

# ARMENIAN ALLEGATIONS:

## Myth and Reality

A Handbook of Facts and  
Documents

Compiled & Edited By:  
The Assembly of Turkish American  
Associations

Washington, D.C. • 1987  
[Second Edition: Revised, Expanded & Updated]

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## PREFACE

(TO THE FIRST EDITION)

When the Assembly of Turkish American Associations requested I provide a brief foreword to this handbook of facts and documents I accepted readily. *Armenian Allegations: Myth and Reality* will serve an important function by informing both the American public at large and their elected representatives about the truth of the events early this century and the allegations that have been made by various Armenian groups.

The appearance of this work under the imprint of the Assembly of Turkish American Associations marks an important step in the developing consciousness of the Turkish-American community. Not many years ago, Turkish Americans sat silently by as American descendants of the Ottoman Armenians disseminated their own highly selective and twisted versions of Turkish history as part of an intense campaign of defamation.

The appearance of this compilation of facts and documents is a sign that things have changed. Turkish Americans are now taking their place in the ethnic blend that comprises the American body politic. As such, their pride in being citizens of the United States is coupled with an equally understandable pride in their ethnic heritage. In this, their first effort at setting the record straight vis-à-vis a wide variety of Armenian charges, they have assembled a highly readable and usable compilation of materials which demonstrates that no Ottoman Government ever planned or carried out a policy of genocide against its Armenian or any other minority population. Likewise, this valuable book shows that impressionable young Armenians are being cynically manipulated by forces hostile to the West to undertake a bloody terrorist campaign against innocent Turkish civilians. The pretext for this violence is rooted in the very misrepresentations of history that this handbook addresses.

This work also has a special importance for members of Congress, and even state and local elected officials, who are frequently solicited by Armenian constituents to validate misrepresentations of history. The book emphasizes how passage of resolutions by Congress mistakenly authenticating the Armenian allegations serves to validate the pretext advanced by Armenian terrorists and, consequently, will encourage them to continue perpetrating their crimes. The work also places the phenomenon of Armenian terrorism within the framework of the international terrorist plague around the world.

Finally, it explains why Turks of all walks of life are so deeply disturbed by the attempts to induce the United States Congress to pass resolutions which in effect would unjustly indict and condemn Turkey as guilty of inaccurate Armenian charges: an eventuality that would serve only the interests of the common adversaries of Turkey and the United States.

This highly informative and useful handbook thus comes at a most appropriate time. It fills a real need and constitutes a valuable resource for concerned Americans, including Turkish Americans, thought-leaders and policy-makers, who are working to dispel the effects of years of anti-Turkish propaganda.

Dr. Şükrü Elekdağ  
Ambassador of the Turkish  
Republic  
Washington, D.C.  
February, 1986

## PREFACE

(TO THE SECOND EDITION)

It is with great pleasure that I respond to the invitation of the 'Assembly of Turkish-American Associations' and write this preface to the second edition of their handbook entitled: *Armenian Allegations: Myth and Reality*. The first edition of this valuable work, now out of print, has performed an important role in enlightening American public opinion, as well as that of their elected representatives, on the baselessness of the oft-repeated Armenian claim that their forbears were the victims of a 'genocide' during the waning days of the Ottoman Empire.

In recent years, particularly in the United States, great strides have been made in explaining both the historical reality and the actual aims and agenda of the Armenian extremist and main-stream circles who propound this unfounded allegation of 'genocide.' A good example of this occurred just this past week (August 7, 1987), when the U.S. House of Representatives rejected the discussion of a resolution endorsing the Armenian 'genocide' allegation. This move on the part of the U.S. Congress is a very meaningful and positive development, which not only bodes well for all our efforts aimed at setting straight the historical record, but also is in keeping with our view that a political body, such as the U.S. House of Representatives, should not attempt to pass judgment on historical events.

As I am writing this 'Preface' in the immediate wake of the U.S. House of Representatives' action, it seems particularly appropriate to make mention of some of the arguments advanced by the resolution's sponsors.

Representative Richard Lehman of California, the measure's original author, advanced the spurious argument that Congress' failure to endorse the 'genocide' claim, could have the effect of encouraging further terrorist violence by Armenian Extremists. That this logic is seriously flawed should be obvious. Not only can and will such arguments be construed by all international terrorists as a signal that violence is a justified means of attaining their goals, likewise, it will be viewed by Armenian Terrorists as a 'green light' to resume their bloody assassinations of innocent victims. How can one forget that since 1974 Armenian terrorists have murdered over 75 people in a campaign designed to coerce the international community to accept their distorted version of history as fact? Not satisfied with targeting only Turks and innocent bystanders, they have even resorted to terrorist violence against American scholars who have challenged their version of history. The espousal of Congressman Lehman's reasoning—in this case acknowledging as fact a genocide which never occurred, and arguing that failure to do so will result in additional terrorist actions—would be tantamount to capitulating to international terrorism.

Other proponents of the resolution argued that in no way could this measure be interpreted as targeting the Turkish Republic, but that it simply recognizes a tragic historical event. However, the Armenian American organizations which initiated and lobbied for its passage do not share this assessment. They openly and repeatedly state that they view the resolution only as a first-step towards their ultimate goal of reparations and territorial demands vis-à-vis the Republic of Turkey. In fact, they envision the passage of such resolutions as a vindication of the terrorist tactics utilized on their behalf.



Finally, during the congressional debate I noticed that proponents of the resolution, while no longer citing the so-called 'Talat Pasha Telegrams' (which have been unmasked as crude forgeries), still made reference to similar unfounded charges and polemics. One such polemic is an alleged interview with Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, in which the founder of the modern Turkish state purportedly acknowledged atrocities against Armenians. However, as this 'Handbook' clearly establishes, no such interview ever transpired. This, and other similar propagandistic claims, are all patently false fabrications.

In closing, I would like to express my personal thanks to the 'Assembly of Turkish American Associations' for publishing this 'Second Edition' of this scholarly and informative handbook which helps to place the events of World War I in their proper historical perspective.

Dr. Şükrü Elekdağ  
Ambassador of the Turkish  
Republic  
Washington, D.C.  
August 10, 1987

The beginning of the 1970's witnessed the resurgence of an Armenian campaign of defamation in the most virulent form against Turkey alleging that a "genocide" was perpetrated by the Ottoman Turks at the turn of the century against the Armenian citizens of the Ottoman Empire.

This campaign has continued relentlessly for the past 15 years with ever-escalating terrorist attacks, including the assassination of over 50 Turkish citizens, mostly diplomats and their immediate relatives, in different parts of the world by Armenian terrorists. The terrorists have manifested a ruthlessness that, even by today's tragic standards, stuns the sensibilities. For example, the Armenian terrorist bomb which exploded at the Orly Airport Turkish Airlines counter in 1983 killing seven innocent human beings was intended to be detonated in the airplane luggage compartment when the plane was airborne with hundreds of men, women and children.

North America has not been spared from the vicious activities of the Armenian terrorists. Four Turkish diplomats—two consuls general, a vice consul and an honorary consul general—have been assassinated on American soil. In Canada, Armenian terrorists murdered the military attaché and wounded the commercial attaché of the Turkish Embassy. Terrorists, in another attack, after blowing up the front door of the Turkish Embassy in Ottawa and killing a Canadian guard in the process entered the building with the intent to kill the Turkish ambassador. He survived the attack but with serious injuries.

"Credit" for the numerous murderous attacks, primarily in Western Europe and North America, has been claimed by a variety of Armenian terrorist organizations, such as the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA), the Justice Commandos for the Armenian Genocide (JCAG), and the Armenian Revolutionary Army (ARA).

The terrorists publicized each attack as an act of vengeance for the "genocide" they alleged was perpetrated on their forbears 70 years ago.

Whatever their names, these organizations are united by an openly declared two-fold goal of: a) unjustly labeling Turkey as guilty of having carried out a premeditated genocide of its Armenian inhabitants during the first World War; and, b) forcing Turkey to cede territory for the establishment of an Armenian state which, according to ASALA, should be annexed to the "already liberated" Soviet Socialist Republic of Armenia.

Aided by the media attention generated by their attacks on Turkish diplomatic representatives and other innocent bystanders, Armenian-American organizations characterizing

themselves as "mainstream" groups and vociferously echoing the political demands of the terrorists, have begun pressing their claims in a variety of international forums.

In the United States, the tactics adopted by these groups have focused on securing passage of Congressional resolutions erroneously affirming that the Armenians were victims of "genocide," and thus validating the proclaimed pretext of the terrorist murderers.

Introduced as seemingly innocuous "commemorative" resolutions of the nature of scores of similar bills adopted by the Congress every year and under deceptive titles such as "man's inhumanity against man," these so-called "Armenian genocide resolutions" have contemporary political relevance far beyond most measures of this kind and strike raw nerves in Turkey.

The Turkish public's reaction to such resolutions has been extremely strong and widespread. It has become unequivocally clear that there is no way in which Turkish political leaders could ever justify to the Turkish people an action of the U.S. Congress which would be so manifestly unjust, would endorse a falsehood as truth, and would reward the Armenian terrorists by legitimizing their pretext for murdering innocent Turks.

Under such circumstances and in light of the toll in American lives and suffering inflicted on the United States by the growing scourge of international terrorism, Turkish Americans and Turks have been shocked that Armenian advocates have been able to generate significant support among segments of the United States Congress for passage of such resolutions. The resolutions not only contradict our country's commitment to eliminate international terrorism, but also threaten to damage irreparably our relations with Turkey, a friendly and allied country carrying out a crucially important role as a member of NATO.

This handbook is designed to introduce the reader to the phenomenon of Armenian terrorism, an integral part of international terrorist network and to the underlying relationship between Armenian terrorism and the so-called "Armenian genocide resolutions" which are continuously introduced in the United States Congress. It also sheds light on the Armenian allegations on which these resolutions are based. As a "Handbook of Facts and Documents," it presents a minimum of interpretation and a maximum of documentary evidence and "third-party" expert assessments.

Four general topics are covered, each by a brief introductory text followed by a series of excerpts from published works, statements of government officials, etc. The remainder of the handbook consists of an appendix which contains

the full texts from which the excerpts were drawn.

The opening topic, "Strategic Concerns," focuses on the vital contribution of the Turkish Republic to Western defense and strategy. It also describes the impact on overall Western security were the Armenians' aims to become reality. In other words, it sets forth the consequences to Western security interests if the Armenian territorial claims, which both Armenian terrorism and the U.S. Congressional resolutions are designed to further, ever materialize. The "liberation" of a vital piece of NATO territory and the annexation of it to the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic (described by the terrorists as "already liberated") obviously would make a mockery of the very purpose for which the NATO alliance was formed. Yet, the validation of the very questionable Armenian historical claims is exactly what the passage of the so-called "Armenian genocide resolutions" would provide.

While this is not the apparent intent of those members of Congress supporting such resolutions, there can be no question that the unwitting result of their passage would do serious damage to existing strong ties binding the United States and Turkey. Turkish public opinion, understandably more attuned to the nuances of the Armenian terrorists and their supporters, clearly views Congressional support for these resolutions as nothing less than the legislative wing of its U.S. ally voting for the territorial dismemberment of Turkey.

In November 1985, Secretary of State George Shultz in a letter to the leadership of the House of Representatives stressed: "This terrorist campaign has transformed the genocide issue into a nationalist, emotional matter for all the Turks. Passage (of resolutions indicting Turkey of the charge of genocide) would generate an immediate public reaction against the United States in Turkey."

An equivalent assessment of Turkish public opinion prompted members of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey (The Turkish Parliament) to convey their concerns on this matter very explicitly to Congress through a unanimous resolution:

"The adoption of such a resolution will constitute a heavy blow and hurt irreparably the friendly relations between our two countries. It should not be forgotten that we, beyond bilateral bonds, are determined to shoulder our responsibilities and to preserve our mutual existence and territorial integrity within the framework of our defense organization (NATO).

"It is imperative that our two countries should be respectful reciprocally of national interests and safeguard these in-

terests vis-à-vis third parties.

"The adoption of a resolution by the U.S. Congress which will be the denial of this reality will harm the spirit and foundation of this alliance. Accordingly Turkey will not view such an action lightly and will be compelled to draw its own conclusions."

In view of their adverse consequences it is obvious that the adoption of such resolutions would only serve the interests of forces hostile to the Western alliance.

We know that some of our lawmakers consider "Armenian genocide resolutions" as symbolic gestures devoid of practical consequences. They evidently believe that Armenian Americans in the mainstream of their communities want nothing more than the historical plight of their forbears to be noted and authenticated. In their view, as only the past is at stake, the affirmation of a version of history cannot entail any harm. But this is certainly not true. Particularly when all the Armenian-American groups characterizing themselves as mainstream organizations openly state their aim is the "liberation" of the eastern part of Turkey, and when Armenian terrorist organizations, whether "Marxist-Leninist" or "nationalist," declare they will attack and assassinate Turks until the establishment of a "socialist state" in this "liberation area" is accomplished. Some go a step further and aim to annex this "state" to Soviet Armenia. Therefore, validation of a version of history must now be seen not as a symbolic end sought but as a means of achieving a geopolitical result today in 1987—the dismemberment of Turkey.

The second section, "Armenian Terrorism and the International Terrorist Network," examines the ties between "Armenian terrorists" and the larger network of international terrorism. It establishes the links between the Armenian terrorist organizations and various Middle Eastern terrorist groups. It considers their relations in such activities as drug smuggling and attacks on U.S. targets.

Secretary of State Shultz in a letter to former House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill has emphasized the Armenian terrorists' close alliance and cooperation with the Middle Eastern terrorist organizations attacking American interests:

"Over 50 Turkish diplomats and American citizens have been killed by terrorists seeking to gain acceptance of the charge that the Turkish nation is guilty of genocide. These terrorists have harassed and bombed Americans who disputed the genocide charge and lent support to fellow terrorists attacking and kidnapping our personnel in Lebanon. Adoption of H.J. Res 192 (indicting Turkey of the fallacious charge of genocide) would inevitably be seen by these and other terrorists as a vindication and reward for their vicious

campaign."

The second section of the handbook also addresses a variety of justifications advanced by "mainstream" Armenian organizations in support of the terrorist activities. It further discusses the manner in which a shared view of themselves as innocent victims of a Turkish-perpetrated "genocide" and their desire to have their version of history authenticated, creates the impression that many segments of the Armenian community sympathize with the goals of terrorists.

In our time, international terrorism has become a perpetual war without borders. It is a new form of low intensity warfare often carried out by proxies to disrupt Western societies and the members of the Western alliance. This new strategy of combining war and peace and conducting war as a continuation of politics is aimed at the very heart of civilization. This section describes how Armenian terrorists have become the natural allies of all these hostile forces.

The third section, "The Historical Perspective," addresses the all-important question of whether or not there was in fact an Armenian "genocide" in the course of World War I. Through the words of American scholars, Armenian leaders of that era and other observers of the Ottoman Empire in the second half of the 19th and the opening decades of the 20th centuries, it traces the manner in which Armenian revolutionaries sought to foment rebellion against the state in the 40 years preceding the First World War. It traces how the Armenian betrayal of the Ottoman state in time of war led the then-ruling government to relocate the Armenian population from the path of the invading Russian armies they were actively supporting by undermining the Ottoman defense effort. This relocation also stemmed from the necessity to forestall further bloodshed resulting from the rapidly escalating fighting between Armenian and Moslem civilian populations.

This section also outlines how during World War I the eastern provinces of the Ottoman Empire were invaded by Russia and, incited by the Russians, Armenians in the region launched an armed uprising to establish an exclusively Armenian state in an area that was predominantly non-Armenian. War, brigandage, famine and epidemics took heavy tolls on all sides. Armenians suffered, but some 2.5 million Turks and others also perished during the period. There certainly was no government-planned-and-executed scheme to exterminate the Empire's Armenian population. Furthermore, tens of thousands of Armenians in western Turkey were unaffected by events on the Russian front.

Sixty-nine American scholars, the great majority of the American academic community with specialized knowledge

of Turkey and its history, in an open statement emphatically opposed a proposed Congressional resolution which said Armenians were victims of "genocide." They publicly declared that current scholarship simply does not support the 70-year-old genocide charge.

This section demonstrates that the events of 1915 are best described as a civil war within a global war. The memorandum submitted by the Armenian leaders to the Paris Peace Conference following World War I made this very clear. It reviewed the Armenian rebellion and the sacrifices sustained during the war by the Armenians as belligerents to contribute to the victory of the Allies over the Ottomans.

Finally, this section, citing the most reliable population studies available, highlights the efforts of Armenian propagandists to inflate their war-time casualties (while totally ignoring Muslim civilian deaths), and analyzes their attempts to portray the Ottoman Armenians as the innocent victims of the "vicious" Ottoman Turks. This section also establishes that many young Armenians today, 70 years after the alleged "genocide," are raised in an atmosphere of hatred which encourages some of them to strike out indiscriminately in the 1980's against Turks... fellow human beings who were not even born at the time of the alleged occurrences which fuel terrorist hatred.

The fourth and final section, "Charges and Polemics," discusses a variety of historical forgeries and polemical arguments advanced by Armenian propagandists and would-be "scholars" throughout the past 70 years. The section includes an analysis of series of the forged telegrams ordering the "extermination of Armenians" which was attributed to Ottoman Minister of the Interior Talat Pasha. Unfortunately, such falsifications for a long time enjoyed the status of fact simply by virtue of relentless repetition until contemporary scholarship exposed them for the fabrication they are.

We are certain that the readers of this handbook will gain important insights into the Armenian terrorist phenomenon and the historical record. Certainly nothing can be gained from continued Turkish-American passivity in the face of terrorist bloodletting and anti-Turkish historical calumnies.

It is no coincidence that this terrorism is being perpetrated today by young Armenians born in the 1960's. Their fathers and grandfathers, for all their rhetoric, knew the Armenian role in destroying the harmony which Turks and Armenians had enjoyed for centuries. Their guilt lies in their failure to communicate to their descendants the extent of Armenian culpability in the conflicts which brought such tragedy to Armenians and non-Armenians alike 70 years ago.

## INTRODUCTION

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Hopefully, this handbook will serve a two-fold purpose. It will help those non-Armenians with an interest in these events to gain a fuller understanding of the events of 70 years ago in eastern Anatolia; and, second, serve as a warning to the anti-Turkish elements in the Armenian community of the United States and elsewhere that the days when

they were free to spread anti-Turkish propaganda unanswered, have ended.

In this respect, the only long-term effect of Armenian terrorism will be to ensure that henceforth Armenian distortions of history will not be allowed to circulate in a vacuum.

**The Assembly of Turkish American Associations**

# KEY TO HANDBOOK

Each of the four chapters of this handbook is followed by a compilation of excerpts cited in that chapter. Portions of the excerpts have been italicized by the editor of the handbook. The appendix at the end of the handbook contains the documents from which the excerpts were extracted.

## *Abbreviations Used*

ex.    excerpt  
app.   appendix

## STRATEGIC CONCERNS

Turkey, the "bulwark of NATO's southern flank" (see ex. 1), is located in "one of the most strategic areas on earth." (see ex. 2) Straddling two continents, Europe and Asia, would-be conquerors have sought its subjugation throughout recorded history. Today, Turkey defends one third of the 3,600-mile common boundary between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, and maintains the largest army among European members of NATO. American experts on strategy agree Turkey's role in the defense of the West is vital and describe its location as "an area of the world which is, of course, critically important for the eastern Mediterranean and the southern region of NATO. It is also critical for Egypt and Israel and the rest of the Middle East." (see ex. 3) The Turkish Straits provide the Soviet Union the only access to the Mediterranean Sea for the Soviet Black Sea fleet—one third of the major surface combatants of the Soviet Navy. Sixty percent of Soviet international trade passes through the Straits.

Experts emphasize the crucial importance to NATO's European members of strengthening NATO's position along the Mediterranean. The defense of Turkey and the retention of control of the Turkish Straits in the safe hands of their territorial sovereign is an essential element of Europe's defense. Western Europe cannot be protected unless the defense of its northern and southern flanks is secured (see ex. 6).

After the second World War, Soviet leader Joseph Stalin sought to dominate the Turkish Straits and also to put pressure on Turkey in an attempt to annex the eastern provinces of Turkey to the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic—one of the 16 federated Republics of the U.S.S.R. (see ex. 4). Subsequently, Turkey assumed its crucial role as a NATO strategic partner.

The Turkish participation in NATO and its close cooperation with the other members of NATO have been a perennial target for the adversaries of the Western alliance. They have sought to isolate Turkey from its NATO allies (see ex. 1). Their methods have included terrorism and destabilization efforts directed against Turkey (see ex. 1). The objectives of many Armenian organizations made them a perfect tool in the hands of those who seek the dismemberment of Turkey and of the NATO alliance. These objectives include:

- "the establishment of a socialist and democratic independent Republic" [in territories liberated from Turkey];
- "condemnation and reparations for the crime of genocide (unpunished till now) perpetrated by Turkey against the Armenian people, restitution of occupied territories and the payment of just compensation due to the Armenian nation." (see ex. 5)

The so-called "liberation" of Turkish national territory (see ex. 1, 3, 11), is an aim shared by all Armenian terrorist organizations whether Marxist-Leninist or nationalistic (see ex. 5, 8, 9, 10). Armenian terrorists have become the natural allies of the adversaries of NATO.

Indeed the terrorists' territorial ambitions constitute precisely the sort of aggressive territorial menace that motivates states to enter collective security arrangements with other states. Turkey shares, among other things, with its fellow NATO members the fundamental aim of maintaining its political independence *and its territorial integrity*. That is why the adversaries of the West take great political satisfaction from any measures taken by decision-makers in NATO-member countries which predictably would be

seen by Turkish citizens as undermining the very purposes of Turkish NATO membership. These adversaries welcome the prospect of alienating Turkey from its NATO partners. Certainly, campaigns in the United States and elsewhere to secure erroneous validation of the Armenian "genocide" allegation which forms the pretext for terrorist murders of innocent Turks and others, are applauded and in all likelihood endorsed by these adversaries.

One especially dangerous manifestation of the effort to isolate Turkey has been the introduction of resolutions in the U.S. Congress to affirm that a so-called "genocide" of the Armenians was committed some 70 years ago in the eastern region of the Ottoman Empire. These resolutions have been represented as innocuous symbolic gestures intended only to authenticate the memories of Armenian-Americans. However, adoption of these resolutions would constitute a mistaken validation of the pretext cited by Armenian terrorists to justify their murders and would be seen by terrorists as a vindication and reward (see ex. 11).

Attempts to pass such resolutions have caused a furor in Turkey (see ex. 7, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16). The Turkish public equates support for the resolutions with encouragement of terrorism. All strata of Turkish public opinion, all political parties and newspapers of all political orientations have condemned these proposed resolutions. The Turkish Grand National Assembly has warned the U.S. Congress that their adoption would harm the foundation of the NATO alliance (see ex. 2). Passage of any Armenian "genocide" resolution threatens to unleash a tidal wave of indignation across Turkey with profoundly adverse implications

for Turkish-American relations.

The U.S. Administration has shared these concerns and has opposed the resolutions (see ex. 7, 11, 17, 18, 19, 20). Although adoption of the resolutions has been thwarted so far, forces hostile to the NATO alliance remain active in the pursuit of their strategy of disruption. Few victories in their efforts to drive a wedge through the alliance could be purchased so cheaply as one in which the elected representatives of the United States unwittingly struck at the very core of Turkish national consciousness and thereby undermined the principle *raison d'être* of Turkish membership in NATO.

#### RECENT DEVELOPMENTS (1986-1987):

On December 12, 1985, following a lengthy debate on the floor of the U.S. House of Representatives, H.J. Res. 192 was defeated in a roll call vote. Undaunted by this development, its supporters immediately began their preparations for submitting a similar resolution aimed at establishing April 24, 1986 [later amended to 1987] as a 'National Day of Remembrance of the Armenian Genocide of 1915-1923.'

Once again, the Armenian groups lobbying for the passage of the slightly altered measure (they replaced the word 'Turkey' with 'Ottoman Empire'), now known as H.J. Res. 132, made it clear that their real objective in pressing this issue was not the acknowledgement by U.S. law-makers of a historic tragedy, but rather the ultimate territorial dismemberment of the Republic of Turkey (see ex. 21 & 22).

Despite a massive lobbying effort, these Armenian groups were unable to garner a sufficient number of Congressional co-sponsors to ensure the passage of H.J. Res. 132. Their failure is due in no small part to the fact that a

number of Congressmen have taken the time and trouble to inform themselves of the real aims and intents of this seemingly innocuous commemorative resolution. This assessment is borne out by the minority report and views expressed in the Post Office and Civil Service Committee by Congressmen Frank Horton, John T. Myers, Gene Taylor, Dan Burton and Stephen J. Solarz (see ex. 23 & 24). These lawmakers were joined by a number of their colleagues in ensuring the ultimate defeat of H.J. Res. 132 on the floor of the House.

Furthermore, the Reagan Administration, in the person of Secretary of State George Shultz, expressed its firm opposition to the resolution in a series of letters and press releases (see ex. 25, 26 & 27). Among the specific claims of the measure's proponents which the Secretary rejected was the charge that the European NATO allies had already gone on record as acknowledging the veracity of the Armenian 'genocide' charge (see ex. 25). Secretary Schultz clearly stated that in his belief the "passage [of the H.J. Res. 132] will be used to justify the acts of Armenian terrorists who, since 1975, have murdered more than 45 Turkish diplomats" (see ex. 26). Finally, in a Department of State 'Press Release' the U.S. Government went on record as rejecting the Armenian 'genocide' claim as a one-sided version of history which is the subject of strong debate among scholars (see ex. 27).

In telegrams and letters to members of the U.S. Congress, both the Turkish Prime Minister, Turgut Özal, and Turkey's Ambassador in Washington, D.C., H.E. Ambassador Şükrü Elekdağ, pointed out the detrimental effects which the passage of H.J. Res. 132 would undoubtedly have on Turkish-American relations (see ex. 28 & 29).

Prime Minister Özal stressed the fact that preparations for the opening of the Ottoman archival materials for the period of the First World War are nearing completion and that any judgment on historical events must be made by qualified scholars (see ex. 29).

Nor was the Turkish-American community silent on this matter. Our views were communicated to all members of the U.S. Congress in a variety of means, including letters, telegrams (see ex. 30), and personal visits to our lawmakers. Our message was clear: not only does the wording of the resolution contain historical falsehoods, it also encourages terrorism and hatred against the Turkish people, including Turkish-Americans.

In short, the combined efforts of a great many individuals led to the defeat of H.J. Res. 132 on August 7, 1987. Unfortunately, this is but a skirmish in the ongoing war being waged against Turkey as a strong and steadfast ally of the United States of America and the Western Alliance (NATO). The same forces, be they Armenian-Americans or those countries who want to see a weak and isolated Turkey, will continue to press their aims in every available forum and upon every available occasion.

Only by maintaining a constant and steadfast vigilance can Turkey and her friends in the United States ensure the ultimate failure of all such efforts.

#### EXCERPT 1—

In the 11 years since an *Armenian terrorist campaign* against Turkey began, 41 Turkish diplomats plus members of their families and other innocents have been murdered.

The Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA), one of



the major perpetrators, seems reasonably clear in its long-range goal, although its objectives are sometimes clouded by factionalism. Its dominant faction wants to 'liberate' the eastern provinces of Turkey and incorporate them into the Soviet Union. This was explicitly stated when the ASALA official journal editorialized: 'Our forces never strike against the Soviet Socialist Republic of Armenia which is already liberated.'

NATO bases in eastern Turkey, just the region ASALA wants to 'liberate,' are essential to any Western defense against a Soviet attack in the Mideast. The Soviets poured more than a billion dollars of arms through Bulgaria into the hands of both leftist and rightist Turkish terrorists during the 1970s in an attempt to destabilize the bulwark of NATO's southern flank. The Turks responded with martial law and decried the threat sufficiently to allow the present movement back to democracy. But *there is no reason to believe that the Soviets have given up their campaign to isolate Turkey from its NATO allies.*

Source: "Asala's Day," *The Wall Street Journal*, October 1, 1984, editorial page.

See: App. Document I.

#### EXCERPT 2—

Turkey is a country which is a bridge between East and West. . . . As one of the most strategic areas on earth, controlling access to and from the Black Sea and the eastern Mediterranean Sea through the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, Turkey is of paramount importance to the United States. They have been intensely pro-American and were among the few nations who deployed troops to fight with us in Korea. Turkish acceptance of its defensive mission in

NATO is crucial to NATO and the security of the United States.

Source: 'Dear Colleague' letter dated June 3, 1985. Distributed to all members of the U.S. House of Representatives by its eleven co-authors: Congressmen Melvin Price, Bill Nichols, Marvin Leath, Albert G. Bustamante, William L. Dickinson, G. William Whitehurst, Marjorie S. Holt, Bud Hillis, Robert E. Badham, Herbert H. Bateman, and Ben Blaz.

See: App. Document II.

#### EXCERPT 3—

One of the most dangerous and most neglected of all *terrorist movements*, the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia has formally announced that its strategy is to gain control of the eastern third of Turkey, to 'free' it, so-called, from the Turkish Government, and to unite it with the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic. This is an area of the world which is, of course, critically important for the eastern Mediterranean and the southern region of NATO. It is also critical for Egypt, Israel and the rest of the Middle East.

It does not matter very much whether the Armenian Secret Army is directly commanded by Moscow. It is an efficient and brutal executor of the murder of innocent civilians. It has intimidated governments allied with Turkey and law-abiding Armenian communities as well. If it were to be successful in its aim, it would lead directly to the expansion of the Soviet Union. Perhaps more than any other terrorist movement it illustrates the irrelevance of some of the issues that have preoccupied the debate in the West on terrorism. Whether the Armenian terrorist movement is acting on its own or under Moscow's direction, if it succeeds, it will come down to the same thing.

Source: Testimony by the Honorable Fred C. Ikle, Undersecretary of Defense for Policy, be-

fore the Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism of the Senate Judiciary Committee (Washington: Mimeographed, March 11, 1982), p. 6.

See: App. Document III.

#### EXCERPT 4—

When the Soviet Government as (was) asked what these new conditions would be, it was indicated to the Turkish Government that there should be a return of the eastern provinces of Kars and Ardahan and that the Soviet Government desired to discuss bases in the Dardanelles.

Source: Message from the Secretary of State to the Acting Secretary of State dated January 18, 1946. *Foreign Relations*, 1946, Vol. VII, pp. 809-810.

See: App. Document IV.

#### EXCERPT 5—

The *Armenian Revolutionary Federation*, as a revolutionary and socialist party, defends everywhere and by every means, the overall interests of the Armenian nation.

By intending to build a reunited, independent and free homeland, with a democratic and socialist regime, and by considering the actual Armenian national reality, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation adheres to the following goals:

- A) The building of a free, independent, and united Armenia;
- B) The establishment of a socialist and democratic independent Republic;
- C) The borders of the United Armenia will include the Armenian territories demarcated by the Sevres Treaty, together with the regions of Nakhichevan, Akhalkalak and Karabagh;
- D) The repatriation of the disseminated Armenian masses, and the re-gathering of the entire Armenian

people into the independent national territory;

- E) Condemnation and reparations for the crime of genocide (unpunished till now) perpetrated by Turkey against the Armenian people: restitution of occupied territories and the payment of just compensations due to the Armenian nation;
- F) Elaboration of the fundamental laws of the Republic of Armenia by a Constituent Assembly elected by universal, egalitarian and direct suffrage, according to the principle of secret ballot and proportional election;

Political program of the A.R.F.

Source: "Political Manifesto of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation," that is, the Dashnag Party and the Armenian National Committee of America, French-Armenian *GAMK* newspaper, December 11, 1985, p. 1.

See: App. Document V.

#### EXCERPT 6—

All the natural routes—land, sea, and air, from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean and from the Balkans to the Persian Gulf—lead across Turkey and in most cases, in one way or other, across the Straits area. *The Turkish Straits form, without doubt, 'one of humanity's most important crossroads.'* The Bosphorus and the Dardanelles primarily serve as waterways for maritime traffic, but their strategic significance far exceeds their original and natural destiny. Control over this area provided the apple of discord between European Great Powers for two and a half centuries. The ominous Eastern Question may be epitomized as follows: Which power should succeed the faltering Ottoman Empire as master of Constantinople and the Straits?

- The Mediterranean is not only the 'soft underbelly' of Europe; until the closure of the Suez Canal in 1967, most of Europe's oil passed through those waters. Greece and Italy as well as France are Mediterranean countries, and their security is closely allied with the control of the Midland Sea. It therefore seems essential that European NATO members be awakened to the possible consequences if the southeastern bastion of NATO were to be lost or if Russian power were to flow into the Mediterranean unrestricted by the sluices of the Straits. A complete loss of the Middle East to Russia could deprive Europe of the source of vital oil; the substitution of the supply route around Africa might become irrelevant in such an event.
- It is primarily in the interest of NATO's European members to strengthen their position along the Mediterranean and to oppose any further deterioration in the power equilibrium of that vital area. The defense of Turkey, and the retention of control of the Straits in the safe hands of their territorial sovereign, is an essential element of Europe's defense. This was recognized for several centuries when Britain and France were ready to rescue the Ottoman Empire from the dangers threatening it from the north. The validity of such a policy should be recognized again today: the protection of Mediterranean Europe is primarily a European affair. It cannot be expected that all the efforts and risks involved should be shouldered by a power which has to stretch out its helping hand from across the Atlantic.
- The agonizing developments in Indochina have created an acute need for a reassessment of American in-

terests throughout the world. Few have denied the vital interests which the United States has in Western Europe and in the exclusion of that region from the Soviet domination which so tragically descended on Eastern Europe and part of Central Europe in the aftermath of World War II. Western Europe alone cannot be protected unless the defense of its northern and southern flank is secured. Hitler realized this in reverse when he seized Europe's northern flank and attempted to place the Mediterranean under his control. The conquest of the Mediterranean area by American and British forces in 1942–43 exposed the southern approaches to Western and Central Europe and presaged the defeat of the Axis.

Source: Ferenc Vali, *The Turkish Straits and NATO*, Hoover Institution, Stanford University, 1972. pp. 11, 150, 151, 152.

#### EXCERPT 7—

In addition, we need and value Turkish cooperation in mutual security matters. This is important to the defense of Europe, Southwest Asia, and our lines of communication to that part of the world. *Recognizing the passions aroused by this issue we must take seriously the Turkish Government's warnings* that adoption of these resolutions would diminish sharply its ability to maintain the smooth and effective relationship now existing between our two countries.

Source: Letter of March 4, 1985, from George Shultz, U.S. Secretary of State, to Congressman Thomas P. O'Neill, Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives.

See: App. Document VII.

#### EXCERPT 8—

The national political parties also are aware that a new generation of Ar-

our mutual existence and territorial integrity within the frame of our defense organization. It is imperative that our two countries should be respectful reciprocally of national interests and safeguard these interests vis-à-vis third parties. The adoption of a resolution by the U.S. Congress which will be the denial of this reality will harm the spirit and foundation of our alliance. Accordingly, Turkey will not view such an action lightly and will be compelled to draft its own conclusions. We feel that it is our duty to inform the U.S. Congress and the American public, in due time, of our determination and firm stand in this respect.

*Source:* Text of the resolution of December 4, 1985, co-signed by the Deputy Chairmen of all three political parties and representatives of the Independent Parliamentarians' Group and approved unanimously by all members of the Turkish Parliament.

*See:* App. Document XI.

#### EXCERPT 13—

This regrettable development, which is bound to harm the alliance and friendship between our two great nations has, naturally, met with a concerned and unanimous reaction on the part of the members of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey.

*I need not elaborate, Mr. Speaker, on the dangers that the passage of such a gravely harmful resolution will create.*

It is our belief that the United States Congress is firm in its commitment to combat terrorism in all its forms. Therefore, I feel that condoning H.J. Res. 192 will be a total negation of this firm attitude. *Recognition, or the legitimization of the contents of this resolution will undoubtedly serve to encourage the perpetuation of terrorism, the continuation of the killings of innocent Turkish*

*diplomats and functionaries as well as citizens of other nations, including those of the United States of America.*

*Source:* Letter of December 4, 1985, from the Honorable Necmettin Karaduman, President of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, to the Honorable Thomas P. O'Neill, Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives.

*See:* App. Document XII.

#### EXCERPT 14—

I have been informed that the supporters of H.J. Res. 192, the so-called 'Armenian Genocide Resolution' (officially known as: 'National Day of Remembrance of Man's Inhumanity to Man') have arranged to bring it, once again, to the House floor during the first week of December. . . .

As you are aware, the passage of a similar resolution by the U.S. House of Representatives in 1984 triggered an explosive reaction throughout all segments of the Turkish body politic. This led to Parliamentary calls for a comprehensive re-evaluation of Turkish-American bilateral relations which was narrowly averted by painstaking efforts on the part of the Prime Minister. In the intervening months, Turkish public opinion has become even more sensitive vis-à-vis the fallacious Armenian charges incorporated in this resolution. Consequently, *the Turkish public has become united in their conviction that passage of this resolution represents nothing less than betrayal of Turkey by its closest ally.* The sensitivity of the Turkish people on this issue is such that, at the very least, the passage of H.J. Res. 192 will precipitate, this time, a more serious crisis than that experienced last year.

*Source:* Letter of November 25, 1985, from His Excellency Vahit Halefoglu, Minister of Foreign

Affairs of the Republic of Turkey, to The Honorable George P. Shultz, U.S. Secretary of State. *See:* App. Document XIII.

#### EXCERPT 15—

*Negative Impact on Turkish-American Relations and Security Cooperation as well as on the U.S. Strategic Interests:*

...The passage of this resolution will have profound negative effects on U.S. and NATO strategic interests in the Eastern Mediterranean. As the Armed Services Committee Delegation witnessed during their recent visit to Turkey, the Turkish body politic and public opinion at large, *equate passage of this resolution with support of the aims of self-avowed Armenian terrorist organizations* who in the past decade had been responsible for the assassinations of no less than forty innocent Turkish diplomats and numerous innocent bystanders.

*The adoption of the Resolution would place the U.S. Congress in the Camp of those whose Aim is the Dismemberment of the Republic of Turkey: . . . I now from experience that many American lawmakers see the resolution as a symbolic gesture devoid of practical consequences. As they see it, Armenian-Americans in the mainstream of their communities only want the suffering of their forebears to be authenticated and validated. What harm can that do? Only the past is at stake. Affirmation of a version of history is the end that is sought, nothing more. But this is certainly not true, particularly when the so-called mainstream Armenian-American groups such as the Armenian National Committee of New York openly call for the liberation from the Turks of what they describe as their homeland. Therefore, validation of a version of history must*

menians has arisen armed with a strong sense of Armenianism, political maturity, and a forceful sense of justice. These young Armenians pursue the Armenian Case through political activities, diplomatic means, and other means. They have unquestionably become the champions of the demands for the return of the Armenian lands. Specially, during the last ten years, alongside the widespread political and diplomatic work, a group of young Armenians, through their own activities, has had a decisive impact upon the international familiarization of the Armenian Case.

On this occasion, we once again reiterate the unquestioned justice of the restitution of Armenian rights and:

- *We demand that the Turkish Government admit its responsibility for the Armenian Genocide, render reparations to the Armenian people, and return the land to its rightful owners.*
- *Our territorial demands are strictly aimed at Turkey's...*

Source: "Joint Appeal by Armenian Parties," *The Armenian Weekly*, April 13, 1985, p. 11. Signed by the 'ARF' Central Committee of Western USA, the 'SDHP' Western United States Executive Body, and the 'ADL' Western United States Regional Executive.

See: App. Document VIII.

#### EXCERPT 9—

For nearly three thousand years, the Armenian people lived on their homeland—the last six hundred under oppressive Turkish occupation. The persecutions culminated in 1915: The Turkish Government planned and carried out a GENOCIDE against its Armenian subjects. One and a half million Armenians were murdered and the re-

mainder driven out of their homeland. After three thousand years, Armenia was empty of Armenians. The survivors scattered throughout the world.

Today, Turkey rejects the right of Armenians to return to their Armenian lands occupied by Turkey.

Today, Turkey covers up the genocide perpetrated by its predecessors and is therefore an accessory to this crime against humanity.

*Turkey must pay for its crime of genocide against the Armenians by admitting to the crime and making reparations to the Armenians.*

*Armenians demand the right to return to their lands, to determine their own future as a nation in their own homeland.*

*Armenian National Committee*

Source: "Armenians Seek the Liberation of Their Homeland Occupied by Turkey," flyer distributed by the Armenian National Committee, that is, the Dashnag Party, and the Armenian Revolutionary Federation at a rally held in Times Square, New York, April 21, 1985.

See: App. Document IX.

#### EXCERPT 10—

Most Turks, including their government, feel that the Armenian terrorists have been receiving aid from various groups and states around the world. *ASALA itself has confirmed such links, 'We sympathize and exchange assistance and services with the Baader-Meinhof group. We have relations with all the European revolutionary movements.'*

Source: Michael Gunter, "The Armenian Terrorist Campaign Against Turkey," *Orbis*, Volume 27, No. 2 (1983), p. 469.

See: App. Document X.

#### EXCERPT 11—

Over 50 Turkish diplomats and American citizens have been killed by terrorists seeking to gain acceptance of the charge that the Turkish nation is guilty of a genocide. These terrorists have harassed and bombed Americans who disputed the genocide and lent support to fellow terrorists attacking and kidnapping our personnel in Lebanon. *Adoption of H.J. Res. 192 would inevitably be seen by these and other terrorists as a vindication and reward for their vicious campaign.*

This terrorist campaign has transformed the genocide issue into a nationalistic, emotional matter for all Turks. *Passage would generate an immediate public reaction against the United States in Turkey.*

Source: Letter of November 25, 1985, from George Shultz, U.S. Secretary of State, to Congressman Thomas P. O'Neill, Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives.  
See: App. Document VI

#### EXCERPT 12—

We have been following with concern the developments in the Congress of the United States of America, our ally, regarding a resolution incorporating baseless Armenian allegations. We would like to hope that this heinous plot on the part of those who seek to mar relations of alliance and friendship between Turkey and the United States will not meet the approval of the U.S. Congress. *The adoption of such a resolution will constitute a heavy blow and harm irreparably the friendly relations between our two countries. It should not be forgotten that we, beyond bilateral bonds, are determined to shoulder our responsibilities and to preserve*

*now be seen not merely as a symbolic end sought, but as a means of achieving a geopolitical result today in 1985—the dismemberment of Turkey.*

Source: Letter of June 12, 1985, from H.E. Ambassador Şükrü Elekdağ to the Members of the U.S. House of Representatives

See: App. Document XIV

#### EXCERPT 16—

*The Turkish people look to the Government of the United States, and especially its Congress, as upholders of justice and truth. Consequently, there is no way in which Turkish political leaders can justify to their voters an action of the U.S. Congress which so clearly condemns the Turkish people unjustly and endorses a falsehood as truth.*

Source: Message of December 2, 1985, from H.E. Şükrü Elekdağ, Ambassador of the Republic of Turkey, to all members of the U.S. House of Representatives.

See: App. Document XV.

#### EXCERPT 17—

*Given this background and Turkey's key role in defending NATO's south-eastern flank and maintaining stability in the vital Middle East, I strongly urge that you vote against the resolution which can only harm our otherwise excellent relations with a strategic ally and loyal friend.*

Source: Unclassified Department of State telegram dated December, 1985, sent from Ambassador Robert Strausz-Hupé in Ankara, Turkey, to Congressman Carroll Hubbard, Jr. (with a request that Hubbard "share this telegram with your colleagues").

See: App. Document XVI.

#### EXCERPT 18—

*As you are aware, a determined effort is being made to bring House Joint Resolution 192 on 'Man's Inhumanity to Man' to the floor this week. As American Ambassador to Turkey, I can assure you that the passage of that resolution will be regarded by all Turks, whether members of the government or of the opposition, and whether prominent personages or simple peasants and townspeople, as a gratuitous insult to a country and people that regard themselves, with much justification, as loyal allies and steadfast friends of the United States.*

Source: Unclassified Department of State telegram dated December, 1985, from Ambassador Robert Strausz-Hupé in Ankara, Turkey, to Congressman Carroll Hubbard, Jr. (with a request that Hubbard "share this telegram with your colleagues").

See: App. Document XVI.

#### EXCERPT 19—

*I would like to address another congressional issue of importance to our relations with Turkey: the so-called "Armenian Genocide" Resolutions. H.J. Resolution 37, introduced in January, would, among other things, designate a National Day of Remembrance with reference to "Armenian Genocide" in Turkey between 1915 and 1923. Whatever the merits of such remembrance, we believe such resolutions are counter-productive in that they serve to encourage Armenian terrorists who have killed more than 50 Turkish citizens, mostly diplomats over the past years. Some murders have occurred in the United States. We also believe that consideration of this resolution would embarrass the United States and strain relations with this critical ally. For these*

*reasons, I hope you give your support to preventing favorable action on this resolution, and preventing the introduction of others like it.*

Source: Testimony of U.S. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, February 21, 1985, before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives.

See: App. Document XVII.

#### EXCERPT 20—

*A resolution similar to H.J. Res. 37 was adopted by the House last September 10. Although its adoption passed almost unnoticed in the United States, it was greeted by a universal public outcry in Turkey. A movement for Parliamentary review of diplomatic relations with the United States was headed off by Prime Minister Özal at that time, but the Turkish Government has informed us that adoption of further resolutions to this effect would seriously damage the vital relationships between Turkey and the United States.*

Source: Letter of March 4, 1985, from George Shultz, U.S. Secretary of State, to Congressman Thomas P. O'Neill, Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives.

See: App. Document VII.

#### EXCERPT 21—

*The Armenian Political Parties demand:*

1. That the Turkish Government, as the heirs of the Ottoman Governments, recognize the Armenian Genocide;
2. That Turkey return the historic homeland to the Armenian people;
3. That the Turkish Government make material reparations for their heinous and unspeakable crime to the victims of the Armenian Genocide;

4. That all world governments, and especially the Super-powers, officially recognize the Armenian Genocide and Armenian territorial rights and refuse to succumb to all Turkish political pressure;  
5. That the U.S. Government free itself from the friendly position it has adopted towards its unreliable ally, Turkey, and officially recognize the historical fact of the Armenian Genocide as well as be supportive of the pursuit of all Armenian territorial demands.

Source: Joint Communique issued by the three Armenian Political Parties active in the United States of America (Armenian Revolutionary Federation—Dashnaks, Social Democrat Hunchak Party and the Armenian Democratic League—Ramgavar). This communique was published on April 4, 1987, in the 'Armenian Weekly' newspaper (p. 8).

See: App. Document LVI.

#### EXCERPT 22—

Clearly the Armenian Question is a lot more than the issue of Genocide. It's a question of territorial restitution, it's a question of reparations, it's a question of statehood—statehood meaning independence and freedom for Armenians. What has to happen is that once the question of the Genocide can be set aside, then we move on to these political issues. . . . It just happens that the Turks had finally perceived the Genocide issue as a precursor to other demands.

Source: Interview with Leo Sarkisian, Chairperson of the Armenian National Committee, Eastern U.S.A. Published in the March 21, 1987, issue of the 'Armenian Weekly' newspaper (p. 8).

See: App. Document LVII.

#### EXCERPT 23—

We oppose House Joint Resolution 132. This resolution does not constitute a simple commemorative. Its provisions are the subject of intense historical debate and controversy. Enactment could have a serious impact on our relations with Turkey—a trusted ally—and hence, on the NATO alliance around which we and all member nations depend for security. The resolution deserves the closest, and most careful and critical examination.

Source: U.S. House of Representatives: Report 100-232, 'Minority views on House Joint Resolution 132.' Submitted by Congressmen Horton, Myers, Taylor, and Burton on July 23, 1987 (pp. 4-5).

See: App. Document LVIII.

#### EXCERPT 24—

If we are going to adopt a resolution which could jeopardize our relations with an important ally, and thus put at risk vital American national security interests, we need to be absolutely convinced of the textual accuracy of that resolution. Even then there might be persuasive arguments against the resolution, but we would at least know that we had acted on the basis of unambiguous historical truth and in response to a compelling moral imperative. But for us to adopt a resolution which is likely to have the counterproductive consequences of this one, after its textual accuracy has been challenged by many of the leading scholars in the nation, would be both reckless and wrong.

Source: U.S. House of Representatives: Report 100-232, 'Additional Views of Congressman Stephen J. Solarz on House Joint Resolution 132, Man's Inhumanity to Man.' Issued on July 23, 1987 (pp. 6-9).

See: App. Document LIX.

#### EXCERPT 25—

The British government made this clear in a Foreign Office press briefing during the July 5-7 [1987] visit of Turkish Foreign Minister Halefoglu. The Foreign Office spokesman said that the UK Secretary of State had assured Minister Halefoglu that Her Majesty's Government (HMG) was not associated with the recent European Parliament Armenian Resolution. He pointed out that the European Parliament did not speak for European Community member states and that the member states had no responsibility for the views expressed by the European Parliament, an independent elected body.

Source: July 21, 1987, letter from the U.S. Secretary of State, the Honorable George P. Shultz, to Congressman Frank Horton.

See: App. Document LX.

#### EXCERPT 26—

While I do not doubt the motives of the sponsors of this resolution [H.J. Res. 132], I believe its passage will be used to justify the acts of Armenian terrorists who, since 1975, have murdered more than 45 Turkish diplomats. I am confident that we are all determined to defeat international terrorism.

Source: Letter of August 4, 1987, from the Honorable George P. Shultz, U.S. Secretary of State to all members of the U.S. House of Representatives.

See: App. Document LXI.

#### EXCERPT 27—

Nobody wishes to deny the suffering of the Armenians who resided in Eastern Anatolia where the Christian and Moslem population suffered great deprivation and death during the First

World War. However, there is a question whether the United States should legislate historical judgment of events in another nation when there is debate about the events among reputable scholars.

*Source:* August 3, 1987, U.S. Department of State—Press Statement entitled: 'Turkey: Armenian Resolution.'

*See:* App. Document LXII.

#### EXCERPT 28—

As recent events have clearly demonstrated, this sort of resolution will inevitably fuel international terrorism against Turkey. The resolution's passage will be seen by Turks as a product of American insensitivity toward Turkish lives which are at risk because of Armenian terrorism. In addition to casting doubt on the credibility of the United States' commitment to combat interna-

tional terrorism, this will also seriously alienate the Turkish nation from the United States.

*Source:* August 3, 1987, letter from Ambassador Şükrü Elekdağ, Turkey's representative in Washington, D.C. to all members of the U.S. House of Representatives.

*See:* App. Document LXIII.

#### EXERPT 29—

First of all, as I had already explained to you personally, I must emphasize that a political body such as the U.S. House of Representatives should not pass a judgment on historical events. For, a decision by a political body based on distortions will be erroneous and prejudicial, particularly if the matter is itself controversial and still being debated amongst the scholars.

The Turkish government has almost completed the preparations to open the Ottoman archives, which will no

doubt bring significant contribution to shed further light on this matter.

*Source:* August 6, 1987, letter from H. E. Turgut Özal, Prime Minister of Turkey, to the Honorable James Wright, Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives.

*See:* App. Document LXIV.

#### EXCERPT 30—

We, Americans of Turkish descent, urge you to vote against H.J. Res. 132. It is based on historical falsehoods; it encourages terrorism and hatred of the Turkish people. H.J. Res. 132 is not just an innocent piece of ethnic recognition for the Armenians. It has far-reaching detrimental consequences for our national interests and for the people of Turkish origin.

*Source:* Telegram addressed to all members of the U.S. House of Representatives, sent by Tunca Iskir, President of the 'Assembly of Turkish-American Associations.'

*See:* App. Document LXV.

# ARMENIAN TERRORISM AND THE INTERNATIONAL TERRORIST NETWORK

The origins of Armenian terrorism can be traced back to the late 19th century. Scholars say there is a "high degree of similarity between the stated aims, the choice of targets, the tactics utilized, and the rhetoric employed by today's Armenian terrorist groups, and those of their 19th century and early 20th century counterparts" (see ex. 1). Given its critical strategic location, i.e., controlling access to and from the Black Sea and the Eastern Mediterranean and forming a barrier for power projection to the Middle East (see Appendix: Document I, II, III). Turkey, like its predecessor, the Ottoman Empire, has been menaced by ambitious powers bent on gaining control over the strategic avenues it straddles. Armenians have been seen as "potential military and political allies" by such powers (see ex. 2).

Today, Armenian terrorist organizations have eagerly volunteered their services to their "natural allies" in striking Turkish targets. Like their counterparts in the late 19th and early 20th centuries who had engaged in political assassinations, bombings and extortion, today's Armenian terrorists work to realize, through violence, the objective of their forebears—the establishment of an independent Armenia in an area encompassing Eastern Anatolia and the Caucasus. Experts on international terrorism say today's Armenian terrorists, like their 19th century counterparts, projected much of their modern history into their past and have thus transformed it into mythology. The focal point of this mythology has been the fabricated "genocide" theme (see Chapter III for historical perspective), which was used to explain their acts of violence. This "historical vengeance" is also used by Armenian extremists as a rallying point to get the sympathy of the public and to recruit

impressionable Armenian youths into terrorist ranks.

Following the end of World War I, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (otherwise known as the Dashnaks) formed a terrorist network known as "Nemesis" designed to avenge the "genocide" of their forebears and to assassinate the former members of the Young Turk Government. In 1921 and 1922, members of this terrorist organization murdered five former officials of the "Young Turk" Government of the Ottoman Empire. (The Empire collapsed in 1923, when Mustafa Kemal [Atatürk] led the Turkish nation in establishing a modern republic.)

Today, the Armenian Revolutionary Army (also known as the Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide—JACG), a creation of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (the Dashnaks), is continuing its killings in the United States, Canada and Europe.

Throughout their 100-year history, Armenian terrorist groups have been indiscriminate in their targeting of victims. They have not restricted their violence to Turkish targets, but have victimized those who did not respond favorably to their claims. Americans, Portuguese, Swiss, Canadians, French, Australians, and hundreds of people of various nationalities have been the victims of Armenian terrorism (see ex. 3). Ironically, the terrorists also have victimized their fellow Armenians (see ex. 1). The terrorists do not hesitate to kill Armenians when they see them as obstacles in the pursuit of their goals. This campaign of terror directed against the Armenian community was a conscious attempt on behalf of the terrorists to frighten the overwhelming majority of peaceful Armenians into silence in regard to their activity (see ex. 1).

There have been attempts in the Western media to describe Armenian terrorism as a product of a "feud" between Armenians and the Turks. This is an oversimplification which fails to comprehend the nature of today's terrorism. Indeed, Armenian terrorism is an integral part of international terrorism and cannot be disassociated from it. It is public knowledge that the founder of the Marxist-Leninist terrorist organization, the "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia" (ASALA), Hagop Hagopian, began his notorious career as a member of the terrorist group which perpetrated the massacre of the Israeli athletes at the Munich Olympics in 1972 (see ex. 4).

Experts on international terrorism assert that the Armenian terrorists use proceeds from drug trafficking to fund their deadly enterprises (see ex. 4). The deadliest of terrorist assassins, Carlos, recently proclaimed on Spanish television that his organization had entered into a working relationship with Armenian terrorists and they are using drug trafficking to raise money "to continue the struggle against imperialist forces" (see ex. 4, 5, 6).

Recent reports which have been confirmed by the U.S. Administration, indicate that Armenian terrorist organizations are collaborating with those who are responsible for the bombing of the United States Marine barracks in Beirut (see ex. 7). According to Armenian English-language press accounts, the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA) expressed its solidarity with Islamic Jihad, in its "struggle for the liberation of Western Armenia from the fascist Turkish regime" (see ex. 7).

As discussed in Chapter I, the aim of all Armenian terrorist organizations, whether Marxist-Leninist or nationalist, is "the liberation" of the eastern part of



Turkey—an area which is of vital importance to the Western defense—and the establishment of a “socialist state” in this “liberated area” (see Appendix: Document III). Researchers working on terrorism, as well as publications emanating from the terrorists themselves, illustrate how communist power centers use organizations such as ASALA to serve their ends including the destabilization of the Western alliance (see ex. 2, 8, 9, 10 and Appendix: Document I).

This well-established connection is corroborated even by some who promote the Armenian genocide mythology. On December 12, 1985, Mr. Charles Pashayan, the only Armenian-American member of Congress, stated, “I have to say that as long as this cause remains unjustly denied, the KGB and the Communist Party who are obviously perpetrating this terrorism are going to have fuel for their fire” (see ex. 11).

The savagery of the Armenian terrorists has prompted a strong reaction by the U.S. Administration. Following an attack on the Turkish Airlines counter at Orly in Paris, France in which eight people (including one U.S. citizen) were killed and 60 wounded, President Reagan said, “No real or imagined grievance could possibly justify these modern day horrors. . . . I will be speaking to the other Heads of State in the days ahead regarding urgent and more cooperative measures to eliminate from the civilized community such barbaric and inhuman acts” (see ex. 12).

Bruce Laingen, the top American diplomat held hostage in 1979 in Iran, wrote a letter to *The Washington Post*, stating that the Armenian terrorist attacks are “part of a tragic and continuing affront to all norms of human conduct and diplomatic discourse. Where

is the voice of what surely must be the overwhelming majority of all Armenian communities everywhere denouncing such brutality? What is to be achieved by such aimless terror? Surely, nothing real or imagined in the history of the Armenian community can justify its continuance” (see ex. 13).

It is disappointing indeed that American- and European-Armenian organizations have either overtly expressed their support for Armenian terrorists or sought to explain and justify the murderous acts of terrorists as somehow understandable. Harry Derderian, the President of the Armenian National Committee, which has its headquarters in Boston, stated that “if terrorism is a contributing factor in getting people’s attention, I can go along with it.” *Asbarez*, the Los Angeles-based weekly paper of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, called the murder by Armenian terrorists of the son of the Turkish Ambassador to Holland a “victory,” and Boston’s *Armenian Weekly* also has praised the killers (see ex. 20).

