite of all his efforts, Dr. Pasdermadjian was unable to overcome the German opposition in Constantinople, although, as the outcome of the struggle in connection with that bill, two ministers of public works were forced to resign their post. Both of the ministers were absolute German agents under the name of Turkish ministers. It may also be worth mentioning that during his four years at Constantinople as a deputy from Erzeroum, at three different times, Talaat Bey (who became the butcher of the Armenian people in 1915), on behalf of the "Committee of Union and Progress," offered the portfolio of public works to Dr. Pasdermadjian, as the most competent man for the post. Dr. Pasdermadjian, however, refused these proposals, for the simple reason that he did not wish to compromise in any way with the leaders of the Turkish government, as long as they continued their chauvinistic and anti-Armenian policy.

In the parliamentary elections of 1914, the "Committee of Union and Progress" used every means to defeat the election of Dr. Pasdermadjian in Erzeroum. On account of this attitude of the Turks, all the Armenian inhabitants of the Erzeroum vilayet refused to take part in the last elections. This intense opposition of the Turks to the candidacy of Dr. Pasdermadjian was due to the fact that he had taken too active a part in 1913 in the conferences held for the consideration of the Armenian reforms, and especially because, while parliamentary elections were going on in Turkish Armenia during April, 1914, he was in Paris and Holland, as the delegate of the Armenian Reluvolutionary Dashnaktzoutiun (Federation), to meet the inspectors general who were invited to carry out the reforms in Turkish Armenia.

In the autumn of 1914, a month and a half before the beginning of Turco-Russian hostilities, Dr. Pasdermadjian went to the Caucasus on a special mission, and joined the committee which had been appointed by the Armenian National Council of the Caucasus to organize the Armenian voluritee movement. In November of the same year, when the Russo-Turk ish war had begun, he accompanied the second battalion of the Armenian volunteers, as the representative of the executive committee of Tiflis, to prepare the local inhabitants of Turkish Armenia for self-defence, as the Russian army was about to advance into the captured territories of that country. On November 14 the second battalion of the Armenian volunteers engaged in battle for the first time, near Bayazid, with the Turkish soldiers and the Kurds. In the course of a bloody combat which lasted twenty-four hours, Dro, the brave commander of the battalion, was seriously wounded, and Dr. Pasdermadjian was forced immediately to take his place. From that day to March of the following year, he remained at the head of that battalion, and led it into eleven battles in the neighborhood of Alashkert, Toutakh, and Malashkert, until Dro recovered and returned to resume the command. In the summer of 1915, Dr. Pasdermadjian (again as a representative of the executive committee of Tiflis) went to Van. He was there when the people migrated en masse to the Caucasus (when the Russian army was forced to retreat to the old Russo-Turkish frontiers) and shared their untold hardships.

In the spring of 1917, when the Russian Revolution turned all the defence work of the Caucasus up-side down, Dr. Pasdermadjian, with Dr. Zavrieff, was sent from the Caucasus to Petrograd to negotiate with the temporary Russian government concerning Caucasian affairs. From Petrograd he left for America in June of the same year as the representative of the Armenian National Council of Tiflis and as the special Envoy of His Holiness the Catholicos of all the Armenians, to lay before the American public and government the sorrows of the Armenian people with the view of winning their

sympathy and protection for the indisputable rights of Armenia. He is still acting in that capacity with all the energy at his command. His last effort has been the preparation of this pamphlet, in which the reader will find a part of these biographical facts under his assumed name of Armen Garo.

A word or two more about this booklet, which has been written in the nick of time.

The critical days in the spring of this year are over, and the complete victory of the Allies and of the United States has been won. ‘’The day is not very far,” in the words of the writer, “when ... the representatives of all the nations of the world, —guilty or just, —are to receive their punishment or reward . . “ It is the purpose of this pamphlet to demonstrate beyond any shadow of doubt, with most authentic facts, that Armenia has fulfilled her duty to the allied cause in full measure (and suffered untold sacrifices in doing so), and, therefore, is entitled to her just claims as an Independent Armenia.

One other purpose the writer had in view in writing this booklet: to make the great and generous American public realize that Armenians are not an anaemic and unaggressive people, with no fighting blood in their veins; that the Armenians have not been butchered like sheep, but, on the contrary, have fought most bravely and resisted most stubbornly the savage attacks of the Turks whenever they had an opportunity.

If the translation can possibly convey the spirit of the original, the sustained eloquence and suppressed emotion with which the author pleads the cause of his unfortunate but brave people, should be intensely effective because they are not mere words, but are based on actual, real, undeniable facts, and are the expression of a soul wholly dedicated to a sacred cause.

A. T.

Cambridge, Mass.
December, 1918.

"The interest of the weakest is as sacred as the interest of the strongest."

PRESIDENT WILSON.

New York, Sept. 27, 1918.



A seventy-year old Armenian priest leading the volunteers to the battlefield.

ARMENIA'S ROLE IN THE PRESENT WAR

IN the early days of August, 1914, when civilized nations took up arms against the German aggression, only three of the smaller nations of Europe and the Near East had the courage, from the very first days of the war, to stand by the Allies without any bargaining or dickering, and they still stand at their posts on the ramparts, in spite of the immense sacrifices they have already made.

The first member of this heroic triad was brave Serbia, which was the first victim of Austrian aggression, and whose sons, after four years of heroic struggle, are about to regain their lost native land. The second member was little Belgium, whose three weeks of heroic resistance delayed the German advance of 1914 and enabled gallant France to crown with success the historic battle of the Marne. The third member of this heroic triad was the Armenian people, who for four years and without an organized government or a national army, played the same role in the Near East by preventing the Turco-German advance toward the interior of Asia as the Belgians played in the West by arresting the march of Germany toward Paris. The Armenians, however, paid a higher price to the God of War than either the Belgians or the Serbs. Out of four and one-quarter millions of Armenians living in Turkey and Russia at the beginning of the war, scarcely three million remain at the present time. What were the conditions under which the Armenians sided with the Allies, and why were they forced to bear so great a sacrifice for their cause?

TURKISH: AND RUSSIAN PROPOSALS TO THE ARMENIANS IN 1914.

In the beginning of this world conflagration, in 1914, both the Russian and the Turkish governments officially appealed to various Armenian national organizations with many promises in order to secure the active participation of the Armenians in the military operations against each other, the principal stage of which would be Armenia itself. Both Turkey and Russia were very anxious to win the co-operation of the Armenians, because, judging from their past experience, they were convinced that without such co-operation they would not be able to accomplish the much desired military successes on the Armenian plateau. With such aims in view, Russia, through Count Varantzoff Dashkoff, informed the Armenian National Council (then in existence at Tiflis) that if the Armenians would unreservedly give their support to the Rus sian armies during the course of the war, Russia would grant autonomy to the six Armenian vilayets. The Russian Armenians, however, through bitter experience, knew very well what little practical value could be attached to the promises of Russian Czarism. During the course of the 19th century at three different times the Russians had made similar promises to the Armenians when they waged war with Turkey and Persia, and, although the self-sacrificing co-operation of the Russian Armenians enabled the Russians to capture the districts of Elizavetpol, Erivan and Kars in 1806, in 1828, and again in 1878, at the end of these wars their flattering promises to the Armenians were promptly forgotten. But this time the Armenians thought that Russia was not alone; the two great liberal nations of the West, France and England, were her Allies. After long and weighty consultation, with their hopes pinned on France and England, the Armenians resolved to aid the Russian armies in every possible way.

While Russian diplomacy was in the midst of these diplomatic negotiations at Tiflis, during the last days of August, 1914, a Turkish mission of twenty-eight members (the object of which was to organize a Pan-Islamic and a Pan-Turanian movement among all the races of the Near East against Russia and her Allies) left Constantinople for Armenia. The leaders of that mission were Omar Nadji Bey, Dr. Bahaeddin Shakir, and Lieutenant Hilmy, all of them very influential members of the "Committee of Union and Progress." The mission included representatives of all the Eastern races, such as the Kurds, Persians, Georgians, Chechens, Lezgies, Circassians, and the Caucasian Tartars, but not the Armenians. During those same days the annual Congress of the Armenian National Organization was in session at Erzeroum. In the name of the Turkish government the above mentioned mission appealed to the

Armenian Organization with the following proposition:

Armenians of Van defending themselves against the Turkish and Kurdish raids in 1915.



The volunteers in their trenches.

"If the Armenians, —the Turkish as well as the Russian Armenians—would give active co-operation to the Turkish armies, the Turkish government under a German guarantee would promise to create after the war an autonomous Armenia (made up of Russian Armenia and the three Turkish vilayets of Erzeroum, Van, and Bitlis) under the suzerainty of the Ottoman Empire."

The Turkish delegates, in order to persuade the Armenians to accept this proposal, informed them also that they (the Turks) had already won the co-operation of the Georgians and the Tartars, as well as the mountaineers of the northern Caucasus, and therefore the noncompliance of the Armenians under such circumstances would be very stupid and fraught with danger for them on both sides of the boundary between Turkey and Russia. In spite of these promises and threats, the executive committee of the Dashnaktzoutiun (Federation) informed the Turks that the Armenians could not accept the Turkish proposal, and on their behalf advised the Turks not to participate in the present war, which would be very disastrous to the Turks themselves. The Armenian members of this parley were the well-known publicist, Mr. E. Aknouni, the representative from Van, Mr. A. Vramian, and the director of the Armenian schools in the district of Erzeroum, Mr. Rostom. Of these Mr. Aknouni and Mr. Vramian were treacherously killed a few months later for their audacious refusal of the Turkish proposals, while Mr. Rostom luckily escaped the murderous plots against his life.

The bold retort of the Armenians to the Turkish proposal mentioned above, intensely angered the Turks, and from that very day the extermination of the Armenians was determined upon by the Turkish government. And in reality, arrests and persecutions within the Armenian vilayets began in the early part of September, 1914, a month and a half before the commencement of the Russo-Turkish war. The speed of the persecutions gained greater momentum as the months rolled by and tens of villages in different parts of Armenia were subjected to fire and sword. In the district of Van alone, during February and March of 1915, twenty-four villages were razed to their foundations and their populations put to the sword. Early in April of the same year, they attempted the massacre of the inhabitants of the city of Van as well, but the Armenians took up arms, and, guided by their brave leader, Aram, defended their lives and property for a whole month, until the Armenian volunteers from Erivan

with Russian soldiers came to the rescue and saved them from the impending doom. This resistance on the part of the inhabitants of Van gave the Turkish government a pretext to deport in June and July of the same year the entire Armenian population of Turkish Armenia, with the pretended intention of transporting them to Mesopotamia, but with the actual determination to exterminate them.Out of the million and a half of Armenians deported, scarcely 400,000 to 500,000 reached the sandy deserts of Syria and Mesopotamia, and most of these were women, old men, and children, who were subjected in those desolate regions to the mortal pangs of famine. More than a million defenseless Armenians were murdered at the hands of Turkish soldiers and Turkish mobs. The gang of robbers, headed by Talaat and Enver, resorted to this fiendish means to eliminate the Armenian question once for all, because the Armenians had had the courage to oppose their Pan-Turanian policies. The barbarities of Jenghiz Khan and Tamerlane pale in comparison with the savageries which were perpetrated against the Turkish Armenians in the summer of 1915 during wholesale massacre organized by the Turkish government. Mr. Morgenthau, who was the American ambassador at Constantinople during those frightful months, has proclaimed all these atrocities by his authentic pen to the civilized nations. This was the price which the Armenian people paid within the boundaries of Turkey for refusing to aid the Turco-German policies.

Now let us see what positive services from a military point of view this same martyred people rendered to the allied cause on both sides of the Turco-Russian boundary line.

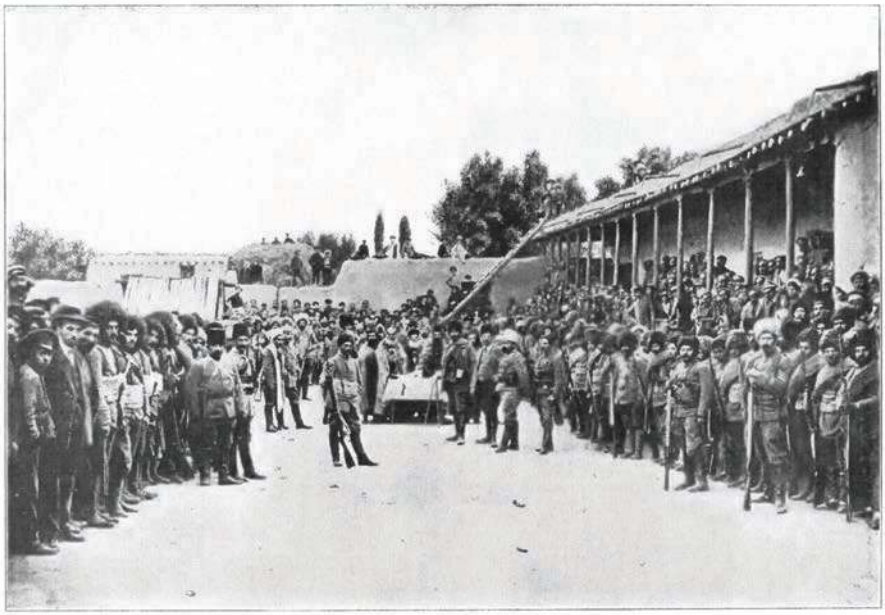
MILITARY SERVICES RENDERED BY THE ARMENIANS ON THE CAUCASIAN FRONT

In order to have an adequate comprehension of the events which took place on the Caucasian front, it would be well to bear in mind that all the peoples of Trans-Caucasia, including the Armenians, felt great enmity toward the government of the Czar, whose treatment of them in the past had been very tyrannical and very brutal. For this very reason, the Turco-German propaganda had easily won the sympathy of nearly 3,000,000 Tartars and 2,000,000 Georgians. The dream of the Tartars was to join the Ottoman Turks and re-establish the old great Tartar Empire, which was to extend from Constantinople to Samarkant, including all the lands of the Caucasus and Trans-Caspia, while the Georgians, through their alliance with the Turco-Germans, hoped to regain their lost independence in the western Caucasus. Only the 2,000,000 Armenians of the Caucasus were not influenced by the TurcoGerman propaganda, although they hated the Russian despotism as much as their neighbors. But, on the other hand, having very close acquaintance with the psychology of the Turkish race and with their ulterior aspirations, the Armenians had the political wisdom and cour age to put aside their petty quarrels with Russian Czarism and throw in their lot with the allied cause.

These were the circumstances under which the mobilization of 1914 took place in the Caucasus. The Armenian reservists, about 160,000 in number, gladly responded to the call, for the simple reason that they were to fight the arch enemy of their historic race. Besides the regular soldiers, nearly 20,000 volunteers expressed their readiness to take up arms against the Turks. The Georgians, on the other hand, answered the call very reluctantly, and the Armenian-Georgian relations were greatly strained from the very beginning. The attitude of the Armenians toward the despotic Russian government was incomprehensible to the Georgians, who thought that, because the Armenians sided with Russia,—the oppressor of all the Caucasian races,—they must be unfriendly to the Georgians. Many Georgian young men crossed the border from Batoum, went to Trebizond, and prepared bands of volunteers under the leadership of Prince Abashize in order fo aid the Turks. As to the Tartars, not being subject to call, they assumed the role of spectators on the one hand, and on the other used every means to arm themselves, impatiently awaiting the arrival of the Turks. The great land-owners of the provinces of Erivan, Elizavetpol, and Baku began to accumulate enormous stores, and prepare a huge reserve of sugar and wheat. The price of one

rifle, which was 100 rubles ($50), rose to 1500 rubles ($750). Through Persia, the Germans took to the Caucasus great sums of money in order to push forward the task of arming the Tartars from the very first days of the war. Great numbers of young Tartars went to Persia and joined the Turkish armies. And all this was carried on in broad daylight under the very eyes of the short-sighted Russian bureaucracy.

Armenian volunteers of the Caucasus taking the oath of allegiance administered by the



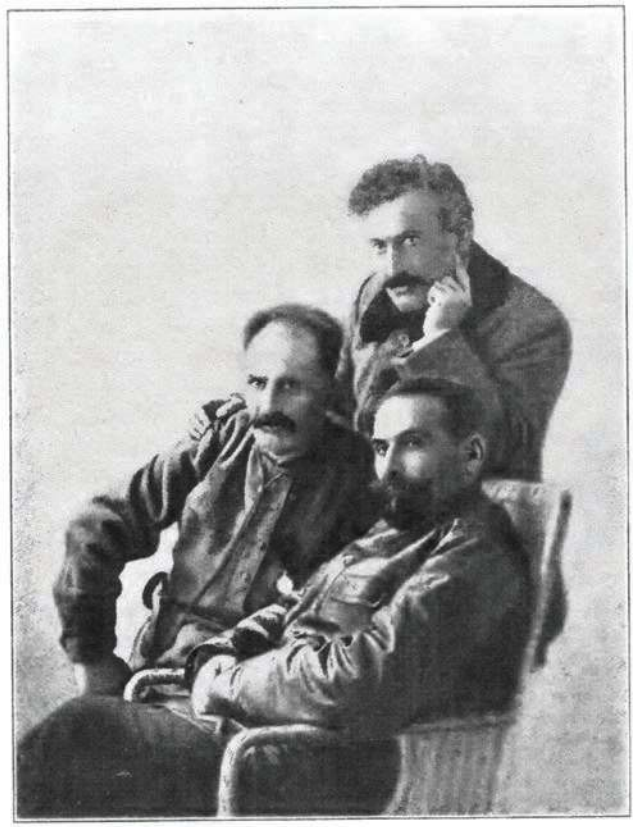
church dignitaies before leaving for the battlefield in October, 1914.

The Russian administration of the Caucasus was more concerned with the Armenian "danger" and had no time to pay attention to the Georgians and the Tartars. Was it not a fact that officially no Georgian or Tartar question was placed on the diplomatic table, whereas the Armenian question was there? And for that very reason, before the commencement of the Russo-Turkish hostilities, the second and third army corps of the Caucasian army, the majority of which were Armenians, were transferred to the German front and were replaced by Russian army corps. Moreover, out of the 20,000 Armenian volunteers who responded to the call, only 7,000 were given arms; the authorities objected that they had no rifles ready, while a few months later the same administration distributed 24,000 rifles to the Kurds in Persia and in the district of Van. It is needless to say that all the Armenian officers and generals were transferred to the Western front; only one Armenian general was left as a specimen on the entire Caucasian front, General Nazarbekoff, and he was transferred to Persia, away from the, Armenian border. Under these trying conditions commenced the Russo-Turkish war and the Armenian-Russian co-operation on the Caucasian front in the autumn of 1914. But, in spite of this suspicious and crafty attitude assumed by the Russian administration, the Armenian inhabitants of the Caucasus spared nothing in their power for the success of the Russian armies. In the three main unsuccessful Turkish offensives the battalions of Armenian volunteers played a great role. Let us now see just what took place during those offensives.

The first serious Turkish offensive took place in the beginning of December, 1914, when Enver Pasha attempted to reach Tiflis by shattering the right wing of the Russian army. The Turkish "Napoleon" was anxious to connect his name with that great victory which seemed certain to his puny brain. And with that very purpose in view he boarded Goeben, the German cruiser, and left Constantinople, amid great

demonstrations. He reached Erzeroum in three days, thanks to the German automobiles which were ready for him at different stops between Trebizond and the frontier. The offensive was planned with great care, and had great chances of success if all the three wings of the Turkish army had reached their objectives on time. Enver had under his command three army corps—the ninth, the tenth, and the eleventh. The ninth army

KERI VARTAN HAMAZASP



Commanders of Armenian volunteers; Keri, of the 4th battalion; Hamazasp, of the 3rd battalion, and Vartan, of the regiment of Ararat.

corps was to advance toward Ardahan by way of Olti and from there to march on Tiflis by way of Akhalkalag, when it should receive word that the tenth army corps had already captured Sarikamish and cut off the retreat of the Russian army of 60,000 men; while the eleventh army corps was to attack the centre of the Russian army near the frontier. The ninth army corps, in three days and without difficulty, reached Ardahan, where the local Moslem inhabitants assisted it in every possible way. The tenth army corps, during its march from Olti to Sarikamish, suffered a delay of twenty-four hours in the Barduz Pass, due to the heroic resistance of the fourth battalion of the Armenian volunteers which made up the Russian reserve. This delay of twenty-four hours enabled the Russians to concentrate a sufficient force around Sarikamish (which had been left entirely undefended) and thereby force back the ninth corps of the Turkish army. The Turks were so certain of the success of their plan that they had no transports with them and no extra supply of provisions. Opposite Sarikamish, where a battle was waged for three days and three nights, the Turks suffered a loss of 30,000 men, mostly due to cold rather than to the Russian arms. But if the Turkish army corps had reached Sarikamish twenty-four hours earlier, as was expected, it would have confronted only one battalion

of Russian reserves, and that without artillery. This was the invaluable service rendered to the Russian army by the fourth battalion of the Armenian volunteers under the command of the matchless Keri. Six hundred Armenian veterans fell in the Barduz Pass, and at such a high price saved the 60,000 Russians from being taken prisoners by the Turks. This great service of the Armenians to the Russian army was announced at the time by Enver Pasha himself, when he returned to Constantinople immediately after his defeat. From that time on the government at Constantinople laid the blame of its defeat at the door of the Armenians, as a preliminary step in its preparation for the execution of its already-planned massacres of the Armenian people.

After their efeat at Sarikamish, the Turks attempted in April of 1915 to turn the extreme left wing of the Russian army by marching to Joulfa through Persia, and from there (in case of success) moving on to Baku, with the hope that the Tartar inhabitants of the astern Caucasus would immediately join them and enable them to cut the only communicating line of railroad of the Russians, and thereby force the entire Russian army to retreat toward the northern Caucasus. The work of the intelligence department of the Turks was very well organized, especially as the Tartar and Geogian officers of the Caucasus rendered them invaluable services. The Turks knew very well that the Russians in Persia at that time had only one brigade of Russian troops under the command of the Armenian General Nazarbekoff and one battalion of Armenian volunteers scattered throughout Salmast and Urmia, while their own army was made up of one regular and well-drilled division of troops (sent especially from Constantinople) under the command of Khalil Bey and nearly 10,000 Kurds. Khalil Bey with his superior forces captured the city of Urmia in a few hours (taking prisoners nearly a thousand Russians) and victoriously marched on Salmast. Here took place one of the fiercest battles between the Armenians and the Turks. The first battalion of the Armenian volunteers, under the command of the veteran Andranik, strongly enforced in its trenches, repulsed the attacks of Khalil Bey for three days continuously, until the Russians, with the newly-arrived forces from the Caucasus, were able to put to flight the army of Khalil Bey. Thirty-six hundred Turkish soldiers lay dead before the Armenian trenches in the course of those three days.

In that very month of April, while Khalil Bey was confidently attempting, as we have seen, to surround the left wing of the Russian army in Persia, over in Van the Armenians had taken up arms in self-deferice, and for one whole month were fighting another division of Turkish troops and thousands of Kurds until the first days of May, when three other battalions of Armenian volunteers, under the command of General Nikolaeff, came to the rescue, riding a distance of 250 kilometers (155 miles)—from Erivan to Van—in ten days. For one who is acquainted with the local conditions, it is an undisputed fact that if the Armenians of Van in April, 1915, by their heroic resistance had not kept busy that one division of regular Turkish troops and thousands of Kurds, and had made it possible for them to join the army of Khalil Bey, the Turks undoubtedly would have been able to crush the Russian forces in Persia and reach Baku in a few weeks, for the simple reason that from the banks of the Araxes to Baku the Russians had no forces at all, while the local Tartar inhabitants, armed and ready, were awaiting the coming of the Turks before rising en masse to join them. From the very beginning of the war, Baku has been the real objective of the Turks, just as Paris has been the objective of the Germans, and that for two reasons: first, as a fountain of wealth, the Turks knew very well that the Russian government received from the oil wells of Baku an annual income of more than 200,000,000 rubles ($100,000,000), a sum which is more than all the revenues of the bankrupt Turkish government put together, and they looked upon these financial resources as indispensable for the accomplishment of their plan of a Pan-Turanian Empire; second, because the very plan of their Pan-Turanism had been introduced in Constantinople after 1908 by these very Tartars of Baku. The commanders of the Turkish forces engaged in Persia and Van—Khalil and Jevded—understood very well why their plans failed in the month of April, 1915; and that failure is the explanation of those frightful massacres which took place on the plains of Bitlis and Moush in June of the same year, when the armies of the same Khalil and Jevded, defeated in Persia and Van, were forced to retreat under

the pressure of the Armenian volunteers.

The third Turkish offensive took place early in July, 1915. This time the Turks, with all their available forces—eleven divisions of regular troops, again under the command of Khalil Bey—attacked the very center of the Caucasian army. In a few days they reoccupied Malashkert, Toutakh, and the greater part of the plains of Alashkert. During one week the center of the Russian army retreated more than 100 kilometers (62 miles) leaving behind the district of Van entirely unprotected, and in danger of being surrounded at any moment. If the Turks had had one or two more divisions of troops at their service in those days, they would have been able very easily to take prisoners the entire fourth army of the Russian left wing and cut off their way of retreat. In order to escape from this dangerous situation, the Russian left wing was forced to retreat hastily toward the Russian frontier and sent a part of its forces to aid the central army. Only at the end of July did the Russian army, having received aid from its left wing, and under the leadership of the Armenian General Nazarbekoff, succeed in forcing back the Turks to their former line. These were the conditions under which nearly 150,000 Armenian inhabitants of the district of Van were compelled to leave all their property at the mercy of the enemy's fire and flee toward Erivan.

ANDRANIK



The commander of the first battalion of Armenian Volunteers

It is true that the battalions of Armenian volunteers took no active part in the battles of July, for they were then in the district of Van and undertaking the heavy duty of rear guard work for the Russian army and the Armenian refugees. But the Turkish Armenians behind the front, who were being deported and massacred as early as the month of July, by their heroic resistance, occupied the attention of four Turk ish divisions and tens of thousands of Kurds just at the time when the Turks had such great need of those forces to aid them in their July drive. It is worth while, therefore, to point out here that, during the deportations and massacres of 1915, whenever the Armenians had any possible means at all of resisting the criminal plans of the Turkis government, they took up arms and organized resistance in different parts of Armenia.

Even before the deportations had begun, toward the latter part of 1914, the Turkish government cunningly attempted to disarm the Zeitunians, the brave Armenian mountaineers of Cilicia, who had taken up arms against the Turkish government at three different times in the nineteenth century, and each time had laid down their arms only on the intervention of the European powers, believing that they would put an end to the Turkish barbarities. This time the government filled the prisons with the prominent Zeitunians and persuaded the young warriors to surrender, promising to set them free if they did so. After accomplishing its deceitful plan, the government put to death most of the young men, deported the inhabitants, and made the mouhajirs from Balkans inhabit Zeitun, even changing the name of the place to Soulaymania, in order to erase the memory of those brave mountaineers. A group of warriors, however, found means to take up their arms, climb the mountains, and fight the Turkish soldiers. They are still free, and live among the mountains of Giaur Dagh. In the following year the inhabitants of Suediah were the first to defend themselves against the Turks. In April, when the Turkish government ordered the Armenian peasants of Suediah to leave their homes and emigrate toward Der-ElZor, the inhabitants of four or five villages, nearly 5,000 in number, refused to obey this unlawful order of the Turkish government. With their families they climbed the Amanos mountains and for forty-two days heroically resisted the cannonading of the regular Turkish forces. Their situation was of course critical. The desperate villagers sewed a large red cross on a white sheet to inform the fleet of the Allies in the Mediterranean that they were in danger. The French cruiser, Guechene, got in touch with the Armenian peasants, informed its war department of the situation, and obtained permission to remove them by transports to Port Said (Egypt). Most of them are still there, cared for by the British, while the young warriors went to join the French Oriental Legion, and fought on the Palestine front under General Allenby.

The resistance at Van has already been spoken of. The next place of importance must be given to the brave mountainous district of Sasoun, that very Sasoun which had retained its semi-independent position in Turkish Armenia up to the beginning of the last century, and had taken up arms at three different times in the present generation to defend its independence against the Ottoman troops—in 1894, in 1904, and again in 1915. This last time, toward the end of June, when the troops of Khalil and Jevded began to lay waste with fire and sword the city of Moush and the unprotected villages of the outlying district, the gallant Sasounians, under the guidance of their two idealistic leaders, came down from their mountains and made several raids on the city to drive away the Turks. One of their leaders was Roupen, a self-sacrificing and highly educated young man who had received his university training in Geneva, Switzerland, and had shouldered his gun in 1904 and had dedicated himself to the task of defending Sasoun. The name of the other was Vahan Papazian (a native of Van, but educated in Russian universities), who had been elected representative from Van to the Ottoman parliament. This daring step on the part of Sasoun forced the Turkish commanders to march on Sasoun with two divisions of troops and with nearly 30,000 Kurds. From the first days of July to Sept. 8, the Sasounians were able to resist the Turco-Kurdish attacks, always with the hope that the Russian army would come to their assistance. During that interval of time, the Sasounians sent several couriers to the Russian army and asked for help, but the Russian commanders remained indifferent, in spite of

the fact that the extreme front line of the Russian army was scarcely 50 kilometers (31 miles) away from Sasoun, and the sound of the Turkish artillery aimed at the Sasounians could be heard very distinctly by the Russian army. One of the commanders of the Armenian volunteers, Dro, appealed to the Russian commander and asked for one battery of cannon and a score or two of machine guns, which would have enabled his men to break the Turkish front and join the Sasounians. That request likewise was refused by the heartless commanders of despotic Russia. These were the conditions under which fell the historic Verdun of Armenia, heroic little Sasoun which, with its 10,000 mountaineers, succeeded in facing 50,000 Turks and Kurds for two months, with antiquated weapons and without adequate food or ammunition.

Turkish cannons captured by the Armenians of Van in April, 1915



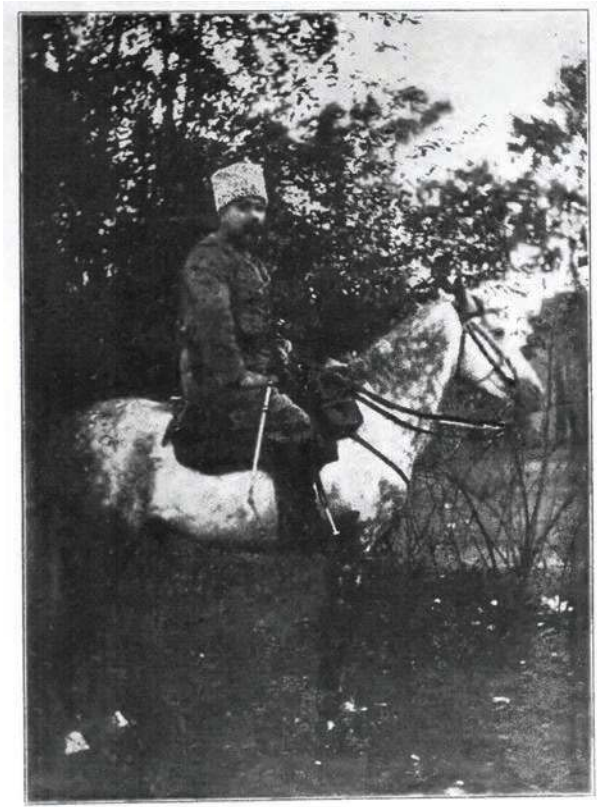
Making all due allowance for the relative magnitude and importance of the Near Eastern and the Western fronts, we may safely say without exaggeration that Van and Sasoun, on the Caucasian front in the year 1915, played exactly the same role which Liege played in 1914 and Verdun in 1916 on the Western front. Had it not been for these two points of stubborn resistance against the Turkish troops in the summer of 1915, the two Turkish offensives, already spoken of, would have had great chances of success. This is an undisputed fact with all the inhabitants of the Near East. And indeed, three months after these events, when the Armenian volunteers together with the Russian troops recommenced their drive and captured the cities of Moush and Bitlis, in the diary of a Turkish officer, who was taken prisoner in Bitlis, was found the following item, which appeared at the time in the Russian press:

> "We are asked why we massacre the Armenians. The reason is quite plain to me. Had not the Armenians fought against us, we should have reached Tiflis and Baku long ago."

In addition to Van and Sasoun, during the same July when deportations and organized massacres were going on, three other places might be mentioned where hopeless attempts at resistance were made by the Armenians against the savage Turks and Kurds. These places were Sivas, Urfa, and Shabin-Karahissar. At Sivas the heroic resistance of Mourat and his comrades and their escape were so full of thrilling event that they have been likened to the adventures of Odysseus.Mourat is a brave warrior who, together with his companion, Sepouh, had fought at Sasoun, in 1904, and had

taken part in the Armenian and Tartar clashes of 1905 and 1906 in the Caucasus. When deportation and massacres commenced in 1915, Turkish gendarmes were sent to capture Mourat, who was living with his wife and child in a village near Sivas. Realizing the coming danger, Mourat climbed the mountains with his band of warriors and resisted the raids of the enemy. After a year and a half of stubborn resistance, he descended one day to the shore of the Black Sea, captured a Turkish sail-boat near Samsoun, and, putting his comrades into it, ordered the Turkish sailor to steer the boat toward Batoum, a Russian port. According to cable messages, Mourat was chased by a Turkish gun-boat. Several battles took place in which he lost a few of his men, but finally repulsed the Turks and reached Batoum safe and sound. At Urfa the Armenians were able for forty days to repulse the attacks of one Turkish division, but finally fell heroically under the fire of Turkish artillery, commanded by German officers, having previously destroyed all their property so that it would not fall into the hands of their

DRO



The commander of the second battalion of Armenian volunteers.

enemies. In the ruined Armenian trenches at Urfa, by the side of Armenian young men there had fallen dead also Armenian young women who, arms in hand, were found all mangled by the German bombs. At Shabin-Karahissar, nearly 5,000 Armenians, for twenty-seven days without interruption, in the same month of July, kept busy another division of Turkish troops with their artillery. There took place one of the most tragic and heroic episodes of the present war. When the ammunition of the Armenians was almost gone, on the last day of the struggle, nearly 3,000 Armenian women and girls drank poison and died in order not to fall alive into the hands of the savage Turks. If the supply of poison had not given out, all the women would have done likewise. An eye-witness, one who had taken part in the struggle and who succeeded in reaching

the Caucasus in 1916, after wandering in the mountains and valleys of Armenia for a whole year, related how on that last day Armenian mothers and girls, with tears in their eyes and with hymns on their lips, received poison from the Armenian physicians and apothecaries for themselves and their little ones. When the supply of poison gave out, those who were unable to obtain any uttered terrible wailing, and many of the girls cast themselves down from the rocks of the Karahissar citadel and committed suicide.

These events reveal the following facts: first, that in spite of all the precautions which the Turkish government employed to disarm the Armenians before carrying out its fiendish design, the Armenian found means to organize in the four corners of Armenia hopeless but serious plans of resistance against the swords of their enemy; second, that in order to eliminate these Armenian points of resistance during the summer of 1915, five Turkish divisions and tens of thousands of Kurds were kept employed, and were unable to add their immediate cooperation in those very days to the other Turkish forces engaged in their two offensives on the Caucasian front. These were the positive services which the martyred Armenian people rendered to the allied cause in the Near East. Their active resistance to the Turco-German plans, however, cost the Armenians more than one million men massacred under the most savage conditions, and the deprivation of their means of livelihood in Turkish Armenia. But, to complete the description of the Armenian Calvary, it is necessary to picture also in a few words the attitude assumed by the government of the Russian Czar toward the very Armenian people whose active participation on Russia's side enabled the Caucasian front to repulse the Turkish attacks in 1914 and 1915, and, moreover, to accomplish definite successes during the following year, 1916.

ATTITUDE OF RUSSIAN CZARISM TOWARD THE ARMENIANS

As we have already mentioned, from the beginning of the war the Russian bureaucracy tried on the one hand by various false promises to win over the sympathy of the Armenians, while on the other it tried by every means to keep the Armenian military forces away from the Caucasian front. Only seven battalions of Armenian volunteers were kept on the Caucasian front. As we have already seen, those few battalions even, in 1914 and 1915, rendered to the Russians invaluable services, twice saving the right and left wings of the Russian army from an unavoidable catastrophe by their heroic resistance; but the Russian official communiques do not contain one line in which the battalions of Armenian volunteers are even mentioned. The same silence was maintained by the Russian communiques concerning the heroic resistance of the Armenians at Van, and with regard to the assistance which the Armenian volunteers rushed to that city. This was the policy of the government of Russian Czarism from the beginning of the war to the end of its existence, to avoid in every way speaking about the Armenians and Armenia. The Russian press was even forbidden to speak about the massacres carried on in Turkish Armenia at the hands of the Turkish government. Therefore, when the capture of Erzeroum in 1916 made the immediate co-operation of the Armenian volunteers unnecessary to the Russians, the commander-in-chief of the Caucasian army at the time, Grand Duke Nicolas Nicolaevitch, ordered the disbanding of all the battalions of the Armenian volunteers. Besides this amazing treatment of the Armenian military forces, the Czar's government removed from the Caucasus before the war all the Armenian officers and replaced them by generals (manifestly anti-Armenian in spirit) from the Russians, Georgians, and other Caucasian races. The object of this move was to enable the government to check the national aspirations of the Armenians, and to give it a plausible opportunity at the end of the war to take over the Armenian vilayets without gratifying the demands of the Armenians for autonomy.

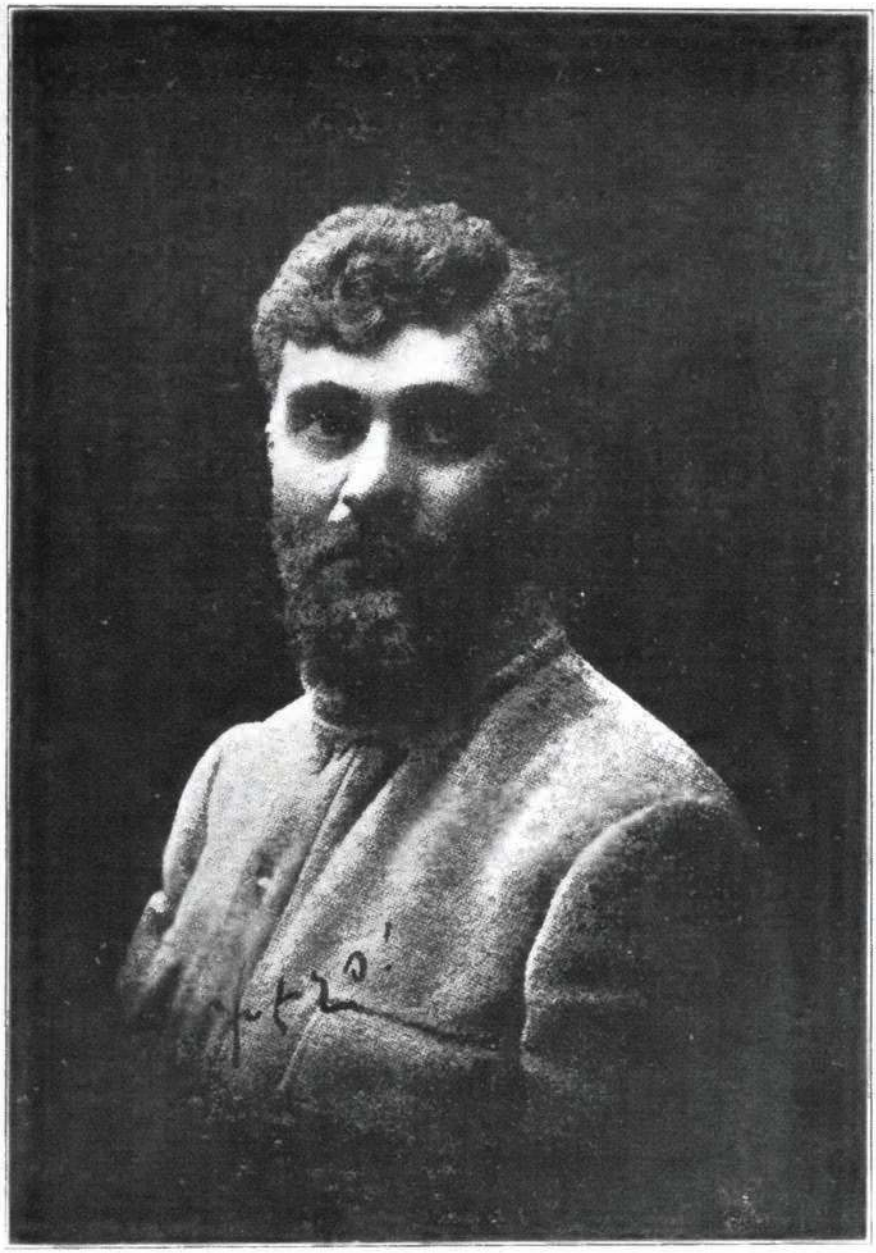


The civilian Armenians of Urfa who defended themselves against the Turks and the Kurds in July, 1915.

From the third month of the war, it became clear to us that the Russian government pursued unswervingly its Lobanoff-policy toward the Armenians. What was that policy? In 1896, when an English correspondent interviewed the Russian minister

of foreign affairs, Count Lobanoff Rostowsky, and asked him why Russia did not occupy the Armenian vilayets of Turkey in order to save that Christian people from the Turkish massacres, the Russian minister cynically replied: "We need Armenia, but without the Armenians." It is worth while, then, to give here a few actual facts which reveal this fiendish policy pursued by the Russian government toward a people which was the only one of all the peoples of the Caucasus and the Near East to help the Russian army by its unreserved co-operation, and which was the only factor that saved the Caucasian front from an unavoidable catastrophe in 1914 and 1915.

ONE. Every time that the Russian army was forced to retreat from the recaptured parts of Turkish Armenia, no precautionary measures were taken in order to save the local Armenian inhabitants from the inevitable massacres. For example, in December, 1914, when the Turks advanced as far as Sarikamish and Ardahan and forced the central Russian army to retreat from the neighborhood of Alashkert and Bayazid, the commander of the local forces, General Abatzieff (an Acetine Moslem who had joined the Greek church) strictly ordered the local Armenian inhabitants, nearly 32,000 in number, not to stir from their places, and in order to have his command accurately carried out he placed mounted Cossack patrols in the plains of Alashkert lest the Armenian peasants should emigrate toward the Russian frontier, in which direction the Russian army with its transports had already been moving since December 13. Three days later the second battalion of the Armenian volunteers, which had been fighting in the first-line positions for over two months under the command of the same general, returned to the army headquarters for a well-earned rest, and there only it heard about the serious happenings already mentioned, and the extraordinary attitude assumed by the Russian general. The Armenian peasants from every side appealed to the Armenian volunteers with tears in their eyes and begged to be saved from an inevitable massacre. The commander of the Armenian volunteers, Armen Garo, and his brave assistant, Khetcho, who died like a hero in July, 1915, on the shores of Lake Van, went immediately to General Abatzieff and asked him to revoke his order and permit the Armenian inhabitants to move with the army toward Igdir. The hostile general refused their request, his answer being that, if the people stirred from the place, he would be unable to remove the army transports soon enough. When he heard this answer, Armen Garo immediately telegraphed to Igdir and appealed to the commander-in-chief of the fourth army, General Oganowsky, and in touching words asked for his intervention. On the following day only, thanks to the intervention of General Oganowsky, the Armenian volunteers received permission to organize the retreat of the Armenian inhabitants of the plains of Alashkert toward lgdir and to defend them from the attacks of the Kurds. During the seven days that the retreat lasted the Armenians lost only 400 persons, and most of those on account of the severe cold. Another example of this hostile treatment of the Armenians by the Russian authorities might be mentioned,—the retreat from the Van district in July, 1915. There General Nikolaeff for eight continuous days deceived the Armenian leaders and made them remain idle (telling them every day that he would not retreat under any circumstances, and that therefore it was entirely needless to remove the people), until behold, one day, July 18, he suddenly sent for the mayor of Van, Aram, and the commander-in-chief of the Armenian volunteers, Vartan, and informed them that he had received orders to retreat immediately, but in order to make it possible for the people to prepare for departure, he would wait until the 20th of the month. Thus the Armenian leaders were forced to remove in two or three days nearly 150,000 people of the Van region, and if those three battalions of Armenian volunteers had not been there to protect the people from Kurdish and Turkish raids, the loss of life during the journey would have been tenfold more than it actually was. Whereas, if the Russian general had not been so deceitful in his behavior but had given an opportunity of seven or eight days to organize the retreat, it would have been possible to direct the people to Erivan without the loss of a single life. The Armenians suffered a loss of 8,000 to 10,000 men, women, and children during the retreat.



KHETCHO
The commander of the cavalry corps of the Armenian volunteers, who was killed in July, 1915, near Bitlis.

Two. When Turkish Armenia was almost wholly emptied of its Armenian inhabitants, due to these successive retreats, the Russian government raised all sorts of barriers before the refugees to prevent them from returning to their former homes when the Russian army recaptured the Armenian vilayets. For example, in 1916-1917, scarcely 8,000 to 10,000 Armenians were permitted to go back and inhabit the region of Van; the rest were compelled to stay within the borders of the Caucasus as refugees. Toward the latter part of 1916, even among Russian governmental circles there was talk of transferring to Siberia nearly 250,000 Turkish Armenian immigrants who had sought refuge in the Caucasus, because it was objected that no available lands existed there for them. Russians considered it a settled question that even after the war the Turkish Armenians would not be permitted to return to their own homes.