*Asbarez* repeatedly has advanced the argument that Turkish diplomats who deny the Armenian version of history are themselves guilty of the crime of genocide and therefore justifiable targets for terrorists (see ex. 14). Similarly, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Soviet Armenia, John Giragossian, preceded the statement of *Asbarez* when he declared the Turkish Ambassador in Washington, D.C. is guilty of trying to oppose the recognition of Armenian genocide and therefore he is a double offender and deserves the same fate as his predecessors (death by terrorist assassination) (see ex. 14). These sentiments were echoed by Patrick Devedjian, a French Armenian lawyer and member of Parliament who serves as the elected mayor of

Antony, France known for defending Armenian terrorists, in an interview published by the New York based weekly, the *Armenian Reporter*, where Mr. Devedjian called for the assassination of Turkish Ambassadors because they deny the Armenian genocide (see ex. 16).

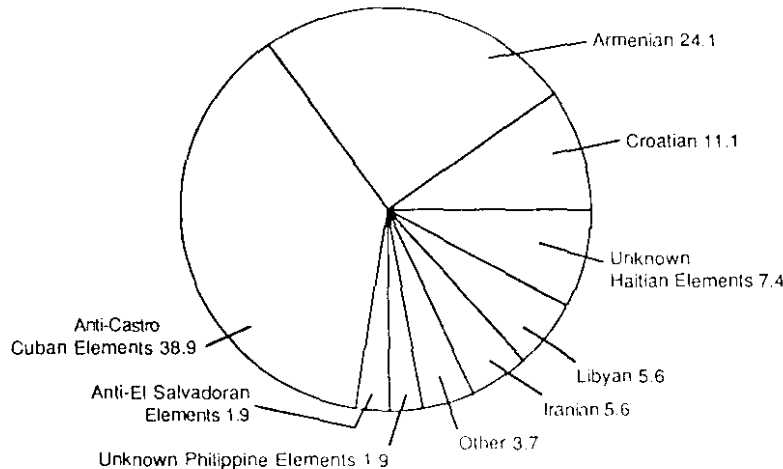
The Armenian mythology based on a fabricated concept of genocide created by Armenian extremists serves to fuel the irrational hatred that permits calculating operatives to convert impressionable Armenian youths into murderers of innocents. One thing is beyond debate: today’s terrorists will be considered successful in their enterprise to the extent that their avowed pretext is validated by world opinion. One aspect of this subject should be uncontroversial: there is a need for collaboration among the civilized nations of the world in order to eradicate international terrorism. A corollary to this effort is the necessity that terrorist brutality and its pretext be denounced without qualification. Failure to do this will only result in the strengthening of mythologies fabricated by terrorists to fuel the irrational hatred on which terrorism thrives.

#### RECENT DEVELOPMENTS (1986–1987):

While the past eighteen months have witnessed a decrease in the number of Armenian terrorist attacks against Turkish targets, in the view of experts on international terrorism, the overall threat remains high. A recent publication of the U.S. Department of Justice, illustrates the fact that almost 25% of all terrorist incidents perpetrated in the United States between 1980–1986, were carried out by Armenian terrorist organizations, as reproduced at the top of the next page.

A thorough analysis of the pattern of

**\*AN OVERVIEW OF  
INTERNATIONAL TERRORIST GROUP  
INCIDENTS IN THE UNITED STATES  
ACCORDING TO GROUP CLASSIFICATION  
1980-1986**



\*Due to rounding, percentages may not add to 100.0

Source: U.S. Department of Justice (Federal Bureau of Investigation): *FBI Analysis of Terrorist Incidents in the United States-1986*. Washington, D.C. (Terrorist Research & Analytical Center-Terrorism Section-Criminal Investigative Division), 1986. p.53.

Armenian terrorist attacks in the past year and a half (see ex. 3 and Document XX), establishes a new and alarming trend. Namely, the group known as 'ASALA' (Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia) has carried out a series of joint-operations in Western Europe with other Middle Eastern terrorist organizations. Most notably, operating under the name of 'Committee for Solidarity with Arab and Middle Eastern Political Prisoners' (CSAMEPP), 'ASALA' participated in a series of bombings which rocked the French capital of Paris in 1986 (see: ex. 22 and 23). These attacks which resulted in the deaths of ten and wounding of over 150 individuals, were carried out with the intent of forcing French authorities to release an im-

prisoned 'ASALA' terrorist, one Varoujan Garabedian, and two other Middle Eastern terrorists from French prisons (see: Document XX for a breakdown of these attacks).

More recently, according to Armenian press accounts, Israeli intelligence has confirmed that 'ASALA' has established close cooperation with the pro-Iranian "Hizballah" terrorists. These reports state that the two groups are reportedly planning a series of violent attacks directed against Turkish diplomatic targets (see ex. 24).

In short, as cooperative efforts on the part of western nations to thwart the scourge of international terrorism begin to pay benefits, the terrorists themselves feel the necessity to coordinate their own activities.

Another important development of the past eighteen months is the apparent relocation of ASALA's headquarters away from war-torn Beirut to the more peaceful surroundings of Athens, Greece and Nicosia, Cyprus. Operating from their new locations under the rubric of the 'Armenian Popular Movement,' this, the most violent of the Armenian terrorist organizations, enjoys considerable support from the Greek Government (see: ex. 25). Two major conferences held by this organization in Athens have benefited from the participation of a number of prominent Greek politicians, including that of the son of the Greek Prime Minister Papandreou, himself a member of the Cabinet (see: ex. 25).

Indeed, the extent of Greek Government cooperation with Armenian and other international terrorist organizations, recently caused the U.S. Department of State to issue a strong warning as to the dangers inherent in this policy (see: ex. 26).

As for Cyprus, recent news reports establish that 'ASALA' also operates from that country, under the cover of an import-export company and a religious studies institute (see: ex. 27). Further, Israeli intelligence sources report that ASALA terrorists are being trained in camps (run by the Abu Nidal organization) on the Island Republic's Troodos mountains. Logistics for ASALA's Cyprus-based terrorist camps are supplied by Armenian National Movement's liaison offices in Nicosia, Cyprus, Athens, Greece, and Tripoli, Lebanon (See: ex. 28).

In April of this year, the Greek government gave 'shelter' to an Armenian terrorist assassin named Krikor Levonian, who had been released by the Yugoslavian authorities after serving only three years of a fifteen year prison sentence for the 1983 murder

of Turkey's Ambassador in the Yugoslavian capital of Belgrade. This action on the part of Greece prompted Turkey to formally accuse Greece of continuing its support for Armenian terrorists (See: ex. 29).

Finally, the past eighteen months also witnessed two Armenian terrorist attacks in Australia (see: Document XX). In keeping with the tendency noted above, i.e., coordination of attacks with other groups, the Australian bombings were both initially claimed by a group calling itself the 'Greek-Bulgarian-Armenian Front.' However, the death of one of the terrorists in a premature bomb explosion, and the subsequent arrest of his accomplices, established the perpetrators to be Armenian terrorists.

In conclusion, the past eighteen months have witnessed two disturbing trends in Armenian terrorist activity:

- a) The coordination of Armenian attacks with those of other Middle Eastern terrorists;
- b) The emergence of Greece and Cyprus as bases of operation and safe havens for Armenian terrorist groups.

Both these developments warrant careful examination in the coming months.

#### EXCERPT 1— BACKGROUND ARTICLES

Lowry, Heath W., "Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Armenian Terrorism: Threads of Continuity," *International Terrorism and the Drug Connection*. Ankara (Ankara University Press 1984), pp. 71-83.

See: App. Document XVIII.

#### EXCERPT 2— BACKGROUND ARTICLES

Henze, Paul B., "The Roots of Armenian Violence: How Far Back Do They Extend?" *International Terrorism and the Drug Connection*. Ankara (Ankara University Press 1984), pp. 179-202.

See: App. Document XIX.

#### EXCERPT 3—

Chronological Breakdown of  
Armenian Terrorist Incidents  
1973-1987

Compiled by: Dr. Heath W. Lowry

See: App. Document XX.

#### EXCERPT 4—

*Le Matin*, the influential Paris daily, based on unidentified sources, claimed last week that *Hagop Hagopian*, the founder and leader of one faction of the *Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA)*, was among the Arab terrorists who staged an attack on the living quarters of Israeli athletes at the 1972 Olympic Games. The attack was later referred to as the "Munich Massacres," as the result of the killing of a number of these athletes. In this connection, there have been consistent reports that Mr. Hagopian was first active in the Palestinian guerilla cause and then in 1975 founded ASALA with the cooperation of a few Armenian young men in the Lebanese capital of Beirut.

The French paper identifies Mr. Hagopian as Bedros Ohanesian, an Armenian who was born in the Iraqi city of Mosul. He is described as 38 years

old, short, on the heavy side and with a dark complexion. . . . *Le Matin* added that up to 1982, Hagopian operated out of Beirut, Lebanon, but escaped from the country when the Israeli forces entered the city. It was about this time that a statement issued by ASALA claimed that Mr. Hagopian was dead of wounds suffered during a bombing by the Israeli Air Force, although it is generally believed that the mysterious leader is alive and well and presently is residing alternately in Damascus, Syria, and Athens, Greece. The paper also noted that the socialist government of Prime Minister Andreas Papandreu and his P.A.S.O.K. party accepted the Armenian underground leader with "open arms" and are still providing him with assistance simply because of Greece's traditional enmity with Turkey.

*Le Matin* further adds that ASALA derives only a small portion of its expenditures from wealthy Armenians who support the cause, with the rest coming either from other sources or from proceeds of an involvement in drug trafficking. The paper asserts that Bulgarian authorities also assist ASALA in obtaining all types of weapons that are used against Turkish targets and diplomats.

Source: "Hagop Hagopian said to have been part of 1972 Terror Attack at Munich Olympic Games," *The Armenian Reporter*, February 7, 1985, p. 1.

See: App. Document XXI.

#### EXCERPT 5—

✓ Carlos, the notorious international killer, surfaced on Spanish television recently in an interview filmed at a Colombian hide-out. The Venezuelan fugitive was allegedly the brains behind numerous terrorist spectacles, including

the massacre of Israeli athletes at the 1972 Summer Olympic Games in Munich.

Apparently having forsaken the beleaguered Palestine Liberation Organization, Carlos has become involved with Armenians seeking to avenge the genocide suffered by their forebears at the hands of the Turks. In the interview he told viewers, 'We have links with the Armenian terrorist organizations. We help each other in every way and we collaborate closely.'

With characteristic immodesty, Carlos also claimed that his operatives totally control the South American drug traffic. He insisted that dealing narcotics should not be considered a crime because Americans need drugs to cope with their lives. His primary motive, however, seemed to be raising money to finance his revolutionary activities. Drug dealing, Carlos said, 'is our most effective weapon; we can say it is our nuclear weapon. The narcotics trade enables us to continue our struggle against imperialist forces.'

It seems his new colleagues did not approve. 'My Armenian friends at first disagreed with me on this issue and they resisted me,' he explained. 'I was even tried before a court they set up, but I was found innocent.' If Armenian terrorists have in fact embraced Carlos, it may bring them more headlines, but little else. Carlos' previous clients have nothing to show for his alleged efforts on their behalf.

Source: "Colombia: The Carlos Connection," *The Nation*, June 22, 1985, p. 759.

See: App. Document XXII.

#### EXCERPT 6—

*Armenian terrorists operate in numerous countries, but they frequently*

*are based in Lebanon, especially Beirut where members of the Armenian community figure prominently in the drug traffic. As the French press recently asserted, it seems likely that at least some of these drug profits find their way into terrorist coffers.*

In 1980 Noubar Sofoyan, an Armenian drug smuggler with Lebanese citizenship, was indicted in the U.S. for heroin smuggling. Sofoyan had been arrested in Switzerland in 1976 for allegedly helping fund right-wing Armenian terrorists who bombed a Turkish installation in Zurich. In 1981 he was arrested in Greece on drug charges, but extradited to Lebanon where he was released, most likely because of pressure exerted on the Ministry of Justice.

Also in 1981, Swedish police arrested a group of Armenian narcotics smugglers who were also in possession of documents and publications linking them to a leftist Armenian terrorist group, the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA). The smugglers were also linked to Armenian traffickers in the United States. Although the Swedes were never able to prove that the arrested traffickers had passed money to terrorists, ASALA issued several threats against Swedish interests on behalf of the jailed drug dealers and may have been behind an unsuccessful attempt to help one of them escape custody.

Source: Mark S. Steinitz, "Insurgents, Terrorists and the Drug Trade," *The Washington Quarterly*, Volume 8, Number 4 (Fall, 1985), p. 145.  
See: App. Document XXIII.

#### EXCERPT 7—

*Beirut, Lebanon—A leftist Armenian group earlier in the week, declared full support for Jihad Islami, an extremist*

*organization that has claimed several anti-American bombing attacks and gun-point abductions in Lebanon over the past few months.*

The Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA), expressed its support for the radical Lebanese group for its revolutionary activities in a statement which was distributed to Western wire services here. The statement said Jihad Islamic organization, which translates as Islamic Holy War, with its revolutionary activities 'has brought new momentum to the righteous struggle of oppressed people of the Middle East and the struggle for the liberation of Western Armenia from the fascist Turkish regime.' The statement said the struggle for the liberation of Armenian lands was an inseparable part of the righteous struggle of the Armenian people.

'Jihad Islami' is believed to have been composed of radical Shiite Moslems, who are loyal of Iran's Ayatollah Khomeini. The group has also maintained close links with other such radical organizations, including the 'Party of God,' which has claimed the bombings of the U.S. Embassy first in West Beirut, and then in East Beirut.

Source: "Armenian Terror Group Supports Radical Moslems," *The Armenian Reporter*, January 17, 1985, p. 1.

See: App. Document XXIV.

#### EXCERPT 8—

*The Armenian terrorists have also received cooperation and training from the PLO. This group, which has been very active in the last five years and has murdered eighteen Turkish diplomats all over the Western world and committed bomb outrages in city centres, is the most difficult one to disassociate from outright Soviet control. It is a*

Marxist-led group mostly made up of young middle-class members. The group has a pro-Soviet ideology which considers Soviet Armenia, which was taken by the USSR in 1920 when Turkey and the Soviet Union divided the territory of Armenia between them, as the legitimate homeland of the Armenian people and favors enlarging the Soviet province of Armenia with land 'liberated' from Turkey. PLO leaders have often made stops in the capital of the Armenian province which is in the Soviet Union, and until recently the Armenians published a propaganda sheet in Beirut.

Source: Roberta Goren, *The Soviet Union and Terrorism*, (London, George Allen & Unwin, 1984), p. 181.

See: App. Document XXVI.

#### EXCERPT 9—

Today the Armenian Secret Army For The Liberation of Armenia finds itself powerful and stronger, more than any-time before, despite the numerous attempts of world imperialism and zionism (sic) and turkish (sic) fascism and at last but not least armenian (sic) reactionism, to sabotage the modern armenian (sic) liberation struggle. therefore (sic) the Armenian Secret Army For The Liberation of Armenia is faithful to its revolutionary principals (sic) and the sacred blood of its martyrs who are the secret of keeping the struggle alive in the hearts of the armenian (sic) people.

Source: Communique of the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia, January 20, 1986.

See: App. Document XXVII.

#### EXCERPT 10—

In Beirut, Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA) was part of the same network of terrorist organizations that trained under PLO supervision and benefited from the terrorist infrastructure of the PLO's "state-within-a-state" in Lebanon. Many antiterrorist officials in Western countries believe that the Soviet Embassy in Beirut was actively involved in this infrastructure, although hard evidence is lacking. The most suggestive element in this hypothesis corners the Soviet Ambassador to Lebanon since 1974, Alexei Alexeyevitch Soldatov who, unlike most Soviet ambassadors, is a member of the KGB. Recruited in 1940, Soldatov has spent his career in the diplomatic service, and has often been involved in major espionage cases. Ambassador to London from 1960 to 1966, he organized the network that led to the expulsion of one hundred five Soviet diplomats. After a year at home, Soldatov was then sent to Havana in the spring of 1968, where he organized the KGB's takeover of the Cuban DGI, with its attendant network of terrorist activities throughout the world. His passage to Beirut—where so much of international terrorism found sanctuary, an operational base, and funds—was a logical step. Similarly, the current Soviet Ambassador to Bulgaria, Nikita Pavlovitch Tolubeyev, was in Cuba from 1970-79, where he is said to have taken an active role in setting up the Cuban terrorist activities, including recruiting, training, and then running terrorists from third countries. Tolubeyev is a member of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, and served in the Soviet Embassy in Cyprus prior to going to Havana.

From all indications, ASALA is now based in Paris and Germany, with con-

siderable support coming from Syrian-based terrorists (until the past year or so, this support came primarily from the Abu Nidal group, but with the leader out of action, or perhaps even dead, this relationship may have changed). There is a close working relationship between ASALA and Action Direct in France.

Source: Michael A. Ledeen, "Intelligence Training and Support Components," *Hydra of Carnage*, Fletcher School of Diplomacy, 1986.

#### EXCERPT 11—

And I stand here today, and I condemn any and all terrorism, and especially Armenian terrorism.

But at the same time I have to say that as long as this cause remains unjustly denied, *the KGB and the Communist Party, who are obviously perpetrating this terrorism* are going to have fuel for their fire.

Source: Statement of Congressman Charles Pashayan, December 12, on the floor of the U.S. House of Representatives, *Congressional Record*, December 12, 1985, p. H11936.

See: App. Document XXVIII.

#### EXCERPT 12—

*No real or imagined grievance could possibly justify these modern day horrors.* This senseless violence must cease. To that end I will be speaking to other Heads of State in the days ahead regarding urgent and more cooperative measures to eliminate from the civilized community such barbaric and inhuman acts.

Source: Statement by President Reagan following the Armenian terrorist attack at the Orly Airport, France, July 28, 1983.

See: App. Document XXIX.

## EXCERPT 13—

The brutal terrorist attacks at Orly Airport and the killing in Brussels of yet another Turkish diplomat, for both of which Armenian terrorist groups claim "credit," are part of a tragic and continuing affront to all norms of human conduct and diplomatic discourse. *Where is the voice of what surely must be the overwhelming majority of all Armenian communities everywhere denouncing such brutality? What is to be achieved by such aimless terror?*

Surely nothing, real or imagined, in the history of Armenian community can justify its continuance.

Source: Letter by American diplomat Bruce Laingen (former hostage at the U.S. Embassy in Tehran, Iran), *The Washington Post*, July 21, 1983, Letter to the editor.

See: App. Document XXX.

## EXCERPT 14—

It is common practice these days to ascribe the term of innocence to a Turkish government official who has been assassinated by Armenian militants. . . .

*Let us instead devote our thoughts to the idea of the Turkish government as an accomplice to the crime of 1915.*

As individuals there is no question that the assassinated Turkish officials are innocent of the crime of 1915. It seems obvious they had nothing to do with the murders of Armenians as in 1915–1918.

*However as representatives of a government which blatantly denies and conceals the massacres of 1.5 million humans, I believe they can be considered nothing less than guilty.*

We are sometimes led to believe that individuals are only responsible for their personal actions. But as a member

of an organization, an individual's responsibility does not cease to exist. . . . An individual—who is part of an organization—accepts some of the responsibilities of that organization by overtly representing it.

Source: "Assassinated Turkish Officials Are Innocent?", Randy Balonian, *Asbarez Newspaper*, a publication of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation—Central Committee of the Western U.S.A., December 1, 1984, p. 14.

See: App. Document XXXI.

## EXCERPT 15—

Further, *The New York Times*, in its issue of May 5, 1983, published a letter written by Şükrü Elekdağ, Turkey's Ambassador in Washington, D.C. . . . This, of course, is still another unique example of that impudent impression of the contemporary Turkish view about the annihilation of the Armenian people. The Ambassador is presently one of the active servants of anti-Soviet, anti-Russian policies of the United States government. . . .

Yes, these indeed are the facts of history, Mr. Politician and Mr. Diplomat. And those who presently strive to distort these facts and vindicate those who committed the genocide, are double offenders and deserve the same fate as their predecessors [death by terrorist assassination].

Source: John Giragosian, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Soviet Armenia, "The Distortion of History Continues," Serialized in English translation in *The Armenian Reporter*, March 1, 1984, p. 2, and March 8, 1984, pp. 2 & 14.

See: App. Document XXXII.

## EXCERPT 16—

*They call it terrorism, I'm calling it resistance,* says Patrick Devedjian, Mayor

of Antony, France. He has been the chief defense lawyer for many of the Armenians accused of killing Turkish diplomats in France. He calls them 'activists,' not 'terrorists,' and adds, 'I believe that most Armenians throughout the world are for activism.'

'I defend these boys because they are Armenians in revolt,' he continues, never wavering. 'And this is far more important than the political differences in their and my political ideas.' 'I defend them because they gave my Armenian dignity back to me, and to all Armenians,' he declares with apparent emotion.

To bring home the point, he relates how in Ankara, Turkey, there is a school and a street named after Talaat. . . . 'If there was an avenue in Berlin or Bonn named after Hitler and if the German Ambassador said there was no Jewish Genocide, what would be the reaction of the Jewish youth? Wouldn't they kill him—and why not? Well, everywhere in the world the Turkish diplomats say there was no Armenian Genocide!'

Source: Exclusive interview with Patrick Devedjian by Florence Avakian, *The Armenian Reporter*, June 6, 1985, p. 2.

See: App. Document XXXIII.

EXCERPT 17—  
BACKGROUND ARTICLES

McCarthy, Justin, "Armenian Terrorism: History As Poison and Antidote," *International Terrorism and the Drug Connection*, (Ankara, Ankara University Press, 1984), pp. 85–94.

See: App. Document XXXIV.

## EXCERPT 18—

Finally, in looking at Turkey's relations with the outside world, a few words need to be said about another legacy from the past: the international implications of the terrorist campaign since 1974 by a number of Armenian underground organizations against Turkish diplomats and their families abroad. The campaign—in which, to date, 41 Turks and a number of non-Turks have been murdered—has powerfully reinforced isolationist trends in Turkish opinion and has highlighted the difference between Turkish historical and political attitudes and those of some Western countries. *A legitimate sense of indignation among Turks that the murder of diplomats was used by the western media as a peg to revive stories of alleged massacres* (a reference to events of 60 or 70 years earlier), sometimes in a fashion which suggested that such massacres might still be continuing, has shifted to a debate about the allegations themselves. The collision between the Turkish point of view, periodically reinforced by outrage at new assassinations, and elements of Western public opinion has been important. It has dragged down Turkish-French relations to an unprecedented unfriendly level and, during the autumn of 1984, it threatened to damage Turkish relations with the United States, when Congress seemed likely to approve a resolution which by implication accused Turkey of genocide.

Source: David Barchard, *Chatham House Papers* #27: "Turkey and the West," (Routledge & Kegan Paul, The Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1985), pp. 50–51.

See: App. Document XXXV.

## EXCERPT 19—

*Despite the large death toll (resulting from Armenian terrorism) and despite the pledges of Armenian terrorists to send it higher, few displays of concern, much less supportive indignation, have been offered to the Turks.* By contrast, would public opinion be as unstirred if so many British diplomats had been killed by IRA gunmen, or if Jewish diplomats had been slain by Palestinian hit squads?

Turkish victimization can remain a minor issue because, first, Americans look at the headlines about the latest killings and conclude that an ancient, inscrutable and unstoppable feud goes on. The Turks and Armenians are blood enemies, we think—if we think about the issue at all. In choosing sides, we go against the Turks. Images of murderous sultans wielding thick-ended sabres remain. The stereotype of the savage Turk persists. Then, too they are Muslims, dismissable as the infidels of Western history.

Source: "Turks, Victims of Twisted History," Colman McCarthy, *The Detroit Free Press*, July 29, 1983, p. 51.

See: App. Document XXXVI.

## EXCERPT 20—

It has been twenty years since we took our pain and anguish from inside our churches and halls into the street. *We stopped limiting the commemoration to only the descendants of the survivors of our greatest national tragedy and brought it into the halls of the United Nations, the U.S. Congress, the French Parliament and numerous other international forums.*

We now don't merely ask for justice, we demand it. We will not rest until we see the day when those who are re-

sponsible for the massacre of 1.5 million Armenians, and the dispersion of the Armenian Nation have been duly punished. *Our demands are clear, recognition of the Genocide and the return of the Armenian lands to their rightful owners, the Armenian people.*

Source: "April 24, 1915," *The Armenian Weekly*, April 20–27, 1985, p. 2, editorial.

See: App. Document XXXVII.

## EXCERPT 21—

If we portray our goal as recognition of the Genocide then it is quite natural for non-Armenian public opinion to assume that Armenians are simply seeking revenge. However, if we clearly and emphatically state that *our main goal is the liberation of our homeland*, then public opinion will not view our cause as one of revenge.

Therefore, it is incumbent upon all Armenians, be they lobbyists in Congress, demonstrators in the streets, *freedom fighters in military operations* or spokespersons in media offices to state and state again that our goals are the liberation of Turkish occupied Armenia, recognition of the Genocide by Turkey and not revenge.

Source: "The Liberation of our Homeland," Garen Yeghparian and Ara Khanjian, *The Armenian Weekly*, May 11, 1985, p. 2.

See: App. Document XXXVIII.

## EXCERPT 22—

French officials are deliberately misleading their own people and the international press about the true source of the terrorist bombings that have rocked Paris in recent months. . . . Our sources, who are terrorism experts in various Western intelligence agencies,

believe Garbidjian (sic. Garabedian) is the French prisoner whose release is the crucial demand of the Paris bombers.

Source: Jack Anderson and Dale Van Atta column entitled: 'Official Deception on Paris Bombings' (*Washington Post*, October 29, 1986, p. C12).

See: App. Document LXVI.

#### EXCERPT 23—

For more than three years, Turkish intelligence officials have been pleading with the French to give them a picture of the No. 1 Armenian terrorist, who uses the nom de guerre 'Hagop Hagopian.'

One theory for the French refusal to give Hagopian's picture to the Turks is that Garbidjian (sic. Garabedian), the Armenian terrorist now in a French prison, may be the elusive Hagopian....

The Hagopian/Garbidjian (sic. Garabedian) theory would explain the wave of Paris bombings. ASALA (with a little help from Abu Hidar) wants its founder released. The Armenian terrorists figure they can win Hagopian/Garbidjian's (sic. Garabedian) freedom with a series of bombings.

Source: Jack Anderson and Dale Van Atta column entitled: 'French Foil Turks' Hunt for Terrorist' (*Washington Post*, October 31, 1986, p. E5).

See: App. Document LXVII.

#### EXCERPT 24—

The Mossad, the Israeli intelligence service has cautioned M.I.T., the Turkish secret police organization, to watch for new developments as the result of the establishment of close cooperation between 'ASALA' and the Hizballah, the extreme and radical Lebanese underground group that strongly

supports Iran's Ayatollah Khomeini.

Source: "ASALA Cooperating With Radical Lebanese," *The Armenian Reporter*, July 9, 1987, p. 1.

See: App. Document LXVIII.

#### EXCERPT 25—

An array of Representatives of Greek political parties, including the ruling PASOK party, and a host of political groups, both Armenian and non-Armenian, joined to voice their solidarity with the Armenian people in their pursuit of their cause and activities of a new Armenian political force were voiced here [Athens, Greece] on Sunday, April 20 [1986] during the 2nd international Meeting of Solidarity with the Armenian People....

*The International Meeting of Solidarity was sponsored by the Greek branch of the Armenian Popular Movement, a comparatively new political force headed by younger generations of Armenians, who openly profess their support of the armed struggle and of the 'Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia' (ASALA)....*

Among the prominent Greek politicians who attended the conference was the son of Prime Minister Papan-dreou, who himself holds a post in the Greek cabinet.... two Greek members of the European Parliament and other members of the Greek Parliament were also among those who participated in the international conference....

More than significant was the large number of messages received by the organizers, including the following: Palestinian National Revolutionary Movement, Fatah; Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine—General Command, the Central Committee of the Palestinian National Liberation Movement—Fatah...and numerous other

international groups, all noted for their radical stand in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Source: Edward G. Boghosian, "Radical Group Hosts Well-Attended Solidarity Meeting," *The Armenian Reporter*, May 1, 1986, pp. 1 and 18.

See: App. Document LXIX.

#### EXCERPT 26—

A dispute developed today between Athens and Washington over United States intelligence reports saying that Athens had, for several months, conducted negotiations with the terrorist known as Abu Nidal. Greece rejected the assertions....

In Washington, State Department officials said that when Administration officials learned about the contacts, the State Department drafted a strongly worded demarche. The officials also expressed unhappiness about Greece's dealings with ASALA, the Armenian Liberation Army, which has carried out terrorist attacks against Turks....

Source: Alan Cowell, "U.S. and Greece in Dispute on Terror," *The New York Times*, June 27, 1987, p. 4.

See: App. Document LXX.

#### EXCERPT 27—

ASALA, an Armenian terror group that attacks Turkish targets in retaliation for alleged massacres of Armenians before and during World War I, reportedly operates from Cyprus under the cover of an import-export company and a religious studies institute.

Source: Juan O. Tamayo, "Cyprus Is A Reluctant Crossroad for Terrorists On the Go," *The Miami Herald*, October 1, 1986.

See: App. Document LXXI.



EXCERPT 28—

The Israeli secret service, Mossad, is reported to have acquired significant information in connection with the camps set up in the Troodos mountains in Cyprus for the training of militants of the PKK and ASALA [Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia].... The same sources stated that Abu Nidal's special advisers are giving military training to the PKK and ASALA militants in the camps....

Mossad revealed that the Armenian National Movement, which is known as the MNA, has opened liaison offices in

Nicosia, Athens and Tripoli in order to meet the needs of the camps.

Source: The British Broadcasting Corporation, *Summary of World Broadcasts*, July 6, 1987: Part 4-A: The Middle East, p. ME/8612/A/1.

See: App. Document LXXII.

EXCERPT 29—

Turkey last week accused Greece for continuing its support of Armenian terrorists and said the latest evidence of this support is the shelter granted to Mr. Krikor Levonian, the partially para-

lyzed Armenian gunman who was recently released from a prison in Yugoslavia.... Soon after his release, according to Turkish sources, Mr. Levonian was allowed entry into Greece, where Turks say Greek authorities offered him shelter and provided the much needed medical treatment.

Source: "Turks Accuse Greece for Providing Shelter to Armenian Gunman Just Released By Yugoslav Authorities," *The Armenian Reporter*, July 30, 1987, p. 1.

See: App. Document LXXIII.

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## THE HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

There is really only a single historical question which must be dealt with: Was there (as the Armenians claim), or, was there not (as the Turks respond) a genocide? In coming to grips with this query, the obvious place to begin our examination is by examining the positions adopted by scholars whose academic expertise encompasses the Ottoman Empire, the site of the alleged genocide. In this regard, 69 distinguished American academicians, whose research and publications focus on Turkey and its history, recently adopted the position that it is historically unjust to focus on the suffering of Ottoman Armenians without viewing it in the context of the overall suffering which the Ottoman citizenry (Muslim and non-Muslim alike) experienced during the First World War. They further argued, that the history of the period (which they likened to the inter-communal strife in Lebanon) in question has yet to be written, and will only be understood when the relevant historical archives are opened (see ex. 1). They categorically stated that the wording of a proposed Congressional Resolution which said Armenians were victims of "genocide" is inaccurate and misleading. They also asserted that the passage of this resolution which is based on historically questionable assumptions would "damage the credibility of the American legislative process."

This same body of scholars went further, and in an open-letter to Turkish Prime Minister, Turgut Özal, urged him to open the Ottoman archives for the period of World War I, in order to dispel the remaining, yet unresolved historical aspects of this matter. Prime Minister Özal has responded positively to this plea (see ex. 2).

What are the facts which led the 69 American scholarly experts to reject

the assertion that the fate of the Ottoman Armenians may be termed 'genocide'? In summary, they are as follows:

Beginning in the 1870's Armenian nationalists began the process of fomenting revolution on the part of their compatriots in Anatolia, against Ottoman rule. This process, which was to culminate during World War I was noted as early as March 18, 1878 when the British Ambassador to the Ottoman Government (Layard) listened to the religious head of the Empire's Armenian population tell him that the Armenian minority was preparing to overthrow Ottoman rule and annex themselves and Ottoman territory to Russia (see ex. 4). The Armenian Patriarch claimed that he was helpless in the face of his constituents' determination to submit no longer to Ottoman rule. In other words, 40 years before the alleged massacres, Armenian revolutionaries had succeeded in fomenting a two-fold desire on the part of the Ottoman Armenians: a) a desire for a national revolution; and, b) a desire for union with the Ottoman Empire's traditional enemy, Czarist Russia.

The record of Armenian revolutionary activities against the Ottomans in the last two decades of the 19th century is dealt with in detail in the work of the distinguished Harvard University diplomatic historian, William Langer (see ex. 5). Langer traces the manner by which the Armenian revolutionaries sought to incite European intervention on behalf of their cause. Specifically, by massacring innocent Muslim villagers, they hoped to provoke counter-violence which would then serve as a pretext for European intervention. Knowing their numbers would never justify their territorial ambitions, they looked to Russia and Europe for the fulfillment of their aims.

Armenian treachery in this regard culminated at the beginning of the First World War with the decision of the revolutionary organizations to refuse to serve their state, the Ottoman Empire, and to assist instead the invading Russian armies. Their hope was that their participation in the Russian success would be rewarded with an independent Armenian state carved out of Ottoman territories (see ex. 6). Armenian political leaders, army officers, and common soldiers began deserting in droves.

With the Russian invasion of eastern Anatolia in 1914 at the beginning of World War I, the degree of Armenian collaboration with the Russian enemy increased dramatically. Ottoman supply lines were cut by guerilla attacks, Armenian revolutionaries armed Armenian civilian populations, who in turn massacred the Muslim population of the province of Van in anticipation of the expected arrival of the invading Russian armies (see ex. 7).

The Ottoman response was to order the relocation of its Armenian subjects from the path of the invading Russians and other areas where they might undermine the Ottoman war effort. In the words of Stanford Shaw, the Ottomans could no longer determine "which of the Armenians would remain loyal and which would follow the appeals of their leaders" (see ex. 7).

Armenian treachery is confirmed by a most unlikely source. The leader of the Armenian delegation in attendance at the Paris Peace Conference after World War I, Boghos Nubar Pasha, openly acknowledged the fact that it was the Armenian contributions to the allied war effort which led to their mistreatment by the Ottoman authorities (see ex. 8). Among the Armenian forces fighting against the Ot-

tomans he numbers 50,000 Ottoman Armenian volunteers under Andranik who fought the Ottoman armies for four years.

Boghos Nubar Pasha goes further and states: "I wish strongly to urge that the Armenians, having of their own free will cast in their lot with the champions of right and justice, the victories of the Allies over their common enemies have secured to them a right of independence." There would be no more overt declaration of Armenian betrayal of their own country, the Ottoman Empire, than Boghos Nubar's admission that the Armenian people be given the status of 'belligerents,' to qualify for rewards for their betrayal. In short, the Ottoman officials were clearly justified in their decision to attempt to remove their Armenian populations from the path of the invading Russians they were actively supporting. This decision stemmed from the dual desire to preclude further bloodshed arising as a result of ongoing inter-communal fighting, and the understandable concern to protect the supply lines of its armies from the ever increasing attacks of the Armenian irregular forces who enjoyed wide support among the local Armenian populace.

That the Ottoman State's Armenian minority launched a bloody insurrection at the very time the country was actively fighting a World War on four different fronts goes a long way towards explaining the resultant suffering that was borne by Armenians and non-Armenians alike. The famine, disease, and brigandage, as well as outright hostilities, all took a heavy toll on Armenian and Muslim civilian populations.

In a December 12, 1985 speech on the floor of the U.S. House of Representatives, Cong. Stephen Solarz (D-

NY), said he had concluded that after lengthy study, he could not accept assertions that the Armenians had been the victims of a Turkish perpetrated genocide in the course of World War I (see ex. 3).

Unfortunately, Armenians who lived through the war years, have consistently sought to portray themselves to their descendants and to the world at large as innocent and helpless victims. No mention is made of tens of thousands of Ottoman Armenians fighting in the ranks of the forces of the invading Russians. By the same token, Armenian suffering is viewed as a unique phenomenon of the period rather than as part of the war-time tragedy which affected all segments of the Anatolian population.

This tendency has led Armenians to grossly over-inflate the size and scope of their war-time losses. The American demographer, Professor Justin McCarthy, having exhaustively examined the population statistics for the period in question, concludes that the number of Armenians who died in the war of 1912-1922 was not 1.5 or 2 million, as is often claimed, but far less than that figure. He writes: "The Armenians suffered a terrible mortality. But when considering the numbers of dead Armenians, one must also consider the number of dead Muslims. The statistics tell us that 2.5 million Anatolian Muslims died as well, most of them Turks." Among the causes for this human tragedy, McCarthy cites civil war, forced migration of both Muslims and Armenians, inter-communal warfare, disease and especially starvation. In short, all citizens of Anatolia, Muslim and Christian alike, were victims. The failure of Armenians to comprehend this fact, has led to the ever-spiralling circle of violence perpetrated by young Armenians nurtured from birth

with a hatred they are spoon-fed by their elders. It is for this reason that the 'history' of the Ottoman Armenians during World War I must be written by impartial scholars on the basis of primary research.

It should not be overlooked that other scholars whose work is based on Ottoman population statistics have suggested that the wartime casualties suffered by the Ottoman Armenians was less than those advanced by McCarthy. These scholars include Kâmurân Gürün, the author of *The Armenian File*, and Stanford Shaw, the author of *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*.

Hitherto, the history of this period has been addressed exclusively by Armenians whose emotional attachment encourages them to project Armenian history throughout time as one of unmitigated suffering, i.e., they have written an unending history of the mythology of Armenian martyrdom (of which the events of 1915 form the keystone), rather than the objective history of the Armenian people. The nurturing of this mythology helps Armenians, born in the 1960's and later, to engage in terrorist assassination, the victims of which were not even born in 1915.

One frequently heard Armenian argument in support of their portrayal of themselves as the helpless victims of "the 20th century's first genocide," is that American observers in Turkey were unanimous in their reporting of Armenian suffering, i.e., that Armenian claims were corroborated by impartial American representatives. Such claims rely heavily on the testimony of only one American representative, Ambassador Henry Morgenthau, who served in Istanbul between late 1913 and the end of January in 1916. What is overlooked is the fact that Morgenthau's

successors, and in particular, U.S. High Commissioner and Ambassador Mark Bristol who served in Istanbul from 1919 to 1927, did not naively accept Armenian propaganda claims (as had Morgenthau). Rather he based his assessments on first-hand evidence. In both his private correspondence (see ex. 10) and official dispatches, Bristol constantly warned against the wholesale acceptance of Armenian propaganda claims. Bristol's warnings were echoed by James Barton, the American missionary who headed up the Near East Relief, an organization whose whole purpose was to relieve the plight of suffering Armenians (see ex. 11). Barton, whose experience in working with and on behalf of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire had made him cognizant of their propensity to overstate their case, admitted that he was unable to stop their "vicious propaganda" which consisted of "constantly reporting atrocities which never occurred and giving endless misinformation with regard to the situation in Armenia and Turkey."

Numerous other Americans with experience in Turkey, among whom the names of Arthur Chester (a businessman), and John Dewey (the famous American educator), deserve mention, likewise were not misled by the exaggerated Armenian propaganda claims.

Chester's account of the rationale behind the Ottoman decision to relocate Armenians away from the war zone (see ex. 12), is noteworthy for the parallels it predicts as to what American reaction might be if faced with the same questions of betrayal by an ethnic minority in time of war. While Chester writing in 1923, could not be aware of the fate which awaited Japanese-Americans in early 1942, his prediction of how white Americans would react, is ominously close to the

truth.

John Dewey, the great humanitarian that he was, recognized that not only were the Armenians not the innocent victims they portrayed themselves to be in the West, but that in fact, it was Armenian brutality against innocent Turkish villages which convinced the Ottoman authorities in the first place that this particular ethnic and religious minority represented a threat to a state faced with foreign invasion on four different fronts (see ex. 13) and therefore had to be transferred away from the war zone.

Among the most allegedly damning of the arguments advanced by Armenian scholars and propagandists in support of their "genocide" claim, are a series of telegrams reportedly issued by Talat Pasha, the Ottoman Minister of the Interior, ordering the extermination of the Armenians. These so-called "Talat Pasha telegrams" were reportedly given to an Armenian named Andonian by a minor Turkish official named Naim Bey. In 1920 they appeared in simultaneous English, French, Armenian editions. In the past 60 plus years they have been reprinted countless times in a variety of Armenian and non-Armenian publications.

These telegrams are crude forgeries, a fact which has recently been established beyond any doubt in the work of two Turkish scholars, Şinasi Orel and Süreyya Yuca. While they will be discussed in further detail in the section of this work titled: "Charges and Polemics," their relentless repetition in the so-called works of history written by Armenians, has given them the totally unjustified status of "historical documents." They, like the false claims of Armenian innocence, and inflated figures of Armenian dead, have found a place in the Armenian propagated

version of their "historical reality."

In conclusion, one cannot help but echo the words of Turkey's Ambassador in Washington, D.C., and state that what the Ottomans were faced with in 1915 was an armed insurrection of its Armenian citizenry on behalf of the invading Russian armies, in short, "a civil war within a global war" (see ex. 14).

Further, contrary to Armenian claims, the Ambassador does state that Armenians suffered immensely, along with the Muslim population of Anatolia during and after World War I. He notes that "Ottoman responsibility, if any, must lie in the Empire's inability to protect its civilian population (both Muslim and Christian) from wide-scale civil war, famine and disease, while fighting a world war on five fronts. To label that "genocide" threatens to deprive the word of meaning. The charge could apply to most countries at some time." (see ex. 15) This acknowledgement of Armenian suffering gives the lie to claims that it is Turkish denial of the fate of their ancestors which leads young Armenians in the 1980's to seek justice from the barrel of a gun!

Clearly, it is not Turkish denial, but Armenian insistence on viewing themselves as the unique victims of suffering in Anatolia during the First World War which supplies the ammunition which fuels the assassins' hatred. This insistence becomes more and more untenable as competent scholarship on the subject expands. Certainly the opening of the Ottoman archives announced by Prime Minister Özal will afford further opportunities to distinguish propaganda from fact, myth from history.

#### RECENT DEVELOPMENTS (1986-1987):

For the student of Turco-Armenian

e Goy. " (sic)

history, the most significant event of the past eighteen months was the publication of Dr. Salahi Sonyel's long-awaited study on the "Armenian Question." Based on an exhaustive study of the records of the British Foreign Office, supplemented by important materials from the Ottoman Archives, Sonyel's study, entitled *The Ottoman Armenians*, provides a minute examination of the period from 1875 through the First World War. Specifically, it sheds new and important light on the machinations of the Armenian revolutionary organizations, and, the manner by which they sought to achieve their aim of an independent Armenian state with the active assistance of the European powers (see: ex. 16).

Unquestionably, a milestone in the study of Turco-Armenian relations, this well-documented publication is a 'must' reading for anyone professing an interest in the material it so aptly treats.

#### EXCERPT 1—

As for the charge of 'genocide,' no signatory of this statement wishes to minimize the scope of Armenian suffering. We are likewise cognizant that it cannot be viewed as separate from the suffering experienced by the Muslim inhabitants of the region. *The weight of evidence so far uncovered points in the direction of serious intercommunal warfare (perpetrated by Muslim and Christian irregular forces), complicated by disease, famine, suffering and massacres in Anatolia and adjoining areas during the First World War.* Indeed, throughout the years in question, the region was the scene of more or less continuous warfare, *not unlike the tragedy which has gone on in Lebanon for the past decade.* The resulting death toll among both Muslim

and Christian communities of the region was immense. But much more remains to be discovered before historians will be able to sort out precisely responsibility between warring and innocent, and to identify the causes for the events which resulted in the death or removal of large numbers of the eastern Anatolian population, Christian and Muslim alike.

Statesmen and politicians make history, and scholars write it. For this process to work scholars must be given access to the written records of the past. To date, the relevant archives in the Soviet Union, Syria, Bulgaria and Turkey all remain, for the most part, closed to dispassionate historians. Until they become available the history of the Ottoman Empire in the period encompassed by H.J. Res. 192 (1915-1923) cannot be adequately known.

Source: Statement in which 69 U.S. scholars challenge Armenian views on the history of the Ottoman Armenians, titled "Attention Members of the U.S. House of Representatives," advertisement in *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*, May 19, 1985.

See: App. Document XXXIX.

#### EXCERPT 2—

Open Letter to Turkish Prime Minister Özal from '68' American Academic Experts on Turkey And The Prime Minister's Answer

For the overwhelming majority of U.S. lawmakers who support the resolution it is ignorance of Ottoman history rather than intentional malice which accounts for their action. The same is true for the educated American public at large which has been subjected to sixty years of exposure to

only the Armenian version of history. For this ignorance of history, Turkey must bear a large share of responsibility, as its failure to date to facilitate scholarly inquiry into the events of World War I, especially by not opening the relevant historical archives to international scholars, has allowed Armenian spokesmen to propagate at will their own version of history of the Ottoman Empire.

\* \* \*

As you stressed in your message, the opening of documents and information inherited by us from the past, to the scrutiny of scholars, is matter of great importance in understanding the real history of the past. Likewise, those who possess such documents are bound for the sake of humanity with great responsibility.

For this reason, we have undertaken the necessary steps in our country to ensure the rapid classification of the great numbers of documents which have been preserved from our long and rich history, as well as steps which will facilitate the access of scholars to these materials. It gives me great personal pleasure to use this opportunity to announce that within the past few days the Grand National Assembly of Turkey has enacted special legislation to provide the necessary financial means for this endeavor. This means that the scope of ongoing work in the Archives will be expanded and expedited. Already, those documents whose classifications have been completed are open to researchers. As their classification procedures are completed new documents are being added to the scrutiny of scholars.

Source: Letter of May 18, 1985 addressed to the Honorable Turgut Özal, Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey—signed by Dr. Heath W.

Lowry on behalf of 68 American academicians; and Prime Minister Turgut Özal's message of June 14, 1985.

See: App. Document XL.

### EXCERPT 3—

The adoption of this resolution, we have been told by many of our colleagues, could potentially jeopardize our relationship with Turkey and some of our most vital security interests in the eastern Mediterranean.

These are powerful arguments, and yet if these were the only arguments raised in opposition to the resolution, I would not find them persuasive.

I want to be very honest with all of you. In my judgment, the memory of the 6 million victims of Hitler's genocide and our respect for the deaths which they suffered would lead to the conclusion that we would have no alternative but to accept such a resolution if it came before us. If that is indeed the case, what then distinguishes the resolution before us today which memorializes the victims of what has been characterized as the Armenian genocide from another resolution which might memorialize the victims of Hitler's genocide against the Jews?

The difference, I would submit, is the difference between a universally accepted historical reality and a hotly disputed view of events...

Mr. Chairman, I share the anguish of the Armenian people. Countless numbers of them were clearly killed in a cruel and barbarous fashion during the period of time covered by the resolution. But there were also countless numbers of Turks and Muslims who were killed in a cruel and barbarous fashion as well.

One of the problems with this resolution is that it asserts what happened to

the Armenians was a genocide when the fact that it was a genocide is itself in dispute. . . and there is no evidence that I am aware of which demonstrates that the Ottomans were trying to exterminate all Armenians.

Source: December 12, 1985 Comments by Representative Stephen Solarz in the U.S. Congress—In Opposition to H.J. Res. 192, Congressional Record—House (December 12, 1985) p. H11933.

See: App. Document XLI.

### EXCERPT 4—

The Armenians were now determined to assert their rights, and to claim to be placed on the same footing as their fellow-Christians elsewhere. If they could not obtain what they asked from the justice and through the intervention of Europe, they would appeal to Russia, and would not cease to agitate until they were annexed to her. Already, His Eminence said, a large portion of the Christian population of Armenia was preparing to emigrate to the territories ceded to Russia. He trusted, therefore, that the demands of the Armenians for an autonomous Christian Government would be taken into favorable consideration at the Congress, and that Europe would insist upon the formation of a self-governing Armenian province...

To a remark that I made to the Patriarch that I did not think it probable that the Congress would entertain so vast a project as that which he had placed before me, His Eminence replied that if it did not do so, and did not listen to the just demands of the Armenians, the country to which he had referred would rise, within a short time, against Turkish rule, and would annex itself to Russia. . . his people were determined

no longer to submit to Mahommedan rule, and he could not oppose himself to their wishes.

Source: British Ambassador Layard's March 18, 1878 letter to the Earl of Derby in which he conveys the attitudes of Archbishop of Narsis, the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople. London: Public Records Office—F.O.424/68, pp. 346-348, No. 639.

See: App. Document XLII.

### EXCERPT 5—

Europeans in Turkey were agreed that the immediate aim of the (Armenian) agitators was to incite disorder, bring about inhuman reprisals, and so provoke the intervention of the powers. For that reason, it was said, they operated by preference in areas where the Armenians were a hopeless minority, so that reprisals would be certain. One of the revolutionaries told Dr. Hamlin (c. 1890), the founder of Robert College, that the Hentchak bands would:

'watch their opportunity to kill Turks and Koords, set fire to their villages, and then make their escape into the mountains. The enraged Moslems will then rise, and fall upon the defenseless Armenians and slaughter them with such barbarity that Russia will enter in the name of humanity and Christian civilization and take possession. . .'

When the horrified missionary denounced the scheme as atrocious and infernal beyond anything ever known, he received this reply:

'It appears so to you; but we Armenians have determined to be free. Europe listened to the Bulgarian horrors and made Bulgaria free. She will listen to our cry and when it goes up in the shrieks and blood of missions of women and children. . . we are desperate. We shall do it.'

Very similar was the impression of Lord Warkworth after paying a visit to Van:

'Those who in England are loudest in their sympathy with the aspirations of a people 'rightly struggling to be free' can hardly have realized the atrocious methods of terrorism and blackmail by which a handful of desperados, as careful of their own safety as they are reckless of the lives of others, have too successfully coerced their unwilling compatriots into complicity with an utterly hopeless conspiracy.'

Source: William Langer, *The Diplomacy of Imperialism*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf), 1968, pp. 157-8.

See: App. Document XLIII.

#### EXCERPT 6—

The Armenian leaders told Enver only that they wanted to remain neutral, but their sympathy for the Russians was evident, and in fact soon after the meeting 'several prominent Ottoman Armenians, including a former member of parliament, slipped away to the Caucasus to collaborate with Russian military officials,' making it clear that the Armenians would do everything they could to frustrate Ottoman military action. . . .

Still Enver decided that Ottoman security forces were strong enough to prevent any Armenian sabotage, and preparations were made for a winter assault. Meanwhile, Czar Nicholas II himself came to the Caucasus to make final plans for cooperation with the Armenians against the Ottomans, with the president of the Armenian National Bureau in Tiflis declaring in response:

'From all countries Armenians are hurrying to enter the ranks of the glorious Russian Army, with their

blood to serve the victory of Russian arms. . . . Let the Russian flag wave freely over the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. Let, with Your will, great Majesty, the peoples remaining under the Turkish yoke receive freedom. Let the Armenian people of Turkey who have suffered for the faith of Christ receive resurrection for a new free life under the protection of Russia.'

Armenians again flooded into the czarist armies. Preparations were made to strike the Ottomans from the rear, and the czar returned to St. Petersburg confident that the day finally had come for him to reach Istanbul.

Source: Stanford J. Shaw & Ezel Kural Shaw, on Armenian collaboration with invading Russian armies in 1914, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey (Volume II: Reform, Revolution & Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808-1975)*, (London, Cambridge University Press 1977), pp. 314-315.

See: App. Document XLIV

#### EXCERPT 7—

In the initial stages of the Caucasus campaign the Russians had demonstrated the best means of organizing a campaign by evacuating the Armenians from their side of the border to clear the area for battle, with the Armenians going quite willingly in the expectation that a Russian victory would soon enable them not merely to return to their homes but also to occupy those of the Turks across the border. Enver followed this example to prepare the Ottoman side and to resist the expected Russian invasion. *Armenian leaders in any case now declared their open support of the enemy, and there seemed no other alternative (to relocation)*. It would be impossible to determine which of the Armenians would remain loyal and which would follow the ap-

peals of their leaders. As soon as spring came, then, in mid-May 1915, orders were issued to evacuate the entire Armenian population from the provinces of Van, Bitlis, and Erzurum, to get them away from all areas where they might undermine the Ottoman campaigns against Russia or against the British in Egypt, with arrangements made to settle them in towns and camps in the Mosul area of northern Iraq. In addition, Armenians residing in the countryside (but not the cities) of the Cilician districts as well as those of north Syria were to be sent to central Syria for the same reason. *Specific instructions were issued for the army to protect the Armenians against nomadic attacks and to provide them with sufficient food and other supplies to meet their needs during the march and after they were settled. . . .*

In April 1915, even before the deportation orders were issued, Dashnaks from Russian Armenia organized a revolt in the city of Van, whose 33,789 Armenians comprised 42.3 percent of the population, closest to an Armenian majority of any city in the Empire. . . . Leaving Erivan on April 28, 1915, only a day after the deportation orders had been issued in Istanbul and long before news of them could have reached the east, (Armenian volunteers) reached Van on May 14 and *organized and carried out a general slaughter of the local Muslim population* during the next two days while the small Ottoman garrison had to retreat to the southern side of the lake.

Source: Stanford J. Shaw & Ezel Kural Shaw, on Armenian collaboration with invading Russian armies in 1914, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey (Volume II: Reform, Revolution & Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808-1975)*, (London, Cambridge University Press 1977), pp. 315-316.

See: App. Document XLIV.



## EXCERPT 8—

The name of Armenia is not on the list of the nations admitted to the Peace Conference. Our sorrow and our disappointment are deep beyond expression. Armenians naturally expected their demand for admission to the Conference to be conceded, after all they had done for the common cause.

The unspeakable sufferings and the dreadful losses that have befallen the Armenians by reason of their faithfulness to the allies are now fully known. But I must emphasize the fact, unhappily known to few, that *ever since the beginning of the war the Armenians fought by the side of the Allies on all fronts*. Adding our losses in the field to the greater losses through massacres and deportations, we find that over a million out of a total Armenian population of four million and a half have lost their lives in and through the war. Armenia's tribute to death is thus undoubtedly heavier in proportion than that of any other belligerent nation. *For the Armenians have been belligerents de facto, since they indignantly refused to side with Turkey.*

Our volunteers fought in the French 'Légion Etrangère' and covered themselves with glory. In the Légion d'Orient they numbered over 5,000, and made up more than half the French contingent in Syria and Palestine, which took part in the decisive victory of General Allenby.

In the Caucasus, without mentioning the 150,000 Armenians in the Russian armies, about 50,000 Armenian volunteers under Andranik, Nazarbekoff, and others not only fought for four years for the cause of the Entente, but after the breakdown of Russia they were the only forces in the Caucasus to resist the advance of the Turks, whom they held in check until the armistice was signed.

Source: Armenian leader Boghos Nubar Pasha's open letter on Armenian support for the allies during the First World War, *The Times of London*, January 30, 1919, p. 6.

See: App. Document XLV.

## EXCERPT 9—

To understand the end of the Armenian presence in Anatolia one must remember that the Armenian disaster came in time of war—World War I and the Turkish War of Independence. The numbers used by demographers are of limited use in describing war. They will not tell us who fired the first shot, nor label those responsible for the bloodshed. They only count the dead. Yet much can be learned from the numbers of the dead. *We now know from reliable statistics that slightly less than 600,000 Anatolian Armenians died in the wars of 1912–1922, not 1.5 or 2 million, as is often claimed. Not that 600,000 is a small number. The Armenians suffered a terrible mortality. But when considering the numbers of dead Armenians, one must also consider the numbers of dead Muslims. The statistics tell us that 2.5 million Anatolian Muslims died as well, most of them Turks. In the Six Vilayets, the Armenian homeland, more than one million Muslims died. These Muslims, no less than the Armenians, suffered a terrible mortality.*

The numbers do not tell us the exact manner of death of the citizens of Anatolia. Civil war, forced migration of both Muslims and Armenians, intercommunal warfare, disease, and especially starvation are listed in the documents of the time as causes of death. The Anatolian mortality was not simply the deaths of soldiers in wartime, but deaths of men, women, and children, Armenian and Muslim, who were caught up in international war between

Russians and Ottomans and intercommunal war between Armenians and Muslims. . .

The conventional wisdom that 'knows' that Anatolian Armenians died has always neglected to consider that Muslims died, as well. As with the supposed existence of an Armenia, the commonly accepted history of what happened to the Armenians has not been correct. The lesson to be learned is an old one—history should not be partisan. I believe that it is time that we consider the events of 1912–1922 for what they were, a human disaster. It is time to stop labeling them as a sectarian suffering that demands revenge.

Source: Justin McCarthy, "The Anatolian Armenians, 1912–1922," in *Armenians in the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey (1912–1926)*. Istanbul (Bosporus University Press), 1984, p. 23.

See: App. Document XLVI

## EXCERPT 10—

I see that reports are being freely circulated in the United States that the Turks massacred thousands of Armenians in the Caucasus. Such reports are repeated so many times it makes my blood boil. The Near East Relief have the reports from Yarrow and our own American people which show absolutely that such Armenian reports are absolutely false. *The circulation of such false reports in the United States, without refutation, is an outrage and is certainly doing the Armenians more harm than good.* I feel that we should discourage the Armenians in this kind of work, not only because it is wrong, but because they are injuring themselves. . . I was surprised to see Dr. McCallum send through a report along this line from Constantinople. When I called attention to the report, it was stated that it came from the Armenians

But the telegram did not state this, nor did it state that the Armenian reports were not confirmed by our own reports. I may be all wrong; but I can't help feeling that I am not, because so many people out here who know the conditions agree with me that the Armenians and ourselves who lend to such exaggerated reports are doing the worst thing we possibly can for the Armenians. Why not tell the truth about the Armenians in every way? Let us come out and tell just what the Armenians are and then show our sympathy and do everything we can to make the future of these people what it should be for human beings. I am sure that the mass of people at home believe the Armenians are Christians in action and morals, and that they are able to govern themselves. You and I, and others that know them, know that this is not the case. We believe that they have been made what they are by the conditions that they have been compelled to live under, and we want to get them out from under these conditions so that they can become Christians and able to govern themselves. But I cannot believe that right is ever produced by wrong-doing.