On the other hand, the same Russian bureaucracy resorted to every means to win the sympathy of the Turkish and Kurdish inhabitants remaining in Armenia. With that purpose in view, in the spring of 1916, on behalf of the ministry for foreign affairs at Petrograd, Count Chakhowsky with his own organization established himself in Bashkale (a city in the district of Van) and distributed nearly 24,000 rifles to the Kurds of the neighboring regions. It is needless to say that not long after those very rifles were used by the Kurds against the Russian army both in Persia and Armenia. This amazing action of Count Chakhowsky was taken so openly that it was even known to ordinary Russian soldiers, who were extremely enraged against the Count, a fact which accounts for the murder of the same Count Chakhowsky in Persia by Russian soldiers, when the discipline of the Russian army was relaxed on account of the revolution which took place in the spring of 1917.

THREE. While the Russians were preventing the Turkish Armenian immigrants from returning to their own lands, they, in the spring of 1916, commenced to organize in Turkish Armenia colonies of Cossacks. The Russian administration sent special propagandists to the northern Caucasus to persuade the Cossacks living there to move to Armenia, and during that same year 5,000 of them, under the name of agricultural battalions, were already cultivating the plains of Alashkert, lands which rightly belonged to the Armenians. This last act of the Russian government was so revolting that even the liberal organs of the Russian press complained of the government for such inhuman proceedings, while in the Russian Duma two Russian representatives, N. Milukoff and A. Kerensky (both of whom played such great roles the following year in the downfall of Czarism), publicly criticised the government of the Czar for its base treatment of the Armenians. Documentary evidence relating to this disgraceful action of the Russian government, which incensed the ire of prominent liberals in the Duma, may be found in the July 28, 1916, issue of the *Retch*, the organ of the Constitutional Democrats in Russia. In order to characterize this criminal action of the Russian bureaucracy against the Armenian people who were martyred for the allied cause, it may be worth while also to cite the following details:

In the month of July, 1915, the Armenian inhabitants of Erzeroum, nearly 25,000 in number, were likewise deported by the Turkish government, leaving all their real and personal property at the disposal of the Turks. The governor of the place, Tahsin Bey, arranged a scheme by means of which every Armenian before leaving the city could store his goods and household furniture (with the name of the owner on each article) in the cathedral, with the apparent purpose of returning them to their owners after the war, but with the real purpose of preventing so much riches from falling into the hands of the Turkish mob, in order to appropriate them later for the government. The cathedral of Erzeroum was packed with the goods of the exiled Armenians when the Russians captured the city in February, 1916. Ordinary human decency demanded that the Russians should not have touched the articles stored in that sacred edifice, especially as they belonged to the very martyred people whose professed sympathies for them (the Russians) were the cause of their being exiled to the deserts of Mesopotamia. But the fact is that the commander of the Russian army, General Kaledine himself, set the example of desecration; he personally entered the cathedral first. and selected for himself a few car-loads of rugs and sundry valuable articles. Then the other officers of the Russian army followed his example, and in a few days half of the contents of

the church was already pillaged before the representative of the Armenian Committee, Mr. Rostom, after repeated telegrams, was able to receive an order from Tiflis to stop the plunder. In that same summer of 1916, the Buxton brothers (representatives of the Armenian Committee of London) and other English Armenophiles came to Armenia. When they witnessed all these disgraceful particulars they could not believe their own eyes, so monstrous was the attitude of the Russian government toward the Armenians. The English and American friends of Armenia consoled them by saying that on their return they would have the privilege of explaining this state of affairs to their government and that they would doubtless do all in their power to protect the rights of the Armenians. These were the circumstances under which the Armenian people joined its fate to the allied cause from the very beginning of the war, and, having made colossal sacrifices during three whole years, was almost crushed to death in the claws of Turkish and Russian despotism.



The mounted troops of the second battalion of Armenian volunteers of the Caucasus, November, 1914.

In that same sorrowful summer of 1916 the Armenians heard the news that England, France, and Russia had signed an agreement concerning Armenia. According to that agreement Russia was to take over the three vilayets of Turkish Armenia, Erzeroum, Bitlis, and Van, while southern Armenia and Cilicia were to be put under the guardianship of France. One must be an Armenian in order to feel the depth and intensity of the bitterness and disappointment which filled the hearts of all the wandering Armenians from the Caucasus to Mesopotamia. Every Armenian asked himself or herself: Was this to be o r recompense?

In those very days (September, 1916) one of the agents of the German government in Switzerland approached Dr. Zavrieff (one of the representatives of the Armenian Committee of that place) with the following proposal :

> "You Armenians made a great mistake when you joined your fate to that of the Allies. It is time for you to rectify your mistaken policy. Your dreams with regard to the historic Armenia are unrealizable. You may as well accustom yourselves to that fact, and before it is too late you will do better to join the fate of your people with the German policies, and remove

the remnants of the Armenian people to Mesopotamia, where the Germans will put at the disposal of the Armenians every means which will enable them to create for themselves a new and a more fortunate fatherland under their (German) immediate protection."

In order to persuade his Armenian opponent, the German agent constantly reminded him of the agreement (between England, France and Russia), and especially of the hostile attitude of the Russians up to that time towards the Armenians. The news of this German proposal reached the Caucasus in December of the same year. It was made the subject of serious consultation among the Armenian leaders. The writer of these lines was present at those conferences, and his impression was this: Had there not been that superhuman adoration (so peculiarly Armenian) which every Armenian has for his ancestral home and recollections so sanctified by blood, the German proposal would very likely have been accepted by the Armenians at that psychological moment when their hearts were overflowing with bitterness and disappointment toward the Russian government,—a member of the allied nations. The outcome of those conferences was that we decided to continue our former policy toward the Entente, in spite of the base behavior of the Russians towards us, and at the same time to invite the serious attention of our great Allies of the west to our hopeless situation.

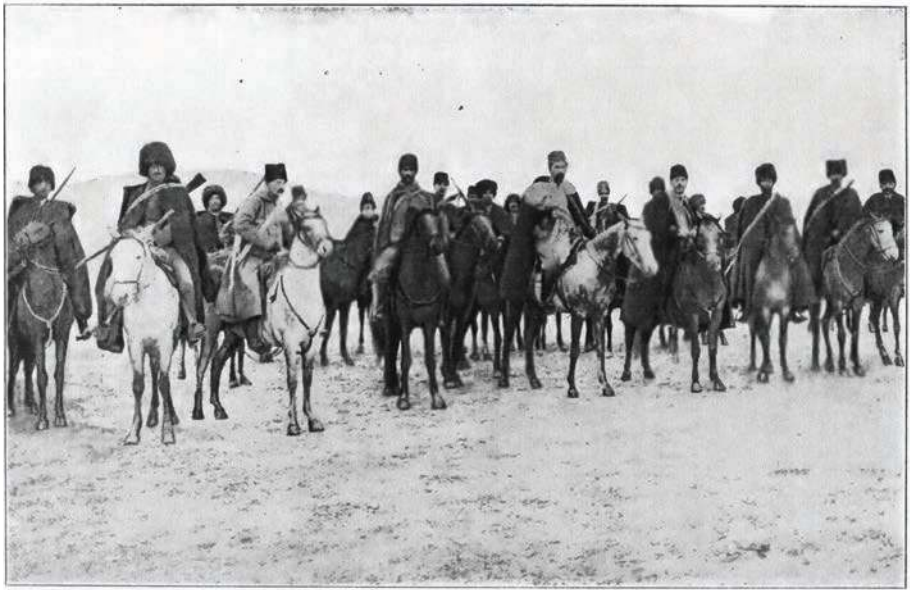
ROLE PLAYED BY THE ARMENIANS IN THE CAUCASUS AFTER THE RUSSIAN COLLAPSE.

This was the state of affairs when there came the crash of the Russian revolution. The heart of every Armenian was greatly relieved, thinking that the greater part of their torments would come to an end. And in truth, during the first few months of the revolution, the temporary government of Kerensky made definite arrangements to rectify the unjust treatment of the Armenians by the government of the Czar. But events progressed in a precipitate manner. The demoralization of the Russian troops on all the fronts assumed greater proportions as the days went by. Foreseeing the danger which threatened the Caucasus, the Armenian National Organization of the Caucasus, as early as April, 1917, sent to Petrograd on a special mission Dr. Zavrieff, already mentioned, and the writer of these lines, in order to have them obtain permission to transfer to the Caucasus some 150,000 Armenian officers and men (scattered throughout the Russian army), by whose assistance the Armenians might be able to protect their own native land against the Turkish advance. Mr. Kerensky, who was well acquainted with the abnormal conditions reigning in the Caucasus, agreed to grant the request of the Armenian delegates, but, on the other hand, for fear of receiving similar requests from the other races in case he granted an order favorable to the Armenians, he decided to fulfill our request unofficially, that is, without a general ordinance, to send the Armenian soldiers to the Caucasus gradually, in small groups, in order not to attract the attention of the other races. And he carried out this plan.

But unfortunately, scarcely 35,000 Armenian soldiers had been able to reach the Caucasus by November, 1917, when Kerensky himself fell at the hands of the Bolsheviks, and there was created a chaotic condition the result of which was the final demobilization of the Russian army. During December, 1917, and January, 1918, the Russian army of 250,000 men on the Caucasian front, without any orders, abandoned its positions and moved into the interior of Russia, leaving entirely unprotected a front about 970 kilometers (600 miles) in length, extending from the Black Sea to Persia. As soon as the Russian army disbanded, the 3,000,000 Tartar inhabitants of the Caucasus armed themselves and rose en masse. Toward the end of January last, the Tartars had cut the Baku-Tiflis railroad line as well as the Erivan-Joulfa line, and now began to raid and plunder the Armenian cities and villages, while behind, on the frontier, the regular Turkish army had commenced to advance in the first days of February. Against all these Turks and Tartars the Armenians had one army corps made up of some 35,000 regular troops under the command of General Nazarbekoff, and nearly 20,000 Armenian volunteers under the command of their experienced leaders.

Armenia's only hope of assistance was their neighbors, the Georgians, who were as much interested in the protection of the Caucasus as the Armenians were, because the Turkish demands of the Brest-Litovsk treaty included definite portions of Georgia, as well as of Armenia; for example, the port of Batoum. And in fact, during the months of January and February they seemed quite inclined to help the Armenians, but when the Turks captured Batoum on April 15 and came as far as Usurgeti, the morale of the Georgians was completely broken, and they immediately sent a delegation to Berlin and put Georgia under German protection. From this time on the 2,000,000 Armenian inhabitants of the Caucasus remained entirely alone to face, on the one hand, the Turkish regular army of 100,000 men, and on the other hand, the armed forces of hundreds of thousands of Tartars. From the end of February the small number of Armenian forces commenced to retreat step by step before the superior Turkish forces, from Erzingan, Baiburt, Khenous, Mamakhatoun, Erzeroum, and Bayazid, and concentrated their forces on the former Russian-Turkish frontier. Here commenced serious battles which arrested for quite a long time the advance of the Turkish troops. It took them until April 22 to arrive before the forts of Kars, where the first serious resistance of the Armenians took place. The fierce Turkish attack which continued for four days was easily repulsed by the Armenians, owing to the guns on the ramparts of Kars.

During these events a temporary government of the Caucasus existed in Tiflis, composed of representatives of three Caucasian races-Georgian, Armenian, and Tartar. This Caucasian government was formed immediately after the coup d'etat of the Bolsheviks, and conducted Caucasian affairs as an independent body. It refused to recognize the authority of the Bolshevik government, or the terms of the Brest-Litovsk treaty signed by its accredited delegates. The president of the government was Chekhenkeli, a Georgian. Immediately after the capture of Batoum the Caucasian government opened peace negotiations with Turkish delegates in Batoum itself.



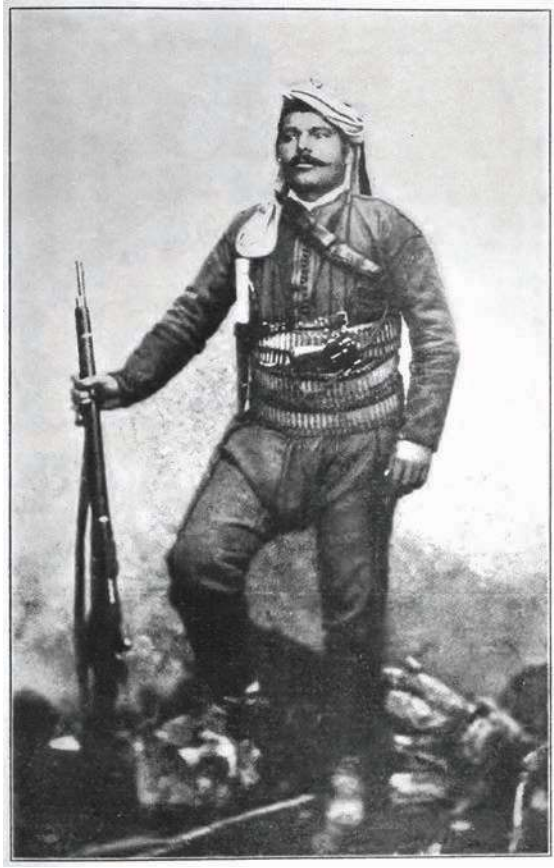
KHETCHO DRO ARMEN GARO

The staff of the second battalion of Armenian volunteers in the Caucasus in November, 1914.

The Turks, by their usual crafty tricks, persuaded the Georgian delegates that they would return Batoum to the Georgians if Kars surrendered without resistance. Feeling assured of this Turkish promise, the Georgian president of the Caucasian government, Chekhenkeli, on the night of April 25, without consultation with the other members of

the government, telegraphed the commander of Kars that an armistice had been signed with the Turks on condition of surrendering Kars, and therefore to give up the forts immediately and retreat as far as Arpa-Chai. On the following day the commander of the Armenian soldiers who were defending Kars delivered the fortress into the hands of the Turks and retreated to Alexadrpol. Then it became known that Chekhenkeli had sent the fateful telegram on his own responsibility, but it was already too late. This event occasioned very strained relations between the Armenians and Georgians. Not long after, on the 26th of May, the Georgians, assured of German protection, declared in Tiflis the independence of Georgia. Thus the temporary Caucasian government dissolved.

After the separation of the Georgians the Armenian National Council of the Caucasus declared Armenian independence, under the name of the Republic of Ararat, with Erivan as its capital. While the negotiations were going on in Batoum-always between the delegates of the Turks and the three Caucasian races comprising



MOURAT
Who lead the volunteers at Erzingan after the Russian collapse and died heroically in the fighting at Baku.

the Caucasian temporary government,—the Turkish armies, after the occupation of Kars, became more aggressive and commenced to advance toward Alexandropol and Karakilissa. Concentrating their forces around Karakilissa and Erivan, early in June, the Armenians in two fierce battles drove the Turks back almost to their frontier. In the battle of Karakilissa, which lasted four days, the Turks left 6,000 dead before the Armenian posts, and escaped to Alexandropol. When the Turks felt that their position

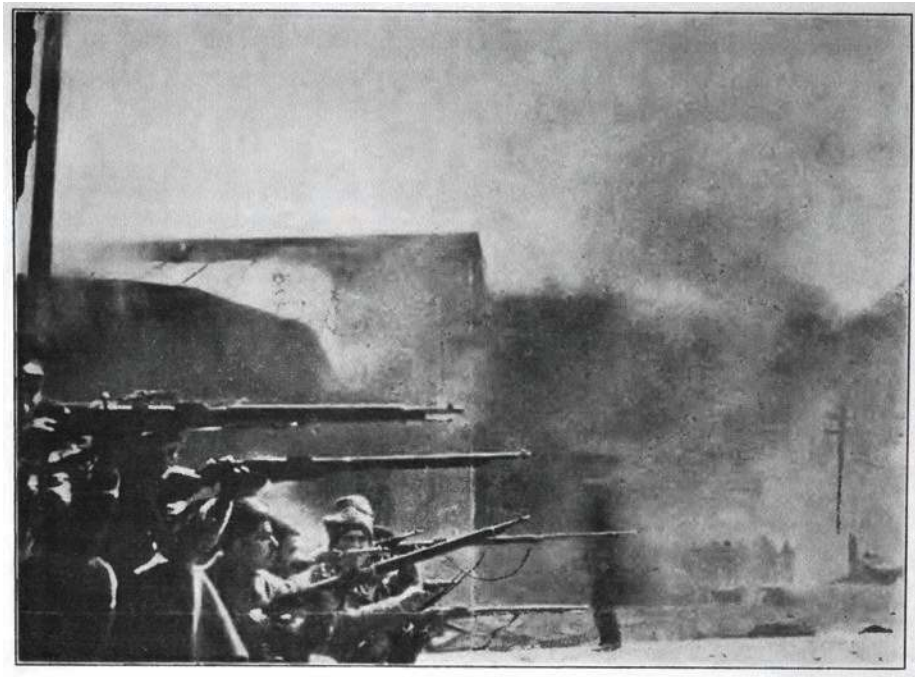
in the face of the Armenian resistance was becoming more and more hopeless and that it would cost them dear to continue the fight, they immediately began to make concessions. Up to that time the Turks had not yet recognized the right of Russian Armenia to independence, their objection being that they only recognized in the Caucasus Georgian and Tartar countries. But when they heard the news of the last military victory of the Armenians, on June 14, in Batoum, the Turkish delegates, together with the representatives of the Republic of Ararat, signed the first terms of armistice, leaving the final peace signature to the congress of Constantinople, where the final negotiations were to take place.

The delegates of the three nations of the Caucasus reached Constantinople on June 19. They were 32 in number. Among them were also the representatives of the Republic of Ararat, Mr. A. Khatissoff, the minister of foreign affairs, and Mr. A. Aharonian, the president of the Armenian National Council. In that congress, which convened in presence of the delegates of the German and Austrian governments, the Turks signed peace treaties with each of the newly-formed Caucasian Republics. It is needless to say that those treaties had as much value as that which the Roumanian government was forced to sign a few months before by the central powers. And, as was expected, the Turks and the Germans rewarded the Georgians and the Tartars at the expense of the Armenians . They gave the greater part of the Armenian territories to the other two nations, and the remainder was claimed by Turkey, with the exception of 32,000 square kilometers (about 12,350 square miles), with 700,000 Armenian inhabitants, which were left to the Republic of Ararat. According to these terms only one-third of the Armenians of the Caucasus are included within the Republic of Ararat, while the remaining 1,400,000 Armenians are left in territories allotted to the Tartars or the Georgians.

That portion of the Armenians which inhabits the mountainous regions of Karabagh (which was assigned to the Tartars), up to this very day, October, 1918, resists the Turco-Tartar hordes and refuses at any price to be subjected to the unjust terms of the treaty of Constantinople, while beyond, the Armenians at Van, when their military forces realized that their retreat was cut off early last May, after being sheltered for two whole months in Van, moved toward Persia, there joined the Christian Assyrians in the neighborhood of Urmia, repulsed for a long time the Turkish and Kurdish attacks, and only early in September succeeded in shattering the Turkish lines and thereby reached the city of Ramadan in Persia, where they entrusted to the care of the British forces the protection of about 40,000 Armenian and Assyrian refugees. In order to complete this picture of the heroic resistance of the Caucasian Armenians, let me say a few words more about the struggle at Baku.

As already mentioned, early in May, 1917, through the efforts of the Armenian National Organization of the Caucasus, the Armenian soldiers and officers scattered throughout Russia were gradually brought tgether and mobilized on the Caucasian front. With that purpose in view an Armenian Military Committee was formed in Petrograd with General Bagradouni as president. Bagradouni was one of the most brilliant young generals of the Russian army. He had received his military training at the highest military academy of Petrograd, and, during Kerensky's administration, was appointed Chief of the Staff of the military forces at Petrograd. When the Bolsheviks assumed power they ordered him to take an oath of loyalty to the new government. General Bagradouni refused to do so, and for that reason he was imprisoned, with many other high military officials. After remaining in prison two months, through repeated appeals by the Armenian National bodies, he was freed by the Bolsheviks on condition that he should immediately leave Petrograd. After his release from prison, General Bagradouni, accompanied by the well known Armenian social worker, Mr. Rostom, with 200 Armenian officers, left for the Caucasus to assume the duties of commander-in-chief of the newly-formed Armenian army. This group of Armenian officers reached Baku early in March, where it was forced to wait, for the simple reason that the Baku-Tiflis railroad line was already cut by the Tartars. During that same month of March from many parts of Russia a large number of Armenians gathered at Baku and waited to go to Erivan and Tiflis in response to the call issued by

the Armenian National Council. Toward the end of March nearly 110,000 Armenian soldiers had come together at Baku.



Armenians valiantly defending Baku against the Tartars. *Taken from "Asia."*

By the 30th of March the news of German victories was spread throughout the Caucasus by the Turco-German agents. On the same day in Baku and other places appeared the following leaflets:

"Awake, Turkish brothers!

"Protect your rights; union with the Turks means life.

"Unite, O Children of the Turks!

"Brothers of the noble Turkish nation, for hundreds of years our blood has flowed like water, our motherland has been ruined, and we have been under the heel of thousands of oppressors who have almost crushed us. We have forgotten our nation. We do not know to whom to appeal for help.

"Countrymen, we consider ourselves free hereafter. Let us look into our conscience! Let us not listen to the voice of plotters. We must not lose the way to freedom; our freedom lies in union with the Turks. It is necessary for us to unite and put ourselves under the protection of the Turkish flag.

"Forward, brothers! Let us gather ourselves under the flag of union and stretch out our hands to our Turkish brothers. Long life to the generous Turkish nation! By these words we shall never again bear a foreign yoke, the chains of servitude."

And on the following day (March 31) from all sides of the Caucasus the armed hordes of Tartars attacked the Armenians. The leaders of the Tartars at Baku were convinced that they would easily disarm the Armenian soldiers, because they were somewhat shut up in Baku, but they were sadly mistaken in their calculations. After a bloody battle which lasted a whole week the Armenians remained masters of the city and its oil wells. They suffered a loss of nearly 2,500 killed, while the Tartars lost more than 10,000. The commander of the military forces of the Armenians was the same General Bagradouni, who, although he lost both of his legs during the fight, continued

his duties until September 14, when the Armenians and the small number of Englishmen who came to their assistance were forced to abandon Baku to the superior forces of the Turco-Tartars, and retreat toward the city of Enzeli in the northern Caucasus.

During these heroic struggles, which lasted five and a half months, the small Armenian garrison of Baku, together with a few thousand Russians, defended Baku and its oil wells against tens of thousands of Tartars, the Caucasian mountaineers, and more than one division of regular Turkish troops which had come to the assistance of the latter by way of Batoum. Time after time the Turkish troops made fierce attacks to capture the city, but each time they were repulsed with heavy losses by the gallant Armenian garrison. The Armenians had built their hopes on British assistance, since nothing was expected from the demoralized Russian army. But, unfortunately, the British were unable to reach Baku with large forces from their Bagdad army. Nevertheless, on August 5, they landed at Baku 2,800 men to help the Armenians. The arrival of this small British contingent caused great enthusiasm among the tired and exhausted defenders of the city. But meanwhile the Turks had received new forces from Batoum and renewed their attacks. After a series of bloody battles the armed Armenian and British forces were forced to leave Baku on September 14 and retreat toward Persia, taking with them nearly 10,000 refugees from the inhabitants of the city. As to the condition of those who were left behind, this much is certain; that on the day the city was occupied by the Turco-Tartars, nearly 20,000 Armenians were put to the sword, the greater portion of them being women and children. According to the news received from Persia, after that first terrible massacre, other massacres likewise have taken place. The number of the losses is not known; but it may safely be surmised without any exaggeration that out of the entire 80,000 Armenian inhabitants of Baku, all those who were unable to leave the city in time were slaughtered by the revengeful Turks and Tartars. Thus ended the resistance of five months and a half by the Armenians at Baku against the Turco-Germans.

The remnants of the retreating Armenian garrison of Baku, at the time of writing, are located in the Persian city of Enzeli, where, under the command of their heroic leader, General Bagradourii, they are recuperating before hastening to the aid of the Armenians in the eastern Caucasus, who, as already mentioned, up to this very day are resisting the forces of the Turco-Tartars in the mountains of Karabagh.



Young Armenian students in France, who took part in the immortal defence of Verdun in 1916.

ARMENIA'S CO-OPERATION WITH THE ALLIES ON OTHER FRONTS.

The Armenians, besides battling on the Caucasian front, where they have been fighting in their own native land, have co-operated unreservedly with the Allies on far distant fronts, as for example on the French front. At the beginning of the war the young Armenian students living in France—about 900 in number—volunteered to serve in the French army for the defence of civilization and freedom. Today, scarcely 50 of them are alive; the majority of the 850 others gave their lives in 1916 in the immortal defence of Verdun. This small episode in this universal drama will not be forgotten by either France or the Free Armenia of the future. Glory to the memory of those immortal heroes! Beyond, on another front of the war, by an extraordinary coincidence of fate, in the deadly blow which fell on the head of the criminal Ottoman Empire in the Holy Land, the sons of the sorrowful people whom it had ruthlessly slaughtered had their just share of active participation. And indeed, in General Allenby's victorious army, which saved Palestine and Syria from Turkish tyranny in September, 1918, by General Allenby's own testimony, the eight battalions of the Armenian volunteers (who took part in those battles under the French flag) were conspicuous for their bravery. In response to a congratulatory telegram from the chairman of the Armenian National Union of Egypt for the victories on the Palestine front, General Allenby said: '"I thank you warmly for your congratulations, and am proud of the fact that your Armenian compatriots in the Oriental Legion took an active part in the fighting and shared in our victory."

CONCLUSION.

If we wish to condense all we have said in a few pages, we shall have the following picture:

In 1914 both Turkey and Russia appealed to the Armenians by various promises of a future autonomous Armenia to secure their assistance in their respective military operations. Through their long and bitter experience the Armenians knew very well that the imperialistic governments of both Turkey and of Russia were opposed to their national aspirations and therefore those promises had no value whatever. But, realizing the universal significance of the present war, and considering the fact that justice was on the side of the Entente, the Armenians, in spite of thelr distrust of the Russian government, from the very beginning, unreservedly bound themselves to the allied cause.

This decision of the Armenians cost them the sacrifice of more than 1,000,000 men in Turkish Armenia, and complete devastation of their native land even in the first year of the war.

In spite of this terrible blow, the Armenians did not lose their vigor, and, even though the autocratic Russian government, up to the time of the Revolution, created all sorts of obstacles to impede their activities, they still continued their assistance to the allied cause. In bringing about the failure of the three Turkish offensives in 1914 and 1915 the Armenians gave the allied cause important armed assistance, on both sides of the Turco-Russian frontier.

After the Russian Revolution, when, the Russian military forces fled from the Caucasian front and left it unprotected from January, 1918, to the middle of the following September, the Armenians were the only people who resisted and delayed the Turco-German advance toward Baku. Moreover, the Armenians accomplished all this with their own forces, all alone, surrounded on all sides by hostle elements, without any means of communication with their great Allies of the West. As an evidence of this we may mention the fact that during the last eight months and a half the Armenians have received from the Allies only 6,500,000 rubles ($3,250,000) of financial assistance, and the 2,800 British soldiers who were too few and arrived too late to save Baku.

Let us now look at the other side of the picture.

Had the Armenians assumed an entirely opposite attitude from what they actually did; in other words, had they bound their fate in 1914 to the Turco-German cause, just as the Bulgarians did in 1915, what would have been the trend of events in the Near East? Here is a question to which, it is quite possible, our great Allies have had no time to give any consideration. But that very question was put before the Armenians in 1914, and with no light heart did they answer it by their decision to join the Allies. Each and every one of them had a clear presentiment of the terrible responsibility they assumed. Those millions of corpses of Armenian women and children which spotted the plains in the summer of 1915, rose like phantoms before our very eyes in the August of 1914 when we decided to resist the wild Turkish revengefulness and its frightful outcome. Now, in October, 1918, when we are so close to the hour of the final victory, and feel quite safe and certain that the heavy and gloomy days of the summer of 1914 will never return, I shall permit myself to picture in a few words, before I finish, that which would have taken place if the Armenians had sided with the GermanoTurks in the Near East from the beginning of the war.



Armenian volunteers who fought on the Palestine front in September and October, 1918, under the command of Gen. Allenby.

First of all, those frightful Armenian massacres would not have taken place. On the contrary, the Turks and the Germans would have tried to win the sympathy of the Armenians in every possible way until the end of the war.

On the other hand, so long as the Georgians and Tartars of the Caucasian peoples were only too eager to co-operate with the GermanoTurks, as the events of 1918 fully demonstrate, had the Armenians likewise joined them in 1914, by cutting the railroads, the backbone of the Caucasian Russian army, all the Caucasian country would have slipped out of the hands of the Russians in a few weeks, and the Turco-Germans would have reached Baku in the autumn of the same year. The Armenians, Georgians, and Tartars of the Caucasus, united, would have been able to form with the greatest ease an army of 700,000 men, by which they would have been able to defend the Caucasian mountainridge against the Russians. Meanwhile, the entire Turkish army would have been available to advance immediately toward the interior of Asia and join the 18,000,000 Moslems of Asiatic Russia. We may safely say, neither Persia nor Afghanistan could have remained neutral on seeing such successful achievements by the Turks.

In the course of such events Russia would have been compelled to remove the

greater portion of her forces to the East and would not have been able to protect her Western frontiers as successfully as she did. Therefore, quite probably, the Russian collapse would have taken place in the summer of 1915, when the Germans occupied Russian Poland. On the other hand, Great Britain would have been obliged to appropriate the greater portion of her newly-formed land forces for the protection of India, and would have been unable to rush as great a force to the defence of heroic France as she actually did. Quite likely, under these conditions, neither Italy nor Roumania would have abandoned her neutrality, and thus the war might have ended in 1915 or 1916 with the victory of the central Powers, at least on land.

It was as clear as day to the Armenians that a Germano-Turkish victory could never satisfy their national aspirations. The most that those nations would have done for us would have been to grant nominal rights to the Armenia of their own choice. But it was very plain to us also that we should not have suffered such frightful human losses had we not sided with the Allies. We consciously chose this last alternative, namely: we tied our fate to the allied victory; we exposed our very existence to danger in order to realize the complete fulfillment of our national ambition, that is, to see the re-establishment of the United Historic Independent Armenia.

With our modest means, we have fulfilled our duty in full measure in this great struggle in order to save civilization from an impending doom. Now it is for our great Allies to act.

The day is not very far distant when, gathered around the great tribunal of justice, the representatives of all the nations of the globe—guilty or just—are to receive their punishment or reward from the hands of the four distinguished champions of democracy, President Wilson, Premiers Lloyd George, Georges Clemenceau, and Orlando. If the representatives present themselves in the order of seniority, the first in the rank will be the representative of the Armenian people—the aged lother Armenia. Behold! Into the Peace Congress Hall there enters an old woman, bathed in blood, clothed in rags, her face covered with wrinkles 3,000 years old, and completely exhausted. With her thoughtful eyes the venerable Mother Armenia will survey the countenances of all those present, and thus will she address the great figures of the world:

"Century after century my sons took part in all the strifes waged to safeguard justice and the freedom of suffering humanity. Three thousand years ago my sons struggled for seven hundred years against the despotism of Babylon and Nineveh, which eventually collapsed under the load of their own crimes. Fifteen centuries ago the Armenians resisted for five hundred years the persecutions of the mighty Persian Empire to preserve their Christian faith. Since the eighth century my sons have been the vanguard of Christian civilization in the East against Moslem invasions threatening for a while the very existence of all Europe. If you doubt my statements, ask the sacred mountain of Ararat; he will relate to you how all the nations and empires, which attempted to possess by criminal means the indisputable inheritance of my sons, have received their just punishment.

"Let us not go very far. Here, before you, stand the representatives of those three nations which tried to destroy my sons before your very eyes, in order to rule those parts of our ancestral lands, so sanctified by blood, known as Armenia. Look at this Turk; it was he who wished to wipe the very name of Armenia off the face of the map; but today, foiled in his attempt, he stands there like a criminal awaiting his sentence. And where is today the Czar of Russia, who planned to occupy Armenia without the Armenians,—the representative of that Empire before which the world trembled. And what has remained of the policies of the German Empire, in whose hands is the Bagdad railroad now, built at the cost of the blood of hundreds of thousands of Armenian women and children? Thus, those three modern malevolent empires, which tried to attain happiness through the blood of my sons, have received their just punishment.

"Such will be the fate in the future of all those who shall attempt similar crimes against Armenia. This is the message, gentlemen, handed down to us through three thousand years of history.

"I have nothing more to add. I await your verdict with confidence."

Appendix X

TREATY OF PEACE WITH TURKEY SIGNED AT LAUSANNE

[Articles 1 to 29 and Articles 137 to 143, omitting Articles 30 to 136]

JULY 24, 1923

THE CONVENTION RESPECTING THE REGIME OF THE STRAITS AND OTHER INSTRUMENTS SIGNED AT LAUSANNE

THE BRITISH EMPIRE, FRANCE, ITALY, JAPAN, GREECE, ROUMANIA and the SERB-CROAT-SLOVENE STATE,

of the one part,

and TURKEY, of the other part; Being united in the desire to bring to a final close the state of war which has existed in the East since 1914,

Being anxious to re-establish the relations of friendship and commerce which are essential to the mutual well-being of their respective peoples,

And considering that these relations must be based on respect for the independence and sovereignty of States,

Have decided to conclude a Treaty for this purpose, and have appointed as their Plenipotentiaries:

HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND AND OF THE BRITISH DOMINIONS BEYOND THE SEAS, EMPEROR OF INDIA: The Right Honourable Sir Horace George Montagu Rumbold, Baronet, G.C.M.G., High Commissioner at Constantinople;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC: General Maurice Pelle, Ambassador of France, High Com missioner of the Republic in the East, Grand Officer of the National Order of the Legion of Honour;

HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF ITALY: The Honourable Marquis Camillo Garroni, Senator of the Kingdom, Ambassador of Italy, High Commissioner at Constantinople, Grand Cross of the Orders of Saints Maurice and Lazarus, and of the Crown of Italy; M. Giulio Cesare Montagna, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Athens, Commander of the Orders of Saints Maurice and Lazarus, Grand Officer of the Crown of Italy;

HIS MAJESTY THE EMPEROR OF JAPAN: Mr. Kentaro Otchiai, Jusammi, First Class of the Order of the Rising Sun, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at Rome;

HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF THE HELLENES: M. Eleftherios K. Veniselos, formerly President of the Council of Ministers, Grand Cross of the Order of the Saviour; M. Demetrios Caclamanos, Minister Plenipotentiary at London, Commander

of the Order of the Saviour;

HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF ROUMANIA: M. Constantine I. Diamandy, Minister Plenipotentiary; M. Constantine Contzesco, Minister Plenipotentiary;

HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF THE SERBS, THE CROATS AND THE SLOVENES: Dr. Miloutine Yovanovitch, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne;

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF TURKEY:

Ismet Pasha, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Deputy for Adrianople;

Dr. Riza Nour Bey, Minister for Health and for Public Assistance, Deputy for Sinope;

Hassan Bey, formerly Minister, Deputy for Trebizond;

Who, having produced their full powers, found in good and due orm, have agreed as follows:

PART I.

POLITICAL CLAUSES.

ARTICLE I.

From the coming into force of the present Treaty, the state of peace will be definitely re-established between the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, Greece, Roumania and the Serb-Croat-Slovene State of the one part, and Turkey of the other part, as well as between their respective nationals. Official relations will be resumed on both sides and, in the respective territories, diplomatic and consular representatives will receive, without prejudice to such agreements as may be concluded in the future, treatment in accordance with the general principles of international law.

SECTION I.

I. TERRITORIAL CLAUSES.

ARTICLE 2.

From the Black Sea to the Aegean the frontier of Turkey is laid down as follows: (I) With Bulgaria:

From the mouth of the River Rezvaya, to the River Maritza, the point of junction of the three frontiers of Turkey, Bulgaria and Greece: the southern frontier of Bulgaria as at present demarcated;

(2) With Greece:

Thence to the confluence of the Arda and the Marilza:

the course of the Maritza;

then upstream along the Arda, up to a point on that river to be determined on the spot in the immediate neighbourhood of the village of Tchorek-Keuy:

the course of the Arda;

thence in a south-easterly direction up to a point on the Maritza, 1 kilom. below Bosna-Keuy:

a roughly straight line leaving in Turkish territory the village of Bosna-Keuy. The village of Tchorek-Keuy shall be assigned to Greece or to Turkey according as the

majority of the population shall be found to be Greek or Turkish by the Commission for which provision is made in Article 5, the population which has migrated into this village after the 11th October, 1922, not being taken into account;

thence to the Aegean Sea:

the course of the Maritza.

ARTICLE 3.

From the Mediterranean to the frontier of Persia, the frontier of Turkey is laid down as follows:

(I) With Syria:

The frontier described in Article 8 of the Franco-Turkish Agreement of the 20th October, 1921

(2) With Iraq:

The frontier between Turkey and Iraq shall be laid down in friendly arrangement to be concluded between Turkey and Great Britain within nine months.

In the event of no agreement being reached between the two Governments within the time mentioned, the dispute shall be referred to the Council of the League of Nations.

The Turkish and British Governments reciprocally undertake that, pending the decision to be reached on the subject of the frontier, no military or other movement shall take place which might modify in any way the present state of the territories of which the final fate will depend upon that decision.

ARTICLE 4.

The frontiers described by the present Treaty are traced on the one-in-a-million maps attached to the present Treaty. In case of divergence between the text and the map, the text will prevail. [See Introduction.]

ARTICLE 5.

A Boundary Commission will be appointed to trace on the ground the frontier defined in Article 2 (2). This Commission will be composed of representatives of Greece and of Turkey, each Power appointing one representative, and a president chosen by them from the nationals of a third Power.

They shall endeavour in all cases to follow as nearly as possible the descriptions given in the present Treaty, taking into account as far as possible administrative boundaries and local economic interests.

The decision of the Commission will be taken by a majority and shall be binding on the parties concerned.

The expenses of the Commission shall be borne in equal shares by the parties concerned.

ARTICLE 6.

In so far as concerns frontiers defined by a waterway as distinct from its banks, the phrases “course” or “channel” used in the descriptions of the present Treaty signify, as regards non-navigable rivers, the median line of the waterway or of its principal branch, and, as regards navigable rivers, the median line of the principal channel of navigation. It will rest with the Boundary Commission to specify whether the frontier line shall

follow any changes of the course or channel which may take place, or whether it shall be definitely fixed by the position of the course or channel at the time when the present Treaty comes into force.

In the absence of provisions to the contrary, in the present Treaty, islands and islets Iying within three miles of the coast are included within the frontier of the coastal State.

ARTICLE 7.

The various States concerned undertake to furnish to the Boundary Commission all documents necessary for its task, especially authentic copies of agreements fixing existing or old frontiers, all large scale maps in existence, geodetic data, surveys completed but unpublished, and information concerning the changes of frontier watercourses. The maps, geodetic data, and surveys, even if unpublished, which are in the possession of the Turkish authorities, must be delivered at Constantinople with the least possible delay from the coming into force of the present Treaty to the President of the Commission.

The States concerned also undertake to instruct the local authorities to communicate to the Commission all documents, especially plans, cadastral and land books, and to furnish on demand all details regarding property, existing economic conditions and other necessary information.

ARTICLE 8.

The various States interested undertake to give every assistance to the Boundary Commission, whether directly or through local authorities, in everything that concerns transport, accommodation, labour, materials (sign posts, boundary pillars) necessary for the accomplishment of its mission.

In particular, the Turkish Government undertakes to furnish, if required, the technical personnel necessary to assist the Boundary Commission in the accomplishment of its duties.

ARTICLE 9.

The various States interested undertake to safeguard the trigonometrical points, signals, posts or frontier marks erected by the Commission.

ARTICLE 10.

The pillars will be placed so as to be intervisible. They will be numbered, and their position and their number will be noted on a cartographic document.

ARTICLE 11.

The protocols defining the boundary and the maps and documents attached thereto will be made out in triplicate, of which two copies will be forwarded to the Governments of the limitrophe States, and the third to the Government of the French Republic, which will deliver authentic copies to the Powers who sign the present Treaty.

ARTICLE 12.

The decision taken on the 13th February, 1914, by the Conference of London, in virtue of Articles 5 of the Treaty of London of the 17th-30th May, 1913, and 15 of the Treaty of Athens of the 1st-14th November, 1913, which decision was communicated to the Greek Government on the 13th February, 1914, regarding the sovereignty of

Greece over the islands of the Eastern Mediterranean, other than the islands of Imbros, Tenedos and Rabbit Islands, particularly the islands of Lemnos, Samothrace, Mytilene, Chios, Samos and Nikaria, is confirmed, subject to the provisions of the present Treaty respecting the islands placed under the sovereignty of Italy which form the subject of Article 15.

Except where a provision to the contrary is contained in the present Treaty, the islands situated at less than three miles from the Asiatic coast remain under Turkish sovereignty.

ARTICLE 13.

With a view to ensuring the maintenance of peace, the Greek Government undertakes to observe the following restrictions in the islands of Mytilene, Chios, Samos and Nikaria:

(I) No naval base and no fortification will be established in the said islands.

(2) Greek military aircraft will be forbidden to fly over the territory of the Anatolian coast. Reciprocally, the Turkish Government will forbid their military aircraft to fly over the said islands.

(3) The Greek military forces in the said islands will be limited to the normal contingent called up for military service, which can be trained on the spot, as well as to a force of gendarmerie and police in proportion to the force of gendarmerie and police existing in the whole of the Greek territory.

ARTICLE 14.

The islands of Imbros and Tenedos, remaining under Turkish sovereignty, shall enjoy a special administrative organization composed of local elements and furnishing every guarantee for the native non-Moslem population in so far as concerns local administration and the protection of persons and property. The maintenance of order will be assured therein by a police force recruited from amongst the local population by the local administration above provided for and placed under its orders.

The agreements which have been, or may be, concluded between Greece and Turkey relating to the exchange of the Greek and Turkish populations will not be applied to the inhabitants of the islands of Imbros and Tenedos.

ARTICLE 15.

Turkey renounces in favour of Italy all rights and title over the following islands: Stampalia (Astrapalia), Rhodes (Rhodos), Calki (Kharki), Scarpanto, Casos (Casso), Piscopis (Tilos), Misiros (Nisyros), Calimnos (Kalymnos), Leros, Patmos, Lipsos (Lipso), Simi (Symi), and Cos (Kos), which are now occupied by Italy, and the islets dependent thereon, and also over the island of Castellorizzo.

ARTICLE I6.

Turkey hereby renounces all rights and title whatsoever over or respecting the territories situated outside the frontiers laid down in the present Treaty and the islands other than those over which her sovereignty is recognised by the said Treaty, the future of these territories and islands being settled or to be settled by the parties concerned.

The provisions of the present Article do not prejudice any special arrangements arising from neighbourly relations which have been or may be concluded between Turkey and

any limitrophe countries.

ARTICLE 17.

The renunciation by Turkey of all rights and titles over Egypt and over the Soudan will take effect as from the 5th November, 1914.

ARTICLE 18.

Turkey is released from all undertakings and obligations in regard to the Ottoman loans guaranteed on the Egyptian tribute, that is to say, the loans of 1855, 1891 and 1894. The annual payments made by Egypt for the service of these loans now forming part of the service of the Egyptian Public Debt, Egypt is freed from all other obligations relating to the Ottoman Public Debt.

ARTICLE 19.

Any questions arising from the recognition of the State of Egypt shall be settled by agreements to be negotiated subsequently in a manner to be determined later between the Powers concerned. The provisions of the present Treaty relating to territories detached from Turkey under the said Treaty will not apply to Egypt.

ARTICLE 20.

Turkey hereby recognises the annexation of Cyprus proclaimed by the British Government on the sth November, 1914.

ARTICLE 21.

Turkish nationals ordinarily resident in Cyprus on the 5th November, 1914, will acquire British nationality subject to the conditions laid down in the local law, and will thereupon lose their Turkish nationality. They will, however, have the right to opt for Turkish nationality within two years from the coming into force of the present Treaty, provided that they leave Cyprus within twelve months after having so opted.

Turkish nationals ordinarily resident in Cyprus on the coming into force of the present Treaty who, at that date, have acquired or are in process of acquiring British nationality in consequence of a request made in accordance with the local law, will also thereupon lose their Turkish nationality.

It is understood that the Government of Cyprus will be entitled to refuse British nationality to inhabitants of the island who, being Turkish nationals, had formerly acquired another nationality without the consent of the Turkish Government.

ARTICLE 22.

Without prejudice to the general stipulations of Article 27, Turkey hereby recognises the definite abolition of all rights and privileges whatsoever which she enjoyed in Libya under the Treaty of Lausanne of the 18th October, 1912, and the instruments connected therewith.

2. SPECIAL PROVISIONS. ARTICLE 23.

The High Contracting Parties are agreed to recognise and declare the principle of freedom of transit and of navigation, by sea and by air, in time of peace as in time of war, in the strait of the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmora and the Bosphorus, as prescribed in the separate Convention signed this day, regarding the regime of the Straits. This Convention will have the same force and effect in so far as the present High Contracting Parties are concerned as if it formed part of the present Treaty.

ARTICLE 24.

The separate Convention signed this day respecting the regime for the frontier described in Article 2 of the present Treaty will have equal force and effect in so far as the present High Contracting Parties are concerned as if it formed part of the present Treaty.

ARTICLE 25.

Turkey undertakes to recognise the full force of the Treaties of Peace and additional Conventions concluded by the other Contracting Powers with the Powers who fought on the side of Turkey, and to recognise whatever dispositions have been or may be made concerning the territories of the former German Empire, of Austria, of Hungary and of Bulgaria, and to recognise the new States within their frontiers as there laid down.

ARTICLE 26.

Turkey hereby recognises and accepts the frontiers of Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, Greece, Hungary, Poland, Roumania, the Serb-Croat-Slovene State and the Czechoslovak State, as these frontiers have been or may be determined by the Treaties referred to in Article 25 or by any supplementary conventions.

ARTICLE 27.

No power or jurisdiction in political, legislative or administrative matters shall be exercised outside Turkish territory by the Turkish Government or authorities, for any reason whatsoever, over the nationals of a territory placed under the sovereignty or protectorate of the other Powers signatory of the present Treaty, or over the nationals of a territory detached from Turkey.

It is understood that the spiritual attributions of the Moslem religious authorities are in no way infringed.

ARTICLE 28.

Each of the High Contracting Parties hereby accepts, in so far as it is concerned, the complete abolition of the Capitulations in Turkey in every respect.

ARTICLE 29.

Moroccans, who are French nationals (“ressortissants”) and Tunisians shall enjoy in Turkey the same treatment in all respects as other French nationals (“ressortissants”).

Natives (“ressortissants”) of Libya shall enjoy in Turkey the same treatment in all respects as other Italian nationals (“ressortissants”).

The stipulations of the present Article in no way prejudge the nationality of persons of Tunisian, Libyan and Moroccan origin established in Turkey.

Reciprocally, in the territories the inhabitants of which benefit by the stipulations of the first and second paragraphs of this Article, Turkish nationals shall benefit by the same treatment as in France and in Italy respectively.

The treatment to which merchandise originating in or destined for the territories, the inhabitants of which benefit from the stipulations of the first paragraph of this Article, shall be subject in Turkey, and, reciprocally, the treatment to which merchandise originating in or destined for Turkey shall be subject in the said territories shall be settled by agreement between the French and Turkish Governments.

SECTION III.

GENERAL PROVISIONS.

ARTICLE 137.

Subject to any agreements concluded between the High Contracting Parties, the decisions talcen and orders issued since the 30th October, 1918, until the coming into force of the present Treaty, by or in agreement with the authorities of the Powers who have occupied Constantinople, and concerning the property, rights and interests of their nationals, of foreigners or of Turkish nationals, and the relations of such persons with the authorities of Turkey, shall be regarded as definitive and shall give rise to no claims against the Powers or their authority.

All other claims arising from injury suffered in consequence of any such decisions or orders shall be submitted to the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal.

ARTICLE 138.

In judicial matters, the decisions given and orders issued in Turkey from the 30th October, 1918, until the coming into force of the present Treaty by all judges, courts or authorities of the Powers who have occupied Constantinople, or by the Provisional Mixed Judicial Commission established on the 8th December, 1921, as well as the measures taken in execution of such decisions or orders, shall be regarded as definitive, without prejudice, however, to the terms of paragraphs IV and VI of the Amnesty Declaration dated this day.

Nevertheless, in the event of a claim being presented by a private person in respect of damage suffered by him in consequence of a judicial decision in favour of another private person given in a civil matter by a military or police court, this claim shall be brought before the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal, which may in a proper case, order the payment of compensation or even restitution of the property in question.

ARTICLE 139.

Archives, registers, plans, title-deeds and other documents of every kind relating to the civil, judicial or financial administration, or the administration of Wakfs, which are at present in Turkey and are only of interest to the Government of a territory detached from the Ottoman Empire, and reciprocally those in a territory detached from the Ottoman Empire which are only of interest to the Turkish Government, shall reciprocally be restored.

Archives, registers, plans, title-deeds and other documents mentioned above which are considered by the Government in whose possession they are as being also of interest to itself, may be retained by that Government, subject to its furnishing on request photographs or certified copies to the Government concerned.

Archives, registers, plans, title-deeds and other documents which have been taken away either from Turkey or from detached territories shall reciprocally be restored in original, in so far as they concern exclusively the territories from which they have been taken. The expense entailed by these operations shall be paid by the Government applying therefor.

The above stipulations apply in the same manner to the registers relating to real estates or Wakfs in the districts of the former Ottoman Empire transferred to Greece after 1912.

ARTICLE 140.

Prizes made during the war between Turkey and the other Contracting Powers prior to

the 30th October, 1918, shall give rise to no claim on either side. The same shall apply to seizures effected after that date, for violation of the armistice, by the Powers who have occupied Constantinople.

It is understood that no claim shall be made, either by the Governments of the Powers who have occupied Constantinople or their nationals, or by the Turkish Government or its nationals, respecting small craft of all kinds, vessels of light tonnage, yachts and lighters which any of the said Governments may, between the 29th October, 1914, until the 1st January, 1923, have disposed of in their own harbours or in harbours occupied by them. Nevertheless, this stipulation does not prejudice the terms of paragraph VI of the Amnesty Declaration dated this day, nor the claims which private persons may be able to establish against other private persons in virtue of rights held before the 29th October, 1914.

Vessels under the Turkish flag seized by the Greek forces after the 30th October, 1918, shall be restored to Turkey.

ARTICLE 141 .

In accordance with Article 25 of the present Treaty, Articles 155, 250 and 440 and Annex III, Part VIII (Reparation) of the Treaty of Peace of Versailles, dated the 28th June, 1919, the Turkish Government and its nationals are released from any liability to the German Government or to its nationals in respect of German vessels which were the object during the war of a transfer by the German Government or its nationals to the Ottoman Government or its nationals without the consent of the Allied Governments, and at present in the possession of the latter.

The same shall apply, if necessary, in the relations between Turkey and the other Powers which fought on her side.

ARTICLE 142.

The separate Convention concluded on the 30th January, 1923, between Greece and Turkey, relating to the exchange of the Greek and Turkish populations, will have as between these two High Contracting Parties the same force and effect as if it formed part of the present Treaty.

ARTICLE 143.

The present Treaty shall be ratified as soon as possible.

The ratifications shall be deposited at Paris.

The Japanese Government will be entitled merely to inform the Government of the French Republic through their diplomatic representative at Paris when their ratification has been given; in that case, they must transmit the instrument of ratification as soon as possible.

Each of the Signatory Powers will ratify by one single instrument the present Treaty and the other instruments signed by it and mentioned in the Final Act of the Conference of Lausanne, in so far as these require ratification.

A first proces-verbal of the deposit of ratifications shall be drawn up as soon as Turkey, on the one hand, and the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan, or any three of them, on the other hand, have deposited the instruments of their ratifications.

From the date of this first proces-verbal the Treaty will come into force between the High Contracting Parties who have thus ratified it, Thereafter it will come into force for the other Powers at the date of the deposit of their ratifications.

As between Greece and Turkey, however, the provisions of Articles 1, 2 (2) and 5-11 inclusive will come into force as soon as the Greek and Turkish Governments have

deposited the instruments of their ratifications, even if at that time the proces-verbal referred to above has not yet been drawn up.

The French Government will transmit to all the Signatory Powers a certified copy of the proces-verbaux of the deposit of ratifications.

In faith whereof the above-named Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty.

Done at Lausanne, the 24th July, 1923, in a single copy, which will be deposited in the archives of the Government of the French Republic, which will transmit a certified copy to each of the Contracting Powers.

(L.S.) HORACE RUMBOLD.

(L.S.) PELLE.

(L.S) GARRONI.

(L.S.) G. C. MONTAGNA.

(L.S.) K. OTCHIAI.

(L-S.) E. K. VENISELOS.

(L.S.) D. CACLAMANOS.

(L.S.) CONST. DIAMANDY.

(L.S.) CONST. CONTZESCO.

( ) ----------

(L.S.) M. ISMET.

(L.S.) DR. RIZA NOUR.

(L S.) HASSAN.

Appendix XI

F. P.A.
26
1923-24

Pamphlet No.
Series of

THE LAUSANNE TREATY
SHOULD THE U.S. RATIFY IT?

'Discussed by
Hon. James W. Geranr
Prof. Edward M. Earle
Rev. Albert W. Stub
Prof. A. D. F. Hamlin
Dr. James L. Barton
Henry W. Jessup
and others

APRIL 5, 1924

A Report of the 68th Luncheon Meeting
(Hotel Astor, New York)

o*f the*

Foreign Policy Association
National Headquarters
Nine East Forty-Fifth Street
New York

The Lausanne Treaty

SHOULD THE UNITED STATES RATIFY IT?

MR.JAMES G. McDONALD, Chairman

THE CHAIRMAN

THE discussion to-day is on the merits and demerits of the Lausanne Treaty, recently negotiated by our Government with the Government of Turkey. The question is: Should that Treaty be ratified? It is to be an American discussion from the American point of view and with American speakers. I emphasize this, not to suggest that we are not interested in the Greek, the Turkish, and the Armenian viewpoints, but because this problem is for us to-day an American problem. It will be up for decision as soon as the State Department sends the Treaty to the Senate. It will require from us a definite political answer. Therefore, much as we are interested in foreign viewpoints, our discussion to-day is to be primarily American.

I have been asked to do a very difficult thing, to sketch in three or four minutes the background out of which the Treaty of Lausanne grew. This would be easy were I not laboring under the imperative injunction to be absolutely impartial. How can one avoid the charge of partiality, when almost any statement in reference to Turkey will be characterized by one group or the other as untrue or at least inaccurate? Perhaps, by limiting my remarks to a bare and unadorned narrative of a few of the chief events during the last decade, I may hope to maintain my reputation for impeccable evenhandedness as chairman.

In October, 1914, Turkey entered the Great War on the side of the Central Powers and like them was decisively defeated. As a result, August 10, 1920, she accepted the Treaty of Sèvres. This humiliating peace gave an international status to the Straits and to Constantinople, handed over Smyrna and the immediate hinterland to Greece, created the Armenian Republic and divided the rest of the Turkish Empire, except a portion of Anatolia, among the various Powers as mandated territories, or into semi-independent states.

A few months earlier, January 28, 1920, a group of Nationalist leaders in the Parliament at Constantinople signed what they called the National Pact, a virtual Declaration of Independence. This document formally repudiated: (1) the Capitulations under which the representatives of the Great Powers had exercised extraterritorial jurisdiction in Turkey; (2) the Ottoman Public Debt Administration; and (3) all other "judicial or financial restrictions of any nature which would arrest our national development." Recognizing this, that the most important Turkish imperial possessions were lost permanently the authors of the Pact demanded that Cilicia, Mosul and Western· Thrace, together with complete control of Constantinople and the Straits, be restored.

Within three months the Grand National Assembly set up its government at Angora and began to exercise jurisdiction over the unoccupied portion of Anatolia.

Then under the leadership of Mustapha Kemal Pasha, the Nationalists began active military operations against the forces of the Allies. By October, 1920, the Armenian Republic was over-run and crushed, the British had returned to the Ismid Peninsula, the Italians to Adalia, while the French were withdrawing from Cilicia.

During the spring of 1921, separate treaties with Russia, Italy and France ended most of the military operations, gave formal diplomatic recognition to the Nationalist Government and legalized most of its territorial gains. Now followed the long-drawn-out struggle with the Greeks, which culminated in the destruction of a large part of the Greek forces, the evacuation of Smyrna, and finally, the Armistice of Mudania, October 10, 1922.

Three weeks later the Sultanate was abolished and a republic declared. Thus, in little more than two years the military and political victories of the Angora Government—I purposely have omitted any reference to the part said to have been played by some of the European powers in abetting these successes—tore up the Treaty of Sèvres. Recognizing this fact, the Allies consented to negotiate for a new treaty at the first Lausanne Conference which opened November 20, 1922. This effort failed after a few months because of differences of opinion about economic, fiscal and judicial terms. It was followed by the second Lausanne Conference beginning April 22, 1923. Out of these negotiations, often enlivened by peremptory, but usually empty and futile ultimatums, came the Treaty of Lausanne between the Allies and Turkey. A few weeks later our Government signed a similar but not identical treaty with the Angora Government. It is this Treaty which we are to discuss today; and at this point I leave the discussion for the speakers.

The Honorable James W. Gerard will speak first for twenty minutes, to be followed by Professor Earle of Columbia University, speaking for a similar length of time—an exactly similar length of time. Ambassador Gerard is then to read a letter from Professor Hart of Harvard, (who was to have been here but unfortunately could not come) and after that Dr. Staub, who has just returned from the Near East, is to speak for ten minutes. Professor Hamlin of Columbia University will speak next for fifteen minutes and then Dr. Barton will speak for another fifteen, giving us an hour and a half of discussion. The rest of the time will be given over to questions and answers.

It would be gratuitous to introduce to a New York audience the first speaker. You all know Mr. Gerard as a distinguished citizen of New York, as Ambassador to Berlin during a very critical period and as the Chairman of that Committee which has worked so valiantly for the independence of Armenia. It is a pleasure to introduce former Ambassador Gerard. (Applause.)

MR. GERARD

MR. CHAIRMAN, ladies and gentlemen: We first hear in history of the Turks about the third century as a Mongoloid, nomadic race. In the succeeding eight centuries, following that curious impulse which seems to drive all war-like peoples toward the West, they invaded Europe, on their way gradually absorbing the ancient Greek Empire, the great empire of the Caliphs, and those territories that now constitute Bulgaria, Rumania, Serbia and Greece, all of them occupied by Christian populations.

They embraced the religion of Mohammed, first having made their entrance as mercenary guards at the Courts of the Caliphs at Bagdad.

Now, that system of government which they introduced was a government by

force, an exploitation of conquered peoples. As Gladstone said: "From the first black day when the Turks entered Europe, they became the great anti-human specimen of humanity. Wherever they went, they left a broad track of blood. Wherever their dominion reached, civilization ceased. They represented the rule of force, as against the rule of law. Their guide in this life was a relentless fatalism, and their reward after death a sensual paradise."

They had nothing in common of race or religion or government with these people whom they conquered and exploited. In the administration of the law, as they had adopted the Koran, they followed the custom of the Islamic Empire, and their administration of law was semi-religious, that is to say, the oath of a Christian as against that of a true believer, amounted, and amounts today, to very little in the Courts of Turkey.

Professor Gottheil of Columbia, who is here, very kindly gave me a copy of a speech made only the 18th of February last, by Kemal Bey, (I don't know whether he is any relation to Kemal Pasha, the present head of Turkey, or not), in which, speaking of the domain of law at present in Turkey, he says that "a capital reform is necessary in all branches of law in Turkey. There are vestiges of clericalism and theocracy and new Turkey must make up its mind to remove these two obstacles from all branches of law."

It may interest you ladies to know that, according to the law of the Koran, it takes the oaths of two women to equal that of one man.

Ambassador Straus, speaking not long ago, said that the Capitulations were necessary where an even-handed and well-administered system of justice was absent, and he said that in Turkey justice was sold to the highest bidder, and that a nation does not turn over a new leaf over night.

Now, it was because of this attitude that what we call the "Capitulations" came into being. The Capitulations were something not wrung from the Turks by diplomacy or by war, but, in order to induce Christian nations to trade, they said "your causes may be tried when they are against Turks in consular tribunals established by you," and those Capitulations were abrogated by the Turks in 1914 at the commencement of the Great War.

Turkish power began to decline when they first met defeat, a great defeat, at the hands of the Russians in 1774, and then gradually in the Nineteenth Century, as you all know, and largely by the aid of Russia, those subject Christian peoples which were on the European side, were gradually freed from Turkish rule.

You remember how Lord Byron and the English Volunteers went to the aid of the Greeks, and how a veritable crusade of the nations of Europe freed Hungary from the rule of the Turks and drove them from under the walls of Vienna; and Rumania and Bulgaria and Servia were all established. But the Christian community of the Armenians, lying in the mountains to the east of Asia Minor were not freed by this gradual interference of the Christians of Europe in favor of those who were oppressed and massacred and exploited under Turkish rule.

When the Great War broke—the World War—the Armenians took a strong stand, those outside of the Turkish Empire, on the side of the Allies. Two hundred thousand of

them fought. When the Russians abandoned the Caucasus front, they held it. General Allenby is a witness to the splendid aid which they gave to the Allied cause. And you all remember the fourteen points of President Wilson, the promises made by the Allies that Armenia should be free, and the Treaty of Sèvres which established an Armenian Republic.

It has been said that we never took any political action on behalf of the Armenians. We did two things. We were asked to delimit the frontiers of the new Armenia, and President Wilson did in fact delimit those frontiers, and we did officially ask delay at a time when the Allies, France and England, were about to send troops into this new Armenia—we asked delay—as Lloyd George said in making a speech in the British Parliament. Those were two official acts which put on us a certain responsibility toward the Armenians.

But the Treaty of Sèvres was signed and then afterwards, as you know, and as you have heard your Chairman state, there came this wave when the Greeks were driven back, and finally the Turks faced General Harrington in the lines at Constantinople. Their army was not as great as some people would have you believe, because the British, with 20,000 men, faced them there, and faced them successfully.

The French gave aid to the Turks, the Italians gave aid; they sent them arms and ammunition, and with these arms and this ammunition, they were able to drive back the Greeks, commit the great massacres and the burning of the celebrated business town of Smyrma. Then later on came the Conference at Lausanne, meeting in the autumn of 1922. A treaty was made then with Great Britain, with France, with Italy, and this Treaty now proposed to the American people follows the lines of that treaty. In the meantime and while this Conference was in session, this question of the Chester concession came up, a concession to those whom the Turks themselves now call American adventurers, a concession which has since been sold for the miserable sum of $300,000, and 10 per cent of the profits to the Canadians. And the pity of it was that this concession included a concession as to oil for that part of Armenia which the United States, through President Wilson, had delimited and laid down as the property of the new Armenian Republic.

I believe that Secretary Hughes and the State Department—and understand that I have the greatest admiration and respect for Secretary Hughes and for the State Department of which I once was a part—I believe simply that in this matter they are erring in judgment. They remind me of the man who once beat his wife with the frame of a motto on which was embroidered "God save our home."

In the autumn of 1922, our "unofficial observer," Ambassador Child, stood up for the rights of American citizens, stood up for these Capitulations and even said something, rather faintly I admit in favor of Armenia.

And then the scene changed. In April, 1923, this Chester concession was granted. Secretary Hughes said, in making his speech here, that at no time was the position of America affected by the Chester concession. It is only a few days ago, five days ago, that Ismet Pasha, the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs, and their principal delegate at Lausanne, severely attacked the opposition leaders and former Premier Raouf Bey, who, he said, gave half of Anatolia to two adventurers without capital, which caused serious difficulties at Lausanne, nearly plunging the country again into war.

Now, who realty caused the serious difficulty at Lausanne? The Chester concession was opposed by France, by Italy and by Great Britain. The serious difficulty that he speaks of could only have been caused by the representatives of the United States, and after the concession was granted in April, this Treaty was agreed upon by which we abandon the rights of American citizens, by which we abandon all chance of doing anything for the people of Armenia, to whom we were committed by two political acts of this country, even if we do not consider ourselves committed on the side of Christianity and of right doing in the world.

It is said that there are certain institutions, American educational institutions, that will suffer. We read only a few days ago, in the newspapers, that six of these have been compelled to close. And to show you how they will carry out this treaty, Article 38 of the Lausanne Treaty reads: *"The Turkish Government undertakes to assure full and complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of Turkey without distinction of birth, nationality, language or religion."*

And I read from the New York *Times*—I think this clipping is of to-day-"TURKS SEGREGATE RACIAL MINORITIES:—They establish zones forbidden to Arabs, Armenians, Georgians and Greeks. It now appears that the creation of a forbidden zone for Armenians forms only a part of a comprehensive scheme for dealing with the non-Osmanli elements in the population of Turkey."

That is the way that the Turks, even before it has been ratified by the Senate, are carrying out the terms of the Treaty of Lausanne, and only on March 24 last, Secretary Hughes, in order to obtain protection for these institutions in Turkey, was obliged to threaten the Turks that he would withdraw this Treaty from consideration by the Senate.

These institutions are noble works. Missionaries have devoted themselves there to the Christian people. They never convert Moslems to Christianity. You will hear on one side, Dr. Barton, perhaps, speak in favor of the Treaty, but I would like to ask Dr. Barton if it isn't a fact that he wrote a letter to Mr. Everett P. Wheeler, who sits at this table, saying that he did not think that such a treaty could ever be ratified; and you will hear today from Professor Hamlin of Columbia University, the son of a missionary; Mr. Henry W. Jessup, distinguished lawyer of this city, the son of another missionary, all opposed to this Treaty which gives away the rights of American citizens in Turkey, which subjects them as these articles which I have here from the papers say, to enormous taxes being placed upon the schools—"Y. M. C. A. being closed—Stamboul Y. M. C. A. shut by the Angora Ministry. Entrances are sealed and admittance is refused Secretaries."—I am reading again from that very fine newspaper, the New York *Times*.

That, even before this Treaty is submitted to the Senate, is the condition of mind of the Turks with reference to these institutions. If we want to educate the Christian population, we have to go outside of Turkey because they are being driven out—those who are left alive.

Do you realize that General Harbord, head of the Mission which went from this country to Turkey, states that 800,000 Armenians were massacred, men, women and children, in cold b1ood, and do you know that in this sweep when the Turks came through Asia Minor and burned Smyrna that probably a million Greeks fell victims to Turkish cruelty and rapacity?

Now, why this haste to make a treaty with this government? With these people whom Secretary Hughes, himself, speaking at the Plaza Hotel only a short time ago characterized as murderers. Even from the side of policy, we had better wait. That is not the regime of anything but one group of adventurers who have seized upon the power. They have driven out the Caliph, the head of their church, and the young Turks in possession of Constantinople and the Moslem priesthood will some day see to it that another rule is substituted for that of these adventurers. There is no haste about it. Their revenues fall far below their expenditures. The people are starving in Anatolia. A change will come.

Why not wait? Why not see whether the Turkish Government will establish some system of law which will not, as Ambassador Straus said, sell its justice to the highest bidder, so that our people there have some protection?

For nineteen years after we became a nation, we remained without a treaty with Spain. It was fifty-two years before a treaty was signed with Russia by President Buchanan. You all know how in recent years, we have refused for a long period to recognize the Government of Mexico, and certainly we have a thousand times more interests of American citizens to protect in Mexico than in Turkey.

Greece has not yet been recognized by us, and she has remained unrecognized for a number of years. We still refuse to recognize the Soviet Government of Russia, because they have not paid their debts. Why, then, should we recognize this government of murderers? Why this haste? Let us wait; see what their conduct will be; see whether their government will survive; not hasten to recognize this anaemic murderers' government of Kemal Pasha? (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Ambassador Gerard has done me a great favor. He has kept well within his time, fully a minute and a half. I have just calculated that if his excellent precedent is followed by all the speakers, and if the Chairman can refrain from "brilliant" *ad interim* remarks, we shall finish the main discussion in the allotted time, an hour and a half.

The next speaker, who, I suspect will differ somewhat from Ambassador Gerard on some points, is Professor Edward Mead Earle, of Columbia University, the author of "Turkey, the Great Powers and the Bagdad Railway." He has made a special study of the many questions related to the Lausanne Treaty. (Applause.)

PROFESSOR EARLE

MR. CHAIRMAN, before resuming the discussion in direct presentation regarding the actual features of this Treaty, l should like to make one or two remarks, with Mr. Gerard's permission, apropos of a statement or two of his.

While it is true that some two weeks ago, the Stamboul branch of the Y. M. C. A. was closed by the Turkish authorities, and while it is also true that the American Nurses Training School at Constantinople was closed for a time by the Turkish authorities, I have been informed by the Department of State within the last two days, that those institutions have been reopened and that there are now no American institutions in Turkey with closed doors as the result of action by the Turkish authorities.

In the second place, regarding recognition of this present Government, we have in fact already recognized it because we have had at Constantinople since the Armistice of 1918, a High Commissioner in the person of Admiral Bristol. In other words, we have diplomatic relationships of an informal character at the present time with the existing Turkish Government [meaning that modern day Turkey is in fact the same a pre-WWI Turkey].

Now, in introducing the subject of the ratification of the Treaty from the standpoint of one who believes that the Treaty ought to be ratified, it seems to me appropriate to point out at the start that if we had within our power the weapons with which to compel Turkey to sign any treaty which we chose, it is quite obvious that we could not obtain unanimity of opinion or anything approaching unanimity of opinion in the United States regarding the character of such a treaty. If this audience were to determine, itself, exactly what the treaty should be, I dare say you would have almost as many differences of opinion as there are persons in the audience. Therefore, to expect to find a perfect treaty from the point of view of the great mass of American public opinion is asking entirely too much.

We must consider, in connection with this Treaty, the circumstances under which it was negotiated. What were the determining factors in the negotiation of the Treaty? In the first place, the American delegation at Lausanne was faced with actual conditions, conditions which they had to take into consideration in the determination of the terms of the Peace. Those conditions essentially were these: that regrettable as many features of the history of the Near East from 1908 to 1923 were, no action of the American delegation at Lausanne could have unmade that history. In the second place, they had to take into consideration that nothing that they did could retrace the steps which the United States Government officially had taken between 1917 and 1923 regarding Turkey. They could not amend the fact that we had never been at war with Turkey. They could not amend the fact that the decision to land Greek troops at Smyrna was taken with the approval of President Wilson. They could not amend the fact that our delegation did not participate in the making of the terms of the Treaty of Sèvres. Finally, they could not amend the fact that we refused to accept a mandate for Armenia in 1920.

In the next place, they were faced with the actual fact that the Allied Powers had previously made a treaty with Turkey which renounced the regime of the Capitulations and the various other exterritorial rights which foreigners had enjoyed in Turkey before the Conference of Lausanne. They had to take into consideration also the fact that if they made a treaty which did not bolster up the claims of the Armenians to special recognition, that they would receive criticism in the United States from the friends of Armenia, and if they made a treaty which did guarantee American participation in the establishment of an Armenian Republic, that they likewise would have received serious criticism from persons in the United States who believed that under no circumstances the United States should become entangled in European affairs, much less Asiatic affairs. In other words, the difficulty of the American delegation was a very serious one from that point of view.

It is not claimed, I take it, by many persons that this Treaty is a perfect treaty. There have been few perfect treaties in the history of international relations. But even an imperfect treaty, and I am not prepared to admit that this Treaty possesses serious imperfections, would have been better than no peace at all in this particu1ar region of the world.

It is necessary to remember that for fifteen years now, from 1908 until1923, there has been almost uninterrupted war in the Near East. As Mr. Gerard rightly said, war has brought terrible sufferings upon the Christian populations of the East, and no right-minded American will condone in the least the action of the Turkish officials in thus persecuting Christian popu1ations. At the same time, however, no intellectually honest American can overlook the fact that the sufferings of war were visited upon all the peoples of the Near East, Moslem as well as Christian.

In the Balkan Wars of 1912 to 1913, more than 400,000 Turks were driven out of Thrace and Macedonia by the invading Balkan armies. In the Russian invasion of Anatolia in 1915 and 1916, more than 800,000 Turks were driven out of their homes in northern and eastern Anatolia, and Ismet Pasha said at Lausanne that there were actually in Turkey a million Moslem refugees without homes. These facts are not cited by way of exonerating the Turkish Government from any of the charges which have been leveled against it, but rather by way of making clear that Americans and Europeans who are very much detached from this Situation as far as their personal safety is concerned, should not take any action which would tend to perpetuate that state of war in the Near East—war which is fought not only with the so-called civilized weapons of warfare, but with every weapon of expropriation, vandalism, massacre, disease and all the rest of it. In other words, a peace—is needed in the Near East, even an imperfect peace being preferable to none.

However, this Treaty is not seriously imperfect in detail. I believe that the settlement of Lausanne, the Allied Treaty and the American Treaty, taken together—and, as Mr. Gerard has said, they must be taken as part and parcel of the same settlement—constitute the best settlement which has been made in Near Eastern history for a period of more than 150 years. That statement obviously requires explanation, and it is with a view to explaining the statement that I wish to point out some of the particular provisions of the Treaty.

In general, the opposition to the ratification of the Treaty is based upon one of two grounds: either that our rights have been ignored or that our responsibilities have been evaded. Now, what is the position as regards both of these points of view? In the first place, regarding American rights in Turkey, it is true that the Capitulations under the terms of the Turco-American Treaty of Lausanne are abandoned. That is unquestionably a surrender of rights which Americans formerly enjoyed in Turkey. At the same time, however, refusal of the American delegation at Lausanne to recognize the situation as it was would not have preserved those rights. The rights were gone in fact. When the Allies abandoned the Capitulations under the terms of their treaty of July 24, 1923, there is good reason for believing that American rights under the terms of the treaty of 1830 also went, inasmuch as in part those rights were assured to Americans only in so far as they were assured to foreigners. That is a technical, legal point which I am not prepared to press further. But in any case, the choice of the American delegation was either to recognize the de facto abandonment of the Capitulations under the terms of the Allied treaty, or to insist upon their legal maintenance and in the last analysis to fight for their maintenance.

At the same time, it ought to be pointed out that the abandonment of Capitulations is becoming a fairly well-established procedure in the relationships between great powers and small powers. For example, in 1921, the United States abandoned its privileges under exterritorial rights in Siam, and it is my understanding that the American Missionaries in China, at the present time, are circulating a petition asking

the American Government to abandon its rights under Capitulations in China as well. In other words, this surrender of the exterritorial rights of Americans in Turkey is not as serious as at first seems to be the case.

On that one point of the Capitulations, the Turks were obdurate, and they would not have accepted any treaty which insisted upon the continuance of the Capitulations. You will recall that the first Lausanne Conference broke up on that very point. The Turks were willing to fight rather than to accept the continuance of the regime of the Capitulations. Whether the European Powers and the United States or any of them could have defeated the Turks on that issue, is not the question. There was not one of those Powers which was willing to fight about the issue, and there is none now which is willing to fight about the issue.

Now, as regards American economic rights under the Treaty. This Treaty, as far as American economic rights are concerned, is in many respects better than the preceding treaties. The Capitulations for business men, of course, are abandoned; but inasmuch as the Capitulations for all foreign business men are abandoned American business is at no relative disadvantage as regards other business. In other words, American business men are allowed to continue in Turkey upon the same terms as any other foreigners. Furthermore, the Treaty provides that American corporations shall have the right to hold property in their own name, which was not provided by any previous treaty between the United States and Turkey.

All of the provisions of the economic sections are based upon the most-favored-nation principle. In other words, the United States and its citizens are guaranteed the same rights within Turkey as any of the nationals of the Allied powers, and it is difficult to see, first, upon what basis we could demand more than other foreigners within Turkey, and second, upon what basis the Turks would be willing to give up more than they are willing to grant other foreigners. If the Turks did so grant us more than they granted other foreigners, what would be the attitude, in turn, of the other foreign countries regarding the general diplomatic policy of the United States?

Under the terms of the Straits' Convention which form part and parcel of this Treaty, American merchant ships are allowed to pass through the Straits in time of war as in time of peace, with the single exception of a war between the United States and Turkey, in which case, of course, American ships would be subject to seizure. Before the adoption of the Lausanne Treaty, the Turks had the right to close the Straits at will. That is not a feature, however, of the present settlement, and the Turks are compelled to keep the Straits open in time of war. That they can not arbitrarily close them legally is obvious under the terms of the Treaty. That they can not close them arbitrarily by force is obvious when one considers the fact that the zone of the Straits, including the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmara and the Bosporous, is to be completely demilitarized with the exception of a small garrison for Constantinople.

It is a significant thing to note that American business men generally are in favor of the ratification of the Treaty, that is, those American business men in Turkey. I have here a letter from an American business man in Constantinople who says "naturally there are many interests which would be served by the non-ratification of the Treaty, among them our European competitors for trade here. Of late we have equalled or exceeded British imports; and if the new British Parliament ratifies and we do not—and all of the Allies will ratify sooner or later—we shall be placed at a great disadvantage nationally, and individually shall have a hard time to get along."

It has been frequently stated by opponents of the Treaty that American trade with Turkey in any case is next to valueless. This does not conform with the facts. In 1900, American exports to Turkey amounted to only $50,000. In 1913, they had risen to $3,500,000, and in 1920, to $42,200,000. Imports into the United States from Turkey, including certain important raw materials, increased from $22,100,000 in 1913 to $39,600,000 in 1920, and from 1919 to 1922, American trade with Constantinople alone exceeded $30,000,000 a year. While one can not say, of course, that the ratification of this Treaty will lead to an increase of American trade with Turkey, one can say with assurance that the rejection of the Treaty will not promote an increase of American trade with Turkey.

Now, as regards the Chester concession, it ought to be said that most persons of an anti-imperialistic turn of mind, among whom I include myself, have no sympathy and would have no sympathy with a treaty the terms of which were determined in part or in whole by the interests of the Chester concession. But there is no evidence whatsoever in this Treaty that it was negotiated in return for any economic quid pro quo such as the Chester concession, and Secretary Hughes, as Mr. Gerard has said, has specifically denied that such is the case.

The discussion of the Treaty in re1ation to American missionary and educational institutions I am going to leave to Mr. Staub, who has just returned from Turkey after a survey of those institutions and who represents their point of view infinitely better than I could.

As regards the minorities in Turkey, the United States has never officially signed any treaty guaranteeing the rights of the Armenians. That does not indicate that we ought not to, but it is a precedent which must be taken into consideration. The Allied Treaty with Turkey provides that the minorities shall be guaranteed certain liberty of religion and education and language, as Mr. Gerard has said, but there is in this treaty a highly significant provision.

"Turkey agrees," reads the treaty, *"that these provisions"*—this is in the Allied Treaty, not in the American Treaty—*"that these provisions constitute obligations of international concern and shall be placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations. They shall not be modified without the assent of a majority of the Council of the League. Any member of the Council shall have the right to bring to the attention of the Council any infraction or danger of infraction of ally of these obligations and the Council may thereupon take such action and give such directions as it may deem proper and effective in the circumstances.*

"Turkey further agrees that any differences of opinion as to questions of law or of fact arising out of these articles shall be held to be a dispute of international character under Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. The Turkish Government hereby consents that any such disputes shall, if the other party thereto demands, be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice, and the decision of the Permanent Court shall be final and shall have the same force and effect as an award under Article 13 of the Covenant."

There has never been a provision in any treaty regarding the Near East which has been more definite than that and which has placed the enforcement of the rights of the Armenians under international law rather than under the arbitrary will of any great power.

Now, there is nothing in our signature of the Treaty which will prevent that particular provision going into effect. If in addition to that, Mr. Gerard and his friends who believe in the rights of the Armenians wish to have the United States subscribe to that provision of the Treaty, and can convince American opinion that it ought to be subscribed to, they will have the hearty cooperation of any person who is interested in the avoidance of national animosities of the Near East. If, however, the isolationist feeling on this point can not be overcome, it is futile to talk of the rejection of this Treaty on the grounds that it does not protect the Armenians.

There is just one other point that I want to make because I have only one minute more, and that is this: If the United States should turn down this Treaty because of hoary prejudices or national pride or an inherited animosity toward the Turks, in a Presidential year, there must inevitably go abroad among all nations the impression, rightly or wrongly, that any obligation, any international obligation, which is undertaken by the American people on the eve of a Presidential election, is not worth the paper it is written on. And I submit that if the Treaty be rejected, it must be rejected on the basis of its merits, not upon the basis of any such prejudices, or any such national pride, or any partisan considerations whatsoever.

THE CHAIRMAN: Everybody is keeping within his time today. Perhaps some of you in the audience who have brilliant speeches prepared may have time to give them in the discussion period.

The next speaker is Ambassador Gerard who is going to read a letter from Professor Albert Bushnell Hart of Harvard, who, we regret, is unable to be here today.

MR. GERARD: This letter is from Professor Albert Bushnell Hart, Professor of Government in Harvard University:

April 3, 1924.

Dear Mr. Gerard:

It would be a privilege to take part in the discussion of the pending Turkish treaty on Saturday. Unfortunately that is a day of academic duties in Cambridge from which I cannot divest myself.

Perhaps you will allow me to outline briefly the considerations which make it the duty of the Senate of the United States, as representative of the interests of the American people, to refuse its ratification. This is not a controversy with Secretary Hughes or with the negotiators of the Treaty. The country appreciates the services of those public servants; but the Constitution, for reasons which have frequently appeared, gives to the Senate the power to withhold ratification for such reasons as convince the minds of a third of the Senators. We have had several previous instances of great advantage to the country through such action. For example, when the Senate refused to approve the Hay-Pauncefote treaty with Great Britain in December, 1900, Secretary Hay felt that the diplomatic world had come to an end. Being an able and sensible man, however, like the present Secretary of State, he set to work on a revision of the treaty along lines suggested by the Senate; and the result within a few months was a new treaty much more advantageous to the United States and more permanent in character.

The burden of proof for this Treaty is, of course, thrown on its advocates: It was not the wish of the United States to give up the treaty of 1830 or the exterritoriality which it guaranteed. The United States has taken no action to relieve itself of the obligations of that treaty. The issue was raised solely by the arbitrary and unfriendly action of Turkey in 1914 in declaring itself no longer bound by treaties of that kind with anybody. The assertion that the Turks have a right to create a new diplomatic situation by their fiat is contrary to the principles of international law. Likewise the assertion that other nations, by allowing their treaty privileges to slip away under their very noses, can create a situation which in any way binds the United States, is completely outside of law and common sense. 'Whatever the changes in the status of Europe, and particularly on the Bosporous, they were not brought on by the United States. The worst blow that the League of Nations has suffered since the United States refused to join it is the revelation that the European powers, by making a Lausanne Treaty with the Turks for their private advantage think they can practically compel the United States to follow their lead with a kindred Lausanne Treaty. Never in the history of our diplomacy has the United States permitted a treaty to be so deflected by the interests, compromises and abject surrenders of other nations.

To my mind, after listening to and reading many arguments in favor of the Treaty, the fundamental trouble is that it assumes a state of things in Turkey which does not exist, has never existed, and probably never will exist. The elaborate defenses—were I speaking I would probably say elaborate "white-washes"—of the Treaty on grounds of international law are all based upon the assumption that the so-called republic of Turkey is a modern civilized nation which is capable of carrying out treaty obligations. You would suppose in listening to those arguments that it was a treaty with a steadfast, established, responsible power. Suppose it were thought necessary to revise our treaties with Sweden: We should be dealing with a people with a long history of national experience, national uprightness, and a national intention to carry out its promises. There are no such conditions in Turkey. There is no national government in the sense even of a monarchy. There is no representative assembly. There is no public opinion that can be collected and represented. There is no civil or military authority that could, for instance, protect from sack and destruction the captured city of Smyrna. There is no assurance that the Turks who authorize the signature to the Treaty, will carry out any provision that hereafter may seem inconvenient. The Turks have been making the same kind of promises of good behavior and protection to the foreigner and recognition of the rights or minorities for more than a hundred years, and they have never observed a single one of those pledges.

Of course the exterritoriality of Americans in Turkey is unusual, but it is not abnormal. We have exterritoriality at this moment under treaty in China and Siam. It was applied for many years in Japan and not withdrawn till, after a quarter of a century of preparation, the Japanese were able to show to the world a modem system of law, of jurisprudence and of organized courts capable of dealing with the life and property of foreigners. Exterritoriality corresponded with the conditions in Turkey in 1830; and it likewise corresponds to the conditions in Turkey in 1924.

The Lausanne Treaty would be hard to carry on even with a civilized people familiar with Western law and customs. It contains guarantee for minorities, but no promise of religious liberty to a Turk who changes his religion. Indeed such a clause is unnecessary inasmuch as in one hundred years of mission work not one hundred male, intelligent, responsible Turks have been converted to Christianity. The American schools in Turkey have done a magnificent work, but not one-twentieth part of their

students, nor a fiftieth part of their graduates have been Turks. Furthermore, the treaty is saturated with the idea of "Concessions," that is, of grants of authority to carry on commercial and other enterprises by special privilege. The history of Turkey is honeycombed with those foreign concessions which have been a curse to Turkey because a source of corruption, and an eventual loss to the concessionaires because there is no responsible government in Turkey. In the long run most of the concessions are Dead Sea fruit.

Here we touch upon a difficulty which can not be removed by any changes of language. The European States that signed their treaty, particularly Great Britain and France, thereby turned their backs on their own professions. The Turks are a criminal nation. It does not appear that any Turkish public leaders, men or women, or any considerable group of Turks have ever objected to the deliberate assassination of the Armenian people, whose chief fault is that they desired that kind of self-government which has made the States of our Union great and prosperous. It has become fashionable in certain sections to deny that there have been any Armenian atrocities. The brutal murder of the Armenian people, which began in 1896 and is not yet quite completed, is as fully established by evidence, as the scenes after the capture of Constantinople in 1453 by the Turks. During the Paris conference the European powers admitted that the Turks could not be left in control of the Armenians. Even the treaty of Sèvres of 1920, which the Turks so reluctantly signed and so airily threw overboard—as they will throw overboard the European Lausanne Treaty at any time they think it safe—was favorable to the Armenians. What has caused the change of front of Great Britain and France, the greatest military power and the greatest naval power in the world? Nothing but the fear that, if they denied the Turk what he demanded, he would assail the British territories in Mesopotamia and the French in Syria. We have nothing in common with that policy, which is intended to protect the approaches to the Orient. There is nothing that Turkey can do to our possessions or our routes of travel which compels us to give in to a self-constituted despotic government which has not as much constitutional foundation as the Russian Soviet. The hundred million people of Great Britain and France, with all their military and naval might, shuddered and drew back before five million uncivilized Turks. Thank God we Americans are not in a situation where we must bow the knee to Baal. Thank God we are free from the embroilments of Asiatic diplomacy. Thank God we are under no compulsion to accept an unfavorable treaty. We do not need it in our business.

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART.

(Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I am sure you indicate that though you have appreciated Ambassador Gerard's expressive reading of this letter, you would have appreciated even more Professor Hart's presence here.

The next speaker has just come back from the Near East. He landed here, I think, on Thursday. How long he tarried in Paris and other way-stations on the way from Constantinople, I cannot say. Perhaps he will tell us that. But he is, as far as I know,

one of the latest witnesses from that part of the world. Dr. Albert Staub, who is the American Director of the Near Eastern Colleges, will speak to us for ten minutes. I have great pleasure in introducing Dr. Staub. (Applause.)

DR. STAUB

MR. CHAIRMAN, ladies and gentlemen: I hope you will pardon me for having prepared my few remarks. I did it to safeguard my time. Little did I realize when having tea the other day, in Switzerland, in the very room where the Peace Pact was negotiated between the Turks and the Allied Nations, that my first public appearance so soon after arrival would be in connection with a meeting on the Lausanne Treaty.

It is not altogether surprising that there should be so many different points of view in public opinion on this question, even among those who have made a specialty of devoting themselves to the interests of foreign policy, because conditions in the Near East are very complicated. It is, however, a regrettable fact that the ratification of all our post war treaties has divided the country into debating societies, with the unfortunate result that we fail to contribute in a constructive manner to the peace and the stabilization of the world. (Applause.)

We only seem to add to the greater confusion that exists in the minds of the people. In considering this case, we should not have in mind the Ottoman Empire that existed before and during the war, but the Republic of Turkey as it is today. I am not prepared to state that the Turks have perfected democracy, but I am tremendously impressed by the fact that such radical changes have taken place in the Near East in so short a time. The Turkey that I have just seen is fundamentally different from the country I visited four years ago. Very important history has been made, and no thoughtful person can deny that it has resulted in social and political progress. The historians of the future will look back to this period of sudden development with astonishment. Turkish nationalists have accomplished in a short time what it has required other nations hundreds of years to achieve. Everyone who studies the situation carefully must realize that a great struggle for national unity is taking place. There have been many mistakes, no one will doubt that. This must necessarily follow in such tremendous social and political changes. But, we must not lose sight of the fact that these very mistakes are symptoms of growing pains. We used to criticize the Near East very freely for being stagnant and unprogressive, and now important changes are taking place so rapidly that we can not fully comprehend them. It is my conviction that, as a result of the World War, all of the countries of the Near East are going forward by leaps and bounds in their desire to give expression to the principles of self-determination which they received from us, and that what is taking place in Turkey is simply a part of the general development.

I wish to illustrate this point by considering for the moment the question of transportation. Instead of going through all of the various stages of the development of transportation, including the trolley car, narrow-gauged railroads and so forth, the people of the Near East have adapted themselves to the use of the automobile. I was surprised to find in the City of Beirut over two thousand registered automobiles, mostly American-made. The people are not contented any longer to go to Damascus by train or to travel about in Palestine by train; they prefer the automobile. The automobile has competed successfully with the railroad. The Palestine Railroad reduced its fares one-half and the Government placed an increased import duty on benzine in order to break up the business of the automobile traffic but was unsuccessful. People still prefer to ride in the automobile. You can go from Beirut to Bagdad in a Buick car in two days,

comfortably. The trip has been made in seventeen hours. There is not much talk of a railroad over the desert, but there is talk of convoys of automobiles with specially built equipment for comfort, and that is one of the things that the people are most interested in at the moment. These people whose lives have been steeped in theory for centuries are now becoming practical in their determination to imitate the West, and this is just the time for us to extend our sympathy in a helpful way rather than adopt an obstructionist policy.

The Turkish leaders in Angora have a very difficult task on their hands. If they succeed in bringing the mass of people up to their conception of the Republican Government, they will perform a modern miracle. Their chances for success will be enhanced if we, who have always had such a high regard for sovereign rights, will have faith in their purpose to improve themselves. A vote of confidence and an expression of hope for success on the part of the American people right now might prove to be just the inspiration that is needed. Certainly nothing constructive can be accomplished by calling them names, and by referring to them as murderers. (Applause) A better Turkey would be a blessing to the whole world, certainty everybody will admit that. To encourage the Turks in their present reform movement may be the best possible way for us to help the people whose fortunes have been intermingled with theirs for so many years.

I am not so much concerned with the mere proposition of ratifying the Treaty. My plea goes far beyond that. America still has an opportunity to establish the great principles in the Near East for which we stood in participating in the war. Conditions are pretty much the same in Turkey, in Syria, in Palestine, in Egypt, in Mesopotamia, and even in Persia. A new nationalism is in the air. It is a patriotic movement. Old traditions are being brushed aside. The World War has broken down barriers that have stood firm for centuries. These people are looking to the West for help. What is to be our attitude?