Source: Excerpts from correspondence of Admiral Mark Bristol, U.S. High Commissioner in Constantinople (1921), U.S. Library of Congress: "Bristol Papers"—General Correspondence—Container #34 (Bristol to Barton Letter of March 28, 1921), p. 2.

See: App. Document XLVII

#### EXCERPT 11—

With reference to the false reports that come through reporting massacres of the Armenians by the Turks, there is no one who can deprecate this more than I do. But there is a situation over here which is hard to describe. There is

a brilliant young Armenian, a graduate of Yale University, by the name of Cardashian. He is a lawyer, with offices down on Wall Street I believe. He has organized a committee, so-called, which has never met and is never consulted, with Mr. Gerard as Chairman. He has set up what he calls an Armenian publicity bureau or something of that kind, and he has a letterhead printed. Gerard signs anything that Cardashian writes. He told me this himself one time. . . . We have had many a conference with Armenian leaders as to what can be done to stop this vicious propaganda carried on by Cardashian. *He is constantly reporting atrocities which never occurred and giving endless misinformation with regard to the situation in Armenia and in Turkey.* We do not like to come out and attack him in public. That would injure the whole cause we are all trying to serve, because people would say that we are quarreling among ourselves and would lose confidence in the whole concern.

Source: Letter of Dr. James L. Barton, Secretary of the Foreign Department of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to Admiral Mark Bristol, U.S. High Commissioner in Constantinople. (U.S. Library of Congress: "Bristol Papers"—General Correspondence—Container #34).

See: App. Document XLVIII.

#### EXCERPT 12—

We hear a great deal about the deportation of Armenians from the north-east of Turkey during the World War. *The facts are that the Turks sent an army to the Russian border to defend their country against the threatened Russian invasion. The army consisted of Turkish subjects of all nationalities, being drafted just as ours are drafted. At the front the Armenians used blank car-*

*tridges and deserted in droves.* This was bad enough, but the Armenians were not satisfied with this form of treachery. The provinces in the rear of the army had a large Armenian population, and these people, feeling that there was an excellent chance of the Russians defeating the Turks, decided to make it a certainty by rising up in the rear of the army and cutting it off from its base of supplies. Let me draw a parallel imaginary case. Suppose that Mexico was a powerful and rival country with which we were at war, and suppose that we sent an army to the Mexican border to hold back the invading enemy; suppose further that not only the negroes in our army deserted to the enemy but those left at home organized and cut off our line of communication. What do you think we as people, especially the Southerners, would do to the Negroes? Our Negroes have ten times the excuse for hating the whites than the Armenians have for their attitude towards the Turks. They have no representation, although they have an overwhelming majority in large sections of the South, and have nothing to say in the making or administration of the laws under which they are governed. . . . While the Armenians in Turkey have not only full representation but special privileges not accorded by any other country.

*The Turkish Government ordered the Armenians deported from the districts they menaced. That they did not have railways and other means of transportation was not their fault, and the deportation had to be carried out on foot. That this was not done in the most humane manner possible is undoubtedly a fact, and the Turkish Government has condemned the unnecessary cruelties that occurred; but I feel confident that if America had been put in the hypothetical situation above referred to, it would*

have stopped that insurrection if it had to kill every negro in the South, and would not have gone to the tedious and laborious defensive act of deportation, in spite of our extensive means of transportation.

Source: Arthur Chester, "Angora and the Turks 1923," *The New York Times' Current History Journal* (February, 1923), pp. 758-764.

See: App. Document XLIX.

#### EXCERPT 13—

The situation in Turkey with respect to Turks, Armenians and Greeks alike meets all the terms of the classic definition of tragedy. . . . It is a tragedy with only victims, not heroes, no matter how heroic individuals may have been. There are villains, but they are muffled figures appearing upon the open stage only for fleeting glimpses. They are the Great Powers, among which it is surely not invidious to select Russia and Great Britain by name. . . . The fate of the Greeks and Armenians, the tools of nationalistic and imperialistic ambitions of foreign powers, makes one realize how accursed has been the minority population that has had the protection of a Christian foreign power. . . .

Few Americans who mourn, and justly, the miseries of the Armenians, are aware that till the rise of nationalistic ambitions, beginning with the 'seventies, the Armenians were the favored portion of the population of Turkey, or that in the Great War, they traitorously turned Turkish cities over to the Russian invader; that they boasted of having raised an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men to fight a civil war, and that they burned at least a hundred Turkish villages and exterminated their population. I do not mention these things by way of appraising or ex-

tenuating blame because the story of provocations and reprisals is as futile as it is endless; but it indicates what happened in the past to both Armenian and Turkish populations when the minority element was taken under the protecting care of a foreign Christian power, and what will recur if the Armenians should be organized into a buffer state.

Source: John Dewey, "The Turkish Tragedy," *The New Republic*, Volume 40, November 12, 1928, pp. 268-269.

See: App. Document L.

#### EXCERPT 14—

During World War I, when the Ottoman forces were fighting on five fronts, they also faced an armed uprising of Armenians. At the instigation and with the support of Czarist Russia, Armenian insurgents sought to establish an Armenian state in an area which was predominantly Turkish.

*The ensuing hostilities—civil war within a global war—together with famine and epidemics, claimed a heavy toll on all sides. But to describe the events as 'genocide' is to deprive the term of its meaning.*

Source: Şükrü Elekdağ, Turkish Ambassador to the U.S., *The New York Times*, May 11, 1983. Letter to the editor.

See: App. Document LI.

#### EXCERPT 15—

No one has ever denied the overall tragedy that, 70 years ago, brought death and suffering to all the peoples of the Ottoman Empire's eastern Anatolian region, and that Armenians perished as part of this. What must be disputed is any selective focus on the sufferings of one ethnic group, while ig-

noring the fate of 2.5 million Turkish and non-Christian people, many of whom died at the hands of Armenian revolutionary groups. The Armenian rebellion was instigated and supported by Czarist Russia, whose armies were invading Ottoman territories.

The Armenian revolutionary organizations intended to benefit from the resulting chaos and establish (by force) an exclusively Armenian state in an area where the population was preponderantly non-Armenian.

*Ottoman responsibility, if any, must lie in the empire's inability to protect its civilian population (both Muslim and Christian) from wide-scale civil war, famine, and disease while fighting a world war on five fronts. To label that 'genocide' threatens to deprive the word of meaning. The charge could apply to most countries at some time.*

Source: Şükrü Elekdağ, Turkish Ambassador to the U.S., *The New York Times*, May 23, 1985. Letter to the editor.

See: App. Document LII.

#### EXCERPT 16—

Very few works, published outside Turkey, have taken the trouble to examine the Turkish version of these relations [Turco-Armenian], and other available reliable source material; therefore one of the main objectives of the present work must be to try to rectify this omission. The book also attempts to probe deeper into, and shed more light on, Turco-Armenian relations, to examine, in a broader perspective, the main events affecting those relations, and to try to provide a more authoritative response to a number of searching questions that still remain unanswered, or partially answered.

Source: Salahi R. Sonyel, *The Ottoman Armenians*. London (K. Rustem & Bro.), 1987. p. xiii.  
 See: App. Document LIII.

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## CHARGES AND POLEMICS

To buttress their historically questionable portrayal of themselves as victims of "genocide," Armenian spokesmen and scholars have traditionally relied on an ever-increasing number of propaganda claims and outright falsehoods.

As noted in the preceding chapter, the earliest of these attempts was a series of forged telegrams, purportedly emanating from Talat Pasha, the Ottoman Minister of the Interior, in which he ordered the extermination of the Armenians. To their authors, such 'documentary' proof was obviously necessary to strengthen the image of the Ottoman Armenians as the innocent victims of Turkish brutality. With the passage of time, these crude forgeries gained the sanctity of authenticity, and ultimately found their way into countless publications.

A systematic and detailed examination of the so-called "Talat Pasha Telegrams" establishes beyond any shadow of a doubt, that they are in fact forgeries. Two Turkish scholars (Süreyya Yuca and Şinasi Orel) in a book-length analysis, demonstrated this fact. Their findings systematically illustrate both the nature of the forgeries and the baselessness of the charge they are designed to "prove."

Perhaps emboldened by the propaganda success of the "Talat Pasha Telegrams," and, unquestionably heartened by the fact that the indisputable holocaust of European Jewry led to the creation of the State of Israel, Armenian propagandists began searching for ways to link their own alleged experiences in the Ottoman Empire to the proven fate of the Jews of Europe. Their logic ran: if the outrage of world public opinion over the deaths of six million Jews resulted in the fulfillment of the Zionist dream of the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine, why has our

experience not managed to produce a similar result? If only we could show that Hitler had been inspired by the world's lack of reaction to the "genocide" of the Armenians, and indeed, inspired by this fact to embark on his own campaign to exterminate the Jews, surely world public opinion would fall in line behind the "Armenian Cause." To make this point, two things were needed: First, proof that Armenian deaths had been of a genocidal scale. Here is the explanation for the ever-increasing magnitude of the estimates advanced for Armenian casualties (from 600,000 at the end of the First World War—to up to 2.5 million and more). As we have seen in the preceding chapter on the historical perspective such claims are nothing less than gross exaggerations. Second, it was necessary to establish that Adolf Hitler had been aware of the fate of the Armenians and influenced by it in embarking on his own plans for the extermination of Europe's Jews.

To establish this, Armenian propagandists began utilizing a purported Hitler quotation, "Who remembers the extermination of the Armenians?", which they alleged he had made when queried about what world public opinion's reaction would be to his extermination of European Jewry.

Recently, an American scholar, Dr. Heath Lowry has demonstrated two important facts in regard to this purported Hitler quotation: 1) There is no evidence that Hitler ever made such a statement; and, 2) Even in the context in which it was purportedly made, it referred to his plans for the invasion of Poland, i.e., it had nothing to do with his anti-Jewish activities (see ex. 1).

Among a wide variety of similar baseless propaganda claims advanced by Armenian spokesmen (a group which unfortunately often includes scholars of

Armenian origin), two other case studies warrant mention:

1) Various Armenian publications have featured a photograph of a mountain of human skulls, which they allege were those of Armenian victims of Turkish massacres. A recent study has demonstrated that this photograph is in fact a photo of a painting by a Russian painter named Vassili Vereshchagin (1842-1904) which hangs in the Tretyakov Gallery in Moscow. Vereshchagin's canvas titled "The Apotheosis of War" was painted in 1871. Needless to say, it has nothing to do with Armenians massacred by Turks or anybody else! (see ex. 2)

2) Among the dozens of "documents" currently enjoying widescale distribution by Armenians and their supporters, is an alleged interview between Mustafa Kemal [Atatürk], the founder of the modern Turkish state, and a Swiss journalist/artist named Emile Hilderbrand. In one section of this interview which originally appeared in the August 1, 1926, issue of the *Los Angeles Examiner* newspaper, Mustafa Kemal is quoted as acknowledging the loss of Christian lives due to excesses of the previous Young Turk Ottoman Government. Copies of this interview have appeared in the press, been distributed to members of the U.S. Congress and others in support of the claim that even the founder of the Republic of Turkey had accepted the historical veracity of the "genocide." Were the Hilderbrand interview accurate, this would indeed be a moving argument!

At the outset it should be obvious that the authenticity of any 'interview' in 1926 in a Hearst newspaper, is questionable. At the very least it should be subjected to a thorough investigation prior to its being accepted as fact. However, Armenian propagandists are not known for their restraint in advancing

ing any argument which could conceivably buttress their "cause." Consequently, the task of raising the obvious queries in regard to the purported interview falls to us. In this regard, we might ask:

- Do Turkish Government Ministry of Interior Consular records establish that a Swiss named Emile Hilderbrand entered Turkey in 1926 [the date of the alleged interview was June 22, 1926—a time when Mustafa Kemal was in the city of Izmir]? The answer is that no Swiss named Emile Hilderbrand entered Turkey at any time in the 1920's!
- Do any of the literally thousands of articles and books written on the life of Mustafa Kemal indicate the existence of the purported Hilderbrand interview? The answer is no, not a single scholarly work cites this article.
- Do the appointment calendars of Mustafa Kemal indicate that he gave an interview to a Swiss journalist named Emile Hilderbrand on June 22, 1926? The answer is: no!
- Are there numerous examples of similar alleged interviews with public figures in the American popular press of the 1920's which rest on nothing more substantial than a reporter's healthy imagination? The answer is: yes!

Given these facts, there can be little doubt that the *Los Angeles Examiner's* alleged 1926 interview with Mustafa Kemal [Ataturk] is fiction. Given the propensity of Armenian propagandists to utilize the fictional genre in their presentations, it is no wonder that they uncovered the Hilderbrand interview.

If the 70 years which have elapsed since the alleged Ottoman "genocide" of the Armenians have established anything, it is that Armenian propagandists have little regard for the truth.

"Charges and polemics" endlessly repeated eventually take on a life of their own in Armenian publications. It is for this reason that the present study, while devoted to setting forth "facts and documents" has included this section on the "charges and polemics" utilized by Armenians in their quest for universal recognition of their own self portrait as the innocent and guileless Christian victims of Muslim persecution. The reader of this compilation will hopefully be better armed to respond to such "charges and polemics" in the future.

#### RECENT DEVELOPMENTS (1986-1987):

Charges and polemics, if repeated often enough, tend to take on a life of their own. The accuracy of this statement was borne out in the recent lobbying on behalf of H.J. Res. 132. There, proponents of the Armenian 'Genocide' resolution, while refraining from mentioning the forged 'Talât Pasha Telegrams', still made reference to the 'Hitler Quote', . . . and the alleged interview with Mustafa Kemal [Ataturk], despite the fact that the baselessness of each of these has been repeatedly demonstrated. In addition, however, two new 'charges' were introduced in the recent debate by the Armenian organizations behind the congressional resolution: a) the allegation that the United Nations Organization has officially recognized the historical reality of the Armenian 'genocide' charge; and, b) that Turkey's European NATO allies have likewise supported a resolution condemning Turkey for the genocide of its Armenian population during the First World War. Needless to say, both of these additional 'charges' bear little or no relation to reality.

The claim relative to the United Nations is based upon the so-called 'Whitaker Report' submitted to the U.N. Sub-

Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities in the Summer of 1985. This report, drafted by one Benjamin Whitaker, made reference to the Armenian allegation, but in no sense was it adopted or even "received" by the Sub-Commission, which only "noted" the report—in United Nations parlance: it was shelved. In other words, the Sub-Commission specifically refused to transmit it to the full Human Rights Commission (see ex. 3).

As for the alleged action of Turkey's European NATO allies in endorsing the false 'genocide' charge, it rests on a recent European Parliament vote relating to the so-called 'Vandemeulebroucke Report.' However, an analysis of the actual voting relative to this report which contains the 'genocide' claim, establishes that far from being supported by Turkey's European allies, it received only the votes of 68 of the Parliament's 518 members, i.e., less than 15% of the members voted in favor of this section of the report. Not surprisingly, this tiny minority was comprised almost exclusively of Communists, Socialists, Greens, and Greeks. Leaving no doubt as to where they stood, the governments of West Germany and Great Britain immediately disassociated themselves from the European Parliament action and the British pointed out that the "European Parliament did not speak for European Community member states and that the member states had no responsibility for views expressed by the European Parliament." (see ex. 4). And very recently, the Foreign Minister of Denmark, in his capacity as the Chairman of the Council of Foreign Ministers of the European community, indicated the fact that the Council of Foreign Ministers had no intention to take up this resolution, and he clearly stated that the resolution



was not at all binding for the member countries.

Given the fertile imaginations of Armenian polemicists, the coming years will undoubtedly witness the emergence of a new series of charges and polemics designed to buttress their unfounded 'cause.'

#### EXCERPT 1—

This article traces the history of a purported Adolf Hitler quote which cites the precedent of the world's lack of reaction to the fate of Armenians during the First World War as a justification for his planned extermination of European Jewry in the course of the Second World War. By a detailed examination of the genesis of this quotation the author demonstrates that *there is no historical basis for attributing such a statement to Hitler*. Likewise, the author traces the manner in which this purported quote has entered the lexicon of U.S. Congressmen, and the manner in which it continues to be used by Armenian-Americans in their efforts to establish a linkage between their own history and the tragic fate of European Jewry during the Second World War. The author concludes with a plea to policy-makers that they focus their activities on the responsibilities of their offices and leave the writing of history to the historians.

Source: Heath W. Lowry, "The U.S. Congress and Adolf Hitler on the Armenians," *Political Communication and Persuasion*, Volume 3, Number 2 (1985), pp. 111-140.

See: App. Document LIV.

#### EXCERPT 2—

The canvas in question has been printed in several places with the false attribution that it shows a heap of

skulls, presumably those of 'massacred Armenians' during the First World War. Either the date of 1915-17 is explicitly stated in the legend underneath or the same is suggested in one way or another.

It has been publicized as such, fraudulently and irresponsibly, on the cover of a book, to accompany an article, inside a propaganda folio, or as a post card, distributed with the intention to deceive.

Actually, however, it is a painting entitled 'The Apotheosis of War' and done in 1871-1872 by a Russian master called Vassili Vereshchagin, who was born in 1842 and died in 1904. Hence, *the canvas, whose subject is not the Armenians, was done some 44 years before the alleged events of 1915, the artist himself passing away 10 years before the outbreak of the First World War*.

Source: Türkkiye Ataöv, *An Armenian Falsification*, Ankara, 1985.

See: App. Document LV.

#### EXCERPT 3—

In an effort to summarize the characteristics of the decision voted upon, one should emphasize that the Sub-Commission refused to "receive" the Report, merely "noted" it, underlining the fact that "divergent opinions" had been expressed about the contents, deleted the word "high" specifying the quality of the proposals and kept it in the Sub-Commission, refusing to transmit it to the higher Commission on Human Rights, thanked the Rapporteur [Benjamin Whitaker] with the expressed understanding that this in no way meant approval but a mere formula of accustomed courtesy and only recommended that the U.N. renew its

efforts to make the ratification of the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide universal as soon as possible.

Source: Türkkiye Ataöv, *What Really Happened in Geneva: The Truth About the 'Whitaker Report'*, Ankara (Sistem Ofset), 1986, p. 4.

See: App. Document LXXIV.

#### EXCERPT 4—

Only a very small fraction of the 518-member European Parliament voted for the passage of the resolution. The paragraph in the resolution containing the 'genocide' charge was supported merely by 68 members. Almost all of these were communist party members, extreme left wing socialists and Greens—all of whom are consistently hostile towards Turkey. Most of these normally hold positions that are inconsistent with traditional Western interests. It is noteworthy too that, predictably, every Greek member voted for the resolution.

Two-thirds of the Parliament were not even present for the debate or the vote, on the grounds that the European Parliament was not the proper place to discuss historically controversial issues and that it should not pass historical judgments.

The European Parliament does not speak for the 12 member governments of the community. According to its charter, it is a consultative body.

Source: Letter of August 1, 1987, from H.E. Ambassador Şükrü Elekdağ to all members of the U.S. House of Representatives.

See: App. Document LXXV.

## APPENDIX

expansion of the Soviet Union. Perhaps more than any other terrorist movement it illustrates the irrelevance of some of the issues that have preoccupied the debate in the West on terrorism. Whether the Armenian terrorist movement is acting on its own or under Moscow's direction, if it succeeds, it will come down to the same thing.

#### DOCUMENT IV

Secret

London, January 18, 1946 - 7 p.m.  
[Received 11:47 p.m.]

Source:  
Message from the Secretary of State to  
the Acting Secretary of State dated  
January 18, 1946, *Foreign Relations*,  
1946, Vol. VII, pp. 809-810.

638. For Acheson and Henderson\* from the Secretary: The following is a memorandum of a conversation I had with the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Turkey on January 17.

"I received Mr. Hasan Saka, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Turkey. Mr. Saka brought up the apprehension now felt by the Turkish Govt with regard to the recent claims of the Soviet Union for Turkish territory and the bases in the Dardanelles. He said there had been no official demand for these claims on the part of the Soviet Govt but that the Soviet Govt had informed the Turkish Govt that new conditions should be considered in connection with the renewal of the treaty of 1921 denounced by the Soviet Union about 6 months ago.

When the Soviet Govt as [was] asked what these new conditions would be, it was indicated to the Turkish Govt that there should be a return of the eastern provinces of Kars and Ardahan and that the Soviet Govt desired to discuss bases in the Dardanelles.

I inquired of the FonMin as to the character of the people in the eastern provinces. The Minister pointed out that the people in Kars and Ardahan were Turkish, spoke Turkish, were entirely satisfied with the democracy of the Turkish Govt and there was no such situation as obtained in Azerbaijan where the inhabitants were of different racial stock from the capital and country of which they were a part and where there had been previous claims for better treatment than they had been receiving from the Central Govt of Persia.

I then asked what the military status of Turkey was at the present time. Mr. Saka said that while he could not say exactly the military establishment was probably around a million men, as the Govt had been unable to demobilize and in the present situation would probably have to increase rather than reduce the standing army. Mr. Saka went on to say that while the character of the Turkish people as a whole was to be patient, if the Soviet Govt used any pretext to bring about the seizure of the eastern provinces or any other Turkish territory, the Turkish people would meet such a situation with firm resolution and he was sure the result would be armed conflict. He said further that he could give me every assurance that the Turkish Govt would give no occasion whatever for provocation in the present situation but that the Govt and people in Turkey were firmly resolved to resist any attempt to take their territory by force.

I then said that in my opinion we should be grateful that the UNO was now set up and had begun functioning and I felt that this should go a long way toward quieting the apprehensions of the Turkish Govt as the UNO was now prepared to deal with situations of this kind if it developed further.

The Turkish FonMin expressed his deep appreciation to me for the interest the US Govt had taken in this affair and also for the information which we had furnished to the Turkish Govt through Mr. Wilson, the US Ambassador at Ankara, with respect to the recent conversations in Moscow."

\*Dean Acheson, Under Secretary of State, and Loy W. Henderson, Director of the Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs.

#### DOCUMENT V

Source:  
French Armenian Newspaper, *GAMK*,  
December 11, 1985, p. 1

#### POLITICAL MANIFESTO OF THE A.R.F. OF PARIS, FRANCE

The Armenian Revolutionary Federation, as a revolutionary and socialist party, defends everywhere and by every means, the overall interests of the Armenian nation.

By intending to build a reunited, independent and free homeland, with a democratic and socialist regime, and by considering the actual Armenian national reality, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation adheres to the following political goals:

concerned about H.J. Res. 192 to an extent and depth that its passage will damage the steadfast manner in which the people of Turkey support the United States in an extraordinary way.

The leaders of Turkey dispute the assertions of H.J. Res. 192 on a factual basis. They deplore it beyond any factual dispute on the basis that whatever wrong was perpetrated early in this century, that those wrongs were committed by the Ottoman Empire, which was allied with the Kaiser in World War I, and not the Republic of Turkey, which emerged from the ashes of the Ottoman regime.

Turkey is a country which is a bridge between East and West, and predominantly and historically they are an Islamic people. Yet, following the vision of their hero and founder of modern Turkey, Kemal Ataturk, the people and the government chose a European pro-Western orientation.

As one of the most strategic areas on earth, controlling access to and from the Black Sea and the eastern Mediterranean Sea through the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, Turkey is of paramount importance to the United States. They have been intensely pro-American and were among the few nations who deployed troops to fight with us in Korea. Turkish acceptance of its defensive mission in NATO is crucial to NATO and the security of the United States.

Passage of H.J. Res. 192 will accomplish nothing constructive. It does nothing for any Armenian. If it did, it would be worthy of consideration, but it does not. It offers unnecessary and undeserved offense to one of our most trusted and true allies.

We urge you in the strongest terms to vote against H.J. Res. 192. If it passes, or even receives a majority vote and is defeated only because of the two-thirds vote requirement under suspension, it will damage our relations with our Turkish friends, who risk so much, and suffer so much in the interests of our mutual security.

The good intentions of the sponsors of H.J. Res. 192 in condemning genocide are not questioned. The wisdom of a gratuitous insult to one of our most needed and trusted allies is another matter. There is indeed serious and sincere dispute over the factual premises of the "Armenian Genocide" resolution. H.J. Res. 192 states that "the genocide [was] perpetrated in Turkey between 1915 and 1923." There is, however, no dispute over the non-involvement of the Republic of Turkey, founded in 1923 as one of the new nations which emerged from the territory of the Ottoman Empire.

We urge you not to jeopardize our present good relations with the Republic of Turkey by a vote for H.J. Res. 192.

Sincerely,

Melvin Price  
Bill Nichols  
Marvin Leath  
Albert G. Bustamante  
William L. Dickinson  
G. William Whitehurst

Marjorie S. Holt  
Bud Ellis  
Robert E. Badham  
Herbert H. Bateman  
Ben Blaz

#### DOCUMENT III

#### STATEMENT BY THE UNDERSECRETARY OF DEFENSE FRED IKLE IN THE U.S. SENATE

Source:  
Testimony by the Honorable Fred C. Ikle, Undersecretary of Defense for Policy, before the Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism of the Senate Judiciary Committee (Washington: Videographed, March 11, 1982) p. 6.

...One of the most dangerous and most neglected of all terrorist movements, the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia has formally announced that its strategy is to gain control of the eastern third of Turkey, to 'free' it, so-called, from the Turkish Government, and to unite it with the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic. This is an area of the world which is, of course, critically important for the eastern Mediterranean and the southern region of NATO. It is also critical for Egypt and Israel and the rest of the Middle East.

It does not matter very much whether the Armenian Secret Army is directly commanded by Moscow. It is an efficient and brutal executor of the murder of innocent civilians. It has intimidated governments allied with Turkey and law-abiding Armenian communities as well. If it were to be successful in its aim, it would lead directly to the

DOCUMENT I

Source:  
The Wall Street Journal,  
October 1, 1982,  
Editorial Page.

ASALA'S DAY

In the 11 years since an Armenian terrorist campaign against Turkey began, 41 Turkish diplomats plus members of their families and other innocents have been murdered.

The Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA), one of the major perpetrators, seems reasonably clear in its long-range goal, although its objectives are sometimes clouded by factionalism. Its dominant faction wants to "liberate" the eastern provinces of Turkey and incorporate them into the Soviet Union. This was explicitly stated when the ASALA official journal editorialized: "Our forces never strike against the Soviet Socialist Republic of Armenia which is already liberated."

NATO bases in eastern Turkey, just the region that ASALA wants to "liberate", are essential to any Western defense against a Soviet attack in the Mideast. The Soviets poured more than a billion dollars of arms through Bulgaria into the hands of both leftist and rightist Turkish terrorists during the 1970s in an attempt to destabilize the bulwark of NATO's southern flank. The Turks responded with martial law and defused the threat sufficiently to allow the present movement back to democracy. But there is no reason to believe that the Soviets have given up their campaign to isolate Turkey from its NATO allies.

The U.S. Congress has managed to bumble into this nasty game. Two bills now before that body seek to commemorate the large number of deaths of Armenians in eastern Turkey during World War I. There can be little doubt that the Armenian repression was a terrible chapter in history and perhaps the Turks have been too insistent on denying guilt. But it was only one part of a global tragedy that claimed nearly 15 million lives. Dredging it up now in Congress, some 70 years after the event, may be a generous gesture toward Americans of Armenian descent but is hardly an appropriate signal to U.S. enemies.

The milder version, sponsored by Rep. Tony Coelho (D., Calif.) and passed by the full House, calls for April 24, 1985, to be a day to commemorate the Armenian "genocide perpetrated in Turkey between 1915 and 1923." In specific terms, this bill would not directly affect U.S. policy.

But the bill that has recently passed the Senate Foreign Relations Committee makes no pretense of avoiding current policy implications. Sponsored by Sens. Carl Levin (D., Mich.) and Pete Wilson (R., Calif.), Senate Resolution 241 calls for U.S. foreign policy "to take into account the genocide of the Armenian people. . . ." No one knows exactly what this means. According to his spokesman, Sen. Levin wants to link U.S. aid to the Turkish record on human rights.

The Turks are understandably confused, worried and upset. The Senate bill specifically says that the Ottoman empire and not the modern Turkish republic was responsible for the killings of Armenians. So, perhaps, the Turks have reacted too strongly to the threat of its passage. But, after more than a decade of terrorism, they can be excused for suspecting that the bills are part of a wider political agenda to separate Turkey from the West.

In a week when Congress is examining ways to prevent attacks on our embassies, it is particularly ironic to consider resolutions that will be widely interpreted as endorsing terrorism against the diplomats of a democratic ally.

DOCUMENT II

Source:  
Dear Colleague Letter  
distributed to all Members  
of the U.S. Congress  
by its signatories on  
June 3, 1985.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
WASHINGTON, DC 20515

June 3, 1985

Dear Colleague:

These thoughts are written as we leave Istanbul after three very intense days of visits to American, NATO, and Turkish military installations and discussions with the Prime Minister, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the Minister of Defense of Turkey. We have concluded that it would be not only a mistake, but a tragic one for the House to pass H.J. Res. 192, the so-called "Armenian Genocide" resolution.

At best, its passage would be an exercise in "ethnic politics" appealing to a handful of constituents. At worst it will deliver a crippling blow to our alliance with one of our most supportive and vital NATO allies. The political and military leadership of Turkey are

- A) The building of a free, independent, and united Armenia;
- B) The establishment of a socialist and democratic independent Republic;
- C) The borders of the united Armenia will include the Armenian territories demarcated by the Sevres Treaty, together with the regions of Nakhitchevan, Akhalkalak and Karabagh;
- D) The repatriation of the disseminated Armenian masses, and the re-gathering of the entire Armenian people into the independent national territory.
- E) Condemnation and reparations for the crime of genocide (unpunished till now) perpetrated by Turkey against the Armenian people; restitution of occupied territories and the payment of just compensations due to the Armenian nation;
- F) Elaboration of the fundamental laws of the Republic of Armenia by a Constituent Assembly elected by universal, egalitarian and direct suffrage in accordance with the principle of secret ballot and proportional election;

POLITICAL PROGRAM OF THE A.R.F.

## DEPARTMENT OF STATE WASHINGTON

November 25, 1985

### DOCUMENT VI

Source:  
Letter of U.S. Secretary of State George  
Shultz of November 25, 1985 to Speaker  
of the U.S. House of Representatives, the  
Honorable Thomas P. O'Neill.

Dear Mr. Speaker:

Following our talks and my letter to you of March 5, 1985, on this subject, I wish to reiterate the Administration's strong opposition to H.J. Res. 192. A copy of this controversial resolution, which fell short of passage under a motion to suspend and pass June 4, is enclosed. In our view, passage would undermine our efforts to combat terrorism and greatly harm US-Turkish relations.

Over 50 Turkish diplomats and American citizens have been killed by terrorists seeking to gain acceptance of the charge that the Turkish nation is guilty of a genocide. These terrorists have harassed and bombed Americans who disputed the genocide charge and lent support to fellow terrorists attacking and kidnapping our personnel in Lebanon. Adoption of H.J. Res. 192 would inevitably be seen by these and other terrorists as a vindication and reward for their vicious campaign.

This terrorist campaign has transformed the genocide issue into a nationalistic, emotional matter for all Turks. Passage would generate an immediate public reaction against the United States in Turkey. Turkey is a staunch NATO ally which fought with us in Korea, fields NATO's second largest army, guards the straits separating Soviet Black Sea bases from the Mediterranean, and provides military and other facilities vital to our security. It does not serve our national interest to harm this important relationship, particularly when we are consulting with Ankara on the future of our bases in Turkey.

Over 60 of our most distinguished scholars of Turkish and Middle East studies have questioned the historical assumptions of H.J. Res. 192. While we do not dismiss the historic tragedy that occurred in eastern Anatolia 70 years ago, there remain powerful reasons for opposing the resolution. I ask your help in securing its defeat.

Sincerely yours,

George P. Shultz

### DOCUMENT VII

Source:  
Letter of U.S. Secretary of State, George  
Shultz of March 4, 1985 to the Speaker  
of the U.S. House of Representatives,  
Thomas P. O'Neill.

## THE SECRETARY OF STATE WASHINGTON

March 4, 1985

Dear Mr. Speaker:

I seek your assistance concerning a problem which has significant implications for American security policy and which I fear may not receive the attention it deserves without your intervention.

A resolution (H.J. Res. 37) has been introduced into the House of Representatives which seeks designation of April 24, 1985, as a day of remembrance for all victims of genocide, especially Armenians who died in Turkey in 1915. A copy of the resolution is enclosed. Other, similar, resolutions are expected to be introduced in both houses of Congress during the legislative year.

A resolution similar to H.J. Res. 37 was adopted by the House last September 10. Although its adoption passed almost unnoticed in the United States, it was greeted by a universal public outcry in Turkey. A movement for parliamentary review of diplomatic relations with the United States was headed off by Prime Minister Ozal at that time, but the Turkish Government has informed us that adoption of further resolutions to this effect would seriously damage the vital relationship between Turkey and the United States.

The underlying cause of this emotional reaction to such resolutions stems not merely from the strong feelings aroused by a US judgment that Turkey bears the guilt of perpetrating genocide. It relates to the dangerous problem of modern day Armenian terrorism. Since 1975 over 50 Turkish citizens, mostly diplomats, have been killed by Armenian terrorists. In addition to demanding Turkish government recognition of an Armenian genocide, the terrorists demand reparations and cession of a major portion of eastern Turkey to form an independent Armenian state. The Turks thus view the campaign to characterize the tragedy of 1915 as a genocide as the first step toward their territorial dismemberment.

Armenian terrorism has not only struck at Turkish citizens, but also our own. Four assassinations have occurred on our soil. U.S. citizens have been the target of a number of attempted bombings or other harassment in the course of this terrorist campaign, and one US citizen died in an Armenian attack on a Turkish airport. ASALA, one of the two major Armenian terrorist groups engaged in these activities, also aids other terrorist groups which have Americans as their primary target. It has publicly declared its support of Islamic Jihad, the Iranian-supported terrorist organization responsible for so much of the violence in Lebanon.

The Department of State greatly regrets and does not dismiss the tragic events early in this century when, in the declining days of the Ottoman Empire, incalculable devastation, including widespread massacres struck at Armenians and members of other ethnic groups in an area encompassing what is now eastern Turkey. We, nonetheless, believe that resolutions such as H.J. Res. 37, however well intentioned and however worded, will inevitably be seen by the terrorists as an encouragement and justification for their acts.

In addition, we need and value Turkish cooperation in mutual security matters. This is important to the defense of Europe, Southwest Asia, and our lines of communication to that part of the world. Recognizing the passions aroused by this issue we must take seriously the Turkish Government's warnings that adoption of these resolutions would diminish sharply its ability to maintain the smooth and effective relationship now existing between our two countries.

Starting with Parliamentary elections at the end of 1983, the Turkish Government has made major strides in its return to full democracy after a three-year period of military rule undertaken to deal with wide-spread domestic terrorism. Turkey is also engaged in a revolutionary program of economic reform which stresses free-market principles, the supremacy of private capital and commitment to monetary and fiscal responsibility which has gained it widespread respect in international banking circles. Favorable action on the resolutions would not only weaken the government of Prime Minister Ozal, the architect of these reforms, it could also greatly set back our ability to influence Ankara positively on Cyprus--another issue which invokes deep nationalist sentiments and on which the Turkish government is currently playing a constructive and helpful role.

I thus ask for your strong efforts in opposition to these resolutions throughout the current Congressional session.

Sincerely yours,

George P. Shultz

Source:  
the Armenian Weekly, April 13, 1985, p.

11

## JOINT APPEAL BY ARMENIAN PARTIES

During the First World War and the ensuing years—1915-1923, the Government of Turkey through a premeditated and systematic genocide, tried to complete its centuries-old policy of annihilation against the Armenians, by savagely murdering 1.5 million Armenians and deporting the rest from their 3,000-year homeland.

That attempt at genocide is justly regarded as the first instance of Genocide in the 20th Century acted upon an entire people. This event is incontrovertibly proven by historians, government and international political leaders, such Viscount Bryce, Johannes Lepsius, Arnold Toynbee, Henry Morgenthau, Fridtjof Nansen and many others.

The Armenian historic homelands, emptied of its native population until today, remains occupied by the Turkish Government.

Pursuing a long-range plan, the Turkish Government with that brutal action, sought to exterminate its Armenian population once and for all, the closing chapter on the Armenian Question.

However, despite the genocidal policy of the Turkish Government, during the 70 years following the genocide, in a small portion of Armenia's historic lands there exists an Armenian Government in the diaspora, the dispersed Armenian communities lifting themselves from their refugee status, have become strongholds of Armenian culture and national aspirations. They have, by their existence, transformed the Armenian Question into a political demand—the Armenian Case.

Armenians in the Fatherland and in communities throughout the world, once again prepare appropriate events to commemorate the memory of the victims of the Genocide, as well as the renewed determination to pursue its Holy Case with a united front.

During this phase of the 70th Anniversary Commemorations, it is heartening to note the continued spirit of cooperation that permeates all the Armenian national political parties and renders our Case into an ALL-ARMENIAN ideal.

The national political parties also are aware that a new generation of Armenians has arisen armed with a strong sense of Armenianism, political maturity, and a forceful sense of justice. These young Armenians pursue the Armenian Case through political activities, diplomatic means, and other means. They have unquestionably become the champions of the demands for the return of the Armenian lands. Specially, during the last ten years, alongside the widespread political and diplomatic work, a group of young Armenians, through their own activities, has had a decisive impact upon the international familiarization of the Armenian Case.

On this occasion, we once again reiterate the unquestioned justice of the restitution Armenian rights and . . .

- We demand that the Turkish Government admit its responsibility for the Armenian Genocide, render reparations to the Armenian people, and return the land to its rightful owners. The recognition of the Genocide has become an issue which cannot be delayed further, and it is imperative that artificial obstacles created for political manipulations be removed.
- Insofar as relations between Turkey and Armenians is concerned, the Armenian people are prepared to establish a constructive two-way dialogue with duly authorized Turkish officials to lift misconceptions and enmities between the two parties. As long as this dialogue does not begin, there will be among Armenians, groups which will continue to resort to non-peaceful methods of resolving the Armenian Case.
- We believe the time has come to demand from the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, that they formally recognize the Armenian Genocide, adopt the principles of our demands and refuse to accede to Turkish pressures to the contrary.
- As citizens of the United States, we express our vehement protest to the present U.S. Government policy of continued coddling, protection and unqualified assistance towards Turkey.
- We also demand that the United States return to the policies advocated by President Woodrow Wilson and other enlightened U.S. presidents, who have undertaken a just, human and benevolent attitude towards the rights of the Armenian people and the just resolution of its Case.



- Of particular importance, we would like to stress the responsibility that the Soviet Union has towards the Armenian people and the Armenian case, given the fact that Soviet Armenia, constitutionally enjoys the same rights belonging to the other constituent republics in the Soviet Union.
- Our territorial demands are strictly aimed at Turkey's, however, the Armenian people cannot forget that lands adjacent to Soviet Armenia have remained under the rule of neighboring countries for too many years. The annexation of those lands to Armenia will repair other injustices suffered by the Armenian people in those areas.
- On the eve of the 70th Anniversary Commemoration, the Armenian communities are using every measure possible to render April 24 as a day of official recognition in the countries in which they live. We are certain that the Armenians in Armenia and in the Diaspora would be greatly satisfied if April 24 is officially designated an "Armenian Genocide Day" in Soviet Armenia.
- During this 70th Anniversary, we come once again reiterate the unity of the Armenian People, the timelessness of the Armenian Demands and the desire to pursue the struggle for that restitution—a struggle that unites ALL Armenians.
- Today, we appeal to all Armenians in the Western United States to participate en masse in the Commemorative Events, be they cultural, political or religious.

ARF  
Central Committee  
of Western USA

SDHP  
Western United States  
Executive Body

ADL  
Western United States  
Regional Executive

#### DOCUMENT IX

Source:

Flyer distributed by the Armenian National Committee, that is the Dashnag Party and the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, at a rally held in Times Square, New York, April 21, 1985.

#### ARMENIANS SEEK THE LIBERATION OF THEIR HOMELAND OCCUPIED BY TURKEY

For nearly three thousand years, the Armenian people lived on their homeland— the last six hundred under oppressive Turkish occupation. The persecutions culminated in 1915: The Turkish government planned and carried out a GENOCIDE against its Armenian subjects. 1.5 million Armenians were murdered and the remainder driven out of their homeland. After three thousand years, Armenia was empty of Armenians.

The survivors scattered throughout the world.

Today, Turkey rejects the right of Armenians to return to their Armenian lands occupied by Turkey.

Today, Turkey covers up the genocide perpetrated by its predecessors and is therefore an accessory to this crime against humanity.

Turkey must pay for its crime of genocide against the Armenians by admitting to the crime and making reparations to the Armenians.

Armenians demand the right to return to their lands, to determine their own future as a nation in their own homeland.

Armenian National Committee

#### DOCUMENT X

Source:

Michael Gunter, "The Armenian Terrorist Campaign Against Turkey", *Orbis*, Volume 27, No. 2 (1983), p. 469.

#### THE ARMENIAN SECRET ARMY FOR THE LIBERATION OF ARMENIA AND ITS TIES TO OTHER INTERNATIONAL TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS

Most Turks, including their government, feel that the Armenian terrorists have been receiving aid from various groups and states around the world. . . ASALA itself has confirmed such links: 'We sympathize and exchange assistance and services with the Baader-Meinhof group. We have relations with all the European revolutionary movements.'

# DOCUMENT XI

Source: Text of the resolution of December 4, 1985 drafted by the Deputy Chairmen of all three political parties and representatives of the Independent Parliamentarians' Group and approved unanimously by all members of the Turkish Parliament.

To the speaker of the Turkish Grand National Assembly,

We have been following with concern the developments in the Congress of the United States of America, our ally, regarding a resolution incorporating baseless Armenian allegations. We would like to hope that this heinous plot on the part of those who seek to mar relations of alliance and friendship between Turkey and the United States will not meet the approval of the U.S. Congress. The adoption of such a resolution will constitute a heavy blow and harm irreparably the friendly relations between our two countries. It should not be forgotten that we, beyond bilateral bonds, are determined to shoulder our responsibilities and to preserve our existence and territorial integrity within the frame of our defense organization. It is imperative that our two countries should be respectful reciprocally of national interests and safeguard these interests vis-a-vis third parties. The adoption of a resolution by the U.S. Congress which will be the denial of this reality will harm the spirit and foundation of our alliance. Accordingly, Turkey will not view such an action lightly and will be compelled to draft its own conclusions. We feel that it is our duty to inform the U.S. Congress and the American public, in due time, of our determination and firm stand in this respect.

At a time when United States citizens are falling victim to international terrorism and when the United States is engaged in a determined struggle against international terrorism, it is indeed ironic that the U.S. Congress should adopt a resolution which through endorsing certain fallacious allegations would be conducive to encouraging these bloody deeds which are an integral part of international terrorism. This will cast a shadow over the credibility and reliability of the United States.

We believe that the maintenance of the cooperation and alliance between our two countries will be beneficial to the United States as well as to Turkey. With this belief, and with our sincere sentiments of friendship, we call on the Congress of the United States to prevent a colossal mistake and to preserve scrupulously the friendship between our two countries.

Prof. Dr. Ali Bozer  
National Democratic Party  
Murat Sökmenoglu  
Independent Parliamentarian  
Haydar Özalp  
Motherland Party

M. Seyfi Özsoy  
Social Popular Party  
Abdurrahman Demirtaş  
Independent Parliamentarian

Ankara, December 4, 1985

# DOCUMENT XII

Source: Letter of December 4, 1985 from the Honorable Necmettin Karaduman, President of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, to the Honorable Thomas P. O'Neill, Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives.

The Honorable  
Mr. Thomas O'Neill  
Speaker  
House of Representatives of the United States of America  
Washington, D.C.  
Mr. Speaker,

The Turkish Parliamentarians have learned with dismay the draft H.J. Res. 192, which is based on false historical allegations and undoubtedly detrimental intentions towards the Republic of Turkey and the Turkish people as a whole, is being once again introduced to the floor of your esteemed forum, the House of Representatives of the United States of America.

This regrettable development, which is bound to harm the alliance and friendship between our two great nations has, naturally, met with a concerned and unanimous reaction on the part of the members of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey.

I am enclosing herewith the copy of a resolution co-signed by the Deputy Chairmen of all three political parties and representatives of the Independent Parliamentarians' group, which met with the unanimous approval of all the members of the Turkish Parliament.

I need not elaborate, Mr. Speaker, on the dangers that the passage of such a gravely harmful resolution will create.

It is our belief that the United States Congress is firm in its commitment to combat terrorism in all its forms. Therefore, I feel that condoning H.J. Res. 192 will be a total negation of this firm attitude. Recognition, or the legitimization of the contents of this resolution will undoubtedly serve to encourage the perpetuation of terrorism, the continuation of the killings of innocent Turkish diplomats and functionaries as well as citizens of other nations, including those of the United States of America.

It is also my belief that the premises of the claims incorporated in such resolutions should be based on scientific research by competent historians. In this connection I should like to call to your attention the document prepared and published this year by 69 prominent American historians. The United States Congress should not be instrumental in promoting the false contentions of certain lobbies and/or circles.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, may I request that the attention of the distinguished members of the House of Representatives be called on the irreparable damage that the adoption of H.J. Res. 192 will cause on Turkish-American relations.

Please accept, Mr. Speaker, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Necmettin Karaduman  
President  
Grand National Assembly of Turkey

November 25, 1985

The Honorable George P. Shultz  
Secretary of State  
Department of State  
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Mr. Secretary:

I have been informed that the supporters of H.J. Res. 192, the so-called "Armenian Genocide Resolution" (officially known as: "National Day of Remembrance of Man's Inhumanity to Man"), have arranged to bring it, once again, to the House floor during the first week of December. The immediacy of this development has compelled me to contact you before our scheduled meeting at the forthcoming NATO Council meetings later next month.

My Government is highly appreciative of your earlier efforts aimed at forestalling the adoption of H.J. Res. 192. In this regard, we learned through our Embassy in Washington, D.C. that your letter dated March 4, 1985, addressed to the Speaker of the House of Representatives proved instrumental in promoting a heightened awareness among the members of the House as to the most deleterious ramifications of the adoption of the said resolution.

As you are aware, the passage of a similar resolution by the U.S. House of Representatives in 1984 triggered an explosive reaction throughout all segments of the Turkish body politic. This led to Parliamentary calls for a comprehensive re-evaluation of Turkish-American bilateral relations which was narrowly averted by painstaking efforts on the part of the Prime Minister. In the intervening months, Turkish public opinion has become even more sensitive vis-a-vis the fallacious Armenian charges incorporated in this resolution. Consequently, the Turkish public has become united in their conviction that passage of this resolution represents nothing less than betrayal of Turkey by its closest ally. The sensitivity of the Turkish people on this issue is such that, at the very least, the passage of H.J. Res. 192 will precipitate, this time, a more serious crisis than that experienced last year.

In view of the foregoing, I appeal to you to utilize the full powers of your office and to communicate, once again, in any way you may deem appropriate, to all members of the House of Representatives, as well as the House leadership, and to urge them to cast their votes in opposition to H.J. Res. 192. I am sure your personal intervention will be an effective means of communicating our shared concerns to the House membership.

I take the liberty of thanking you in advance for your assistance on this issue of paramount importance to both our nations.

Please accept, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Vahit Halefoglu  
Minister of Foreign Affairs of the  
Republic of Turkey

DOCUMENT XIII

Source:  
Letter of November 25, 1985 from the  
Honorable Vahit Halefoglu, Minister of  
Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey,  
to the Honorable George P. Shultz, U.S.  
Secretary of State.

Source: Letter of June 12, 1985 from H.E. Ambassador Şükrü Elekdağ to Members of the U.S. House of Representatives.

Turkish Embassy  
Washington, D.C.  
June 12, 1985

Dear Congressman:

On Tuesday, June 4, 1985, you and 58 of your fellow Republican colleagues in the U.S. House of Representatives voted favorably on the H.J. Res. 192 under the suspension of the rules provision. The measure, which would have had the effect of unjustly condemning the Republic of Turkey of having perpetrated a "genocide" against the Armenian inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire during the course of the First World War, did not pass, thereby temporarily putting this most controversial piece of legislation to rest.

I understand the sponsors of the defeated resolution plan to bring it to the floor once again in a fashion where its passage may be secured by a simple majority vote. Before casting another vote on H.J. Res. 192, I sincerely hope you will take time from your always busy schedule to review the following. Passage of this resolution will irreparably damage the trust and confidence between our two nations.

I am certain that you have voted for the resolution under the assumption that it was a routine commemorative day resolution or that the assertions contained therein were based on well-established historical facts. I am equally certain you were not aware the adoption of the resolution in question would have deleterious effects on Turkish-American relations and on our common strategic interests.

As the enclosed publications and documents clearly illustrate, nothing could be further from the truth. Each of the attached shed important light on a separate aspect of one or another of the fallacious implications underlying this resolution.

*Negative Impact on Turkish-American Relations and Security Cooperation  
as well as on the U.S. Strategic Interests:*

As may be seen from the attached "Dear Colleague Letter" signed by eleven members of the House Armed Services Committee, the passage of this resolution will have profound negative effects on U.S. and NATO strategic interests in the Eastern Mediterranean. As the Armed Services Committee Delegation witnessed during their recent visit to Turkey, the Turkish body politic and public opinion at large, equate passage of this resolution with support of the aims of self-avowed Armenian terrorist organizations who in the past decade had been responsible for the assassinations of no less than forty innocent Turkish diplomats and numerous innocent bystanders.

*The Adoption of the Resolution would place the U.S. Congress in the Camp  
of those whose Aim is the Dismemberment of the Republic of Turkey:*

The attached copy of a "flyer" signed and distributed by the Armenian National Committee (the largest of the Armenian ethnic lobbying groups pushing the passage of H.J. Res. 192), which openly states that the aim of this "mainstream" Armenian-American organization is identical with those of the terrorist groups (such as ASALA and JCAG), who likewise view the recognition of Armenian claims against Turkey by a body as prestigious as the U.S. House of Representatives, as the first step in a wider agenda, namely, dismemberment of Turkey (a NATO country) and attachment of a portion of its sovereign territory to the Armenian Socialist Republic of the Soviet Union. The wording of the attached "flyer" shows that this aim is not only that of the radical terrorist fringe, but one which likewise is shared by the leading Armenian ethnic organization pushing for the passage of H.J. Res. 192.

I know from experience that many American lawmakers see the resolution as a symbolic gesture devoid of practical consequences. As they see it, Armenian-Americans in the mainstream of their communities only want the suffering of their forebears to be authenticated and validated. What harm can that do? Only the past is at stake. Affirmation of a version of history is the end that is sought, nothing more. But this is certainly not true, particularly when the so-called mainstream Armenian-American groups such as the Armenian National Committee of New York now openly call for the liberation from the Turks of what they describe as their homeland. Therefore, validation of a version of history must now be seen not merely as a symbolic end sought, but as a means of achieving a geopolitical result today in 1985—the dismemberment of Turkey.

*Baselessness of the Historical Charges Advanced in the Resolution:*

As will be seen from the attached proclamation addressed to the members of the House of Representatives, and signed by a total of 69 American academic specialists on Turkey,

the indictment of Turkey implicit in the wording of the resolution is without foundation. This group of scholars who represent over 90 percent of the American academic community with specialized interest in and knowledge of Turkey and its history, have characterized the wording of the resolution as historically inaccurate and misleading. The co-signers include such well-known and prominent specialists as: Professor Roderic Davison of George Washington University; Professor J.C. Hurewitz of Columbia University; Professor Bernard Lewis of Princeton University; Professor Dankwart Rustow of the City University of New York; Professor Stanford Shaw of UCLA; Professor John Masson Smith of Berkeley; to name but a few. The opposition of the very scholarly and internationally reputed community of experts on the period of history in question should not be considered lightly.

*The Spuriousness of the Hitler Quote on  
"Who Remembers the Armenian Extermination."*

Those who advocate the passage of this resolution frequently have recourse to a purported comment of Adolf Hitler justifying the planned extermination of the European Jews on the grounds that the world had forgotten the fate of Armenians. The attached article entitled "The U.S. Congress and Adolf Hitler on the Armenians" authored by a leading American specialist on Turkey, demonstrates both the baselessness of the quote in question, as well as the intent of its initial fabricators, namely, link the "Armenian Cause" to that of the Jewish victims of the Holocaust and then you would succeed in convincing public opinion that the Armenian experience must too have been a "genocide."

I urge you to do everything possible to prevent the passage of H.J. Res. 192.

Sincerely yours,

Dr. Şükrü Elekdağ  
Ambassador of the  
Turkish Republic

DOCUMENT XV

Source:  
Message of December 2, 1985 from H.E.  
Şükrü Elekdağ to all members of the U.S.  
House of Representatives.

On previous occasions, I conveyed to you the strongly negative feelings of the Turkish people regarding H.J. Res. 192.

There is no doubt in my mind that as an individual and as a member of Congress you deplore terrorist savagery and violence, but I am indeed dismayed that many members of Congress are not aware of the implication of the adoption of H.J. Res. 192, innocently entitled "National Day of Man's Inhumanity to Man," which wrongly endorses a charge that Armenians were victims of genocide in 1915.

Armenian terrorists in the past eleven years have murdered over 50 Turkish citizens. The assassins struck at targets which were most vulnerable and defenseless. Their victims have been diplomats—people trained to promote international tolerance and understanding. In the past eleven years, I had to pay homage to 30 of my personal friends—colleagues, their spouses and children who were victims of the wanton terrorist savagery. After each murder, the terrorists have proclaimed as their pretext "vengeance" based on historical distortion, the same as that incorporated in H.J. Res. 192.

We must not lose sight of the fact that the founder of the Armenian terrorist organization ASALA, Hagop Hagopian, began his notorious career as a member of the terrorist group which perpetrated the massacre of the Israeli athletes at the Munich Olympics in 1972. Moreover, we should not forget that Carins, the deadliest of all international assassins, recently proclaimed on Spanish television that his organization had entered into a working relationship with Armenian terrorists. Moreover, the recent press reports indicate that Armenian terrorist groups are collaborating with the same Middle Eastern terrorist organizations responsible for the bombing of the United States Embassy and the Marine barracks in Beirut. These reports are well known by competent U.S. authorities, and indicate that the scourge of Armenian terrorism is also directed against the United States.

The victim toll among the overseas representatives of Turkey and the United States have been higher than any other country's. It is indeed strange at a time when the United States Government is actively striving to put an end to international terrorism that its Congress is even considering the passage of a resolution which at the very least lends moral support to one of the deadliest forms of international terrorism.

The Turkish people look to the government of the United States, and especially its Congress, as upholders of justice and truth. Consequently, there is no way in which Turkish political leaders can justify to their voters an action of the U.S. Congress which so clearly condemns the Turkish people unjustly and endorses a falsehood as truth.

In the interest of both our countries and of truth, I urge you to vote against this resolution.

Dr. Şükrü Elekdağ  
Ambassador of the  
Turkish Republic

#### DOCUMENT XVI

Source:  
Unclassified U.S. Department of State  
Telegram dated December, 1985 from  
U.S. Ambassador Robert Strausz-Hupe in  
Ankara, Turkey, to Congressman Carroll  
Hubbard, Jr.

To the Honorable  
Carroll Hubbard, Jr.  
House of Representatives  
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Congressman Hubbard:

As you are aware, a determined effort is being made to bring House Joint Resolution 192 on "Man's Inhumanity to Man" to the floor this week. As American Ambassador to Turkey, I can assure you that the passage of that resolution will be regarded by all Turks, whether members of the government or of the opposition, and whether prominent personages or simple peasants and townspeople, as a gratuitous insult to a country and people that regard themselves, with much justification, as loyal allies and steadfast friends of the United States.

Turks will also regard its passage as a distortion of history (the Turkish government does not accept that there was a deliberate policy of genocide under the Ottomans against Armenians—and many reputable American historians share that view), and as a reward for Armenian terrorists who have murdered in the United States and elsewhere over fifty Turkish diplomats and American citizens in the past decade and who challenge Turkey's sovereignty and territorial integrity. Moreover, its passage at this date cannot undo whatever injustices that might have occurred during a confused period of hostilities on the World War I Russian-Turkish Front some seventy years ago.

Given this background and Turkey's key role in defending NATO's southeastern flank and maintaining stability in the vital Middle East, I strongly urge that you vote against this resolution which can only harm our otherwise excellent relations with a strategic ally and loyal friend.

Since I cannot reach all members of Congress, I would hope that you will share this telegram with your colleagues.

Sincerely yours,  
Robert Strausz-Hupe  
American Ambassador

#### DOCUMENT XVII

Source:  
Testimony of U.S. Secretary of Defense  
Caspar Weinberger, February 21, 1985  
before the Foreign Affairs committee of  
the U.S. House of Representatives.

I would like to address another congressional issue of importance to our relations with Turkey: the so-called "Armenian Genocide" Resolutions. H.J. Resolution 37, introduced in January, would, among other things, designate a National Day of Remembrance with reference to "Armenian Genocide" in Turkey between 1915 and 1923. Whatever the merits of such remembrance, we believe such resolutions are counter-productive in that they serve to encourage Armenian terrorists who have killed more than 50 Turkish citizens, mostly diplomats over the past years. Some murders have occurred in the United States. We also believe that consideration of this resolution would embarrass the United States and strain relations with this critical ally. For these reasons, I hope you give your support to preventing favorable action on this resolution, and preventing the introduction of others like it.

# NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURY ARMENIAN TERRORISM: 'Threads of Continuity'

W. Lowry: "Nineteenth and  
Twentieth Century Armenian Terrorism:  
'Threads of Continuity,'" International  
Terrorism and the Drug Connection,  
Ankara (Ankara University Press), 1984.  
pp. 71-83.

The historian of the Ottoman Empire who ventures into reality long enough to examine the activities of Armenian terrorist organizations in the past decade, is immediately struck by the high degree of similarity between the stated aims, the choice of targets, the tactics utilized, and the rhetoric employed by today's Armenian terrorist groups, and those of their nineteenth and early twentieth century counterparts. On the assumption that the study of the past does at times provide some insight into the present, and even the future, I have chosen today to trace some of the "threads of continuity" running throughout the history of armed Armenian political violence. Having done so, and fully cognizant of the risk I run in front of an audience among whom are so many distinguished psychologists, I will then venture into an analysis of some of the factors in Armenian society which serve to ensure that each succeeding generation seems to produce and nurture a new group of terrorists. Specifically, I will examine the treatment accorded each generation of Armenian terrorists by their contemporaries, in an attempt to illustrate the manner in which such individuals are traditionally held up to the next generation's youth as "Armenian National Heroes." Stated differently, they are eulogized in such terms that they cannot help but be perceived by the young as 'role models.'

In a recent paper, Dr. Gerard Libaridian, the Director of the Zoryan Institute in Cambridge, Massachusetts, attempted to come to grasp with what he termed: "The Roots of Political Violence in Recent Armenian History" (Libaridian, 1983). Under the heading of 'Root Causes' he wrote:

*"In general it seems that political violence and more specifically political assassinations, have come to life in Armenian society as a reaction against the repressive regimes of the Ottoman and Russian Empires before the First World War. Empires which seem to have left no way, no more peaceful way anyway, for the Armenians to achieve any kind of progress. In the case of the Armenians particularly, as opposed to larger entities, such as the Turks themselves, or the Russians themselves, their inability because of the smaller size of the Armenians, their inability to affect the larger events within the Empires of which they were a part, seems to have directed them to a more individual type of action which political assassination is."*

Compare this view with that expressed in a 1977 letter to the New York Times, written by the Armenian National Committee in Boston, where we read:

*"Some Armenians have apparently lost faith in the willingness or capacity of the world's governments to listen to, or act on, peaceful appeals," [Times, May 30, 1977].*

One fact is immediately apparent. If Libaridian is correct in ascribing nineteenth century Armenian political assassination as resulting from the frustration felt by Armenians who were unable to effect change in the Russian and Ottoman Empires from 'within,' and the ANC letter is correct in viewing today's assassinations as stemming from the frustration felt by Armenians unable to influence the world's governments from 'without,' it becomes relatively easy to understand why the level of today's violence is so great. Viewed differently, whereas the goal of creating an independent Armenian State in Eastern Anatolia, is certainly shared by both past and present Armenian terrorists, the fact that today's terrorists are forced to try to do from 'outside' what their nineteenth century counterparts were unable to accomplish from 'inside,' points to a higher 'frustration level' among the current crop of terrorists. For, after more than a century of violence, the goal their 'terrorism' ostensibly addresses, the creation of an independent Armenian state, is further from reality today than it was a hundred years ago. This does not imply, however, that we should complacently view today's acts of terrorism as a 'last gasp effort.' To the contrary, yet another 'thread of continuity' linking the nineteenth and twentieth century Armenian terrorists is their shared inability to comprehend the realities of the world around them. In the same manner that the nineteenth century Armenian revolutionaries failed to see that the geographically dispersed nature of the Armenian minority of the Ottoman population, preordained that their 'nationalism' would not share the success of other Ottoman ethnic minorities and result in the creation of an independent Armenia, carved out of a portion of the Ottoman Empire; so, too, are their twentieth century descendents incapable of grasping the fact that a strong Turkey will never accede to the demands of a handfull of terrorists. In other words, one factor totally lacking in the makeup of past and present Armenian terrorists, is logic!

Understanding this aspect of the terrorist's character makes it much easier to comprehend why they continue to utilize the same methods and tactics today that failed to gain them their objectives in the nineteenth century. Political assassinations in the period between 1860 and the outbreak of World War I, took the lives of scores of Ottoman and Russian officials. However, this fact did not influence Russian or Ottoman policy vis-à-vis Armenian separatist aspirations one iota. Nor will the wanton murder of Turkish Diplomats today ever affect the decision-making process of the Government of the Republic of Turkey.

Likewise, the tactic of occupying public buildings, planting them with explosives, and threatening to blow them up if specific demands were not met, did not begin in 1981 Paris, or in 1983 Lisbon. This tactic was first employed by Armenian terrorists in August of 1896, with the takeover of the Ottoman Bank in Beyoğlu, Istanbul. Under the threat of blowing up their hostages, they issued a series of demands, just as eighty five years later their twentieth century counterparts did, following the September 1981 occupation of the Turkish Consulate in Paris, France. In the end, the 1896 terrorists surrendered without having seen the fulfillment of their demands, just as their 1981 counterparts did in Paris. Indeed, the only real difference between these operations stemmed from the subsequent treatment accorded to the terrorists. The 1896 occupiers of the Ottoman Bank were shipped out of Istanbul in style on the yacht of the British Ambassador, whereas the terrorists who took over the Paris Consulate were given a French trial and inappropriately light prison sentences. In both instances the only tangible result was a brief flurry of attention by the press.

Given the total failure of one hundred years of senseless violence to achieve its avowed aim of the creation of an independent Armenia, what if any, are its successes? To answer this query we must broaden our examination to include the topic of Armenian terrorism, when its objects are terrorist actions against Armenians. A recent study focusing on the years between 1904 and 1906 provides the following statistics on the victims of Armenian political assassination in that era:

*"In this three year period there were 105 political assassinations: of which 56 were against Armenian informers; 32 were for political reasons against both Russian and Turkish officials and officers; 7 or 8 were against blackmailers; 5 against usurors; and 2 or 3 were incidental, with unspecified causes. These figures were for the Eastern Armenian regions of Tiflis and Baku, as well as for Van and its vicinity in the Ottoman Empire." [Libaridian, 1983]*

In other words, during this brief three year period, there were two Armenian victims assassinated by Armenian terrorists for every one non-Armenian. This hitherto almost totally neglected fact deserves our attention, for it was not a phenomenon limited to 1904-1906, but rather one which still exists today. Its purpose, then as now, was nothing more or less than intimidation. The conscious attempt to frighten the overwhelming majority of peaceful Armenians into silence as regards the activities of the terrorists.

On September 24, 1933, the then primate of the Armenian Church of America, Archbishop Leon Touranian was assassinated by Armenian terrorists as he prepared to celebrate mass in the Armenian Cathedral of New York City. As he walked up the aisle in plain sight of several hundred waiting parishioners, a group of men blocked his path, knives flashed, and he fell dead on the floor. Not one individual in the crowd was able to identify a single one of the assailants. The New York District Attorney who prosecuted the subsequent trial of the nine man Dashnak cell responsible for the assassination, had the following to say in regard to the failure of a single Armenian present in the Church to testify against the assailants:

*"The detectives faced a wall of reticence which did not auger well for a solution of the mysterious killing. Either these Armenians wished to settle the feuds in their own way by murderous counterplots; or they were too much in fear for their own safety to disclose what they know. [Spectator, December 7, 1983]*

While those Armenians in attendance may have been unaware of the statistic quoted above, that 56 of the 105 individuals assassinated by Armenian terrorists between 1904-1906 were murdered as "informers", the message which the terrorists intended to convey had clearly gotten through to them. Anyone who speaks up against one of their members will die.

Nor has this message changed today. Only six months ago, ASALA executed two Armenians (one of them an American) in Lebanon who were charged with having served



as C.I.A. "informants" in regard to the planned attack on the Istanbul *Kapalı Çarşı*, some months earlier, [Spectator, January 7, 1984: p. 16].

The result is a "curtain of fear" which makes it extremely difficult for law enforcement authorities of all nations to permeate the ranks of Armenian terrorists. For Armenians know full well what their fate will be if they are labeled as "informers" by the terrorists.

The irony of this situation is, that while Armenian terrorists have throughout the past one hundred years consistently failed to obtain their goals vis-à-vis their enemies, be they the Russian or Ottoman Empires or the Government of the Republic of Turkey, they have succeeded in creating the desired climate of terror among their fellow Armenians, the very community they claim to be working on behalf of. This is the sole success of a century of Armenian terrorism.

While this 'curtain of fear' may well account for the almost total silence of any voices within the Armenian communities of the world (with the exception of the Turkish Armenians), to openly speak out against the activities of Armenian terrorists, it does not account for the fact that many prominent Armenians in Western Europe and the United States of America have frequently used the flurry of press interest occasioned by the latest terrorist attack, to make statements which at least tacitly support such activities. As an example of this attitude we may cite the statement of Mr. Kevork Donat-edian, the editor of the *Armenian Weekly*, an ethnic newspaper published in the United States, which was reported in an article in the *Christian Science Monitor*:

*"As an Armenian, I never condone terrorism, but there must be a reason behind this. Maybe the terrorism will work. It worked for the Jews. They have Israel,"* [Monitor, November 18, 1980].

This attitude which may be typified as the "of course we don't condone terrorism, but we must understand the deep sense of frustration experienced by these young men as a result of the great historical injustice done to the Armenians by the Turks, etc. etc.", is repeated in the wake of every assassination, by a variety of Armenian academicians, spokesmen, and religious leaders. What it amounts to is nothing more than a token distancing of oneself from the actual event with the almost ritual "of course we don't condone terrorism," followed by a repetition of the same catalogue of charges concerning allegations of "massacres" and "genocide" against the Ottoman Empire of 1914-1915. Be the spokesman an Armenian-American or a French-Armenian, the litanies seldom varies. As for the intent, it never varies. It is the justification of the actions of the terrorists, on the grounds that their ancestors were the victims of an historical injustice. Albeit *de facto*, this represents nothing less than an acceptance of the actions of the terrorists. What such individuals are really saying is: "while I wouldn't want to hold the gun myself, those who do are performing a useful service on behalf of the 'Armenian Cause'."

Lest this indictment sound too harsh, I should now like to turn to a rather detailed 'case study' of the manner in which those few terrorists who have been apprehended, have been treated, and are being treated by the Armenian community as a whole.

This discussion will focus on an examination of two periods of terrorism, that which I will term the 'Post World War I Round' and the 'Current Round,' which began in 1973 and continues until the present.

Following the end of World War I, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, or the Dashnaks as they are more commonly known, formed a network known as 'Nemesis' designed to track down and assassinate former members of the Young Turk Government. Their first victim was the former Minister of the Interior, Talât Paşa, who was gunned down on March 15, 1921, while walking on the street in Berlin. His assassin was an Armenian named Soghomon Tehlirian. Nine months later the former Ottoman Minister of Foreign Affairs, Said Halim Paşa, was assassinated by an Armenian named Arshavir Shirakian in Rome. Barely four months later, this time working with an accomplice named Aram Yerganian, Shirakian struck again. This time his victims were two former Young Turk officials, Bahaeddin Şakir Bey and Cemal Azmi Bey, who were shot in Berlin on April 17, 1922. A few months later Cemal Paşa was gunned down in Tiflis by two Armenians [Walker, 1980: p. 344]. And the killing continued...

Of more import to us here, than the assassinations themselves, was the response then and now of the Armenian community at large to these events. Tehlirian, the assassin of Talât Paşa, was arrested in Berlin and charged with murder. Within days of his arrest, a "Soghomon Tehlirian Defense Fund" was established in Berlin, which rapidly grew as

Armenians worldwide, and in particular in the United States, sent their contributions to Berlin. Aided by the legal advice thus purchased, Tehlirian was acquitted after a cursory two day trial. For the next forty years, until his death in San Francisco (1960), Tehlirian was accorded the status of an 'Armenian National Hero.' Indeed, the 1968 book by James Nazer entitled, "The First Genocide of the Twentieth Century," places this 'title' beneath his photograph [Nazer, 1968]. The author likewise granted the epitaph of 'Armenian National Hero' to Shiragan and Yerganian, two of Tehlirian's fellow 'Nemesis' members.

Skipping forward in time to the 'Current Round' of Armenian terrorism, let us compare the treatment accorded the assassin of Kemal Arkan, the Turkish Consul General in Los Angeles, and that given to the five terrorists who occupied the residence of the Turkish Embassy in Lisbon, with that accorded to their 'Nemesis' forefathers.

Hampig Sassounian was a twenty-year-old Armenian immigrant who had recently moved to Los Angeles, California from his birthplace in Lebanon, when on January 28, 1982 he assassinated the Turkish Consul General to Los Angeles, Kemal Arkan. Following a drawn out trial, he was convicted of this crime in February of 1984. No sooner was Sassounian arrested than Armenian groups throughout the world, but primarily in North America, announced the opening of a variety of 'Sassounian Defense Funds.' A recent article in the Armenian press summarized their results in this regard as follows:

*"During the past twenty-two months, literally tens of thousands of Armenians have shown their interest and concern. Armenians in Los Angeles and in other cities throughout this country, Canada, France, Lebanon, England, Greece, Syria, Israel, Saudi Arabia, Iran, South Africa, Argentina, Australia, Italy, Switzerland, Spain and Egypt have rallied to support Sassounian's defense.*

*This outpouring of monies and personal and collective messages of support is indeed the best measure of a people involved in a political process which ultimately could determine their destiny."* [Asbarez, October 15, 1983].

A survey of the activities carried out by these 'Sassounian Defense Committees' is even more revealing as to the nature and scope of the efforts on his behalf. The following example, typical of numerous similar activities, will serve to illustrate this point. On the evening of Friday, October 21, 1983, at the HOLY CROSS ARMENIAN APOSTOLIC CHURCH in Montebello, California, an "Evening for Hampig" was organized by the 'Sassounian Defense Committee' Opening, and indeed we might say 'headlining,' the evening's activities was a 'Special Church Service' presided over by HIS GRACE BISHOP YEPREM TABAKIAN, PRELATE, WESTERN PRELACY OF THE ARMENIAN APOSTOLIC CHURCH. In addition, a variety of well known Armenian artists and singers performed for the benefit of the audience of several hundred Armenians who turned out in a show of 'Moral Support' for the terrorist assassin, Hampig Sassounian [Observer, October 12, 1983: p. 3].

The most disturbing aspect of this gathering is clearly the fact that it occurred in a religious sanctuary and that it was presided over by the leading Armenian religious authority in the western United States of America. Before proceeding with an analysis of some of the implications of this and similar events, we must examine the treatment accorded the five Armenian terrorists, who in July of 1983 occupied, and subsequently blew up, the Turkish Embassy in Lisbon, Portugal. As their action resulted in their own deaths, as well as that of their innocent victims, they were accorded the status of "Instant Martyrdom" in the Armenian communities across the world. The following partial list of the numerous 'memorial' services held in Armenian churches and community centers across America, in 'commemoration' of their 'sacrifice' will illustrate this point:

- a. On Sunday, October 16, 1983 at the A.C.E.C. in Watertown, Massachusetts, a gathering billed as a "Political Rally in memory of the Lisbon Five Martyrs" [Weekly, October 15, 1983];
- b. On January 21, 1984 in the Armenian All Saints Apostolic Church in Glenview, Illinois, a commemorative service for the 'Lisbon Five' [Weekly, January 14, 1984];
- c. On January 22, 1984 in the Saints Vartanantz Church in Providence, Rhode Island, a commemorative service for the 'Lisbon Five' [Weekly, January 14, 1984];
- d. On January 28, 1984 in the Armenian Community Center in Dearborn, Michigan, a commemorative service for the 'Lisbon Five' [Weekly, January 14, 1984];
- e. On January 29, 1984 in the Saints Vartanantz Church of Ridgefield, New Jersey, a

commemorative service for the 'Lisbon Five' [Weekly, January 14, 1984];

- f. On February 12, 1984 in the Soorp Khatch Church in Chevy Chase, Maryland a suburb of Washington, D.C., a commemorative service for the 'Lisbon Five' [Weekly, January 14, 1984].

The *Armenian Weekly* of Saturday, February 11, 1984 provides a lengthy description of one such 'memorial gathering' which was held in the Saints Vartanantz Church before an audience of "over 400 people." It consisted of the following segments:

1. A brief 'memorial service' for the souls of the "five heroes" was held in the Saints Vartanantz Church;
2. A presentation of the flag and candle lighting ceremony performed by the local Armenian 'Boy Scout' troop. These children carried in pictures of each of the "heroes," lit a candle in front of them, and placed the Armenian tri-color flag before each;
3. The next stage was a series of 'speeches' emceed by Unger Harout Misserlian, who began this part of the program by saying: "Since 1975, Armenian youth have resorted to armed struggle having determined the futility of diplomatic efforts. We should not be grieved by the martyrdom of these boys. Passed are the times of lamentation. Now is the time for sustained struggle."
4. Following the speeches there were 'recitations' of Armenian revolutionary poetry and nationalistic songs were sung;
5. Unger Arpie Balian, the representative of the Armenian Relief Society of North America, then spoke. His comments included the following statement: "We are gathered here to mark act of our five heroic youths, who, during July of last year with their conscious martyrdom, joined the pantheon of our ancient braves."
6. Balian's keynote address was followed by a slide show which outlined the development of the Armenian Liberation Movement from the turn of the century to the present;
7. The evening ended with the following scene: "Five young men, identically dressed and wearing black hoods, marched onto the stage, and after saluting the portraits of the five heroes, unfurled a red banner upon which the following was written in large black letters in Armenian: 'My name is struggle and my end is victory' [Weekly, February 11, 1984: pp. 6-7 & 9].

Clearly, today's Armenian terrorists are being embraced by this generation's Armenians in exactly the same manner as the terrorists of the 1920's (Tehirian, Shirakian et.al.) were embraced and accorded hero status by their contemporaries.

In closing, I should like to shift my focus from that of a historian who, by comparing the past and the present has sought to demonstrate several various "threads of continuity" which tie together the acts of Armenian terrorists throughout the past century, to that of 'prophet,' and attempt to project the reasons why I believe all signs point to the fact that Armenian terrorist acts will continue well into the next century. These observations may be summarized as follows:

1. *The Sanction of the Church:* In any minority community, it is the representatives of organized religion who supply the 'locus' around which the group revolves. Among the Armenians, this fact is also true. It was the Church leaders throughout history who have kept the Armenian language, literature, and traditions alive in the memory of their parishioners. Thus, when Armenian Church leaders participate in 'commemorative memorials' for slain or imprisoned terrorists, and allow their sanctuaries to be used for the holding of such commemoratives, they are providing *de facto* recognition of and approval for the acts which the Armenian terrorists commit;
2. *The Sanction of the Press:* Both the Armenian and English language ethnic Armenian press in the United States give wide coverage to the activities of Armenian terrorists. As we have seen, through the examples I have presented, this expresses at least tacit approval of the terrorists' actions, and thereby gives its 'stamp of approval' to their efforts.

It is no exaggeration to state that the Armenian Press and the Armenian Church are the two organizations which most affect the shaping of public opinion among the Armenians of the diaspora. As I have repeatedly shown, the attitude of both vis-à-vis terrorism is, at best, questionable. Unfortunately, terrorism is not a topic towards which one may adopt a 'lukewarm' response. You cannot say: "My form of terrorism is justified, but I don't

approve of terrorism." It is clearly a *ya hep ya hic* ('all or nothing') proposition. By failing to openly CONDEMN the senseless killings perpetrated by armenian terrorists, both the Armenian Church and the Armenian Press are giving their 'stamp of approval' to these activities. Bearing in mind that the overwhelming majority of Armenians fail to make their voices heard on this issue, out of fear, we are faced with a situation where almost the entire Armenian community of the Diaspora, in one form or another, tacitly support the activities of Armenian terrorists.

What are the effects of this attitude on the minds of impressionable children? What does it mean when an Armenian 'Boy Scout Troop' goes to church and participates in a 'memorial commemorative service' for the 'Lisbon Five Martyrs'? When they listen to their elders speak of dead terrorists as "martyrs" who have "joined the pantheon of our ancient braves?" The answer to these queries is all too obvious: It means nothing less than that 'terrorists' are being portrayed for today's Armenian youth as fitting 'role models,' as 'heroes' whose actions are worthy of emulation. It further means that for every Armenian terrorist who is captured or killed there will be another impressionable youth waiting to take his place. It means, in fact, the continuation of 'round after round' of 'generation after generation' of Armenian Terrorism.

History does in fact contain lessons for today. It explains how the failure of the Armenian community to openly condemn the Armenian terrorism of the 1920's has contributed to the 'current round' of terrorist activities, and it suggests that the Armenian failure to condemn today's terrorism will guarantee yet another 'round' in the coming generation.

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DOCUMENT XIX

Source:  
Paul Henze, "The Roots of Armenian Violence: How Far Back Do They Extend?" *International Terrorism and the Drug Connection*, Ankara (Ankara University Press), 1984. pp. 179-202.

#### **THE ROOTS OF ARMENIAN VIOLENCE: How Far Back Do They Extend?**

Paul B. Henze  
Foreign Affairs Consultant  
Washington, DC, U.S.A.

#### **Introduction**

Is there something unusual about Armenians as a people, or about their historical experience, that has made them prone to violence? How deeply rooted is Armenian-Turkish enmity? Does devotion to Monophysite Christianity predispose Armenians to hostility toward Islam? What caused Armenian nationalism to intensify in the 19th century and Armenian nationalists to resort to increasingly provocative forms of activity? Did they represent a majority of the Armenian people? Is late 20th century Armenian terrorism, among the most persistent and irrational on the international scene, the natural and unavoidable outcome of difficulties in the Ottoman Empire in the late 19th and early 20th centuries?

This essay will address each of these questions in turn. In doing so, it will also raise additional questions. It cannot answer them all. Its purpose is to encourage reflection and discussion. It is also to shift all of these controversial issues to a broader historical plane and dampen some of the extreme emotionalism that has obstructed rational discourse about Armenian-Turkish relations during the past decade.

### The Distant Past

Armenian history is not easy to study. It is long, complex, sometimes obscure and often controversial. There are rich records to draw upon, but texts and traditions have not been as meticulously and critically examined by independent scholars as those of many other old nations. The history of Egypt, or Greece and Rome, for example, has been written primarily by people who are not directly descended from the ancient civilizations. Texts and inscriptions bearing on the history of these societies have been studied from all possible directions by scholars who have no emotional interest in using them as a basis for glorifying the distant past of the peoples involved—though some, of course, have done so. Armenian history has been studied and written almost entirely by Armenians. The same could be said, though perhaps not to the same degree, of many other peoples, such as the Georgians, Bulgarians, and Hungarians, who have tenaciously survived the vicissitudes of history. But Armenians seem to represent an extreme case, much more so than Jews, e.g. People who write their own history tend to glorify their past and avoid objective examination of controversial features of it. Armenians have been more prone to do this than most peoples and the trend has become accentuated during the latter half of the 20th century.

It has resulted in emotional dramatization of Armenians as a martyr nation unique in their virtues from time immemorial and unique in their sufferings in both ancient and modern times. This kind of process becomes self-reinforcing, especially so among peoples whose cultural life operates in the diaspora. Poles are prone to it, but Armenians are much more so. They have projected much of their modern history into their past—and have thus transformed it into mythology.<sup>1</sup>

There are other problems with Armenian historical writing. Most of it tends to ignore the distinction between nation and state.<sup>2</sup> The origin of the Armenians as a nation remains obscure. There is a cultural and territorial relationship to ancient Urartu, but there are important differences, especially of language. The Empire of Tigranes the Great (1st century BC), which is glorified as Greater Armenia at its maximum extent, was a short-lived and loosely organized state which almost certainly contained a minority of Armenians. It was overwhelmed by Rome in 66 BC and no single unified Armenian state ever came into being again. Division into kingdoms and principalities which were sometimes independent but more often owed allegiance to surrounding states and empires did not prevent Armenians from developing a sense of national consciousness. Acceptance of Christianity contributed to this process. It also helped Armenians maintain their distinctiveness and an orientation toward the West during a period of intense involvement with Persians and then Arabs. Like the Jews, Armenians very early in their history developed habits of living in diaspora—not only as the result of political misfortune at home but at least as much out of a sense of enterprise as traders, craftsmen and servants of foreign rulers. Armenian communities in Persian and Arab lands and in many parts of the Byzantine Empire predate the conversion to Christianity.

The Armenians' first experience of Islam was Arab conquest of their core territories, which occurred in the mid-7th century AD and less than a century later led to the Nakhichevan Massacre of much of the Armenian nobility in 750. But Armenians as a whole accommodated successfully to Arab rule. Dvin, the capital of Arab Armenia, continued to be an important center of religious life and trade. Lands inhabited by Armenians (which seem never to have included large territories of exclusively Armenian population—they were always mixed with Georgians, Kurds, Persians, Greeks and other Caucasian peoples) were continually caught up in the great imperial rivalries and movements of peoples that dominate the history of the entire region where the Caucasus, Anatolia and Persia meet: Byzantine vs. Arab, Persian vs. Byzantine, Arab vs. Persian. From the 11th century onward Mongols and Turks enter the scene. By this time the patterns of Armenian interaction with surrounding peoples were firmly set and did not change decisively with the appearance of these more Central Asian newcomers.

There are fascinating parallels between the Armenian relationship to the Byzantine Empire and later Armenian involvement with the Ottoman Empire. Some Armenian princes sought allies among Persians, Arabs and other Muslims against the Byzantines. Others

sided with the Greeks against their Eastern rivals. Many Armenians emigrated to Byzantine territory and some rose to high positions including the imperial throne. When the Turks appeared on the scene, the Byzantine and Armenian Christians did not join to resist them. Monophysite Christianity reinforced a profound sense of competitiveness between Armenians and Greeks. The Armenian princes judged their situations in terms of traditional patterns of competition for power—habits of intense internecine political and religious strife had already become deep-seated. When Ani, capital of an important Armenian kingdom, fell to the Seljuks in 1064, its population remained and the city continued to enjoy prosperity under Muslim rule.<sup>3</sup> As the Seljuks advanced into Anatolia following the Battle of Manzikert in 1071, they found diverse Armenian communities in many cities, where they had settled under the Byzantines. These Armenians continued to practice their professions and their religion.

My purpose is not to retell, even in summary form, this history, entertaining as it is, but to underscore the fact that there is nothing in it that helps us understand Armenian terrorism in the 20th century. Armenians did not differ from other peoples living in this part of the world in their essential characteristics. They were recognized as a lively and energetic people, which explains in part their religious and political fractiousness. They were already widely dispersed. A combination of circumstances—not simply flight from the advancing Turks in Eastern Anatolia—resulted in the migration of significant numbers of Armenians to the Taurus Mountains and the Mediterranean coast. Here the arrival of the Crusaders created conditions favorable to consolidation of an unusual Armenian state, the Kingdom of Cilicia, which became deeply entangled in the complex warfare and political maneuvering between Muslims and Christians that dominated this part of the Near East for two centuries. Though initially identifying with the Crusaders and intermarrying with them, the Armenians of Cilicia were motivated as much by anti-byzantine as anti-Islamic sentiment. Eventually both the Armenian kingdom and the Crusaders were defeated by the Mamelukes.<sup>4</sup>

#### Armenians and Ottomans

Consolidation of Ottoman power over Anatolia was advantageous to the Armenians who had been settled in small numbers in almost every part of the country since Byzantine times, for the Ottomans established peace for the first time in centuries over large areas and encouraged trade and industry. As the Ottoman Empire expanded, the area open to enterprising Armenians broadened. Thus Armenian craftsmen, merchants and money-changers prospered. Mehmet the Conqueror recognized the Armenian *millet* in 1461 with the Armenian patriarch of Istanbul as its head. When the Ottomans conquered southeastern Anatolia and Syria from the Mameluke, the Armenians who had remained in the region after the demise of the Cilician kingdom welcomed them.

The principal problem Armenians had to contend with in the Ottoman Empire from the 16th century to the 19th was of their own making—sectarian and personal religious contentiousness. A history of the Armenian church describes a situation that arose in the 17th century:

*The patriarchal dignity of Constantinople and Jerusalem, however, after the departure of the Pontiff from the former city, became an object of ambition to several restless individuals, who aiming continually at supplanting each other in that dignity, by bribing the Turkish officers, again filled the Armenian community with confusion.<sup>5</sup>*

Developments during the Greek struggle for independence are recounted in the same history, written by a pro-Roman Catholic Mekhitarist:

*About this period the Turkish government was involved in a war against the Greeks. When at Navarino, the Turkish fleet being destroyed by the Christians, the Sultan's rage was at the highest pitch. He wished for some occasion to avenge himself against the Christians. This being observed by the Armenian Patriarch, he took advantage of the circumstance to proceed against the Romanizing Armenians.<sup>6</sup>*

Though causing the Turkish authorities headaches with their quarrelsomeness, the Armenians well into the 19th century continued to be regarded as the most faithful of the Sultan's non-Muslim subjects. After Greece became independent, more Armenians moved into posts in the Ottoman civil service. An Armenian study of this subject, based on Ottoman sources, comments:

*There are hundreds of books on the Armenian Question and massacres but they emphasize one side of the story to the obscuring of the other side and, accordingly,*

*one can hardly imagine after reading this type of literature that Ottoman-Armenian co-operation ever existed or that the Armenians had rendered a considerable service to Ottoman public life. My work has been, therefore, to demonstrate the great part which the Armenians took in the public administration of Eastern Anatolia and Syria in the period of the 'Tanzimat'. . . It should be understood how much the three million Armenians of Anatolia contributed to the economic and general development of the country, apart from official service, through trade, agriculture, handicrafts and the professions.<sup>7</sup>*

#### Outside Influences

Two very different sources of outside influence combined to cause great changes in the situation of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire during the course of the 19th century. Like most such developments, these seemed at first of no great significance and were perceived as peripheral by the great majority of the Armenians themselves: (1) the Russian imperial advance into the Caucasus and consequent acquisition of a substantial Armenian population; and (2) foreign missionary activity, primarily American, in Anatolia, of which the Armenians became the principal beneficiaries.

From the dawn of their history, the territory of the Armenians had been seen as divided into two parts: (a) Persian Armenia and (2) Roman/Byzantine/Turkish Armenia. From the beginning of the 19th century, Russian Armenia becomes an important concept. By the end of the century, the two contrasting sections of what Armenians increasingly came to regard as their "homeland" (though they formed a majority of the population only in small districts of it) were Turkish and Russian Armenia—there were still sizable Armenian minorities in northwest Iran—was of little political consequence.

It is in these developments during the first half of the 19th century that we find the germs—if not the roots—of the political ferment that would propel small groups of Armenians into political violence. It would be absurd to argue, of course, that late 19th century violence and the extreme terrorism of the late 20th century are the inevitable result of the incorporation of Armenians into the Russian Empire or the activities of missionaries among them. Least of all did the missionaries, whose initial preoccupation was saving souls but who quickly turned to education and medicine as their major endeavors, have violent intentions. They were largely unaware of the political consequences of their activity. The Russians were less so, but their approach was not different from that of any other power of the time. All powers exploited the ambitions and disaffections of subject peoples to weaken their rivals. Some, more than others, continue to do so today.

#### Armenians and Russians

Sentimentality about "liberating" the Christians of the Caucasus played only an incidental role in the imperial Russian advance toward the south. Larger strategic goals, including a desire for trade, were primary and the Persian Empire, like the Ottoman in a condition of decline, was a major target. As early as the time of Peter the Great, Georgians and Armenians were seen by the Russians as potential military and political allies. Given the well-known trading talents of the Armenians, they were additionally attractive for the part they could play in expanding Russian commercial activity. Neither Christian nation was able to organize significant military forces to help the Russians; however, for the Georgian kingdom was rent by political strain and the Armenians were widely scattered, both among the Georgians (where they formed the largest element in the population of Tbilisi) and in the various Muslim khanates which recognized Persian overlordship. The ancient religious center of Echmiadzin remained the seat of the supreme Armenian patriarch (who was often at odds with the patriarch in Istanbul) but the population of the surrounding Khanate of Erivan was probably no more than 20% Armenian at the end of the 18th century.

Peter the Great's Caucasian campaigns resulted in no permanent gains. During the era of Catherine the Great (1762–1796) Russian southward expansion accelerated. The Crimea was conquered from the Ottoman Empire (1783) and Georgia accepted Russian protection the same year. The stage was set for a determined Russian advance into the eastern Caucasus and southward into Iran. Armenians long resident in these regions welcomed the Russian advance and were exploited by the Russians to undermine local Muslim rulers. Russia made major territorial gains as a result of the first Persian war (1804–1813) and consolidated them in the second Persian war (1826–28) just before going to war with Turkey again.<sup>8</sup> Erivan was ceded to Russia by Iran in the Treaty of Turkmanchai in 1828. Not only did Russia acquire sizable numbers of new Armenian citizens in such territories; there had also been a steady flow of Armenians into Russian-held territory during the

previous 50 years, often from locations deep in Iran. Settlement with Iran in 1828 gave this process further impetus and it was paralleled in part by outflow of Muslims from Russia's new Transcaucasian possessions.<sup>9</sup> From the 1830's onward, Armenians became an important component of the Russian imperial population. As often occurs with refugees, they exerted themselves to make a new life and profited from the well-established Russian imperial principle of co-optation of non-Russian elites. During the 19th century Armenians became military officers, officials, professional people and entrepreneurs not only in the Caucasus but in other parts of the Russian Empire as well. Their numbers were steadily augmented not only by natural increase, but by immigration from Persian and Ottoman lands. Each Russo-Turkish war resulted in a new stream of Armenian immigrants into Russian territory.<sup>10</sup> Armenians took advantage of expanding opportunities for education in 19th century Russia and developed their own cultural and educational institutions. These complemented the much older institutions Armenians had long maintained in the Ottoman Empire and in Venice. While Constantinople remained the foremost center of Armenian culture life during the 19th century, both religious and secular activity increased rapidly in Tbilisi and Baku and in major cities in the Ukraine and European Russia. Russian Armenians were not always comfortable with Czarist policies and some aspired to greater autonomy. On the whole, however, at least until the dawn of the 20th century, evolution was primarily in the direction of close identification of Russian and Armenian interests. Each of the three great Russo-Turkish wars of the 19th century brought an intensification of these trends and resulted in a more sophisticated effort on the part of the Russians to exploit Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, especially those in Eastern Anatolia, for their political and military advantage.<sup>11</sup>

### Armenians and Missionaries

It has become dogma among some liberal intellectuals and politicians in America to maintain that their government is by nature imperialist and interventionist, while the American people are not. Quite the opposite conclusion would have to be drawn from the early history of the republic. The fledgling U.S. Government shunned foreign entanglements but American traders, missionaries and adventurers went off to all corners of the world and involved themselves in other peoples' affairs with zest. None were more bold than the missionaries who founded the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1810 and the American Bible Society in 1816.

The American Board was chartered to propagate the gospel in "heathen lands" and took within its purview not only the Indian tribes of North America but also Muslims, "the more benighted parts of the Roman Catholic world" and the "nominal Christians of Western Asia."<sup>12</sup> Its first missionaries to the Ottoman Empire sailed from Boston to Izmir in November 1819. A decade later, when the American Board was already operating out of a headquarters in Istanbul, it sent its first representatives to explore "Armenia." Eli Smith, a 29-year-old Yale graduate, and Harrison Gray Otis Dwight, 27, a product of Andover and Hamilton in upstate New York, made their way across Anatolia, visiting Tokat, Erzurum and Kars in the wake of the recent war. Russian troops were withdrawing and many Armenians were preparing to move to Russian territory. The young missionaries were shocked at the behavior of the Russian army, "a false and scandalous specimen of Christianity," but equally appalled at the condition of the faith among the Armenians:

*...an illiterate population lived in underground houses and worshipped in underground churches presided over by ignorant priests.<sup>13</sup>*

When Smith and Dwight finally crossed the frontier and arrived in Tbilisi, they found conditions among Georgian Christians no better and compounded by the Georgians' love of alcohol. Visiting a caravanserai, they found a hogshhead of New England rum:

*What a harbinger, thought we, have our countrymen sent before their missionaries! What a reproof to the Christians of America, that, in finding fields of labor for their missionaries, they should allow themselves to be anticipated by her merchants, in finding a market for their poisons.<sup>14</sup>*

They went on to visit Nakhichevan and Echmiadzin, where they were first received coolly but eventually participated in a religious ceremony and engaged in theological discussion with the secretary of the patriarch before departing after a five-day stay.

These initial contacts set the tone for the missionary relationship to the Armenian church hierarchy during the remainder of the 19th century. Their reception by the Ottoman authorities was less equivocal—they were welcomed by Turkish officials eager to capitalize on their desire to set up schools and spread modern education. Military setbacks



both in Greece and on the Caucasian front during the 1820s convinced the Ottoman military leadership of the necessity of modernization. They welcomed help both from the missionaries and from American naval officers who established a relationship with the Ottoman Empire during this same period. These early beginnings in Turkish-American relations are worth recounting separately, but here we will consider only the Armenian aspect. The chief effort of the missionaries was directed toward organizing a high school for the Armenians which opened in Pera (Beyoğlu) in October 1834.

"Still a novel institution in the United States," the high school's curriculum placed heavy emphasis on languages (teaching English, French, Italian, ancient Greek, Armenian and Turkish) and offered instruction in composition, arithmetic, geometry and geography, bookkeeping and the natural sciences.<sup>15</sup> Demand for places for students was so great that the Istanbul Armenian community decided in 1836 to organize another school, in Hasköy, with places for 500 students. The Armenian church hierarchy objected to the evangelical tone of the Hasköy school and forced its closing in 1838. But the missionaries were not to be frustrated for long by conservative "nominal Christians." They had meanwhile set up mission stations with elementary schools at several locations in the Anatolian interior: Trabzon, Kayseri, Tarsus and at Urmiya beyond the Persian frontier. The pattern was set. Missionary education among Armenians expanded steadily during the 19th century. And when new higher educational institutions were established, they were kept firmly under missionary control.

The Armenians, more than any other minority in the Ottoman Empire, were what the missionaries were seeking. Exemplifying the New England concept of seeking salvation through an energetic commitment to life and self-improvement, the missionaries offered exactly what an intelligent minority in the Armenian community was most eager to receive: modern education, a formula for self-development and community improvement through rational effort consistently applied. Missionary activity attracted increasingly high-quality people, both men and women, from the best of colleges that were expanding all over America. They demanded little of life except the opportunity to be effective. They were ready to settle in bleak and isolated places with their families and devote their entire lives to their calling. Armenians did not have to uproot themselves to benefit from missionary services.

The missionaries were ready to accept converts from native Christians because they knew their status with the Ottoman authorities depended on strict avoidance of proselytizing among Muslims. The appeal of American Protestant Christianity to Armenians eager to modernize lay in its dynamism and openness in contrast to the conservative traditionalism of the Armenian national church. The traditional hierarchy became increasingly hostile to the missionaries after a group of Protestant converts formed a society in 1839. When these people were excommunicated by the Patriarch in 1846, the Armenian Evangelical Church with more than 1000 members was officially established. Thus a third distinct faction was added to the Armenian religious scene, for an Armenian Catholic movement had become well established in the 18th century.<sup>16</sup> Neither the Catholic nor Protestant Armenian churches attracted large numbers of converts but their influence on the intellectual and political life of the Armenian community was out of all proportion to their size. There was a darker side to these developments as well:

*Far from acknowledging the divisive effect of their activities, the American missionaries regarded themselves as champions of religious liberty in Turkey.<sup>17</sup>*

The ability of the national church to lead and discipline the Armenian community was impaired. Other factors contributed to this process but the effect of the missionaries was catalytic. While the Ottoman authorities became increasingly concerned about factionalism in the Armenian community, they did not impede the missionaries who steadily expanded their work during the 1840s and 1850s. Bulgaria became a major area of missionary expansion in the 1850s and when Robert College got under way in the 1860s Bulgarians were attracted to it like Armenians. When Bulgaria became independent in 1878, a major portion of its senior leadership consisted of Robert college graduates.<sup>18</sup>

#### Armenian Awakening

The awakening of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire in which American missionaries played an important role was paralleled by similar developments in the Russian Empire, where urban Armenians improved their status through education and involvement in trade and commerce.

Unharrassed by missionaries and enjoying a sometimes uneasy but essentially more

favorable relationship with the Russian Orthodox Church, the Armenian national church enjoyed a more secure position in the Russian Empire. The Czarist government realized the political advantage of having the ancient seat of the Armenian Church on its territory at Echmiadzin. Armenian intellectuals eager to explore the national heritage, restore and purify the language and spread knowledge of their history among their rural countrymen did not find themselves at odds with the religious hierarchy as frequently as their compatriots in Turkey. Contacts between Russian and Turkish Armenians expanded steadily during the 19th century. Istanbul was an important intellectual center for Russian Armenians and many traveled there. The Russo-Turkish border was not the barrier it became in the Soviet period—there was continual movement across it not only by Armenians from both sides but by the other peoples of the region as well.

The Armenians had no separate territorial or corporate status in the Russian Empire and though the Armenian element in the population of the Transcaucasus grew steadily by both natural increase and immigration, Armenians also moved to other regions. Old communities, dating from medieval times, in the Ukraine and Poland, developed new life. But political development—political ferment is perhaps a better term—came slowly in Russian compared to the Ottoman Empire, where the Armenians had been recognized for 400 years as a separate *millet*—i.e., nation.

The Patriarch, as head of the *millet*, was traditionally assisted and advised by a *millet* assembly chosen by the community. Several groups were recognized in the community of which the *amiras* (bankers, rich merchants, higher government officials) and the *esnafs* (small businessmen, traders, craftsmen) were most important. The new intellectual class derived from both these groups. The eastern peasantry played no role in the politics of the *millet*, which centered in Istanbul, nor, until the 1840s, did the Armenian laborers of the capital.<sup>19</sup>

The excitement the missionaries caused with their schools—and the closing of the Hasköy school in 1838—gave rise to a chain of events which kept the Istanbul Armenian community in turmoil throughout the 1840s. Elections to the *millet* assembly were hotly contested by the *amiras* and the *esnafs*, though the two eventually joined together against a new Patriarch popular with the community as a whole. The Ottoman government intervened with the result that two new assemblies, one religious and one secular, were elected. Intrigues continued and the Patriarch resigned in protest against the undemocratic working of the assemblies. The whole Armenian community joined in a mass demonstration on the Kulkapı district of the capital in 1848 to support the Patriarch, who was nevertheless replaced. It may be going too far to call this sequence of events the Armenian equivalent of the European revolutions of 1848, as some Armenian historians have done,<sup>20</sup> but it ushered in a period of intense and constructive effort on the part of the Ottoman Armenian community to organize itself, which culminated in the codification of the Armenian National Constitution in 1860. Intellectuals with a modern education played a major role in this process.

The constitution was approved by the Sultan in 1863 and henceforth formed the basis for regulation of the religious, cultural and educational life of the Armenian community in the Ottoman Empire. It is difficult to argue that Ottoman rule was despotic and repressive as a matter of principle as many contemporary Armenian historians have done—in light of these developments. The effects of this constitution, as an Armenian historian acknowledges, were that it

*...laid the groundwork for a system of public education for the Armenians of Turkey and, in doing so, helped bring about a literary renaissance that disseminated liberal ideas and thus led to stiffer opposition to Ottoman rule.<sup>21</sup>*

So by the 1860s prospects looked brighter for the Armenians than at any previous period in their history. Relative peace and prosperity in both the Ottoman and Russian empires led to a substantial increase in population in the cities and in the countryside. But it is important also to recall that the newly educated teachers, professional men and entrepreneurs—the movers and shakers who secured the 1860 constitution and inspired the rebirth of community life in both Russia and Turkey—were only a very small proportion of the total population. Rural Armenians in Anatolia and the Caucasus still led lives unchanged from age-old patterns.<sup>22</sup>

#### Evolution Toward Violence

In 1862 a rebellion against Ottoman authority broke out in the district of Zeitun (Zeitun), an isolated region in the eastern Taurus where an Armenian community had lived since

the time of the Cilician Kingdom. It had been granted autonomy by Sultan Murat IV in 1618. "Since Zeitun still remained semi-independent, it was probably considered a suitable center for political agitation by the Armenian intellectuals of Constantinople and Russian Transcaucasia."<sup>23</sup> Trouble had first developed here during the Crimean War when an ideological preacher, Hovagim, came to arouse the population. To get financial backing he set out for Russia. He was arrested in Erzurum and hanged as a wartime traitor.

The 1862 troubles developed over the government's efforts to collect taxes and settle Muslim refugees in the district. Another adventurer, Levon, who claimed to be a descendant of the last Cilician dynasty and sought assistance from the French government, figured in these disturbances. Some of the Muslims of the region also had grievances against the central government. The Pasha of Marash brought in an army to enforce order but was unable to subdue the Armenians. They sent a delegation to Istanbul to negotiate. Meanwhile an Armenian emissary had gone from Istanbul to Paris to persuade Napoleon III to press the Porte to call off the military expedition. Conservative Armenian leaders in Istanbul intervened with the same aim. The military expedition was abandoned and Zeitun was left to its autonomy. All the factors that entered into this complex local situation—which did not, except for the Armenian factor, differ greatly from many similar episodes of local unruliness in an empire where the authority of the central government was often difficult to enforce in the provinces—have never been studied. The affair was declared a victory for Armenian nationalism and widely publicized among Turkish and Russian Armenians:

*The Zeitun Rebellion... became the first of a series of insurrections in Turkish Armenia... which were inspired by revolutionary ideas that had swept the Armenian world. The Zeitunli insurgents had had direct contacts with certain Armenian intellectuals in Constantinople who had been influenced by Mikael Nalbandian, a visitor from Russia to the Turkish capital in 1860 and 1861.*<sup>24</sup>

In what is known of the troubles in Zeitun in the summer of 1862, we can see all the elements that combined to generate an inexorable movement toward violence during the final decades of the 19th century:

- Growing nationalism fostered by intellectuals and disseminated through an increasingly numerous and efficient Armenian press.
- External exacerbation of regional situations by outside agitators who improved communication with each other from year to year.
- The Russian factor—passive, as far as we know, in respect to events in Zeitun—the Armenians were seeking Russian help. During the Crimean War, however, the Russian government has been active in encouraging the Armenians of Turkey to serve its interests.<sup>25</sup>
- The European factor—the successful appeal to the French government.
- A confused response by the Ottoman authorities—a combination of overreaction and hesitancy, followed by withdrawal under foreign pressure and then passivity; poor coordination between Istanbul and provincial authorities.
- Growing Muslim hostility, fed in large part by the vast flood of North Caucasian Muslim refugees who were given asylum in Turkey following the defeat of Shamil in 1859 and Russian operations against the Circassians in the 1860s. At least half a million of these destitute and bitter refugees were settled in Anatolia between 1860 and 1870. They resented growing Russophilia among the Armenians, in some cases brought anti-Armenian prejudices with them from the Caucasus, and were often not under effective governmental discipline.

The 1860s and 1870s brought an explosion of Armenian literary and journalistic activity. A second and then a third generation of educated Armenians in both Turkey and Russia welcomed ideas from the West, including revolutionary doctrines that were fashionable in Europe. The missionaries were no longer a primary channel for intellectual stimulation of Armenians. Russian Armenians were influenced by Russian revolutionary movements which were increasingly dominated by advocates of violence, such as *Narodnaya Volya*. Much Armenian literary activity was concerned with questions of language purification and modernization, history and poetry, but political activists made skillful use of seemingly benign intellectual undertakings and contacts between groups in both countries to lay the groundwork for agitation and rebellion.

If the Ottoman government had been as oppressive as most modern Armenian historians claim in retrospect it was, this activity could hardly have taken place in such unhindered fashion. Compared to the international travel controls and internal security

arrangements of the Turkish Republic (and most modern states), let alone the extreme limitation on travel and all forms of communication which the Soviet Union has always enforced, it is astonishing to read how easily Armenian journalists, propagandists, political agents and churchmen serving the nationalists' revolutionary cause moved across borders and maintained contact with each other in the latter half of the 19th century. The result was that all of the currents affecting the growth of Armenian nationalism combined to propel it toward making demands and creating expectations that greatly exceeded the capacity of any of the elements of authority to satisfy.

As the direct influence of the missionaries declined—though their schools and community services continually expanded—a *modus vivendi* with the national church evolved. Recognition by the Ottoman authorities after 1850 of separate status for the Armenian Protestants reduced the friction between them and the traditional church hierarchy. During the 1870s and 1880s, nationalist intellectuals became less hostile toward the national church, and the church less hostile to them. Both accepted each other as an essential component of the process of national self-assertion. Both contributed to the process of creating exaggerated expectations about where Armenian nationalism could lead.

### Balkan Developments

For more than 400 years the Ottoman Empire had functioned as a remarkably effective multi-national state, but in the 19th century everything began to come apart at the same time. No Ottoman territory remained unaffected by the currents of nationalism that grew to flood strength, though the Turks themselves were the last to experience the phenomenon. Troublesome as they were, areas of Armenian population were a backwater compared to the Balkans, where ferment had been intensifying ever since the Greek independence struggle and the Empire had suffered extensive territorial losses. The Russians and European powers were constantly drawn into Balkan affairs.

A critical period began in the mid-1870s when insurrection in Bosnia and agitation in Serbia brought European pressure on the Turks to accelerate reform. The French and German consuls in Salonika (still Turkish) were murdered by a mob in May 1876. Istanbul riots broke out and Sultan Abdulaziz was found dead under mysterious circumstances. The Ministers of War and Foreign Affairs were murdered by a disaffected army officer. Serbia declared war on Turkey. The new Sultan Murat proved unstable and was replaced in August by Abdulhamid. Meanwhile a revolt had been planned in Bulgaria with hope of Russian intervention but was betrayed to local Ottoman authorities. Irregular troops were mobilized locally to crush it, and carnage ensued.

What came to be known as the Bulgarian Horrors caused a furor in the British and European press, and a wave of concern about the Christian population of the Ottoman Empire swept Europe. Armenian activists were eager to capitalize on the situation, but they attracted little attention except among their compatriots in Russia. In Russia, too, the main concern was for the Balkan Slavs. Czarist ministers sensed an opportunity to avenge the defeat in the Crimean War. The Turks, however, quickly gained military superiority over the Serbs but were forced by a Russian ultimatum to agree to an armistice. Britain, in spite of strong public pressure over the Bulgarian Horrors, did not abandon her long-standing policy of supporting the Ottoman Empire against Russian desires to deal it a death blow.<sup>26</sup>

Britain was instrumental in convening a six-power conference in Istanbul at the end of the year to try to stave off a Russian declaration of war against Turkey. The conference approved a declaration of independence for Bulgaria which had actually been drawn up by the American consul general in Istanbul, Schuyler,<sup>27</sup> and wrestled with formulas for guaranteeing the security of Serbia and Montenegro. Russia was determined not to miss the opportunity to advance its interests in the Balkans more decisively and declared war in April 1877.

Fighting in the Balkans proved tougher than the Russians had expected. They suffered two serious defeats at Plevna before they prevailed over Turkish forces and moved on to Edirne in January 1878. On the Caucasian front, the Russians advanced rapidly after war was declared. They made a more determined effort than in any previous Russo-Turkish war to exploit the Armenian population of eastern Anatolia, and many Armenians responded. Turkish battle losses were heavy, and concern about security of rear areas was high. Kars was captured, but Erzurum and Batum held out until after the armistice had been signed at Edirne. The Russians advanced to Çatalca after the armistice, but the British fleet moved up to prevent occupation of Istanbul. Russia rushed to impose a peace treaty on Turkey, which was signed at San Stefano on 3 March 1878. The Armenian Patriarch in Istanbul tried

to persuade the Russians to include provision for an independent Armenian state in eastern Anatolia in this treaty in recognition of Armenian services to Russian interests during the war. The Russians were more interested in their own territorial expansion and understandably apprehensive—in light of cooperation between Russian Armenians and anti-Czarist revolutionaries—about the effect an independent Armenia might have on Russian Armenians. (Here we see the same combination of attitudes that led to the Bolshevik throttling of Armenian independence in 1920–21.) So the Patriarch had to settle for Article XVI of the Treaty of San Stefano in which the Porte promised reforms in areas of Armenian population and protection against Muslim attacks which were linked to arrangements for Russian troop withdrawal.

Britain and Austria were not about to let Russia get away with the San Stefano treaty—the main point at issue was not Armenian interests or Russian territorial ambitions in the Caucasus, but the Greater Bulgaria Russia wished to establish. The European powers insisted on an international settlement of the Russo-Turkish war. A conference convened in Berlin in June, and Armenians built up naive hopes that it would result in a revised treaty more favorable to their interests. Instead, the requirement linking reforms and protective measures to Russian troop withdrawal was dropped, and the Armenians were thus deprived of legal basis for requesting Russian intervention in the event of disagreements with Ottoman authorities over reforms or local incidents. In return for abandoning Greater Bulgaria, Russia was awarded Batum, Kars and Ardahan, so Turkey, as well as the Armenians, lost in the Treaty of Berlin.<sup>28</sup>

Unrealistic Armenian expectations over the Treaty of Berlin, when frustrated, left nationalist activists resentful and contributed to further radicalization of the Armenian nationalist movement during the next decade. The Treaty of San Stefano has gone down in Armenian annals as an example of great power perfidy, a precursor of the abortive Treaty of Sèvres at the end of World War I.

Bulgaria had gained independence. Bulgarians were a people whom Armenians regarded as having a much less distinguished history than their own. If Bulgaria deserved to be independent, why not Armenia? Revolutionary nationalists who embraced such argumentation in the 1880s and 1890s willfully avoided facing the essential difference between their situations and that of the Bulgarians. Though there was serious controversy about Bulgaria's proper boundaries,<sup>29</sup> and though Bulgaria contained sizable minorities, the newly independent country was nevertheless a coherent geographical entity inhabited by a majority of Bulgarians.

Nothing comparable existed in territories claimed by the Armenians. They were outnumbered by Muslims in every one of the six eastern provinces traditionally called Armenian. In the city of Erzurum, which many nationalists regarded as their natural capital, Armenians were a distinct minority. Only the city (not province) of Van held an Armenian majority, but in the surrounding districts Muslims predominated. An independent Armenia would inevitably contain only a minority of Armenians unless the Muslims were expelled.<sup>30</sup> What about Muslim rights? Occasionally Armenian nationalist publications addressed the subject, but no formulas were ever agreed on. So maximalist territorial claims were pressed ever more vigorously—and unrealistically—by Armenian journalists and political agitators during the 1880s and 1890s as first the relatively moderate Armenakan, then the radical Marxist Hunchak, and finally, the eclectic Dashnak parties, were formed. All were declaredly revolutionary, and the last two advocated terror as a means of advancing the fight for independence.

Istanbul continued to be the most important seat of Armenian activity. It had the most active intellectual, professional, and commercial Armenian population, but they were still a distinct minority in comparison to the Turks. What was to be the relationship of Istanbul Armenians to an independent Armenia? Many wished to have nothing to do with the notion. Others paid it lip service. Some sensed the disastrous potential revolutionary activism held for Armenians everywhere in the Ottoman Empire. But their zeal kept Armenian revolutionary nationalists from acknowledging, in practical terms, the fact that the Armenians have been for the most part a *diaspora nation* since at least medieval times.<sup>31</sup>

### The Road to Ruin

So by the end of the 1880s we see the roots of Armenian violence—and violence against Armenians—in full view. Violence became inevitable because the Armenian demands which were most vigorously pressed had become irrational, impossible of attainment. The irrationality did not deter the Czarist government from supporting Armenian extremists for

their own political purposes even as they increasingly restricted the activities of Armenian nationalists in their own territories.

Armenian nationalists—always a minority of the total Armenian population, whether in Turkey or Russia—continued to write, to agitate and to plot, to seek—and often to find—what they regarded as foreign support for their aspirations and their struggle.

For an Ottoman bureaucracy hard pressed to meet demands for political and administrative reform among subject peoples as well as Turks, maintenance of order in outlying regions became increasingly difficult. Once clashes began to occur and order broke down, no one—government or local communities—possessed the physical strength, the political skill, or the powers of persuasion to contain disaster. It was not only the Armenians of the Ottoman Empire who were affected, but Muslims as well. Everyone lost.

When war broke out in 1914, the Russians again encouraged Armenian expectations and exploited the eastern Anatolian Armenians as a fifth column. In the end they did not intervene to protect the Armenians when Ottoman authorities in a life and death wartime situation, moved to deport them, nor were the Russians about to protect their collaborators against the vengeance of local Muslims when Ottoman authority collapsed. As had happened so often before during the preceding 150 years, Russia was willing to exploit Armenians for her own purposes but unprepared to make sacrifices on their behalf.

Armenian embitterment and chagrin at the disaster which intemperate and irrational nationalism brought on the Armenians of the Ottoman Empire have persisted through three generations. Violence against Turkish officials in the 1920s proved to be a less characteristic reaction than the publicity campaigns and lobbying which long prevented resumption of U.S.-Turkish relations, though the U.S. had never actually declared war on the Ottoman Empire. Soviet rule with collectivization and purges brought violence and the threat of it to the Soviet Armenian Republic, and tensions between the Armenians of the Caucasus and the Muslims and Georgians of the area are still said to persist. But Armenian violence and the threat of it were absent from the international scene until the early 1970s when Armenian terrorists began assassinating Turkish diplomats and attacking Turkish offices abroad under extremely irrational circumstances. This campaign has gained momentum, and the terrorists have gained skill. There are many reasons to suspect that the campaign is part of the massive effort to destabilize Turkey and destroy democracy there to which the Soviet Union devoted major resources during the 1970s—and which may still not have been entirely abandoned.

Armenian communities in many parts of the world—notably in France and the U.S.—have been remarkably equivocal about (if not openly supportive of) such terrorism. The terrorists are remembered in Armenian church services, and large sums are collected in Armenian communities for their defense when they are put on trial. The climate for this astonishing advocacy of violence is maintained by an emotionalized version of Armenian history which is propagated in the ethnic press, taught in cultural programs, and pressed on school authorities for inclusion in curricula. Even in the 1970s, it has been hard to find a more extreme version of what one American historian has called "creedal passion"<sup>22</sup> which provokes populations to irresponsible behavior. Armenian-origin intellectuals and journalists have become viciously intolerant of non-Armenian-origin colleagues who do not accept their biases and who venture to question Armenian statistics or try to examine Armenian, Ottoman, and relevant Russian historical records according to recognized standards of objectivity and respect for methodology.

One is driven to wonder, for example, whether an essentially honest example of scholarship such as Louise Nalbandian's *Armenian Revolutionary Movement*, which originally appeared more than 20 years ago, would even be published by a scholar of Armenian origin today.