All of the other countries are watching with profound interest the experiment that is being made by the Turks in separating Church and State. Moslems, Christians, and Jews are growing closer together in a program for national unity. Turkey is setting the pace for her Moslem neighbors, and I was not surprised to observe that these very neighbors wish her success in her undertaking. Even the Secretary of the Ex-Caliph replied to me the other day in Switzerland when I asked him how His Majesty felt over the deportation: “We believe the leaders in Angora acted upon patriotic motives. The reforms they are bringing about are greatly needed but might have been accomplished more gradually. If they succeed in carrying out their program, the world will give them credit for the great achievement.”

In the face of these problems, in the lace of these social changes in which the fortunes of a large number of people are at stake, no amount of back-biting is going to do a particle of good. Refusing to recognize the Turks as a civilized nation and urging the non-ratification of the Peace Treaty on these grounds will not help the situation. A constructive plan of cooperation is required, if we are to be of any service to the peoples of the Near East who are groping around in bewilderment, and who are depending upon freedom-loving America for sympathy and for guidance.

Would it be too much to ask those who have assumed the responsibility for molding public opinion in America on the question of the Lausanne Treaty, to study the record carefully of the three American Colleges in the Near East which have done

much toward introducing democratic ideals into that part of the world?

We have been guests of the Turks for sixty years. Our Constantinople Colleges have never closed their doors to students of any nationality. They have stood as perpetual Peace Conferences representing at least twenty different nations. It is equally significant that we have never been obliged by the Turks to close our doors for a single day on account of wars or political disturbances. Even during the period of conflict between the various nations, we have maintained ourselves as international institutions. There we stand today, doing business as usual, with almost nine hundred students in the two institutions at Constantinople, among them, I am happy to announce, the brother of Ismet Pasha himself. We are not interested in politics. Our work is that of education. As in days past, we are conforming to the regulations of the established Government. The Turks have faith in us and we have faith in them, because we have faith in humanity, and our sole interest in being in the Near East is to help all of these races to help themselves.

THE CHAIRMAN: The next speaker is Professor A. D. F. Hamlin, Professor of Archaeology at Columbia, who is the son of a former missionary in the Near East, and who was himself born and raised—I don't know whether you say "raised" in New York or not, but we do in Indiana,—perhaps you prefer "brought up"—in the Near East. You will, I know, be interested to hear Professor Hamlin who is to speak for fifteen minutes.

PROFESSOR HAMLIN

MR. CHAIRMAN and friends: I stand here with very great reluctance. I find myself here, the son of the founder of Robert College, myself born in Turkey and in part educated in Robert College, in square opposition to the position that has been taken by the eloquent representative of Robert College who has just spoken, and by his distinguished predecessor, my fellow professor at Columbia, who has spoken in behalf of the ratification of the Treaty.

I am opposed to the ratification of the Treaty for a number of reasons. I shall not take time to state them all in detail. There are one or two considerations that seem to me fundamental. In the first place, in looking through the abstract of the Treaty which was given out by the State Department a few months ago and which was published in the Times "Current History," I find that the United States has obtained from the Turkish Government in the negotiations not one single quid pro quo for what it has been asked to give up. We have been asked to give up the protection of exterritoriality; that is, of the Capitulations under which we have lived in peace with the Turks for the past ninety years. We are asked to give that up, and on what plea? On the plea that we shall receive justice from the Turkish Courts! And when have the Turkish Courts ever dispensed justice, and what possible hope has been extended to the world that they will dispense justice? (Applause.)

Under the present regime, as under any other Turkish regime at present conceivable, justice will be a matter of barter and sale in any Turkish Court, and in any Turkish Court the oath of the Christian receives under the Koranic Law no recognition whatever as opposed to the oath of a Mohammedan. And we are asked to surrender the judicial protection which Americans have enjoyed for ninety years in Turkey, and we

are absolutely given nothing in return!

I am opposed to the ratification of the Treaty in the second place because it offers to us, so far as I can discover, not one single effective and enforceable guarantee for the freedom of our educational institutions, or for the protection even of our commercial rights. What is offered is purely illusory. The educational system is left to be considered separately, and we have already seen in the news of what the present Turkish Government has done to Americans and with American institutions, the evidence of what the spirit and attitude of this great "reform" government,—presided over by the Master Assassin of the Twentieth Century,—what it is going to do with American rights. It has interfered with the Y. W. C. A., it has interfered with the Y. M. C. A., and we are told, in support, in advocacy of the Treaty, that it "only interfered for two weeks with the rights of these two institutions"!

Since this Treaty has been negotiated, we have heard of the cynical reply of Ismet to the delegate from the League of Nations, that "they need not trouble themselves about the Armenians, because there were no Armenians in Turkey." That in the face of the terms of the treaties which have already been signed!

This is an evidence of the attitude which the present Turkish Government will take towards the Treaty.

Now, how long will this government last? No one can foresee, but everyone who looks into the situation knows well that the forces are gathering, they are gathering in Switzerland, they are gathering in Asia, for the ultimate overthrow of the present regime. We have a regime which has come into power on the veiled threat of the hostility of the whole Moslem world, if the demands of Turkey were not acceded to; and we find it at the present time overthrowing the religious heads of Mohammedanism, so that now this nation of five or six millions is alienating from itself the sympathy of the Moslems alike of Egypt and of India; and the very thing which is alleged as an evidence of progress is evidence that the Government in its fatuity is pulling out the foundation-stones of its own power.

I am opposed to this Treaty because it takes away from us what we had and it gives us nothing that we did not have before. It is a one-sided treaty. We are told that we should ratify it because England and France and Italy have ratified their treaties, and we who have received no territory from Turkey as they have, who have received no quid pro quo for the surrender of rights and privileges which have been immemorially ours, we who have taken no Turkish territory, we who did not declare war against Turkey, we are placed in the position of nations to whom very large portions of the Turkish Empire have been given!

Now I submit that that is the most humiliating position in which this Government has ever been placed by the negotiation of a treaty, and I believe that not only no harm can come to our institutions in Turkey and to our commerce in Turkey (unless it be for a very short period), by postponing the ratification of this Treaty until a better time; but I believe that in the end, the refusal to ratify this Treaty will bring about a final agreement between the two nations which will not have been dictated by Turkey, a country of five or six millions, to the United States with its one hundred and ten millions, the richest and most powerful State in the world; dictated to the most powerful by the weakest and most pitiable State in the world, the least civilized State in Europe and western Asia. But I believe that by a present refusal we shall in the end

secure a treaty which shall be worthy of the dignity and of the strength and of the position of the United States in the family of nations.

I have not exhausted the considerations which in my mind should militate against the ratification of this Treaty, but I will not overstep my time, and I feel that the considerations which I have already advanced are of sufficient weight to halt the ratification of this Treaty until we can negotiate an instrument which, instead of being dictated by the weaker party to the stronger, shall have been negotiated in amity by parties treating each other as equals. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The last of the regular speakers is also one who has had experience in the Near East and who represents large missionary interests there and elsewhere. Dr. James L. Barton is the secretary of the Foreign Department of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. It is a great pleasure to introduce Dr. Barton. (Applause.)

DR. BARTON

MR. CHAIRMAN, ladies and gentlemen: We are not here today to discuss what might have been in Turkey had things gone differently during the last ten years. Neither are we here to prophesy what will take place in Turkey in the near future. I have tried that several times and it has almost always gone wrong. To me it is a significant fact that the people whom I met who are most opposed to the ratification of this Treaty with Turkey are those who have never been in Turkey or who were there a long time ago, and who have no knowledge of the present psychology of the Turk, nor of the organization or the purposes of the present Turkish Government.

Let me enumerate four established facts as a starting point, not dealing with prejudices nor with politics, nor with anything of the kind. The first I would name is: The Capitulations are gone. That is a finished thing, and unless the United States and the other nations are ready to go to war with Turkey, there will never be a return to the Capitulations in the Turkish Empire. Turkey has gained her sovereignty, and now to claim that the Treaty should not be ratified because it recognizes the abolition of the Capitulations is like holding a dugout in a battlefield where the battle was fought and lost fifteen months ago. There is nothing whatever to hold. The quicker we accept the fact that the Capitulations with Turkey under which Americans have lived in Turkey for the last hundred years are no more, will not be restored, cannot be restored, the quicker we will be able to consider reasonably and constructively the question of the Treaty with Turkey.

The second established fact, is that an Armenian national home with—in the boundary of the Turkish Empire is a closed incident, and however much we may regret it, (and certainly many of us have labored day and night, month in and month out, and year in and year out, in order that the Armenians might have a national home within the boundary of the Turkish Empire), nevertheless that battle was fought at Lausanne and it was lost. Unless America and the European nations are ready to go to war with Turkey in order to reestablish the Armenians somewhere in a national home within the

bounds of the Turkish Empire and provide an army to protect them there, no home will be provided. The nations will not go to war with Turkey for that purpose.

We also need to stop pleading old treaties with Turkey—the 1830 treaty and others. I do not propose to discuss the question here, nevertheless the fact remains that the treaty of 1830 has gone. America through its representatives in Constantinople may plead that treaty and insist that the Capitulations referred to in it are now the rights of America in Turkey, they can plead it but only make themselves ridiculous before the Turk and before the world.

The fourth fact is that we have a treaty signed with this Turkish Government. I want to say here, ladies and gentlemen, that the men who negotiated that Treaty in Lausanne were as faithful and loyal American citizens as ever took part in the negotiation of any treaty anywhere, that the work at Lausanne was a work requiring tremendous effort. Night and day those men labored and struggled, and out of that struggle, beginning with November, 1922, and ending in August (with one break) of 1923, they worked for many things that are omitted from the Treaty. They worked for the continuation of the Capitulations for at least five years. They worked for giving the Armenians a national home within the bounds of Turkey. They labored as heartily and untiringly as any man or any woman in this audience would have worked, and as thousands and hundreds of thousands of the people in America would have done. They did finally negotiate a treaty and it is a treaty that does not entirely favor one side.

Do you recognize the fact that Turkey has lost her capital, the most splendidly located of any capital on the face of the earth because of the terms of that Treaty? Do you know that they have been compelled to go into the interior and establish their capital at an interior town upon a branch railway because by the Treaty the Straits were left unprotected? If Turkey had retained her capital at Constantinople, it would be at the mercy of any gunboat of any nation that steamed into the harbor. So, Turkey gave up her historic capital and established herself in the interior of the country.

Let us remember these four facts.

And now we come to the subject of the Treaty: Shall it be ratified or shall it not? I think Ambassador Gerard has quoted me somehow as being on the other side. I never knew it. I have said that it is not impossible that the prejudice of the people of America and the prejudice of the Senate against the history and record of the Turk in dealing with the minority populations may be so great that it will defeat the Treaty, but I never for a moment felt that it was not the duty and privilege of the United States to ratify this Treaty and set it into operation. (Applause.)

It is the best possible treaty that could be negotiated; there is no question in my mind about that. The United States could not have sent to Lausanne men who could have secured from the Turks under the circumstances a better treaty, a treaty that would allow anything of the Capitulations to remain, (that seems to be the one thing that causes more trouble than almost anything else), that could have got any protection for the Armenians into the treaty. The men did the best they could. We have the best obtainable treaty.

This is the beginning of treaties with Turkey. All the old treaties are done away with, and we start with a new treaty. This is the first of a series of treaties yet to be negotiated. Why, we are not finished yet negotiating treaties with Great Britain. We

didn't do it all in the first instance. We are not finished yet negotiating and signing treaties with France. Then we entered into our first diplomatic relations with France under treaty, we did not have everything in, but we have been adding ever since. This Treaty once ratified will be the basis for the negotiations of further treaties, and in those negotiations, matters left out from this Treaty can be included. Already they have taken steps in that direction.

This is a limited Treaty. No reference has been made to that fact here this afternoon. There are only two items in the Treaty that are perpetual, the first two items. The first item restores diplomatic relations between Turkey and the United States and provides for the interchange of diplomatic representatives. The second item of the Treaty abrogates the Capitulations and all previous treaties. Those two items stand. [These two items imply that the U.S. had had a relationship prior to the newly formed Turkey, which indicates that the new Turkey is in fact the old Turkey that carried out the Armenian Genocide] Items three to eight, inclusive, are for only seven years. From nine to twenty-eight, inclusive, are for only five years. It is in some respects a trial treaty apart from the first two items. It is a treaty that can be revised before the end of the five or of the seven years—It is not expected that it is a perpetual treaty.

Much has been said about the heads of the American institutions in Turkey. Really, it is interesting to see how much solicitude so many people of the United States today, in their opposition to the Treaty, feel for these American institutions within the bounds of the Turkish Empire.

The heads of the institutions and the teachers in them, so far as I am informed—are in favor of the ratification of the Treaty. They on the ground are the ones who will have to put in practice the terms of the Treaty; they are the ones who will suffer if the terms are not carried out in their application to these institutions. These institutions in many places are filled with students today. They are not all open that were open before the war. They were closed not by the Turkish Government but by the force of circumstances. But they are open, (other than those mentioned by Dr. Staub), filled with pupils today, and the work is going on. The Americans who have charge of that work say that it is quite possible to carry on the work of these institutions under the terms of the Treaty. The missionaries are of the same opinion regarding their work.

The missionaries and these educators are the men and women who must live under the Treaty, and you have already heard that the business men are taking the same position. Is not the evidence of the Americans there on the ground, who have the business interest and the educational interest and the philanthropic interest of the United States within the bounds of the Turkish Empire in charge, who under—stand the situation as none outside of Turkey who have never been in the country in the last year can understand it—isn't it reasonable to suppose that those people ought to know whether this is a workable treaty, whether American institutions and American business interests can be carried on under the terms of the Treaty? They say the Treaty ought to be ratified, and they say they will get on with their work under the new conditions. They also urge the importance of early ratification.

Doing away with Capitulations is not a new thing. Siam has done away with Capitulations or with exterritoriality. I remember very well when the question was up as to a treaty with Japan some years ago, under which the exterritorial terms were to be abolished, many foretold the dire disaster that would take place in Japan if exterritoriality were abolished. I was in correspondence with about a hundred

Americans during that time, and I never heard one word of complaint of the unjust actions of the Japanese courts, or the cruelty of their laws.

Americans in Turkey are ready to stay under the Turkish Government, to take their chances with the Turkish Government and Turkish law, believing that they can carry on.

Just one thing more, Mr. Chairman. Turkey is striving to win her position among the nations of the world. At Lausanne she did win the diplomatic battle. She won her sovereignty. It was the one thing she demanded at Lausanne. It was the one thing that she was ready to go to war for if it were not granted. It was granted. Turkey is a sovereign state, and Turkey feels and knows that she is on trial before the world. There is no question that if she fails now as a sovereign state, she loses her last chance to gain and hold a position in the international world.

As to the abrogation of the Caliphate,—it has been my privilege to read some of the debate that took place in Angora over the question as to whether the Caliph shall be expelled and whether the Caliphate shall be abolished. The Turks in Lausanne told the Allies and the representatives of the United States that Turkey has separated Church and State, that the State centers in Angora, and the Church, in the person of the Caliph, centers in Constantinople. They said, "The separation has actually taken place. The State no longer dictates to religion within its area, and religion no longer dictates to the State."

They went back to Angora. They endeavored to make laws that would harmonize with the laws and the civilization of the Western world. On every turn they were met by the representative of the Caliph who declared such laws to be contrary to the teachings of Mohammed and of the Koran and the traditions of Islam. There was no way that the Turks could keep faith with the pledges given at Lausanne, there was no way in which they could set their house in order, revise their laws, court regulations and procedure except by removing from Turkey that obstacle in the name of Mohammedanism that prevented them from keeping their promises. So they voluntarily abandoned their traditional and religious hold on the Mohammedan world, on two hundred millions of Mohammedans scattered across the world. In driving out the Caliph, they abrogated their religious power over the Mohammedan world, and virtually said, "We will be a State without the dictation of the Church." And so by abolishing the Caliphate and by sending the Caliph adrift, they put themselves in a position to legislate without being hampered by the objection of the Mohammedan official censor.

For these and many other reasons that might be given, it seems to me that it would be wise for the United States to ratify this Treaty and do it at once. England and France have not yet ratified the Treaty, I understand, but I have been informed on what seems to me good authority that they will ratify it. The attitude of the Turk toward the United States is more friendly than that toward any European nation. America never took any territory from Turkey. America has no territorial ambitions for the Turkish Empire, and the Turk knows it. If America will ratify the Treaty and perhaps be the first to do it, it will put America in a position for further favorable negotiations with the Government for other privileges than those which are granted by the present Treaty, and will put us into relations with Turkey that will be of benefit to the American institutions in Turkey and to American trade.

I would be the last in the world to plead for special favors for American missionary

work in Turkey or for American institutions; but I plead for American interests, some of which are in these institutions and some of which are in American trade, and I believe they can be protected best by the early ratification of this Treaty. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chairman, keeping time very rigorously today, has now discovered that Professor Hamlin did not use all his time by some six minutes. Therefore, after consulting with Mr. Hamlin and Mr. Gerard, he is asking Mr. Henry W. Jessup, a distinguished member of the New York bar, whose father also was a missionary in the Near East and who himself was brought up there, to use up that unused time, but please not use any more. (Applause.)

MR. JESSUP

YEARS AGO, when I was an enthusiastic young lawyer in New York, I joined a political organization. There was a Congressional campaign, and the party in my district nominated for Congress a man who didn't know any more about the mercantile, commercial or financial interests of this great metropolis than a laborer in the subway. I thought it was my duty, and I had the impudence, to write to Senator Platt who was then the leader of the organization and point out to him this significant occurrence, and say that I thought it was his duty, as leader of the party, to exert his influence in order that the great interests of New York City might no longer be entrusted solely to the protection of New England or upstate statesmen.

I received by return mail a communication from Senator Platt saying, "Dear Sir: I am glad to receive your favor of the—inst. The sentiments which you express do you infinite credit as a man, but betray a lamentable ignorance of practical politics." (Laughter.)

Now, I was born in the Turkish Empire. I was nursed at the bosom of an Arab foster mother. I grew up for fourteen years in Turkey, and I have been in touch week by week ever since, during a life of sixty years, with affairs in the Turkish Empire.

I haven't the official, technical, administrative knowledge which some of the speakers who have addressed you have with regard to the interests of particular institutions, but it was my sainted father, Henry Harris Jessup, who conceived the idea of the Syrian Protestant College and started Daniel Bliss on his great career as a Christian educator. (Applause.) I know what Christian missions mean; I sympathize with their purpose, and I repudiate any idea that I am hostile to the welfare or the progress of Christian institutions in Turkey—I think you may take that for granted. But I want to start with a couple of facts.

Francis Patton, ex-president of Princeton University, would start with something that none of his hearers could dispute, and then would lead them on with that familiar dialectic of his until they were committed to some abstruse theological problem. I am not going as far as that, but we will start with two facts: The ass in the lion's skin is still an ass. Nobody will dispute that. That is a biological fact. The wolf in sheep's clothing is a wolf still. I tell you, I would like to paraphrase that old saying-*limco Danaos et dona ferentes*—to read *timeo Turkos et sheep-skin ferentes.* What is the use of denying the facts?

We are asked to strike hands with these murderers. That is the situation. We are asked to enter into a treaty of amity and peace with men who have demonstrated, through the ages, their incapacity to keep an international contract, to observe the sanctities of civilized society.

Just let me read you something. Here is a letter from the State Department:

The broader tendencies developing in the Near East and the moral suasion of the Christian treaty powers must be trusted finally to prevail to reconcile the opposing factions.—[This was after an Armenian massacre.)—This is no longer a question, however, of dealing with a Government implicated in these massacres. It is earnestly believed that the best course now for the betterment of the unfortunate people concerned is to exhibit a degree of confidence in the newly-established constitutional Government whose sultan has solemnly proclaimed to Parliament his horror over the awful slaughter among his subjects, his firm intention to punish the guilty and his purpose to use his fullest powers to maintain peace, justice and tranquility throughout his dominions. This hopeful promise of reform seems to be confirmed by the recent official reports from Turkey that the constitutional Government is taking vigorous measures, etc.

This was not written yesterday. It was written in 1909 when the American Government was asked to protest against the recent Armenian massacres, and the State Department still has the same fundamental lack of knowledge of the Turkish and Oriental mind. They don't know it, they don't appreciate it. They are treating with them as if they were a civilized European Government. They are according them faith and credit as if they believed that the Turks were willing and anxious and ready to perform what they on paper will always promise to perform.

If this is a temporary treaty, as Dr. Barton styles it, why be in such a hurry about it? The Americans are there now under Turkish law and you propose to agree that they shall remain under Turkish law.

What is the advantage of cementing and crystallizing that situation? That is where they are now.

My point is this, that there is the Turk character, unchanged, unchangeable through the ages. So far as the Turk is still thoroughbred, he is to be found only among the peasantry of Turkey. There you find the simple, honest, stolid disposition of the thoroughbred descendant of the original Turk. But the official and governmental Turk is a hybrid. He is a mule among nations. You can't deal with this man who has this sheep-skin, or shall I say the veneer of suavity and almost gentleness that would deceive the very elect. I say St. Paul had him sized up when he said, "Though I speak with the tongue of men and of angels and have not charity, I am as a sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal." Don't you believe them. Don't you trust them.

Now, what is their attitude? What is the history of the Lausanne Treaty? What is the time table of that Lausanne negotiation? Didn't the American negotiators stand for an Armenian home, or rather for the recognition of the Armenian home already delimited by President Wilson as arbitrator of this League of Nations and of the Supreme Council of the League?

When the Turkish Pasha at Lausanne said—and listen to the arrogance of it (was

it a case of post hoc and therefore propter hoc that the American negotiators then withdrew their demands?): "If the United States will make that demand at Alexandretta with 100,000 men, we will fight them. If they will make it with 250,000 men, we will discuss it with them." No plenipotentiary of a conqueror, dictating a peace, could have spoken with a serener insolence than that.

Now, it is with those men that we are proposing to make this temporary treaty. I object! (Applause.)

MR. CHAIRMAN: It begins to look as if differences of opinion must be developed here if we are to continue this discussion. Our time schedule which we have kept very punctiliously today, requires us to close before four o'clock. Now is the period of questions and discussion. Questions addressed to any of the speakers on any of the points that they have made, or on those which they failed to make, would be welcomed by the Chairman.

MR. DAVID HUNTER MILLER: I would like to ask a question about the trade figures that were mentioned if I may. I would like to ask Professor Earle whether it is not a fact that those figures for 1919 to 1922, inclusive, which seem quite large, were figures of trade during the period when the Allied forces, the Allied fleets and the Allied armies were occupying and controlling Turkish territory? And is it not a fact that the figures since published by the Department of Commerce for 1923 are somewhat less than one-third of the figures for 1922?

PROFESSOR EARLE: It is true that the figures cover the period of the Allied occupation. As to the additional question of the figures of 1923, I am sorry I can't say. I attempted to obtain those figures and was unable to do so. I obtained the figures for 1919-1922 from the American Chamber of Commerce for the Near East. I am sorry that I can't answer the additional question. Presumably Mr. Miller has the information; at least he seemed to indicate so.

THE CHAIRMAN: I am going to give Mr. Miller a chance in a moment to say a word on that, but I wonder if we could have a few more questions first?

MR. HENRY HARDON: The recent contributions to this discussion consisted in the charge that the Turkish nation was a hybrid nation. For a moment I was somewhat swayed by that, but may I ask the speaker if he can think of any better examples of hybrid nations than, first, the British nation, composed of Angles, Saxons and Normans; and, secondly, the American nation composed of some forty five to sixty or a hundred and sixty nations?

MR. JESSUP: The answer can be made in one sentence.

MR. HARDON: May I remind the distinguished lawyer that if it is possible to answer that question by the word "yes" or "no," that is the best answer he can make?

MR. JESSUP: This not being a court of law, the objection is overruled, and the answer can be given in one sentence. The English people and the American people are the result of monogamous marriage and the sanctity of "home," and the Turk is a hybrid because he is the descendant of a man who captures and ravishes his wives, as many as he will, under his Islamic law, and brings up children of nationalities thus mongrelised under the compulsions of a religion fastened upon them by force. (Applause.)

MR. HARDON: I have only a word to say, and that is, and I rather think Ambassador Gerard will corroborate me, that if I were sitting as a judge and an objection was made to that answer on the ground that it was not responsive, I should sustain the objection. (Laughter.)

MRS. G. W. B. CUSHING: May I ask if there is entire religious freedom in the teaching of these colleges? It seems to me I saw the other day that the teachers in one of the Christian colleges were obliged to teach the Mohammedan religion. Is there entire freedom of teaching in these Christian colleges?

DR. BARTON: Religion is excluded from all of the schools of Turkey. Mohammedanism can not be taught in the schools; neither can Christianity, but Christianity can be taught in places of worship that are erected for the purpose of Christian worship and Mohammedanism in places that are erected for the same purpose. The schools are nonreligious, as they are in Massachusetts and some other states.

MRS. GEORGE WYETH: I would like to ask, perhaps Dr. Barton can answer it more nearly than anybody else, whether in the nineteen years that the other countries have had these extraterritorial rights, the Turk has observed them faithfully, and if the Turkish Government has observed those rights over such a long period, is that not perhaps an earnest of her willingness to observe any other right that she may grant under the present Treaty?

DR. BARTON: I think I can answer in the name of the missionaries who have lived in Turkey from ten to forty years, that there has been no special complaint against the way in which the Turks have observed the laws of extraterritoriality, although they have wished to have the laws removed as the Chinese do to-day and as the Japanese did before it was accomplished.

MR. REZMIE: Two of the speakers this afternoon have mentioned the fact that in the Turkish courts, the Koranic law prevails, and the evidence of two women is counted as equal to that of one man. I wish to ask these two gentlemen whether they know that under the laws passed in the Angora Assembly on March second, side by side with abolishing the Caliphate, the *sheriat* is also abolished, which is that part of the Koranic law which relates to the Moslem jurisprudence? If that is a fact, then it is obvious that henceforth in the Turkish courts, the provisions of the Koranic law which regard the vote of two women equal to that of one man, shall not be observed, and the Koranic law shall not interfere with the dispensation of even-handed justice to the Christians as well as to the Mohammedans.

DR. HAMLIN: I simply wanted to observe that if the *shcriat* code has been abolished, it would appear to leave the so-called Republic of Turkey without any well-established code of law upon which any Christian or foreigner or Turk can rely. Our codes of law are not the products of one legislature drawn up in a month or a few months. Our codes of law have grown through years and centuries of practice, and it would be very interesting to know upon what code the Turkish courts are going to depend-having abolished the *sheriat*—in their handling of cases either of their own subjects or of foreigners.

MRS. ALMA GLUCK ZIMBALIST: Since our extraterritorial rights have been abrogated, has there been any effect either to our advantage or disadvantage?

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Miller denies that they have been abolished. Will you say a word on that, and then we will come to Mrs. Zimbalist's question.

MR. MILLER: I deny that the Capitulations have been abolished so far as the United States of America has been concerned. That was the position of the Department of State throughout these negotiations. It is the position, as I understand it, of the Department of State today. It is the position of this proposed Treaty which purports to abolish them. Why abolish them if they have already been abolished? As a concrete illustration, I wi1I say to you that there are two men now serving in Atlanta penitentiary who were convicted since this theoretical abolition of the Capitulations, who were convicted in Turkey by consular courts under the Capitulations.

DR. BARTON: I have heard no complaint whatever in corresponding with seventy-five or a hundred Americans in different parts of Turkey, no complaint whatever of their treatment by the Turkish Government since the Capitulations ceased to be applied following the signing of the treaty at Lausanne in August of last year.

THE CHAIRMAN: I am faced with a dilemma here. I have a note from Mr. Horace G. Knowles, who is the counsellor of the Ottoman American Development Co., commonly known as the Chester concession. He asks, quite properly, the privilege of replying to a statement about his company made by Mr. Gerard. My dilemma is this: I feel that Mr. Knowles must have a very elaborate case to present. Yet I can give him only two minutes and a half. If he can make his reply in that time, I should be glad to have him speak now.

MR. KNOWLES: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen: As a member of the Foreign Policy Association and counsel of the Ottoman American Development Co., the owner of the so-called Chester concession, I think besides being a duty on my part, it is only fair to both that concession and the Company owning it, and also to you, as listeners to this discussion today, that I should correct a statement made by, or rather I should say a misunderstanding which Mr. Gerard apparently has in regard to the ownership of the Chester concession. Mr. Gerard stated that' the Chester concession was sold to Canadians for $300,000 and a 10 per cent interest. That was published in the news papers, it is true, but it is not a fact. The Chester concession was never out of the control of Americans. That was the express condition upon which the Turks granted that concession. The Turks desired to get away from the harmful association with and control of their resources by European governments and their baneful influence, and it was because of that and their confidence in the people of the United States, and believing that in any arrangement that they would make with the American people, they would be treated fairly and be given a square deal, that they varied from the customary way in which they dealt with matters of that kind, and decided to grant that valuable concession to Americans.

The concession has never been out of the hands of Americans and to-day I am glad to say that it is more than ever in their control. A majority of the shares of the Ottoman American Development Co. belong to Americans, actual residents of the City of New York, and it will remain here notwithstanding the persistent and insidious efforts of certain unscrupulous persons and interests to interfere with the desire of the Turks that this valuable concession shall be developed by American capital and remain in the hands and control of Americans. In spite of the effort on the part of one of the largest industrial concerns of our country to have the Turkish Government cancel the Chester concession I believe it will "carry on" and ownership of it continue to remain

here.

Development work has been going on under very great handicaps by the American owners of the concession whose desire is to do good to Turkey and to reflect credit upon their own country, Railroad construction has begun. A telegraph and telephone system is about to be started. The radio features and rights of the country are about to be exploited, and the Chester concession, as a whole, instead of deserving to be odiously spoken of by our enemies and thought of by you, will, I believe, in the course of a very short time, deserve the good opinions of all Americans and the lasting gratitude of all the Turks. (Applause)

THE CHAIRMAN: Five minutes more! I have a question here which looks interesting though I a little regret that it's addressed to the people who have been answering most of the questions. It is this: Is the purpose of the missionary schools in Turkey to-day a missionary purpose? I take it Dr. Barton should answer that.

DR. BARTON: Decidedly a missionary purpose.

PROFESSOR W. L. WESTERMANN: I should like to ask a question and have it answered by a lady who sits at the speakers' table, Miss Barnette Miller. If she does not know the answer, I should like to have it put to Dr. Barton. What is the attitude of the present Turkish Nationalist Government upon monogamous marriage?

THE CHAIRMAN: I am told that Miss Miller prefers not to answer it. What about you, Dr. Barton? You are second choice, but hope you don't mind.

DR. BARTON : That matter was discussed at length at Lausanne, and the Turks declared that one of the first things they were to do was to establish a law of marriage of one man and one woman. You remember that the American papers were filled with the protests that were raised against that attitude because of its being non-Mohammedan or anti-Mohammedan. I have no question of the attitude of the men who were at Lausanne, and of the leaders of the present Government, that they intend to establish monogamous marriage for all Mohammedans as a law of the country.

MR. KOHLER: I want to ask whether our own attitude toward the Armenians hasn't been detrimental to their interests in Turkey. I refer particularly to the fact that recently, a year or two ago, when Congress was asked to exempt Armenians from the quota laws as sufferers and refugees from religious persecution, the proposition was rejected. And, on the other hand, we have recently had a decision handed down in Chicago by a Federal Court there that Armenians are not qualified to be naturalized because they are not white persons under the naturalization law. And recently it was held that the Armenians who have secured naturalization and who for decades thought they were citizens of the United States are not citizens.

MR. HENRY D. ASHTON: I can quote in answer to that question, although it doesn't answer all its points, Mr. Carey Stejian, who is a vice-president of the largest bank in Turkey, and an Armenian. He said that all of the calamities that have been visited upon the Armenians in the recent troubles that they have had can be directly traced, in his opinion, to the interference of Western nations in their affairs. He said that the best thing that any American returning to this country could do would be to voice that to as many people as possible, and to tell us to cease our interference with those affairs on account of the great activities that have been carried along over a period of

more than fifty years. Enormous sums of money have been spent in this country to finance anti-Turkish and anti-racial propaganda and it was on that account that the Turks were provoked to commit those terrible massacres that have occurred, and it has done more harm than any other thing in the world, the interference of Western nations in the affairs of those people in the name of protecting Christianity.

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Ashton who answers this question I think also asks one, and therefore I am going to give somebody here at the table the same amount of time to answer Mr. Ashton as he took.

MR. GERARD: As I understand the gentleman who has just spoken, he takes the attitude that if you criticize a man for committing a murder, you are only encouraging him to go on and commit another murder, and therefore you should never speak against him at all.

The whole history of Turkey with reference to the Christian population has been a history of one massacre after another. We took no definite stand in this country, there was no great public agitation in favor of the Armenians or the subject races of Turkey before 1914. All of you ladies and gentlemen here know that. And after 1914 and during the war, according to General Harbord, Ambassador Morgenthau and other authorities, 800,000 of our fellow-Christians were murdered in cold blood. Now, are we to sit down and permit a nation to do that without criticism and merely enter into a treaty of peace and amity with them, saying, as Professor Staub said,—a man has committed murder but you mustn't call him a murderer, and he seemed to imply that the possession of a Ford car washed away the guilt of blood.

THE CHAIRMAN: The meeting is adjourned.

MR. WHEELER'S STATEMENT

Mr. Everett P. Wheeler was also asked to speak upon this subject but the limitations of time did not permit the Chairman to call for the actual presentation of the statement which he had prepared and this is, therefore, now printed as part of the proceedings:

A REFERENCE to some elementary principles of international law will clarify the situation. The treaties of 1830 and 1862 between the United States and Turkey are binding on the Angora Government. Chancellor Kent thus states the rule (1 Comm. 25):

> And it is welt to be understood, at a period when alterations in the constitutions of governments, and revolutions in stales, are familiar, that it is a clear position of the law of nations, that treaties are not affected, nor positive obligations of any kind with other powers or with creditors weakened, by such mutations. A state neither loses any of its rights, nor is discharged from any of its duties, by a change in the form of its civil government. The body politic is still the same, though it may have a different organ of communication.

The condition of the European nations that declared war upon Turkey is different

from that of the United States. As to them, Chancellor Kent thus states the rule:

> As a general rule, the obligations of treaties are dissipated by hostility, and they are extinguished and gone forever, unless revived by a subsequent treaty. But if a treaty contains any stipulations which contemplate a state of future war, and make provision for such an exigency, they preserve their force and obligation when the rupture takes place.

The United States never declared war against Turkey and this latter rule therefore does not apply to us. The treaty of 1830 provided that *"American citizens established in Turkey shall not in any way be vexed or molested and shall not be disturbed in their affairs."* These rights were confirmed by the treaty of 1862. Article VI of the Constitution of the United States provides that "the treaties made or which shall be made under the authority of the United States shall be the supreme law of the land." By Section 3, Article II, it is provided that "the President shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed." For this purpose by Section 2 of the same Article it is provided that he shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States.

With these fundamental principles in mind I submit that it is the duty of the President to see that the rights of American citizens in Turkey under the treaties before mentioned are protected and that reparation be made for the injuries that have been inflicted. and if necessary for this purpose, he should use the army and navy and exercise the right which he has by international law as stated by Vattel: "Whenever a sovereign can by the way of reprisals procure a just recompense or a proper satisfaction, he ought to make use of this method." The rights which purport to be conferred by the Lausanne Treaty are inferior to those conferred by the treaty of 1830. Why should we give them up? If the Angora Government refuses to respect their former treaties, how can we expect that it will respect the latter?

Appendix XII

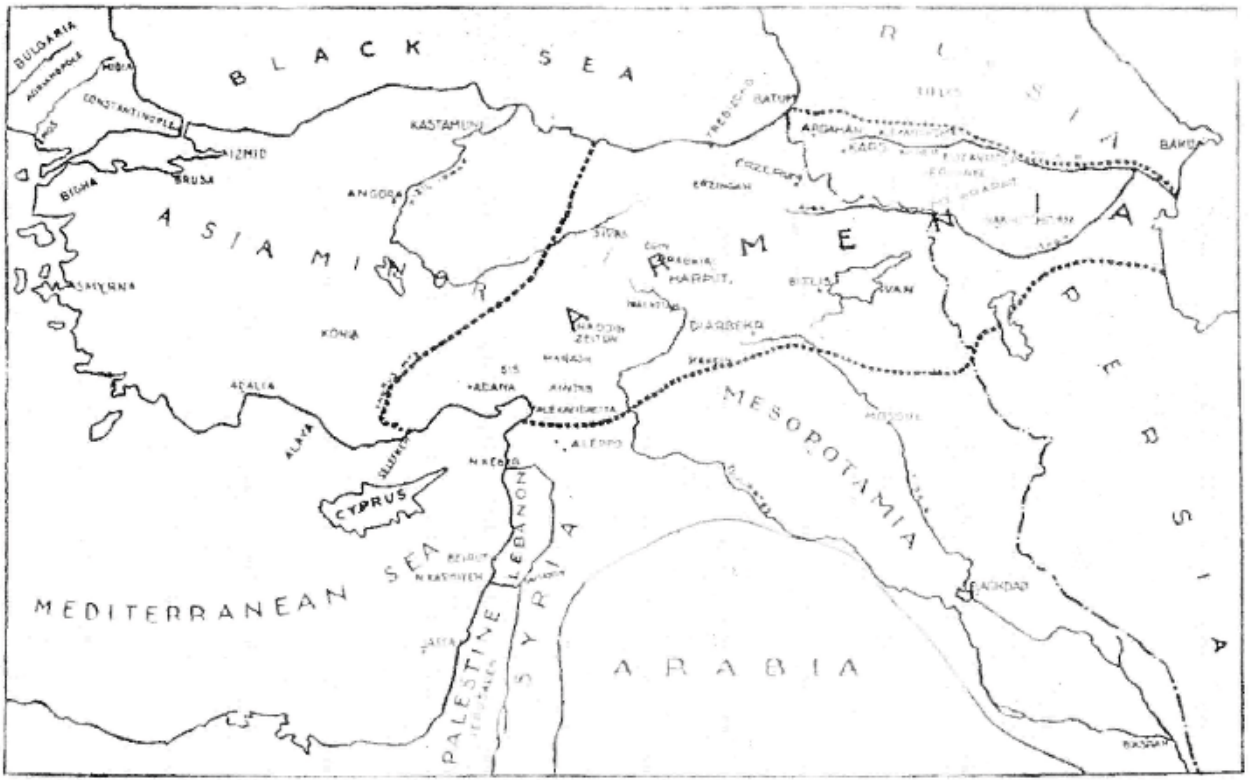
ARMENIA: A Leading Factor in the Winning of the War

By GARO PASDERMADJIAN, D. Sc.
(Armen Garo)

Ex-Deputy in Turk Parliament; Former Commander 2nd Battalion Armenian Volunteers in Caucasus; Special Envoy to America of His Holiness, the Catholicos

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THIS book contains the authentic record of the most amazing and stirring chapter of the history of the Great War. It tells the story of the fighting men of Armenia, who, undismayed by the base treachery of the Czarist bureaucracy and unafraid of a multitude of enemies, volunteered in legions to the service of the cause of western democracies; saved the Russian Caucasus front, in 1914 and 1915, from certain collapse, thereby making it possible for Russia to concentrate her forces against Germany and Austria; and again, following the breakdown of the Russian army in 1917, single-handed, faced the concerted pressure of German-led Turk divisions and TurkTartar-Kurd hordes, stretching from the Black Sea to the Caspian, and thus dealt a fatal blow at the last remaining hope of the common enemy for victory, which he sought in the East. A greater deed of heroism no nation has ever played in recorded history. It does credit to the best traditions and the finest impulses of the race. It imposes a very great duty upon America and the Allied democracies.



ARMENIA, AS IT WILL REAPPEAR ON THE MAP. AREA 133,289 SQUARE MILES

The boundaries of Armenia are well defined and fixed as those of England. The Congress of Berlin (1878), the Ambassadors of the Great Powers at Constantinople (1895), and the Ambassadorial Conference at London (1913), reaffirmed, in part, or in whole, the boundaries of the Turkish Armenia. Out of a total population of 4,000,000 to 4,500,000 that there may be within the boundaries of the restored Armenia, over 3,000,000 will be Armenian.

ARMENIA
A LEADING FACTOR IN THE WINNING OF THE WAR

By GARO PASDERMADJIAN, D. Sc.
(Translated from Armenian by A. Torossian)

In the early days of August, 1914, when civilized nations took up arms against the German aggression, only three of the smaller nations of Europe and the Near East had the courage, from the very first days of the war, to stand by the Allies without any bargaining or dickering, and they still stand at their posts on the ramparts, in spite of the immense sacrifices they have already made.

The first member of this heroic triad was brave Serbia, which was the first victim of Austrian aggression, and whose sons, after four years of heroic struggle, are about to regain their lost native land. The second member was little Belgium, whose three weeks of heroic resistance delayed the German advance of 1914 and enabled gallant France to crown with success the historic battle of the Marne. The third member of this heroic triad was the Armenian people who, for four years and without an organized government or a national army, played the same role in the Near East by preventing the Turco-German advance toward the interior of Asia as the Belgians played in the West by arresting the march of Germany towards Paris. The Armenians, however, paid a higher price to the God of War than either the Belgians or the Serbs. Out of four and one-quarter millions of Armenians living in Turkey and Russia at the beginning of the war, scarcely three million remain at the present time. What were the conditions under which the Armenians sided with the Allies, and why were they forced to bear so great a sacrifice for their cause?

Turkish and Russian Proposals to the Armenians in 1914

In the beginning of this world conflagration, in 1914, both the Russian and the Turkish governments officially appealed to various Armenian national organizations with many promises in order to secure the active participation of the Armenians in the military operations against each other, the principal stage of which would be Armenia itself. Both Turkey and Russia were very anxious to win the co-operation of the Armenians, because, judging from their past experience, they were convinced that without such co-operation they would not be able to accomplish the much desired military successes on the Armenian plateau.

With such aims in view, Russia, through Count Yarantzoff Dashkoff, informed the Armenian National Council (then in existence at Tiflis) that if the Armenians would unreservedly give their support to the Russian armies during the course of the war, Russia would grant autonomy to the six Armenian vilayets. The Russian Armenians, however, through bitter experience, knew very well what little practical value could be attached to the promises of Russian Czarism. During the course of the 19th century

at three different times the Russians had made similar promises to the Armenians when they waged war with Turkey and Persia, and, although the self-sacrificing co-operation of the Russian Armenians enabled the Russians to capture the districts of Elizavetpol, Erivan and Kars in 1806, in 1828, and again in 1878, at the end of these wars their specific promises to the Armenians were promptly forgotten. But this time the Armenians knew that Russia was not alone; the two great liberal nations of the West, France and England, were her Allies. After long and weighty consultation, with their hopes pinned on France and England, the Armenians resolved to aid the Russian armies in every possible way.

While Russian diplomacy was in the midst of these negotiations at Tiflis: during the last days of August, 1914, a Turkish mission of twenty-eight members (the object of which was to organize a Pan-Islamic and a Pan-Turanian movement among all the races of the Near East against Russia and her Allies) left Constantinople for Armenia. The leaders of that mission were Omar Nadji Bey, Dr. Bahaeddin Shakir, and Lieutenant Hilmy, all of them very influential members of the "Committee of Union and Progress." The mission included representatives of all the Eastern races, such as the Kurds, Persians, Georgians, Chechens, Lezgies, Circassians, and the Caucasian Tartars, but not the Armenians. During those same days the annual Congress of the Armenian National Organization was in session at Erzeroum. In the name of the Turkish government the above mentioned mission appealed to the Armenian Organization with the following proposition:

"If the Armenians,—the Turkish as well as the Russian Armenians—would give active co-operation to the Turkish armies, the Turkish government under a German guarantee would promise to create after the war an autonomous Armenia (made up of Russian Armenia and the three Turkish vilayets of Erzeroum, Van, and Bitlis) under the suzerainty of the Ottoman empire."

The Turkish delegates, in order to persuade the Armenians to accept this proposal, informed them also that they (the Turks) had already won the co-operation of the Georgians and the Tartars, as well as the mountaineers of the northern Caucasus, and therefore the non-compliance of the Armenians under such circumstances would be very stupid and fraught with danger for them on both sides of the boundary between Turkey and Russia. In spite of these promises and threats, the executive committee of the Dashnaktzoutiun (Federation) informed the Turks that the Armenians could not accept the Turkish proposal, and on their behalf advised the Turks not to participate in the present war, which would be disastrous to the Turks themselves. The .Armenian members of this parley were the well-known publicist, Mr. E. Aknouni, the representative from Van, Mr. A. Vramian, and the director of the Armenian schools in the district of Erzeroum, Mr. Rostom. Of these Mr. Aknouni and Mr. Vramian were treacherously killed a few months later for their audacious refusal of the Turkish proposals, while Mr. Rostom luckily escaped the murderous plots against his life.