<sup>21</sup>A good example of this process is the work of a rare non-Armenian scholar-enthusiast, David Lang, Professor of Caucasian Studies in the University of London, *Armenia: Cradle of Civilization* (Third, Corrected Edition), London (Allen and Unwin), 1980.

<sup>22</sup>This important distinction is carefully defined in a recent authoritative work by Hugh Seton-Watson, *Nations and States*, Boulder, CO (Westview Press), 1977, where the Armenians are discussed as a "diaspora nation," *inter alia* in pp. 383-391.

<sup>23</sup>See "The Shaddadids of Ani-Dvin, Ani and Trade-Routes" in V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, London (Taylor), 1953, pp. 104-106.

<sup>24</sup>A convenient summary history of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia is available in T.S.R. Boase (ed.), *The Cilician Kingdom of Armenia*, Edinburgh/London (Scottish Academic Press), 1978, pp. 1-33.

A German traveler in the Caucasus nearly 20 years later had somewhat similar observations on the condition of the Armenians there:

*The Armenians, numbering about 600,000 souls... have no special dwelling-place in the country; they are everywhere to be found. With them the line of separation between the peasant and the remaining population is still more sharply defined than with the Tartars. The peasants, who in the governments of Erivan and Elizavetpol have intermixed with the Tartars, can, in outward appearance, scarcely be distinguished from them. The Armenian of the town is, however, of quite another stamp. He is the merchant par excellence. There is scarcely a single village in the country where one or more Armenians are not playing the part of Jews... pliant, persevering, seldom if ever conscientious, they monopolise all transactions in business, and speedily become the bankers and tyrants of the place. Still it must not be concluded from this that there are no honourable exceptions among those whose intelligence and energy have conferred signal benefits upon the country...*

-Baron Max von Thielmann, *Journey in the Caucasus, Persia and Turkey in Asia*, London (John Murray), 1875, Vol. I, pp. 40-41.

<sup>23</sup>Nalbandian, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

<sup>24</sup>Nalbandian, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

<sup>25</sup>C.F. Allen & Muratoff, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

<sup>26</sup>For a good short summary of these complex events, see Hugh Seton-Watson, *The Russian Empire, 1801-1917*, Oxford (Clarendon Press), 1967, pp. 448-459.

<sup>27</sup>See "The Independence of Bulgaria" in Field, *op. cit.*, pp. 359-373.

<sup>28</sup>Nalbandian, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-83.

<sup>29</sup>The Macedonian question still generates strain between Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Greece.

<sup>30</sup>Some of these provinces also contained small groups of other Christians and heterodox sects such as Yezidis.

<sup>31</sup>Their attitude is reminiscent of the territorial claims ASALA makes today, the granting of which would result in cession of up to one quarter of Turkey's national territory, where 7-10 million Muslims and no Armenians live, to the Soviet Union!

<sup>32</sup>Samuel P. Huntington, *American Politics—The Promise of Disharmony*, Cambridge, MA (Harvard Univ. Press), 1981, pp. 85ff.

## DOCUMENT XX

### CHRONOLOGICAL BREAKDOWN OF ARMENIAN TERRORISTS INCIDENTS 1973-1987

Source:

Compiled by Dr. Heath W. Lowry,  
Executive Director, Institute of Turkish  
Studies, Inc., Washington, D.C.

January 27, 1973\*

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (Santa Barbara, California): A 78-year old Armenian immigrant, Gourgen Yanikian, assassinated Mehmet Baydar (the Turkish Consul-General in Los Angeles), and Bahadır Demir (the Turkish Consul in Los Angeles), at the Biltmore Hotel in Santa Barbara. These assassinations were the first link in the ongoing chain of Armenian terrorism, i.e., Yanikian became the 'founding father' of the current round of Armenian terrorism;

April 4, 1973

FRANCE (Paris): Two bombs exploded outside the offices of the Turkish Consulate and the Turkish Airlines Offices respectively. Though no one was injured, damage was extensive. While no group claimed responsibility, law enforcement authorities are convinced an Armenian group was the perpetrator;

October 26, 1973

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (New York City, New York): The Turkish Information Office received a package containing a bomb and a letter addressed to the Consul General, from a group identifying itself as the 'Yanikian Commandos' (i.e., named after the perpetrator of the January 27, 1973 assassinations in Santa Barbara, California). The bomb was defused by the police;

January 20, 1975

LEBANON (Beirut): In the course of a 1978 press conference, a spokesman for the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (hereafter: ASALA) claimed that his group's initial operation had been the January 20, 1975, bombing of the Beirut offices of the World Council of Churches;

February 7, 1975

LEBANON (Beirut): The offices of the Turkish Information and Tourism Bureau were the

\*Indicates attacks resulting in deaths.

target of a bomb attack. A Lebanese policeman was injured while attempting to defuse the bomb. The attack was claimed by ASALA's 'Prisoner Gourgen Yanikian Group';

*February 20, 1975*

LEBANON (Beirut): A one-kilogram bomb exploded in front of the offices of the Turkish Airlines Offices in Beirut, causing extensive damage. Credit for the attack was claimed by ASALA's 'Prisoner Gourgen Yanikian Group';

*October 22, 1975\**

AUSTRIA (Vienna): Three armed gunmen stormed the Turkish Embassy in Vienna and assassinated the Turkish envoy, Ambassador Daniş Tunaligil. The three gunmen, who escaped, were armed with automatic weapons manufactured in Israel, Great Britain and Hungary. A group calling itself 'The Armenian Liberation Army' claimed credit for the operation;

*October 24, 1975\**

FRANCE (Paris): The Turkish Ambassador to France, İsmail Erez, was assassinated in his automobile in the vicinity of the Embassy. Also killed in the attack was Talip Yener, the Ambassador's driver. Responsibility was initially claimed by a group identifying itself as the 'Commandos of the Avengers of the Armenian Genocide.' Subsequently, a telephone call to the offices of Agence France Presse in Beirut, Lebanon, claimed the assassinations were the work of the 'Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia'(ASALA);

*October 28, 1975*

LEBANON (Beirut): A rocket attack, resulting in extensive damage, was carried out against the Turkish Embassy in Beirut. The attack was claimed by ASALA;

*February 16, 1976\**

LEBANON (Beirut): Oktar Cirit, the First Secretary of the Turkish Embassy in Beirut was assassinated by a lone terrorist while sitting in a salon on Hamra Street. The gunman escaped. ASALA claimed credit for the attack;

*May 17, 1976*

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY (Frankfurt, Essen and Cologne): Turkish consulates in three German cities were the subject of bomb attacks resulting in extensive damages. While no specific group claimed credit, anonymous telephone calls identified the perpetrators as Armenians;

*May 28, 1976*

SWITZERLAND (Zurich): The Swiss branch of the Turkish 'Granti' Bank and the offices of the Turkish Labor Attache were destroyed by two bomb attacks. A third bomb, planted at the offices of the Turkish Tourism Bureau was defused before detonating. While no specific group claimed responsibility, law enforcement authorities believe the attacks were carried out by an Armenian terrorist organization calling itself the 'Justice Commandoes of the Armenian Genocide' (hereafter: JCAG);

*March 2, 1977*

LEBANON (Beirut): Powerful explosives destroyed the automobiles belonging to the Turkish Embassy's Military (Nahit Karakay) and Administrative (İhan Özbabacan) attachés. ASALA claimed credit for the bombings;

*May 14, 1977*

FRANCE (Paris): A bomb exploded in the offices of the Turkish Tourism Bureau in Paris, slightly injuring the caretaker. Two separate Armenian groups claimed responsibility for the attack: A) the 'New Armenian Resistance Group'; and, B) the 'Youth Action Group';

*May 29, 1977\**

TURKEY (Istanbul): A powerful bomb ripped through Istanbul's Yeşilköy Airport, killing five persons and injuring forty-two (one of whom was a U.S. citizen). On the same day, a similar bomb exploded in Istanbul's Sirkeci Train Station, killing one and injuring ten. The terminal building was heavily damaged. The Agence France Presse offices in Athens, Greece received an anonymous telephone call from a group calling itself the "28 May Armenian Organization" claiming credit for the bombings;

*June 6, 1977*

SWITZERLAND (Zurich): A powerful bomb destroyed a store belonging to a Turkish citizen named Hüseyin Bülbül. While no group claimed responsibility, it is assumed to have been the work of Armenian terrorists.

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\*Indicates attacks resulting in deaths.



*June 9, 1977\**

ITALY (Vatican City): Taha Carim, Turkey's Ambassador to the Holy See, was assassinated in front of his residence by two terrorists. In telephone calls to the 'AP' offices in Beirut, the JCAG claimed credit for the attack;

*October 4, 1977*

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (Los Angeles, California): A bomb exploded in front of the home of Professor Standord Shaw, an American Jewish professor of Turkish history at U.C.L.A. While no one was injured, the bomb caused extensive damage. 'UPI' received an anonymous call claiming that the bombing was the responsibility of the 'Armenian Group of 28';

*January 2, 1978*

BELGIUM (Brussels): An office building housing Turkish banking services was shattered by a bomb attack. An Armenian terrorist group calling itself 'The New Armenian Resistance' claimed credit for the attack;

*June 2, 1978\**

SPAIN (Madrid): Three terrorists attacked the automobile of the Turkish Ambassador (Zeki Kunalalp) with automatic weapons, as it left the Embassy grounds. The Ambassador's wife, Necla Kunalalp, and retired Turkish Ambassador Beşir Balcıoğlu were killed in the attack. A Spanish chauffeur, Antonio Torres, was wounded and died while undergoing surgery in the hospital. On June 3rd. an anonymous caller claimed that ASALA was responsible for the attack. Later, the JCAG group also claimed credit;

*December 6, 1978*

SWITZERLAND (Geneva): A bomb exploded in front of the Turkish Consulate, causing extensive damage. The 'New Armenian Resistance Group' claimed responsibility;

*December 17, 1978*

SWITZERLAND (Geneva): A bomb exploded at the Turkish Airlines Offices in Geneva causing extensive damage. Credit for the attack was claimed by ASALA;

*July 8, 1979*

FRANCE (Paris): Four separate bomb attacks were carried out against Turkish offices in the French capital: 1) a bomb was detonated at the Turkish Airlines Offices; 2) a second, at the offices of the Labor Attaché; 3) a third, at the Turkish Tourist Bureau; and 4) a fourth explosive, planted at the office of the Turkish Permanent Representative to the O.E.C.D., was defused by police prior to exploding. In an anonymous call to the Agence France Presse, the attacks were claimed by the JCAG terrorist organization;

*August 22, 1979*

SWITZERLAND (Geneva): A bomb was thrown at a car driven by Niyazi Adalı, the Turkish Consul in Geneva. While he was not injured, two other cars were damaged and two Swiss pedestrians were slightly injured. ASALA claimed credit for the attack;

*August 27, 1979*

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY (Frankfurt): The Turkish Airlines Offices in Frankfurt were destroyed by a bomb blast. A passenger in a passing streetcar was injured. ASALA claimed responsibility for the attack;

*October 4, 1979*

DENMARK (Copenhagen): Two Danish citizens were injured when a bomb (left in a basket) near the Turkish Airlines Offices exploded causing heavy damage. ASALA claimed credit for the attack;

*October 12, 1979\**

NETHERLANDS (The Hague): Ahmet Benler, the 27-year-old son of the Turkish Ambassador (Özdemir Benler), was assassinated in his car as he pulled away from a traffic light at an intersection in the capital. Ten witnesses watched, as the doctoral student at Delft Technical University was killed. The gunman escaped. Both the JCAG and ASALA terrorist organizations claimed the attack;

*October 30, 1979*

ITALY (Milan): The offices of the Turkish Airlines were heavily damaged in a bomb attack. Credit for the explosion was claimed by ASALA;

*November 8, 1979*

ITALY (Rome): The offices of the Turkish Embassy's Tourism Attaché were heavily damaged

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\*Indicates attacks resulting in deaths.

by a bomb explosion. ASALA claimed credit for the attack;

*November 18, 1979*

FRANCE (Paris): Bomb explosions damaged three airline offices in central Paris: 1) The Turkish Airlines Offices; 2) KLM, the Dutch Airlines Offices; and 3) Lufthansa, the German Airlines Offices. Two French policemen were hurt in the explosions. ASALA claimed responsibility for all three incidents.

*November 25, 1979*

SPAIN (Madrid): Bombs exploded in front of the Madrid offices of Trans World Airlines and British Airways. ASALA, who claimed responsibility for these attacks, stated that they were intended as warnings for Pope John Paul to cancel his planned visit to Turkey;

*December 9, 1979*

ITALY (Rome): Two bombs exploded in downtown Rome, damaging the offices of Pan American Airlines, World Airways, British Airlines, and the Philippine Airways. Nine individuals were injured in the explosions. A group identifying itself as the 'New Armenian Resistance Movement' claimed credit;

*December 17, 1979*

UNITED KINGDOM (London): Extensive damage was caused when a bomb exploded in front of the Turkish Airlines' London offices. A group calling itself the 'Front for the Liberation of Armenia' claimed responsibility;

*December 22, 1979\**

FRANCE (Paris): Yilmaz Çolpan, the Tourism Attaché at the Turkish Embassy, was assassinated by a lone gunman while walking on the crowded Champs Elysées. Several groups, including ASALA, the JCAG, and the 'Commandos of Armenian Militants Against Genocide' claimed responsibility for the assassination;

*December 22, 1979*

NETHERLANDS (Amsterdam): Heavy damage resulted from a bomb explosion in front of the Turkish Airlines Offices. ASALA claimed credit for the attack;

*December 23, 1979*

ITALY (Rome): A bomb exploded in front of a World Council of Churches refugee center (the Dina Boarding House) in Rome. This center was being utilized as a transit point for Armenian refugees leaving Lebanon. ASALA claimed credit for the attack and warned the Italian authorities to halt 'The Armenian Diaspora';

*December 23, 1979*

ITALY (Rome): Three bomb explosions occurred in front of the Rome offices of Air France and Trans World Airlines, injuring a dozen passersby. ASALA claimed responsibility, stating that the bomb had been placed "in reprisal against the repressive measures of French authorities against Armenians in France";

*January 10, 1980*

IRAN (Tehran): A bomb exploded in front of the Turkish Airlines Offices causing extensive damage. ASALA claimed responsibility for the attack;

*January 20, 1980*

SPAIN (Madrid): A series of bomb attacks, resulting in numerous injuries, occurred in front of the offices of Trans World Airlines, British Airways, Swissair, and Sabena. A group calling itself the 'Commandos for Justice for the Genocide of Armenians' claimed credit for the attacks;

*February 2, 1980*

BELGIUM (Brussels): Two bombs exploded (within five minutes of each other) in front of the offices of the Turkish Airlines and the Soviet Aeroflot, in central Brussels. The 'New Armenian Resistance Group' issued a communique in which they claimed responsibility for both attacks;

*February 2, 1980*

FRANCE (Paris): A bomb exploded in front of the Soviet Embassy's 'Information Center' in Paris. The 'New Armenian Resistance Group' claimed credit for the attack;

*February 6, 1980*

SWITZERLAND (Bern): A lone terrorist opened fire on Turkish Ambassador Doğan Türkmen, as he sat in his automobile in front of the Turkish Embassy in Bern. The

\*Indicates attacks resulting in deaths.

Ambassador escaped with minor wounds. The would-be assassin, an Armenian named Max Klindjian, was subsequently arrested in Marseilles and returned to Switzerland for trial. The JCAG terrorist organization claimed credit for the attack;

*February 18, 1980*

ITALY (Rome): Offices of three airlines (Swissair, El Al, and Lufthansa) were damaged in two bomb attacks. ASALA claimed credit for the attacks. An anonymous telephone call to the Rome 'AP' offices stated that the three airlines were targeted for the following reasons: A) Swissair--as a warning to the Swiss government not to jail innocent Armenians; B) Lufthansa--as a punishment to the German government which assists Turkish fascism; and C) El Al--because of the role of Zionism...

*March 10, 1980\**

ITALY (Rome): The Turkish Airlines' and Turkish Tourism Bureau's Rome offices on the Piazza della Repubblica were the sites of two bomb explosions. The blast killed two Italians and injured fourteen. Credit for the attack was claimed by the 'New Armenian Resistance of the Armenian Secret Army';

*April 17, 1980*

ITALY (Rome): The Turkish Ambassador to the Holy See, Vecdi Türel, was shot and seriously wounded in an attack by three Armenian terrorists, while riding in his automobile near his residence. His guard and chauffeur, Tahsin Güvenç, was also slightly wounded in the assassination attempt. JCAG claimed responsibility for the attack;

*May 19, 1980*

FRANCE (Marseille): A rocket aimed at the Turkish Consulate in Marseilles was discovered and defused prior to exploding. ASALA and a group calling itself 'Black April' claimed credit for the attack;

*July 31, 1980\**

GREECE (Athens): Galip Özmen, the Administrative Attaché at the Turkish Embassy in Athens, and his family were attacked by Armenian terrorists while sitting in their car. Galip Özmen and his fourteen-year-old daughter, Neslihan, were killed in the attack. His wife, Sevil, and sixteen-year-old son, Kaan, were wounded. Credit for the double killing was claimed by ASALA;

*August 5, 1980\**

FRANCE (Lyon): Two terrorists stormed into the Turkish Consulate in Lyon and demanded the doorman tell them the location of the Consul. They subsequently opened fire, killing two and injuring several other bystanders. ASALA claimed credit for the attack;

*August 11, 1980*

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (New York): Two 'paint bombs' were thrown at the front of the 'Turkish House' (the building housing the Turkish United Nations Delegation as well as the New York Turkish Consulate). A letter attached to one of the 'bombs' stated that the purpose of the attack was to "remind the imperialist Turkish government of the crimes they have committed against the Armenian people." It was signed: 'An Armenian Group';

*September 26, 1980*

FRANCE (Paris): Selçuk Bakalbaşı, the Press Counselor at the Turkish Embassy in Paris, was shot twice as he entered his home. Bakalbaşı survived, but is permanently paralyzed as a result of his injuries. ASALA and a group calling itself the 'Armenian Secret Army Organization' claimed responsibility for the attack;

*October 3, 1980*

SWITZERLAND (Geneva): Two Armenian terrorists were injured when a bomb they were preparing exploded in their Geneva hotel room. The two, Suzy Mahseredjian from Canoga Park, California, and Alexander Yenikomechian, were arrested by the Swiss authorities. Their arrest led to the formation of a new ASALA affiliate (the group to which they belonged) called the 'October 3 Organization,' which subsequently struck at Swiss targets throughout the world;

*October 3, 1980*

ITALY (Milan): Two Italians were injured when a bomb exploded in front of the Turkish Airlines offices in Milan. ASALA claimed credit for the attack;

*October 5, 1980*

SPAIN (Madrid): The offices of the Italian Airlines, Alitalia, were rocked by a bomb

\*Indicates attacks resulting in deaths.

explosion which injured twelve individuals. The 'Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia' claimed responsibility for the attack;

*October 6, 1980*

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (Los Angeles, California): The home of the Turkish Consul General in Los Angeles, Mr. Kemal Arkan, was slightly damaged when two molotov cocktails were thrown at it. An anonymous telephone caller stated that the attack had been made in the name of Armenians;

*October 10, 1980*

LEBANON (Beirut): Two bombs exploded near Swiss offices in West Beirut. A few days later, a group calling itself the 'October 3 Organization' claimed responsibility for these bombings as well as others directed against Swiss offices in England;

*October 10, 1980*

LEBANON (Beirut): An automobile belonging to a Swiss diplomat was destroyed by a bomb blast in West Beirut. Subsequently, the 'October 3 Organization' claimed credit for the attack;

*October 12, 1980*

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (New York City, New York): A bomb planted under a stolen car parked in front of the 'Turkish House' in New York City exploded. Four American citizens were injured in the blast and nearby offices experienced extensive damage. JCAG assumed responsibility for the blast in a telephone call to news media representatives;

*October 12, 1980*

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (Los Angeles, California): A travel agency in Hollywood, whose owner was a Turkish-American, was destroyed by a bomb blast. The JCAG terrorist organization claimed responsibility for the blast;

*October 12, 1980*

UNITED KINGDOM (London): The Turkish Tourism and Information Bureau's London offices were damaged by a bomb explosion. ASALA claimed credit for the attack;

*October 12, 1980*

UNITED KINGDOM (London): A Swiss shopping complex in central London was damaged by a bomb blast. Callers to news agencies claimed the explosion was the work of the 'October 3 Organization';

*October 13, 1980*

FRANCE (Paris): A Swiss tourist office in Paris was damaged by a bomb explosion. The group calling itself the 'October 3 Organization' claimed credit for the attack;

*October 21, 1980*

SWITZERLAND (Interlaken): A time bomb which failed to detonate was found on a Swiss train enroute from Paris to Interlaken. Law enforcement authorities believe the bomb was placed by the 'October 3 Organization';

*November 4, 1980*

SWITZERLAND (Geneva): The Swiss Palace of Justice in Geneva was heavily damaged by a bomb explosion. Swiss authorities announced that they believed the bomb was related to the two ASALA terrorists (Suzy Mahseredjian & Alexander Yenikomechian) arrested on October 3, 1980. Subsequently, credit for the explosion was claimed by the 'October 3 Organization';

*November 9, 1980*

FRANCE (Strasbourg): Heavy damage resulted from a bomb blast at the Turkish Consulate in Strasbourg. The attack was claimed by ASALA operating in conjunction with a group calling itself the 'Turkish-Kurdish Worker's Party';

*November 10, 1980*

ITALY (Rome): The Rome Swiss Airlines office and the Swiss Tourist Offices were both the targets of bomb explosions, which injured five people. The 'October 3 Organization' immediately claimed credit for the explosions. Subsequently, ASALA and the 'Turkish-Kurdish Worker's Party' also claimed responsibility;

*November 19, 1980*

ITALY (Rome): The offices of the Turkish Embassy's Tourism Representative and those of the Turkish Airlines were damaged by a bomb explosion. ASALA claimed responsibility for the blast;

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\*Indicates attacks resulting in deaths.

*November 25, 1980*

SWITZERLAND (Geneva): The offices of the Union of Swiss Banks in Geneva were hit by a bomb explosion which injured one individual. Responsibility for the attack was claimed by the 'October 3 Organization';

*December 5, 1980*

FRANCE (Marseille): A police expert defused a time bomb left at the Swiss Consulate in Marseille. Law enforcement officials believe the bomb was planted by the 'October 3 Organization';

*December 15, 1980*

UNITED KINGDOM (London): Two bombs placed in front of the French Tourism Office in London were defused by a Scotland Yard bomb squad. The 'October 3 Organization' claimed responsibility for the bombs, and stated they were a warning to the French for assistance they had rendered the Swiss;

*December 17, 1980\**

AUSTRALIA (Sydney): Two terrorists on a motorcycle assassinated Şark Anyak, the Turkish Consul General in Sydney, and his bodyguard, Engin Sever, as they entered their automobiles in front of the Consulate. JCAG claimed responsibility for the assassinations;

*December 25, 1980*

SWITZERLAND (Zurich): A bomb explosion destroyed a radar monitor at Kloten Airport (Zurich), and, a second explosive planted on the main runway of the airport was defused by bomb squad experts. The 'October 3 Organization' claimed credit for these attacks;

*December 29, 1980*

SPAIN (Madrid): A Spanish reporter was seriously injured while investigating a bomb explosion at the Swissair Offices in Madrid (as he telephoned the story to his paper, a second bomb destroyed the telephone booth he was using). The two explosions were claimed by the 'October 3 Organization';

*December 30, 1980*

LEBANON (Beirut): The Crédit-Suisse offices in Beirut were bombed. ASALA claimed credit for this attack on behalf of their 'October 3 Organization';

*January 2, 1981*

LEBANON (Beirut): In a press communique, ASALA threatened to "attack all Swiss diplomats throughout the world." This threat was made in response to the alleged mistreatment of 'Suzy & Alex', the two ASALA terrorists imprisoned in Switzerland. On January 4th, ASALA issued a statement postponing all strikes against Swiss interests until January 15, 1981;

*January 14, 1981*

FRANCE (Paris): A bomb exploded in the car of Ahmet Erbeyli, the Financial Counselor of the Turkish Embassy in Paris. Erbeyli was not injured, though the explosion totally destroyed his car and was responsible for serious damage to nearby buildings. A group calling itself the 'Alex Yenikomechian Commandos' of ASALA claimed credit for the explosion;

*January 27, 1981*

ITALY (Milan): The Swissair and the Swiss Tourist Offices in Milan were damaged by bomb explosions. Two Italian passers-by were injured. The 'October 3 Organization' claimed credit for the bombings in a call to local media representatives;

*February 3, 1981*

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (Los Angeles, California): Los Angeles bomb squad officials disarmed a bomb left on the doorstep of the Swiss Consulate. Anonymous phone calls claimed the bomb was the work of the 'October 3 Organization' and promised that such attacks would continue until 'our friend' (Suzy Mahseredjian) was released;

*February 5, 1981*

FRANCE (Paris): Bombs placed at the Paris offices of Trans World Airlines and Air France exploded, injuring one and causing extensive damage. A group identifying itself as the 'October 3 Armenian Nationalism Movement' claimed credit for the attacks;

*March 4, 1981\**

FRANCE (Paris): Two terrorists opened fire on Reşat Morali (the Labor Attache at the Turkish Embassy in Paris), Tecelli An (a Religious Affairs Official at the Embassy), and İlkay

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\*Indicates attacks resulting in deaths.

Karakoç (the Paris representative of the 'Anadolu Bank'), as they left Morali's office and prepared to enter their automobiles. The first to be targeted was Tecelli Ari. Morali and Karakoç tried to flee the scene. Morali, who tried to hide in a cafe, was thrown out by the owner and shot to death by the terrorists, while Karakoç succeeded in escaping. The terrorists who were observed by numerous passers-by escaped. Tecelli Ari, who was seriously wounded in the opening phase of the attack, died the next day in a Parisian hospital. The 'Shahan Natali Group' of ASALA claimed responsibility for the assassinations;

*March 12, 1981\**

IRAN (Tehran): A group of terrorists attacked the Turkish Embassy in Tehran, killing two guards during the attempted takeover. Two of the perpetrators were captured by local authorities and were later executed. ASALA claimed credit for the attack;

*April 3, 1981*

DENMARK (Copenhagen): Cavit Demir, the Labor Attache at the Turkish Embassy in Copenhagen, was shot by a lone terrorist as he attempted to enter his apartment building late in the evening. After a series of operations, the seriously wounded Demir regained his health. Both ASALA and the JCAG Armenian terrorists claimed the attack;

*June 3, 1981*

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (Los Angeles, California): Bombs planted by Armenian terrorists at the Anaheim Convention Center, forced the cancellation of performances scheduled by a Turkish Folk Dance Group. In the following days, threats of similar bombings in San Francisco forced the group's Northern California performances to be cancelled as well;

*June 9, 1981\**

SWITZERLAND (Geneva): Mehmet Savaş Yergüz, a secretary in the Turkish Consulate in Geneva was assassinated by a lone terrorist as he left the Consulate. The assassin, an Armenian named Mardiros Jamgotchian was apprehended by the authorities. ASALA claimed responsibility for the attack. The arrest of Jamgotchian led to the formation of a new ASALA branch called the 'Ninth of June Organization', which subsequently was responsible for several bombings of Swiss targets in Switzerland and other European countries;

*June 11, 1981*

FRANCE (Paris): A group of Armenian terrorists, led by one Ara Toranian, occupied the offices of the Turkish Airlines in Paris. Initially ignored by the French authorities, the terrorists, supporters of ASALA, were finally evicted from the premises, following formal protests from the Turkish Embassy;

*June 19, 1981*

IRAN (Tehran): A small bomb placed in the Tehran offices of Swissair exploded, causing minor damage. ASALA's 'Ninth of June Organization' claimed responsibility for the attack;

*June 26, 1981*

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (Los Angeles, California): A small bomb exploded in front of the Swiss Banking Corporation Offices in Los Angeles. The attack was claimed by the 'Ninth of June Organization';

*July 19, 1981*

SWITZERLAND (Bern): A bomb exploded in a trash bin at the Swiss Parliament Building in Bern. Subsequently, an anonymous caller claimed the attack was the work of the 'Ninth of June Organization';

*July 20, 1981*

SWITZERLAND (Zurich): A bomb exploded in an automatic-photo booth at Zurich's International Airport. The attack was claimed by the 'Ninth of June Organization';

*July 21, 1981*

SWITZERLAND (Lausanne): A bomb placed in the 'women's wear' section of a department store in Lausanne injured twenty women shoppers. ASALA's 'Ninth of June Organization' claimed credit for the attack;

*July 22, 1981*

SWITZERLAND (Geneva): A bomb placed in a coin-operated locker at the Geneva Train Station exploded, injuring four people. Law enforcement authorities credited the attack to the 'Ninth of June Organization';

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\*Indicates attacks resulting in deaths.

*July 22, 1981*

SWITZERLAND (Geneva): A second bomb placed in a locker at the Geneva Railway Station exploded approximately one hour after the first. Police had cordoned off the area following the first explosion, thereby preventing injuries from the second. The Swiss authorities also credited this second explosion to ASALA's 'Ninth of June Organization';

*August 11, 1981*

DENMARK (Copenhagen): Two bombs exploded and destroyed the offices of Swissair in Copenhagen. An American tourist was injured in the explosion. The 'Ninth of June Organization' claimed responsibility for the attacks;

*August 20, 1981*

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (Los Angeles, California): A small explosive device was detonated outside the offices of the Swiss Precision Instruments, Inc. in Los Angeles. The attack was claimed by ASALA's 'Ninth of June Organization';

*August 20, 1981*

FRANCE (Paris): An early morning bomb explosion damaged the Paris offices of the Alitalia Airlines. An anonymous caller credited the attack to the 'Armenian Movement October 3 Organization';

*August 22, 1981*

FRANCE (Paris): An early morning bomb explosion occurred in front of the Paris offices of Olympic Airlines. An anonymous caller claimed the attack for the 'October 3 Armenian Organization';

*September 15, 1981*

DENMARK (Copenhagen): A bomb exploded in front of the Turkish Airlines Offices in Copenhagen, injuring two people (one of them seriously). Police experts managed to defuse a second bomb prior to its detonation. Credit for the attack was claimed by a group calling itself 'Sixth Armenian Liberation Army';

*September 17, 1981*

IRAN (Tehran): A bomb explosion damaged a Swiss Embassy building in Tehran. ASALA's 'Ninth of June Organization' claimed responsibility;

*September 24, 1981\**

FRANCE (Paris): Four Armenian terrorists occupied the Turkish Consulate in Paris. During their entry into the building, the Consul, Kaya İnal, and a security guard, Cemal Özen, were seriously wounded. 56 hostages were taken by the terrorists, 2 of whom (the terrorists) were slightly wounded. The terrorists eventually allowed the wounded İnal and Özen to be taken to the hospital, where Özen died from his injuries. When their demands for the release of 'Armenian political prisoners in Turkey' were not met, the terrorists requested 'political prisoner status' and surrendered to the French authorities. The four terrorists, all of whom were Armenians from Lebanon, were members of ASALA;

*October 3, 1981*

SWITZERLAND (Geneva): The main post office and the City Courthouse of Geneva were hit by bomb explosions. The courthouse being the site where an ASALA member was scheduled to go on trial for murder. The ASALA 'Ninth of June Organization' claimed credit for the attacks, which injured one person slightly;

*October 25, 1981*

ITALY (Rome): A lone terrorist attempted to assassinate Gökberk Ergenekon, a Second Secretary at the Turkish Embassy in Rome. Ergenekon, who was wounded in the arm, got out of his automobile and returned the terrorist's fire. The terrorist, who was wounded by Ergenekon, managed to flee the scene of the attack. ASALA claimed credit for the attempted assassination in the name of the 'September 24th Suicide Commandos,' i.e., in the name of the ASALA terrorists who had occupied the Turkish Consulate in Paris;

*October 25, 1981*

FRANCE (Paris): Fouquet's, the fashionable French restaurant on the Champs-Élysées, was the target of a bomb attack which injured three employees. A group calling itself 'September-France' claimed the attack;

*October 26, 1981*

FRANCE (Paris): A booby-trapped automobile exploded in front of 'Le Drugstore,' a fashionable shop on the Champs-Élysées. The 'September-France' group claimed responsibility for the attack;

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\*Indicates attacks resulting in deaths.

*October 27, 1981*

FRANCE (Paris): A bomb explosion in the parking lot of Paris' Roissy Airport destroyed a parked car. The 'September-France' group claimed the attack;

*October 27, 1981*

FRANCE (Paris): A second bomb exploded in a trash can near a busy escalator in the Roissy Airport. No one was injured in the explosion. The 'September-France' group claimed responsibility;

*October 28, 1981*

FRANCE (Paris): A crowded Paris movie theater was the site of a bomb explosion which injured three people. The 'September-France' group claimed responsibility;

*November 3, 1981*

SPAIN (Madrid): A bomb exploded in front of the Swissair offices in Madrid, injuring three persons. The attack, which resulted in considerable damage to nearby buildings, was claimed by ASALA;

*November 5, 1981*

FRANCE (Paris): A bomb exploded in the Parisian Gare de Lyon train station, injuring one person and causing considerable damage to luggage lockers. Subsequently, the attack was claimed by an Armenian terrorist organization, styling itself as the 'Orly Organization';

*November 12, 1981*

LEBANON (Beirut): Simultaneous bomb explosions occurred in front of three French offices in Beirut: A) the French Cultural Center; B) the Air France offices; and C) the home of the French Consul. No one was injured in the attacks which caused extensive physical damage. The 'Orly Organization' (named for an Armenian arrested at the French airport on charges of using false documents), claimed the attacks, and demanded the immediate release of Monte Melkonian, the Armenian-American detained in France;

*November 14, 1981*

FRANCE (Paris): A bomb explosion damaged an automobile parked near the Eiffel Tower in Paris. A caller claimed the attack for the 'Orly Organization' and announced that it was 'The First Warning';

*November 14, 1981*

FRANCE (Paris): A group of tourists disembarking from a sightseeing boat on the River Seine were subjected to a grenade attack. No one was injured. The 'Orly Organization' claimed the attack;

*November 15, 1981*

FRANCE (Paris): The 'Orly Organization' issued a threat to blow up an Air France airplane in flight;

*November 15, 1981*

LEBANON (Beirut): Simultaneous bomb attacks were carried out against three French targets in Beirut: A) the Union des Assurances de Paris; B) the Air France offices; and C) the Banque Libano-Française. No one was injured in the attacks which caused extensive physical property damage. The 'Orly Organization' claimed responsibility for the attacks;

*November 15, 1981*

FRANCE (Paris): The 'McDonald's Restaurant' in Paris was the site of a bomb explosion, claimed by the 'September-France' and 'Orly Organization';

*November 16, 1981*

FRANCE (Paris): A bomb planted in the luggage lockers at Paris' Gare de l'Est railroad terminal exploded, injuring two people and causing property damage. The 'Orly Organization' claimed responsibility for the attack;

*November 18, 1981*

FRANCE (Paris): The 'Orly Organization' announced it had planted a bomb at Paris' Gare du Nord. No explosive device was located;

*November 20, 1981*

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (Los Angeles, California): The Turkish Consulate in Beverly Hills was hit by a bomb explosion which caused extensive physical damage. The JCAG Armenian terrorist organization claimed credit for the attack;

*January 13, 1982*

CANADA (Toronto): A bomb exploded at the Turkish Consulate in Toronto causing

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\*Indicates attacks resulting in deaths.



extensive damage. The ASALA terrorists claimed the attack;

*January 17, 1982*

SWITZERLAND (Geneva): Two bombs exploded near parked automobiles in Geneva. The ASALA 'Ninth of June Organization' claimed credit for the attacks;

*January 17, 1982*

FRANCE (Paris): A bomb exploded at a branch of the Union of Banks of Paris, and a second explosive device was disarmed at a branch of the Cr dit Lyonnais. The 'Orly Organization' claimed credit for the two explosive devices;

*January 19, 1982*

FRANCE (Paris): A bomb exploded in the Air France office in the Palais des Congr s in Paris. The 'Orly Organization' claimed the attack;

*January 28, 1982\**

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (Los Angeles, California): Kemal Arkan, the Turkish Consul General in Los Angeles was assassinated by two terrorists while driving to work. One of the assassins, Hampig Sassounian (a 19 year old immigrant from Lebanon) was arrested and subsequently tried and convicted of the crime. He is currently serving a life sentence in California's San Quentin prison. His accomplice, believed to be one Krikor Saliba, escaped to Lebanon. The JCAG Armenian terrorist group took credit for the assassination;

*March 22, 1982*

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (Cambridge, Massachusetts): A gift and import shop belonging to Orhan G nd z, the Honorary Turkish Consul in Boston, was bombed, and G nd z was severely wounded by the bomb explosion. The JCAG claimed responsibility for the attack;

*March 26, 1982\**

LEBANON (Beirut): A movie theater in the Armenian section of Beirut (which frequently showed Turkish films), was destroyed by a powerful bomb explosion, which killed two people and injured more than sixteen. ASALA claimed credit for the attack;

*April 8, 1982*

CANADA (Ottawa): Kani G ng r, the Commercial Attach  at the Turkish Embassy in Ottawa, was seriously wounded in an attack by Armenian terrorists which took place in the garage of his apartment house. ASALA claimed responsibility for the attack;

*April 24, 1982*

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY (Dortmund): Several Turkish owned businesses suffered extensive damages in bomb attacks. The 'New Armenian Resistance Organization' claimed responsibility for the bombings;

*May 4, 1982\**

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (Cambridge, Massachusetts): Orhan G nd z, the Turkish Honorary Consul in Boston, was assassinated while driving his automobile, by a lone Armenian terrorist. The JCAG group claimed responsibility for the attack. Despite the fact that U.S. President Ronald Reagan ordered an all-out manhunt for the assassin, no one was apprehended;

*May 10, 1982*

SWITZERLAND (Geneva): Bombs exploded at two Geneva banks. The attacks, which caused extensive physical damage, were claimed by an Armenian group calling itself the 'World Punishment Organization';

*May 18, 1982*

CANADA (Toronto): A total of four Armenians were arrested on charges of attempting to extort money from Armenian businessmen to support the 'Armenian Cause.' The home of one of the intended victims was firebombed a day after he refused to comply with the terrorists' demands;

*May 18, 1982*

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (Tampa, Florida): Nash Karahan, the Honorary Turkish Consul in Tampa, repulsed (by drawing a gun) the attempt of two Armenian terrorists to enter the Consulate offices;

*May 26, 1982*

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (Los Angeles, California): A bomb damaged the Los Angeles

\*Indicates attacks resulting in deaths.

office of the Swiss Banking Corporation. Four Southern California Armenians (Vicken Tcharkutian, Hratch Koziboukian, Stranouche Koziboukian, and Vrant Chirinian), all of whom are accused of involvement in ASALA, were suspected of perpetrating this attack;

*May 30, 1982*

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (Los Angeles, California): Three American Armenian members of ASALA were arrested and charged with placing an explosive device in front of the Air Canada Cargo Building at the Los Angeles International Airport. The bomb was defused by members of the L.A. Police Department's bomb squad.

*June 7, 1982\**

PORTUGAL (Lisbon): The Administrative Attaché at the Turkish Embassy in Lisbon, Erkut Akbay, and his wife, Nadide Akbay, were assassinated by a lone terrorist in front of their home. JCAG claimed responsibility for the attack;

*July 1, 1982*

NETHERLANDS (Rotterdam): Kemalettin Demirer, the Turkish Consul General in Rotterdam, was shot at in his automobile (as he approached the Consulate) by four Armenian terrorists (one of whom was apprehended by Dutch police). Demirer escaped injury in the incident. A previously unknown group calling itself the 'Armenian Red Army' claimed responsibility for the attempted assassination;

*July 21, 1982*

FRANCE (Paris): A bomb explosion near a crowded Parisian café in the Place Saint-Sevrin, injured sixteen people. Credit for the explosion was claimed by the 'Orly Organization,' who stated that it was in retaliation for the failure of French authorities to keep their promise to grant political asylum to the four terrorists who perpetrated the takeover of the Turkish Consulate on September 24, 1981;

*July 26, 1982*

FRANCE (Paris): Two women were injured when a bomb exploded in Paris' 'Pub Saint-Germaine.' The 'Orly Organization' claimed the attack;

*August 2, 1982*

FRANCE (Paris): Pierre Gulumian, a suspected Armenian terrorist, was killed (apparently when a bomb he was making exploded) in his Paris apartment;

*August 7, 1982\**

TURKEY (Ankara): Ankara's Esenboğa Airport was subjected to a major attack by two Armenian terrorists who opened fire in a crowded passenger waiting room with guns and grenades. One of the terrorists took more than twenty hostages in the airport's restaurant, while the second was apprehended by police. In the ensuing shootout with the hostage-holding terrorist, nine individuals (including an American and a West German hostage) were killed. Eighty-two others were injured. ASALA claimed credit for the attack. The apprehended terrorist, Levon Ekmekjian, was subsequently tried, convicted and executed for his role in the attack;

*August 8, 1982*

FRANCE (Paris): French bomb squad officials successfully defused a bomb found near a telephone center in Paris 'Seventeenth District.' The 'Orly Organization' took credit for the attack;

*August 12, 1982*

FRANCE (Paris): A policeman assigned to protect the offices of the Turkish Tourism Attaché in Paris was fired upon by Armenian terrorists. He escaped the attack without injury. No group claimed credit for this attack;

*August 27, 1982\**

CANADA (Ottawa): Colonel Atilla Altikat, the Military Attaché at the Turkish Embassy in Ottawa, was assassinated by a volley of shots fired into his car at a stoplight in Ottawa. The JCAG Armenian terrorist organization claimed responsibility for the assassination;

*September 9, 1982\**

BULGARIA (Burgaz): Bora Suelkan, the Administrative Attaché at the Turkish Consulate in Burgaz, was assassinated by a lone terrorist in front of his home. The assassin escaped, leaving behind a piece of cloth upon which was written: 'We shot dead the Turkish diplomat: Combat Units of Justice Against the Armenian Genocide.' An anonymous caller to the 'AP' in Beirut, Lebanon, claimed the assassination was the work of ASALA;

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\*Indicates attacks resulting in deaths.

*October 26, 1982*

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (Los Angeles, California): Five Armenians were charged with conspiring to blow up the offices of the Honorary Turkish Consul in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Their plan was to have planted a bomb in the offices of Kanat Arbay, the Honorary Consul. The five Armenians, all from the Los Angeles area, were mentioned in the arrest warrants as being attached to the JCAG Armenian terrorist organization;

*December 8, 1982\**

GREECE (Athens): Two Armenians on a motorbike threw a bomb at the offices of the Saudi Arabian Airlines in Athens. The bomb hit a power pylon, exploded, and killed one of the terrorists. His accomplice, an Armenian from Iran named Vaheh Kontaverdian, was arrested and admitted throwing the bomb, though he refused to give any further information to the police. Greek law enforcement authorities subsequently announced that ASALA had claimed credit for the attack in protest of Saudi Arabia's support for Turkey;

*January 21, 1983*

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (Anaheim, California): Nine 'sophisticated' pipe bombs were confiscated from an Armenian bakery in Anaheim, after the detonator from one of the devices detonated and caused a fire. The owner, an Armenian named Hagop Avedisian, told police he had not been threatened;

*January 22, 1983*

FRANCE (Paris): French police defused a powerful explosive device (a one kilogram bomb), which was discovered near the Turkish Airlines Counter at Paris' Orly Airport. ASALA claimed responsibility for the incident;

*January 22, 1983*

FRANCE (Paris): Two terrorists attacked the Paris offices of the Turkish Airlines in Paris with hand grenades. No one was injured in the explosions, and one of the terrorists was arrested. ASALA claimed credit for the attack;

*February 2, 1983*

BELGIUM (Brussels): The offices of the Turkish Airlines were bombed in Brussels. The 'New Armenian Resistance Organization' claimed responsibility for the attack;

*February 28, 1983*

LUXEMBOURG: A bomb placed in front of Turkey's diplomatic mission was discovered and defused. *The Armenian Reporter*, an Armenian publication in New York, reported that the group known as the 'New Armenian Resistance Organization' had issued a communique claiming credit for the attack;

*February 28, 1983\**

FRANCE (Paris): A bomb exploded at the Turkish owned 'Marmara Travel Agency' in Paris. Killed in the explosion was Renee Morin, a French secretary. Four other Frenchmen were wounded in the explosion. The bomb also caused heavy damage to the building. A few minutes after the attack, ASALA claimed responsibility;

*March 9, 1983\**

YUGOSLAVIA (Belgrade): Galip Balkar, the Turkish Ambassador to Yugoslavia, was ambushed and assassinated by two Armenian terrorists in Central Belgrade. His chauffeur, Necati Kayer, was shot in the stomach. As the two assailants fled from the scene, they were chased by Yugoslav citizens. One of the terrorists shot and wounded a Yugoslav colonel, and in turn was shot and apprehended by a plain clothes policeman. The second terrorist opened fire on civilians who were chasing him and killed a young student, and wounded a young girl. The JCAG claimed responsibility for the attack. The two terrorists, Kirkor Levonian and Raffi Elbekian, were tried and sentenced by the Yugoslav authorities;

*March 31, 1983*

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY (Frankfurt): An anonymous caller claiming to represent ASALA, telephoned a threat to the German offices of the Turkish newspaper, *Tercuman* in Frankfurt. He threatened to bomb the offices and kill the staff if the newspaper continued writing against the 'Armenian Cause';

*May 24, 1983*

BELGIUM (Brussels): Bombs exploded in front of the Turkish Embassy's Culture and Information Offices, and in front of a Turkish owned travel agency (the 'Marmara');

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\*Indicates attacks resulting in deaths.

in downtown Brussels. The Italian director of the travel agency was wounded in the explosion. ASALA claimed credit for the attacks;

*June 16, 1983\**

TURKEY (Istanbul): Armenian terrorists carried out an attack with hand grenades and automatic weapons inside Istanbul's world famous 'Covered Bazaar.' Two Turkish citizens were killed in the attack (together with one of the terrorists), and twenty one other Turks were wounded. ASALA claimed responsibility for the attack;

*July 8, 1983*

FRANCE (Paris): Armenian terrorists attacked the offices of the 'British Council' (the official British Government Cultural Organization), protesting against the trial of Armenian terrorists in London;

*July 14, 1983\**

BELGIUM (Brussels): Armenian terrorists shot and killed Dursun Aksoy, the Administrative Attache at the Turkish Embassy in Brussels, while he was driving his automobile. Three groups, ASALA, JCAG, and a previously unknown organization, the 'Armenian Revolutionary Army' (Hereafter: ARA), all claimed responsibility for the assassination;

*July 15, 1983\**

FRANCE (Paris): A bomb exploded in front of the Turkish Airlines counter at Paris' Orly Airport. The explosion killed eight people, including four Frenchmen, two Turks, one American, and one Swede. In addition, some 60 other individuals (including 28 Turks) were injured by the explosion. A 29 year old Syrian-Armenian named Varoujan Garabedian, who claimed to be the head of ASALA in France, confessed to having planted the bomb. He admitted that the bomb was intended to have exploded once the plane was airborne;

*July 15, 1983*

UNITED KINGDOM (London): A bomb, similar in construction to that which exploded at Orly on the same day, was found and defused before it exploded. ASALA claimed responsibility for the attack;

*July 18, 1983*

FRANCE (Lyon): A bomb threat was made by ASALA against the Lyon Railroad Station;

*July 20, 1983*

FRANCE (Lyon): Armenian terrorists threatened to blow up Lyon's Perrache Railroad Station, causing the facility's evacuation. ASALA claimed credit for the threat;

*July 22, 1983*

IRAN (Tehran): A French Embassy building and the Air France office in Tehran were bombed. ASALA claimed the attack in the name of the 'Orly Organization';

*July 27, 1983\**

PORTUGAL (Lisbon): A group of five Armenian terrorists attempted to storm the Turkish Embassy in Lisbon. Failing to gain access to the Chancery, they occupied the residence, taking the Deputy Chief of the Mission, his wife and family, hostage. When explosives being planted by the terrorists detonated, Cahide Mihcioğlu (the wife of the DCM) was killed, together with four of the terrorists. The DCM, Yurtsev Mihcioğlu and his son Atasay were injured. The fifth terrorist had been killed in the initial assault by Turkish Security forces. One Portuguese policeman was also killed and another was wounded. The ARA claimed responsibility;

*July 28, 1983*

FRANCE (Lyon): Once again a threat that a bomb was planted in Lyon's Perrache Railroad Station forced the evacuation of the facility. The caller claimed the bomb was planted by ASALA. A thorough search of the facility failed to uncover any explosive device;

*July 29, 1983*

IRAN (Tehran): A threat to blow up the French Embassy in Tehran with a rocket attack, caused Iranian officials to increase security at the facility. The threat emanated from the 'Orly Organization' who demanded the release of twenty-one Armenians imprisoned in France;

*July 31, 1983*

FRANCE (Lyon & Rennes): Bomb threats made by Armenian terrorists forced French

\*Indicates attacks resulting in deaths.

authorities to order the emergency landing of two domestic French flights carrying 424 passengers. The planes landed at Lyon and Rennes respectively. A search of the airliners failed to uncover any explosives;

*August 10, 1983*

IRAN (Tehran): A bomb exploded in an automobile at the French Embassy in Tehran. ASALA claimed credit for the attack;

*August 17, 1983*

IRAN (Tehran): A car being driven by a local representative of Air France in Tehran was attacked by automatic weapons. ASALA claimed credit for the attack;

*August 25, 1983\**

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY: French Consulate offices were destroyed by a bomb blast which killed two and injured twenty-three others. ASALA claimed responsibility for the attack;

*September 9, 1983*

IRAN (Tehran): Two French Embassy cars in Tehran were firebombed. One of the bombs injured two embassy staff members. ASALA claimed credit for the attacks;

*October 1, 1983\**

FRANCE (Marseille): A bomb blast destroyed the Soviet, U.S., and Algerian pavilions at an International Trade Fair in Marseille. One man was killed and twenty-six other people were injured in the explosion. ASALA's 'Orly Organization' claimed credit for the attack;

*October 6, 1983*

IRAN (Tehran): A French Embassy vehicle was bombed in Tehran. Two passengers were injured in the explosion. The 'Orly Organization' claimed credit for the attack;

*October 29, 1983*

LEBANON (Beirut): A car drove up to the front of the French Embassy in Beirut. One man got out and threw a hand grenade onto the staircase leading into the building. He was apprehended by security guards, but his accomplices escaped. ASALA claimed responsibility for the attack;

*October 29, 1983*

LEBANON (Beirut): The Turkish Embassy was attacked by three Armenian terrorists. One of the assailants, Sarkis Danielian, a 19 year old Lebanese Armenian was apprehended by guards. ASALA claimed responsibility for the attack;

*February 8, 1984*

FRANCE (Paris): A terrorist threat that a bomb had been placed on an Air France plane scheduled for a 1:00 p.m. departure, forced a one and a half hour delay of an Air France flight to New York. A thorough search of the airliner did not discover any explosives;

*March 28, 1984\**

IRAN (Tehran): A timed series of Armenian terrorist attacks were carried out against Turkish diplomatic targets in the Iranian capital of Tehran. The following incidents occurred:

- a) Two Armenian terrorists shot and seriously wounded Ismail Pamukçu, a Master-Sergeant assigned to the office of the Turkish Military Attaché in Tehran. ASALA claimed credit for the attack;
- b) Hasan Servet Oktem, First Secretary of the Turkish Embassy was slightly wounded in an attempted assassination as he left his home;
- c) Ibrahim Özdemir, the Administrative Attaché at the Turkish Embassy alerted Iranian police to the fact that two suspicious looking men were standing in front of his house. The two men, who turned out to be Armenian terrorists, were arrested by the Iranian authorities;
- d) At 2:00 p.m. in the afternoon, Iranian police arrested three Armenian terrorists who were loitering outside the Chancery of the Turkish Embassy;
- e) An Armenian terrorist was killed when a bomb he was attempting to plant in the car of the Assistant Commercial Counselor at the Turkish Embassy exploded prematurely. The counselor, İşıl Ünel was not injured. The dead terrorist was later identified as an Armenian named Sultan Gregorian Semaperdan;

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\*Indicates attacks resulting in deaths.

*March 29, 1984*

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (Los Angeles, California): The Turkish Consulate in Los Angeles received a written threat to assassinate a Turkish athlete should he attempt to participate in the forthcoming Los Angeles Olympics. The threat was signed by ASALA;

*April 8, 1984*

LEBANON (Beirut): A Communique warning all international airlines with flights to Turkey that they would be considered as military targets, was issued in Beirut by ASALA;

*April 26, 1984*

TURKEY (Ankara): It was announced that the Turkish Prime Minister, Turgut Özal, had received a threat warning him that if he went ahead with a planned visit to Tehran, Iran, ASALA would schedule a major terrorist operation against his country;

*April 28, 1984\**

IRAN (Tehran): Two Armenian terrorists riding a motorcycle, opened fire on a car driven by Işık Yönder, as he drove his wife, Sadiye Yönder to the Turkish Embassy where she worked as a secretary. Işık Yönder was killed in the attack. The assassination was claimed by ASALA;

*June 20, 1984\**

AUSTRIA (Vienna): A bomb exploded in a car belonging to Erdogan Özen, an Assistant Labor and Social Affairs Counselor at the Turkish Embassy in Vienna. Özen was killed in the explosion, and five other individuals (including two Austrian policemen) were seriously wounded in the attack. The ARA terrorists claimed credit for the attack;

*June 25, 1984*

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA: A news agency office in Paris, France received a letter sent by ASALA, in which the Armenian terrorist organization threatened to attack all governments, organizations, and companies, who assisted in any way whatsoever, Turkey's olympic team at the Los Angeles Olympics.

*August 13, 1984*

FRANCE (Lyon): A bomb exploded in the Lyon Railroad Station, causing minor damage due to a malfunction. ASALA claimed credit for the attack;

*September, 1984*

IRAN (Tehran): Several Turkish owned firms in Tehran came under attack by Armenian terrorists, following receipt of warning letters informing the firms that they were to be targeted. The first such attack was an explosive device thrown into the offices of the major Turkish Construction Firm, the Sezai Türkeş-Fevzi Akkaya Company. A Turkish employee was injured while fighting the fire caused by the explosion;

*September 1, 1984*

IRAN (Tehran): Iranian authorities announced that they had foiled a plot by Armenian terrorists to assassinate Ismet Birsal, the Turkish Ambassador to Tehran;

*September 3, 1984\**

TURKEY (Istanbul): An explosion in a car parked near the Topkapı Palace in Istanbul, killed two Lebanese-Armenians. Authorities speculate they were killed when a bomb they were trying to place, exploded prematurely. The ARA terrorist organization claimed credit for the explosion;

*November 19, 1984\**

AUSTRIA (Vienna): A Turkish national, Enver Ergun, employed by the United Nations' Vienna 'Center for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs,' was assassinated while waiting for a red light in his automobile. A piece of cloth bearing the initials: A.R.A. was thrown into the car by the fleeing assassin;

*December, 1984*

BELGIUM (Brussels): Belgian law enforcement authorities continue to investigate a bombing attempt at the residence of Selçuk İncesu, an official at the Turkish Embassy in Brussels. Police discovered an explosive device in front of his apartment. No group has claimed the attack;

*December 29, 1984*

LEBANON (Beirut): Two French buildings in East Beirut were bombed. ASALA claimed credit for the attacks;

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\*Indicates attacks resulting in deaths.

*December 29, 1984*

FRANCE (Paris): Following receipt of an ASALA threat to blow up an Air France plane in flight, police increased security at the Charles de Gaulle Airport in Paris;

*January 3, 1985*

LEBANON (Beirut): The West Beirut offices of the Agence France Presse were extensively damaged when a bomb exploded. ASALA claimed responsibility for the attack;

*January 3, 1985*

LEBANON (Beirut): Military bomb disposal experts defused a six-pound bomb planted outside the entrance to the 'French-Lebanese' bank in the Ramat al-Baida district of West Beirut. ASALA claimed responsibility for the attack;

*March 3, 1985*

FRANCE (Paris): An anonymous caller claiming to represent ASALA threatened to attack French interests all over the world. The call which was made to Agence France Presse, threatened French authorities over the verdict meted out to three terrorists who had participated in the Orly attack;

*March 12, 1985*

CANADA (Ottawa): Three heavily armed Armenian terrorists stormed the Turkish Embassy in Ottawa, killing a Canadian Pinkerton security guard in the process. After blowing up the front door with explosives the gunmen entered the building. Ambassador Coşkun Kırca managed to escape by jumping from a second-story window (and suffered extensive injuries in the fall). He remained lying on the ground throughout the ensuing four-hour siege. Finally, the hostages (who included the wife and daughter of the Ambassador) were released unharmed and the terrorists surrendered. The ARA claimed responsibility for the attack. The three apprehended terrorists are currently awaiting trial in Canada;

*March 26, 1985*

CANADA (Toronto): A threat to blow up the city of Toronto's transit system by an Armenian terrorist organization, led to massive security procedures being implemented in Toronto. Traffic during the city's rush hours was stalled as police searched the subway system for explosives. A group calling itself the 'Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of our Homeland' claimed responsibility for the threat;

*November, 1985*

BELGIUM (Brussels): A special anti-terrorist security squad of the Belgian police arrested three suspected Armenian terrorists (carrying Portuguese passports), who were loitering outside the residence of Ambassador Osman Olcay, Turkey's NATO Envoy in Brussels. Investigations are continuing;

*November 28, 1985*

FRANCE (Paris): French police arrested the American-Armenian leader of the terrorist organization known as the 'Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia-Revolutionary Movement' (ASALA-RM), Mr. Monte Melkonian. Melkonian, from the Fresno area of California, was formerly a top lieutenant of Hagop Hagopian, the founder of ASALA, who split from ASALA and formed his own terrorist organization (ASALA-RM) following the ASALA attack on the Orly Airport. In Melkonian's apartment, police confiscated weapons, explosive devices, and arrival and departure information on Turkish Ships scheduled to visit France. In addition, they found a picture of Turkey's Ambassador of France, Adnan Bulak, leading to speculation that he may have been targeted for assassination by ASALA-RM;

*December, 1985*

FRANCE (Paris): Forty-one shoppers in two of Paris' leading department stores (Gallerie Lafayette & Printemps) were injured when nearly simultaneous bomb explosions ripped through the stores. Police estimate that in the ensuing panic some 10,000 Christmas shoppers fled into the streets. Twelve of the injured are listed as serious. *The Armenian Reporter*, a U.S. Armenian weekly published in New York, reported in its December 12, 1985 issue that French law enforcement authorities are concentrating their investigation on ASALA as the most likely perpetrator of the bombings. ASALA took credit for the two bombings;

*February 2-8, 1986*

FRANCE (Paris): A hitherto unknown group calling itself 'Committee of Solidarity

\*Indicates attacks resulting in deaths.

with Arab and Middle Eastern Political Prisoners' (CSAMEPP), carried out a series of four bombings in various sections of the French capital. Given the fact that their demands included the release of an ASALA terrorist, Varoujan Garabedian, currently imprisoned in France, the likelihood that 'CSAMEPP' represents a coalition effort between Armenian and Arab terrorists is high;

*March 17, 1986*

FRANCE (Lyon): An express train travelling from Lyon to Paris was bombed, resulting in injuries to 10 passengers. Both 'CSAMEPP' and 'ASALA' claimed credit for the attack;

*March 20, 1986\**

FRANCE (Paris): A bomb placed in a busy Paris shopping arcade exploded killing two and wounding over 30 others. This attack was claimed by the 'CSAMEPP' group which once again reiterated its demand that Varoujan Garabedian, the ASALA terrorist convicted for the 1983 bombing of the Turkish Airlines Counter at Orly Airport, be released;

*September 4, 1986*

FRANCE (Paris): The detonator of a bomb planted on a Paris commuter train went off, but the bomb itself was defused after passengers were evacuated. The group calling itself 'Committee of Solidarity with Arab and Middle Eastern Political Prisoners' (CSAMEPP) claimed credit for the attack and repeated its demand for the release of three imprisoned terrorists, including ASALA's Varoujan Garabedian;

*September 9, 1986\**

FRANCE (Paris): Paris' City Hall was rocked by a powerful bomb explosion which killed a post office employee and wounded 18 other individuals. The 'CSAMEPP' group claimed responsibility, once again restating their demand for the release of ASALA's Varoujan Garabedian and two other Middle Eastern terrorists held in France;

*September 10-15, 1986\**

FRANCE (Paris): A series of bombings throughout the city of Paris resulted in the deaths of two and injuries of close to 100 people. 'CSAMEPP' claimed credit;

*September 16, 1986\**

FRANCE (Paris): Five people were killed and 52 wounded when a bomb planted by the 'CSAMEPP' terrorists exploded in the Montparnasse Quarter of the French capital. The terrorists reiterated their demand that ASALA's Varoujan Garabedian and two other Middle Eastern terrorists be freed from French prisons;

*October 9, 1986*

LEBANON (Beirut): The 'Armenian Secret Army for the the Liberation of Armenia' (ASALA) released a handwritten statement to western news agencies in Beirut, threatening more violence against France, unless Varoujan Garabedian and two other Middle Eastern terrorists were released from prison. The statement claimed that ASALA would strike at French planes, airports, ships, trains and diplomats in retaliation for police raids on homes of Armenians living in France. It further promised France would be hit with "additional blows with vast damage and grave consequences" if Garabedian were not freed. The wording of the 'ASALA' statement leaves no doubt but that this Armenian terrorist organization was one of the perpetrators of the series of bombings which rocked Paris in September, and, which resulted in the deaths of 10 people and the wounding of more than 160 others;

*October 15, 1986*

LEBANON (Beirut): Three 'ASALA' terrorists, led by the organization's spokesman, Mihran Mihranian, met with French newsmen in the Lebanese capital, and renewed their threats to strike French targets unless their imprisoned comrades are released. They claimed to have been negotiating with French authorities, and their spokesman Mihranian stated: "We are waiting for the French government to keep its promise [the release of Garabedian]. Otherwise we will resume our operations, which we can assure will be more vicious. ASALA has already declared that all French presence in the world are military targets. We defy Chirac and promise Mitterand catastrophies in the event they renege on their promise, that is, the release of political prisoners.;"

*November, 1986*

FRANCE (Paris): A half dozen Armenian terrorists, claiming to represent the 'Armenian Revolutionary Army,' occupied the Air Canada offices in Paris in protest for

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\*Indicates attacks resulting in deaths.



the sentencing of three Armenian terrorists in Canada. After barricading themselves in the offices for an hour they surrendered to police:

*November 23, 1986*

AUSTRALIA (Melbourne): A powerful car bomb exploded inside the basement of the Turkish Consulate in this Australian city, killing one person and causing considerable damage to the five-story building. The victim was subsequently identified as one of the perpetrators, an Armenian named Hagop Levonian. His accomplice, Levon Demirian of Victoria was subsequently arrested and charged with the bombing. This Armenian terrorist attack was claimed by a group calling itself the 'Greek-Bulgarian-Armenian Front' (GBAF). This was the first occasion upon which Armenian terrorists have utilized this name.

*January 19, 1987*

AUSTRALIA (Brisbane): A bomb exploded in a package at a mail sorting facility and injured six people. Responsibility for the explosion was claimed by the group calling itself 'Greek-Bulgarian-Armenian Front' (GBAF);

*January 20, 1987*

GREECE (Athens): On the occasion of its 12th. Anniversary, the 'Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia' (ASALA), issued a message to the Armenian people, from their headquarters in Athens, Greece. The message, which appears to have emanated from ASALA's political arm, the Athens based 'Armenian Popular Movement,' names the enemies of the Armenian people as "the Turkish fascist state, and its supporters, international imperialism and zionism..." The ASALA message received wide coverage in the Greek press, including the pro-government english-language daily 'Athens News' which published quotes from the 'ASALA' communique;

*February 11, 1987*

LEBANON (Beirut): A communique issued in the Lebanese capital confirmed ASALA's responsibility for the 1986 bombings in the French capital of Paris. In a typewritten statement delivered to a western news agency in Beirut, the Armenian terrorist organization stated: "France should start adopting the needed steps and procedures to release Armenians as well as Arab patriots. A truce like period of calm between us and the French government must have convinced the public opinion that we respect the interests and security of the French and other peoples. The wave of explosions will return to the streets of France, all French economic, air traffic and marine facilities will be subjected to sabotage." ASALA further claimed responsibility for the 1986 Paris bombings and reiterated its demand for the release of Varoujan Garabedian.

## DOCUMENT XXI

### HAGOP HAGOPIAN SAID TO HAVE BEEN PART OF 1972 TERROR ATTACK AT MUNICH OLYMPIC GAMES

Source:

*The Armenian Reporter*, February 7,  
1985, p. 1

New York, NY—Hagop Hagopian, alias Mihran Mihranian and "Moahed" is said to have taken part in the terrorist attack on Israeli athletes during the 1972 Olympic Games held in the West German city of Munich, according to published reports in the French press.

*Le Matin* the influential Paris daily, based on unidentified sources, claimed last week that Hagop Hagopian, the founder and leader of one faction of the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA), was among the Arab terrorists who staged an attack on the living quarters of Israeli athletes at the 1972 Olympic Games. The attack was later referred to as the "Munich Massacres," as the result of the killing of a number of these athletes. In this connection, there have been consistent reports that Mr. Hagopian was first active in the Palestine guerilla cause and then in 1975 founded ASALA with the cooperation of a few Armenian young men in the Lebanese capital of Beirut.

The French paper identifies Mr. Hagopian as Bedros Ohanian, an Armenian who was born in the Iraqi city of Mosul. He is described as 38 years old, short, on the heavy side and with a dark complexion. The paper said Hagopian's mother was not Armenian, making him only half Armenian. *Le Monde* added that up to 1982, Hagopian operated out of Beirut, Lebanon, but escaped from the country when Israeli forces entered the city. It was about this time that a statement issued by ASALA claimed that Mr. Hagopian was dead of wounds suffered during a bombing by the Israeli Air Force, although it is generally believed that the

\*Indicates attacks resulting in deaths.

mysterious leader is alive and well and presently is residing alternately in Damascus, Syria, and Athens, Greece. The paper also noted that the socialist government of Prime Minister Andreas Papandreu and his P.A.S.O.K. party accepted the Armenian underground leader with "open arms" and are still providing him with assistance simply because of Greece's traditional enmity with Turkey.

*Le Matin* further adds that ASALA derives only a small portion of its expenditures from wealthy Armenians who support the cause, with the rest coming either from other sources or from proceeds of an involvement in drug trafficking. The paper asserts that Bulgarian authorities also assist ASALA in obtaining all types of weapons that are used against Turkish targets and diplomats.

#### COLOMBIA: THE CARLOS CONNECTION

Carlos, the notorious international killer, surfaced on Spanish television recently in an interview filmed at a Colombian hide-out. The Venezuelan fugitive was alleged to be the brains behind numerous terrorist spectacles, including the massacre of Israeli athletes at the 1972 Summer Olympic Games in Munich.

Apparently having forsaken the beleaguered Palestine Liberation Organization, Carlos has become involved with Armenians seeking to avenge the genocide suffered by their forebears at the hands of the Turks. In the interview he told viewers, "We have links with the Armenian terrorist organizations. We help each other in every way and we collaborate closely."

With characteristic immodesty, Carlos also claimed that his operatives totally control the South American drug traffic. He insisted that dealing narcotics should not be considered a crime because Americans need drugs to cope with their lives. His primary motive, however, seemed to be raising money to finance his revolutionary activities. Drug dealing, Carlos said, "is our most effective weapon, we can say it is our nuclear weapon. The narcotics trade enables us to continue our struggle against imperialist forces."

It seems his new colleagues did not approve. "My Armenian friends at first disagreed with me on this issue and they resisted me," he explained. "I was even tried before a court they set up, but I was found innocent." If Armenian extremists have in fact embraced Carlos, it may bring them more headlines, but little else. Carlos' previous clients have nothing to show for his alleged efforts on their behalf.

#### DOCUMENT XXII

Source:  
*The Nation*, June 22, 1985, p. 759.

#### INSURGENTS, TERRORISTS AND THE DRUG TRADE

Armenian terrorists operate in numerous countries, but they frequently are based in Lebanon, especially Beirut, where members of the Armenian community figure prominently in the drug traffic. As the French press recently asserted, it seems likely that at least some of these drug profits find their way into terrorist coffers.

In 1980 Noubar Sofoyan, an Armenian drug smuggler with Lebanese citizenship, was indicted in the U.S. for heroin smuggling. Sofoyan had been arrested in Switzerland in 1976 for allegedly helping fund right-wing Armenian terrorists who bombed a Turkish installation in Zurich. In 1981 he was arrested in Greece on drug charges, but extradited to Lebanon where he was released, most likely because of pressure exerted on the Minister of Justice.

Also in 1981, Swedish police arrested a group of Armenian narcotics smugglers who were also in possession of documents and publications linking them to a leftist Armenian terrorist group, the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA). The smugglers were also linked to Armenian traffickers in the United States. Although the Swedes were never able to prove that the arrested traffickers had passed money to terrorists, ASALA issued several threats against Swedish interests on behalf of the jailed drug dealers and may have been behind an unsuccessful attempt to help one of them escape custody.

In early 1983 the Turkish press, citing Interpol sources, claimed that nine kilograms of heroin seized on Cyprus belonged to a Greek smuggling ring that helped fund ASALA.

#### DOCUMENT XXIII

Source:  
Mark S. Steinitz, "Insurgents, Terrorists and the Drug Trade," *The Washington Quarterly*, Volume 8, Number 4, Fall 1985, p. 145.

The Turkish press also claimed that one of the ASALA terrorists who participated in the June 1983 attack on the Istanbul covered bazaar, later hid at the home of a drug smuggler.

DOCUMENT XXIV

Source:  
The Armenian Reporter, January 17,  
1985.

### ARMENIAN TERROR GROUP SUPPORTS RADICAL MOSLEMS

BEIRUT, Lebanon—A leftist Armenian group earlier in the week, declared full support for Jihad Islami, an extremist organization that has claimed several anti-Armenian (sic) bombing attacks and gun-point abductions in Lebanon over past few months.

The Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA), expressed its support for the radical Lebanese group for its revolutionary activities in a statement which was distributed to Western wire services here. The statement said Jihad Islamic organization, which translates as "Islamic Holy War," with its revolutionary activities "has brought new momentum to the righteous struggle of oppressed people of the Middle East and the struggle for the liberation of Western Armenia from the fascist Turkish regime." The statement said the struggle for the liberation of Armenian lands was an inseparable part of the righteous struggle of the Armenian people.

"Jihad Islami" is believed to have been composed of radical Shiite Moslems, who are loyal to Iran's Ayatollah Khomeini. The group has also maintained close links with other such radical organizations, including the "party of God" which has claimed the bombings of the U.S. Embassy first in West Beirut, and then in East Beirut.

DOCUMENT XXV

Source:  
Associated Press Wire Service,  
December 31, 1985

### ARMENIAN TERRORISM'S LINKS TO ISLAMIC TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS

BEIRUT, Lebanon (AP)—The terrorist group Islamic Jihad, which claims to hold six Americans and four Frenchmen hostage in Lebanon, said today it would carry out more kidnappings and suicide bombings against Americans in 1986

The shadowy group, believed to be made up of Shiite Moslem zealots loyal to Iran, also threatened in an English-language statement to strike at Israeli targets "all over the world."

The statement, mailed to a western news agency in Beirut, said the group's high command made a decision to continue the attacks at an extraordinary Nov. 25 meeting. It did not say where the meeting was held or provide any more details about it.

It singled out Turkey as a "tool for implementation" of Israeli and U.S. policies in the Middle East and threatened terrorist attacks against Turkish embassies in Lebanon, Iraq, Iran, Egypt, Libya, West Germany, Austria, and France.

It warned Turkey to "stop supporting the U.S. and Israeli policies, to cut short its own subversive activities against the Arab nations, and liquidate the spy dens at its embassies, subsidiaries of the C.I.A. and the (Israeli Secret Service) Mossad."

The statement did not list any specific Turkish activities.

"The High Command of the Islamic Jihad organization decided: The merciless punitive operations against American imperialism will continue until the United States stops interfering into the home affairs of the Arab nations and supporting the Israeli aggressors," the statement said.

It said, "punitive operations against the Israeli marauders terrorizing the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples will continue not only in the occupied Arab lands but they will spread all over the world.

"The bomb attacks, the kidnappings and the assassinations of terrorists from over the ocean (overseas) will continue," it said. "The terrorist Reagan must know that other American embassies and warships will be blown out like the American Embassy and the marine headquarters in Beirut. The partial withdrawal of American personnel from Beirut won't mislead us or save them."

Source:  
 Roberta Goren, *The Soviet Union and Terrorism*, ed., Jillian Becker, London, George Allen & Unwin, 1984, pp. 181, 193.

The Armenian terrorists have also received cooperation and training from the PLO. This group, which has been very active in the last five years and has murdered eighteen Turkish diplomats all over the Western world and committed bomb outrages in city centres, is the most difficult one to dissociate from outright Soviet control. It is a Marxist-led group mostly made up of young middle class members. The group has a pro-Soviet ideology which considers Soviet Armenia, which was taken by the USSR in 1920 when Turkey and the Soviet Union divided the territory of Armenia between them, as the legitimate homeland of the Armenian people and favours enlarging the Soviet province of Armenia with land "liberated" from Turkey.<sup>337</sup> PLO leaders have even made stops in the capital of the Armenia province which is in the Soviet Union, and until recently the Armenians published a propaganda sheet in Beirut.

337. *International Herald Tribune*, 24-25 Jan. 1981.

### COMMUNIQUE OF THE ARMENIAN SECRET ARMY FOR THE LIBERATION OF ARMENIA

Source:  
*Communique of the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia*, January 20, 1986.

Eleven years ago, on the twentieth of January (sic) 1975, an ordinary day, the armenian (sic) diaspora gave birth to a child, for whom the armenian (sic) nation was waiting for many years, The Armenian Secret Rmy (sic) For The Liberation of Armenia.

This "new born" child who was born from the numerous masses of the armenia (sic) people looks behind to the 11 years of the revolutionary course and sees the torment, the struggle and the accomplishments of the nation that gave him life and nourishment.

The armenian (sic) nation resisted to a great degree against difficulties and tragedies in its victorious course, and it reached the peak of its struggle when it threw away the complexes of the diaspora and directed its sight to the horizon, to the peak of mount Ararat (sic), to the armenian (sic) mountains, to the land and water of our beloved country, and (sic) with its burning thirst (sic) for the homeland, it sacrificed its noblest (sic) youth with the complete awareness for martyrdom, and with their everlasting patience in the prisons, and their continuous (sic) resistance they wrote the golden pages of the history of the armenian (sic) peoples fight for existence.

Today the Armenian Secret Army For The Liberation of Armenia finds itself powerful and stronger, more than anytime before, despite the numerous attempts of world imperialism and zionism (sic) and turkish (sic) fascism and at last but not least armenian (sic) reactionism, to sabotage the modern armenian (sic) liberation struggle, therefore (sic) the Armenian Secret Army For The Liberation Of Armenia is faithful to its revolutionary principals and the sacred blood of its martyrs who are the secret of keeping the struggle alive in the hearts of the armenian (sic) people.

At the 11th anniversary of the establishment of our organization, we look back at the relatively short course of our struggle, we can easily (sic) see that the armenian (sic) nation which was desperate from the voluptuousness of the agent leadership of the reactionary armenian (sic) political parties, and today it has taken its honorary place in the front lines of the struggling peoples of the world, and demand its rights beside the persecuted people all over the world, and today it is encouraged by the fact that the liberation of our homeland is not a dream, but it could be a reality.

The armenian (sic) people has (sic) been fighting for its existence through the past 11 years, although it lost certain battles through that course, and that's (sic) because of the nonstop (sic) conspiracies plotted (sic) against it, nevertheless (sic) it continues and shall continue to advance in its struggle in an uphill direction until (sic) the liberation of the entire occupied lands of armenia (sic) by always depending on the revolutionary unity of the oppressed peoples and the imperative of transforming Soviet Armenia to a basic platform for our struggle.

From father (sic) Khrimian to general (sic) Antranig, and from martyr Kourken Yanikian to martyred leader comrade Hagop Hagopian, our battle for existence which has been continuing for a century, shall be the path of the armenian (sic) nation to salvation.

Today the armenian (sic) nation lives in seriously fatal moments.

The assault of exterior powers on one hand, the armenian (sic) nation faces today a danger inside its communities all over the world, and that it'll (sic) create a new balance of powers in these communities.

This interior conflict is fatal in its nature, and the collision of the conflicting poles shall decide the nature of armenian (sic) life in the forthcoming years, and oscourse (sic) the path of struggle.

Armenian reactionism which is supported by western imperialism, is so hungry to digest our revolutionary heritage, and they consider the independent and correct political line of the Armenian Secret Army For The Liberation Of Armenia as a true danger to them and their interests.

Inspite (sic) of all of these (sic), in this historical occasion we promise the armenian (sic) nation and the world that we shall consistently go forward in our struggle on all fronts and against all enemies till (sic) the last drop of our blood.

January 20, 1986

ARMENIAN SECRET ARMY FOR THE  
LIBERATION OF ARMENIA

#### DOCUMENT XXVIII

Source:  
*Congressional Record*—House, December  
12, 1985, H 11936.

Mr. Pashayan, Mr. Chairman, on the subject of terrorism let me simply say that for one-half century after the events that this resolution speaks to there was no terrorism, for 50 years. Why, after that length of time, did the terrorism start? Mr. Chairman, the answer to that question is very simple: Because in this matter justice has still been denied. Why has it been denied? It has been denied principally because this Republic of Turkey, which, when it was constituted in 1922 and 1923, after the period of time the resolution speaks to, and which, when it was constituted, inherited not only the assets but the liabilities of the Ottoman Empire, because this Government has refused to acknowledge what a predecessor government did under a separate constitution, in the same way that West Germany has acknowledged what its predecessor government did under the Nazi regime.

Mr. Chairman, the unfortunate fact of human nature is that when a cause crying out for justice is left denied by the only people in the world who have the legal authority to stand up and acknowledge what happened, not by themselves but by their predecessors, unfortunately the passions of people sometimes take command and they do the most horrible kind of acts. And I stand here today, and I condemn any and all terrorism, and especially Armenian terrorism.

But at the same time I have to say that as long as this cause remains unjustly denied, the KGB and the Communist Party, who are obviously perpetrating this terrorism, are going to have fuel for their fire.

#### DOCUMENT XXIX

Source:  
White House Statement, July 28, 1983.

#### STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT REAGAN

Yesterday's attack in Lisbon on the Residence of the Turkish Ambassador to Portugal was only the latest in a series of brutal and increasingly indiscriminate terrorist attacks against Turkish diplomats and other innocent civilians. In yesterday's attack, for which the "Armenian Revolutionary Army" claims responsibility, the wife of a senior Turkish diplomat was killed and a young child was seriously wounded. Only two weeks earlier, a Turkish diplomat was murdered outside his house in Brussels and one day later seven other individuals were killed as they waited to board a Turkish Airline in Paris. No real or imagined grievance could possibly justify these modern-day horrors. On behalf of the people and the Government of the United States, I extend the deepest sympathy to the Turkish Government and to the families of victims of these attacks. But more than sympathy is required. This senseless violence must cease. To that end I will be speaking to the other Heads of State in the days ahead regarding urgent and more effective cooperative measures to eliminate from the civilized community such barbaric and inhuman acts.

## TERRORIST BRUTALITY

Source:  
Letter to the Editor,  
*The Washington Post*,  
July 21, 1983.

The brutal terrorist attacks at Orly Airport and the killing in Brussels of yet another Turkish diplomat, for both of which Armenian terrorist groups claim "credit," are part of a tragic and continuing affront to all norms of human conduct and diplomatic discourse. Where is the voice of what surely must be the overwhelming majority of Armenian communities everywhere denouncing such brutality? What is to be achieved by such aimless terror?

Surely nothing, real or imagined, in the history of the Armenian community can justify its continuance.

Bruce Laingen  
Washington

## ASSASSINATED TURKISH OFFICIALS ARE INNOCENT?

Source:  
Randy Baloian, "Assassinated Turkish  
Officials Are Innocent?" *Asbarez*  
*Newspaper*, December 1, 1984, p. 14.

It is common practice these days to ascribe the term of innocence to a Turkish government official who has been assassinated by Armenian militants, whereupon I never fail to hear that apologetic line, "he wasn't even born during the time of the massacres." But let's take a closer look at this application of innocence.

In this country we have a law which states—in so many words—that any person who conceals a crime is guilty of being an accomplice.

Now assume for the moment we forget the Genocide Convention of the United Nations, which states that the guilty party in the crime of genocide is the perpetuating state. (State being defined as a politically organized body of people occupying a definite territory. That is, the state continues even though its government may change.) By the way, the Genocide Convention had been signed by Turkey.

For the moment, let us also forget that the Turkish government is presently carrying out a policy of cultural genocide on the Armenian and Kurdish peoples within Turkey. A policy that has imprisoned Reverend Manuel Yergatian for 14 years because of "evidence" proving he undermined the Turkish government. The so-called evidence amounted to a map of Armenia and an April 24th lecture given in Jerusalem.

Let us instead devote our thoughts to the idea of the Turkish government as an accomplice to the crime of 1915.

Currently, the Turkish government is financing a movement to reinterpret Turkish history, more specifically to distort the events of the 1915 genocide. Take for instance Stanford Shaw's book, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, 1808-1975* (1977). In it, Shaw contends that the events of 1915-1918 were nothing more than misfortunes of war. He also accounts for the death of only 200,000 Armenians, while holding the Armenians responsible for the massacre of thousands of Muslim lives. In the future such distortions of history will no doubt increase, due to the backing of the Turkish government.

Armenians are no longer faced with a Turkish government content to sit idly by. Now, it is making an effort to sell its warped version of history—or at least instill doubts about the events of 1915-1918 to the historians of the world.

As individuals there is no question that the assassinated Turkish officials are innocent of the crime of 1915. It seems obvious they had nothing to do with the murders of Armenians in 1915-1918. However, as representatives of a government which blatantly denies and conceals the massacre of 1.5 million humans, I believe they can be considered nothing less than guilty.

We are sometimes led to believe that individuals are only responsible for their personal action. But as a member of an organization, an individual's responsibility does not cease to exist. In most cases, an individual—who is part of an organization—accepts some of the responsibilities of that organization by overtly representing it.

I am not condoning the assassination of Turkish officials, but merely pointing out some considerations people tend to forget. I've always felt that ascriptions of guilt and innocence are dependent upon individual values and beliefs. However, a clearer understanding of the issues can only serve to improve the evaluation of this ascription.

Source:

John Giragosian, "The Distortion of History Continues," *The Armenian Reporter*, March 8, 1984, March 1, 1984.

...The *New York Times*, in its issue of April 23, 1983, published an essay written by G. Meyer on the tragedy that struck western Armenians. His presentation in general, appears to be a factual representation of events of that period. The large Armenian community in Turkey in 1915 emerged as the first victim of genocide in the 20th century. This awful measure caused the deportation and massacre of over a million and a half Armenians, noted Mr. Meyer, who condemned the present Turkish government for its consistent failure to acknowledge its responsibility. This refusal is viewed as a "loss of memory."

Further, the *New York Times*, in its issue of May 5, 1983, published a letter written by Sukru Elekdagh, Turkey's Ambassador in Washington, D.C. This letter, one might say, either offered false claims or repeated old claims. Ambassador Elekdagh appears to be unhappy over the trials in 1919 by Turkish military tribunals of the Young Turks, who were guilty. According to the ambassador, Armenian insurgents, allied with Russia, aimed at creating an "Armenian State" on Turkish territory. He also attempts to deny claims made by G. Meyer relative to the Armenian population of Ottoman Turkey which was placed at 2,300,000, and rather attempted to claim that the number was merely 1,300,000. That the ambassador is not right, is known to everyone, particularly those who are familiar with history and to fundamental historical sources. However, let us for a moment question the Turkish diplomat as to what happened to that number of people. Wouldn't that number, within the period of six decades, have tripled or even quadrupled? The Turkish ambassador ridicules events portrayed in Werfel's novel, *Forty Days of Musa Dagh*, discounting it as far from authoritative. In the view of Ambassador Elekdagh, decrees issued by the Ottoman government for the "relocation" of Armenians had been carried out "under the best of conditions for the Armenians." This, of course, is still another unique example of that impudent expression of the contemporary Turkish view about the annihilation of the Armenian people. The Ambassador is presently one of the active servants of anti-Soviet, anti-Russian policies of the United States government. He makes reference to an article written by one John Dewey that appeared in the *New Republic* which claimed that "Armenians, acting treacherously, were turning over to Russian invaders, Turkish cities and towns." Both the American writer and the Turkish ambassador are asserting the development of historical facts through the anti-Soviet prism of U.S. imperialism and NATO. These people would be wise if they spent some time going through the National Archives in Washington, D.C., looking through the thousands of proofs that establish historical truth.

These ambassadors and their cohorts must be reminded that in 1918, 1919, coverage and evidence appearing in Turkish and American newspapers clearly recognizes the true history of the events of the tragic past.

As early as September 1916, at the convention held in Constantinople by the Ittihad Party, discussed were the abuses by certain officials relative to the deportation of Armenians. Talaat and his associates attempted to portray everything in light of the Armenians' pro-Russian stance, the uprising against the central government and their cooperation with the Russian armies. Despite these justifications, the scope of the crime was so overwhelming, and its echo to the outside world so far-reaching that the Convention chose to note the excesses committed against Armenians, and decided to immediately dispatch investigative committees to those areas. The decision was followed by the publication, prompted by Talaat Pasha, of a pamphlet containing nothing but falsehoods and called "The Truth of the Armenian Revolutionary Movement and the Measures taken by the Government in 1916." The purpose of the publication of this booklet served only to justify the actions of the government. Yet, at the end of 1981, soon after the defeat in World War I of the Ottoman Empire, incriminating documents surfaced right in Constantinople, in the Turkish Parliament that had remained subservient to the military machine of the Young Turks, and in the Turkish press, all of which shed light on the dark phases of the crime committed. Subsequently, certain leaders of the Young Turks movement were brought to trial at military tribunals.

...Following the armistice, the massacres of the Armenians became the most important issue that kept the Ottoman Parliament busy. Comments offered and discussions of the issue were subsequently printed in *Takvime Vakayeen*, the official gazette of the military tribunal and in other publications. In the 1919-1920 issues of *Takvime Vakayeen*, printed were the minutes of the deliberations at the Tribunal, while other publications offered commentaries about specific issues and important points.

When, on December 21, 1918, issues related to the offenses committed by leaders of the Young Turk party were being discussed in the Turkish Parliament, addressing the

issue of the massacres of the Armenians, Mustafa Arif Bey, then the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Turkey, declared: "Now that atrocities committed against Armenians have come to the surface, mankind views these atrocities with disgust. The country was turned over to us as if it were one huge slaughter house."

At the end of 1918 and the beginning of 1919, Ali Kemal, the editor-in-chief of the Istanbul based *Sabah* paper and Yunus Nadi, the chief editor of *Yenbi Gun*, in a series of editorial comments, focused on the necessity of revealing the names of those who were responsible for the massacres of the Armenians and the need to set the stage to bring such people to trial. "The whole world is aware of the reality that these massacres were executed by the orders of the Central Committee (the reference is about the Ittihad party). The orders were transmitted through special envoys and were carried out under their own supervision through an army of thugs. "Is it not a service to the Turks and to the cause of Turkey, the disclosure of this fact?" editor Ali Kemal asked. "Would anyone wish us to refrain from bringing this out so that we too will fall prey to the same accusations?"

The Turkish *Istiklal* newspaper conceded that World War I triggered a spirit of immorality and animal passion among Turks. To deny the cold truth is to deny the sunrays (*Renaissance*, No. 173, June 22, 1919).

When, on November 4, 1918, the Ottoman Parliament was discussing the deportation of Armenians and issues related to the massacres, Fuad Bey, a member of the Parliament, directed numerous charges at the Young Turks, after accusing their leaders of turning Turkey into "a theater for crime."

We do not doubt that if asked, the archives kept in Istanbul and Ankara would willingly provide these Turkish historians copies of these issues of *Renaissance*, *Tasvir Evkear*, and other publications. Let these historians glance through the pages, study the history of their own country and no longer see the need to lie.

The Turkish Military Tribunal levelled two charges at the offenders of the Young Turk movement: 1. The entry of Turkey in World War I; and 2. The extermination of the Armenian people. The Tribunal sentenced to death a number of governors and cabinet ministers. On April 8, 1919, sentenced to death were Kemal Bey, Governor of Yozgad, followed by the sentencing to death on May 22 of Jemal Azmi Bey, governor of Trebizond and in absentia, of Naim Bey, the secretary general of the Ittihad party in that city. Similarly, on July 5, 1919, death sentences were announced for Enver, Talaat, Jemal and other leaders, who had managed to escape from the country.

When the Military Tribunal announced its first death sentence, the spokesman for the Sublime Port and the Sultan's Palace, in an interview with *Alemtar* daily, described the nature of actions against Armenians: "Let us not attribute to Armenians any offense. Let us not forget that the world is not stupid." It appears that his true assessment offered some 65 years ago, was made for those Turks of the present period who distort history.

The *Alemtar* newspaper was equalling the sentencing of Ali Kemal Bey with the condemnation of the Turkish people, and asserted that "our only means of salvation was to cry out loud to the civilized world that we are determined to bring to just and open trial all offenders. If the square at Bayazid fails to witness the gallows of those who are hung, then Paris (where the 1919 Peace Conference was held) would become the site of our condemnation as a people and a country." *Alemtar* continued: "We as Turks, are charged with a crime and are infected with an incurable disease, which is more horrible than the plague. This is precisely why we set up a special military tribunal in order to punish the offenders so due justice is carried out." (*Renaissance*, No. 128, January 5, 1919).(. . .)

Such is the evidence of history. It demands respect. It appears that *Turktche Stamboul* newspaper in 1919 wrote about those official personalities of the present who do not seem to respect the evidence and said: "Claims made by us that Armenians were the aggressors in Van and we then had to resort to revengeful actions in Anadolou, can only satisfy those who are directed by "sentiments" and do not wish to accept the scientific and true explanations. Such a position will never defend our cause in the face of public opinion of Europe and the United States."

Yes, these indeed are the facts of history, Mr. Politician and Mr. Diplomat. And those who presently strive to distort these facts and vindicate those who committed the genocide, are double offenders and deserve the same fate as their predecessors.



## FRENCH-ARMENIAN ACTIVIST & LAWYER PATRICK DEVEJIAN SPEAKS ON THE ARMENIAN QUESTION

Armenian Reporter, June 6, 1985,

"They call it terrorism. I'm calling it resistance," says Patrick Devejian, Mayor of Antony, France. He has been the chief defense lawyer for many of the Armenians accused of killing Turkish diplomats in France. He calls them "activists," not "terrorists," and adds, "I believe that most Armenians throughout the world are for activism."

Whether they are members of ASALA or the Justice Commandos makes no difference to him. He acknowledges though that the Armenian political parties "have played and should play a role in the future of the struggle. They started from nothing and have made a lot of progress. However, I defend these boys because they are Armenians in revolt," he continues, never wavering. "And this is far more important than the political differences in their and my political ideas. I am a lawyer and not a judge. A lawyer doesn't need to adhere to everything he's defending. It's not his role. I defend them because they gave me my Armenian dignity back to me, and to all Armenians," he declares with apparent emotion. His face is flushed. "I understand the revolt of the youth."

To bring home the point, he relates how in Ankara, Turkey, there is a school and a street named after Talaat, and a monument to Enver and Talaat in Istanbul. "If there was an avenue in Berlin or Bonn named after Hitler and if the German Ambassador said there was no Jewish Genocide, what would be the reaction of the Jewish youth? Wouldn't they kill him—and why not? Well, everywhere in the world the Turkish diplomats say there was no Armenian Genocide."

Devedjian, bespectacled and with preppie good looks, appears much younger than his 40 years. He is quiet, serious, intense and somewhat cautious except when he speaks of the Genocide. It was the anger he felt about this issue that led him to become a lawyer in the first place. "I went into this field to defend the rights of the Armenians," he says quietly, and explains that twelve years ago the Armenian community in France called him and fourteen others as defense lawyers. He was the only one to accept. The depth of his dedication to the cause he believes in so deeply is demonstrated by the fact that he does not accept compensation for his services which may involve up to several months of preparation for each case.

"Conviction can't be bought. It's my way of participating in the struggle, in the combat," he states without hesitation. "Certain people bring money, others are bringing their work, and some are giving their blood to the struggle. I'm bringing my profession." Next month, the young French-Armenian Mayor will attend the week-long meeting of the Armenian Congress in Paris from July 7 to the 13th. "Whenever the Armenians invite me, I accept," he says simply.

The French people "understand and are very angry about the Genocide," he continues. "They feel that the Armenians have a right to ask for justice because of their own experience under the Nazi occupation and their resistance to that terrorism. The United States, on the other hand, has never been invaded or occupied, and therefore thinks differently."

The politics of the United States in Turkey "is dictated by the East-West struggle to prevent Turkey from going into the Soviet orbit, and has nothing to do with human rights." He states that this policy mainly consists of American aid to "rightist dictatorships to protect them from dictatorships of the left. The history of Vietnam should have taught the Americans that in this field they should change their policy. Protection of these rightist dictatorships is forcing democratic forces in these countries to ally themselves with the Communists," he declares. Devejian predicts that the Communists will eventually be triumphant in Turkey.

He describes France as one of the "most dynamic" countries on the question of human rights. Unlike the United States, he states, the French "have done very little" to help "friendly dictatorships." And French-Armenians, which he calls one of the "more intellectual" of the Diasporic communities "due to the French influence, understand that France, which has been a victim in the past, can fully empathize with Armenians who have also been victimized." Therefore, he emphasizes that "the Armenians have a right to revolt in France. They are not ashamed of their attitude."

The French-Armenian mayor is a close friend, the personal lawyer of Jacques Chirac, as well as a member of his political party. Chirac is France's conservative leader and strongly regarded as the best candidate to beat President Francois Mitterand in the next

presidential election. However, Devedjian mentions that during his mayoral campaign, he received bad publicity in the French press. The Communists called him a "terrorist."

But the bad press obviously did not prevent Devedjian from receiving 52% of the vote in Antony, a suburb of Paris. This was mainly because of his campaign against the economic policies of Mitterand. However, on the Armenian question, he rates the French President's performance as "very well," then adds, "but he did it for the votes." And as for Chirac, he says, "He has learned what he knows about the Genocide from me." He produces a rare smile. In fact, it was Devedjian who persuaded Chirac to approve a permit for the construction of a monument in Paris dedicated to the victims of the Genocide. However, for the time being, the government has delayed the project, offering no formal reason for its decision.

### *Trauma of the Genocide*

Born in 1945 in Paris of Sepastatzi parents who lost a majority of their families in the Genocide, he calls his family's tragedy, "the story of every Armenian." As an only child, he lost his mother in an accident when he was only six, and was raised by his father, a businessman (now deceased). "My father did not like to speak of the Genocide," he relates, "but its traumatism which was always present, had a very deep and lasting influence on me."

Following graduation from the Samuel Mourad Armenian College in Paris, Devedjian went to law school specializing in business and journalistic law. Married in the Armenian Church, he and his French-born wife, Sophie, had four sons ranging in age from six to fourteen, and "all four are learning Armenian," he adds proudly. "I have four sons against the death. I always wanted four sons because when I'm dead they can bear my casket to the cemetery and say to Death, 'We won because we are alive.'" He laughs softly.

Devedjian, who enjoys Armenian food, opera (Mozart, Wagner), reading (ancient history), and vacationing at his 12th century castle near Fordeaux, lists his hobby as archeology. He loves ancient stones whether they belong to his small castle in the country (bought by his father), or the monuments discovered during the special expeditions he participates in. "These old stones are a testimony to something eternal," he says, "and our Armenian stones are not only proofs of our existence, but also a wonderful way of reviving past history." He points out that many Armenians in France have joined Terre et Culture which sponsors trips to Iran and Cilicia to restore the old Armenian churches and monuments.

History fascinates him, he says, because in repeating itself, history helps him understand what is going on today and what will happen tomorrow.

What does being Armenian mean to him, I ask. "We are like all other human beings but because our history has been marked in a special way—The Genocide—we are different in our level of sensibility. And I have, and am still experiencing the consequences of this. My way of thinking, my Armenian consciousness, is directly related to the Genocide."

Devedjian considers himself "100% French and 100% Armenian," but calls France his motherland, explaining that though he has "strong feelings, sentiments and nostalgia" for the Armenian land and culture, that for him, however, is "not every day reality. France is my every day reality."

He does concede though that "the only place for Armenians to stay Armenian is in Armenia." Those living in developed countries like the United States, England, France, he says are "destined to be assimilated." History is proving that, he states, explaining that in the France of the Middle Ages, eventually "all Armenians disappeared by the 18th century."

And what of his future? Though as an elected official, he can also practice law simultaneously (possible in France), he sees his future mainly in politics. "It is not as lucrative as the legal profession, but my conception of life is not only to make money—even though I need it like everyone else. The things that don't function well in a society concern me more than money."

Next year Devedjian plans to run for the position of a deputy in Parliament, a five-year post. Unable to resist, I ask whether his political hopes include that of becoming president sometime in the future. "Certainly not! It's not my ambition," he fired back instantaneously. However, his political goals will not stop him from continuing his legal defense of Armenian "activists," he states.

And what of the future of the Armenian Question, I ask.

The present day assimilation of Armenians in the Diaspora has been "somewhat retarded due to the revolt of the youth," he answers. "It awakened not only the Armenian community but also the whole world. Before, no one talked. It is revolt is the beginning point of the Armenian Question. The strategy involves forcing the Turks to accept the Armenian Genocide. In this process, the role of the United States is most important, most vital," he emphasizes.

"Nations must start recognizing the fact of the Genocide. France, which was the first nation to recognize it officially, will soon bring the question to the United Nations. We must proceed step by step, nation by nation. The next potential group involves Greece, Cyprus, all of the Scandinavian countries, Germany, Italy, and, Spain—all of which recognize it, but not officially." The United States, he continues, "will probably be the last of the Western countries to recognize it. After that it will be accepted internationally," he predicts. "During this process, American-Armenians should get organized and try to lobby so that the American government changes its position," he explains.

At the same time, the continuation of Armenian "activism will depend on each country." For the time being, "selective activism" is over. "It was useful at one time—i.e., it helped the French government to accept the Genocide—but now the Armenian community has to find another strategy. Activism now," he says with emphasis, "must be concentrated in historic Armenia, on the Armenian lands."

How is this to be done in an area not only heavily armed by Turkish forces but also by NATO units and intelligence operations, I ask. "Americans are not in charge of maintaining order inside Turkey. If they want to start another Vietnam, it will be their business," he says matter-of-factly.

But we are talking about a small group of Armenians against a heavily armed Turkish and NATO military machine, I pursue. "The United States is not obliged to fight against Armenians," he answers. "In this area, there are other groups than just Armenians. This could mean an alliance with Kurds."

Again I persist, who will arm this group and how will you bring arms into such a strongly fortified region? "Whoever has money and wants to contribute. The Turkish border is very permeable," he continues, never wavering. "The upshot of all this will be the freeing of the Armenian lands in Turkey, and the possible joining together with present-day Armenia—free from the Soviet Union."

But how can this land preserve its independence and identity located between Turkey and the USSR, without the protection of a powerful neighbor? The Armenian Republic didn't survive more than two years, I counter. "Maybe the Armenian Republic wasn't well organized. How is Israel surviving," he answers confidently. When I point out the massive role of the United States in its survival, he responds, "Israel also feels that someday it can be dropped by the United States."

And who will live in this homeland. Will you go there yourself, I ask. "It is too foreign for my children, but there will be many Armenians who will want to live there, particularly from the troubled Middle East."

I mention that with every passing year, Northern Cyprus is firmly entrenched as a Turkish area, and that the West Bank, Gaza and the Golan Heights are tightly controlled by Israel. Therefore why should any country accept our land as Armenian after 70 years. "The Turks have given up three-quarters of their land in history. The Turks will accept it by force. We can always count on the United States to abandon its allies," he answers again without hesitation. "Armenians have natural allies in America like the Greeks and Jews. It's up to us to cultivate this alliance. But in the end, it will be up to the Armenians to do it for themselves!"

#### ARMENIAN TERRORISM: HISTORY AS POISON AND ANTIDOTE

Historians do not usually contribute to discussions of present day terrorism. Middle East historians have especially avoided comment on Armenian terrorism, preferring topics more remote and less likely to shoot back. However, in considering Armenian violence, history cannot be ignored, for history is both the cause of Armenian terrorism and its only cure. Armenian terrorism is rooted in a false view of history and only by correcting that

DOCUMENT XXXIV

Source:  
Justin McCarthy "Armenian Terrorism:  
History As Poison and Antidote,"  
*International Terrorism and the Drug  
Connection*, Ankara, (Ankara University  
Press), 1984, pp. 85-94.

view will Armenian terrorism be defeated. I therefore wish to suggest a method not usually used to combat terrorism—the study of history.

There are many reasons that someone becomes a terrorist; perhaps few of them have to do with the cause in which the terrorist believes. Many here know the real psychological and economic motivations of terrorists better than I.

Nevertheless, each terrorist needs a *raison d'être*—a philosophy and a cause for which he can kill and die. History usually plays a part in this, both because terrorists often look back to an idyllic past in which all was well with their people and because terrorists harbor historical grudges and hatreds. Whether they be the Viet Minh, the Mau Mau, the I.R.A. or others, terrorists who attack imperial powers usually remember real or imagined historical injuries and vow vengeance. But with most terrorists history is the smaller part of their justification. The greater part is their desire to free their people from bondage, so that their people can rule themselves and their land. Today's Armenian terrorists are unique in that history is their only real justification. There are no people to liberate. The aim of Armenian terrorists is vengeance for what they believe are past wrongs.

There cannot be said to be a practical justification for Armenian terrorism. Some who provide assistance to Armenian terror, such as the Soviet Union, wish to disrupt Turkey and NATO and they gain from Armenian violence, but the Armenians themselves do not, and can not gain. They can never reasonably claim the area that once was their homeland. Today, less than three million Armenians live outside the Soviet Union, and of these only a small percentage would ever migrate to a newly-created Armenia. More than eleven million Muslims, Turkish citizens, now live in the same area. Armenians could at best hope to be 10% of the population. Short of a major war that would kill the eleven million Muslims, an Armenian state in Anatolia is impossible.

Armenian terrorists also cannot be said to be fighting for a better life or freedom from oppression for their people or even to free their brothers from an oppressive political yoke. No one seriously believes that the Armenians in Turkey are politically persecuted and, in any case, the terrorists write of the Armenian citizens of Turkey as "not real Armenians," because they are willingly part of the Turkish Republic. If Armenian terrorists really wished to free their brothers from political bondage, they would be directing their attacks toward Russia, not Turkey.

Thus it is obvious that Armenian terrorism does not have a realizeable political goal. Stripped of abstract political rhetoric and ingenious clamorings for a "return" to Erzurum or Harput, Armenian terrorism is purely a product of the desire for revenge.

The crimes for which the Armenians blame the Turks are numerous and varied, including all the villainies attributable to man, but two claims are of paramount importance—Turkish refusal to accept an Armenian state in Eastern Anatolia and the supposed Turkish genocide of 1.5 million or more Armenians during and after World War I.

These are historical claims. They are unquestioningly accepted as true not only by Armenians, but by the majority of citizens of Western Europe and America. They are also the reason that Armenian terrorism, including the murder of absolutely innocent diplomats and others, has caused so little moral outrage among non-Armenians. Because of these historical claims, Armenian terrorism is viewed as justifiable vengeance, not murder.

Treating Armenian terrorism by hunting down terrorists and checking for bombs at embassy doors is necessary, but it is also treating the symptoms while the disease remains. As long as children are taught to hate their ancestors' enemies, the seeds of terrorism will live on. The foundation of Armenian terrorism is bad history. In the end, only good history will cure the disease.

There is no time here to consider in detail the history of the Ottoman Armenians. Much of the history of the Armenians is, in any case, not known. One of the tragedies of scholarship on the Middle East is that independent historians have long avoided the Armenian Question. Studying the Armenians potentially brought with it little praise and much loss. I must admit that my own intention was not to study Armenians. As a demographer I was fascinated by the fact that histories of the Ottoman Empire had been written for 300 years, but no one had an accurate idea of who actually had lived in the Empire. I began studying the population of Ottoman Anatolia to find how many Anatolians were in each of the *millet*s and what had actually happened to the Anatolians in the course of the wars that ended the Ottoman Empire. I first discovered that something was wrong with the accepted wisdom on the Armenians when I found that many more Anatolian Muslims had died than Armenians. That did not seem to be genocide.

My researches have since demonstrated a number of facts that disprove the usual contentions concerning Turks and Armenians. The facts were drawn from statistics on Armenian population which were compiled by the Ottomans as part of their population registration program. They were demographically consistent, accurate data, collected by a government that needed to know Armenian numbers for its own intelligence. In no way were they politically or propagandistically motivated, and when they were collected, before the war, the Ottoman government did not expect that they would ever be used in arguments over an Armenian problem. They were, in short, the type of population statistics gathered by every government in the world. However, although the statistics have been available for 70 years, they have remained unused. Politicians, terrorists, and Armenian scholars have preferred their own guesses to accurate figures. Their guesses, of course, have supported their contentions that millions of Armenians had been killed or driven from Armenia. Real statistics show a far different picture.

First, despite the presence of "Armenia" on nineteenth century maps and the assertions of European politicians who had no way to know the truth, there was no Armenia in the Ottoman Empire.

The area claimed as "Turkish Armenia" was commonly known as the Six Vilayets—Van, Bitlis, Mamuretulaziz, Diyarbakir, Sivas, and Erzurum. In 1912, there were only 870,000 Armenians in the Six Vilayets. Armenians were less than one-fifth of the population of the Six Vilayets as a whole. In some provinces of the Six Vilayets, Muslims outnumbered Armenians six to one. Moreover, Armenians were settled all over the Ottoman Empire, not simply in the East. As many Armenians lived in the rest of the Ottoman Empire as in the Six Vilayets. However, even if all the Armenians of the Empire had come together to live in Eastern Anatolia, the Muslims would still have outnumbered them by more than two to one. The impossibility of building a modern state with such numbers is obvious.

Second, the alleged Genocide of the Armenians: Barring the latter-day discovery of a personal diary, no one will ever be able to prove what Talaat Paşa really intended for the Ottoman Armenians. We now know that, like the infamous Hitler quote, the so-called extermination orders of Talaat Paşa were forgeries. The only relevant Ottoman documents that have come to light indicate a generally solicitous attitude toward deported Armenians. Yet Muslims surely did kill Armenians during World War I, and Armenians surely died during the deportations. No matter how many Ottoman documents surface showing benign Ottoman intentions toward Armenians, it is doubtful if Armenian apologists will ever accept such documents as accurate. Numbers present more indisputable evidence. They allow one to view the situation in Eastern Anatolia during World War I without the blinders of ethnic identity. Statistics have no *millet*.

The history of the events in Eastern Anatolia is no one-sided tale of massacre and deportation. In April of 1915, the last act of the long Ottoman-Russian wars began. Armenian leaders in the Ottoman Empire adopted two stances toward the war: The Armenian "establishment"—businessmen, churchmen, and educators—professed their neutrality, although they accepted conscription and other unavoidable duties as citizens. Armenian revolutionary groups stepped up their anti-Ottoman activities, including the stock-piling of arms in Eastern Anatolian cities. On the other side, far from professing neutrality, Armenians in the Russian Empire supported the Czar and Armenians joined Russian forces with the intention of taking Ottoman Armenia and uniting with their brothers.

Both the Ottomans and the Russians cleared border areas of part of their population in preparation for war. The Ottoman government, remembering Armenian support for Russia in past wars, decided to remove Armenians from potential war zones and communications centers. Whether or not hindsight and modern morality tell us that the deportations were a mistake, no one can seriously doubt that the Ottoman government had reason to distrust many of the Armenians of Anatolia. Because of the assistance given by the Armenians to invading Russian armies in 1828, 1854, and 1877, the Ottomans decided they could not trust the Armenians, much as the United States, with much less justification, decided they could not trust Americans of Japanese ancestry in World War II. A forced deportation of Armenians was begun. In areas in which Ottoman authority was weak and in war zones, Armenians suffered terribly. They were set upon by the Kurdish bandits and even by some Ottoman government officials. Interestingly, the latter were often Muslims who themselves had been exiled from the Russian Empire, their places taken by Armenians in the Caucasus. In areas to the south where Ottoman authority was strong, such incidents were few and the refugees arrived in Syria in relative safety (as attested by the Armenians themselves).

Before the deportations had begun, the first Ottoman thrust into Russian territory had failed and the Russians had begun a strong counter-attack. At the back of the Ottoman army, Armenian revolutionaries seized and held the city of Van, displacing thousands of Muslims, who became refugees. These were soon joined by 800,000 fellow Muslims, refugees from areas taken by the Russian army. By the time warfare ceased more than 400,000 Turks evicted from the Caucasus had been added to the refugee numbers. The Muslim refugees were persecuted by the same Kurdish bandits who attacked the Armenian refugees, and they were killed by Armenian revolutionaries and Armenian volunteers from the Caucasus. The fate of the Muslim and Armenian refugees was remarkably similar. War, bandits, starvation, and disease killed Turks and Armenians indiscriminately.

By the end of the Eastern Anatolian wars, 1.2 million Muslims from Eastern Anatolia and Caucasus had become refugees. More than one million of the Muslims of Eastern Anatolia had died, as had at least 130,000 Caucasian refugee Muslims. 870,000 of the Armenians of the Six Vilayets had become refugees or had died. In Anatolia as a whole, 600,000 Armenians and 2.5 million Muslims had died. If this was genocide, it was a strange genocide indeed, one in which many more killers than victims perished.

If the case against a genocide of Armenians needed any further proof, one would only have to look to Istanbul, the capital of the Empire and the area most under government control. In Istanbul, to the shame and guilt of the Ottoman government, perhaps 200 Armenian politicians were executed without trial. But all the rest of the Istanbul Armenians, who presented no threat to the Ottomans, lived through the wars. Their sons and daughters live in Istanbul today. Considering actual genocide in its worst manifestation, Nazi Germany, can one imagine Hitler sparing the lives of all the Jews in Berlin?

Any comparison between the Ottomans and the Nazis is ludicrous, as is the use of the word genocide to describe the actions of the Turks. What passed between the Armenians and the Turks was not genocide; it was war.

The war that engulfed the Turks and Armenians in 1915 was the last in the series of nineteenth century Turco-Russian Wars. It was those wars that destroyed the place of the Armenians in Anatolia. In the 1700s, the Russians began their conquest of the lands of the Crimean Tatars, expanding their conquests in the 1800s to include the Caucasus. The overwhelming majority of the population of both areas was Muslim. As part of their colonial policy, the Russians set out to change the demographic makeup of the area.

The Russian policy had two facets—the deportation of Muslims and the importation of Christians. Deportation was advanced vigorously during both peace and wartimes. Between 1828 and 1920, more than two million Muslims were forcibly evacuated and an unknown number killed. Those who fled found refuge in the Ottoman Empire. In the process, whole nations—the Crimean Tatars, the Abkhazians, the Circassians—ceased to exist in their ancestral homes.

The other mainstay of the Russian colonial policy was the importation of Christians to the Crimea, the Steppes, and the Caucasus. Slavic Christians were brought to the Crimea and North Caucasus. Armenians were welcomed to the South Caucasus. Beginning with the war of 1828-29, the Russians promised privileges and autonomy (a promise still undelivered) to the Armenians, in return of Armenian support against the Turks. Twice, in 1828 and 1854, the Russians invaded Eastern Anatolia, each time favoring local Armenians, and twice they left, taking 100,000 Armenian sympathizers with them to the Caucasus, where the Armenians took the place of emigrant and deceased Turks. (The province of Erivan, the present-day Soviet Republic of Armenia, was 80% Muslim before 1828). In the 1877-78 war, the Russians took and held the Kars-Ardahan region, driving out Muslims and providing a home for 70,000 Armenians in the region, many of whom came from other areas of Anatolia. Perhaps 60,000 Armenians went to the Russian Caucasus in the troubles of 1895-6. Finally, the migrations of the World War I era resulted in an almost even exchange of 400,000 Armenians from Eastern Anatolia for 400,000 Muslims from the Caucasus.

Figures on refugee numbers are somewhat imprecise and are the subject of on-going research. However, we know that from the 1820s to the 1920s almost 600,000 Armenians went from the Ottoman Empire to Russia. Two million Muslims came from Russia to Turkey. Once again, the suffering was far from one-sided.

The historical truth is that Russian Imperial expansion upset the traditional balance of the peoples of the Caucasus and Eastern Anatolia. All the peoples suffered. In terms of number, dead and deportations, those who suffered most were the Crimean and

Caucasian Muslims. If any people were the victims of genocide, it was the Crimean Tatars, victims in their own homeland of a planned extermination begun by Catherine the Great and ended by Joseph Stalin. Yet those who are all too willing to consider Muslims as the agents of genocide seem strangely unwilling to consider Muslims as its victims.

What I have related is, I submit, the truth, albeit in an abbreviated form. It is a story of human suffering that, like most such stories, has no hero and no villain, only victims—human victims, whether Turkish or Armenian. But that is not the way the story has been told. Instead of the truth of a human disaster, a great myth has arisen, the myth of the Evil Turk and the Good Armenian. The myth has been perpetuated by stories of the sufferings of the Armenians. The stories are often true, but they never mention the equal or greater sufferings of the Turks. The myth has been generally believed by non-Armenians because it fits well into a larger, centuries-old myth—the Terrible Turk. To Europeans, who had feared Turks for more than five centuries, the myth of the Armenian genocide seemed just one more example of what they had been taught was the savagery of the Turk. It spoke to a prejudice that had been nurtured by textbooks, sermons, folk tales, and ancestral fears of the horsemen riding out of the East. The false image of the Turks was too strong to be affected by facts.

When Turks protested that their side should be heard and that their dead should be mourned just as Armenian dead were mourned, they found no sympathy and no understanding. No matter the evidence they presented, nothing they said was believed, and soon the Turks ceased their protests against the injustice. Under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, they busied themselves with the creation of a new Republic, assuming that their success as a modern nation would be the best weapon against the image of the Terrible Turk.

To a great degree, the Turks have succeeded. Politicians and statesmen in Europe and America have welcomed the Turks as friends and allies. However, Turkish silence has done nothing to kill the myth of the Armenian genocide. A vocal, well-educated, and media-conscious group of Armenians, believing in their cause and anxious that their children learn to believe as they do, have kept alive the false picture of the genocide. They have succeeded in perpetuating the myth and strengthening its grip. The false picture of Armenian genocide has become the only picture seen.

While I was writing this paper a book appeared in my mailbox. As they do to all professors, publishers send me copies of textbooks in the hope that I will adopt them for my classes. The book, *The Modern Middle East and North Africa*, by Lois Aroian and Richard Mitchell, is published by Macmillan, one of the largest publishers in the United States. It is obviously being marketed extensively with, I expect, a free copy being sent to every professor who teaches Middle Eastern history. Thousands of American college students will probably read the book.