The hold retort of the Armenians to the Turkish proposal mentioned above intensely angered the Turks, and from that very day the extermination of the Armenians was determined upon by the Turkish government. And in reality, arrests and persecutions within the Armenian vilayets began in the early part of September, 1914, a month and a half before the commencement of the Russo-Turkish war. The speed of the persecutions gained greater momentum as the months rolled by and tens of villages in different parts of Armenia were subjected to fire and sword. In

the district of alone, during February and March of 1915, twenty-four villages were razed to their foundations and their populations put to the sword. Early in April of the same year, they attempted the massacre of the inhabitants of the city of Van as Well, but the Armenians took up arms, and, guided by their brave leader, Aram, defended their lives and property for a whole month, until the Armenian volunteers from Erivan with Russian soldiers came to the rescue and saved them from the impending doom. This resistance on the part of the inhabitants of Van gave the Turkish government a pretext to deport in June and July of the same year the entire Armenian population of Turkish Armenia, with the pretended intention of transporting them to Mesopotamia, hut with the actual determination to exterminate them. Out of the million and a half of Armenians deported, scarcely 400,000 to 500,000 reached the sandy deserts of Syria and Mesopotamia, and most of these were women, old men, and children, who were subjected in those desolate regions to the mortal pangs of famine. More than a million defenseless Armenians were murdered at the hands of Turkish soldiers and Turkish mobs. The gang of robbers, headed by Talaat and Enver, resorted to this fiendish means to eliminate the Armenian question once for all, because the Armenians had had the courage to oppose their Pan-Turanian policies. The barbarities of Jenghiz Khan and Tamerlane pale in comparison with the savageries which were perpetrated upon the Turkish Armenians in the summer of 1915 during this wholesale massacre organized by the Turkish government. Mr. Morgenthau, who was the American ambassador at Constantinople during those frightful months, has proclaimed all these atrocities by his authentic pen to the civilized nations. This was the price which the Armenian people paid within the boundaries of Turkey for refusing to aid the Turco-German policies.

Now let us see what positive services from a military point of view this same martyred people rendered to the allied cause on both sides of the Turco-Russian boundary line.

Military Services Rendered by the Armenians on the Caucasian Front

In order to have an adequate comprehension of the events which took place on the Caucasian front, it would be well to bear in mind that all the peoples of Trans-Caucasia, including the Armenians, felt great enmity toward the government of the Czar, whose treatment of them in the past had been very tyrannical and very brutal. For this very reason, the TurcoGerman propaganda had easily won the sympathy of nearly 3,000,000 Tartars and 2,000,000 Georgians. The dream of the Tartars was to join the Ottoman Turks and re-establish the old great Tartar Empire, which was to extend from Constantinople to Samarkant, including all the lands of the Caucasus and Trans-Caspia, while the Georgians, through their alliance with the Turco-Germans, hoped to regain their lost independence in the western Caucasus. Only the 2,000,000 Armenians of the Caucasus were not influenced by the Turco-German propaganda, although they hated the Russian despotism as much as their neighbors. But, on the other hand, having very close acquaintance with the psychology of the Turkish race and with their ulterior aspirations, the Armenians had the political wisdom and courage to put aside their petty quarrels with Russian Czarism and throw in their lot with the allied cause.

These were the circumstances under which the mobilization of 1914 took place in the Caucasus. The Armenian reservists, about 160,000 in number, gladly responded to the call, for the simple reason that they were to fight the arch enemy of their historic race. Besides the regular soldiers, nearly 20,000 volunteers expressed their readiness

to take up arms against the Turks. The Georgians, on the other hand, answered the call very reluctantly, and the Armenian-Georgian relations were greatly strained from the very beginning. The attitude of the Armenians toward the despotic Russian government was incomprehensible to the Georgians, who thought that, because the Armenians sided with Russia,—the oppressor of all the Caucasian races,—they must be unfriendly to the Georgians. Many Georgian young men crossed the border from Batoum, went to Trebizond, and prepared bands of volunteers under the leadership of Prince Abashize in order to aid the Turks. As to the Tartars, not being subject to draft, they assumed the role of spectators on the one hand, and on the other used every means to arm themselves, impatiently awaiting the arrival of the Turks. The great land-owners of the provinces of Erivan, Elizavetpol and Baku began to accumulate enormous stores, and prepare a huge reserve of sugar and wheat. The price of one rifle, which was 100 rubles ($50), rose to 1500 rubles ($750). Through Persia, the Germans took to the Caucasus great sums of money in order to push forward the task of arming the Tartars from the very first days of the war. Great numbers of young Tartars went to Persia and joined the Turkish armies. And all this was carried on in broad daylight under the very eyes of the short-sighted Russian bureaucracy.

The Russian administration of the Caucasus was more concerned with the Armenian "danger" and had no time to pay attention to the Georgians and the Tartars. Was it not a fact that officially no Georgian or Tartar question was placed on the diplomatic table, whereas the Armenian question was there? And for that very reason, before the commencement of the Russo-Turkish hostilities, the second and third army corps of the Caucasian army, the majority of which were Armenians, were transferred to the German front and were replaced by Russian army corps. Moreover, out of the 20,000 Armenians who volunteered for service, only 7,000 were given arms; the authorities objected that they had no rifles ready, while a few months later the same administration distributed 24,000 rifles to the Kurds in Persia and in the district of Van. It is needless to say that all the Armenian officers and generals were transferred to the Western front; only one Armenian general was left as a specimen on the entire Caucasian front, General Nazarbekoff, and he was transferred to Persia, away from the Armenian border. Under these trying conditions commenced the Russo-Turkish war and the Armenian-Russian co-operation on the Caucasian front in the autumn of 1914. But, in spite of this suspicious and crafty attitude assumed by the Russian administration, the Armenian inhabitants of the Caucasus spared nothing in their power for the success of the Russian armies. In the three main unsuccessful Turkish offensives the battalions of Armenian volunteers played a great role. Let us now see just what took place during those offensives.

Armenian Volunteers Smother the First Great Turkish Offensive, and Save the Russian Army from Certain Disaster

The first serious Turkish offensive took place in the beginning of December, 1914, when Enver Pasha attempted to reach Tiflis by shattering the right wing of the Russian army. The Turkish "Napoleon" was anxious to connect his name with that great victory which seemed certain to his puny brain. And with that very purpose in view he boarded Goeben, the German cruiser, and left Constantinople, amid great demonstrations. He reached Erzeroum in three days, thanks to the German automobiles which were ready for him at different stops between Trebizond and the frontier. The offensive was planned

with great care, and had great chances of success if all the three wings of the Turkish army had reached their objectives on time. Enver had under his command three army corps-the ninth, the tenth and the eleventh. The ninth army corps was to advance toward Ardahan by way of Olti and from there to march on Tiflis by way of Akhalkalag, when it should receive word that the tenth army corps had already captured Sarikamish and cut off the retreat of the Russian army of 60,000 men; while the eleventh army corps was to attack the centre of the Russian army near the frontier. The ninth army corps, in three davs and without difficulty, reached Ardahan, where the local Moslem inhabitants assisted it in every possible way. The tenth army corps, during its march from Olti to Sarikamish, suffered a delay of twenty-four hours in the Barduz Pass, due to the heroic resistance of the fourth battalion of the Armenian volunteers which made up the Russian reserve. This delay of twenty-four hours enabled the Russians to concentrate a sufficient force around Sarikamish (which had been left entirely undefended) and thereby force back the ninth corps of the Turkish army. The Turks were so certain of the success of their plan that they had no transports with them and no extra supply of provisions. Opposite Sarikarnish, where a battle was waged for three days and three nights, the Turks suffered a loss of 30,000 men, mostly due to cold rather than to the Russian arms. But if the Turkish army corps had reached Sarikarnish twenty-four hours earlier, as was expected, it would have confronted only one battalion of Russian reserves, and that without artillery. This was the invaluable service rendered to the Russian army by the fourth battalion of the Armenian volunteers under the command of the matchless Keri. Six hundred Armenian veterans fell in the Barduz Pass, and at such a high price saved the 60,000 Russians from being taken prisoners by the Turks. This great service of the Armenians to the Russian army was announced at the time by Enver Pasha himself, when he returned to Constantinople immediately after his defeat. From that time on the government at Constantinople laid the blame of its defeat at the door of the Armenians, as a preliminary step in its preparation for the execution of its already-planned massacres of the Armenian people.

Armenians Defeat the Second Turkish Offensive

After their defeat at Sarikamish, the Turks attempted in April of 1915 to turn the extreme left wing of the Russian army by marching to Joulfa through Persia, and from there (in case of success) moving on to Baku, with the hope that the Tartar inhabitants of the eastern Caucasus would immediately join them and enable them to cut the only communicating line of railroad of the Russians, and thereby force the entire Russian army to retreat toward the northern Caucasus. The work of the intelligence department of the Turks was very well organized, especially as the Tartar and Georgian officers of the Caucasus rendered them invaluable services. The Turks knew very well that the Russians in Persia at that time had only one brigade of Russian troops under the command of the Armenian General Nazarbekoff and one battalion of Armenian volunteers scattered throughout Salrnast and Urmia, while their own army was made up of one regular and well-drilled division of troops (sent especially from Constantinople) under the command of Khalil Bey and nearly 10,000 Kurds. Khalil Bey with his superior forces captured the city of Urmia in a few hours (taking prisoners nearly a thousand Russians) and victoriously marched on Salmast. Here took place one of the fiercest battles between the Armenians and the Turks. The first battalion of the Armenian volunteers, under the command of the veteran Andranik, strongly enforced

in its trenches, repulsed the attacks of Khalil Bey for three days continuously, until the Russians, with the newly-arrived forces from the Caucasus, were able to put to flight the army of Khalil Bey. Thirty-six hundred Turkish soldiers lay dead before the Armenian trenches in the course of those three days.

In that very month of April. while Khalil Bey was confidently attempting, as we have seen, to surround the left wing of the Russian army in Persia, over in Van the Armenians had taken up arms in self-defence, and for one whole month were fighting another division of Turkish troops and thousands of Kurds until the first days of May, when three other battalions of Armenian volunteers, under the command of General Nikolaeff, came to the rescue, riding a distance of 250 kilometers (155 miles)—from Erivan to Van—in ten days. For one who is acquainted with the local conditions, it is an undisputed fact that if the Armenians of Van in April 1915, by their heroic resistance had not kept busy that one division of regular Turkish troops and thousands of Kurds, and had made it possible for them to join the army of Khalil Bey, the Turks undoubtedly would had been able to crush the Russian forces in Persia and reach Baku in a few weeks, for the simple reason that from the banks of the Araxes to Baku the Russians had no forces at all, while the local Tartar inhabitants, armed and ready, were awaiting the coming of the Turks before rising en masse to join them. From the very beginning of the war, Baku has been the real objective of the Turks, just as Paris has been the objective of the Germans, and that for two reasons: first, as a fountain of wealth, the Turks knew very well that the Russian government received from the oil wells of Baku an annual income of more than 200,000,000 rubles ($100,000,000), a sum which is more than all the revenues of the bankrupt Turkish government put together, and they looked upon these financial resources as indispensable for the accomplishment of their plan of a Pan-Turanian Empire; second, because the very plan of their PanTuranism had been introduced in Constantinople after 1908 by these very Tartars of Baku. The commanders of the Turkish forces engaged in Persia and Van-Khalil and Jevded—understood very well why their plans failed in the month of April, 1915; and that failure is the explanation of those frightful massacres which took place on the plains of Bitlis and Moush in June of the same year, when the armies of the same Khalil and Jevded, defeated in Persia and Van, were forced to retreat under the pressure of the Armenian volunteers.

The third Turkish offensive took place early in July, 1915. This time the Turks, with all their available forces—eleven divisions of regular troops, again under the command of Khalil Bey—attacked the very center of the Caucasian army. In a few days they re-occupied Malashkert, Toutakh, and the greater part of the plains of Alashkert. During one week the center of the Russian army retreated more than 100 kilometers (62 miles) leaving behind the district of Van entirely unprotected, and in danger of being surrounded at any moment. If the Turks had had one or two more divisions of troops at their service in those days, they would have been able very easily to take prisoners the entire fourth army of the Russian left wing and cut off their way of retreat in order to escape from this dangerous situation, the Russian left wing was forced to retreat hastily toward the Russian frontier and sent a part of its forces to aid the central army. Only at the end of July did the Russian army, having received aid from its left wing, and under the leadership of Armenian General Nazarbekoff, succeed in forcing back the Turks to their former line. These were the conditions under which nearly 150,000 Armenian inhabitants of the district of Van were compelled to leave all their

property at the mercy of the enemy's fire and flee toward Erivan.

Armenian Resistance to the Turkish Massacres

It is true that the battalions of Armenian volunteers took no active part in the battles of July, for they were then in the district of Van and undertaking the heavy duty of rear guard work for the Russian army and the Armenian refugees. But the Turkish Armenians behind the front, who were being deported and massacred as early as the month of July, by their heroic resistance, occupied the attention of four Turkish divisions and tens of thousands of Kurds just at the time when the Turks had such great need of those forces to aid them in their July drive. It is worth while, therefore, to point out here that, during the deportations and massacres of 1915, whenever the Armenians had any possible means at all of resisting the criminal plans of the Turkish government, they took up arms and organized resistance in different parts of Armenia.

Even before the deportations had begun, toward the latter part of 1914, the Turkish government cunningly attempted to disarm the Zeitunians, the brave Armenian mountaineers of Cilicia, who had taken up arms against the Turkish government at three different times in the nineteenth century, and each time had laid down their arms only on the intervention of the European powers, believing that they would put an end to the Turkish barbarities. This time the government filled the prisons with the prominent Zeitunians and persuaded the young warriors to surrender, promising to set them free if they did so. After accomplishing its deceitful plan, the government put to death most of the young men, deported the inhabitants, and made the mouhajirs from Balkans inhabit Zeitun, even changing the name of the place to Soulaymania, in order to erase the memory of those brave mountaineers. A group of warriors, however, found means to take up their arms, climb the mountains, and fight the Turkish soldiers. They are still free, and live among the mountains of Giaur Dagh. In the following year the inhabitants of Suediah were the first to defend themselves against the Turks. In April, when the Turkish government ordered the Armenian peasants of Suediah to leave their homes and emigrate toward Der-El-Zor, the inhabitants of four or five villages, nearly 5,000 in number, refused to obey this unlawful order of the Turkish government. With their families they climbed the Amanos mountains and for forty-two days heroically resisted the cannonading of the regular Turkish forces. Their situation was of course critical. The desperate villagers sewed a large red cross on a white sheet to inform the fleet of the Allies in the Mediterranean that they were in danger. The French cruiser, Guechene, got in touch with the Armenian peasants, informed its war department of the situation, and obtained permission to remove them by transports to Port Said (Egypt). Most of them are still there, cared for by the British, while the young warriors went to join the French Oriental Legion, and fought on the Palestine front under General Allenby.

The resistance at Van has already been spoken of. The next place of importance must be given to the brave mountaineers district of Sasoun, that very Sasoun which had retained its semi-independent position in Turkish Armenia up to the beginning of the last century, and had taken up arms at three different times in the present generation to defend its independence against the Ottoman troops—in 1894, in 1904, and again in 1915. This last time, toward the end of June, when the troops of Khalil and Jevded began to lay waste with fire and sword the city of Moush and the unprotected villages of the outlying district, the gallant Sasounians, under the guidance of their two

idealistic leaders, came down from their mountains and made several raids on the city to drive away the Turks. One of their leaders was Roupen, a self-sacrificing and highly educated young man who had received his university training in Geneva, Switzerland, and had shouldered his gun in 1904 and had dedicated himself to the task of defending Sasoun. The name of the other was Vahan Papazian (a native of Van, but educated in Russian universities), who had been elected representative from Van to the Ottoman parliament. This daring step on the part of Sasoun forced the Turkish commanders to march on Sasoun with two divisions of troops and with nearly 30,000 Kurds. From the first days of July to Sept. 8, the Sasounians were able to resist the Turco-Kurdish attacks, always with the hope that the Russian army would come to their assistance. During that interval of time, the Sasounians sent several couriers to the Russian army and asked for help, but the Russian commanders remained indifferent, in spite of the fact that the extreme front line of the Russian army was scarcely 50 kilometers (31 miles) away from Sasoun, and the sound of the Turkish artillery aimed at the Sasounians could be heard very distinctly by the Russian army. One of the commanders of the Armenian volunteers, Dro, appealed to the Russian commander and asked for one battery of cannon and a score or two of machine guns, which would have enabled his men to break the Turkish front and join the Sasounians. That request likewise was refused by the heartless commanders of despotic Russia. These were the conditions under which fell the historic Verdun of Armenia, heroic little Sasoun which, with its 10,000 mountaineers, succeeded in facing 50,000 Turks and Kurds for two months, with antiquated weapons and without adequate food or ammunition.

Making all due allowance for the relative magnitude and importance of the Near Eastern and the Western fronts, we may safely say without exaggeration that Van and Sasoun, on the Caucasian front in the year 1915, played exactly the same role which Liege played in 1914 and Verdun in 1916 on the Western front. Had it not been for these two points of stubborn resistance against the Turkish troops in the summer of 1915, the two Turkish offensives, already spoken of, would have had great chances of success. This is an undisputed fact with all the inhabitants of the Near East. And indeed, three months after these events, when the Armenian volunteers together with the Russian troops recommenced their drive and captured the cities of Moush and Bitlis, in the diary of a Turkish officer, who was taken prisoner in Bitlis, was found the following item, which appeared at the time in the Russian press:

"We are asked why we massacre the Armenians. The reason is quite plain to me. Had not the Armenians fought against us, we should have reached Tiflis and Baku long ago."

In addition to Van and Sasoun, during the same July when deportations and organized massacres were going on, three other places might be mentioned where hopeless attempts at resistance were made by the Armenians against the savage Turks and Kurds. These places were Sivas, Urfa, and Shabin-Karahissar. At Sivas the heroic resistance of Mourat and his comrades and their escape were so full of thrilling events that they have been likened to the adventures of Odysseus. Mourat is a brave warrior who, together with his companion, Sepouh, had fought at Sasoun, in 1904, and had taken part in the Armenian and Tartar clashes of 1905 and 1906 in the Caucasus. When deportations and massacres commenced in 1915, Turkish gendarmes were sent to capture Mourat, who was living with his wife and child in a village near Sivas. Realizing the coming danger, Mourat climbed the mountains with his band of warriors

and resisted the raids of the enemy. After a year and a half of stubborn resistance, he descended one day to the shore of the Black Sea, captured a Turkish sailboat near Samsoun, and putting his comrades into it, ordered the Turkish sailor to steer the boat toward Batourn, a Russian port. According to cable messages, Mourat was chased by a Turkish gun-boat. Several battles took place in which he lost a few of his men, but finally repulsed the Turks and reached Batoum safe and sound. At Urfa the Armenians were able for forty days to repulse the attacks of one Turkish division, but finally fell heroically under the fire of Turkish artillery, commanded by German officers, having previously destroyed all their property so that it would not fall into the hands of their enemies. In the ruined Armenian trenches of Urfa, by the side of Armenian young men there had fallen dead also Armenian young women who, arms in hand, were found all mangled by the German bombs. At Shabin-Karahissar, nearly 5,000 Armenians, for twenty-seven days without interruption, in the same month of July, kept busy another division of Turkish troops with their artillery. There took place one of the most tragic and heroic episodes of the present war. "When the ammunition of the Armenians was almost gone, on the last day of the struggle, nearly 3,000 Armenian women and girls drank poison and died in order not to fall alive into the hands of the savage Turks. If the supply of poison had not given out, all the women would have done likewise. An eye-witness, one who had taken part in the struggle and who succeeded in reaching the Caucasus in 1916, after wandering in the mountains and valleys of Armenia for a whole year, related how on that last day Armenian mothers and girls, with tears in their eyes and with hymns on their lips, received poison from the Armenian physicians and apothecaries for themselves and their little ones. "When the supply of poison gave out, those who were unable to obtain any uttered terrible wailing, and many of the girls cast themselves down from the rocks of the Karahissar citadel and committed suicide.

These events reveal the following facts: first, that in spite of all the precautions which the Turkish government employed to disarm the Armenians before carrying out its fiendish design, the Armenians found means to organize in the four corners of Armenia hopeless but serious plans of resistance against the swords of their enemy; second, that in order to eliminate these Armenian points of resistance during the summer of l9l5, five Turkish divisions and tens of thousands of Kurds were kept employed, and were unable to add their immediate co-operation in those very days to the other Turkish forces engaged in their two offensives on the Caucasian front. These were the positive services which the martyred Armenian people rendered to the allied cause in the Near East. Their active resistance to the Turco-German plans, however, cost the Armenians more than one million men, women and children massacred under the most savage conditions and the deprivation of their means of livelihood in Turkish Armenia. But, to complete the description of the Armenian Calvary, it is necessary to picture also in a few words the attitude assumed by the government of the Russian Czar toward the very Armenian people whose active participation on Russia's side enabled the Caucasian front to repulse the Turkish attacks in 1914 and 1915, and, moreover, to accomplish definite successes during the following year, 1916.

Attitude of Russian Czarism Toward the Armenians

As we have already mentioned, from the beginning of the war the Russian bureaucracy tried on one hand by various false promises to win our the sympathy of the Armenians, while on the other it tried by every means to keep the Armenian

military forces away from the Caucasian front. Only seven battalions of Armenian volunteers were kept on the Caucasian front.

As we have already seen, those few battalions even, in 1914 and 1915, rendered to the Russians invaluable services, twice saving the right and left wings of the Russian army from an unavoidable catastrophe by their heroic resistance; but the Russian official communiques do not contain one line in which the battalions of Armenian volunteers are even mentioned. The same silence was maintained by the Russian communiques concerning the heroic resistance of the Armenians at Van, and with regard to the assistance which the .Armenian volunteers rushed to that city. This was the policy of the government of Russian Czarism from the beginning of the war to the end of its existence,—to avoid in every way speaking about the Armenians and Armenia. The Russian press was even forbidden to speak about the massacres carried on in Turkish Armenia at the hands of the Turkish government. Therefore, when the capture of Erzeroum in 1916 made the immediate co-operation of the Armenian volunteers unnecessary to the Russians, the commander-in-chief of the Caucasian army at the time, Grand Duke Nicolas Nicolaevitch, ordered the disbanding of all the battalions of the Armenian volunteers. Besides this amazing treatment of the Armenian military forces, the Czar's government removed from the Caucasus before the war all the Armenian officers and replaced them by generals (avowedly anti-Armenian in spirit) from the Russian, Georgian and other Caucasian races. The object of this move was to enable the government to check the national aspirations of the Armenians, and to give it a plausible opportunity at the end of the war to take our the Armenian vilayets without gratifying the demands of the Armenians for autonomy.

From the third month of the war, it became clear to us that the Russian government pursued unswervingly its Lobanoff-policy toward the Armenians. What was that policy? In 1896, when an English correspondent interviewed the Russian minister of foreign affairs, Count Lobanoff Rostowsky, and asked him why Russia did not occupy the Armenian vilayets of Turkey in order to save that Christian people from the Turkish massacres, the Russian minister cynically replied: **"We need Armenia, but without the Armenians."** It is worth while, then, to give here a few actual facts which reveal this fiendish policy pursued by the Russian government toward a people which was the only one of all the peoples of the Caucasus and the Near East to help the Russian army by its unreserved co-operation and which was the only factor that sand the Caucasian front from an unavoidable catastrophe in 1914 and 1915.

ONE. Every time that the Russian army was forced to retreat from the recaptured parts of Turkish Armenia, no precautionary measures were taken in order to save the local Armenian inhabitants from the inevitable massacres. For example, in December, 1914, when the Turks advanced as far as Sarikamish and Ardahan and forced the central Russian army to retreat from the neighborhood of Alashkert and Bayazid, the commander of the local forces, General Abatzieff (an Acetine Moslem who had joined the Greek church) strictly ordered the local Armenian inhabitants, nearly 32,000 in number, not to stir from their places, and in order to have his command accurately carried out he placed mounted Cossack patrols in the plains of Alashkert lest the Armenian peasants should emigrate toward the Russian frontier, in which direction the Russian army with its transports had already been moving since December 13. Three days later the second battalion of the Armenian volunteers, which had been fighting in the first-line positions for over two months under the command of the same general,

returned to the army headquarters for a well-earned rest, and there only it heard about the serious happenings already mentioned, and the extraordinary attitude assumed by the Russian general. The Armenian peasants from every side appealed to the Armenian volunteers with tears in their eyes and begged to be saved from an inevitable massacre. The commander of the Armenian volunteers, Armen Garo, and his brave assistant, Khetcho, who died like a hero in July, 1915, on the shores of Lake Van, went immediately to General Abatzieff and asked him to revoke his order and permit the Armenian inhabitants to move with the army toward Igdir. The hostile general refused their request, his answer being that, if the people stirred from the place, he would be unable to remove the army transports soon enough. When he heard this answer, Armen Garo immediately telegraphed to Ighir and appealed to the commander-in-chief of the fourth army, General Oganowsky, and asked for his intervention. On the following day only, thanks to the intervention of General Oganowsky, the Armenian volunteers received permission to organize the retreat of the Armenian inhabitants of the plains of Alashkert toward lgdir and to defend them from the attacks of the Kurds. During the seven days that the retreat lasted the Armenians lost only 400 persons, and most of those on account of the severe cold. Another example of this hostile treatment of the Armenians by the Russian authorities might be mentioned,—the retreat from the Van district in July, 1915. There General Nikolaeff for eight continuous days deceived the Armenian leaders and made them remain idle (telling them every day that he would not retreat under any circumstances, and that therefore it was entirely needless to remove the people), until behold, one day, July 18, he suddenly sent for the mayor of Van, Aram, and the commander-in-chief of the Armenian volunteers, Vartan, and informed them that he had received orders to retreat immediately, but in order to make it possible for the people to prepare for departure, he would wait until the 20th of the month. Thus the Armenian leaders were forced to remove in two or three days nearly 150,000 people of the Van region, and if those three battalions of Armenian volunteers had not been there to protect the people from Kurdish and Turkish raids, the loss of life during the journey would have been tenfold more than it actually was. Whereas, if the Russian general had not been so deceitful in his behavior but had given an opportunity of seven or eight days to organize the retreat, it would have been possible to direct the people to Erivan without loss of life. The Armenians suffered a loss of 8,000 to 10,000 men, women and children during the retreat.

TWO. When Turkish Armenia was almost wholly emptied of its Armenian inhabitants, due to these successive retreats, the Russian government raised all sorts of barriers before the refugees to prevent them from returning to their former homes when the Russian army recaptured the Armenian vilayets. For example, in 1916-1917, scarcely 8,000 to 10,000 Armenians were permitted to go back and inhabit the region of Van; the rest were compelled to stay within the borders of the Caucasus as refugees. Toward the latter part of 1916, even among the Russian governmental circles there was talk of transferring to Siberia nearly 250,000 Turkish Armenian refugees who had sought refuge in the Caucasus, because it was objected that no available lands existed there for them. Russians considered it a settled question that even after the war the Turkish Armenians would not be permitted to return to their homes.

On the other hand, the same Russian bureaucracy resorted every means to win the sympathy of the Turkish and Kurdish inhabitants remaining in Armenia. With that purpose in view, in the spring of 1916, on behalf of the ministry for foreign affairs

at Petrograd, Count Chakhowsky with his own organization established himself in Bashkale (a city in the district of Van) and distributed nearly 24,000 rifles to the Kurds of the neighboring regions. It is needless to say that not long after those very rifles were used by the Kurds against the Russian army both in Persia and Armenia.

This amazing action of Count Chakhowsky was taken so openly that it was even known to ordinary Russian soldiers, who were extremely enraged against the Count, a fact which accounts for the murder of the same Count Chakhowsky in Persia by Russian soldiers, when the discipline of the Russian army was relaxed on account of the revolution which took place in the spring of 1917.

THREE. While the Russians were preventing the Turkish Armenian refugees from returning to their own lands, they, in the spring of 1916, commenced to organize in Turkish Armenia colonies of Cossacks. The Russian administration sent special propagandists to the northern Caucasus to persuade the Cossacks living there to move to Armenia, and during that same year 5,000 of them, under the name of agricultural battalions, were already cultivating the plains of Alashkert, lands which rightly belonged to the Armenians. This last act of the Russian government was so revolting that even the liberal organs of the Russian press complained of the government for such inhuman proceedings, while in the Russian Duma two Russian representatives, N. Milukoff and A. Kerensky (both of whom played such great roles the following year in the downfall of Czarism), publicly criticized the government of the Czar for its base treatment of the Armenians. Documentary evidence relating to this disgraceful action of the Russian government, which incensed the ire of prominent liberals in the Duma, may be found in the July 28, 1916, issue of the Retch, the organ of the Constitutional Democrats in Russia. In order to characterize this criminal action of the Russian bureaucracy against the Armenian people who were martyred for the allied cause, it may be worth while also to cite the following details:

In the month of July, 1915, the Armenian inhabitants of Erzeroum, nearly 25,000 in number, were likewise deported by the Turkish government, leaving all their real and personal property at the disposal of the Turks. The governor of the place, Tahsin Bey, arranged a scheme by means of which every Armenian before leaving the city could store his goods and household furniture (with the name of the owner on each article) in the cathedral, with the apparent purpose of returning them to their owners after the war, but with the real purpose of preventing so much riches from falling into the hands of the Turkish mob, in order to appropriate them later for the government. The cathedral of Erzeroum was packed with the goods of the exiled Armenians when the Russians captured the city in February, 1916. Ordinary human decency demanded that the Russians should not have touched the articles stored in that sacred edifice, especially as they belonged to the very martyred people whose professed sympathies for them (the Russians) were the cause of their being exiled to the deserts of Mesopotamia. But the fact is that the commander of the Russian army, General Kaledine himself, set the example of desecration; he personally entered the cathedral first and selected for himself a few car-loads of rugs and sundry valuable articles. Then the other officers of the Russian army followed his example, and in a few days half of the contents of the church was already pillaged before the representative of the Armenian Committee, Mr. Rostom, after repeated telegrams, was able to receive an order from Tiflis to stop the plunder. In that same summer of 1916, the Buxton brothers (representatives of the Armenian Committee of London) and other English Armenophiles came to

Armenia. When they witnessed all these disgraceful particulars they could not believe their own eyes, so monstrous was the attitude of the Russian government toward the Armenians. The English and American friends of Armenia consoled them by saying that on their return they would have the privilege of explaining this state of affairs to their government and they would doubtless do all in their power to protect the rights of the Armenians. These were the circumstances under which the Armenian people joined its fate to the allied cause from the very beginning of the war, and, having made colossal sacrifices during three whole years, was almost crushed to death in the claws of Turkish and Russian despotism.

In that same sorrowful summer of 1916 the Armenians heard the news that **England, France, and Russia had signed an agreement concerning Armenia.** According to that agreement Russia was to take over the three vilayets of Turkish Armenia, Erzeroum, Bitlis, and Van, while southern Armenia and Cilicia were to be put under the guardianship of France. One must be an Armenian in order to feel the depth and intensity of the bitterness and disappointment which filled the hearts of all the wandering Armenians from the Caucasus to Mesopotamia. Every Armenian asked himself or herself: Was this to be our recompense?

In those very days (September, 1916) one of the agents of the German government in Switzerland approached Dr. Zavrieff (one of the representatives of the Armenian Committee of that place) with the following proposal:

> ''You Armenians made a great mistake when you joined your fate to that of the Allies. It is time for you to rectify your mistaken policy. Your dreams with regard to the historic Armenia are uurealizable. You may as well accustom yourselves to that fact, and before it is too late you will do better to join the fate of your people with the German policies, and remove the remnants of the Armenian people to Mesopotamia, where the Germans will put at the disposal of the Armenians every means which will enable them to create for themselves a new and a more fortunate fatherland under their (German) immediate protection."

In order to persuade his Armenian opponent, the German agent constantly reminded him of the agreement (between England, France and Russia), and especially of the hostile attitude of the Russians up to that time towards the Armenians. The news of this German proposal reached the Caucasus in December of the same year. It was made the subject of serious consultation among the Armenian leaders. The writer of these lines was present at those conferences, and his impression was this: Had there not been that superhuman adoration (so peculiarly Armenian) which every Armenian has for his ancestral home and recollections so sanctified by blood, the German proposal would very likely have been accepted by the Armenians at that psychological moment when their hearts were overflowing with bitterness and disappointment toward the Russian government,—a member of the allied nations. The outcome of those conferences was that we decided to continue our former policy toward the Entente, in spite of the base behavior of the Russians towards us, and at the same time to invite the serious attention of our great Allies of the west to our hopeless situation.

Role Played by the Armenians in the Caucasus After the Russian Collapse

This was the state of affairs when there came the crash of the Russian revolution. The heart of every Armenian was greatly relieved, thinking that the greater part of their torments would come to an end. And in truth, during the first few months of

the revolution, the temporary government of Kerensky made definite arrangements to rectify the unjust treatment of the Armenians by the government of the Czar. But events progressed in a precipitate manner. The demoralization of the Russian troops on all the fronts assumed greater proportions as the days went by. Foreseeing the danger which threatened the Caucasus, the Armenian National Organization of the Caucasus, as early as April, 1917, sent to Petrograd on a special commission Dr. Zanieff, already mentioned, and the writer of these lines, in order to have them obtain permission to transfer to the Caucasus some 150,000 Armenian officers and men (scattered throughout the Russian army), by whose assistance the Armenians might be able to protect their own native land against the Turkish advance. Mr. Kerensky, who was well acquainted with the abnormal conditions reigning in the Caucasus, agreed to grant the request of the Armenian delegates, but, on the other hand, for fear of receiving similar requests from the other races in case he granted an order favorable to the Armenians, he decided to fulfill our request unofficially, that is, without a special order, to send the Armenian soldiers to the Caucasus gradually, in small groups, in order not to attract the attention of other races. And he carried out this plan.

But unfortunately, scarcely 35,000 Armenian soldiers had been able to reach the Caucasus by November, 1917, when Kerensky himself fell at the hands of the Bolsheviks, and there was created a chaotic condition the result of which was the final demobilization of the Russian army. During December, 1917, and January, 1918, the Russian army of 250,000 men on the Caucasian front, without any orders, abandoned its positions and moved into the interior of Russia, leaving entirely unprotected a front about 970 kilometers (600 miles) in length, extending from the Black Sea to Persia. As soon as the Russian army disbanded, the 3,000,000 Tartar inhabitants of the Caucasus armed themselves and rose en masse. Toward the end of January last [1919], the Tartars had cut the Baku-Tiflis railroad line as well as the Erivan-Joulfa line, and now began to raid and plunder the Armenian cities and villages, while behind, on the frontier, the regular Turkish army had commenced to advance in the first days of February. Against all these Turks and Tartars the Armenians had one army corps made up of some 35,000 regular troops under the command of General Nazarbekoff, and nearly 20,000 Armenian volunteers under the command of their experienced leaders. Armenia's only hope of assistance was their neighbors, the Georgians, who were as much interested in the protection of the Caucasus as the Armenians were, because the Turkish demands of the Brest-Litovsk treaty included definite portions of Georgia, as well as of Armenia; for example, the port of Batoum. And in fact, during the months of January and February they seemed quite inclined to help the Armenians, but when the Turks captured Batoum on April 15 and came as far as Usurgeti, the morale of the Georgians was completely broken, and they immediately sent a delegation to Berlin and put Georgia under German protection. From this time on the 2,000,000 Armenian inhabitants of the Caucasus remained entirely alone to face, on the one hand, the Turkish regular army of 100,000 men, and on the other hand, the armed forces of hundreds of thousands of Tartars. From the end of February the small number of Armenian forces commenced to retreat step by step before the superior Turkish forces, from Erzingan, Baiburt, Khenous, Mamakhatoun, Erzeroum, and Bayazid, and concentrated their forces on the former RussianTurkish frontier. Here commenced serious battles which arrested for quite a long time the advance of the Turkish troops. It took them until April 22 to arrive before the forts of Kars, where the first serious resistance of the Armenians took place. The fierce Turkish attack which continued for

four days was easily repulsed by the Armenians, owing to the guns on the ramparts of Kars.

During these events a temporary government of the Caucasus existed in Tiflis, composed of representatives of three Caucasian races-Georgian, Armenian, and Tartar. This Caucasian government was formed immediately after the *coup d'etat* of the Bolsheviks, and conducted Caucasian affairs as an independent body. It refused to recognize the authority of the Bolshevik government, or the terms of the Brest-Litovsk treaty signed by its accredited delegates. The president of the government was Chekhenkeli, a Georgian. Immediately after the capture of Batoum the Caucasian government opened peace negotiations with Turkish delegates in Batoum itself. The Turks, by their usual crafty tricks, persuaded the Georgian delegates that they would return Batoum to the Georgians if Kars surrendered without resistance. Feeling assured of this Turkish promise, the Georgian president of the Caucasian government, **Chekhenkeli, on the night of April 25, without consultation with the other members of the government, telegraphed the commander of Kars that an armistice had been signed with the Turks on condition of surrendering Kars**, and therefore to give up the forts immediately and retreat as far as ArpaChai. On the following day the commander of the Armenian soldiers who were defending Kars delivered the forts into the hands of the Turks and retreated to Alexandropol. **Then it became known that Chekhenkeli had sent the fateful telegram on his own responsibility, but it was already too late. This event occasioned very strained relations between the Armenians and Georgians. Not long after, on the 26th of May, the Georgians, assured of German protection, declared in Tiflis the independence of Georgia. Thus the temporary Caucasian government dissolved.**

After the separation of the Georgians the Armenian National Council of the Caucasus declared Armenian independence, under the name of the Republic of Ararat, with Erivan as its capital. While the negotiations were going on in Batoum—always between the delegates of the Turks and the three Caucasian races comprising the Caucasian temporary government,—the Turkish armies, after the occupation of Kars, became more aggressive and commenced to advance toward Alcxandropol and Karakilissa. Concentrating their forces around Karakilissa and Erivan, early in June, the Armenians in two fierce battles drove the Turks back almost to their frontier. In the battle of Karakilissa, which lasted four days, the Turks left 6,000 dead before the Armenian posts, and escaped to Alexandropol. When the Turks felt that their position in the face of the Armenian resistance was becoming more and more hopeless and that it would cost them dear to continue the fight, they immediately began to make concessions. Up to that time the Turks had not yet recognized the right of Russian Armenia to independence, their objection being that they only recognized in the Caucasus Georgian and Tartar countries. But when they heard the news of the last military victory of the Armenians, on June 14, in Batoum, the Turkish delegates, together with the representatives of the Republic of Ararat, signed the first terms of armistice, leaving the final peace signature to the congress of Constantinople, where the final negotiations were to take place.

The delegates of the three nations of the Caucasus reached Constantinople on June 19. They were 32 in number. Among them were also the representatives of the Republic of Ararat, Mr. A. Khatissoff, the minister of foreign affairs, and Mr. A. Aharonian, the president of the Armenian National Council. In that congress, which

convened in presence of the delegates of the German and Austrian government, the Turks signed peace treaties with each of the newly-formed Caucasian Republics. It is needless to say that those treaties had as much value as that which the Roumanian government was forced to sign a few months before by the central powers. And, as was expected, the Turks and the Germans rewarded the Georgians and the Tartars at the expense of the Armenians. They gave the greater part of the Armenian territories to the other two nations, and the remainder was claimed by Turkey, with the exception of 32,000 square kilometers (about 12,350 square miles), with 700,000 Armenian inhabitants, which were left to the Republic of Ararat. According to these terms only onethird of the Armenians of the Caucasus are included within the Republic of Ararat, while the remaining 1,400,000 Armenians are left in territories allotted to the Tartars or the Georgians.

That portion of the Armenians which inhabits the mountainous regions of Karabagh (which was assigned to the Tartars), up to this very day, October, 1918, resists the Turco-Tartar hordes and refuses at any price to be subjected to the unjust terms of the treaty of Constantinople, while beyond, the Armenians at Van, when their military forces realized that their retreat was cut off early last May, after being sheltered for two whole months in Van, moved toward Persia, there joined the Christian Assyrians in the neighborhood of Urmia, repulsed for a long time the Turkish and Kurdish attacks, and only early in September succeeded in shattering the Turkish lines and thereby reached the city of Ramadan in Persia, where they entrusted to the care of the British forces the protection of about 40,000 Armenian and Assyrian refugees. In order to complete this picture of the heroic resistance of the Caucasian Armenians, let me say a few words more about the struggle at Baku.

Armenians Capture Baku

As already mentioned, early in May, 1917, through the efforts of the Armenian National Organization of the Caucasus, the Armenian soldiers and officers scattered throughout Russia were gradually brought together and mobilized on the Caucasian front. With that purpose in view an Armenian Military Committee was formed in Petrograd with General Bagradouni as president. Bagradouni was one of the most brilliant young generals of the Russian army. He had received his military training at the highest military academy of Petrograd, and during Kerensky's administration, was appointed Chief of the Staff of the military forces at Petrograd. When the Bolsheviks assumed power they ordered him to take an oath of loyalty to the new government. General Bagradouni refused to do so, and for that reason he was imprisoned, with many other high military officials. After remaining in prison two months, through repeated appeals by the Armenian National bodies, he was freed by the Bolsheviks on condition that he should immediately leave Petrograd. After his release from prison, General Bagradouni, accompanied by the well known Armenian social worker, Mr. Rostom, with 200 Armenian officers, left for the Caucasus to assume the duties of commander-in-chief of the newly-formed Armenian army. This group of Armenian officers reached Baku early in March, where it was forced to wait, for the simple reason that the Baku-Tiflis railroad line was already cut by the Tartars. During that same month of March from many parts of Russia a large number of Armenians gathered at Baku and waited to go to Erivan and Tiflis in response to the call issued by the Armenian National Council. Toward the end of March nearly 10,000 Armenian soldiers had come together

at Baku.

By the 30th of March the news of German victories was spread through-out the Caucasus by the Turco-German agents. On the same day in Baku and other places appeared the following leaflets:

"Awake, Turkish brothers!

"Protect your rights; union with the Turks means life.

"Unite, O Children of the Turks!

"Brothers of the noble Turkish nation, for hundreds of years our blood has flowed like water, our motherland has been ruined, and we have been under the heel of thousands of oppressors who have almost crushed us. We have forgotten our nation. We do not know to whom to appeal for help.

"Countrymen, we consider ourselves free hereafter. Let us look into our conscience! Let us not listen to the voice of plotters. We must not lose the way to freedom; our freedom lies in union with the Turks. It is necessary for us to unite and put ourselves under the protection of the Turkish flag.

"Forward, brothers! Let us gather ourselves under the flag of union and stretch out our hands to our Turkish brothers. Long life to the generous Turkish nation! By these words we shall never again bear a foreign yoke, the chains of servitude."

And on the following day (March 31) from all sides of the Caucasus the armed hordes of Tartars attacked the Armenians. The leaders of the Tartars at Baku were convinced that they would easily disarm the Armenian soldiers, because they were somewhat shut up in Baku, but they were sadly mistaken in their calculations. After a bloody battle which lasted a whole week the Armenians remained masters of the city and its oil wells. They suffered a loss of nearly 2,500 killed, while the Tartars lost more than 10,000. The commander of the military forces of the Armenians was the same General Bagradouni, who, although he lost both of his legs during the fight, continued his duties until September 14, when the Armenians and the small number of Englishmen who came to their assistance were forced to abandon Baku to the superior forces of the Turco-Tartars, and retreat toward the city of Enzeli in the northern Caucasus.

During these heroic struggles, which lasted five and a half months, the small Armenian garrison of Baku, together with a few thousand Russians, defended Baku and its oil wells against tens of thousands of Tartars, the Caucasian mountaineers, and more than one division of regular Turkish troops which had come to the assistance of the latter by way of Batoum. Time after time the Turkish troops made fierce attacks to capture the city, but each time they were repulsed with heavy losses by the gallant Armenian garrison. The Armenians had built their hopes on British assistance, since nothing was expected from the demoralized Russian army. But, unfortunately, the British were unable to reach Baku with large forces from their Bagdad army. Nevertheless, on August 5, they landed at Baku 2,800 men to help the Armenians. The arrival of this small British contingent caused great enthusiasm among the tired and exhausted defenders of the city. But meanwhile the Turks had received new forces from Batoum and renewed their attacks. After a series of bloody battles the armed Armenia, and British forces were forced to leave Baku on September 14 and retreat toward Persia, taking with them nearly 10,000 refugees from the inhabitants of the city. As to the condition of those who were left behind, this much is certain: that on the day the city was occupied by the TurcoTartars, nearly 20,000 Armenians were

put to the sword, the greater portion of them being women and children. According to the news received from Persia, after that first terrible massacre, other massacres likewise have taken place. The number of the losses is not known; but it may safely be surmised without any exaggeration that out of the entire 80,000 Armenian inhabitants of Baku, all those who were unable to leave the city in time were slaughtered by the revengeful Turks and Tartars. Thus ended the resistance of five months and a half by the Armenians at Baku against the Turco-Germans.

The remnants of the retreating Armenian garrison of Baku, at the time of writing, are located in the Persian city of Enzeli, where, under the command of their heroic leader, General Bagradouni, they are recuperating before hastening to the aid of the Armenians in the eastern Caucasus, who, as already mentioned, up to this very day are resisting the forces of the Turco-Tartars in the mountains of Karabagh.