*The Modern Middle East and North Africa* contains a section titled "The Armenian Demise." I will quote only a few sentences from it:

*Armenians throughout Anatolia began marching southward or eastward into the Syrian desert wastes. Turkish and Kurdish forces denied them rest, food, and water. Thousands died on the way. Those who did not were often killed when they reached Dayr al-Zor on the Euphrates. Most Armenians caught in the east were killed outright.*

The book goes on to state "Historians have not determined how many Armenians died" (a statement that particularly bothered me, since I thought I had done so). The lack of information on the Armenian dead is explained by the assertion that "the Ottoman government imprisoned and later killed most of the Armenian educated elite—writers, teachers, businessmen, and prominent clergy who might have written about the event." In the end, despite the avowed lack of evidence, the authors found a number after all—"including perhaps 200,000 executed by the government, historians generally accept that as many as 1.5 million Armenians may have died." Some of what is written on the Armenians in the book is half true. Some is completely false. None of it is completely true.

Of course, one of the great benefits in writing a textbook is that you do not have to prove your assertions. An occasional reference such as "historians generally accept" is considered to be proof enough. Reading the text, one could be pardoned for thinking that only Armenians suffered, since only one part of the one sentence is devoted to all of the Muslim dead of the time—"Greek, Kurdish, and Turkish noncombatants in Anatolia died during the war of hunger and disease, but they were not singled out for death in an

organized campaign.' No mention is made of Armenian or Greek attacks on Muslims, both of which were organized campaigns. Only two paragraphs are given to the entire Turkish War of Independence.

Unlike many books written by Armenian and other scholars, this book is not intended to be an Armenian polemic against Turks. It is a textbook, well-written and attractive. It will appeal to many professors and their students. Thus the myth lives on.

The examples of this type of historical distortion of the history of the Armenians and the Turks are many. The Armenian Question is seldom mentioned in print without half-truths and falsifications. In fact, in the United States and Western Europe we have seen a new wave of false history. Armenian apologists have succeeded in tying themselves to those who wish never to forget the suffering of the Jewish Holocaust, and the Armenian experience has been portrayed as a "proto-Holocaust." Television shows and newspaper articles have repeated and reinforced the old myth, accepted because Europeans and Americans have never been told the truth. A new generation of Armenians is learning the stories that will produce future terrorists.

The lesson is obvious—silence does not work. Historical lies, unless they are countered, will perpetuate themselves. As long as Armenian children believe that their great-grandfathers were murdered by Turks, some Armenian children will kill in what they believe is revenge. And as long as the world believes in Turkish guilt, little will be done to stop the killers.

The solution is a difficult one—the truth must be fearlessly proclaimed. I say fearlessly, because one American professor, Stanford Shaw, and his family have already been physically attacked for his statements on the fate of the Armenians. Given the intensity of belief in the myth of the Terrible Turk, it may be that the truth will not be heard. Nevertheless, the truth must be spoken. Scholars, especially European and American scholars, must call for the independent and unbiased study of history. As they have begun to do, Turks must continue to open all archives and records so that this study can be made, demanding that Russians and Armenians do the same. There will be no quick solution and many years will pass before young Armenians realize that their cause is not just. But I believe that, had the true history of the Ottoman Armenians been widely known thirty years ago, there would be no Armenian terrorism today. As historians, it is our duty to insure that thirty years from now the same statement cannot be made.

I began by saying that the best weapon against Armenian terrorism is the study of history. It might be better said that the best weapon is truth.

#### DOCUMENT XXXV

#### ARMENIAN TERRORISM

Source:

David Barchard, *Turkey and the West, Chatham House Papers #27*, Routledge & Paul Kegan (The Royal Institute of International Affairs), 1985, pp. 50-51.

Finally, in looking at Turkey's relations with the outside world, a few words need to be said about another legacy from the past: the international implications of the terrorist campaign since 1974 by a number of Armenian underground organizations against Turkish diplomats and their families abroad. The campaign—in which, to date, 41 Turks and a number of non-Turks have been murdered—has powerfully reinforced isolationist trends in Turkish opinion and has highlighted the difference between Turkish historical and political attitudes and those of some Western countries. A legitimate sense of indignation among Turks that the murder of diplomats was used by the Western media as a peg to revive stories of alleged massacre (a reference to events of 60 to 70 years earlier), sometimes in a fashion which suggested that such massacres might still be continuing, has shifted to a debate about the allegations themselves. The collision between the Turkish point of view, periodically reinforced by outrage at new assassinations, and elements of Western public opinion has been important. It has dragged down Turkish-French relations to an unprecedentedly unfriendly level and, during the autumn of 1984, it threatened to damage Turkish relations with the United States, when Congress seemed likely to approve a resolution which by implication accused Turkey of genocide. The disputes of the late Ottoman Empire spill disturbingly into the present, and accentuate the sense many Turks have of a cleavage between their country and the West. It is unlikely that these tensions—which are rooted in the self-images of several peoples—will die away for several generations at the earliest.



See:  
 Justin McCarthy, "Turks: Victims of  
 Twisted History," *Detroit Free Press*, July  
 1, 1983, p. 51.

WASHINGTON—How many more Turkish diplomats will be killed by fanatical murderers from Armenian terrorist groups? The question has a raw answer: As many as the terrorists think they can put away without getting caught.

Since 1973, at least 25 Turkish diplomats and members of their families have been killed. Armenian underground killers take responsibility, saying they are avenging the deaths of 1.5 million Armenians said to have occurred between 1915 and 1923 at the hands of the Ottoman Turkish government.

In mid-July, a diplomat was slain in Brussels. The next day a bomb exploded in Paris: seven people were killed and 56 wounded while waiting to board a Turkish Airlines flight to Istanbul. Four Turkish diplomats have been killed in the United States. In May 1982, Orhan Gunduz, an honorary consul general who had run a small business in a Boston suburb for 20 years, was gunned to death while driving home from his store.

Despite the large death toll and despite the pledges of Armenian terrorists to send it higher, few displays of concern, much less supportive indignation, have been offered to the Turks. By contrast, would public opinion be as unstirred if so many British diplomats had been killed by IRA gunmen, or if Jewish diplomats had been slain by Palestinian hit squads?

Turkish victimization can remain a minor issue because, first, Americans look at the headlines about the latest killings and conclude that an ancient, inscrutable and unstoppable feud goes on. The Turks and Armenians are blood enemies, we think—if we think about the issue at all. In choosing sides, we go against the Turks. Images of murderous sultans wielding thickended sabers remain. The stereotype of the savage Turk persists. Then, too, they are Muslims, dismissable as the infidels of Western history.

To move beyond this intellectual laziness is to discover that the Turks deserve not only more sympathy for what they are suffering at the hands of Armenian killers, but also more support in their efforts to explain their position.

The talk of "genocide" that the Armenian terrorists throw around after they kill another Turkish diplomat was echoed in Congress last April in observance of Armenian Martyrs Day. Nearly 40 members of the House made statements about the era of "modern genocide" that the Turks supposedly brought on in the alleged killing of 1.5 million Armenians. Liberals and conservatives were united in their certitude about the number and that the Turks had actually committed the systematic extermination that is genocide. Several members attacked the current Turkish government, demanding that it confess its guilt.

This onrush of congressional concern for Armenians went too far. Among independent historians and scholars, the events of 70 years ago, as World War I began, are not as black and white as the congressional friends of Armenians made them out to be. One of these historians is Justin McCarthy, a tenured professor of Middle Eastern history and demographer at the University of Louisville. He is on neither the Turkish nor the Armenian side. He sides with whatever truth emerges from reliable sources.

McCarthy states that the 1.5 million figure is inaccurate: "After the war, Armenian sources said that approximately 600,000 Armenians had died, and this figure is much closer to the truth. Turks were indeed killing Armenians in 1915. But Armenians were also killing Turks, and indeed (in the war) many more Turks died than Armenians. Most who died on both sides died more of starvation and disease than from bullets."

McCarthy, a former Peace Corps volunteer in Turkey and the author of "Muslims and Minorities," says that no documentation has ever been found to prove that a policy to exterminate Armenians existed. "Everyone in this period around World War I was to some extent guilty and some extent persecuted: Turks, Armenians, Kurds, Russians." Last month on public television, McCarthy stated that, from his research, he found that about "600,000 Armenians died, 2.2 million Muslims died. . . . This was a horrible time for everyone."

The current Turkish government is trapped in a double bind. Its diplomats live in fear of gunmen and its officials are frustrated in explaining a period of history that few in the West care to study. A false impression has been created that Turkey is stonewalling the facts of the past by not admitting that genocide occurred. In fact, it didn't. Even if historians agreed about the genocide, today's Turkish government has no political or philosophical ties to the old Ottoman Empire.

For a start, fair-minded historical analysis is needed. That won't stop the terrorists, but it will help to expose the full irrationality of their cause.

APRIL 24, 1985

DOCUMENT XXXVII

Source:  
Editorial, *The Armenian Weekly*,  
April 20/27, 1985,  
p. 2.

Seventy years have past. Once more Armenians have gathered throughout the world to commemorate what has been and remains for four generations of Armenians the primary focus of the Armenian struggle.

Instead of receiving the true justice that is due to our nation, and to the victims of that Genocide, we are faced with the denial not only from the Turkish government but also from the great powers of the world.

We can no longer tolerate this campaign of lies perpetrated by the Turkish government and its apologists. These past few weeks, we have seen Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger and President Reagan aid those whose mission is to destroy the memory of the 1915 Genocide. By casting doubt as to the historical validity of these events, the present administration has not only damaged the credibility of the offices which they serve but also has angered Americans who believe in truth and justice.

While it has been a frustrating battle to have the U.S. Government recognize the Genocide, we are not beginning to see a vast amount of public outrage against the failure of the Administration to support this issue.

Editorials in the nations' leading newspapers, op-ed pieces, radio and TV coverage has inundated the public opinion forum. Not only is the tragedy of the Genocide being explained but the consistent denial by the Turkish government is also emphasized.

In a denial effort which borders on fanaticism, the Turkish government during this past year has gathered all available financial resources to wage an anti-Armenian propaganda campaign.

From the hiring of public information firms to spread their message based on lies, to applying intense pressure on the Administration and Congress, to encouraging revisionists in academic circles to legitimizing these lies and to having Turkish-American organizations present themselves as victims of harassment from Armenians living in America. Who is tormenting whom?

There are thousands of survivors living in this country. Isn't this continual barrage of denial by the Turkish and American governments the greatest form of terror? Not only did they have to be witness to the most heinous crimes against humanity, but now they have to listen to the words of pathological liars who lead the Turkish government. The present day leadership is committing the moral equivalent of the genocide. Those who deny the Genocide have become accomplices to those who perpetrated the Genocide.

It has been twenty years since we took our pain and anguish from inside our churches and halls into the street. We stopped limiting the commemoration to only the descendants of the survivors of our greatest national tragedy and brought into the halls of the U.N., the U.S. Congress, the French Parliament and numerous other international forums.

We now don't merely ask for justice, we demand it. We will not rest until we see the day when those who are responsible for the massacre of 1.5 million Armenians, and the dispersion of the Armenian Nation have been duly punished. Our demands are clear, recognition of the Genocide and the return of the Armenian lands to their rightful owners, the Armenian people.

As we have wandered all over the world, these past seven decades, away from our ancestral lands, lands that remain barren, Armenians have continually struggled to bring a just resolution to the Armenian Question. Our commitment is forever. We have not forgotten, nor will we allow it to be forgotten by others. The memory of the one and half million victims will remain with us always. It is for them and all other victims of inhuman acts that we commemorate the 70th Anniversary of the Armenian Genocide.

DOCUMENT XXXVIII

Source:  
Opinion' signed by Garen Yeghparian  
and Ara Khanjian, *The Armenian Weekly*,  
May 11, 1985, p. 2.

#### THE LIBERATION OF OUR HOMELAND

On March 12, 1985, three Armenian freedom fighters took over and held for 4½ hours the Turkish embassy in Ottawa, Canada. By telephone they expressed their demands which are: Turkey must give up Armenian lands and acknowledge the Armenian Genocide.

The media gave substantial coverage. However, despite the clearly stated demands the

media continues to insist on portraying the aims of the Armenian cause (at least in part) as revenge.

Two weeks later, a threat was received that if the three were not released, a bomb would be placed in the Toronto subway system. Again the media responded with substantial coverage. Again the goal of the Armenian cause was misrepresented as revenge.

If we portray our goal as recognition of the Genocide then it is quite natural for non-Armenian public opinion to assume that Armenians are simply seeking revenge. However, if we clearly and emphatically state that our main goal is the liberation of our homeland, then public opinion will not view our cause as one of revenge.

Therefore, it is incumbent upon all Armenians, be they lobbyists in Congress, demonstrators in the streets, freedom fighters in military operations or spokespersons in media offices to state again and again that our goals are the liberation of Turkish occupied Armenia, recognition of Genocide by Turkey and not revenge.

## DOCUMENT XXXIX

### Source:

Text of the '69 Scholars' Statement' on House Joint Resolution 192.

*The Washington Post*, and *The New York Times*, May 19, 1985.

## ATTENTION MEMBERS OF THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

The undersigned American academicians who specialize in Turkish, Ottoman and Middle Eastern Studies are concerned that the current language embodied in House Joint Resolution 192 is misleading and/or inaccurate in several respects.

Specifically, while fully supporting the concept of a "National Day of Remembrance of Man's Inhumanity to Man," we respectfully take exception to that portion of the text which singles out for special recognition:

"...the one and one half million people of Armenian ancestry who were victims of genocide perpetrated in Turkey between 1915 and 1923..."

Our reservations focus on the use of the words "Turkey" and "genocide" and may be summarized as follows:

- From the fourteenth century until 1922, the area currently known as Turkey, or more correctly, the Republic of Turkey, was part of the territory encompassing the multi-national, multi-religious state known as the Ottoman Empire. It is wrong to equate the Ottoman Empire with the Republic of Turkey in the same way that it is wrong to equate the Hapsburg Empire with the Republic of Austria. The Ottoman Empire, which was brought to an end in 1922, by the successful conclusion of the Turkish Revolution which established the present day Republic of Turkey in 1923, incorporated lands and people which today account for more than twenty-five distinct countries in Southeastern Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East, only one of which is the Republic of Turkey. The Republic of Turkey bears no responsibility for any events which occurred in Ottoman times, yet by naming "Turkey" in the Resolution, its authors have implicitly labeled it as guilty of "genocide" it charges transpired between 1915 and 1923;
- As for the charge of "genocide," no signatory of this statement wishes to minimize the scope of Armenian suffering. We are likewise cognizant that it cannot be viewed as separate from the suffering experienced by the Muslim inhabitants of the region. The weight of evidence so far uncovered points in the direct of serious inter-communal warfare (perpetrated by Muslim and Christian irregular forces), complicated by disease, famine, suffering and massacres in Anatolia and adjoining areas during the First World War. Indeed, throughout the years in question, the region was the scene of more or less continuous warfare, not unlike the tragedy which has gone on in Lebanon for the past decade. The resulting death toll among both Muslim and Christian communities of the region was immense. But much more remains to be discovered before historians will be able to sort out precisely responsibility between warring and innocent, and to identify the causes for the events which resulted in the death or removal of large numbers of the eastern Anatolian population, Christian and Muslim alike.

Statesmen and politicians make history, and scholars write it. For this process to work scholars must be given access to the written records of the statesmen and politicians of the past. To date, the relevant archives in the Soviet Union, Syria, Bulgaria and Turkey all

remain, for the most part, closed to dispassionate historians. Until they become available, the history of the Ottoman Empire in the period encompassed by H.J. Res. 192 (1915-1923) cannot be adequately known.

We believe that the proper position for the United States Congress to take on this and related issues is to encourage full and open access to all historical archives and not to make charges on historical events before they are fully understood. Such charges as those contained in H.J. Res. 192 would inevitably reflect unjustly upon the people of Turkey and perhaps set back irreparably progress historians are just now beginning to achieve in understanding these tragic events.

As the above comments illustrate, the history of the Ottoman-Armenians is much debated among scholars, many of whom do not agree with the historical assumptions embodied in the wording of H.J. Res. 192. By passing the resolution Congress will be attempting to determine by legislation which side of the historical question is correct. Such a resolution, based on historically questionable assumptions, can only damage the cause of honest historical enquiry, and damage the credibility of the American legislative process.

**SIGNATORIES TO THE STATEMENT ON H.J. RES. 192  
ADDRESSED TO THE MEMBERS OF  
THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES**

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#### DOCUMENT XL

Source:  
Letter to Turkish Prime Minister Turgut  
Özal from the American scholars who  
were signatories of Document XXXIX &  
Turkish Prime Minister Turgut Özal's  
response.

May 18, 1985

To The Honorable Turgut Özal  
Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

We, the undersigned, representing the American academic community, whose training, research, and publications encompass the field of Turkish studies, take this opportunity to urge you as the elected leader of the Turkish people, not to react to the possible passage of House-Joint Resolution 192 by the members of the U.S. House of Representatives, in a manner which could harm Turkey's relations with the NATO Alliance and the United States of America. *We respectfully submit, that it is just such a reaction that the forces behind the resolution hope to precipitate.*

Having said this, it is our professional opinion that it would be a mistake to assess the possible actions of the U.S. Congress on this issue as emanating solely from parties whose interests are inimical to those of the Republic of Turkey. For the overwhelming majority of U.S. lawmakers who support the resolution, it is ignorance of Ottoman history rather than intentional malice which accounts for their action. The same is true for the educated American public at large which has been subjected to sixty years of exposure to only the Armenian version of history. For this ignorance of history, Turkey must bear a large share of responsibility, as its failure to date to facilitate scholarly inquiry into the events of World War I, especially by not opening the relevant historical archives to international scholars, has allowed Armenian spokesmen to propagate at will their own version of the history of the Ottoman Empire. The strong U.S. Congressional support for H.J. Res. 192 must be viewed as a sign of their success in this regard. Statesmen and politicians make history, and scholars write it. For this process to work, scholars must be given access to the written records of the past.

As friends of Turkey and students of its history, we urge you, Mr. Prime Minister, to interpret for your people the import of this Congressional Resolution in the manner suggested above. Likewise, we urge you to open the Ottoman archives to all qualified scholars, thereby ensuring a truer picture of events in Anatolia during the First World War will become known to the world at large. Only in this manner shall we be able to grow beyond the events of seventy years ago.

Respectfully submitted,

Dr. Heath W. Lowry

[On behalf of the sixty-eight signatories whose names & titles appear on the preceding pages]

**TEXT OF THE MESSAGE FROM  
H. E. TURGUT ÖZAL, PRIME MINISTER OF TURKEY**

I have read the message you sent me with great interest. Likewise, I have learned with great pleasure of the goals and contents of your announcement on the same subject which was published in the U.S. Press.

The accurate evaluation of history, and the transfer of it in accordance with the reality of past events to future generations is of the utmost importance for the relations between individuals and nations, and for the establishment of mutually friendly relations between them. Without question, efforts of this kind constitute a valuable contribution toward a climate of peace and cooperation in the world, a goal whose establishment we are all striving to achieve. From the point of view of humanity, historians are faced with both an honorable duty and a grave responsibility in mankind's attempts at realizing such important goals.

Both by means of the announcement you published and the valuable observations and opinions you so graciously conveyed to me, you have demonstrated with great courage and forthrightness, that the true scholar is able to express what he holds true, aloud, without intimidation, and without being daunted by any pressure or threat. I wish to inform you that your actions were met in Turkey with appreciation. I, too, wish to take this opportunity to express my own personal thanks to each of you.

As you stressed in your message, the opening of documents and information inherited by us from the past, to the scrutiny of scholars, is a matter of great importance in understanding the real history of the past. Likewise, those who possess such documents are bound for the sake of humanity with great responsibility.

For this reason, we have undertaken the necessary steps in our country to ensure the rapid classification of the great numbers of documents which have been preserved from our long and rich history, as well as steps which will facilitate the access of scholars to these materials. It gives me great personal pleasure to use this opportunity to announce that within the past few days the Grand National Assembly of Turkey has enacted special legislation to provide the necessary financial means for this endeavor. This means that the scope of ongoing work in the Archives will be expanded and expedited. Already, those documents whose classifications have been completed are open to researchers. As their classification procedures are completed, new documents are being added to the scrutiny of scholars.

It is clear that under the light shed by these documents, the events of the past will be clarified in an accurate and appropriate manner. I am certain that through your own valuable studies and publications the light of knowledge will disperse the darkness of slander and malice in the manner you have indicated in your message.

With warm regards,

Turgut Özal, Prime Minister  
The Turkish Republic

**MR. SOLARZ**

Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

There are few issues which have come before this Congress which have given me more difficulty than this one. I have spent an inordinate amount of time trying to come to grips

DOCUMENT XLI

Source:  
Congressional Record—House, December  
12, 1985, H 11932.

with the profoundly significant moral and political issues raised by this resolution. I have talked to dozens of people in an effort to determine what really happened in the eastern parts of the Ottoman Empire in the second decade of this century, and I have listened very carefully to the debate on this resolution, both today and when it was brought up before the House a few months ago.

There are, indeed, some very significant arguments which have been advanced against this resolution. We have been told by many of our colleagues that Turkey is in many respects the key to the southern flank of NATO. Through its control of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, it gives us the capacity to protect the Sixth Fleet, which in turn gives us the ability to maintain naval supremacy in the eastern Mediterranean.

With the second largest army in the alliance, Turkey makes a very significant contribution to the maintenance of a conventional balance of power in Europe.

The adoption of this resolution, we have been told by many of our colleagues, could potentially jeopardize our relationship with Turkey and some of our most vital security interests in the eastern Mediterranean.

These are powerful arguments, and yet, if these were the only arguments raised in opposition to the resolution, I would not find them persuasive.

I say that because there are similar arguments that might be advanced against a resolution which one day could come before this House memorializing the victims of Hitler's genocide against the Jews in which the argument might be made that this would disturb the sensitivities of another critically important NATO ally, the Federal Republic of Germany, and that the adoption of such a resolution would jeopardize potentially critical American security interests as well.

I want to be very honest with all of you. In my judgment, the memory of the six million victims of Hitler's genocide and our respect for the deaths which they suffered would lead to the conclusion that we would have no alternative but to accept such a resolution if it came before us. If that is indeed the case, what then distinguishes the resolution before us today which memorializes the victims of what has been characterized as the Armenian genocide from another resolution which might memorialize the victims of Hitler's genocide against the Jews?

The difference, I would submit, is the difference between a universally accepted historical reality and a hotly disputed view of events.

Some time ago, every member of this House received a telegram concerning this resolution which was signed by a majority of the leading academic specialists on Turkey, the Ottoman Empire, and the Middle East in our country. The signatories include such prestigious academics as Bernard Lewis, perhaps the preeminent specialist in the entire country on these questions at Princeton University, and Dr. J. C. Hurewitz at Columbia. I want to read to my colleagues two paragraphs of that telegram which bear precisely on the point I am trying to develop right now.

They wrote:

As for the charge of "genocide": No signatory of this statement wishes to minimize the scope of Armenian suffering. We are likewise cognizant that it cannot be viewed as separate from the suffering experienced by the Muslim inhabitants of that region. The weight of evidence so far uncovered points out in the direction of serious intercommunal warfare (perpetrated by Muslim and Christian irregular forces), complicated by disease, famine, suffering and massacres in Anatolia and adjoining areas during the First World War. Indeed, throughout the years in question, the region was the scene of more or less continuous warfare, not unlike the tragedy which has gone on in Lebanon for the past decade. The resulting death toll among both Muslim and Christian communities of the region was immense, but much more remains to be discovered before historians will be able to sort out precisely responsibility between warring and innocent, and to identify the causes for the events which resulted in the death or removal of large numbers of the eastern Anatolian population, Christian and Muslim alike.

They go on to say:

As the above comments illustrate, the history of the Ottoman Armenians is much debated among scholars, many of whom do not agree with the historical assumptions embodied in the wording of House Joint Resolution 192. By passing the resolution, Congress will be attempting to determine by legislation which side of a historical question



is correct. Such a resolution, based on historically questionable assumptions, can only damage the cause of honest historical inquiry, and damage the credibility of the American legislative process.

Mr. Chairman, I share the anguish of the Armenian people. Countless numbers of them were cruelly killed in a cruel and barbarous fashion during the period of time covered by this resolution. But there were also countless numbers of Turks and Muslims who were killed in a cruel and barbarous fashion as well.

One of the problems with this resolution is that it asserts what happened to the Armenians was a genocide when the fact that it was a genocide is itself in dispute. There is, after all, a distinction between mass killings, which have gone on since the beginning of time, and genocide itself, which consists of a systematic effort to exterminate an entire race of people. This is not to suggest that mass killings are any less objectionable than genocide. Murder, after all, is murder. But there is a significant difference between the two and there is no evidence, that I am aware of, which demonstrates that the Ottomans were trying to exterminate all Armenians.

Furthermore, in view of the fact that the resolution does not refer to the fact that many Turks and Muslims were also killed during this period of time, I think it would be very difficult to justify the adoption of this resolution.

But when you add to those historical ambiguities and complexities the fact that the adoption of this resolution would severely strain our ties with a valued and valuable member of the Alliance, and that it could potentially jeopardize vital American strategic interests in the eastern Mediterranean, it seems to me that it is very difficult indeed to justify the adoption of this resolution which characterizes the admitted and terrible sufferings of the Armenian people in the second decade of the 20th century as a genocide, when whatever happened to the Armenians, and it was terrible, and I join my colleagues in condemning those events, was clearly not a case of genocide described in this resolution."

DOCUMENT XLII

#### MR. LAYARD TO THE EARL OF DERBY

Source:  
Constantinople, March 18, 1878,  
(received March 29)  
No. 365, Confidential,  
O. 424/68,  
p. 346-348,  
No. 639.

By my despatch No. 364 of to-day I have transmitted a letter addressed to your Lordship by Archbishop Narsis, the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople. When his Eminence called upon me to request that I would forward this letter he took occasion to enter very fully into the position and grievances of the Armenian nation or community. Your Lordship will remember that last year his Eminence was anxious to persuade me that his people were not dissatisfied with the Turkish rule, and that they greatly preferred remaining under it to being transferred to that of Russia. He even declared their readiness to enrol themselves in the Turkish army, or to be formed into a local force for the defence of the Turkish territory. His Eminence admitted to me when I saw him yesterday that such had been the case. But he said that since the Russian success, and especially since it had become known that Russia had stipulated in one of the Articles of the preliminaries of Peace for administrative reforms for Armenia, the state of affairs had completely changed. The Armenians were now greatly irritated against him for having put Russia against them by giving his support to the Turkish Government, and "threatened to stone him." The fact that a large number of their fellow countrymen had been transferred to Christian rule by the annexation of a part of Armenia to Russia, and that autonomous Government was about to be conceded to the Christian populations of European Turkey, naturally led them to demand the same privileges. Their hatred of Mahomedan rule had been increased by the excesses committed by the Kurds upon the Armenians inhabitants of the Province of Van and of the district of Bayazid, for which he had in vain appealed to the Porte for redress. The Armenians were now determined to assert their rights, and to claim to be placed upon the same footing as their fellow-Christians elsewhere. If they could not obtain what they asked from the justice and through the intervention of Europe, they would appeal to Russia, and would not cease to agitate until they were annexed to her. Already, his Eminence said, a large portion of the Christian population of Armenia was preparing to emigrate to the territories ceded to Russia. He trusted, therefore, that the demands of the Armenians for an autonomous Christian Government would be taken into favourable consideration at the Congress, and that Europe would insist upon the formation of a self-governing Armenian province.

His Excellency showed me the copy of a letter which he had addressed to Prince Bismarck, soliciting his Highness's protection and good offices for the Armenians. He

had sent it through Prince Reuss, who, as I have had occasion to inform your Lordship, has been in frequent communication of late with the heads of the Armenian community, with the object, I am assured, of detaching them from their allegiance to the Sultan, and of promoting the policy of Russia.

I asked the Patriarch what he understood by "Armenia," and what part of Turkey in Asia he considered ought to be included in the autonomous province that he had in view. His Eminence replied that Armenia should contain the Pashalics of Van and Sivas, the greater part of that of Diarbekir, and the ancient kingdom of Cilicia (or the province on the northern boundary of Syria, and extending to the west from the Taurus range to the sea). I pointed out to his Eminence that what he asked was a very large slice indeed out of the territories remaining to the Sultan in Asia Minor, and that in the provinces he had mentioned, I had reason to believe, a very large majority of the population consisted of Mussulmans. He did not deny that such was the case: but he maintained that the Turks themselves were greatly dissatisfied with the rule of the Porte, and would willingly accept a Christian Government which would afford them protection for their lives and property.

To a remark that I made to the Patriarch that I did not think it probable that the Congress would entertain so vast a project as that which he had placed before me, his Eminence replied that if it did not do so, and did not listen to the just demands of the Armenians, the country to which he had referred would rise, within a short time, against Turkish rule, and would annex itself to Russia. He further observed that amongst the Generals and high functionaries employed by Russia in Georgia and Armenia were many Armenians, some of whom had greatly distinguished themselves during the war; that they were in close relations with their brethren in Turkey, and that whatever his own personal views might be—and he was simple priest, and had no mundane ambition—his people were determined no longer to submit to Mahomedan rule, and he could not oppose himself to their wishes.

I recount my conversation with the Patriarch to your Lordship, as it tends to confirm what I have ventured to submit in other despatches with respect to the danger of exciting the hopes and desires of other populations of the Turkish Empire by according to those of European Turkey autonomous institutions. An encouragement is thus given to intrigues and insurrections in all parts of the Sultan's dominions, and to attempts to throw off his authority and that of his Government which must inevitably lead, sooner or later, to very serious results. If I am not misinformed such intrigues are now carried on very actively and extensively for this object. The movement amongst the Armenians is probably caused by these. It is not improbable that we shall, ere long, hear of similar movements amongst the Mussulman as well as Christian populations of other parts of Asiatic Turkey, including Syria. They may take the form in Africa of a demand for complete independence from the Porte. The falling to pieces and dismemberment of the Turkish Empire may be in the eyes of some a desirable event, but England ought at least to be prepared for the consequences. That an autonomous State, such as the "Armenia" of the Patriarch, could long preserve even its semi-independence, no one acquainted with the populations which inhabit the provinces it is proposed by sanguine Armenians to include within its boundaries, could for one moment believe. Autonomy must end in annexation to Russia, an event which the Patriarch evidently seemed to contemplate. How far would it suit the interests of England that Russia should extend her dominion over so large an additional portion of Asia Minor and up to the very borders of Syria? That she will ultimately do so appears to me one of the results of her annexation of Eastern Armenia as far south as Bayazid.

The Patriarch requested me to consider our conversation confidential, as he was afraid that he would compromise himself with the Turkish Government if what had passed between us came to be known.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A.H. Layard

#### DOCUMENT XLIII

Source:  
William L. Langer,  
*The Diplomacy of Imperialism*,  
New York (Alfred A. Knopf), 1968.  
pp. 157-160.

"The Hentchakian Revolutionary Party was, in 1890, invited to join the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, and did so, but the association of the two did not last long. Nazarbek was evidently not an easy person to get on with, and preferred to work on his own. At first he had trouble in finding followers, but his new collaborators worked hard. Khan-Azad, for example, went to Constantinople in July 1899 and began to spread propaganda. He consulted with Khrimian, but found the old man doubtful: "You are crazy," said the old patriot. "The Armenians are a very small nation, and how much blood will

have to be shed." He could not see how anything substantial could be done without European help. But Khan-Azad was not discouraged. He went on to Tiflis, where he had no better luck. It was only in Trebizond that he found any real enthusiasm. There he established the central committee of the party, and from that centre agents were sent out who organized revolutionary cells in Erzerum, Kharput, Smyrna, Aleppo and many other places. Nazarbek himself stayed discreetly in Geneva, but in a volume of stories published later he has given us vivid pictures of the agitators visiting the peasants, "talking the night through with them, speaking with them of their sufferings, unceasingly, impatiently, preaching the gospel of an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, rousing their crushed spirits with high resolves and mighty aspirations."

The ambassadors at Constantinople were not slow in following the development of this agitation. From 1888 onward the English representative reported the presence of revolutionaries and the seizure of seditious literature. Revolutionary placards were being posted in the cities and there were not a few cases of the blackmailing of wealthy Armenians, who were forced to contribute to the cause. Europeans in Turkey were agreed that the immediate aim of the agitators was to incite disorder, bring about inhuman reprisals, and so provoke the intervention of the powers. For that reason, it was said, they operated by preference in areas where the Armenians were in a hopeless minority, so that reprisals would be certain. One of the revolutionaries told Dr. Hamlin, the founder of Robert College, that the Hentchak bands would

*"watch their opportunity to kill Turks and Kurds, set fire to their villages, and then make their escape into the mountains. The enraged Moslems will then rise, and fall upon the defenseless Armenians and slaughter them with such barbarity that Russia will enter in the name of humanity and Christian civilization and take possession."*

When the horrified missionary denounced the scheme as atrocious and infernal beyond anything ever known, he received this reply:

*"It appears so to you, no doubt; but we Armenians have determined to be free. Europe listened to the Bulgarian horrors and made Bulgaria free. She will listen to our cry when it goes up in the shrieks and blood of millions of women and children. . . . We are desperate. We shall do it."*

Serious trouble began in 1890, when there were disturbances and some bloodshed at Erzerum. The outbreak had not been premeditated or planned, but the Hentchak hoped to capitalize it. To encourage interest it arranged to stage a great demonstration in Constantinople to impress both the Turkish and the European governments. The affair was carefully planned and the minimum demands of the revolutionaries (civil liberties) were sent in advance to the foreign ambassadors. A proclamation was read in the Armenian Church at Kum-Kapu, in which the Armenians were told in so many words: "You must be your own self-governing master."

Even this demonstration had no favorable results. During the following months the efforts of the leaders seem to have gone into negotiations for an agreement with other revolutionary groups. There were long conferences at Athens, and in December 1891 the Hentchak officially joined the Oriental Federation of Macedonian, Albanian, Cretan and Greek revolutionists. The newspaper was transferred to Athens, where it remained until the end of 1894, at which time the Armenian organization moved to London. In the interval propaganda was being carried on in Armenia and efforts were being made to induce the Kurds to join forces with the insurgents. Agents were sent also to America, where branches were established in Boston, Worcester and other cities. Khan-Azad reports that he raised in America no less than \$10,000 to support the cause.

When the Gladstone cabinet came into power in the summer of 1892 the hopes of the Armenians ran high, for was not the Grand Old Man the saviour of the oppressed? As a matter of fact the Liberal Government began almost at once to send sharp notes to the Porte. The Anglo-Armenian Committee and the Evangelical Alliance made the most of the situation and raised the hue and cry of religious persecution. But English influence had sunk so low at Constantinople that no attention was paid to the protests from London. The Turkish government probably realized even then that the Russian government, just as hostile to the Hentchakian aspirations as the Turkish, would stand behind it. In 1890 the Russian officials had co-operated with the Turkish in breaking up an Armenian raiding party organized in the Caucasus. Many writers have taken the stand that English intervention only made matters worse. "The Turk begins to repress because we sympathize," wrote David Hogarth, "and we sympathize the more because he represses, and so the vicious

circle revolves." England "is more responsible for the cold-blooded murders which have come near exterminating the Armenians than all other nations put together," remarked an American traveller.

It requires no very vivid imagination to picture the reaction of the Turks to the agitation of the revolutionists. They had constantly in mind, if not the revolt of the Greeks, at least the insurrection in Bulgaria and the disastrous intervention of Russia and the powers. Whether Abdul Hamid deserves the black reputation that has been pinned to him is a matter for debate. If he was "the bloody assassin" and the "red Sultan" to most people, he was the hard-working, conscientious, much harassed but personally charming ruler to others. Those who have spoken for him have pointed out that the Sultan felt his Empire threatened by the Armenians, who, he knew or at least believed, were in league with the Young Turks, the Greeks, Macedonians, etc. They believe that Abdul Hamid was the victim of what we moderns call a persecution complex. He was terrified, and for that reason surrounded himself not only with high walls, but with all sorts of dubious characters, especially spies and delators who justified their existence by bringing ever more alarming reports.

So much at least cannot be denied: that the revolutionists planned a great conflagration and that they gave the Sultan and his ministers ample fright. One of their proclamation read:

*"The times are most critical and pregnant with ominous events. The cup is full. Prepare for the inevitable. Organize, arm, —arm with anything. If one place revolts or shows resistance, do the same in your locality. Spread the light for liberation. Yes, in truth, it is better to live as a free man for a day, for an hour, and to die fighting, than to live a life of slavery for generations, nay for centuries."*

In the summer of 1894 the Revolutionary Committee wrote a letter to the Grand Vizier warning him that there would be a general rising in the Empire if the "very just demands of the Armenian people" were not met. No one could blame the government for anticipating a tremendous upheaval and for taking precautions. Probably to counteract the efforts made to bring the Kurds into the movement, the Sultan had, in 1891, organized the tribesmen in the famous Hamidie regiments, which were modelled on the Russian cossack brigades and were supposedly meant to act as a frontier defense force. In 1877 and 1878, however, the Kurd troops had been more trouble than they were worth; it may therefore be assumed that the purpose of the new organizations was to satisfy the chiefs and keep them from joining forces with the Armenian revolutionaries. In fact they could and were, under the new system, used against the Armenians. Beginning in 1892, the Hamidie regiments, sometimes supported by regular troops, began to raid the Armenian settlements, burning the houses, destroying the crops and cutting down the inhabitants.

And so the revolutionaries began to get what they wanted—reprisals. It mattered not to them that perfectly innocent people were being made to suffer for the realization of a program drawn up by a group in Geneva or Athens, a group which had never been given any mandate whatever by the Armenian community. So far as one can make out the Hentchak agitators were ardently supported by the lower-class Armenians in Constantinople, with whose help they forced the election of the patriot Ismirlian as patriarch in 1894. But the upper classes appear to have been opposed to the whole program; indeed, they were victimized themselves by threatening letters and by blackmail into the financing of a scheme which they regarded as disastrous. As for the peasantry in the provinces, it is perfectly obvious that they did not know what it was all about. Isabella Bishop, who travelled through the country in 1891, makes the positive statement "that the Armenian peasant is as destitute of political aspirations as he is ignorant of political grievances. . . not on a single occasion did I hear a wish expressed for political or administrative reform, or for Armenian independence." Hogarth tells of Armenians in the provinces who said they wished the patriots would leave them alone. But these people were not consulted. Whether they liked it or not, they were marked out by others for the sacrifice; their lives were the price to be paid for the realization of the fantastic national-socialist state of the fanatics.

Source:  
Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw,  
*History of the Ottoman Empire  
and Modern Turkey*,  
Vol. II. Cambridge University Press,  
London, 1979, pp. 314-317.

German strategy prevailed at the outset, so that Enver had to concentrate first on his ambitions in the east. Almost as soon as he became minister of war he began to strengthen the Third Army, based at Erzurum, which covered the entire area of northeastern Anatolia from Lake Van to the Black Sea: thus it was ready to attack almost as soon as war was declared. Enver made a last effort to secure the support of the sultan's Armenian subjects, but a meeting at Erzurum with Armenian leaders from Russia as well as the Ottoman Empire was unsuccessful. Russia already had promised the Armenians an autonomous state including not only the areas under Russian rule in the Caucasus but also substantial parts of eastern Anatolia with, presumably, Russian help in finishing the job begun in 1877 of driving out or eliminating the Muslims who still comprised the vast majority of their populations. The Armenian leaders told Enver only that they wanted to remain neutral, but their sympathy for the Russians was evident, and in fact soon after the meeting "several prominent Ottoman Armenians, including a former member of parliament, slipped away to the Caucasus to collaborate with Russian military officials," making it clear that the Armenians would do everything they could to frustrate Ottoman military action.<sup>154</sup>

Still Enver decided that the Ottoman security forces were strong enough to prevent any Armenian sabotage, and preparations were made for a winter assault. Meanwhile, Czar Nicholas II himself came to the Caucasus to make final plans for cooperation with the Armenians against the Ottomans, with the president of the Armenian National Bureau in Tiflis declaring in response:

*From all countries Armenians are hurrying to enter the ranks of the glorious Russian Army, with their blood to serve the victory of Russian arms. . . . Let the Russian flag wave freely over the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. Let, with Your will, great Majesty, the peoples remaining under the Turkish yoke receive freedom. Let the Armenian people of Turkey who have suffered for the faith of Christ receive resurrection for a new free life under the protection of Russia.*<sup>155</sup>

Armenians again flooded into the czarist armies. Preparations were made to strike the Ottomans from the rear, and the czar returned to St. Petersburg confident that the day finally had come for him to reach Istanbul.

Hostilities were opened by the Russians, who pushed across the border on November 1, 1914, though the Ottomans stopped them and pushed them back a few days later. On December 21 Enver personally led the Third Army in a counterattack. He aimed to cut the Russian lines of communications from the Caucasus to their main base at Kars and to reoccupy it along with Ardahan and Batum as the first step toward an invasion of the Caucasus. Key to the envelopment operation was the border town of Sankamış, which lay astride the main route from Kars to the north. The Ottomans managed to occupy the town on December 26, but the Russians then retook it. A subsequent Russian counteroffensive in January caused the Ottoman Army to scatter, with over three-fourths of the men lost as they attempted to find their way back to safety. Ottoman morale and military position in the east were seriously hurt, and the way was prepared for a new Russian push into eastern Anatolia, to be accompanied by an open Armenian revolt against the sultan.<sup>156</sup>

In the initial stages of the Caucasus campaign the Russians had demonstrated the best means of organizing a campaign by evacuating the Armenians from their side of the border to clear the area for battle, with the Armenians going quite willingly in the expectation that a Russian victory would soon enable them not merely to return to their homes but also to occupy those of the Turks across the border.<sup>157</sup> Enver followed this example to prepare the Ottoman side and to resist the expected Russian invasion. Armenian leaders in any case now declared their open support of the enemy, and there seemed no other alternative. It would be impossible to determine which of the Armenians would remain loyal and which would follow the appeals of their leaders. As soon as spring came, then, in mid-May 1915 orders were issued to evacuate the entire Armenian population from the provinces of Van, Bitlis, and Erzurum, to get them away from all areas where they might undermine the Ottoman campaigns against Russia or against the British in Egypt, with arrangements made to settle them in towns and camps in the Mosul area of northern Iraq. In addition, Armenians residing in the countryside (but not in the cities) of the Cilician districts as well as those of north Syria were to be sent to central Syria for the same reason. Specific instructions were issued for the army to protect the Armenians against nomadic attacks and to provide them with sufficient food and other supplies to meet their needs during the march and after they were settled. Warnings were sent to the Ottoman military

commanders to make certain that neither the Kurds nor any other Muslims used the situation to gain vengeance for the long years of Armenian terrorism. The Armenians were to be protected and cared for until they returned to their homes after the war.<sup>158</sup> A supplementary law established a special commission to record the properties of some deportees and to sell them at auction at fair prices, with the revenues being held in trust until their return. Muslims wishing to occupy abandoned buildings could do so only as renters, with the revenues paid to the trust funds, and with the understanding that they would have to leave when the original owners returned. The deportees and their possessions were to be guarded by the army while in transit as well as in Iraq and Syria, and the government would provide for their return once the crisis was over.<sup>159</sup>

The Entente propaganda mills and Armenian nationalists claimed that over a million Armenians were massacred during the war. But this was based on the assumption that the prewar Armenian population numbered about 2.5 million. The total number of Armenians in the empire before the war in fact came to at most 1,300,000 according to the Ottoman census. About half of these were resident in the affected areas, but, with the city dwellers allowed to remain, the number actually transported came to no more than 400,000, including some terrorists and agitators from the cities rounded up soon after the war began. In addition, approximately one-half million Armenians subsequently fled into the Caucasus and elsewhere during the remainder of the war. Since about 100,000 Armenians lived in the empire afterward, and about 150,000 to 200,000 immigrated to western Europe and the United States, one can assume that about 200,000 perished as a result not only of the transportation but also of the same conditions of famine, disease, and war action that carried away some 2 million Muslims at the same time.<sup>160</sup> Careful examination of the secret records of the Ottoman cabinet at the time reveals no evidence that any of the CUP leaders, or anyone else in the central government, ordered massacres. To the contrary, orders were to the provincial forces to prevent all kinds of raids and communal disturbances that might cause loss of life.<sup>161</sup>

In April 1915, even before the deportation orders were issued, Dashnaks from Russian Armenia organized a revolt in the city of Van, whose 33,789 Armenians comprised 42.3 percent of the population, closest to an Armenian majority of any city in the empire. While the local Armenian leaders tried to restrain their followers, knowing they would suffer in any prolonged communal conflict with the Muslim majority, they were overwhelmed by the agitators from the north, who promised Russian military assistance if only they showed their loyalty to the czar by helping to drive the Muslims out. The Russian army of the Caucasus also began an offensive toward Van with the help of a large force of Armenian volunteers recruited from among refugees from Anatolia as well as local Caucasian residents. Leaving Erivan on April 28, 1915, only a day after the deportation orders had been issued in Istanbul and long before news of them could have reached the east, they [the volunteers] reached Van on May 14 and organized and carried out a general slaughter of the local Muslim population during the next two days while the small Ottoman garrison had to retreat to the southern side of the lake. An Armenian state was organized at Van under Russian protection, and it appeared that with the Muslim natives dead or driven away, it might be able to maintain itself at one of the oldest centers of ancient Armenian civilization. An Armenian legion was organized "to expell the Turks from the entire southern shore of the lake in preparation for a concerted Russian drive into the Bitlis vilayet."<sup>162</sup> Thousands of Armenians from Muş and other major centers in the east began to flood into the new Armenian state, including many who broke away from the deportation columns as they passed the vicinity on their way to Mosul. By mid-July there were as many as 250,000 Armenians crowded into the Van area, which before the crisis had housed and fed no more than 50,000 people, Muslim and non-Muslim alike.<sup>163</sup> Early in July, however, Ottoman reinforcements pushed the Russo-Armenian army back. It was accompanied by thousands of Armenians who feared punishment for the killings that had made possible the short-lived state. "The panic was indescribable. After the month-long resistance to Cevdet Bey, after the city's liberation, after the establishment of an Armenian governorship, all was blighted. Fleeing behind the retreating Russian forces, nearly two hundred thousand refugees, losing most of their possessions in repeated Kurdish ambushes, swarmed into Transcaucasia,"<sup>164</sup> with as many as 40,000 Armenians perishing during the flight. The number of refugees cited encompassed essentially all those Armenians of the eastern provinces who had not been subjected to the deportations. Those who died thus did so mainly while accompanying the retreating Russian army in the Caucasus, not as the result of direct Ottoman efforts to kill them.<sup>165</sup>

<sup>154</sup>Richard Hovannisian, *Armenia on the Road to Independence*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967, pp. 41-42; Bayur, III/3, pp. 1-35; FO 2488/58350, 127233.

<sup>155</sup>*Horizon*, Tiflis, November 30, 1914, quoted by Hovannisian, *Road to Independence*, p. 45; FO 2485, 2484/46942, 22083.

<sup>156</sup>Hovannisian, *Road to Independence*, pp. 45-47; Bayur, III/1, pp. 343-380; W.E.D. Allen and P. Muratoff, *Caucasian Battlefields*, Cambridge, 1953, pp. 251-277; Ali Ihsan Sabis, *Harb Hahralaram*, 2 vols., Ankara, 1951, II, 41-160; FO 2146 no. 70404; FO 2485; FO 2484, nos. 46942 and 22083.

<sup>157</sup>Hovannisian, *Road to Independence*, pp. 47-48; FO 2146/70404, 2130/31341.

<sup>158</sup>BVA, Meclis-i Vükela Mazbatalari, decisions of May 14/27 and May 17/30, 1331/1915, quoted partly in Bayur, III/3, Ankara, 1957, pp. 35-40; *Düstur*?, VI, p. 609; May 27, 1915; FO 371/9158, 4376/P.L.O. 206.

<sup>159</sup>*Düstur*?, VII, 737-740, 788; FO 371, File 4241, No. 170751.

<sup>160</sup>The Ottoman population figures are documented on pp. 239-245; the best account of the Armenian movements and claims can be found in Richard Hovannisian, "The Ebb and Flow of the Armenian Minority in the Arab Middle East," *Middle East Journal*, 28 (1974), 20, and *Republic of Armenia*, I, 126; figures on the immigration from the Ottoman Empire to the United States are given in U.S. Department of Justice, 1975 *Annual Report*, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D.C., 1975, pp. 63-64.

<sup>161</sup>The best general account of the deportations and the general situation among the Armenians in Anatolia is Bayur, III/2, pp. 18-100, III/3, pp. 35-59, reproducing many secret documents from the Ottoman cabinet meetings held during the war. Close examination of the same documents has revealed no major omissions or exaggerations on the part of Bayur and no evidence to support the charges of official complicity. See also BVA, Babirio Ali Evrak Odasi, dossiers no. 176908, 189354, 196578, 203987, and 148765, and FO 2130/11985, FO 2488/108070. The most reliable presentation of the Armenian case is in Hovannisian, *Road to Independence*, pp. 48-55.

<sup>162</sup>Hovannisian, *Road to Independence*, p. 56; FOP 2488, nos. 127223 and 58350.

<sup>163</sup>BVA, Meclis-i Vükela mazbatalari, debates of August 15-17, 1915; Babirio Ali Evrak Odasi, no. 175, 321, "Van ihtilali ve Katli Ami," 1 Zilkade 1333 10 September 1915.

<sup>164</sup>Hovannisian, *Road to Independence*, p. 56.

<sup>165</sup>Bayur, III/3, pp. 30-34; Ali Ihsan Sabis, *Harb Hatiralari*, II, 187-196; Hovannisian, *Road to Independence*, pp. 53-58; *Trumpeter*, pp. 204-233.

## DOCUMENT XLV

To the Editor of the Times,

Source:  
The Times of London,  
Issue of January 30, 1919, p.6.

Sir, the name of Armenia is not on the list of the nations admitted to the Peace Conference. Our sorrow and our disappointment are deep beyond expression. Armenians naturally expected their demand for admission to the Conference to be conceded, after all they had done for the common cause.

The unspeakable sufferings and the dreadful losses that have befallen the Armenians by reason of their faithfulness to the Allies are now fully known. But I must emphasize the fact unhappily known to few, that ever since the beginning of the war the Armenians fought by the side of the Allies on all fronts. Adding our losses in the field to the greater losses through massacres and deportations, we find that over a million out of a total Armenian population of four million and a half have lost their lives in and through the war. Armenia's tribute to death is thus undoubtedly heavier in proportion than that of any other belligerent nation. For the Armenians have been belligerents *de facto*, since they indignantly refused to side with Turkey.

Our volunteers fought in the French "Légion Etrangère" and covered themselves with glory. In the Légion d'Orient they numbered over 5,000, and made up more than half the French contingent in Syria and Palestine, which took part in the decisive victory of General Allenby.

In the Caucasus, without mentioning the 150,000 Armenians in the Russian armies, about 50,000 Armenian volunteers under Andranik, Nazarbekoff, and others not only fought for four years for the cause of the Entente, but after the breakdown of Russia they were the only forces in the Caucasus to resist the advance of the Turks, whom they held in check until the armistice was signed. Thus they helped the British forces in Mesopotamia by hindering the Germano-Turks from sending their troops elsewhere.

These services have been acknowledged by the Allied Governments, as Lord Robert Cecil recognized in the House of Commons.

In virtue of all these considerations the Armenian National Delegation asked that the Armenian nation should be recognized as a belligerent. Had the recognition been granted, we should now have been admitted, *ipso facto*, to the Conference, to which even transatlantic States have found access, though having merely broken off diplomatic relations with Germany, without the least sacrifice on their part.

At the moment when the fate of Armenia is being decided at the Peace Conference, it is my duty, as the head of the National Delegation which has no tribute from which its voice can resound, to state once again, in the columns of *The Times*, the important part played by the Armenians in this frightful war. I wish strongly to urge that the Armenians, having of their own free will cast their lot with the champions of right and justice, the victory of the Allies over their common enemies has secured to them a right to independence.

Believe me, sir, yours very truthfully.

Boghos Nubar

Paris, January 27, 1919

#### DOCUMENT XLVI

### ARMENIANS IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND MODERN TURKEY (1912-1926)

#### THE ANATOLIAN ARMENIANS, 1912-1922 JUSTIN MCCARTHY

##### Source:

Justin McCarthy. "The Anatolian Armenians, 1912-1922," in *Armenians in the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey (1912-1926)*. Istanbul (Bosporus University Press), 1984. p. 17. (see ch. III, ex. g. p. 27).

In discussing an issue as volatile as the status of the Ottoman Armenians, it is important to define terms. By "Armenian," I mean those Ottoman citizens who were Armenian in religion—Gregorian, Catholic, or Protestant Armenians. Following modern usage, it would be more common to define Armenians as those who spoke Armenian as their mother tongue. However, a great number of the Anatolian Armenians, perhaps the majority, did not speak Armenian as their first language and, in any case, the Ottoman Empire kept population records by religion, not language. Given the sense of religious identification of the Ottoman peoples, religion is a very accurate criterion by which to label Ottoman population groups. By "Armenian," I most definitely do not mean any standard of so-called race or "blood." Such categories are, at best, undefinable and, at worst, racist.

The period is 1912 to 1922, a period of national disaster for both Armenians and Turks.

(i)

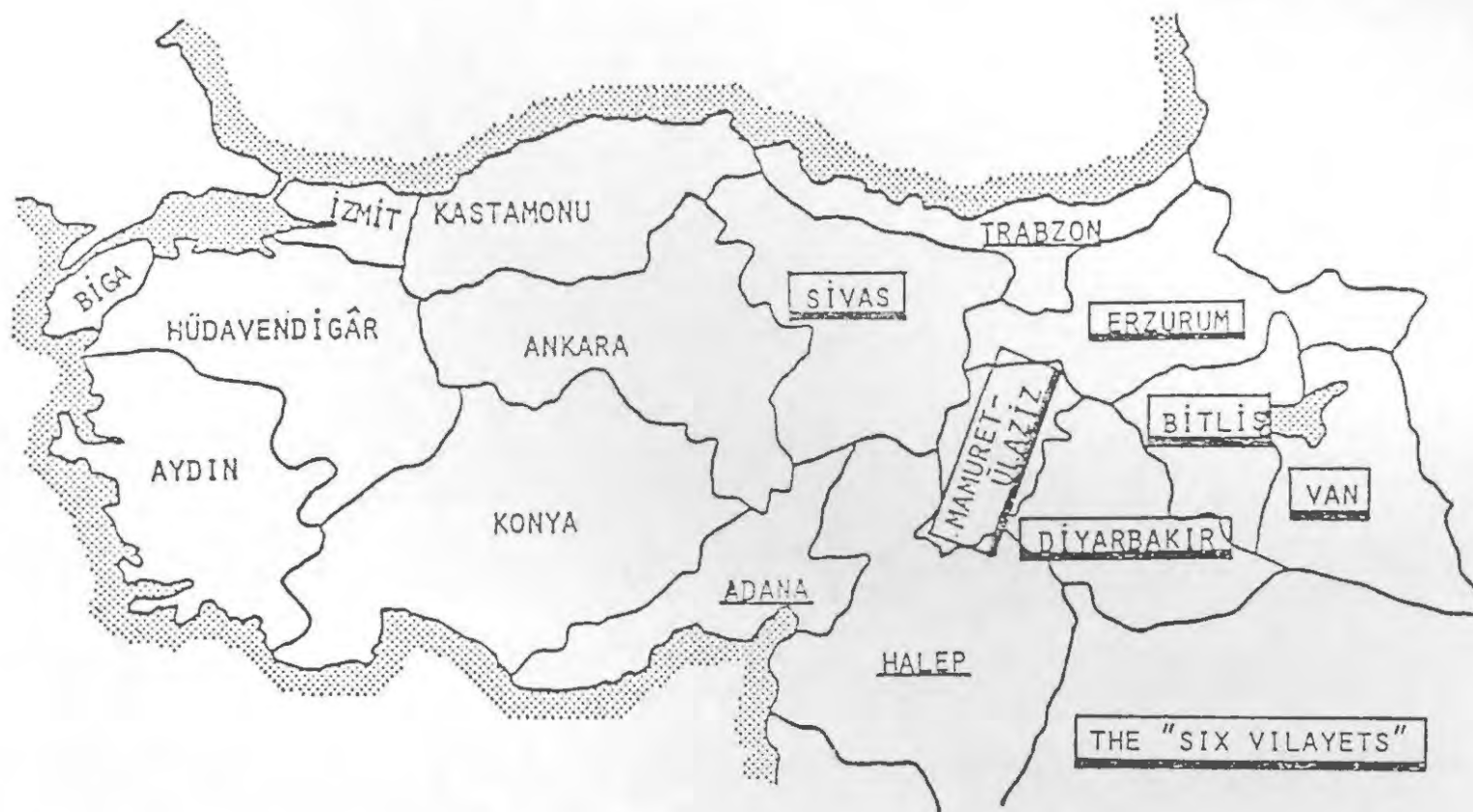
On Map One you see Ottoman Anatolia and the area traditionally called the Six Vilâyet—*the provinces of Eastern Anatolia that made up the Armenian homeland—Sivas, Erzurum, Mamuretülaziz, Bitlis, Diyarbakir, and Van.* One can also include as traditional areas of Armenian settlement Trabzon in the north and the two southern provinces which are often called Cilicia—Adana and Halep (Aleppo).

The generally accepted version of the history of the Anatolian Armenians from 1912 to 1922 has been little questioned. In fact, the story of the Anatolian Armenians is one of the few bits of Middle Eastern history that is widely "known" in Europe and America. Brought up on stories of starving Armenians, Westerners have taken as given that the Armenians were driven from Armenia—a land in which Armenians were the chief inhabitants—and accepted without proof that Armenians were slaughtered by Turks who, while not suffering themselves, got away with their crimes. Perhaps because so many people have previously accepted this story, few today have questioned its validity. However, when scholars actually investigate the history of Armenians, a different picture emerges. The actual events of 1912 to 1922 were very different than they have been portrayed.