Armenia's Co-operation with the Allies on Other Fronts

The Armenians, besides battling on the Caucasian front, where they have been fighting in their own native land, have co-operated undesignedly with the Allies on far distant fronts, as for example on the French front. At the beginning of the war Armenian students living in France—about 900 in number—volunteered to serve in the French army for the defence of civilization and freedom. To-day. scarcely 50 of them are alive; the majority of the 850 others gave their lives in 1916 in the immortal defence of Verdun. This small episode in this universal drama will not be forgotten by either France or the Free Armenia of the future. Glory to the memory of those immortal heroes! Beyond, on another front of the war, by an extraordinary coincidence of fate, in the deadly blow which fell on the head of the Criminal Ottoman Empire in the Holy Land, the sons of the sorrowful people whom it had ruthlessly slaughtered had their just share of active participation. And indeed, in General Allenby's victorious army, which saved Palestine and Syria from Turkish tyranny in September, 1918, by General Allenby' s own testimony, the eight battalions of the Armenian volunteers (who took part in those battles under the French flag) were conspicuous for their bravery. In response to a congratulatory telegram from the chairman of the Armenian National Union of Egypt for the victories on the Palestine front, General Allenby said: "I. thank you warmly for your congratulations, and am proud of the fact that your Armenian compatriots in the Oriental Legion took an active prat in the fighting and shared in our victory. "

Conclusion

If we wish to condense all we have said in a few pages, we shall have the following picture:

In 1914 both Turkey and Russia appealed to the Armenians by various promises of a future autonomous Armenia to secure their assistance in their respective military operations. Through their long and bitter experience the Armenians knew very well that the imperialistic governments of both Turkey and of Russia were opposed to their national aspirations and therefore those promises had no value whatever. But, realizing the universal significance of the present war, and considering the fact that justice was on the side of the Entente, the Armenians, in spite of their distrust of the Russian government, from the very beginning, unreservedly bound hemselves to the allied

cause.

This decision of the Armenians cost them the sacrifice of more than 1,000,000 men in Turkish Armenia, and complete devastation of their native land even in the first year of the war.

In spite of this terrible blow, the Armenians did not lose their vigor, and, even though the autocratic Russian government, up to the time of the Revolution, created all sorts of obstacles to impede their activities, they still continued their assistance to the allied cause. In bringing about the failure of the three Turkish offensives in 1914 and 1915 the Armenians gave the allied cause important armed assistance, on both sides of the Turco-Russian frontier.

After the Russian Revolution, when the Russian military forces fled from the Caucasian front and left it unprotected from January, 1918, to the middle of the following September, the Armenians were the only people who resisted and delayed the Turco-German advance toward Baku. Moreover, the Armenians accomplished all this with their own forces, all alone, surrounded on all sides by hostile elements, without any means of communication with their great Allies of the West. As an evidence of this we may mention the fact that during the last eight months and a half the Armenians have received from the Allies only 6,500,000 rubles ($3,250,000) of financial assistance, and the 2,800 British soldiers who were too few and arrived too late to save Baku.

Let us now look at the other side of the picture.

Had the Armenians assumed an entirely opposite attitude from what they actually did; in other words, had they bound their fate in 1914 to the Turco-German cause, just as the Bulgarians did in 1915, what would have been the trend of events in the Near East? Here is a question to which, it is quite possible, our great Allies have had no time to give any consideration. But that very question was put before the Armenians in 1914, and with no light heart did they answer it by their decision to join the Allies. Each and every one of them had a clear presentiment of the terrible responsibility they assumed. Those millions of corpses of Armenian women and children which spotted the plains in the summer of 1915, rose like phantoms before our very eyes in the August of 1914 when we decided to resist the wild Turkish revengefulness and its frightful outcome. Now, in October, 1918, when we are so close to the hour of the final victory, and feel quite safe and certain that the heavy and gloomy days of the summer of 1914 will never return, I shall permit myself to picture in a few words, before I finish, that which would have taken place if the Armenians had sided with the Germano-Turks in the Near East from the beginning of the war.

First of all, those frightful Armenian massacres would not have taken place. On the contrary, the Turks and the Germans would have tried to win the sympathy of the Armenians in every possible way until the end of the war.

On the other hand, so long as the Georgians and Tartars of the Caucasian peoples were only too eager to co-operate with the Germano-Turks, as the events of 1918 fully demonstrate, had the Armenians likewise joined them in 1914, by cutting the railroads, the backbone of the Caucasian Russian army, all the Caucasian country would have slipped out of the hands of the Russians in a few weeks, and the Turco-Germans would had reached Baku in the autumn of the same year. The Armenians, Georgians, and Tartars of the Caucasus, united, would have been able to form with the greatest ease an army of 700,000 men, by which they would have been able to defend

the Caucasian mountain ridge against the Russians. Meanwhile, the entire Turkish army would have been available to advance immediately toward the interior of Asia and join the 18,000,000 Moslems of Asiatic Russia. We may safely say, neither Persia nor Afghanistan could have remained neutral on seeing such successful achievements by the Turks.

In the course of such events Russia would had been compelled to remove the greater portion of her forces to the East and would not have been able to protect her Western frontiers as successfully as she did. Therefore, quite probably, the Russian collapse would had taken place in the summer of 1915, when the Germans occupied Russian Poland. On the other hand, Great Britain would had been obliged to deflect the greater portion of her newly-formed land forces to the East for the protection of India, and would have been unable to rush as great a force to the defence of heroic France as she actually did. Quite likely, under these conditions, neither Italy nor Roumania would have abandoned their neutrality, and thus the war might have ended in 1915 or 1916 with the victory of the central Powers, at least on land.

It was as clear as day to the Armenians that a Germano-Turkish victory could never satisfy their national aspirations. The most that those nations would have done for us would have been to grant nominal rights to the Armenia of their own choice. But it was very plain to us also that we should not have suffered such frightful human losses had we not sided with the Allies. We consciously chose this last alternative, namely: we tied our fate to the allied victory; we exposed our very existence to danger in order to realize the complete fulfillment of our national ambition, that is, to see the re-establishment of the United Historic Independent Armenia.

With our modest means, we have fulfilled our duty in full measure in this great struggle in order to save civilization from an impending doom. Now it is for our great Allies to act.

The day is not very far distant when, gathered around the great tribunal of justice, the representatives of all the nations of the globe—guilty or just—are to receive their punishment or reward at the hands of the four distinguished champions of democracy, President Wilson, Premiers Lloyd George, Georges Clemenceau, and Orlando. If the representatives present themselves in the order of seniority, the first in the rank will be the representative of the Armenian people—the aged Mother Armenia. Behold! Into the Peace Congress Hall there enters an old woman, bathed in blood, clothed in rags, her face covered with wrinkles 3,000 years old, and completely exhausted. With her thoughtful eyes the venerable Mother Armenia will survey the countenances of all those present, and thus will she address the great figures of the world:

"Century after century my sons took part in all the strifes waged to safeguard Justice and the freedom of suffering humanity. Three thousand years ago my sons struggled for seven hundred years against the despotism of Babylon and Nineveh, which eventually collapsed under the load of their crimes. Fifteen centuries ago the Armenians resisted for five hundred years the persecutions of the mighty Persian Empire to preserve their Christian faith. Since the eighth century my sons have been the vanguard of Christian civilization in the East against Moslem invasions threatening for a while the very existence of all Europe. If you doubt my statements, ask the sacred mountain of Ararat; he will relate to you how all the nations and empires, which attempted to possess by criminal means the indisputable inheritance of my sons, have

received their just punishment.

"Let us not go very far. Here, before you, stand the representatives of those three nations which tried to destroy my sons before your very eyes, in order to rule those parts of our ancestral lands, so sanctified by blood, known as Armenia. Look at this Turk; it was he who wished to wipe the very name of Armenia off the face of the map; but to-day, foiled in his attempt, he stands there a criminal awaiting his sentence. And where is to-day the Czar of Russia, who planned to occupy Armenia without the Armenians,—the representative of that Empire before which the world trembled. And what has remained of the policies of the German Empire, in whose hands is the Bagdad railroad now, built at the cost of the blood of hundreds of thousands of Armenian women and children? Thus, those three modern malevolent empires, which tried to attain happiness through the blood of my sons, have received their just punishment.

"Such will be the fate in the future of all those who shall attempt similar crimes against Armenia. This is the message, gentlemen, handed down to us through three thousand yeass of history: .

"I have nothing more to add. I await your verd1ct with confidence. ,,

Armenia's Share in the Winning of the War

LORD ROBERT CECIL
on October 3, 1918, wrote:

"In the beginning of the War, the Russian Armenians organized volui1teer forces, which bore the brunt of some of the heaviest fighting in the Caucasian campaign. After the Russian Army's breakdown last year, the Armenians took over the Caucasian front, fought the Turks for five months, and thus rendered very important service to the British Army in Mesopotamia. They also captured Baku from the Turko-Tartars, and held it from March to July, 1918, until the arrival of the British. They served alike in the British, French and American Armies, and have borne their part in General Allenby's victory in Palestine. The services rendered by the Armenians to the common cause can never be forgotten."

EX-PREMIER KEREXSKY
on August 20, 1918, said:

"At the outbreak of the War, the Turks captured Sary-Karnish, and were marching on Tiflis. All the high officials, including the Viceroy, were preparing for a hasty flight. Of all the races of the Caucasus, the Armenians alone stuck to their posts, organized volunteer forces and, by the side of their Russian comrades, faced the formidable assaults of the enemy, and turned his victorious march into a disastrous rout."

‘’We were advancing victoriously into the Caucasus when, with the intervention of Armenians, the Russian right wing was stiffened up. I then ordered a French army corps to attack the Russian left. But this corps was delayed for three days by Armenian volunteer contingents, and arrived too late to the scene of battle to save us from the terrible defeat we suffered. I don’t blame the Armenians. We gave them a bad treatment. But, I must confess that, had it not been for the Armenians, we would have conquered the Caucasus. We will do that yet. When we do, then the Allies can’t win the war. We will have India and the whole Mohammedan world on our side, which will force Great Britain to send armies from the Western front to the East, and thus offer Germany the opportunity to overcome France.”

GEN. IHSAN PASHA,
Commander, Right Wing, Turkish Caucasus Army, July 27, 1915, said:

The Russian Armenians were within their right to fight the Turks from the beginning; and the Armenians of Turkey did not take up arms against the Turks until they were attacked.

GEN. UMAX VOX SANDERS,
German Commander in Syria, following Turkey’s surrender, said:

“The collapse of the Turkish Palestinian front was due to the fact that the Turks, against my orders and advice, sent all their available forces to the Caucasus and Azarbaijan, where they fought the Armenians.”

GEN. ALLENBY,
Alter Turkey’s debacle in Palestine, telegraphed to President American National Delegation, Paris:

“I am proud to have Armenian contingents under my command. They fought brilliantly and took a leading part in the victory.”

An Official British Statement on Armenia's Role in the War.

Lord Robert Cecil, writing on behalf of Mr. Balfour, by a letter dated October 3, 1918, and addressed to Viscount Bryce, states that "the military contributions which the Armenians ban made to the Allied armies most assuredly cannot be forgotten," and mentions four points which, he thinks, "the Armenians may well regard as the charter of their right to liberation at the hands of the Allies."

> "One: In the autumn of 1914, the national Congress of the Ottoman Armenians, then sitting at Erzerum. was offered autonomy by the Turkish emissaries, if it would actively assist Turkey in the war, but it replied that while they would do their duty individually as Ottoman subjects, they could not, as a nation, work for the cause of Turkey and her allies.
>
> "Two: Following this courageous refusal, the Ottoman Armenians were systematically murdered by the Turkish Government in 1915, more than 700,000 people being exterminated by the most cold-blooded and fiendish methods.
>
> "Three: From the beginning of the war, that half of the Armenian nation under Russian sovereignty organized volunteer forces and, under their heroic leader, General Antranig, bore the brunt of some of the heaviest fighting in the Caucasian campaign.
>
> "Four: After the Russian army's breakdown at the end of last year, these Armenian forces took over the Caucasian front and for five months delayed the Turks' advance, thus rendering important services to the British Army in Mesopotamia, these operations in the Alexandropol and Erivan region being, of course, unconnected with those of Baku.
>
> "Armenian soldiers are still fighting in the ranks of the allied forces in Syria (10,000 volunteers. principally from America). They are to be found serving alike in the British, the French, and in the American armies, and have borne their part in General Allenby's great victory in Palestine." Of the 900 Armenian volunteers in the Foreign Legion (France), 865 have been killed. The Russian Armenians, in addition to volunteer contingents, have contributed 160,000 men to the Russian army.

Mr. Balfour, replying to an interpellation by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald in the House of Commons on July 11th, 1919, said:

> "His Majesty's Government is following with earnest sympathy and admiration the gallant resistance of the Armenians (in the Caucasus) in defence of their liberties and honour. I would refer the Honorable Member to the public statements made by leading statesmen among the Allied Powers in favor of a settlement (of the Armenian Case) upon the principle of self-determination."

Facts and Opinions About Armenia

Viscount Bryce, on December 19, 1918:

"English friends of America trust that American public opinion, recognizing the sufferings long endured by the Armenian people, its fidelity to the Christian faith, and the splendid services rendered by its soldiers in the war, will heartily support Armenia's claim to complete deliverance from Turkish rule and its own national independence. By its industry, intelligence, and education, Armenia is well fitted for freedom and capable of restoring prosperity to its ancient home."

Former Ambassador Oscar S. Straus, on December 13, 1918:

"Turkey has shown her inability to rule her own people, and certainly not other nationalities that have come under her bloody yoke. Armenia should and must be free, and she should have her ancient country under the guarantee that all nationalities shall have equal political and religious rights."

Dr. James L. Barton, on November 28, 19l8:

"I believe Armenians should be given their independence within the boundaries of their historic kingdom, including Russian and Turkish Armenia and Cilicia. This land belongs to Armenians by right of occupancy for centuries, and they now constitute the only people there morally and intellectually capable of self-government and with capacity to develop to the full the resources of the country."

On December 10, 1918, Senator Lodge offered a resolution in the Senate in favor of the independence of Armenia, comprising Turkish Armenia (the Six Provinces and Cilicia), Russian and Persian Armenias.

Senator Charles S. Thomas, Democrat, Member Senate Foreign Relations Committee, on December 16, 1918:

"I heartily approve of the Lodge Resolution, and of every resolution which favors Armenian independence."

Cardinal Gibbons:

"I am in sympathy with the movement looking to Armenian freedom and endorse the views of His Holiness the Pope."

President Butier of Columbia:

"I rejoice beyond expression, that the day has now dawned when there is an excellent prospect of their attaining not only freedom, but national independence."

John Sharp Williams:

"I need no argument to put me on the side of independence for Armenia. I am glad to lend the weight of my name, inconsiderable even as it is, to so good a cause."

President Schurman of Cornell:

"Mr. Balfour's declaration that 'The full liberation of Armenia is one of the war aims of the Allied Powers,' accords with my own views as to the future of Armenia."

President Hibben of Princeton:

"I am wholly in sympathy with the end which you desire to realize—the independence of Armenia."

Samuel Gompers:

"I am thoroughly in sympathy with the cause, the independence of Armenia. The Armenian people ought to have the right to dispose of their own destiny."

Bishop Tuttle, presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church:

"The interest and sympathy of my heart are With Armenia in her struggle for freedom and independence."

Lyman Abbott:

"I am glad to lend my name to this movement with which I am in hearty sympathy."

On November 30, 19 18, the Italian Parliament adopted a Resolution in favor of the Independence of Armenia.

On November 30, 1918, The Armenian National Delegation, Paris, proclaimed the Independence of Integral Armenia, and placed it under the guarantee of the Society of Nations.

The Hellenic Parliament adopted a resolution in favor of the recognition of the independence of Armenia, and conversations are now taking place between the Greek and Armenian leaders looking toward the establishment of Entente cordiale between Greece and Armenia, of which a specific aim shall be the maintenance of peace in the Near East.

Armenia and the Armenians

The Armenians, a race of the Indo-European stock, about 1300 years B.C, left their original home in Thrace, Southeastern Europe, crossed the Bosphorous over into Bythinia, pushed Easterly into Cappadocia, and Northern Cilicia, and in about the 8th century B. C. reached the region of the mountain of Ararat, where thev founded the State of Armenia.[1]

"Herodotus'; "Plonius"; "J. De Morgan:' King Herachia of Armenia was an ally of Nebuchednezzar in the capture of Jerusalem 600 B. C. King Tigranes of Armenia was the ally of Cyrus the Great in the conquest of Babylonia and the consequent liberation of the Jews from 70 years' capitivity 538 B. C.

Under Tigranes the Great, (fl. 1st Century B. C.) Armenia attained the height of her glory and power, and extended from the Caspian to the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, from the Caucasus to the Mesopotamian plains, with an area exceeding 500,000 square miles and a population of 25,000,000. "Langlois" ; "Lanormant."

Religion.—Armenia has the first Christian National Church in the world. Apostles Thaddeus and Bartholomew preached the Gospel in Armenia. Since, in unbroken succession, the Church has had 137 Pontiffs, whose seat, since 309, (with occasional transfers elsewhere) has been at Etch-Miadzin. the Great Monastery, in Russian Armenia.

Of the 4,576,000 of Armenians the world over (in 1912), about 150,000 are, since 1830, under the jurisdiction of the Church of Rome; about 100,000 have joined, since 1847, Protestant denominations, through the American missionaries, and the remainder are the adherents of the Apostolic Church of Armenia. To-day the Church has 100 Bishops and Archbishops; about 10,000 ecclesiastics of lower rank and 3,909 parishes.

Bertrand Bareilles writes as follows of this Church:

> "In the essentially democratic constitution of the Armenian Church, there is inherent a liberality of thought; and the first thing which strikes us when we study the framework of her society is, that her clergy do not form a distinct and separate class."

1 The Illyrians, who are the present Albanians, the Phrygians, who have been subsequently merged in the Greeks, and the Greeks were the immediate neighbors of the Armenians in Thrace, and they all belong to the same branch of the Aryan family.

Post-Christian Period.—Following her conversion to Christianity, Armenia was in continual death-grapple with the Zoroasterian Persia and the ever surging hordes of barbarians from the wilds of Asia. Armenia was the highway upon which crossed and recrossed the alien enemies of civilization—the Arab, Mongol, Tartar, Turk. The Armenians, isolated and separated from the rest of civilization, represented the West in the East and fought its first battles. And now exhausted by the swelling and pressing tide of the pagan and Moslem forces, they retreated Westerly and set up the Kingdom of Lesser Armenia, along the coast of the Mediteranean in 1080. Here they became the active allies of the Crusaders. But with the collapse of that unfortunate movement, they fell a prey to the wrath and vengeance of the Mameluke, Sultan of Egypt. King Leon VI., after eight months' defense of Sis, his capital, laid down his arms in May, 1375, and thus ended the independence of Armenia. Armenia was eventually divided between Turkey, Russia and Persia. *"Dulauricr"; "Stubbs"; "Neumann."*

Sir Edwin Pears makes the following observations about them:

> "They are physically a fine race. The men are usually tall, well built and powerful. The women have a healthy look about them which suggests good motherhood. They are an ancient people of the same Indo-European race as ourselves, and speak an allied language. During long centuries, they held their own against Persians, Arabs, Turks and Kurds. Whenever they have had a fighting chance they proved their courage. . . . A large proportion of them remained tillers of the soil. In commerce they are successful not only in Turkey, but in France, England and India. Though subject to persecution for centuries under Moslem rule (because of their Christian faith, their superior intelligence, their industry and thrift), they have always managed to have their race respected."

Language—Literature—Arts—Music.— Villefroi, Dore St. Martin, Hubschmann recognize the Armenian as one of the lndo-Germanic languages that has attained the highest degree of development, by a varied and ancient intellectual culture.

Sir Henry Norman considers the ancient, mediaeval and modern Armenian literature, including works of imagination, novels, romance and poetry, comparable to any other literature.

F. D. Lynch, referring to the architecture of a few of the 1,001 churches and other ruins of Ani, the capital of Armenia in the 9th century, expresses the opinion that the Armenians were the originators of the Gothic style of architecture, and further says:

> "There monuments of an ancient civilization leave no doubt that the Armenian people may be included in the small number of races who have shown themselves susceptible of the highest culture."

Sir Edwin Pears considers the Armenians as the most artistic and musically talented race in Turkey .

Armenians in Foreign Lands and Under A lien Rule.—During and after their independence, many Armenians distinguished themselves, almost in every field of the life of the country in which thy settled.

Nerses, the favorite of Theodora and the Commander-in-Chief of the legions of Justinian; Dadarshis, the renowned general of Darius Hystaspis; Proersios, the teacher of St. Gregory Nazianzen, of St. Basil, and of Julian the Apostate; Isaac, the Exarch of Ravenna, who held sway over Italy (625-643) were Armenians. According to Gelzer, it was during the reigns of the twelve Armenian Emperors, such as Maurice, Leo, Basil, Zemisces, and of Empress Theodora Augusta, that Byzantium reached the zenith of

her glory and power.

In 1410, the Armenian nobility fought with the armies of Poland against the German invaders, and thus contributed to the victory of Grunwaldt, without which "the German deluge would have effaced Poland."

In 1683, five thousand Armenian warriors aided Sobieski in beating back the high tide of the Turk invasion from the gate of Vienna, which victory saved Europe from the threatened domination of the Turk.

In 1812 it was an Armenian General, Prince Pakraduni, that matched his skill against that of Napoleon at Moscow, and thus struck the mortal blow at the ambition of the Great Emperor.

During the Russo-Turkish war of 1877, of the dozen or more Armenian generals in the Russian army, Loris Melikoff was the Commander-in-Chief of the Caucasus forces, who subsequently became the Prime Minister of Russia and drafted her first constitution.

According to Lord Gromer, "the Armenians have attained the highest administrative ranks, and have at times exercised a decisive influence upon the conduct of public affairs in Egypt."

The first Prime Minister of Egypt, following British occupation, was an Armenian. Lucasz, who was the Prime Minister of Hungary in 1913, was also an Armenian.

Prince Malcolm, one of the first leaders of the Persian reform movement: Aivazovsky, the greatest marine painter of the 19th century; Althen, who introduced to France the cultivation of rubic tinctorum; Manuelian, one of the foremost of the histologists of our time; the late Dr. Kassabian of Philadelphia, who was one of the leading Roentgen ray investigators in the world; the late Governor Thomas Corwin of Ohio, who also at one time became Secretary of the U. S. Treasury, belong to the Armenian race.

In Turkey, the Armenians have been one of the principal constructive forces, despite the oppressive and obstructive Turk rule, and they have, together with the Greek supplied the Turk with his manifold wants. Even the Turkish printing press, the Turkish grammar and the Turkish theatre owe their origin to the initiative of the Armenian.

General Sherif Pasha, the former Turk Ambassador at Stockholm, made the following statement in October, 1915:

> "If there is a race which has been close1y connected with the Turk by its fidelity, by its services to the country, by the statesmen and functionaries of talent it has furnished, by the intelligence which it has manifested in all domains—commerce, industry, science and the arts-it is certainly the Armenian."

Prof. Von Eucken, the foremost German authority on the Near East, says of them:

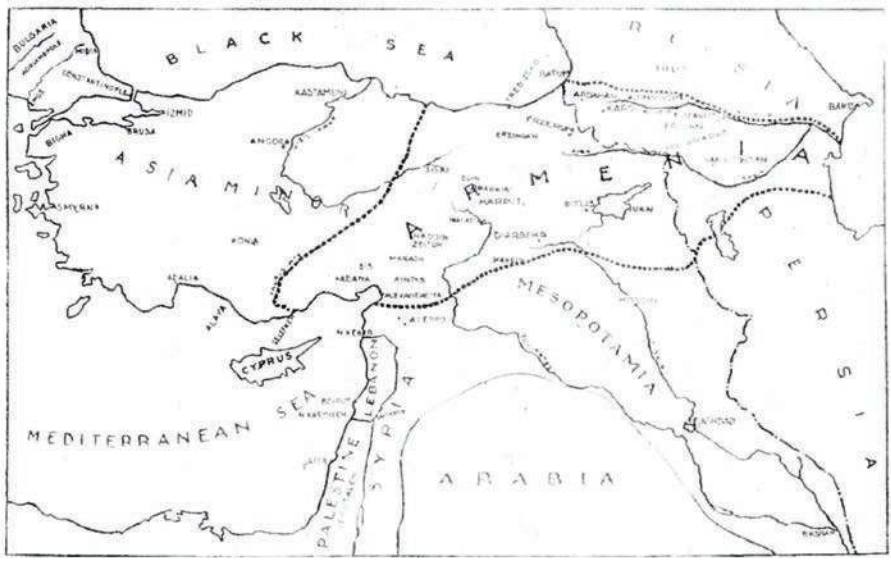
> "Any one who is to some extent acquainted with what the political and intellectual history of the Armenian nation, knows with what enormous difficulties this people of an ancient civilization has had to struggle, and has especially to-day to contend with, will be filled with sincere respect for a people who could accomplish so much in the midst of all those tribulations."

Dr. Paul Rohrbach, the well known German Orientalist, writes as follows:

> "We may say without exaggeration that not only in Armenia proper but far beyond its boundaries the economic life of Turkey rests, in great part, upon the Armenians."

Dr. Barton, Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, formerly President of the Euphrates College, Armenia, writes as follows in the October issue, 1918, of The World Court:

> "In the modern intellectual revival in Turkey the Armenians were the first to respond. They not only eagerly fostered modern education among themselves and in their own country, but thousands of bright Armenian young men and women have studied in the educational centers of the world and have won distinction by the superiority of their intellect and their unconquerable desire and zeal for education. There is no race on the face of the earth more worthy, by its inheritance, its intrinsic worth, its intellectual capacity and ability, its traditional industry, its peaceful temper and spirit, its domestic hopes and purposes, of a free and independent existence. In no commercial enterprise, no form of industry, no profession, and in no institution of learning in Turkey or elsewhere do the Armenians take second place.
>
> "It was at this race that the blow of destruction was primarily aimed by the government of the Young Turks in the winter of 1914 and the spring of 1915. This historic, educated and refined people were maltreated in a thousand forms, starved and exiled. Its greatest crime is that in contact with its Turkish neighbors, it has far outstretched all the rest in enterprise and industry; and in religion it has stood firmly against the persecution of its Mohammedan overlords, refusing to exchange Jesus Christ for Mohammed."



ARMENIA, AS IT WILL REAPPEAR ON THE MAP. AREA 133,289 SQUARE MILES

The boundaries of Armenia are as well defined and fixed as those of England. The Congress of Berlin (1878), the Ambassadors of the Great Powers at Constantinople (1895), and the Ambassadorial Conference at London (1913), reaffirmed, in part, or in whole, the boundaries of the Turkish Armenia. Out of a total population of 4,000,000 to 4,500,000 that there may be within the boundaries of the restored Armenia, over 3,000,000 will be Armenian.

Armenia and the Armenians

The Armenians, a race of the Indo-European stock, about 1300 years B. C., left their original home in Thrace, Southeastern Europe, crossed the Bosphorous over into Bythinia, pushed Easterly into Cappadocia, and Northern Cilicia, and in about the 8th century B. C. reached the region of the mountain of Ararat, where they founded the State of Armenia. "*Herodotus*"; "Plonius"; "J. Dorgan"

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Armenia's Role in the War

Lord Robert Cecil, writing on behalf of Mr. Balfour, by a letter dated October 3, 1918, and addressed to Viscount Bryce, states that "the military contributions which the Armenians ban made to the Allied armies most assuredly cannot be forgotten," and mentions four points which, he thinks, "the Armenians may well regard as the charter of their right to liberation at the hands of the Allies."

> "One: In the autumn of 1914, the national Congress of the Ottoman Armenians, then sitting at Erzerum. was offered autonomy by the Turkish emissaries, if it would actively assist Turkey in the war, but it replied that while they would do their duty individually as Ottoman subjects, they could not, as a nation, work for the cause of Turkey and her allies.
>
> "Two: Following this courageous refusal, the Ottoman Armenians were systematically murdered by the Turkish Government in 1915, more than 700,000 people being exterminated by the most cold-blooded and fiendish methods.
>
> "Three: From the beginning of the war, that half of the Armenian nation under Russian sovereignty organized volunteer forces and, under their heroic leader, General Antranig, bore the brunt of some of the heaviest fighting in the Caucasian campaign.
>
> "Four: After the Russian army's breakdown at the end of last year, these Armenian forces took over the Caucasian front and for five months delayed the Turks' advance, thus rendering important services to the British Army in Mesopotamia, these operations in the Alexandropol and Erivan region being, of course, unconnected with those of Baku.

"Armenian soldiers are still fighting in the ranks of the allied forces in Syria (10,000 volunteers. principally from America). They are to be found serving alike in the British, the French, and in the American armies, and have borne their part in General Allenby's great victory in Palestine." Of the 900 Armenian volunteers in the Foreign Legion (France), 865 have been killed. The Russian Armenians, in addition to volunteer contingents, have contributed 160,000 men to the Russian army.

Mr. Balfour, replying to an interpellation by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald in the House of Commons on July 11th, 1919, said:

"His Majesty's Government is following with earnest sympathy and admiration the gallant resistance of the Armenians (in the Caucasus) in defence of their liberties and honour. I would refer the Honorable Member to the public statements made by leading statesmen among the Allied Powers in favor of a settlement (of the Armenian Case) upon the principle of self-determination."

Representative American Opinion for an Independent Armenia

Cardinal Gibbons:

"I am in sympathy with the movement looking to Armenian freedom and endorse the views of His Holiness the Pope."

Bishop Tuttle, presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church:

"The interest and sympathy of my heart are with Armenia in her struggle for freedom and independence."

James W. Gerard, at the American Committee for the Independence of Armenia banquet on February 8, 1919:

"We expect two things to issue from the labors of the Peace Conference which is now sitting in Paris. The end of all wars and a heaping measure of freedom for all subject nationalities. The cause of Armenia is not to be denied. For centuries, chained under Turkish barbarism, she has kept alive the flame of Christianity. And that is why the greatest force in America is standing behind her cause. The Christian churches of this country,—the Roman Catholic and Protestant alike,—for Cardinal Gibbons is a beloved member of our Committee—and all denominations of Protestant churches have been insistent in the cables that they have been sending to the Peace Conference that Armenia must be free.

''The heart of America, as represented in the churches of America, is now pledged to the cause, to further which we meet to-night. And it is not alone for that that Armenia deserves freedom in this war. She has had no small share in the winning of it. Armenians-Russian subjects—fought on the Caucasus front. Armenians fought with General Allenby in Palestine. And General Allenby says that they contributed in no small degree to the success of his operations. Witnesses from the other side.-Ihsan Pasha of the Turkish Army and General Liman von Sanders, the German Commander who was sent to Turkey both bear witness to the fact that it was the fighting power of the Armenians that contributed to the breaking of the power of Turkish rule. Such constancy in faith, such bravery in war should not go unrewarded; and that is why we in America are demanding as a guarantee of good faith from the Peace Conference in Paris, the freedom of Armenia, of a great Armenia, stretching from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean."

Charles Evans Hughes, at the American Committee for the Independence of Armenia banquet:

> ". . . . .We have always been the friends of the Armenians, admiring their industry, their intellectual alertness, their keenness, their sobriety, their aptitude for education and affairs; and we have revolted at the thought of such a people being under the yoke of the Turk.
>
> "Now we rejoice that the hour of liberation has come. The vain ambition of brute force has overreached itself and has resulted in the emancipation of the dawn-trodden and oppressed of centuries. There is to be a settlement of this long account and the credit balance is to be found in the opportunity for a free and independent life.
>
> "There is no doubt of the capacity of the Armenians for freedom. They are as capable of self-government as any people. They have shown a racial solidarity and a capacity to survive incredible misfortunes; they have rare intelligence, and no people prize more highly the advantages of education. Even in the midst of suffering, they have proved their capacity. Despite their persecution, their ability has made them essential even to Turkish administration and they have furnished the brains of the Ottoman Empire. All they need is a fair opportunity, that decent opportunity which only civil and religious liberty can provide.
>
> "We propose to-night to throw such influence as we have into the scale for Armenian independence ...."

William Jennings Bryan, at the American Committee for the Independence of Armenia banquet:

> "If any people have earned the right to be free and independent, masters of their own destiny and sovereigns in control of their own government, it is the Armenians. For more than two thousand years they have maintained their existence amidst difficulties and under hardships that would have crushed a weaker people into the dust. They have not only preserved their race integrity and ideal, but they have been the heralds of the democracy founded by the Nazarene. Theirs has been "a voice crying in the wilderness"—but their day is here even though the dawn of that day has been reddened by the blood which they so freely shed. The high character of the Armenians in the United States compels us to respect the country from which they came."

Former Ambassador Oscar S. Straus, on December 13, 1918:

> "Turkey has shown her inability to rule her own people, and certainly not other nationalities that have come under her bloody yoke. Armenia should and must be free, and she should have her ancient country under the guarantee that all nationalities shall have equal political and religious rights."

Dr. James L. Barton, on November 28, 1918:

> "I believe Armenians should be given their independence within the boundaries of their historic kingdom, including Russian and Turkish Armenia and Cilicia. This land belongs to Armenians by right of occupancy for centuries, and they now constitute the only people there morally and intellectually capable of self-government and with capacity to develop to the full the resources of the country."

President Butler of Columbia:

> "I rejoice beyond expression, that the day has now dawned when there is an excellent prospect of their attaining not only freedom, but national independence."

John Sharp Williams:

> "I need no argument to put me on the side of independence for Armenia. I am glad to lend the weight of my name, inconsiderable even as it is, to so good a cause."

The American Committee
FOR THE
Independence of Armenia

ONE MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK CITY

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CHARLES STEWART DAVISON, VICE-CHAIRMAN
WM. HENRY ROBERTS, D D., LLD., SECRETARY GEN'L

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RT. REV. WM. W. WEBB
BENJAMIN IDE WHEELER
EVERETT P. WHEELER
RT, REV. J. R. WINCHESTER

Appendix XIII

UNITED STATES SENATE Document No. 316

ARMENIA AND HER CLAIMS TO FREEDOM

AND NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

MEMORANDUM

OF

ARMENIA AND HER CLAIMS TO FREEDOM AND NATIONAL INDEDEPENDENCE PRESENTED TO THE DEMOCRATIC MID-EUROPE UNION BY DR. G. PASTERMADJIAN, SPECIAL ENVOY OF HIS HOLINESS, THE CATHOLICOS OF ALL ARMENIANS. AND BY MIRAN SEVASLY, CHAIRMAN OF THE ARMENIAN NATIONAL UNION OF AMERICA AND REPRESENTATIVE IN THE UNITED STATES OF THE ARMENIAN NATIONAL DELEGATION

PRESENTED BY MR. LODGE

December 15 (Calendar day, December 23), 1918.— Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and ordered to be printed

WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
1919

Part I.

TURKISH ARMENIA AND THE ARMENIANS IN TURKEY.

We firmly believe that by her participation in the present world war the United States will powerfully contribute toward cutting the Gordian knot which goes by the name of the eastern question, with the solution of which the fate of the Armenians is closely bound up.

More than a century ago, Volney, an eminent French thinker and philosopher, in an imperishable book, Les Euines, heralded the approaching fall of the Ottoman Empire in these striking words: " The hour of destiny has arrived; the catastrophe is about to commence." He predicted the uprising of all the subject races of Turkey, including the Arabs, the Armenians and others, and his graphic description Of the condition of the Turkish Empire, the excesses of the, dominant Turk, the sufferings of the conquered races, and the grievances of the latter against their " masters " were as true in an aggravated form on the threshold of the present war as they were when the great philosopher penned it.

Still the Ottoman Empire survived a century and its emasculation has been gradual. This was chiefly due to the conflicting interests in the " great powers " 6i Europe in the East, to the political credo prevailing in the chancellaries of Europe that the integrity of the Ottoman Empire was essential for the maintenance of the European equilibrium in the Near East, without which Turkey would have been outlawed long ago and the several historic, progressive races comprising it emancipated from the yoke of a dominant unspeakable military caste.

An empire that extended from the Caucasus to the Danube and from the Bosporus to Carthage is reduced to a territory that comprises a strip of territory in Thrace, Asia Minor, Armenia, Syria, and Palestine, Mesopotamia, and Arabia. In turn, Greece, Roumania, Montenegro, Serbia, and Bulgaria were emancipated from Turkish domination. This gradual shrinkage should not be wondered at. The Turks conquered but never assimilated the progressive, historic, and civilized races of the Near East, whom they always designated by the villifying name of Raia. By the very tenets, moreover, of Turkey's state doctrine, the conquered races were considered " flocks " which have been sent by the Almighty to be fleeced, plundered, raped, and massacred whenever they protested against an unspeakable tyranny.

We desire to remark here that Islamism, as understood and applied by the Turks, is not only as an author qualified it "a brain disease," but it is also an essentially economic question. It is a sort of league made up of all the Turkish elements that are unprepared for the struggles of modern, strenuous life. They are all animated by one identical belief, that they possess the unquestionable

right to be idle and that they are entitled to make the Armenians and other conquered races work for them, since by their "divine" law these are subjects reduced to a state of a "flock" to be fleeced.

This idea is the keynote of the whole eastern question.

Ever since western Europe, through an aberration of a political mind, allowed in 1453 the Turks to supplant the cross by the crescent at Constantinople the struggle in the Near East has been continuous between progressive humanity on the one hand and obscurantism and medieval barbarity on the other. There never has been a Turkish Government in the true sense of the word, a government such as is conceived in western Europe or in the United States. "Massacre and plunder" has been the invariable Turkish method of suppressing complaints of the subject races or for despoiling them for the benefit of the dominating race. The massacre of Chios in 1821, of Lebanon in 1862, of Batak in 1876, and the appalling ruthless massacres of Armenians of the Empire, extending from 1894 to 1896 and in 1909 and culminating in the deportations and extermination of the same race in 1915 and thereafter, establish the veracity of this statement.

The expulsion of the Turks from Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia, Roumania, and from the Balkan Peninsula did not solve the near eastern question in toto. There remain Arabia, Armenia, Egypt, and Palestine unredeemed.

The alliance between Prussian militarism and Turkish obscurantism appears to keen observers a natural one. It is founded on a community of interest. Sultan Abdul Hamid inaugurated the understanding with the Kaiser so as to suppress more efficaciously all the non-Turkish elements of the Empire and to counteract the reforming spirit in the internal affairs of Turkey, with which the western powers were animated for the purpose of upholding the "integrity" dogma by strengthening the remaining conquered historic" races within the Empire.

This has been the dominant policy of the great powers since the Crimean power — a patchwork that crumbled as time proceeded, while it could not and did not modify Turkish mentality in the least.

The charter of Gulhane and of the Hatti Humayoum, issued through the ‘’spontaneous good will" of the Sultan, and which claimed to place Christian and Turk on the same level and to secure to the former the elementary right that every citizen is entitled to possess — security of life, property, and honor — have remained a dead letter. Every bill of right conferred by the different Sultans during the nineteenth century on his Christian subjects has been preceded or followed by a recrudescence of persecution or massacres fomented and organized by the. authorities. These were intended to be "manifestations" for the information of the European public against the recognition of civic rights to the subject races.

We need not rehearse here the whole sickening story of the unredeemed

pledges of reform, which is admirably exposed in the work of Mr. Edward Engelhard, La Turque et le Tauzimat, where the Prench diplomatist and erudite conclusively establishes that "reforms" in Turkey were an exotic plant " adopted " by the Turkish statesmen so as to throw dust in the eyes of Europe, which was clamoring for them, and for the purpose of warding off an impending danger in the way of a European intervention.

The promulgation of the Turkish constitution of 1876 — revived in 1908 — has also been attributed to the same inherent causes, to the application of the same policy of prevarication, fraud, and make-beliefs as the events of the last 30 years have amply demonstrated. We need only recall that the Adana massacres of 1909, a year after the promulgation of the so-called Turkish constitution, were carried out by the soldiery under the command of Turkish officers, some of whom had obtained their military training in Germany.

While the Turkish riders were, on the one hand, hoodwinking Europe with formal promises of reforms and with declarations conveying assurances regarding the betterment of the condition of the Christian populations of the Ottoman Empire, they were, on the other hand, systematically carrying on a policy of extermination of the non-Turkish elements. This has been especially so since the Paris treaty, of 1856, which recognized the "integrity of the Ottoman Empire" as an essential article of international faith. When in 1862 the governor of Erzereum, Khaireddin Pasha, a Tunisian in the service of Turkey, reported to the Sublime Porte that the Armenians of Van, and Erzereum were emigrating in great numbers to escape the excesses of the Turkish officials, the depredations and acts of plunder committed by the Kurds and other predatory tribes, the grand vezir, Aali Pasha, the "great reformer," wrote back to instruct the governor "not to interfere in state affairs, that the Armenians can abandon their country and emigrate, as they will easily be supplanted by Mohammedan population from without."

To the policy of the extermination of non-Turks, Turkish statesmanship adhered to ever since with pertinacity until the war, when it considered this a favorable opportunity of giving it the finishing touch. We need only recall the awful story of the Armenian general massacres and deportations, the details of which are faithfully recorded in the archives of the State Department.

But we desire to throw a retrospective glance. In 1876, at the time of the Turco-Russian War, the grievances of the Armenians in Turkey may be summarized as follows:

1. The practical absence of political and civil equality.

2. The discrimination against non-Moslem evidence in the Turkish courts of justice.

3. The systematic pillage and destruction of Armenian villages, the sacking of Armenian public edifices, the perpetration of all kinds of crimes and oppressive acts by the police, by officials, and by nomadic tribes aided and

abetted in this by the authorities.

4. The venality of justice.

5. The systematic efforts to crush and ruin the peasant classes (1) by heavy taxes, (2) by expropriations, (3) by forcing them to abandon their holdings.

6. By forced conversion to Islam.

7. The systematic kidnapping of Armenian maidens and their incorporation in Turkish harems.

These were the elements that constituted the Armenian question. They are minutely set forth in numerous documents, in the reports of British consuls from 1840 to 1881, in the French Yellow Books, in the statement of travelers, and reliable and unbiased witnesses, and form an arsenal of facts and documents scientifically compiled in 1890 by Mr. Rolin Jacquennms in his L'Armenie, les Armenians et le Traites, published ill the Review of International Law of Bruxelles.

The Armenians hoped and waited and waited and hoped for the redress of their grievances by constant appeals to their "masters." The Turkish rulers instead of alleviating these bitter complaints, aggravated them and in truth none had been removed up to 1914, constitutions, bills of rights, and declarations to the contrary, notwithstanding.

The enmity of the Turk to commerce and civilization is easily demonstrated. Armenia by her industrial resources, and genius once supported a population of over 20,000,000, yet since it was brought under Turkish rule its natural resources remained undeveloped, pasture and arable lands were abandoned and falling out of cultivation, rivers choked up, roads broken, so that the country was fast becoming a dreary waste. To a similar pitiful condition were reduced the Balkan States. But since the Tartar foot departed from these countries even the most enthusiastic supporters of Turkey have been compelled to confess their admiration in many ways for these gallant little States.

Despairing of obtaining redress from their masters, the Armenians took occasion on the approach of the Russian Army to Constantinople in 1876 to appeal to Imperial Russia.

The treaty of San Stefano, in its article 16, makes special reference to the Armenians, and the treaty of Berlin, which substituted it, places the protection of the life, property, and honor of the Armenians under the collective control and guaranty of Europe.

The Anglo-Turkish convention of 1878, by which the administration of Cyprus was transferred to Great Britain, established a sort of British protectorate over Asia Minor, and while it resulted in the withdrawal of the Russians from Erzerum, it did not in any way benefit the Armenians. England ceased to send military consuls to Asia Minor in 1882 and the country was again exposed to the tender mercies of a hostile government. In a sense, the Berlin treaties and

the Cyprus convention have done more harm than good. They raised hopes in the minds of the Armenians which were not realized, and the Turkish statesmen used every effort and strained every nerve to stamp these hopes out, either by exiling as many Armenians as they could from the soil of their ancestors or by fostering and encouraging Kurdish depredations, Circassian inroads, or by harassing religion and the schools.

The nomenclature of these outrages and misdeeds in Armenia are too long to be recited here, but the intolerable griefs and sufferings had culminated to such a point that the Armenians felt bound to appeal again to Europe by periodicals and publications in English and French or by sending deputations to Governments of the great powers, who had assumed the obligation of protecting this historic race. The Armenians were clearly realizing that unless drastic measures were taken by the concert, of Europe they were doomed to extermination in the Ottoman Empire. Legitimate meetings, organized by the Armenians within the empire and without, were taken advantage of by Abdul Hamid to organize the general massacres of 1894 to 1896, the details of which are amply recorded in the official Blue Books and Yellow Books. After the massacres there was some hope of the introduction of positive reforms in the Armenian Provinces, but one of the greatest stumbling blocks for the realization of a reform program was the Government of Germany, who in return for a concession of a railway to Bagdad and other benefits, practically acquiesced in the policy of setting at naught the reforms intended to benefit not only the Armenian, but all the other inhabitants. The attempt made by England under Lord Salisbury to coerce the Turkish Government was also frustrated by the Government of the Czar. The diplomatic history of the last 30 years in connection with the solution of the Armenian question amply reveals that the Porte adroitly took advantage of the want of harmonious cooperation among the powers to play havoc with the Armenian population of Turkey for the purpose of creating a Turkey for the Turks exclusively. We need not refer in any detail to the so-called constitution of 1908, which was a snare and make-belief and which resulted in the Adana massacres, to which reference is given above, and to the deportations of a large section of the Armenian people during the year 1915 and thereafter, with the appalling and tragic results which have stirred the conscience of the civilized world.

Part II.

THE SITUATION OF THE ARMENIANS, INCLUDING TRANSCAUCASIA AND TURKEY, PRIOR TO THE PRESENT WORLD WAR.

When the present international war commenced, the number of Armenians living in the three Empires among which the country of Armenia is divided, viz, Russia, Turkey, and Persia, amounted to 4,276,000. Out of this number 3,406,000' inhabited on the soil of the historic land of Armenia, while the remaining 870,000 were scattered in different parts of the three Empires aforementioned. This circumstance demonstrates per se how the Armenian has tenaciously stuck to the land of his ancestors, notwithstanding the indisputable historic fact that no other nation on earth has undergone such vicissitudes and has shed so much of its precious blood for its national existence, ever since the fourth century anno Domini to the present day, during which long period it has become the standard bearer in the Near East — on the confines of Asia and Europe— of the ideas of civilization, liberty, and Christendom. Whereas other neighbors of the Armenians, who were exposed to the same fate, like the Jews and the Assyrians, do not present to-day the same conditions. The number of Israelites at present is more than 10,000,000 throughout the universe, but hardly 100,000 of these are on the soil of their historic father-land; while the number of Assyrians, who in the distant past was computed by historians at about 30,000,000 souls, is at present reduced to hardly half a million survivors within the limits of the Ottoman Empire. But this number again has abandoned the land of its sires to find refuge in the mountains of Armenia and in the neighborly friendliness of the Armenians.

Let us now briefly set forth in what proportions the Armenians are located in the three Empires above referred to. The statistical information regarding the Armenians in Russian Armenia has been obtained from the official Russian census returns published in January of 191.5, whereas what concerns the number of Armenians in Turkish Armenia are derived from the official archives of the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople prepared in 1912. The number of Armenians in Turkey in the year 1914 may be summed up as follows:

A. Within the limits of the country known as Turkish Armenia, the numbers are given against each of the Provinces that constitute the Armenian Provinces, to wit:

1. Vilayet of Erzerenm.....215,000
2. Vilayet of Van.....185,000
3. Vilayet of Bitlis.....180,000
4. Vilayet of Harpoot.....168,000
5. Vilayet of Diarbekir.....105,000
6. Vilayet of Sivas.....165,000
7. Vilayet of Adana and Marash country, known as Cilicia.....407,000

Total.....1,425,000

Armenians inhabiting Constantinople, Smyrna, Thrace, and other parts of Turkish Empire.....678, 000

Grand total.....2,103,000

B. Armenians in Russia in 1914:

1. Within the limits of Transcaucasia Province of Erivan.....750,000
2. Elizabethpol.....450,000
3. Tillis.....400,000
4. Kars.....30, 000
5. Bakou.....128,000

Total.....1, 858, 000

Northern part of the Caucasus and throughout Russia.....150,000

Total.....2,008,000

C. Armenians in Persia:

1. In the Province of Aderbeijan.....120,000
2. In other parts of Persia.....45,000

Total.....165,000

From the above statistical returns it will be seen that no less than 3,403,000 Armenians were living on the soil of their fatherland on both sides of the Turco-Russian frontiers at the time when the present world war broke out. And. by reason of her geographical position, Armenia became again the battle field of warring nations, and the Armenian people, faithful to their historic traditions and to their progressive past, at the very risk of their national existence, threw their lot on the side of the cause of justice and of civilization. The blood of the sons of Armenia was shed in torrents, in a way not commensurate with their numbers. Doubtless the historian of the future will record the indisputable fact that in this gigantic struggle among the warring nations, the smallest but the oldest of races, the Armenian, has proportionately offered greater sacrifices in blood on the altar of human liberty.

Before dilating upon the present claims of the Armenians, for the realization

of which they have undergone such heavy sacrifices, may we be permitted to picture the conditions of the Armenian at the outlook of this Avar in the three empires between which Armenia is partitioned.

We will deal with each section separately.

Persian Armenia which forms a part of the Persian Province of Aderbeijan, has been under Persian domination since the fifth century anno domini, although at different periods subsequent, it was united with the Armenian Kingdom of Van under the Arzrouni dynasty. The Armenians in Persian Armenia are the survivors of a much larger section of the race whose numbers has been depleted by reason of the successive conquests and raids of migratory tribes like the Tartars, Mongols, and Turks, that overran that part of the country in their successive onward inarches toward the heart of Asia Minor. Notwithstanding the smallness of their number, the Armenians in Persia play a vital part in various walks of life. They have held important public offices; they have given statesmen, ambassadors, and military leaders to Persia; and the mercantile activity of that country with many quarters of the globe is in their hands. We may mention the names of the late Malcolm Han, ambassador to the Court of St. James; Nariman Han, ambassador to Vienna ; Ohannes Han Masseghian, ambassador to Berlin, and others, who each and all were Armenians in the service of Persia. We think it is not out of place to recall the part played by Armenians in the reform and constitutional movement, one of whose principal leaders was an Armenian, Eprem Han and his associates, who were instrumental in introducing in the body politic of that Asiatic land the western ideas of progress and democracy and did not disdain to sacrifice their very lives for their realization.

In the fifth century, when the Persians were at the height of their power, they made attempts to impose on the Armenians by sheer violence their religious beliefs and compel them to forsake their national ideals. The struggle lasted about a century; and finding after protracted wars that it is impossible to make Armenians relinquish the tenets of their Christian faith and nationality, they altered their attitude and adopted a more tolerant policy toward them. For centuries ever since the Persians and Armenians have lived together as peaceful neighbors without the sanguinary conflicts which have characterized the Turco-Armenian relations since the Turkish conquest of part of Armenia. Although the Persians have mostly embraced Mohammedanism, but descending from an Aryan stock like the Armenians and being possessed of ancient culture and civilization, they have not displayed toward the Armenians the savagery and brutal conduct with which the Touranian races, to which the Turks belong, have familiarized the civilized Avorlcl eA'er since they supplanted the cross by the crescent in the Near East.

Not withstanding these somewhat bearable conditions prevailing m Persian Armenia — so contiguous to the Armenian Province of Van — the Armenians of Salmast, Khoi, and Makou, the principal Armenian-Persian centers in

Aderbaijan, all aspire to see that part of their country one day united and form an inseparable part of a Magna Armenia.

Russian Armenia. — The part of historic Armenia which is under Russian Sway is included in the Transcaucasian Provinces of Russia. It was conquered by the Russians in the early part of the nineteenth century and wrested from Persia. Before the Russian conquest Transcaucasia was divided between a number of Khanates and Melikates (small self-governing principalities). The Khans were Tartars by origin and ruled mostly over Tartars, while the Meliks were Armenian feudal lords, and their domination extended over the Armenian districts of Carabagh. All these different principalities were tributary to the Persian Government. Neighboring these dependencies to the northwest there existed a Georgian Kingdom, including the present Provinces of Tiflis and Kubias. Georgia, being squeezed in between two powerful Moslem countries like Persia and Turkey, and subject to permanent attacks from these quarters, appealed toward the end of the eighteenth, century, to the Empress Catherine for protection and help. At this juncture, in the year 1787, the Armenian Meliks of Carabagh took occasion to send a delegation to the Russian court praying for Russian assistance against Tartar neighbors, who were in constant conflict with them. The Russian Government promised immediate help to both Armenians and Georgians, and, moreover, undertook, in so far as the Armenians were concerned, to free them from Persian domination and to organize a new Armenian State made up of the Armenian Provinces under the suzerainty of Russia.

Encouraged by these promises, both Armenians and Georgians placed all their military forces at the disposal of Russia and powerfully contributed to bring about the conquest of Transcaucasia from Persia. But, unfortunately, the solemn promises of the Empress Catherine were not fulfilled and the conquered territory was brought under Russian sway. It was through the enforcement of this method that Georgia and part of historic Armenia, including Echmadzin, the seat of the supreme head of the Armenia church and nation, were annexed by Russia.

The policy of Russia ever since these conquests appears to have had a single purpose, viz, to Russianize and assimilate the Armenians and Georgians. The Georgians, being members of the Eastern Greek Church, and hence of the same religious denomination as the Russian, were more easily amenable to Russification than were the Armenians, who, having a national separate church of their own, were more jealous of their national traditions. This circumstance provoked the enmity of the Russian Government toward them. The policy of Russification was strengthened more and more, and in 1903 the Armenian schools were closed and all national Armenian property confiscated by an imperial ukase issued by the now deposed Emperor Nicholas II. The Armenians did not, however, willingly submit to these arbitrary acts and opposed violence to violence, and in certain sections of the Transcaucasus several Armenians

were killed by Russian soldiers. The illustrious Khrimian, the Catholicos of all Armenians and the idol of the nation, scorning exile to Siberia-at the age of 80, in an historic document addressed to the Omnipotent Czar of All Russia, declared that he, as the custodian of the centuries-old heritage of the Armenian Nation, refused to abide by such an unjust decree. As a result, the prisons in the Transcaucasus were filled with hundreds of Armenians, and many others belonging to the intellectual classes were exiled to Siberia. But the Russian administration did not rest here. It went further. It incited the Tartars of the Transcaucasus against the Armenians. It distributed firearms among the Tartars of Bakou and Elizabethpol and gave them carte blanche to plunder and kill their Armenian neighbors, and organized pogroms as it did with Russian Jews.

In February, 1905, the Tartars of Baku and elsewhere began their unprovoked onslaught on the Armenians under the very eyes of the Russian police, who remained passive observers of these sanguinary scones. Those attacks were extended suddenly to other centers like Elizabethpol, Shoushi, Eriven, and Nakhitehan, and took the Armenians by surprise. The Armenians were aware that the reactionary policy of Russia, which had prevailed since the advent to the throne of Emperor Alexander III, was anti-Armenian in its essence. They also knew that after the general massacres of the Armenians in Turkey in 1895 and 1896, Count Lebanoff, the Russian foreign minister, declared Russia was eager to have Turkish Armenia, but without the Armenians, whom he did not care to save. All these circumstances notwithstanding, the Armenians in Russia could never imagine that a Christian power like Russia would countenance and authorize the Mohammedan element in the Transcaucasus to assume a hostile attitude toward them. But the facts were staring the Armenians in the face. There was no time to lose. They at once organized themselves for self-defense and Transcaucasia became the theater of a civil war. between these two elements which lasted a whole year under the very eyes of the Russian authorities, who only interfered when they realized that the Tartars were being worsted by the Armenians. The Armenians lost 1,556, while the loss of the Tartars during these frays amounted to 5,635 men, and this disproportion of the fallen is due to the admirable organization of the Armenians, who, notwithstanding their being somewhat numerically inferior to their assailants, were able on the spur of the moment to organize their forces for self-defense. But the material injuries inflicted on the Armenians were much greater than those borne by the Tartars.

It would, however, be fair to state here that, notwithstanding the Russian bureaucratic methods of government and all its deficiencies and its hostile policy toward the Armenians, the latter nevertheless

enforced in the Transcaucasus certain elementary rights of existence of which they have ever been deprived in Turkey — which enabled them to develop their moral and material resources, to increase in numbers, and to become the most forward element of the Transcaucasus in all the branches

of human activity. In proof of this we desire to recall that in 1836 the number of Armenians under Russian domination amounted to about 300,000 as against 500,000 Georgians and 700,000 Tartars. In 1915, according to official statistics, the number of Armenians swelled to 1,858,000, that of the Georgians to 1,450,000, and of the Tartars to 2,040,000. The large increase of Armenians may be also explained by the influx of Armenian refugees from Turkey; but the real cause of this increase is due principally to the fact that the Armenians are a prolific race, with strong family virtues. The official Russian statistics demonstrate that the rate of increase per year of these different races is as follows :

	Percent.
Armenians	2.5
Georgians	1.5
Tartars	0.9

We can not close this chapter without alluding to the intellectual and cultural progress of the Armenians under Russia. (There in the Transcaucasus throve in a marked degree Armenian literature which produced a galaxy of writers, poets, novelists, historians, whose writings are to some degree permeated with the ideas of the most liberal Russian leaders of thought. These ideas in return brought to bear the weight of their influence on the minds of their Armenian compatriots across the border into Turkish Armenia, toward whose struggles for emancipation from the Turkish yoke the Armenians of Russia greatly contributed.

When the present war broke out the Armenians of Russia forgot for a moment all the just complaints against Russian bureaucracy and, without hesitation or equivocation, espoused the cause of the allies, including Russia, with the firm conviction that the victory of the allies would end their sufferings and would recognize their inalienable rights to self-government. Besides contributing 160,000 men to the Russian Army, they organized several volunteer corps, whose deeds of valor on the battlefield were officially recognized by M. Sazanoff, the foreign minister, in his address to the Duma.

Without the contribution of the Armenian contingents to the Russian Army in the Caucasus the Turkish offensive against the Transcaucasus in 1914 and 1915 would have been crowned with success, more especially having regard to the fact that the sympathies of the Tartar and Georgian population of the Transcaucasus were manifestly pro-Teutonic and pro-Turk. The success of such an offensive in the years 1914 and 1915 would have enabled the Turkish armies to secure a footing at Baku, and all its oil wells and Persian Afghanistan—the gates to India — would have been placed at the mercy of the Germanic-Turkish forces. This active participation of the Russian Armenians at this crucial phase of the world war was publicly recognized by the Young

Turk leaders, who invoked this circumstance to justify the Turkish savageries perpetrated against the Armenians of Turkey.

Let it be said, moreover, that after the disruption of Russia, through the triumph of bolshevism and the withdrawal of the Russian troops from the Caucasian front in January, 1918, it was the Armenian contingents solely that held the line against the Turkish onslaughts and thereby helped the Mesopotamian wing of the British Army by preventing the Turkish troops on the Caucasian front from joining the Turkish armies operating against the British. The Armenians held the line until September, 1918, and it was after hard-fought battles that the Turks were able to reach Baku, the British expeditionary force sent to join hands with them not arriving in due time, and those that did arrive were insufficient in numbers.

These services have been officially acknowledged in official dispatches by the British Government, and we take occasion to reproduce the following extract from a letter, dated the 3d of October. 1918, signed by the undersecretary of state, Robert Cecil, and addressed to Lord James Bryce:

The Baku Armenians were not only an isolated remnant, but no doubt their task was made impossible from the outset by the disorganization which prevailed and had thrown open to the Turks the Transcaucasian Railway leading to the gates of the city. Whatever may have happened at Baku, the responsibility can not be laid at the door of the Armenian people.

The national delegation, commissioned by his holiness the Katholikos in 1918 to obtain from the civilized world that justice to Armenia which has been delayed with such terrible consequences, have given many proofs, under the distinguished presidency of his excellency Boghos Nubar Pasha, of their devotion to the cause of the allies as being the cause of all peoples striving to free the world from oppression.

The council at Erivan threw itself into the breach which the Russian breakdown left open in Asia, and after organizing resistance to the Turks in the Caucasus from February to June this year was at length compelled by main force to suspend hostilities. Great Britain and her allies understand the cruel necessity which has forced the Armenians to take this step and look forward to the time, perhaps not far distant, when allied victories may reverse their undeserved misfortunes.

Meanwhile, the services of the Armenians to the common cause, to which you refer in your letter, have assuredly not been forgotten and I venture to mention four points which the Armenians may, I think, regard as the charter of their right to liberation at the hand of the allies:

(1) In the autumn of 1914 the Turks sent emissaries to the national congress of the Ottoman Armenians, then sitting at Erzerum, and made them offers of autonomy if they would actively assist Turkey in the war. The Armenians replied that they would do their duty individually as Ottoman subjects, but that

as a nation they could not work for the cause of Turkey and her allies.

(2) On account, in part, of this courageous refusal the Ottoman Armenians were systematically murdered by the Turkish Government in 1915. Two-thirds of the population were exterminated by the most cold-blooded and fiendish methods — more than 700,000 people — men, women, and children alike.

(3) From the beginning of the war that half of the Armenian Nation which was under the sovereignty of Russia organized volunteer forces and, under their heroic- leader, Andranik, bore the brunt of some of the heaviest fighting in the Caucasian campaigns.

(4) After the breakdown of the Russian Army at the end of last year these Armenian forces took over the Caucasian front and for five months delayed the advance of the Turks, thus rendering an important service to the British Army in Mesopotamia. These operations in the region of Alexandropol and Erivan were, of course, unconnected with those at Baku.

I may add that Armenian soldiers are still fighting in the ranks of the allied forces in Syria. They are to be found serving alike in the British, French, and American armies, and they have borne their part in Gen. Allenby's great victory in Palestine.

From the above-mentioned uncontrovertible facts it is conclusively established that the Armenians from the beginning of the war, and notwithstanding the justifiable mistrust which they have maintained toward the aims of Russian imperialism, have stood by and been loyal to the allied cause in the Near East, and they rendered not only appreciable military service but also jeopardized their very existence in Turkey, where more than a million of Armenians, men, women, and children, were ruthlessly massacred and exterminated by reason of their proally attitude.

Part III.

WHAT ARE THE CLAIMS OF THE ARMENIANS?

Having regard to the historic past of the Armenians, and to the fact that even at present they constitute the most civilized and progressive and producing elements in the environments in which they live, they expect their final deliverance as the result of the present war.

As before stated, half of the Armenian population inhabited within the limits of Russian Transcaucasia, while the other half, numbering about 2,100,000, were in Turkey. Faithful to its past methods, the Turkish Government, taking advantage of the opportunities presented by the present war, attempted to solve the Armenian question by exterminating that part of the Armenian population which was in a majority within the frontiers of its historic fatherland.

It is estimated that the number of Armenians slaughtered in 1915 by the agents of the Turkish Government amounted to from 600,000 to 1,000,000. Let us suppose for a moment that not a single Armenian out of the 2,100,000 has escaped the hands of the Turkish executioner. We claim that however reduced the number of Armenians may be to-day their homelands of 1914 should belong to the survivors.

According to laws of all civilized people, including the Sheri law, no murderer can inherit the property of the victim of his crime. That inheritance or estate must pass not to the murderer but to the next of kin of the victim.

We leave to the future to determine the exact number of Armenian victims as the result of the massacres and so-called deportations of 1915. We are not, however, far from the truth in asserting that at least 1,000,000 Armenians have been saved out of the 2,100,000 Armenians who inhabited Turkish Armenia in 1914. This million of survivors includes the 300,000 Armenians who have sought refuge in the Transcaucasus, as also about 200,000 Armenians who have migrated to America, Egypt, and Europe.

To this million must be added the 2,000,000 Armenians of the Transcaucasus. These 3,000,000 Armenians are those who can lay claim to the heritage of which the present Turkish Government has attempted to deprive them by methods known to all.

The Armenian people venture to hope that this appalling crime is going to be the last act in the sanguinary history of the Ottoman Empire, which has for the last five centuries exposed to ruin and desolation and massacre the cradles of civilization and religion. It is impossible to conceive that the present civilized world will permit a race with such a criminal record and government to continue unrestrained and unpunished to exterminate peoples superior to it in culture and usefulness, such as the Armenians, the Greeks, the Arabs, and the Jews.

The complete liquidation of the Ottoman Empire should be involved, and it will be incumbent on the Areopagus of nations to handle the same at the coming peace congress, together with the solution of the Armenian question. The dissolution of the Ottoman Empire should have been brought about a century ago, soon after the Greek war of independence, and mankind would thereby have been spared much innocent blood. We are convinced that the participation of the United States in the present war will be instrumental in bringing about a solution of the near eastern and Armenian questions, not by the methods of an antiquated European diplomacy, but in a spirit of fair play to satisfy the just claims of the various long-suffering people of the Near East concerned.

Before dealing with the Armenian question let us be permitted to submit the produs procedendi, which in our opinion must be followed in order to insure a radical and equitable solution of the entire near eastern problem.

The allies have on many occasions proclaimed the right of nations to self-determination. On the basis of this fundamental principle, the peoples and races inhabiting the Ottoman Empire are entitled to receive from that morally and materially bankrupt State a territory as their share proportionate to the numbers which each of them had prior to 1914, and not according to the respective number of their present depleted populations, for the simple reason that human conscience can not in any way sanction the murders and forced deportations premeditated and carried into effect by the Turkish Government for the purpose of " reducing " the number of the non-Turkish population of the Empire. It follows that if 500,000 Armenians have survived out of a population of 2,100,000 the former are fully entitled to such territory as should be allotted to the 2,100,000 Armenians who were in existence in 1914. Otherwise we would be putting a premium on crime.

Let us now consider which are, in their respective numbers, the populations composing the Turkish Empire, and in what way or manner can satisfaction be given to its different elements on historical and ethnological grounds.

After the Balkan War the Turkish Government held sway over a territory covering an area of about 1,800,000 square kilometers in round figures. This area does not include the deserts of Mesopotamia and Arabia, but only the inhabited territories which constituted the Ottoman Empire "Vilayets" (Provinces).

In this immense territory of. 1,800,000 square kilometers, which covers an area about four times the size of France, was a population of between eighteen and twenty millions. Armenia, alone, in the past, as history tells us, had a prosperous population of 26,000,000, whereas Mesopotamia, now with hardly 806,000 inhabitants, had in the distant past 28,000,000 souls, these 18,000,000 of inhabitants were made up approximately as follows :

Arabs (including Syrians)	5,900,000
Armenians	2,100,000
Greeks	1,800,000
Other Christian races	1,200,000
Kurds	700,000
Kizilliaches	500,000
Jews	400,000
Non-Turkish races	12,600,000
Turks	5,400,000
Total	18,000,000

These 5,400,000 Turks comprise Circassian and Mahommedan tribes who have migrated from the Caucasus into Asia Minor, and whose number is about 300,000, as also some other minor races whose origin is not Turkish and whose religion is not Mohammedan but whose vernacular is Turkish, like the Tahtadji tribes in the Cilician regions.

The inference to be drawn from these figures is that the Turks, who are the dominant race in the Empire, constitute one-third of the entire population, a minority who prey on a majority. There was a time when the Turkish race, or rather the military caste that goes under this name, did not represent even the one-twentieth, nay, the one-hundredth of the entire population of the Empire. This was five centuries prior, when the limits of the Empire extended from the Persian Gulf to Algeria and from the outskirts of Vienna to Egypt in the south.

In this phase of Turkish history the "subject" races were comparatively much less exposed to exploitation by having to "feed" their then masters than they are now when it is computed that every two non-Turks — subjects of the Empire — have to feed and maintain one parasite Turk. This is one of the secrets of the decay of the Ottoman Empire.

Let us now consider how the national claims of Armenia should be adjusted and the national aspirations realized. Armenian territory in Turkey includes the six Armenian vilayets and the Province of Cilicia, in accordance with the solemn declaration contained in diplomatic documents of the six great powers of Europe.

The areas covered by these administrative divisions are as follows:

	Square kilometers.
Vilavet of Erzertnim	49,700
Vilayet of Bitlis	27,100
Vilayet of Van	39,300
Vilayet of Harpoot	32,900
Vilayet of Diarbekir	37,500
Vilayet of Sivas	62,100
Vilayet of Adana	39,900
District of Marasli	20,000
Total	308,500

The Turkish Government, so far back as 1878, anticipating the "Armenian danger," arbitrarily modified the limits of the Armenian Provinces, with a view to swelling the numbers of Moslems and making it appear that the Turks are in a majority. Thus the frontiers of Sivas and Diarbekir and Adana were enlarged so as to include regions not inhabited by Armenians. If we are to sever from the above three vilayets those portions which have been artificially added to the original provincial delimitations, we obtain a total approximate area of 220,000 square kilometers, wherein the Armenian element was in the majority in the year of 1911.

The following is the return of the populations inhabiting Armenia, presented by the Armenian Patriarchate in 1912 to ambassadors of the great powers at Constantinople when the question of Armenian reforms was again on the tapis in 1912 :

Armenians	1,425, 000
Assyrians	123,000
Kizilbashes	220,000
Yezidis	37,000
Mahommendau Kurds	424,000
Turks	871,000
Total	3,100,000

The Armenians representant 46 per cent, the Turks 28 per cent, the Kurds 13.7 per cent, of the population of the said Provinces, while the remaining percentage of 12.3 per cent was made up of non-Turkish or non-Mahonnnedan elements. It was with a view to modifying this proportion of numbers that

the Ottoman Government for the last 40 years has had recourse to periodical massacres culminating in the 1915 tragic events. By disposing of the Armenians, Turkish statesmen considered they were getting rid of the Armenian question once for all.

To sum up, the Armenians are fully entitled, according to their numbers, on historical, geographical, and ethnological grounds, to a territory covering an area of 280,000 square kilometers, extending from the Gulf of Alexandretta (known as Sea of Armenia in medieval times) to the Russo-Persian frontier. We shall deal separately with the natural boundaries of the territory in question. We now propose to deal with the Turkish race.

Excluding Syria, Mesopotamia, Kurdistan, Armenia, and Arabia, the remaining vilayets of Turkey and central and western Asia Minor are the following:

	Square kilometer.
European Turkey	26,100
District of Ismidt	8,100
District of Bigha	6,600
Vilayet of Brussa	65,800
Vilayet of Smyrna	55,800
Vilayet of Konia	102,100
Vilayet of Angora	70,900
Vilayet of Kastamouni	50,700
Vilayet of Trebizonde	32,400
Total	418,000

Add to these numbers 50,000 square kilometers for the non-Armenian regions comprised in the vilayets of Sivas and Adana and we get a total of 468,000 square kilometers of territory left for the future Turkish State; but whereas out of the above territory a slice of land of the Black Sea should be made part of future Armenia in order that she may have an outlet to the, sea, and after disposing of the Greek claims in Ionia, there still remain about 400,000 square kilometers in Anatolia for the future Turkish State, which will contain what remains of the Turkish element, aggregating to something like 4,000,000 people.

This solution of the eastern question would not be, we admit, palatable to the present rulers of Turkey, but the plain Turkish people would welcome it. It insures their future interests in an appreciable manner and is preferable to the uncertainty of their present condition. It has other advantages. A Turkish State without “subject” races may be an incentive to the Turks to radically modify

their modes of living, to cease becoming parasites, and thus earn their daily bread with the sweat of their brows. They may thereby gradually enter the family of civilized nations.

But it is opportune to recall that by reason of the destruction of Russia and Russian imperialism, and having regard to the newly accepted doctrine of self-determination for nations, it is but fair and just that a one and indivisible Armenia, including Russian, Persian, and Turkish Armenia, should be constituted as one independent State. In part of this memorandum we mentioned that there are 1,856,000 Armenians in the Transcaucasus bordering Turkish Armenia. It would be natural to unite the fractions torn asunder of the Armenian Nation so as to constitute a Magna Armenia made up of Russian. Persian, and Turkish Armenia. The Transcaucasian Provinces, where the Armenians are in a majority, are the following:

	Square kilometers.	Population.
1. Province of Erivan	27,777	750,000
2. Province of Kars	18,749	130,000
3. Mountainous district of Elizabethpol	22,000	450,000
Total	68,526	1,330,000

Interspersed among this Armenian population there are 545,000 Mahommedans, Tartars, and Turks, while there are about 526,000 Armenians scattered in the Georgian and the Tartar Provinces of Transcaucasia. This proximity offers great facilities to these different elements to settle on the respective territories to be allotted to them by the peace congress as a result of this world war.

To summarize, the future Armenian State may therefore include:

	Square kilometers.
Turkish Armenia	220,000
Russian Armenia	68,526
Persian Armenia	15,000
Total	303,526

In our opinion, the aforementioned should be the boundaries and extent of the future Armenian State. The State thus created should be able to develop economically in a normal fashion and without hindrance, and it will, moreover, be in a position to fulfill its political and civilizing mission and become the corner stone of a lasting peace in the Near East, with a population of 3,000,000 Armenians and with about one million to one million and a half non- Armenian elements.

Part IV.

WHAT INTEREST HAVE THE ALLIES IN CREATING AN INDEPENDENT ARMENIA?

We venture to state that an Armenia created under these conditions, whose freedom and independence shall be guaranteed by all the powers and by a league of nations, will in the Near East play the part that Switzerland does in Europe. By reason of her geographical position, Armenia is more important than Switzerland, which stands between four European powers, two of which belong to the Latin and the other two to the Teutonic races. Whereas the Armenian plateau, which covers an extensive area between the Black and Mediterranean Seas, by the very nature of its exceptional position will not only stand between Georgia, Turkey, Syria, the Tartar regions of the Caucasus, Persia, Mesopotamia, and Kurdistan, namely, seven different States, but being so situated that it has almost become the converging point of Europe, Asia, and Africa, is destined also to become the land where all races may intermingle and diverge. This is a vital consideration which requires that a land so situated should be neutralized so that no Government or people should in any way be able to utilize it for purposes of conquest, as has happened so often in the past. This in itself is a vital reason for the creation of an Armenia, destined to insure the equilibrium in the Near East.

The immediate services such a State can render will be to obstruct the "drang nach Osten" policy of Germany by neutralizing the Berlin-Bagdad line that runs through Armenia. Another salutary consequence of the creation of such a State would be to arrest the Young Turkey's panaslamic and pantouranian aggressive movement and to build up a barrier against it. Although the pantouranian movement is in its infancy at present, we can not disregard its future potentialities and measures ought to be taken to arrest its baneful effects, otherwise, it may become as dangerous an element for the future of mankind as is Pan Germanism at present, having, moreover, in view the circumstance that the center of this pantouranian movement would be in Berlin and not Constantinople and exploited by Germany for the purpose of furthering her designs of domination and aggrandizement. Besides these two aggressive movements, there may be danger in the future that Imperial Russia, after traversing this present phase of dissolution, may emerge triumphant, and in such a circumstance, a neutralized Armenia would be the only barrier to be opposed to a possible aggressive Russia.

The above political circumstances do not stand alone. There is another higher justification which renders imperative the restoration of Armenia to freedom, and this is in the supreme interests of civilization. We all know that the enlightened countries of the west have inherited their culture from those ancient peoples of the Near East., Under the scimitar of the Turks, it has been

buried for centuries and was threatened with eternal decay. It is high time to restore to the east that share of light and progress of which it became the cradle and the principal source. To accomplish this, the democratic nations of the earth have a duty to perform toward the Armenian people, by bringing about their emancipation and insuring their existence against final extinction, in order that a people susceptible of the highest culture may be able to fulfill its glorious civilizing mission in the Near East.

All the European savants are of the unanimous opinion — and in this the German professors concur — that the Armenian represents the only element in the Near East that can play the part of the intermediary between the eastern and western world. The Turk, the Arab, the Georgian, the Kurd, or the Persian, who are his neighbors, do not possess the aptitudes to disseminate European and American civilization as does the Armenian. Ethnologists are all agreed in stating that the Armenians, being a branch of the Indo-European race, settled on the Armenian plateau 27 centuries ago, while they embraced Christianity as far back as the fourth century, and ever since have kept aloft the ideas of Christian thought and civilization against the onslaught of semisavage Asiatic and Mohammedan races. The experience they have acquired of a life replete with vicissitudes and tribulations in their contact with the eastern, nations has developed in them extraordinary qualities such as no other people possess. If the times are ripe in order that the different parts of humanity should be brought more closely in touch with each other, so that they may come to an understanding and to create more decent relations among them, it is the Armenian who is destined to become the connecting link between Christianity and Asia.

CONCLUSION.

After unprecedented vicissitudes and tribulations, the Armenians claim a fitting place in the concert of free and independent nations. Armenia, like Poland, claims to be one and indivisible, and the future Armenian State should by right include Russian, Persian, and Turkish Armenia — from the Caucasus to the Straits of Alexandretta.

To this territory Armenia is entitled on historical and ethnological grounds, and it is indispensable that the Cilician Provinces of Armenia bordering on the Gulf of Alexandretta' should be included in (Armenia Irredenta. Cilicia was an independent State at the end of the fourteenth century. Therein is situated Adana, where the massacres of 1909 took place, and there, in the fastnesses of the Taurus, the Armenians held their own against Turkish barbarism for centuries. and in the course of the nineteenth century fought heroically against overwhelming Turkish armies.

The Armenians do not claim any territory which is not their own, nor is it fair that they should accept any solution which does not vouchsafe to them an independence such as Greece, Serbia, and; Roumania possess. Massacres and deportations do not constitute rights for the Turkish executioners of the Armenian race. The number of Armenians has been reduced by reason of these atrocities; but there are at least 3,000,000 survivors of the Armenian holocaust who are entitled to the territory claimed. Greece at the time of her emancipation, in 1829, hardly contained half a million people. Notwithstanding, Europe recognized Greek independence after the; Battle of Nefarino, which sealed the death of Turkish domination in Hellas, whose population has now more than quadrupled. It will be the same of Armenia if she be allowed to develop and breathe freely as a sovereign independent State. The thirteen States of America that revolted against Great Britain at the time of their liberation did not contain more than 4,000,000 people, and they covered a territory far greater in extent than would the future Armenian State. The argument that the Armenian population has been depleted is a very loose one. To accept the same and to make it weigh in the balance against Armenian claims would be to put a premium on crime and to legitimatize the massacres and deportations carried out by the Turks during these last 30 years, culminating in the events of 1915 and 1916, to which reference is made in the; first part of this memorandum.

And let us record here that Armenia, by reason of her civilization in the east, her immeasurable sacrifices, especially her military assistance to the allied cause, in the Caucasus, in Palestine, and in France, to which expression is given in the correspondence exchanged between Lord Cecil and Lord Bryce, referred to in this memorandum, is entitled to complete restoration of her national independence. Through the ages her spiritual and patriotic leaders have kept alive and alight the flame of national consciousness and self-government, despite successive dominations and persecutions. Her political

and military struggles against Turkish barbarism during the last 30 years are admirable credentials for her to present to the future peace congress.

The founding of the diminutive Republic of Ararat is a small beginning for national government for the whole of Armenia, from the Caucasus, through Cilicia, to the Mediterranean. Any scheme which may be advocated by certain elements in this country having for their object to preserve Turkey as a unit are of a nature to defeat the imperishable rights of the Armenians to freedom and independence. Such schemes are, moreover, detrimental to the cause of the allies and to the United States, and unworthy of the noble traditions bequeathed by the founders and continuators of this great Republic.

To sum up, Armenia is Europe and America is Asia in the bud. Let western civilization take care of it. It is a bud out of which will develop fresh elements of aesthetic, moral, and spiritual progress. The Armenian race, by its strong national, religious, and philosophical turn of mind, is the equal of all the fine, sensitive natures among the peoples of Europe and America. Her cause therefore appeals strongly to every State and people, all of whom should agree to grant to Armenia that which she wants and demands at the close of this great war; namely, complete freedom and national independence.

APPENDIX XIV

THE TREATY OF ALEXANDROPOL

The text of the treaty signed between the Armenian delegation and the Turks at Alexandropol, has never been published by those who were responsible for it. Neither Mr. A. Khatisian, the head of the delegation that signed the treaty, nor Mr. S. Vratzian, the head of the Armenian government of the time, who have both written voluminous histories of the Armenian Republic, embody the text of the treaty in their books.

The following is a translation of the document as it was published in the Turkish press:—

Article 3—As it is evident from Turkish, Russian and all other world-statistics, and from the established social situation, we again, at this occasion, confirm that there is no territory within the Ottoman borders where the Armenians form a majority. (Articles 4 and 5 draw the boundaries of Armenia and Turkey according to which, the cities and districts of Kars, Ardahan, Ikdir, Alexandropol, also the Mt. Ararat and other important territories were left to Turkey. Armenia was almost halved and reduced to the boundaries drawn in the treaty of Batoum in 1918).

Article 6—Hereafter, with the good intention of preventing any act or episode, that may disturb tranquility through agitation and incitements, the Republic of Erivan undertakes not to allow any military organization, excepting a division of 1500 paid soldiers with 8 field or mountain cannons and 20 machine guns, which will protect the borders of the country; and lightly armed gendarmerie which will be able to keep the internal order of the country.

The Armenian Republic is free to erect fortifications to protect the country from enemies, and to place as many heavy guns in these fortifications as it desires. These heavy artillery will not contain obuses of 15 centimeters and long range guns of 10.50 caliber, and other howitzers, which could be used in the army if necessary.

Article 7—The government of Erivan agrees that, the Turkish minister or representative, who will reside in Erivan after peace is established, supervise and examine these matters. In exchange for this, whenever the Armenian Republic so desires, the Grand National Assembly of Turkey undertakes to give armed assistance to Armenia, against internal and external dangers.

(The rest of Article 7, and Article 8, relate to the question of repatriating refugees and fugitives).

Article 9—The government of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, although it has been obliged to maintain an army for two years and at great expense, and though it has a right to demand an indemnity as a result of the war against Armenia which it has been compelled to wage, gives up this indemnity, because it has an extreme respect for the accepted and well known humanitarian and judicial principles.

Article 10—The government of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey undertakes, with all sincerity, to assist the development of the Republic of Erivan, and the solidification of the authority of the Erivan Republic, as it is described within the boundaries drawn in Article 4.

Article 11—The government of Erivan declares, that it considers as null and void the Sevres Treaty, which is absolutely disavowed by the government of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey. It undertakes to withdraw its delegations of Europe and America, that are tools in the hands of some imperialistic governments and circles. Both parties assume mutual obligations in good faith to remove all kinds of misunderstandings that exist between the two nations.

As a proof of the sincerity of its desire to develop in peace and to respect the rights of good neighborliness with Turkey, the Armenian government is willing to keep away from the government those persons who pursue imperialistic aims and will disturb the tranquility of the two people. (Article 12 allows that the Secretariat of Religions of the Turkish government have the right to confirm the election of the religious head of the moslems living in Armenia).

Article 13—The two contracting parties mutually under- take not to prevent the free passage and transit of persons and merchandise belonging to the other party, over their railroads and highways.

Turkey, being under obligation to prevent menacing agitations by imperialists against her existence, will keep under her own control the railroads and the means of communication of the Republic of Erivan, until the signing of a general peace, so that, the quantity of arms to be imported will not be any more than specified in Article 6, on condition that this control will not interfere with the freedom of transportations. Also, the two contracting parties will prevent the entry into the Republic and the residence therein, of officials and unofficial bodies and representatives belonging to the imperialistic powers.

Article 14—The government of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, will have the right to organize in Armenia temporary military measures against attacks that threaten the independence and the territorial integrity of the Turkish state, on condition that the rights that are guaranteed the Republic of Erivan are not to be interfered with.

Article 15—The Republic of Erivan agrees to consider as null and void all those stipulations of treaties she has signed with any power, which relate to Turkey and are harmful to the interests of Turkey.

APPENDIX XV

115TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. RES. 220

Expressing the sense of the House of Representatives regarding past genocides, and for other purposes.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MARCH 22, 2017

Mr. TROTT (for himself, Mr. SCHIFF, Mr. VALADAO, Ms. SPEIER, Mr. PALLONE, Ms. JUDY CHU of California, Ms. JACKSON LEE, Mr. BILIRAKIS, Mr. SARBANES, Mr. ROYCE of California, Mr. ENGEL, Ms. CLARK of Massachusetts, Mr. MCGOVERN, Mr. CARBAJAL, Ms. ESHOO, and Mr. COSTA) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

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RESOLUTION

Expressing the sense of the House of Representatives regarding past genocides, and for other purposes

Whereas the lessons of past genocides should be applied to help prevent future war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide;

Whereas, on March 17, 2016, the Department of State declared that ''Da'esh is responsible for genocide against groups in areas under its control, including Yezidis, Christians, and Shia Muslims'', and is ''also responsible for crimes against humanity and ethnic cleansing directed at these same groups and in some cases against Sunni Muslims and Kurds and other minorities'';

Whereas the House of Representatives, on March 14, 2016, passed H. Con. Res. 75, which concluded that ''the atrocities perpetrated by ISIL against Christians, Yezidis, and other religious and ethnic minorities in Iraq and Syria constitute war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide'';

Whereas the Senate, on July 7, 2016, passed S. Res. 340, which concluded that ''the atrocities perpetrated by the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) against Christians, Yezidis, Shi'a, and other religious and ethnic minorities in Iraq and Syria constitute war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide'';

Whereas the United States has a proud record of protesting and providing relief to Armenian and other Christian survivors of the Ottoman Empire's genocidal campaign;

Whereas President Woodrow Wilson encouraged the formation of the Near East Relief, chartered by an Act of Congress, which raised $116,000,000 (over $2,500,000,000 in 2017 dollars) between 1915 and 1930, the Senate adopted resolutions condemning these massacres, and United States diplomats organized and led protests of these crimes;

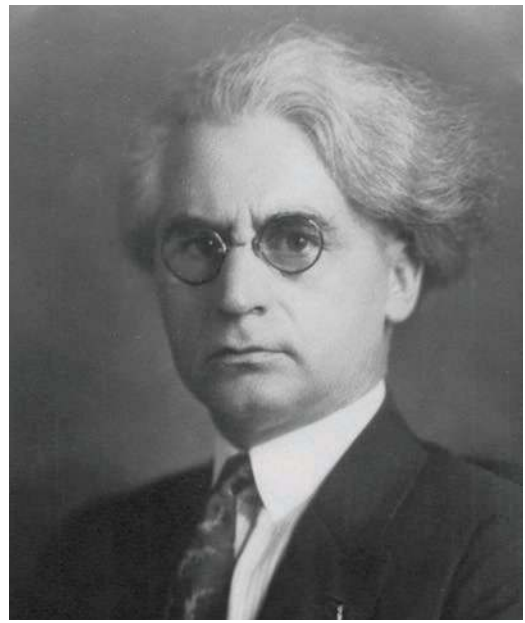
Whereas **the United States is on record as having officially recognized the Armenian Genocide, in the United States Government's May 28, 1951, written statement to the International Court of Justice regarding the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, through President Ronald Reagan's April 22, 1981, Proclamation No. 4838, and by House Joint Resolution 148, adopted on April 8, 1975, and House Joint Resolution 247, adopted on September 10, 1984**; and

Whereas the proper commemoration and consistent condemnation of the Armenian Genocide will strengthen our international standing in preventing modern day genocides: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of the House of Representatives that the United States, in seeking to prevent war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide against Christians, Yezidis, Muslims, Kurds, and other vulnerable religious and ethnic groups in the Middle East, should draw upon relevant lessons of the United States Government, civil society, and humanitarian response to the Armenian Genocide, Seyfo, and the broader genocidal campaign by the Ottoman Empire against Armenians, Assyrians, Chaldeans, Syriacs, Greeks, Pontians and other Christians upon their biblical era homelands.

About the Author

Shahan Natalie (1884-1983)



Shahan Natalie (né Hagop Der Hagopian) was born in December 1884, in the village of Husenik, Kharberd province, Western Armenia, the only son of the seven-member family, along with four sisters. He received his primary education in the local St. Varvar Church Armenian School.

His father, mother's brother, and numerous other relatives were among the first of more than 300,000 Armenians who fell victim during the 1894-1896 massacres in Western Armenia.

Separated from his family during the slaughter, Hagop's life was spared thanks to an Armenian neighbor who was a few years old than him. The two of them hid on the plantation of a Turk for whom the older boy worked. The 11-year-old orphaned Hagop remained in hiding for three days before being reunited with the surviving members of his family. He found his mother mourning over his father's corpse, which they dragged together and buried under a walnut tree. He would write about this event later, adding, "The living began to bury the dead." The scene of his mother, sobbing on her husband's lifeless body, left a deep and indelible impression on the young boy at both subconscious and conscious levels.

After studying for a year at the famed Kharberd Euphrates College, together with other orphans, Hagop was sent to the St. James Orphanage in Constantinople. He did not want to stay there, so he himself found an Armenian rug merchant living in New York to adopt him so he could attend the famed Berberian Academy, where he studied until 1900. His teacher was the Academy's director, Reteos Berberian, the noted pedagogue and philosopher. It was out of respect for this great man that Hagop chose the name Shahan as his own, because it was also Reteos' son's first name. The reason for choice of Natalie as a surname is still unknown (it is assumed to be based on the Latin

language adjective “natalis”, defined as “native-born”.

The young Hagop’s love of culture, art, beauty, goodness, and truth, as well as the concept of justice were imprinted in his very being. In 1901, he returned to his birthplace, where for three years he served on the local school’s teaching staff, at the same time studying the provincial dialect of Kharberd. This philological study earned him special honor in Patriarch Madteos Izmirlian’s literary competition.

In 1904, in Kharberd, Hagop joined the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, in whose ranks he would serve with true patriotic spirit for a quarter century. The same year, he immigrated to the United States, where for three years he worked as a laborer in a shoe factory. In 1908, after the proclamation of the Ottoman Constitution, he returned home to Husenik, where he remained barely one year. The 1909 massacres of Armenians in Cilicia drove him back into exile in America. From 1910 to 1912, he attended Boston University, where he studied literature, philosophy (particularly Plato), and theater (particularly Shakespeare).

In 1912, he decided to return home once again and boarded a ship headed for Turkey. However, during that period war had erupted in the Balkans, and the Turkish passport-bearing Shahan Natalie was ejected from the ship by Greek authorities as a citizen of an enemy nation. His attempts to explain his Armenian identity proved fruitless. He was put aboard another ship, leaving for the United States and was deported from the country.

An unwilling returnee to America, he undertook responsible work within the Armenian Revolutionary Federation’s United States district. He became a member of the party’s “Hairenik” monthly editorial staff, serving as its editor-in-chief from 1912 to 1915. He was also elected a member of the party’s United States Central Committee, as an officer of its Executive Body.

During this period, the First World War began, providing an opportunity for the Turkish authorities to finally and totally exterminate the Armenian people. Receiving the news of the Great Atrocity[1], like all exiles, Shahan Natalie experienced nightmarish moments of anguish and rage. And he, the orphaned boy and vengeful youth, made “his vow” not to leave the Genocide perpetrators unpunished, even if the world should choose to ignore their crime.

Shahan Natalie’s doubts became reality after the War. The Ottoman military tribunal convened in Constantinople condemned to death the principal perpetrators who had been extradited to Malta by British authorities. However, the British placed no value whatsoever on the sentence and secretly released the enemies of Armenians and humanity.

From September 27 to the end of October 1919, the Armenian Revolutionary

1 On March 23, 1915, one month before the gathering and slaughter of the Armenian intellectuals in Constantinople, Shahan Natalie became a citizen of the United States. On December 27, 1923 the Commonwealth of Massachusetts approved his official name change to “John Mahy”

Federation's 9th General Congress was convened in Yerevan. Shahan Natalie participated as the United States District delegate. On the Congress agenda was also placed the issue of retribution against those Turks principally responsible for the Great Atrocity. Here, Shahan Natalie experienced the first serious embitterment of his political life, when some of the delegates deemed this policy wrong. They rationalized that the newly created Armenian Republic needed Turkey's friendship (such justifications have proliferated today also, within the new Armenian Republic). In opposition to many of the Eastern Armenian delegates' vociferous objections, it was decided by a majority vote to deem the Armenian nation as reconciled with the Turk perpetrators. It is assumed that at this meeting the Responsible Body was also organized to realize the work, known as "Operation Nemesis," whose primary motivator, planner and spirit was Shahan Natalie, with Grigor Merjanov as his principal collaborator. ARF Bureau members, specifically Simon Vratsian, Ruben Ter-Minasian, and Ruben Darbinian, decided to prevent Shahan Natalie's determined efforts. But Natalie had delivered the verdict, on behalf of more than one and a half million martyrs.

The work of eliminating the Turk executioners was organized and the preliminary steps (surveillance, arms-gathering and transport, etc.) were carried out under the most clandestine circumstances. A "black list" of targeted executioners contained approximately 200 names. The executioners of the Armenian people were moving freely and boldly in Berlin, Rome, Baku, Tbilisi and other city streets. They still posed a threat as they had regrouped and were planning their next move to finish the work they had begun — to put an end to the Armenian question once and for all. Their next target was to be the Armenian population of Artsakh (Nargorno-Karabagh) and then Armenia, thus realizing their dream of the all-Turkish state. Some among them were enjoying local secret and overt police protection.

For Shahan Natalie, the primary target was the Armenophobe, Talaat Pasha, whom Shahan called "Number One." The mission of felling Turkey's Minister of the Interior was entrusted to Soghomon Tehlirian.

The Beirut-based *"Nayiri"* weekly, v. 12, nos. 1-6, published Shahan's memoirs about Talaat's assassination. There, Shahan revealed his orders to Tehlirian: *"You blow up the skull of the Number One nation-murderer and you don't try to flee. You stand there, your foot on the corpse and surrender to the police, who will come and handcuff you."* Shahan Natalie's purpose was to turn Soghomon Tehlirian's trial into the political trial of those responsible for the Great Tragedy, which was realized in part. However, there were those in the ARF leadership, Simon Vratsian in particular, who had two chapters, which dealt with Shahan Natalie's leadership role in the assassination of Talaat, deleted from Tehlirian's memoirs before their printing.

The fruits of Shahan Natalie's planning mind were the successive assassinations as follows:

Talaat Pasha, member of the Ittihadist Triumvirate and former Prime Minister, 15 March 1921, Berlin. Executor: Soghomon Tehlirian.

Pipit Jivanshir Khan, former Internal Affairs Minister of Azerbaijan, rabid pan-Turanian, organizer of Armenian massacres, 18 July 1921, Constantinople. Executor: Misak Torlakian.

Saïd Halim Pasha, former Prime Minister, 5 December 1921, Berlin. Organizer: Grigor Merjanov; executor: Arshavir Shiragian.

Behaeddin Shakir Bey, principally responsible organizer and executor of the Ittahadist *"Special Committee,"* 17 April 1922, Berlin. Executor: Aram Yerganian, who in 1919, in Tbilisi, had slain the Azeri Ghasik Bekov; and the following year, Sarafov and Khan Khuysk, also in Tbilisi.

Jemal Azmi, Ittihadist Armenophobe chief, 17 April 1922, Berlin. Executor: T.; collaborator: Aram Yerganian.

Jemal Pasha, Ittihadist Triumvirate member and Defense Minister, 25 July 1922, Tbilisi. Executors, decoys: Stepan Dzaghigian and Bedros D. Boghosian; collaborators: Zareh Melik-Shahnazarian of Artsakh and others.

Enver Pasha, the third member of the Triumvirate, was allegedly killed in 1922 in Turkmenistan (Central Asia) when he was leading the Basmaji Pan-Turanian movement. It is claimed by the ARF that Enver's assassin was an Armenian soldier in the Red Army, Yakov Melkumov aka Hakob Melkumian, a native of Shushi, Artsakh.

Shahan Natalie's avengers also executed several Armenian spies and traitors, who, by denouncing their kinsmen to Turkish authorities, were responsible for their deaths.

The ARF Bureau was against these assassinations because the Bureau, ousted from the homeland, because of their anti-Soviet sentiments, was playing Turkish-spirited politics, which this assassination campaign hindered. And finally, the Bureau succeeded in silencing the sound of the exploding Armenian bullet. Subsequently, when the assassination of Turks proved "profitable" to revitalize party ranks, the Bureau did not hesitate to credit itself alone for the justified assassinations organized by the Armenian Nemesis, Shahan Natalie.

After the Sovietization of Armenia, many of the Armenian Republic's expatriate revolutionary activists were ready to collaborate with Azeri and Turk Armenophobe activists in order to regain governmental control. This policy was contrary to Shahan Natalie's conviction that *"Over and above the Turk, the Armenian has no enemy. Armenian revenge is just and godly."* There were deep dissensions on both sides, but not yet to the point of schism.

In 1924, in Paris, the ARF's 10th General Congress was convened. The revered Western Armenian delegate, Shahan Natalie, was elected as a new Bureau member, along with Shavarsh Misakian and the Jewish "sons-in-law" [their wives were Jews], Ruben Der Minasian and Aram Jamalian. Bureau

member Shahan strove in vain to change the party's Turkish-prone mindset, but failed, due to the trio's opposition.

The ultimate collision of these divergent directions became inevitable. In 1925, a group of nationalistic revolutionaries applied to the Bureau to establish relationships with Soviet governments in order to try to find ways of helping the homeland. The leadership tabled the examination and response to this issue.

On 29 December 1926, the ARF Bureau, with four votes in favor and one against (Shahan) decided to join the Promethean Alliance, which declared the Turks as defenders of the Caucasian people.

Shahan Natalie's cup of patience had overflowed. The party's internal power struggle became evident in 1928. From 1920 to 1929, in Paris, *Azadamard* (Freedom Fight) was published under the editorship of Haig Kntouni and Shahan Natalie. *Azadamard* was the expression of outrage of noble revolutionaries toward the anti-national sentiment of the leadership. Shahan Natalie defined the "Freedom Fight" movement thus: *"In Yerevan, in 1919 during the Federation's 9th General Congress, many monuments were going to be destroyed and statues were to crumble within innocent and clean souls ... Before the eyes of the members of the "Freedom Fight," not only was the Revolutionary Federation being horribly transformed, it was also becoming an accomplice against Armenian Revolution. Not only had the Federation, in the person of its leadership, denied the Federation, but by the boorish expression of its traditional feudalism, it had assumed the right to ally itself with the Turk, to plot against Armenian Revolution."*

To forestall the probable victory of the "Freedom Fighters" at the upcoming 11th General Congress (27 March to 2 May 1929), on the eve of the meeting, the Bureau began a *"cleansing campaign.* "The first to be "removed"[2] from the party was Bureau member, Shahan Natalie. "Knowingly" (by his definition) having joined the ARF and unjustly separated from it, Shahan Natalie wrote about this, *"With Shahan began again that which had begun with Antranig; Bureau member Shahan, was 'ousted'"* After Shahan, successively ousted were Haig Kntouni, Armenian Republic army officer Bagrevandian with his group, Glejian and Tartizian with their partisans, General Smpad, Ferrahian with his group, the future *"Mardgots"*-ists (Bastion) Mgrdich Yeretziants, Levon Mozian, Vazgen Shoushanian, Mesrob Kouyoumjian, Levon Kevonian and many others. As a protest to this "cleansing" by the Bureau, some members of the ARF French Central Committee also resigned.

"Freedom Fight" having ceased publication, the "ousted" revolutionaries of France established *"Mardgots"* (Bastion), a semi-weekly newspaper, under

2 The contention of the ARF was that Natalie was "ousted". In fact, Natalie resigned the Bureau and the Federation because of his outrage at the leadership's decision to strike a pact with Turkey in an attempt to regain possession of the Anatolian lands seized by the Turks.

the editorship of Mesrob Kouyoumjian and Mgrdich Yeritziants. Contrary to popular belief, Shahan Natalie did not establish or lead the *"Bastion"*-ist movement, because at that time he had returned to America. He learned about the movement from reading the *"Mardgots"* newspaper and acknowledged this Reconstructionist movement. Published in issues of *"Mardgots"* are Shahan's analytical articles, *"Who Ousts Whom?", "Mine and Yours", "Curse, but Listen," and "I Am Inexperienced."*

Generals Dro and Nzhdeh came to Paris for the purpose of defusing the disunion of the party, but they failed. Gradually realizing their inability to control the expanding movement, the Bureau relocated its headquarters from Paris to Cairo.

However, the *"Bastion"*-ist movement was attacked from within. The collaboration of the editor, Mesrob Kouyoumjian, with the Soviet Secret Service was revealed. General Smpad and Shahan Natalie went to Paris to forestall the break-up of the movement. Revolutionaries who had remained loyal to the *"Bastion"*-ists in 1934 established the *"Western Armenian Liberation Alliance"* in Paris and began to publish the *"Amrots"* (Fortress) weekly. *"Alliance"* members were relentlessly persecuted by Bureau killer bandits and by the Secret Service of foreign countries, which wanted to see the ARF as an anti-Soviet tool in their hands. Shahan Natalie relocated *"Amrots"* to Athens, where it was published from 1936 to 1937. ARF Bureau-hired hit men arrived there and killed many loyal revolutionaries with their bullets.

The situation in Europe within the environment of impending war and Bureau-ordered assassinations eroded the "Amrots"-ist movement little by little.[3]

At the eve of the Second World War, Shahan returned to America. Embittered toward Armenian political life, he took up community activism within the Armenian General Benevolent Union. From 1943 to 1953, he directed the Armenian General Benevolent Union's New England District Office Secretariat.[4]

In 1958, for the first time since the Sovietization of Armenia, he visited the homeland, regaining his voice, which had begun to diminish. He experienced spiritual enrichment upon seeing the flowering of Armenia. In Tsaghkadzor, he met schoolchildren at a campground and he saw in them the promise of a new dawn for the Armenian people. in them

Since the 1960s, Shahan Natalie lived almost in seclusion. He preferred to be silent rather than to talk, to remain within the confines of his home, rather than to appear in public.

3 Shahan Natalie was one of those targeted by the ARF. An unsuccessful attempt was made on his life in Boston, in 1929. In the early years of World War II, rumors of subsequent attempts were spread in an effort to harass and disarm his adherents.

4 In 1954, the Armenian communities in the United States celebrated the 50th Jubilee of Shahan Natalie's community activism and literary career.

Shahan Natalie has bequeathed to us a rich literary legacy. Shahan's literary talents were refined under the canopy of the Berberian Academy. He wrote verses, short stories, dramatic works, as well as national, political analyses and oratorical pages. He used the noms de plume *Posura* (Glow-worm), *Nemesis*, (the goddess of "just anger," [retributive justice], in ancient Greek mythology), and *Shahan*. In private life he used another alias, John Mahy, which he translated as "the darling of death."

Shahan Natalie's published works include:

Օրէնքի և Ընկերութեան Զոհերէն [From the Martyrs of Law and Society]. Boston: Hayrenik, 1909. 63 pages. Short stories.

Ամպեր [Clouds]. Boston: Hayrenik, 1909. Verses.

Մարդը. [The Man]. Smyrna: Keshishian Printing, 1912. Socio-drama in five acts.

Քաւութեան երգեր [Songs of Expiation]. Boston: Hayrenik, 1915. 31 pages. Verses.

Սէրի և ատելութեան երգեր [Songs of Love and Hate]. Boston: Hayrenik, 1915. 165 pages. Verses.

Վրէժի աւետարան [Gospel of Revenge]. New York: Armenia, 1918. 39 pages. Verses.

Ասլան Բեկ [Aslan Bek]. Boston: Hayrenik, 1918. 62 pages. Tragedy in three acts.

Քեզի [To Thee]. Boston: 1920. 116 pages. Verses.

His ethno-political works of public address are:

Թուրքիզմը Անգորայէն Բագու և Թրքական Օրիէնթասիոն ([Turkism from Angora to Baku and Turkish Orientation]). Athens: Nor Or, 1928. 172 pages.

Թուրքերը և Մենք ([The Turks and Us]). Athens: Nor Or, 1928. 70 pages. Second printing, 1931, 93 pages.

Ալեքսանդրապոլի Դաշնագրէն 1930-ի Կովկասեան Ապստամբութիւնները [From the Treaty of Alexandrapol to the 1930 Caucasian Insurgences]. Volumes 1 and 2. Marseilles: Tp. Arabian, 1934-35.

Երեւանի Համաձայնագիրը (The Yerevan Agreement). Boston: 1941. 112 pages.

Գիրք Մատուցման և Հատուցման [Book of Dedication and Compensation]). Contents: Այսպէս Սպաննեցինք [How We Killed]); Յաւելուած [Addendum], illustrated. Beirut: Tp. Onipar, 1949 (first printing). 160 pages. Beirut: Tp Azdarar, 1954 (second printing). 134 pages.

Վերստին Յաւելուած — Ալեքսանտրապոլի Դաշնագրի «Ինչպէ՞ս ու ինչո՞ւն» [Re-Addendum – The Why and How of the Treaty of Alexandrapol]. Boston: Baikar, 1955. 144 pages.

Յաւելուած – Երեք դաշնագրեր. Ալեքսանդրապօլի, Մօսկուայի եւ Կարսի (Բաղդատական Զուգակշիռ) [Three treaties; Alexandrapol, Moscow and Kars (Parallel Comparison)] ԱրարատՄատենաշար Թիւ 25. Beirut: [n.p.] 1957. 157 pages.

He has unpublished literary and ethno-political works and papers, of which «Թալէաթի Դատաստանը Պերլինի Մէջ» [The Trial of Talaat in Berlin] and his «Յուշեր» [Memoirs] are especially significant.

All of Shahan Natalie's publications are out of print and hard to find. The printing facilities of the period, the small print runs, the true patriot's harassment of being the "sought after", and the Bureau clique have worked their ruin and rendered these books unfindable remnants.

Shahan Natalie did not succeed in celebrating his hundredth birthday. The 99-year-old hero closed his eyes forever on the morning of 19 April 1983, in his home in Watertown, Massachusetts. The funeral rites took place on 22 April in Watertown, in the St. James Armenian Church, with the Primate of the Armenian Church of North America, Archbishop Torkom Manoogian (presently the Armenian Patriarch of Jerusalem) officiating. After the reading of the eulogies, the body of the tormented hero was laid to rest in the nearby Mount Auburn Cemetery.

About the Author

Soghomon Tehlirian (1896-1960)



Soghomon Tehlirian's biography is difficult to write as most of what has been written about him are fabrications to support a narrative created by the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF).

In order to present his biography to be most reflective of who he actually was, I turned to Soghomon's younger son, who for the sake of his privacy, I will refer to as Soghomon Jr.

Here is are some biographical facts about Soghomon Tehlirian that I have extracted from a 3-hour face to face visit my family and I had with Soghomon Jr. on May 10, 2015.

Soghomon Tehlirian was born on April 2, 1896 in the village of Nerkin Bagarij, in the Erzurum vilayet. Soghomon was the youngest of five brothers.

In June of 1914, Soghomon moved to Valjevo, Serbia, to live with his father and two brothers. Soghomon's father, Khatchadour, was a coffee merchant and a member of Valjevo's trade union. At the time of the Armenian Genocide, in which Soghomon's mother and oldest brother, Vasken were killed, Soghomon was not in their town of Erzinjan to witness the killing. Soghomon returned to Erzinjan after the massacre and found his 12-year-old niece, Armenouhi, wandering around Western Armenia and learned from her the fate of his mother and eldest brother.

During the Bolshevik Revolution, Soghomon joined General Antranig Ozanian's volunteer army and fought against the Turks.

In 1917, Soghomon would find himself in Tiflis (current day capital city of Georgia) with typhoid fever. He was taken in by an Armenian family who took care of him. Anahit, their youngest daughter, was 14 years old and cared for Soghomon. Soghomon vowed to marry her one day.

In 1919, Soghomon carried out the assassination in Constantinople of an Armenian traitor, Haroutiun Megerdichian, who had provided to Talaat Pasha a list of 250 Armenian intellectuals, the majority of whom were gathered up on April 24, 1915 and murdered. Soghomon had learned about Megerdichian from the niece of General Antranig, Yeranuhi Danielian.

In 1920, when Shahan Natalie was recruiting an assassin to kill Talaat, Yeranuhi Danielian nominated Soghomon. At that time, Soghomon was not a member of the ARF, but rather was introduced as a soldier of General Antranig's.

In 1921, following the assassination of Talaat Pasha, the chief architect of the Armenian Genocide, Soghomon was put on trial. Soghomon Jr. stated: "I'll tell you the story. Most of what was said in the trial was not true. My father didn't have a sister to begin with. I don't think he ever saw his mother slaughtered. He never talked about it. So, I mean they invented things all over the place…"

Following the trial and his acquittal, Soghomon made his way to Manchester, England, where he ws hosted by someone by the name of H. Kamberian, 40 Cooper Street. Soghomon would sail from Southampton, England, on May 31, 1922 on board the *S.S. Homeric* and arrived in New York on June 7th. With $157 in his pocket, the 5 foot 6 inch tall blue-eyed Soghomon entered the U.S., claiming to be a 23- year-old engineering student and a native of Mush, Armenia. He declared his final destination was to be at the home of a friend by the name of Dr. N. Tashjian, at 524 Huntington Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts. Soghomon would eventually end up in Cleveland, Ohio, where a carpet store was opened, using funds that were gifted to him by the Armenian community worldwide.

In 1923, after the attempts to bring Anahit, the girl who had cared for him in Tbilisi and he had vowed to marry, to the United States had failed, Soghomon left his new life in America and went to Marseilles, where Anahit had come on her way to America with her older sister. However, due to the older sister's not having a visa, they were prevented from coming to the U.S. Soghomon and Anahit decided to settle in Belgrade, Yugoslavia (currently Serbia), where they were wed on October 5, 1924. They had two sons, Shahen and Soghomon Jr.

In Belgrade, Soghomon opened a coffee store. He was the official supplier of coffee to the royal family, delivering coffee to the palace in his Ford station wagon.

According to Soghomon Jr., Turks knew that Soghomon had settled in Belgrade: "My father was a hunter. He loved hunting. In 1938 [Mustafa] İsmet İnönü the Turkish premier who succeeded Kemal Ataturk, was coming to Belgrade. The Turks called the police department. They said among the Armenians there is a man who is a killer. They knew my father was in

Belgrade, but they didn't know who he was, because there were maybe only 40 or so people of his generation. And they said that they wanted protection. It's a funny story. The chief of police was a friend of my father's. They were hunting friends. They used to go hunting together. So, they got all the Armenian men together and put them under arrest for two days while the Turkish Prime Minister was there. My father wasn't there. My father was in Zagreb (current day Croatia). When the chief of police noticed that my father was not among the Armenians under arrest, the chief called my mother and asked where he is. She told him he is in Zagreb. He asked that she call him and tell him to come home. So, she called him and he immediately came home. She told him that he must go see the chief of police. He went to see the chief and asked what the hell was going on. He said this was happening and I don't know who the hell they are talking about. My father said, 'It's me [Soghomon].' And Serbs hate Turks. The chief said, 'Why didn't you tell me you killed that son of a bitch!' He told my father to go home and stay home. So my father was the only one who was not under arrest."

In 1948, Josip Broz Tito, came to power and Yugoslavia became a communist country. As a result, Soghomon had lost his business and began his plan for departing with his family to Soviet Armenia. They were granted exit visas to depart Yugoslavia. The documents didn't say how they were to go. In December of 1949, instead of boarding a train heading East, they took a train going West to Italy and managed to escape.

The Tehlirian family ended up in a refugee camp. From there they would go to Casa Blanca: "You know how we got to Casa Blanca? Because we were in a refugee camp for 6 weeks. And those were the days of quota. When you came from an iron curtain country, you had to wait 5 years for a quota [to immigrate to the United States]. Three of my first cousins, my Uncle Misak's children, were stuck in a refugee camp for 5 years. My father was very upset. He literally forced me, well not literally, I agreed to go. I don't know how it started. He [Soghomon] knew this man in Casa Blanca. Khachaturian was his name. He said he was going to bring the whole family to Morocco. Because the only place we could get a visa was Morocco and Brazil. So this guy actually did it. Tickets. Train tickets, ship tickets, all [sent] to the refugee camp. There was an Armenian in Trieste. He was the post office for all Armenians that went in to the refugee camp. And that's how we left the refugee camp after 6 weeks. We went to Marseilles (France), took a ship and landed. Now we thought this man was a divine saviour. He brought us there. To make a long story short, it turned out the guy was a crook. He went all over North Africa and raised money in the name of my father. And then he bought the tickets and when we got there, he put us in his apartment and we had nothing. No place to live, no nothing. He took the money. There were other Armenians there and they found out. Because he advertised how he was going to bring Soghomon Tehlirian. What they didn't know was that he raised all this money in Tunis, in Algeria,

everywhere and just paid for the tickets and kept the rest in his pocket. And nobody would come to see us. We knew there were other Armenians, but no one would come to see us, until one day, this man, Azad Surmenian, came. Because now the Armenians spoke to this guy and they knew he was a crook. He [Surmenian] spoke to my father, he took him aside. He said, 'Are you crazy, get out of here. I'll take care of you.' That's how we ended up in the back room of the Surmenian factory. And then eventually, my father worked for his office."

After 10 months in Casablanca, Soghomon Jr. received a visa to go and study in France. They could not afford to send Soghomon Jr., so Soghomon Tehlirian borrowed money to buy a plane ticket. Soghomon's older son, Shahen, found a job working for an American company as an accountant, while Shahen's wife found a job working for Air France. After living in Casablanca for 9 years, Shahen and wife returned to Yugolsavia.

Soghomon and his wife Anahit eventually received visas and immigrated to the United States. On June 6, 1956, they boarded *Flying Tiger* Flight #12320 from Brussels, taking on fuel in Santa Maria, Portugal, and the island of Gander, Newfoundland, arriving in New York on June 7th. They were taken to Boston and then the following day were sent to San Francisco, California.

On October 2, 1956, Soghomon Jr. would arrive in New York, aboard *Flying Tiger* Flight #203.

For the next 3 years, Soghomon worked for George Mardikian Enterprises as a bookkeeper. Soghomon Jr. added: "You know what the ARF did to my father? They schlepped him all over the United States to make speeches. Not one penny, ever!"

On May 23, 1960, at the age of 64, Soghomon died. The cause of death was reported in the newspapers as stroke. According to Soghomon Jr., Soghomon Tehlirian was diabetic, yet that's not what killed him. The actual cause of his death was due to a brain tumor. His wife Anahid would join him in eternal peace on December 27, 1979 at the age of 75. They were both laid to rest in Fresno, California, at the Ararat Armenian cemetery.

About the Author

Garegin Pasdermadjian (1873-1923)



Garegin Pasdermadjian was a native of Erzeroum and a member of a family which has been an object of barbarous persecution at the hands of the Turks. When the Russians in 1829 captured Erzeroum for the first time, 96,000 Armenians, with the encouragement of the Russian government, left that city and the outlying villages with the Russian army, and emigrated towards the Caucasus, where they founded three new cities, Alexandropol, Akhalkalak, and Akhaltsikh. Only 300 Armenian families remained in Erzeroum, refusing to leave their homes, even in face of the Turkish despotism. Among these was the Pasdermadjian family.

In 1872 the Turkish government had Khatchatour Pasdermadjian killed, simply because he was a well-to-do and influential Armenian, and, therefore, undesirable. In 1877 during the Russo-Turkish war, the Pasdermadjian family was subjected to the basest kind of persecution by the Turkish government, which by 1918, still owed the Pasdermadjians 36,000 Turkish liras ($180,000), the value of a quantity of wheat wrested from them by the military authorities. During those same hostilities, taking advantage of the war conditions, the Turkish government planned to hang Haroutiun Pasdermadjian, on the ground that he was in communication with the Russian army; but he was saved through the intervention of the British consul. When the Russian army occupied Erzeroum in 1878, the Pasdermadjians naturally gave a very hospitable reception to the two Armenian Generals, Loris Melikoff and Lazareff. After learning of the family's history, Loris Melikoff asked Haroutiun Pasdermadjian to emigrate to the Caucasus. He promised to bring the influence of the Russian government to bear on Turkey and to claim the family's extensive real estate and various sums of money which the Turkish government owed them. But Haroutiun Pasdermadjian refused the kind offer, saying that he could not leave the country which contained his

martyred father's grave. When the Russians, in accordance with the terms of the Berlin Treaty, were forced to evacuate Erzeroum, the Turks came back and began anew to persecute the Pasdermadjians in every possible way. In 1890, the Armenians of Erzeroum made a protest against Turkish despotism and demanded to have the reforms promised in the Berlin Treaty carried out. The first bullet fired by the Turkish soldiers during those disturbances was aimed at Haroutiun Pasdermadjian; but he was saved through the heroism of a group of young Armenians. In the massacres of 1895, the Pasdermadjians were again attacked by an armed Turkish mob, but were saved from plunder and murder through the stubborn resistance of all the members of the household, including the servants. Afterwards, three members of the family, Hovhannes, Tigran, and Setrak, were imprisoned for a long time as revolutionists. In reality, they were imprisoned simply because they had not allowed themselves to be slaughtered like sheep by the Turkish mob. In February 1915, when the present Turkish government began its organized slaughters to eliminate the Armenians from the world, the first victim in Erzeroum was Setrak Pasdermadjian, because he was an influential Armenian and had had the courage several times to protest against the unlawful acts of the government. The remnants of this numerous and ancient Armenian family are now scattered throughout Mesopotamia.

Garegin Pasdermadjian is the son of Haroutiun Pasdermadjian and the grandson of Khatchatour Efendi. He was born in 1873 and received his elementary education at the Sanasarian College of Erzeroum, being one of its first graduates (1891). In 1894 he went to France and studied agriculture in the college at Nancy, intending to return and develop the lands belonging to his family according to the modern agricultural methods of Europe, and in that way give a practical lesson to the Armenian peasants. He had hardly begun his course when the great massacres of 1895 revolutionized the plans of the younger generation of Armenian students. Out of the 26 young Armenians at the University of Nancy, four, Sarkis Srentz, Haik Thirakian, Max Zevrouz, and Garegin Pasdermadjian, left their studies and returned to participate in the effort at vengeance which the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF) had decided to organize in Constantinople. In 1896, Garegin Pasdermadjian and Haik Thirakian, under their assumed names of Armen Garo and Hratch respectively, took part in the seizure of the Ottoman Bank. This European institution, with its 154 inmates and 300 million francs ($60,000,000) of capital, remained in the hands of the Armenian revolutionists for fourteen hours as a pledge that the European ambassadors should immediately stop the Armenian massacre in Constantinople and give assurances that the reforms guaranteed to the Armenians in the Treaty of Berlin should be carried out. On behalf of the six great powers, signatories to the Berlin Treaty, the chief interpreter of the Russian embassy, Mr. Maximoff, made a gentleman's agreement with the young Armenian revolutionists to fulfill their demands. Trusting to Mr. Maximoff's word of honor, the Armenians left Constantinople.

But immediately after their departure, the massacres were resumed with more intensity, while the reforms have remained a dead letter to this day. Such were international morals in 1895.

After these events Garegin Pasdermadjian returned to Europe to continue his unfinished studies. However, Mr. Hanoteau, the French foreign minister at that time, would not allow the Armenians who had been connected with this affair to remain in France, so young Pasdermadjian went to Switzerland and studied the natural sciences at the University of Geneva. In 1900 he completed his course and received the degree of Doctor of Science. Unable to return to Turkish Armenia, as was his desire, Pasdermadjian went to the Caucasus and settled at Tiflis in 1901. There he opened the first chemical laboratory, for the purpose of investigating the rich mines of that region.

National events, however, prevented him from pursuing his research work. Having been a member of the responsible body of the ARF since 1896, he took part in all the movements which aimed to protect the moral and physical well being of the Armenian people from Turkish and Russian despotism. For example, in 1905, when the Caucasian Tartars, with the approval of the Russian government, began to massacre the Armenians in diverse parts of the Caucasus, Pasdermadjian became a member of the Committee created by the ARF to organize defense work among the Armenian people. In November of the same year, when the Armeno-Tartar hostilities began right in Tiflis, under the very nose of the Russian administration, he was entrusted with the command of the Armenian volunteers to protect Tiflis and its environs. During the seven-day struggle which took place in the streets of Tiflis, 500 Armenian volunteers faced nearly 1,400 armed Tartars, and drove them back with heavy losses.

The situation in the Caucasus was almost normal, and Pasdermadjian and his idealistic colleagues were about to resume their main objective, -- to carry arms and ammunition from the Caucasus to the Turkish Armenians in order to prepare them for self-defense, -- when the Turkish revolution came in 1908. The Armenians in Erzeroum, as well as the party to which he was a member, telegraphed to Pasdermadjian and strongly urged him to become their candidate in the coming elections for Representative to the Ottoman Parliament. After seven years of professional studies, Pasdermadjian had been able to create for himself in the Caucasus a life fairly prosperous financially. He had just secured the right to develop a copper mine, and was about to work it in partnership with a large company. His business required that he should stay in the Caucasus to continue his successful enterprise, but he yield to the moral pressure of his comrades and left his personal affairs to go to Constantinople as deputy from Erzeroum.

During his four years in Constantinople as a deputy, Pasdermadjian devoted his entire time to improve the economic conditions of the Armenian vilayets, and especially worked for the railroad bill, of which he was the real author, but which was known to the public as Chester's bill. Its main object was to

build railroads as soon as possible in those vilayets of Armenia which were considered to be Russia's future possessions. For that reason neither France nor Germany wished to undertake it, lest they should arouse the enmity of Russia. Another fundamental object was to build those lines with American capital, which would make it possible to counteract the Russo-Franco-German policies and financial intrigues, for the benefit of the Armenian people. But in spite of all his efforts, Pasdermadjian was unable to overcome the German opposition in Constantinople, although, as the outcome of the struggle in connection with that bill, two ministers of public works were forced to resign their post. Both of the ministers were absolute German agents under the name of Turkish ministers. It may also be worth mentioning that during his four years at Constantinople as a deputy from Erzeroum, at three different times, Talaat Bey (who became the butcher of the Armenian people in 1915), on behalf of the "Committee of Union and Progress," offered the portfolio of public works to Pasdermadjian, as the most competent man for the post. Pasdermadjian, however, refused these proposals, for the simple reason that he did not wish to compromise in any way with the leaders of the Turkish government, as long as they continued their chauvinistic and anti-Armenian policy.

In the parliamentary elections of 1914, the "Committee of Union and Progress" used every means to defeat the election of Pasdermadjian in Erzeroum. On account of this attitude of the Turks, all the Armenian inhabitants of the Erzeroum vilayet refused to take part in the last elections. This intense opposition of the Turks to the candidacy of Pasdermadjian was due to the fact that he had taken too active a part in 1913 in the conferences held for the consideration of the Armenian reforms, and especially because, while parliamentary elections were going on in Turkish Armenia during April, 1914, he was in Paris and Holland, as the delegate of the ARF, to meet the inspectors general who were invited to carry out the reforms in Turkish Armenia.

In the autumn of 1914, a month and a half before the beginning of Turco-Russian hostilities, Pasdermadjian went to the Caucasus on a special mission, and joined the committee which had been appointed by the Armenian National Council of the Caucasus to organize the Armenian volunteer movement. In November of the same year, when the Russo-Turkish war had begun, he accompanied the second battalion of the Armenian volunteers, as the representative of the executive committee of Tiflis, to prepare the local inhabitants of Turkish Armenia for self-defense, as the Russian army was about to advance into the captured territories of that country. On November 14, the second battalion of the Armenian volunteers engaged in battle for the first time, near Bayazid, with the Turkish soldiers and the Kurds. In the course of a bloody combat which lasted twenty-four hours, Dro, the brave commander of the battalion, was seriously wounded, and Pasdermadjian was forced immediately to take his place. From that day to March of the following year, he remained at the head of that battalion, and led it into eleven battles in

the neighborhood of Alashkert, Toutakh, and Malashkert, until Dro recovered and returned to resume the command. In the summer of 1915, Pasdermadjian (again as a representative of the executive committee of Tiflis) went to Van. He was there when the people migrated en masse to the Caucasus (when the Russian army was forced to retreat to the old Russo-Turkish frontiers) and shared their untold hardships.

In the spring of 1917, when the Russian Revolution turned all the defense work of the Caucasus up-side down, Pasdermadjian, with Zavrieff, was sent from the Caucasus to Petrograd to negotiate with the temporary Russian government concerning Caucasian affairs. From Petrograd he left for America in June of the same year as the representative of the Armenian National Council of Tiflis and as the special Envoy of His Holiness the Catholicos of all the Armenians, to lay before the American public and government the sorrows of the Armenian people with the view of winning their sympathy and protection for the indisputable rights of Armenia.

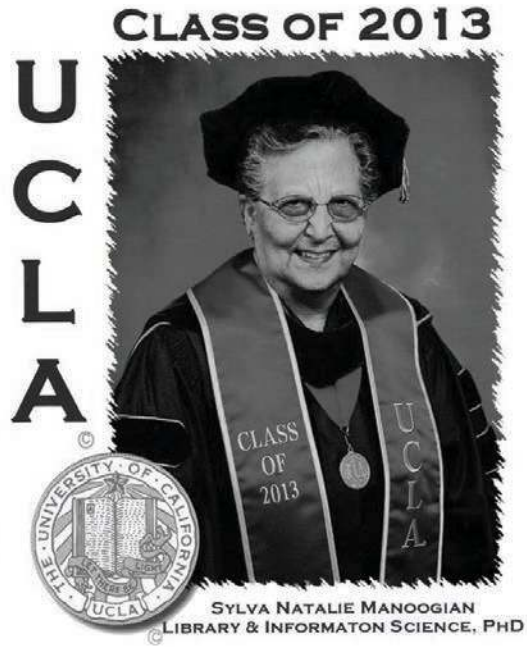
In October of 1919, Pasdermadjian participated as a witness to a special senatorial hearing in order to win the approval and support of the United States government for the newly independent Armenia. This effort ended in disappointment 7 months later, on May 11, 1920, with U.S. Senate Resolution 359. The request by the Armenian to gather a volunteer force of Armenians living on U.S. soil was denied.

With all viable legal remedies for the preservation of the newly independent Armenian nation exhausted, Pasdermadjian agreed to lend his name and resources to Shahan Natalie to terminate the immediate threat to the Armenian people. His lending his name to this important work, which would later be known as *Operation Nemesis*, played a pivotal role in the success of the operation.

On March 23, 1923, while attending a conference on Russia, in Geneva, Switzerland, 51-year-old, Garegin Pasdermadjian, who had been fighting a bout of depression since the start of the Armenian Genocide in 1915, died of heart disease.

About the Author

Sylva Natalie Manoogian (1937-)



Born in France in 1937, Sylva Natalie Manoogian is the youngest daughter to Shahan Natalie and his wife Angel Kantzabedian Mahy.

At the end of World War II, Sylva, her older sister Etna and her mother were reunited with Shahan, meeting him for the first time face to face after they were separated 7 years earlier due to the war.

Sylva Natalie Manoogian received a B.A. (Classics), from Radcliffe College (1959); M.L.S., University of Southern California (1969); PhD (Library and Information Science, University of California, Los Angeles (2013)

Returning to academia in 2003 as a doctoral student after a 35-year career in public libraries, Dr. Sylva Natalie Manoogian specializes in information institutions, resources, and services to culturally and linguistically diverse communities in dispersion, with particular focus on international librarianship, Armenian culture and identity. Her global linkages, varied professional experiences, and innovative approaches to multilingual library and community services have provided her a distinctive practical and critical lens with which to initiate research, contribute to scholarship, and mentor future generations of information professionals.

Sylva Natalie Manoogian's career as a library professional began in 1964 at the Los Angeles Public Library (LAPL). During her 35 years of employment, she was promoted from intermittent clerk to principal librarian and she "retired" in April 1999. During her 18-year tenure as the Central Library's International Languages Department Manager, she instituted the Language Learning and Literacy Centers, with their independent study and Laubach Way to English tutorial programs. During her last three years as a library administrator, she

served as the Northeast Area Manager, with responsibility for the branch libraries where she had been trained and mentored.

Currently, she devotes vast energy as a volunteer consultant to Armenian library projects worldwide, primarily in Jerusalem and Armenia; as a substitute reference librarian at LAPL; and at other Diaspora libraries that serve culturally and linguistically diverse communities, in Armenian language collection development, programming, and reference services.

She has been an active member of the American and California Library Associations since 1968, and was accorded honorary lifetime membership in the Library Association of Armenia for championing its establishment in 1994. She is the chairperson of ALLIC (Armenian Librarians and Libraries Committee) of the American Library Association's Ethnic and Multicultural Information Exchange Round Table.

Dr. Manoogian has published numerous articles and presented papers on international librarianship and Armenian culture and heritage. Her innovative approaches to multilingual library services have earned her recognition, as well as appreciation, reflected by numerous local, state, national, and international awards — most recently the American Library Association International Relations Committee 2006 John Ames Humphry/OCLC/Forest Press Award for her tireless efforts to revitalize the Calouste Gulbenkian Library of the Armenian Patriarchate in Jerusalem, her contributions as a consultant to libraries and librarians in Armenia, and the cooperative spirit she has fostered among librarians from the nations of the Caucasus. An on-line article, dated 29 July 2013, about her academic accomplishments and numerous future research projects is available at www.ampersand.gseis.ucla.edu.

About the Author

Ara Khachig Manoogian (1965-)



Ara Khachig Manoogian is a human rights activist, an investigative journalist, Artsakh representative for the *Shahan Natalie Family Foundation* and a member of *Policy Forum Armenia*, a Washington D.C.-based think tank. Human trafficking, illegal adoption practices, army abuse and government corruption in Armenia and Artsakh are among the issues, with which Manoogian is primarily concerned. His activism has been widely covered by *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, Hetq, Keghart, Hraparak* and other media outlets. Ara K. Manoogian is the co-author *Desert Nights* (2006), a book and a documentary, which uncovers a large international human trafficking network functioning in Dubai, involving representatives of the Armenian and UAE law-enforcement agencies.

Ara Khachig Manoogian was born in 1965 in Pasadena, California, to Khachig Evan and Sylva Natalie Manoogian. His maternal grandmother was a direct descendant of the Bagratuni Dynasty, who ruled over the Armenian Nation from the 9th to 11th century. Ara's maternal grandfather is Shahan Natalie, the mastermind behind the executions of the Young Turk leaders responsible for the Armenian Genocide of 1915, and those that conspired with them. He is also the nephew of the late His Beatitude Archbishop Torkom Manoogian (1919-2012), Armenian Patriarch of Jerusalem.

Ara traveled to Armenia for the first time with his parents in 1989 as a videographer to document a project that the Eastern Diocese of the Armenian Church of North America and the American Library Association had undertaken

in Armenia's 1988 earthquake zone. Concerned by the hardship of the Armenian citizens, Ara made numerous subsequent fact-finding trips to Armenia and Artsakh from 1992 to 1997. He documented on video, in photographs, and journals, the daily lives of common people to better understand their needs and find ways to make their lives more bearable. Thanks to his active stance in addressing socio-economic issues in Armenia, as well as the long and frequent visits to Armenia, Ara K. Manoogian was elected the President of the Monte Melkonian Fund in 1995 and served until 1997.

In 1998, Ara moved to the town of Martuni, Artsakh, where he coordinated and monitored a number of aid distribution initiatives. At the same time, he has been whistle-blowing on government corruption both in Armenia and Artsakh, helping common citizens benefit from their civil rights without having to pay bribes to public officials.

In 2000, he became the Artsakh representative of *the Shahan Natalie Family Foundation, Inc. (SNFF)*, a California non-profit public benefit corporation, established by the members of the Natalie/Manoogian family in 1999. Dealing with social, economic, cultural, and educational issues in Armenia and Artsakh, the *Shahan Natalie Family Foundation* became the third Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) ever to be registered in Artsakh, following the Red Cross and the *"Hayastan" All-Armenian Fund*, since its independence, proclaimed in 1992. One of the major charitable projects implemented by the Artsakh branch of the SNFF was *Hand-to-Hand* in 2006, intended for the relief of the people of Kashatagh, Artsakh.

His first major initiative was to curb corrupt adoption practices in Armenia. In 2003, posing as a potential adopting parent, Ara was able to uncover an entire mechanism of prospering illicit adoption business. The problem was specifically related the illegal adoptions of Armenian children outside Armenia by U.S.-based companies. Thanks to his findings, the Armenian National Assembly adopted new laws to enhance the adoption process regulation. However, a recent monitoring of the field (2011) has shown that stricter laws have only made the illegal adoption procedure more sophisticated. In March 2011, Ara K. Manoogian embarked on a new phase of his struggle against international child trafficking from Armenia, organized by U.S. based adoption agencies.

In early 2004, joining with the *Hetq Investigative Journalists of Armenia* and the SNFF began an investigation into the trafficking of women and children from Armenia to the United Arab Emirates. This was the operation *Desert Nights*, which ended up becoming one of the most significant projects of the SNFF. Exposing their lives to danger, Ara K. Manoogian of the SNFF and Edik Baghdasaryan, editor-in-chief of *Hetq* weekly eventually succeeded in setting a number of victims of human trafficking free and preventing thousands from treading on the same path by raising awareness through *Desert Nights*, a widely distributed book and a documentary by the two journalists. *"The*

*most important work on human trafficking for sexual exploitation is Desert Nights,"*writes the OSCE in its report on Human Trafficking in Armenia (in Armenian).

As a result of the investigation, numerous criminal cases were filed against pimps and traffickers, more than a dozen were jailed. The investigation also implicated Rafayel Gyulnazaryan, the head of the anti-human trafficking department at the United Nations in Yerevan, as a part of the trafficking ring. With the help of the U.S. State Department, Gyulnazaryan was dismissed from his post. The evidence provided by Ara K. Manoogian and Edik Baghdasaryan about the involvement of the Armenian law-enforcement in the human trafficking network has been denied by the Armenian authorities since 2005. However, on February 18, 2011, *WikiLeaks* released cables of the U.S. Embassy to Armenia, dating back to 2006, which confirmed the evidence.

Ara K. Manoogian has played an active role in resolving the violent murder of Nazareth Berberian, an American-Armenian philanthropist and businessman, in Yerevan, in April 2009. With the intention of getting to the bottom of the truth about the high-profile murder case, Ara dedicated months to a parallel field investigation, which led to uncovering corrupt practices within the Armenian Police system, as well as gaping drawbacks in forensic examination.

In September 2010, after a scandalous *YouTube* video of an Armenian officer's sadistic treatment of two conscripts was removed shortly after the upload under the authorities' pressure, Ara K. Manoogian who had managed to download the video, put it back on *YouTube* through his own channel, which caused a surge of wrath in the Armenian society. Despite calls from the Police Department of Armenia and the Defense Minister of Artsakh, as well as numerous angry emails, death threats, demanding that the video be removed, Manoogian refused to comply. The video went viral and created unprecedented public pressure, resulting in the offender's arrest and conviction.

Ara K. Manoogian's activism has been thoroughly recorded in his blog, *Martuni or Bust!*, established in 2001. Nine years later, he also launched *The Truth Must Be Told*, a web project, where he publishes his reports on key issues concerning government corruption and human rights violations in Armenia and Artsakh. One of them is *"To Donate Or Not to Donate?"* (2011), a white paper on the *"Hayastan" All-Armenian Fund*, which explores how government corruption has been affecting the Fund's efficiency since its establishment.

After Armenian MP Ruben Hayrapetyan's bodyguards' victim, Dr Vahe Avetyan was pronounced dead on June 29, 2012, Ara K. Manoogian played an essential role in consolidating the Los Angeles Armenian community to stage a series of protests in front of the Consulate General of the Republic of Armenia in Los Angeles. During the protest, Ara K. Manoogian handed the Consulate

General a petition demanding termination of MP Ruben Hayrapetyan's powers and involving him as a suspect in Vahe Avetyan's murder case. Manoogian also helped organize the *Los Angeles Candlelight Vigil*, organized in all the major Armenian communities throughout the world in commemoration of Vahe Avetyan on the 40th day of his death on August 7, 2012.

In July 2012, Ara K. Manoogian exposed a Glendale-based self-styled Armenian ultra-nationalist organization called *Armenian Aryan Fist*, which continuously spread hate speech via their TV show broadcast by High Vision TV in Glendale, CA. After publishing a video lambasting the members of this organization, Ara K. Manoogian exposed Armen Shahbazyan, the leader of the phony organization, on Harout Bronozian's *Return to Armenia* TV show. Since then the broadcasting of the *Armenian Aryan Fist* TV show has been discontinued.

Ara K. Manoogian started a hunger strike to March 17, 2013, in protest of U.S. President Obama's congratulatory message to Serzh Sargsyan over his re-election as President of Armenia. Ara K. Manoogian regarded President Obama's message as a validation of widespread and well-documented fraud and demanded that President Obama retract his congratulation for the sake of Democracy and Rule of Law. Ara K. Manoogian carried out his hunger strike in an RV parked in front of U.S. Representative Adam Schiff's headquarters in Burbank, CA. On April 2, 2013, Ara K. Manoogian embarked on a cross-country trip to Washington, D.C., with the purpose of continuing his hunger strike in front of the White House and making stops in different cities to raise awareness about his cause. He ended his hunger strike in front of the White House, on April 9, 2013, the day when Serzh Sargsyan was sworn in as Armenia's President for a second 5-year term in office.

Since 2008, after his mother, Sylva Natalie Manoogian, took possession of Shahan Natalie's private archive from Sylva's oldest sister, Etna Mahy (1927-2017), Ara K. Manoogian has been devoting most of his spare time to archival preservation works, as well as investigative research in order to confirm the validity of the materials found within the archive.