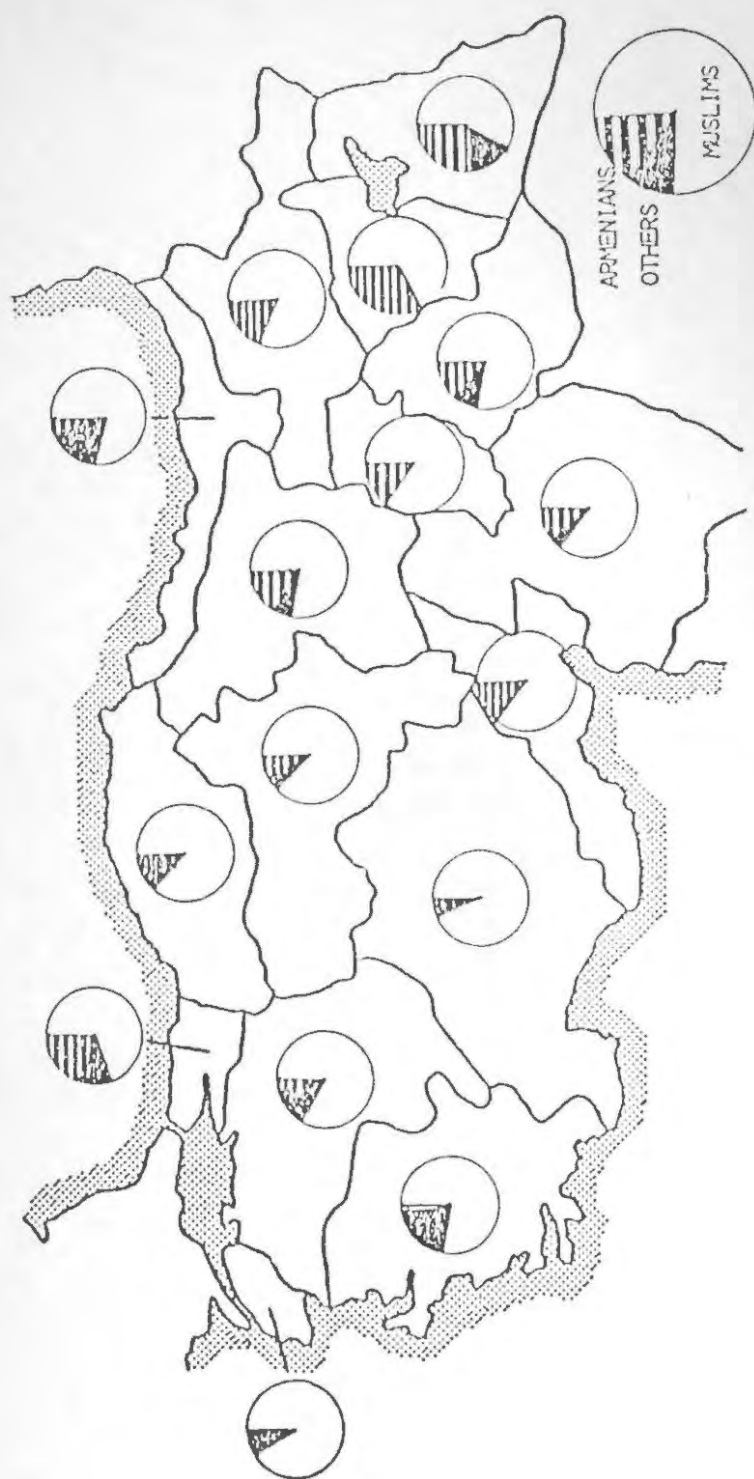
In investigating the true history of the Anatolian Armenians, the questions asked by researchers should be on the subjects that have been longest accepted as unquestionably true—the existence of a land of Armenia and the fate of the Anatolian Armenians in World War I, i.e., was there an Armenia and what happened to the Armenians (and to the other Anatolians)? Research into the history of the population of Anatolia answers both questions.

It is a great temptation for demographers to offer stacks of numbers, pages of relatively undecipherable statistics.

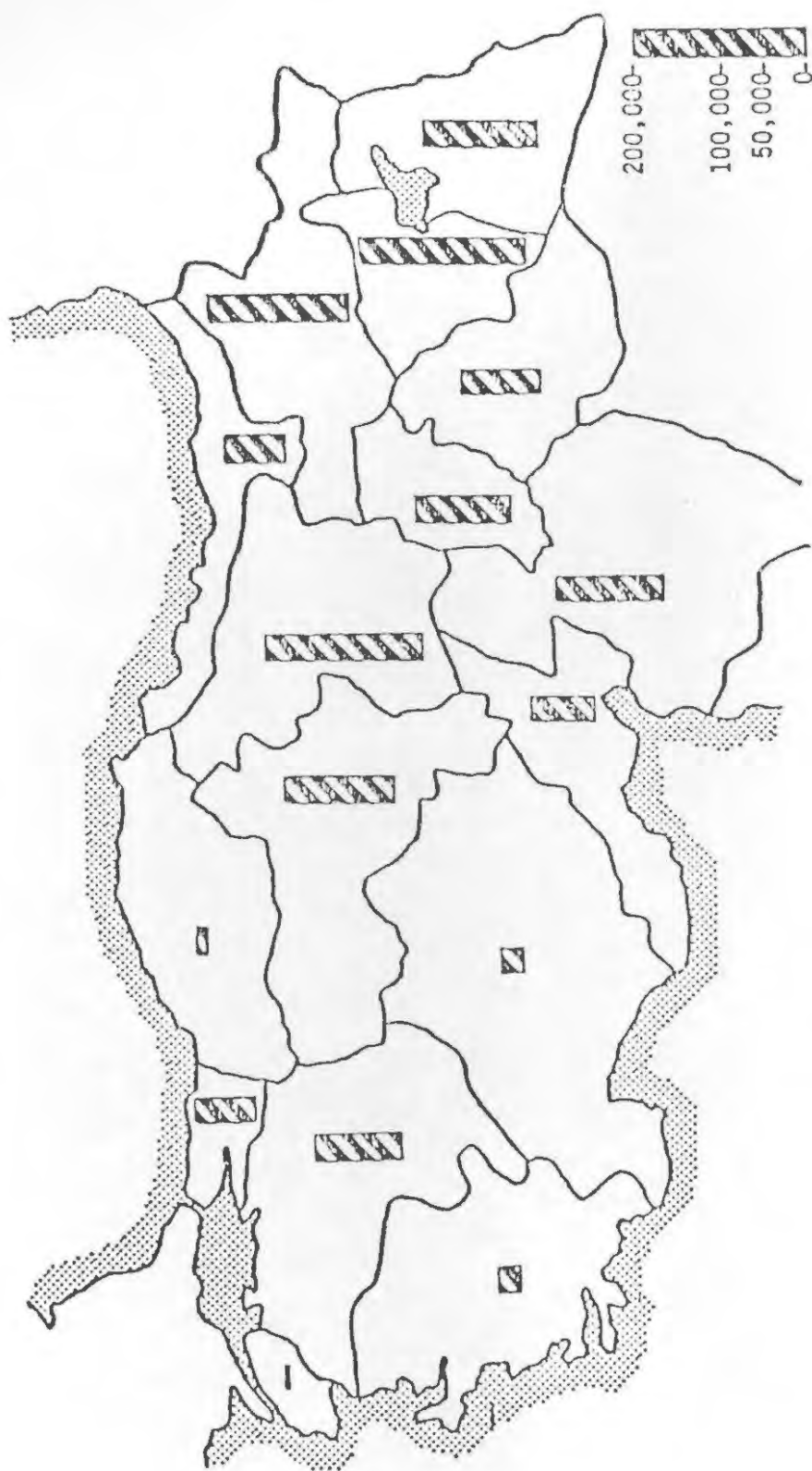




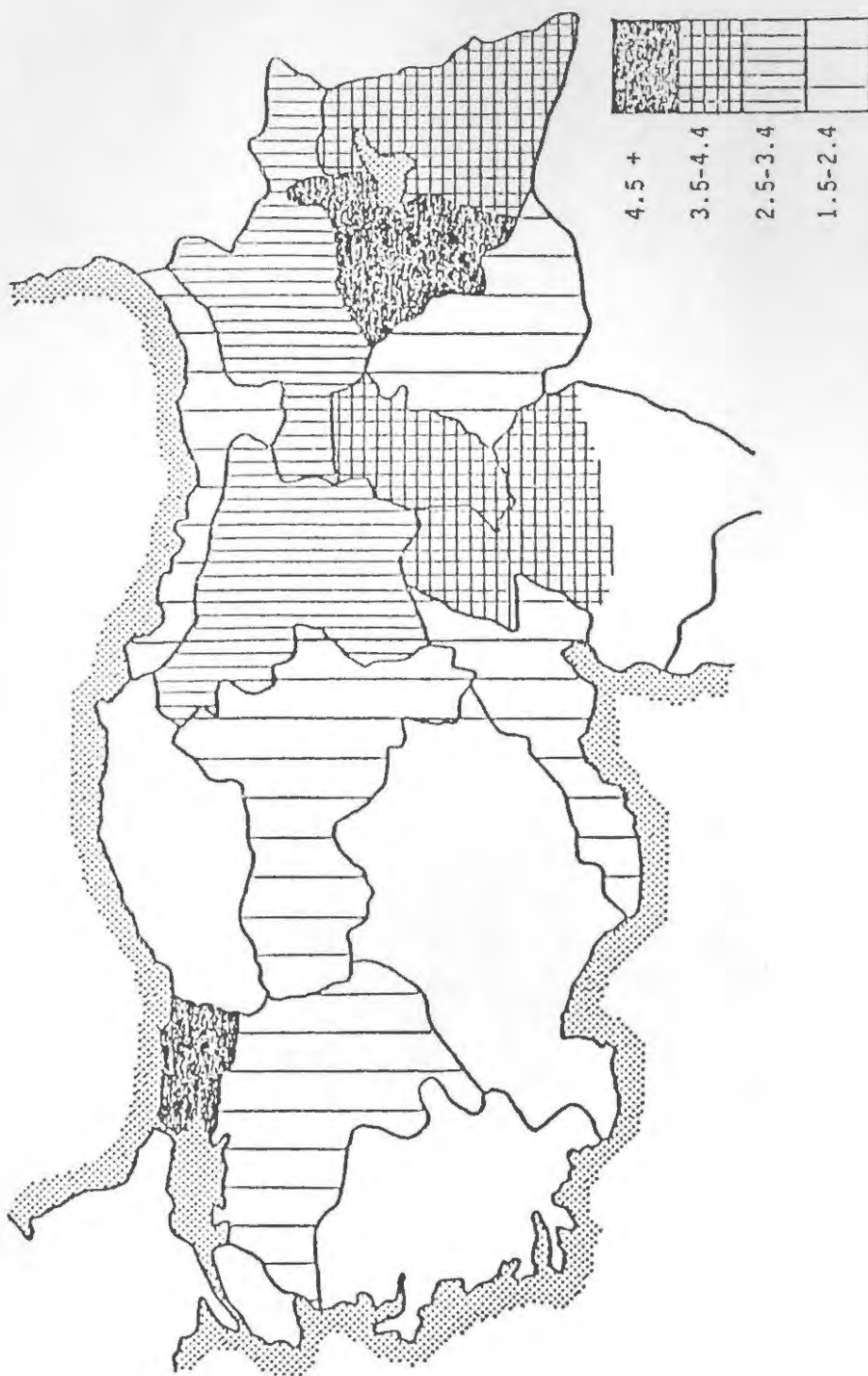
Map I. Ottoman Anatolia



Map II. Anatolian Provinces: Relative Numbers of Armenians, Muslims, and Others in 1912.



Map III. Anatolian Provinces, Armenian Population in 1912.



Map IV. Anatolian Provinces. Armenians Per Square Kilometer in 1912.

Although I often find myself giving in to this temptation, I have resisted here. Instead of tables, I offer maps—pictures and illustrations—rather than numbers. I do not include demographic calculations, nor do I attempt to prove the correctness of my statistics. My book on the population of Ottoman Anatolia *Muslims and Minorities* [New York, 1983], contains proofs that the statistics are correct. I should mention, however, that the figures presented here are drawn from the population registration system of the Ottoman government. The figures have been corrected for the Ottoman undercount of women and children, a common phenomenon with the Ottomans, as it is with developing countries today.

(ii)

Was there an Ottoman Armenia, that is, an area in which the majority of the population were Armenians? For the period before the nineteenth century there is no way to know for certain. No one took a census, no one registered the population. We know that places called Greater Armenia, Lesser Armenia, and various other names existed, but these were the names of kingdoms and kings. Were most of the people in these kingdoms Armenians? We will never know, but there is reason for doubt. For example, in areas of the Armenian kingdoms there were great numbers of Kurds at least as far back as Xenophon and probably earlier.

We do know that in the period of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Armenians were a distinct minority in every province of the Ottoman Empire. Map Two indicates the relative numbers of Armenians, Muslims, and others in the Anatolian provinces in the year 1912. I have chosen 1912 because the Ottoman statistics for that year were particularly good and because 1912 was the date given for the often quoted but grossly inaccurate "Armenian Patriarchate Statistics." The year 1912 was also immediately before ten years of war descended on the Anatolians, thus statistics for that period provide an accurate picture of Anatolia before the disaster.

Looking at Map Two, you notice that in every province of Anatolia approximately two-thirds or more of the people were Muslims. In the eastern provinces there were large proportions of Armenians. In Bitlis 31% of the population were Armenians; in the province of Van 26% were Armenians. However, even in these two provinces, the Muslim population was twice that of the Armenians. Bitlis was 67% Muslim, Van 61%. In the Six Vilayets as a whole, Muslims outnumbered Armenians 4.5 to 1.

Part of the reason for the low numbers of Armenians in the East was the dispersion of the Armenian people. Armenians had been migrating for centuries, a movement that continued well into modern times. Of course, Armenians had moved into Russian Armenia. They had begun to leave Anatolia in large numbers in the time of the 1827–28 Turco-Russian War and had continued to move throughout the period of the 1877–78 war. In Russia, the Anatolian Armenians took the place of Turks and other Muslims who had been forced by the Russians to migrate into the Ottoman Empire.

The Armenians who remained in the Ottoman Empire dispersed themselves throughout the Ottoman lands. On Map Three you see an Armenian population that, while surely strongest in the East, was spread across Anatolia. Had Istanbul and Ottoman Europe been included in the map, they, too, would have shown sizeable Armenian populations. There were more Armenians in the province of Ankara, in the center of Anatolia, than in Mamuretülaziz or Diyarbakır in the East. The Western Anatolian province of Hüdavendigar (Bursa), far from the Armenian homeland, contained more Armenians than Diyarbakır in the East and more than either Adana or Halep in Cilicia. Istanbul and Edirne provinces, not on the map, had approximately 125,000 Armenians; of the "Armenian Provinces" only Erzurum, Van, and Bitlis had more.

Another, perhaps better, way to view the Armenian dispersion across Anatolia is simply to calculate the density of settlement of Ottoman Armenians. Province sizes varied, so statistics on the absolute numbers of Armenians in provinces can be slightly deceptive. Density, on the other hand, indicates "how thick they were on the ground" and says much on the relative strength of the various Anatolian Armenian communities. An area with one million Armenians spread over 100,000 square kilometers would be much less "Armenian" than an area with only 200,000 Armenians in 10,000 square kilometers. You will notice on Map Four that the thickest regional settlement of Armenians was indeed in the southeast of Anatolia—in Bitlis Vilâyeti (5.9 per square kilometer), in Mamuretülaziz (3.8 per square kilometer), in Van (3.5 per square kilometer). You will also notice, once again, that Armenians were spread across Anatolia. Most interestingly, it was in the province of İzmit,

in far northwestern Anatolia, not in historic Armenia, that the Armenian population was most dense. Armenians in Izmit were 8.2 per square kilometer, more than twice as dense as the average density in the Six Vilâyet.

The implications of the Armenian dispersion to aspirations for an Armenian homeland in Anatolia are significant. On the basis of self-determination, there was no Armenia. Armenians, like the other millets, were spread throughout the Ottoman Empire. It can be asserted, of course, that had an Armenian state been granted in the Six Vilâyet, Armenians would have returned there from other parts of the Empire, but I find this doubtful. Istanbul, Izmit, and Bursa were more comfortable places to live than Van, Bitlis, and Mamuretülaziz, and I doubt if great numbers of Armenians would have gone east. Nevertheless, if all the Anatolian Armenians had migrated to the Six Vilâyet, Muslims in the Six Vilâyet would have outnumbered Armenians by more than 2.5 to 1. If all the Armenians in the world had moved to the Six Vilâyet, Muslims would still have been a majority. There were simply too few Armenians for a viable state.

(iii)

To understand the end of the Armenian presence in Anatolia, one must remember that the Armenian disaster came in time of war—World War I and the Turkish War of Independence. The numbers used by demographers are of limited use in describing war. They will not tell us who fired the first shot, or label those responsible for the bloodshed. They only count the dead. Yet, much can be learned from the numbers of the dead. We now know from reliable statistics that slightly less than 600,000 Anatolian Armenians died in the wars of 1912–22, not 1.5 or 2 million, as is often claimed. Not that 600,000 is a small number. The Armenians suffered a terrible mortality. But when considering the numbers of dead Armenians, one must also consider the numbers of dead Muslims. The statistics tell us that 2.5 million Anatolian Muslims died as well, most of them Turks. In the Six Vilâyet, the Armenian homeland, more than one million Muslims died. These Muslims, no less than the Armenians, suffered a terrible mortality.

The numbers do not tell us the exact manner of death of the citizens of Anatolia. Civil war, forced migration of both Muslims and Armenians, inter-communal warfare, disease, and, specially starvation are listed in the documents of the time as causes of death. The Anatolian mortality was not simply the deaths of soldiers in wartime, but deaths of men, women, and children—Armenian and Muslim—who were caught up in international war between Russians and Ottomans and intercommunal war between Armenians and Muslims. We know from both documentary evidence and statistics that intercommunal warfare between Christians and Muslims was a major cause of death. The province of Sivas, for example, was not in the war zone; the Russian army never reached that far. Yet, 180,000 of the Muslims of Sivas died. The same was true of the rest of Anatolia. In the end, statistics of mortality show that Armenians suffered greatly, but not that they suffered alone. The statistics indicate that the years 1912–22 were a horrible time for humanity, not simply for Armenians.

The conventional wisdom that 'knows' that Anatolian Armenians died has always neglected to consider that Muslims died as well. As with the supposed existence of an Armenia, the commonly accepted history of what happened to the Armenians has not been correct. The lesson to be learned is an old one: History should not be partisan. I believe that it is time that we consider the events of 1912–22 for what they were, a human disaster. It is time to stop labeling them as a sectarian suffering that demands revenge.

DOCUMENT XLVII

Source:  
U.S. Library of Congress:  
Bristol Papers—General  
Correspondence  
Container #34.

THE FIRST U.S. AMBASSADOR  
TO THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY

and His March 28, 1921, Letter on the Armenian Issue

On Board U.S.S. ST. LOUIS  
At Sea. En route from Island of Rhodes to  
Constantinople, Turkey.

MLB: JJT.

28 March, 1921  
Dr. James L. Barton.  
14 Beacon Street,  
Boston, Mass.

Dear Doctor Barton:

Your letter of 14 of January was duly received. Shortly after receiving your letter I

started on a cruise to Egypt, Palestine, Syria and Cilicia. I have been gone over a month and we are at the present time entering the Dardanelles, and will be in Constantinople tomorrow morning. Mrs. Bristol, with some other ladies, made the same trip by mail steamer and railway, so we had some very pleasant excursions, visiting the places of interest during our trip. It has been most interesting, instructive and enjoyable. I needed a change of scene and rest and have profited fully by this outing.

During this trip I have had an opportunity to meet General Allenby, and our own representatives in Egypt, to have an audience with the Sultan of Egypt and meet some prominent Egyptians. This experience had given me a sidelight, from personal associations upon the affairs of Egypt.

In Palestine I came in personal contact with the new Jewish movement. I met Sir Herbert Samuels, Colonel Stores, and many others belonging to the Staff of the High Commissioner in Palestine. Colonel Deeds, who was with the British High Commissioner in Constantinople for some time, is the Chief Political Officer under Sir Herbert. Likewise, I was able to see our Delegate here, Consul Heiser, and his relief which arrived at the same time I did, Mr. Southard, who has just come from Aden. I had an opportunity to look over our different institutions at this place. I was surprised to find that the Near East Relief work at Jerusalem is practically a Jewish affair.

In Syria I had a very pleasant association with Comte de Caix who is acting as High Commissioner because General Couraud is away. Comte de Caix, is, of course, the power behind the throne, and I was most pleasantly surprised at his ability, frankness and optimism. At the same time he has no illusions in regard to the difficult work that he has before him. It was from him I first learned that the French had come to an understanding with the Kemalists and would withdraw the French troops from Cilicia. Likewise, the boundary between Syria and Turkey will be established on lines that are much more sensible than the one provided in the Sevres treaty. He is very much opposed to any Armenian refugees from Cilicia being allowed to come into Syria. I quite agreed with him in regard to this, except that I do believe the French should guarantee the safety of the Armenians in Cilicia and should evacuate from Cilicia those Armenians that especially aided the French, and particularly the Armenians that were disbanded from the French Foreign Legion or were mustered out after serving in the French Army. If you can bring any influence to bear in Washington I would suggest that you work along these lines. I believe it would be a grave mistake for the Armenians to get in a panic and make a general exodus from Cilicia when the Turks return to power. I think it would be very much better for the Armenians to stay there and the Turks be compelled to grant them proper rights.

I visited Alexandretta and Mersine. I found out there that an armistice had been arranged between the French and the Kemalists from 19 of March for the period of one month. The result has been that the conditions have quieted down, although since the armistice began a French officer and some soldiers have been killed and the railway broken. But at Mersine, for instance, the fighting that had been going on almost continually day after day just outside the city has recently stopped. I had a talk with Dr. Chambers, Mr. Applebee, Head of the Y.M.C.A. Dr. Chambers agreed with me in regard to the Armenians not evacuating Cilicia, and using all influence with the Turks for the benefit of the Armenians. If the Armenians started to run away this would encourage the Turks to attack them, not only on account of the fear shown, but probably with the hope of driving the Armenians out of the country. However, if the Armenians remained in Cilicia and the moral influence at least of Europe and America was brought to bear on the Turks, I believe that the Armenians would be all right, except for individuals that have been active in opposition to the Turks during the past year.

I see that reports are being freely circulated in the United States that the Turks massacred thousands of Armenians in the Caucasus. Such reports are repeated so many times it makes my blood boil. The Near East Relief have the reports from Yarrow and our own American people which show absolutely that such Armenian reports are absolutely false. The circulation of such false reports in the United States, without refutation, is an outrage and is certainly doing the Armenians more harm than good. I feel that we should discourage the Armenians in this kind of work, not only because it is wrong, but because they are injuring themselves. In addition to the reports from our own American Relief workers that were in Kars and Alexandrople, and reports from such men as Yarrow, I have reports from my own Intelligence Officer and know that the Armenian reports are not true. Is there not something that you and the Near East Relief Committee can do to stop the circulation of such false reports? I was surprised to see Dr. McCatum send through a report

along this line from Constantinople. When I called attention to the report, it was stated that it came from the Armenians, but the telegram did not state this, nor did it state that the Armenian reports were not confirmed by our own reports. I may be all wrong; but I can't help feeling that I am not, because so many people out here who know the conditions agree with me that the Armenians and ourselves who lend ourselves to such exaggerated reports are doing the worst thing we possibly can for the Armenians. Why not tell the truth about the Armenians in every way? Let us come out and tell just what the Armenians are and then show our sympathy and do everything we can to make the future of these people what it should be for human beings. I am sure that the mass of people at home believe the Armenians are Christians in action and morals, and that they are able to govern themselves. You and I, and others that know them, know that this is not the case. We believe that they have been made what they are by the conditions they have been compelled to live under, and we want to get them out from under these conditions so they can become Christians and able to govern themselves. But I cannot believe that right is ever produced by wrong-doing. As I have stated to Dr. Peet and many others, I believe that so long as we don't refute these false reports made by the Armenians, or don't come out and state the true facts in regard to the Armenian question, we run the risk of being accused of being party to this information. Dr. Peet and I had a long talk about a year ago along this same line, and I think as a result of it he wrote to you. I don't want to appear as being critical at all and you know that. But I do realize that we are human beings and when we realize the suffering of the Armenians our sentiments make us respond to our human instinct, and especially our American ideas of fair play, so that we forget, and even desire to conceal, the failings of the Armenians in order to obtain their release from the oppression of the Turkish rule. It may be that I am wrong in my idea that the best way to obtain this is by stating fully just what the Armenians are and what they are capable of and then tackling the whole job of cleaning up this Near Eastern mess.

I certainly was surprised to hear, from your letter, that there was a movement on foot to loan money to Armenia. I don't think that the question of money, or the amount of money, should enter into the question of assistance to the Armenians, but I do think that any money loaned to the Armenians under the present conditions is wrong. I do not believe in the loan to Armenia to be used under an American Commission unless the United States is prepared to furnish the troops and the means to maintain Armenia as a country and protect it against all aggression from outside. We have already loaned Armenia over 50 million and that money is lost. I recommend against this loan at the time. Another loan would be simply putting good money after bad.

As long ago as last July I reported officially to the Department that there [were] strong Bolshevik feelings amongst the Armenians and that many of the Army officers were Bolshevik in sentiment. I stated then it was only a question of time when Armenia would go Bolshevik. Armenia did turn Bolshevik and was not compelled to do so by the Russians, although they may have been influenced by Russian propaganda. The Bolshevik leaders represent one party, the Dashnaks represent another, and the National Democratic Party of Armenia represents another party. As far as I am concerned I can find very little difference between the party leaders of these different parties. While the Dashnaks were in power they did everything in the world to keep the pot boiling by attacking Kurds, Turks and Tartars; by committing outrages against the Moslems; by giving no representation whatever to the Molokans which are a large factor in the population of the Caucasus Armenia; by massacring the Moslems; and robbing and destroying their homes; and finally by starting an attack against the Turks which resulted in a counter attack by the Turks, and then the Armenians deserted and ran away and even would not stand and defend their women and children. The acts of the Armenian army at Karz absolutely disgusted our Americans, including Yarrow. During the last two years the Armenians in Russian Caucasus have shown no ability to govern themselves and especially no ability to govern or handle other races under their power.

During over two years that I have been here in Constantinople I have had occasion to see nearly everyone of our Americans that have gone to, or returned from, the Caucasus, and I think I am safe in stating that I have never had one of them that believed the Armenians had any ability to govern themselves, and most of these Americans that have been working with the Armenians have come away disgusted.

I am not disgusted with the Armenians, and I pity them; but I cannot believe in the idea of the establishment of an independent Armenia in a country where not 25% of the people are Armenians. I do not believe the Armenians are able to govern themselves, and especially should not be allowed to govern other people; and certainly, if any of the other



racess here in this part of the country are under the Armenians, they are going to be submitted to oppression and outrage. I believe in helping the Armenians, but not in this way. I believe that if we come out and state all the facts regarding the Armenian question, and all combine, we can get the United States to help them. However, so long as we proceed along the present line I do not believe we will succeed because I don't believe it is right.

In regard to loaning the Armenians money without Armenia being under a mandate, I believe this is an unjustifiable waste of money. For two years we have expended money in relief work for the Armenians and we supplied them flour on a loan covering over 50 million dollars. What is there to show for all this vast expenditure? There is nothing to show except ingratitude, and when an emergency arose, one of the greatest friends Armenia ever had and the one that had been working and giving his best efforts for relief work amongst them, had to depend upon the Turks for his own personal protection. It is a well known fact that in the beginning of our relief work flour and provisions turned over to the Armenian Government for the starving were taken by the high officials of the Government and sold for their own benefit. Then finally Armenia turned Bolshevik and repudiated all her debts; and one of these debts was for the flour we had furnished on their word of honor to repay, because they certainly had no security to offer. 't was a sentimental loan based on faith in a people, and they have gone back on us.

You write that if the United States loaned Armenia money for her rehabilitation and for her protection of the boundary fixed by President Wilson the countries of Europe would be requested to protect Armenia from attacks from without. I am afraid you have more faith in European countries than I have. Thus far the European countries have protected none of the races in this part of the world. The fact is, in my opinion, the plans that they have been carrying out have resulted in greater harm to the so-called Christian races than if nothing at all had been done. I cannot imagine anyone believing that the European countries would do anything to protect the boundary of Armenia fixed by Mr. Wilson unless it was to their selfish interests to do so, and I do not see what selfish interests would be involved by our loaning money to Armenia. As regards the United States guaranteeing the protection of that boundary from within, I cannot imagine the United States ever consenting doing this. Such an undertaking would certainly be the best possible way of involving America in European entanglements; and still more, in my opinion such entanglements would not be justified. The boundary laid down by Mr. Wilson was certainly an arbitrary boundary and it was so stated in the report defining this boundary.

I note that you state Armenia at that time was an established fact so far as political recognition was concerned. I cannot understand this point of view because the Sevres treaty was ratified by no one and there was no possible hope of anybody ratifying this treaty. The determination of the boundary of Armenia was based upon a ratification of the treaty and in my opinion should not have been made until after the treaty was ratified. Probably there is no doubt that the fixing of this boundary brought about the attack upon Armenia by the Turkish Nationalists. Thus again Armenia was injured by the best intentions in the world. You will note that at the present conference in London the Armenians are being given practically no consideration. Another example of this is the withdrawal of French troops from Cilicia. You will see that in the end European Powers are going to do little or nothing for the Armenians. Therefore, I believe that we should not try to dicker with the European Powers, but come out in America with a fixed policy for the good of all races in the Near East. If we had adopted such a policy two years ago and worked steadily for it I feel certain we could have accomplished something. I haven't yet given up hope because I think it is too late. It is never too late.

I believe in starting a campaign and placing the Armenian and Greek situation before our people in the United States squarely and fairly, telling both sides of the story. The Greek propaganda in the United States has given our people a wrong idea entirely in regard to the Greek question. The European countries lend themselves to this misleading propaganda. The difficult situation that the European Powers have got into the Near East is due in my opinion to basing their action upon wrong-doing. There was no justification for putting the Greeks in Smyrna and this was borne out by a report of investigation which was as fair and square an investigation as was ever made. This report is in the State Department. The Greeks keep contending they have got a majority of population in the parts of Asia Minor that they occupy. You know, and we all know this is not true. Those who know the Greeks out here know that they are not in any way representative of the ancient Greeks that we all admire. In fact, they are just the opposite. I don't believe there is a single representative of a European Country in Constantinople that does not deprecate

the occupation of Asia Minor by the Greeks. There is no doubt in the world that the support of this is simply upon the old principle of maintaining a balance of power in the Near East. I don't think there is any doubt in the world that if our people at home were made to realize this that they would rise up against any support of Greece by money or moral influence.

There is another fact that should be brought out and that is that the administration of Turkish law by the old Turkish Government and the Turkish Government that has existed for many centuries is a vile administration. This administration should never be allowed to continue, and yet European countries are proposing to reestablish a part of this country under Turkish rule with practically no guarantees for the minorities. The mass of the Turks are ruled by a few intriguing Turks that represent in Turkey, more nearly than anything else, the Manchus that were overthrown in China. These few Turks have a spattering of education and a moral character developed by intriguing and deceit. They have unlimited power which has debilitated their moral character so that they are not fit to administer any law. It is my opinion that America should come out against this horrible outrage of placing these people in power to administer the Turkish law over anybody.

The Near East is a cesspool that should be drained and cleaned out without any half-way measures. The idea of establishing an independent Armenia and placing the Greeks over a part of the territory is only creating what, with the new Turkey that would be established, three cesspools, instead of one. Therefore I beg you to use your influence and that of all those with you that I know have much influence in America to have our people in the United States fully informed regarding the Near Eastern question. Let us adopt a big policy and stand for it and do our best to get this policy carried out. I know that sometimes it is a good thing to take less than the ideal when that is all you can get. But I do believe in placing our ideal in full light of the day so that when you accept less than the ideal it is done with a full knowledge. I am not certain that America if she fully realized the big task in the Near East and at the same time could be made to see what a big opportunity there was for America to do, probably the biggest thing in the world for true peace, would not tackle the job. Our people like to do big things. Then too, I believe if they would take a mandate for the whole of the old Ottoman Empire it would not involve us in the European affairs as much as we are bound to be involved in the future if this Near Eastern question is not properly settled at this time. Still further, I am absolutely certain that any assumption of responsibility for a part of the old Ottoman Empire, like an independent Armenia, is bound to get us involved in European affairs and involved in a way that we could not justify our action because such a procedure is not based upon what is right and just. I agree with you that it would be more difficult for America to take hold now than it was before because we have been contaminated by this advocacy of Greek and American claims and, in a measure, our reputation has been destroyed by the belief that we are working with the Allies of Europe, or at least supporting them in the schemes that they have been carrying out in the Near East.

I certainly am glad that you did not resign from the Near East Relief. Likewise, that Mr. Dodge is going to hold on. However, I hope you adopt as a policy relief work for all orphans and destitute women, without any regard for sect or religion. I have just been to Beirut where they have started a relief work for orphans to extend over ten years, so as to bring these children up self-supporting and at the same time not to educate them beyond the position that they will be required to hold in their own country. At the present time the French seem very friendly to American institutions in Syria, but on general principles I would warn against counting on this attitude after the French have obtained the mandate for Syria and are fully established beyond dispute. I do not believe the French are going to give up the idea that we Americans are not carrying on our institutions to undermine the French influence. We must do everything in the world to destroy this impression by assuming a most neutral attitude regarding politics and religion in carrying on our work. This is not only for the sake of French good-will, but in order, as you agree I know, to continue the reputation that our institutions have.

In regard to the Custer case I am afraid no one is to blame but Custer himself, and I do not believe his act is going to hurt the other Americans. He can undoubtedly thank Miss Graffam for his liberty. Such acts as drawing a revolver on a policeman is not countenanced in any country, especially when it is not justified, and the policeman was carrying out his duty. On the whole our Americans are being treated very courteously by the Turks in the interior and I believe we will continue to have this treatment so long as we play perfectly fair and square and don't take up sides with anyone, and especially if we will carry out relief work on the broad principle of giving relief to anyone that may require it.

I do not agree with Lloyd George that Mustapha Kemal has mutinied and is a rebel. He may be a rebel in the strict and technical sense, but it was the action of the Allies that drove the Turks to rebel. I do not justify the Turks in their acts but, knowing the Turks, if you want to control them don't goad them like you would a wild bull in a bull ring.

In regard to the policy of the Near East Relief, I am sure that the workers in the field do not understand the instructions that there should not be any discrimination in matters of religion in applying relief. At the assembly of workers here in Constantinople last Autumn this question was taken up and was very heatedly discussed. Mr. Vickrey himself told me that you have changed your policy, but that is neither here nor there. There is no doubt whatever a policy was carried out of giving relief only to Armenians, except in cases like Miss Cushman and Miss Graffam and Miss Allen, and some others that I might mention who know the way to establish good will in the country and therefore assist the Turks. The charge made by the Armenians in their papers that our relief organizations was using 80% of all the receipts for work with the Turks and Kurds, is, I am sure you will admit, in keeping with the accuracy of the statements that the Armenians are given to making. Don't you think that we can stand any of the accusations made by any of the races in this part of the country? I am very proud of the work that our people have done in this part of the world and it doesn't make much difference what anyone says about the work. I would suggest that it would be well if the workers in the field clearly understood that the relief work was to be carried on without any discrimination as regards race or religion. I know that they do not understand that now, even after the assembly at Constantinople last Autumn. Yes, I did know the Red Cross made large contributions to the Near East Relief work and therefore feel that it was not right to expend the funds, especially the Red Cross funds, for any particular race or sect. And again, I know that lots of the workers did not and that the Red Cross funds were a part of the contributions.

I have dictated this letter as I have felt because I feel deeply. Still further, I have an impression that since things have been going steadily from bad to worse in this part of the world, and this has been brought about by following a policy that I have never been in sympathy with, it may be that I have not done all that I could to improve conditions in the Near East and that I should make greater effort. I appreciate that this may sound to you, and to others, in some parts like criticism, but I do not intend it in that way because I do not want to arouse opposition, but only to establish a new policy that I believe is right. I believe you will forgive me for anything stated herein if you believe that my sole intention is simply to do what I think is right. I simply want to get us all to work together. I want to work with you because I know that your aims are just as sincere as mine. However, I am sure you will agree that our ideas frequently change, and if this will bring from you a reply that will change my ideas, I am only too ready to grasp the opportunity.

I thank you very much for your good wishes, and reciprocate, hoping that your efforts there have continued for so many years for the good of this part of the world will meet with success, and that I may be able to help you in your work.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Mark L. Bristol  
Rear Admiral, U.S. Navy  
UNITED STATES HIGH COMMISSIONER

DOCUMENT XLVIII

Source:  
U.S. Library of Congress: 'Bristol  
Papers'—General Correspondence  
Container #34.

May 6, 1921

Admiral Mark L. Bristol  
United States High Commissioner  
Constantinople, Turkey

My dear Admiral Bristol:

I want to express my high appreciation of your letter of the 25th of March, just received,

discussing with such thoroughness those fundamental questions which lie so near to the hearts of both of us and to a great multitude beside, namely, the Near Eastern question as relates to Turkey and Armenia. I was especially interested in the results of your observations on your important trip to Egypt, Palestine and Syria, and particularly your observation of the attitude of the French in Syria toward the American institutions. I have recently received a communication from the Acting President of Beirut University, who takes practically the same position that you take, namely, that at present the French seem very friendly and cordial, but fearing that when they have thoroughly established themselves in Syria they will not favor an American institution of the power and influence that Beirut University has over the people of that country. Even if they do not fear that the influence of the University will be used against French administration, they would naturally be jealous of an institution that was so entrenched in the affection and confidence and heart of the people.

Right in that connection my attention has today been called to certain stipulations of the Peace Treaty, namely, that "only nationals of countries that are members of the League of Nations can be used as missionaries in possessions under their mandates." I am quoting the statement as it came to me. I have not the exact terms before me. It raises at once the question whether the United States will accept such a decision which might rule all American missionaries out of mandatory countries, and this might become a precedent for the application of the same principle to missionaries already working in countries within the League, as India, Ceylon, South Africa, etc.

But to return. Our missionaries in Constantinople and throughout the interior have repeatedly referred to the great help you are to them in dealing with local questions, of which there are many and many of which are complicated. I have spoken of this before, but it is impossible to write you without referring to it again. Dr. White and Mr. Riggs have just written quite at length on the subject.

With reference to the false reports that come through reporting massacres of the Armenians by the Turks, there is no one who can deprecate this more than I do. But there is a situation over here which is hard to describe. There is a brilliant young Armenian, a graduate of Yale University, by the name of Cardashian. He is a lawyer, with office down in Wall Street, I believe. He has organized a committee, so-called, which has never met and is never consulted, with Mr. Gerard as Chairman. Cardashian is the whole thing. He has set up what he calls an Armenian publicity bureau or something of that kind, and has a letterhead printed. Gerard signs anything that Cardashian writes. He told me this himself one time. Cardashian is out with his own people and with everybody else, except Gerard and perhaps one other leading Armenian who was in London a month ago, Pasdermadjian. Not long since Cardashian came out with a pamphlet in which he charged the Near East Relief and the American missionaries as being the greatest enemies Armenia has ever had, claiming that they, in cooperation with President Wilson, had crucified Armenia, and a lot of other matter of this character. He claims to have the latest and fullest information out from Armenia and keeps in pretty close touch with Senator Lodge, the President, the State Department, and others in Washington. He has Gerard's backing. We have had many a conference with Armenian leaders as to what can be done to stop this vicious propaganda carried on by Cardashian. He is constantly reporting atrocities which never occurred and giving endless misinformation with regard to the situation in Armenia and in Turkey. We do not like to come out and attack him in public. That would injure the whole cause we are all trying to serve, because people would say that we are quarreling among ourselves and would lose confidence in the whole concern. We have tried in the New York office to give publicity to nothing we did not have every reason to believe to be correct. We are therefore trying to keep controversial matters out and only keep before the public the actual needs in Armenia.

Our Committee itself is hampered by the attitude taken by the Executive that we must not do anything that could be called political. In the literature we have given out we have never suggested that America should take a mandate of Armenia or of any part of Turkey. That is politics. We have simply spoken need and have tried to interest the American people in the need there in the country. I am to have a meeting of the Executive next week called to consider whether the time has not come for us to go a step further. People are saying, "For years you have kept these suffering people alive, while on the other hand political conditions have prevented their being restored to their homes and have contributed to increasing the number of refugees and orphans. Why do you not do something to remove the cause of the trouble?" Our answer has been, "That is politics. We are a relief organization." At the same time they come back at us and say, "What better

relief or more effective can be carried on than to remove the cause and let these people go back to their homes in peace and quiet and there become self-supporting.' I do not know what attitude the Executives will take. If they are favorable, we shall prepare a statement and send it through our organizations all over the country, trying to get pressure brought to bear upon Washington to do exactly what you so fully outline in your letter,-- take a hand in the settlement of affairs in the Near East.

When I was in London a little over a month ago, several of the leaders like Lord Bryce expressed their conviction that if the United States would be willing to loan money that some European nation would step in and take a mandate over some section of the Turkish Empire into which the Armenians could be gathered and thus established a safety zone. There is no doubt that now with the temper of the Turk stirred up by the fact that the Armenians fought with the French in Cilicia against the Turk is a very severe threat to the Armenians. Many of the Armenians are still full of revolutionary spirit and I cannot but believe that in Cilicia we have all of the elements which might precipitate another series of atrocities on both sides, for I know that the Armenians have not refrained from acts of atrocity when they had the power in their hands, and that is one of the reasons why the Turks are so incensed at the present time. Dr. Martin in Aintab has recently written that the Turks in the market place have threatened that when they come back into power, as they expect soon to do, they will rebuild the destroyed mosques and minarets with Armenian skulls. I fear that while we are waiting to get the United States to take a large view of the Near Eastern situation and a large part in its solution the Armenian element may be largely, if not wholly, eliminated.

I probably have suffered as much from the lack of appreciation on the part of Armenians as anyone. For twenty-five years I have worked for them. I doubt if there is anyone in the country that has been more frequently attacked than have I, from Cardashian down. Some--and this number is not few--have remained absolutely loyal and appreciative. But they are a peculiar people. They have a great faculty of making themselves disliked wherever they go and by most people who move among them, and yet we must remember they are human beings with capacity for education, development and reform. I feel intensely sorry for them and am ready to work on. I would not be in favor of putting the Armenians into power anywhere without having some restraining influence among them that would prevent their ill-treatment of any subject races under them.

In my previous letter to you I spoke of Armenia at the time when the loan was considered and established fact. I referred of course only to the Armenia in Russia which had been recognized in Washington to the extent that it was willing to accept the signature of its officials as guarantee for the repayment of the loan. I think the same was true in England. I was not, of course, referring to any Armenia in Turkey outlined by the President.

I am sending you under another cover a copy of the May number of the Missionary Herald with an article by me which may interest you. I have had this reprinted and am sending copies to officials in Washington and to the members of the Foreign Relations Committee of both the Senate and the House. There has got to be a system of far-reaching education in this country before Congress will be brought to take any action whatever with reference to the Near East or its relation to an association of nations. Senator Lodge and his group are absolutely and irrevocably opposed to America's taking any kind of mandate anywhere.

I have about the same feeling for the Greeks that you have. They have, however, one of the best publicity bureaus in the world and are working it to the limit here in the United States.

Mr. Dodge and I are planning to stand by the Near East Relief through this year, but we do hope that before another twelve months rolls around something will be done that will make the sending of continuous relief into that country unnecessary, apart from the care of the orphans.

You refer again to the subject of caring for the children and of giving relief to others than Armenians. In the reports that I see from all over the field that seems to be what is being done. The Red Cross people have seemed to be fully satisfied with the way their contributions have been used in this respect. The most dissatisfied people we deal with are the Armenians who say that we are diverting money intended for them.

But I did not mean to run on at such length. I want again to say how deeply I appreciate your letter. I am letting others in the Rooms read it. I understand that none of it is for

publicity, although I may take the liberty of reading a few words from it at the meeting of the Twentieth Century Club where I speak tomorrow afternoon.

Please remember me most kindly to Mrs. Bristol, and believe me, my dear Admiral Bristol.

Very faithfully yours,

James L. Barton

### ANGORA AND THE TURKS

By Arthur Tremaine Chester (Commander)  
The Representative of U.S.  
Shipping Board in Istanbul

#### Armenians Deported for Treachery

We hear a great deal about the deportation of Armenians from the Northeast of Turkey during the World War. The facts are that the Turks sent an army to the Russian border to defend their country against the threatened Russian invasion. The army consisted of Turkish subjects of all nationalities, being drafted just as ours are drafted. At the front the Armenians used blank cartridges and deserted in droves. This was bad enough, but the Armenians were not satisfied with this form of treachery. The provinces in the rear of the army had a large Armenian population, and these people, feeling that there was an excellent chance of the Russians defeating the Turks, decided to make it a certainty by rising up in the rear of the army and cutting it off from its base of supplies. Let me draw a parallel imaginary case. Suppose that Mexico was a powerful and rival country with which we were at war, and suppose that we sent an army to the Mexican border to hold back the invading enemy: suppose further that not only the negroes in our army deserted to the enemy but those left at home organized and cut off our line of communication. What do you think we as a people, especially the Southerners, would do to the negroes? Our negroes have ten times the excuse for hating the whites than the Armenians have for their attitude toward the Turks. They have no representation, although they have an overwhelming majority in large sections of the South, and have nothing to say in the making or administration of the laws under which they are governed. South of the Mason and Dixon line they are practically a subject race, while the Armenians in Turkey have not only full representation but special privileges not accorded by any other country.

The Turkish Government ordered the Armenians deported from the districts they menaced. That they did not have railways and other means of transportation was not their fault, and the deportation had to be carried out on foot. That this was not done in the most humane manner possible is undoubtedly a fact, and the Turkish Government has condemned the unnecessary cruelties that occurred; but I feel confident that if America had been put in the hypothetical situation above referred to, it would have stopped that insurrection if it had had to kill every negro in the South, and would not have gone to the tedious and laborious defensive act of deportation, in spite of our extensive means of transportation.

I chanced to meet not long ago, an Armenian who was, in 1899, the consular representative of Turkey in New York. He told me that at that time there was an "Armenian massacre." There was the usual hue and cry against the wholesale killing of Christians in Turkey. It became so intense that the Turkish Government decided to submit proofs that the "massacre" was the direct result of traitorous and revolutionary acts by the Armenians themselves. The consular agent, in his official capacity, submitted these proofs to the State Department, and the evidence so overwhelmingly vindicated the Turks that the matter was immediately dropped. These records are on file at the State Department.

In the reactionary movement of 1909 the soldiers in Constantinople revolted and killed two hundred of their officers. Parliament, police and, in fact, every restraining force left the capital. For ten days the city was in the hands of unpoliced, unrestrained and irresponsible troops. They were free to do anything they desired, and yet during that time not a woman was insulted nor a store looted. I can imagine no other race showing such self-restraint under similar lawless conditions.

There is no question that there have been instances where cruel individuals have done things against the Armenians and Greeks without provocation, and they should be condemned in the strongest terms; but it is safe to say that no massacre of any importance

has occurred that was not the direct result of traitorous or threatening acts by the victims. It is a known fact that on several occasions Armenian leaders have intentionally instigated these massacres for the sole purpose of obtaining foreign sympathy and political aid.

It must be noted that in almost every case the massacres have been confined to either Armenians or Greeks, according to which race did the overt act that caused the massacre. No members of either of these two races were killed because they were Christians any more than negroes are lynched because they are Methodists.

Our papers refuse to publish the account of the barbarities and atrocities committed by the Greeks upon the Turks, although authenticated by unbiased foreign officials, including our own, and yet they are as inhuman and blood-curdling as any recorded in history.

I have yet to meet a foreigner living in this part of the world and unbiased by politics, religion or pecuniary benefits derived from condemning the Turks, who has not most emphatically stated that of all the races represented in the population of the old Turkish Empire, the Turks are by far the best people.

## DOCUMENT L

Source:  
John Dewey: *The New Republic* Vol. 40,  
Nov. 12, 1928, pp. 268-9

## THE TURKISH TRAGEDY

The tragedy in Turkey is more extensive than the sad plight of minorities. Those who have the patience to refrain in the Near East from a premature partisanship are likely soon to arrive at a state of mind in which all parties are so much to blame that the question of assigning responsibility is at most one of quantities and proportions. But a deeper and fuller acquaintance with the sufferings of all these peoples brings with it a revulsion. One becomes disgusted with the whole affair of guilt. Pity for all populations, minority and majority alike, engulfs all other sentiments—except that of indignation against the foreign powers which have so unremittingly and so cruelly utilized the woes of their puppets for their own ends.

The situation in Turkey with respect to Turks, Armenians and Greeks alike meets all the terms of the classic definition of tragedy, the tragedy of fate. A curse has been laid upon all populations and all have moved forward blindly to suffer their doom.

It is a tragedy with only victims, not heroes, no matter how heroic individuals may have been. There are villains, but they are muffled figures appearing upon the open stage only for fleeting glimpses. They are the Great Powers, among which it is surely not invidious to select Russia and Great Britain by name. It is easy to become a fatalist in the presence of the history of Asia Minor and the Balkans; any one who would write history in terms of Providence is well advised to keep clear of these territories.

We were in Brusa, the seat of the Ottoman power before the capture of Constantinople, one of the most beautiful and in natural promise most prosperous of the cities of Anatolian Turkey. As we walked the streets we passed alternately by the closed shops and houses formerly kept by Greeks and Armenians who are now dead or deported in exchange for Turks in Greece, and by the ruins of buildings of the Turkish population burnt by the Greeks in their retreat. We saw business houses which had changed hands back and forth, the Greeks seizing the property of Turkish merchants and compelling the latter to flee the city when they were in power, and Turkish merchants in present possession of trades and commercial institutions formerly belonging to Greeks. There was a jumble with no outstanding fact except that of general suffering and ruin. It struck me as a symbol of the whole situation, only on a smaller scale and with less bloodshed and rapine than is found in most parts of the Anatolian territory.

The valley of "Green Brusa" was full of flourishing tobacco crops. Even they had a voice speaking indirectly of misery. A few years ago no tobacco was grown in this region. It was introduced by the Turks expelled from Macedonia now precariously occupied by the Greeks—precariously because Serbs and Bulgars both claim it in the name of nationalism—with Turks nourishing resentment in memory of their long and industrious residence from which they have been violently expelled. Thus the flourishing tobacco told the same tale as the declining silk-cocoon business, the latter languishing because it was the industry of Greeks now forced to remove. I know nothing which speaks more urgently of the common tragedy than the fact that the cruel exchange of populations by the half million, this uprooting of men, women, and children transferring them to places where they do not want to go and where they are not wanted, has seemed to honest and kind persons the only hope for the avoidance of future atrocities.

Brusa serves also as a symbol of another phase of the situation. We passed through the Jewish quarter, and found the Jews still in possession of their homes and property, the more flourishing; perhaps because of the total absence of their former commercial competitors, the Greeks and Armenians. Unbidden the thought comes to mind: Happy the minority which has had no Christian nation to protect it. And one recalls that the Jews took up their abode in "fanatic" Turkey when they were expelled from Europe, especially Spain, by saintly Christians, and they have lived here for some centuries in at least as much tranquility and liberty as their fellow Turkish subjects, all being exposed alike to the rapacity of their common rulers. To one brought up, as most Americans have been, in the Gladstonian and foreign-missionary tradition, the condition of the Jews in Turkey is almost a mathematical demonstration that religious differences have had an influence in the tragedy of Turkey only as they were combined with aspirations for a political separation which every nation in the world would have treated as treasonable. One readily reaches the conclusion that the Jews in Turkey were fortunate that a Zionistic state had not been built up which should feel strong enough to intervene in Turkish politics and stimulate a separatist movement and political revolt. In contrast, the fate of the Greeks and Armenians, the tools of nationalistic and imperialistic ambitions of foreign powers, makes one realize how accursed has been the minority population that had the protection of a Christian foreign power.

Unfortunately the end is not yet, even with the completed exchange of populations, and the accompanying misery of peoples at least temporarily homeless, often unacquainted with the language of their home-kin, with thousands of orphans and beggared refugees, as numerous among the Turks as among the Armenians and Greeks, even if our Christian benevolence, still under the influence of foreign political propaganda, does not hear so much about or experience the same solicitude for Turkish woes. The end is not yet because, in the case of the Armenians at least, the great powers have not even yet become willing to refrain from experimenting at their expense. One can hardly blame the Greeks in their unsettled and unstable condition for asking that a considerable portion of the deported Armenians be again deported, this time from Greek soil. But what shall we say when we read that already at Geneva a plea has been made for the creation of the Armenian "home" in Caucasian Turkey—a home that would require protection by some foreign power and be the prelude to new armed conflicts and ultimate atrocities? Few Americans who mourn, and justly, the miseries of the Armenians, are aware that till the rise of nationalistic ambitions, beginning with the 'seventies, the Armenians were the favored portion of the population of Turkey, or that in the Great War, they traitorously turned Turkish cities over to the Russian invader; that they boasted of having raised an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men to fight a civil war, and that they burned at least a hundred Turkish villages and exterminated their population. I do not mention these things by way of appraising or extenuating blame because the story of provocations and reprisals is a futile as it is endless; but it indicates what happened in the past to both Armenian and Turkish populations when the minority element was taken under the protecting care of a foreign Christian power, and what will recur if the Armenians should be organized into a buffer state. Nor is it likely to be better in "little Armenia", if the Armenians of Latin Catholic persuasion are deposited between the Turks to the north and Syria to the south, which is, according to newspaper reports, to be the French policy in connection with their mandated territory.

If human wit is baffled in seeking constructive measures which shall transform the tragic scene into one of happiness, history at least makes clear a negative lesson. Nothing but evil to all parties has come in the past or will come in the future from the attempts of foreign nations to utilize the national aspirations of minority populations in order to advance their own political interests, while they can conceal and justify their villainous courses by appeal to religion. After all the Turks are here; there is a wide territory in which they form an undisputed majority; for centuries the land has been their own; the sentiments have gathered about it that always attend long habitation. Whether we like it or not, other elements in the population must accommodate themselves to this dominant element, as surely as, say, immigrants in America have to adjust their political aspirations and nationalistic preferences to the fact of a unified national state. If a fiftieth of the energy, money and planning that has been given to fostering antagonisms among the populations had been given to searching out terms upon which the populations could live peaceably together without the disruption of Turkey, the situation today would be enormously better than it is. Whether the European great powers have learned the lesson that their protection and aid is a fatal and tragic gift, there is no way of knowing. But it is at least time that Americans ceased to be deceived by propaganda in behalf of policies which are now



demonstrated to bring death and destruction impartially to all elements, and which are nauseating precisely in the degree that they are smeared over with sentiments alleged to be derived from religion. Finally, if slowly, the Turks also have been converted to nationalism. The disease exists in a virulent form at just this moment. It will abate or be exacerbated in just the degree in which the Turkish nation is accepted in good faith as an accomplished fact by other nations, or in which the old tradition of intervention, intrigue and incitation persists. In the latter case, the bloody tragedy of Turkey and the Balkans will continue to unroll.

DOCUMENT LI

Source:  
The New York Times, May 11, 1983.

To the Editor:

In his April 23 Editorial Notebook article Karl Meyer offered the very misinterpretation of events in 1915 that today is the pretext of Armenian terrorists to slaughter Turkish diplomats. What actually took place in Anatolia in 1915 was a complex tragedy that claimed Armenian as well as Turkish lives.

During World War I, when the Ottoman forces were fighting on five fronts, they also faced an armed uprising of Armenians. At the instigation and with the support of Czarist Russia, Armenian insurgents sought to establish an Armenian state in an area that was predominantly Turkish.

The ensuing hostilities—a civil war within a global war—together with famine and epidemics, claimed a heavy toll on all sides. But to describe the events as “genocide” is to deprive the term of its meaning.

And contrary to Mr. Meyer’s assertion, there was a judicial inquiry after the war, apart from the show trial held by the Ottoman sultan to curry favor with the victorious powers.

The British forces occupying Istanbul carried out exhaustive searches of the Ottoman archives, as well as those of other countries, in an attempt to substantiate Armenian allegations. After three years, during which over 100 Ottoman military and political leaders were held in detention, the British Crown law officers dropped all charges: Not only was there insufficient evidence to convict anyone of war crimes, there was no evidence to warrant a trial.

Furthermore, the Armenian population in the Ottoman Empire, according to the British Foreign Office, totaled 1.3 million in 1914. The official Ottoman census from the same year showed 1.2 million, not, as Mr. Meyer asserts, 2.3 million. His exaggeration of Armenian casualties is even greater.

And the Ottoman authorities did not merely “suspect” a threat from the Armenians. Prior to the Ottoman decision to relocate Turkish Armenians away from the war zones, Armenian forces had already massacred the Moslem population of the city of Van and engaged in hit-and-run actions against the flanks of the Turkish army.

Indeed, an Armenian newspaper, *Gochnak* (printed in the U.S.), reported at the time that “only 1,500 Turks remain in Van.” The rest had been slaughtered. Earlier, the Van region’s leading Armenian representative in the Ottoman Parliament had called upon Armenians “to serve as advance units for the Russian armies” as they invaded Anatolia.

Henry Morgenthau’s absolute reliance on selected missionary accounts was naive and credulous. The subsequent U.S. envoy, Adm. Mark Bristol, wrote: “Unfortunately, the missionaries . . . tell only one side of the story . . . disclosing only the best qualities of the Armenians and Greeks, without telling their bad qualities.”

The admiral further characterized Armenian propaganda efforts in the Western world as “exaggerated, together with claims and statistics that are deceptive and misleading.”

The weight of evidence proves clearly that the alleged Ottoman document of Sept. 16, 1915, is crude forgery. The 1922 British investigation rejected it as evidence when it was determined that it had been introduced by an Armenian delegation. Its form, script and phraseology all point to its dubious origins. Weighted against it is the mass of unchallenged Ottoman documents demonstrating the Government’s resolve to conduct the relocations under the best conditions attainable.

Mr. Meyer cites one contemporary *New Republic* article expressing sympathy for the Armenians; he ignores another contemporary article in the same periodical, written by John Dewey, which states that “the Armenians traitorously turned Turkish cities over to the Russian invader” and “burned at least 100 Turkish villages and exterminated their population.”

As for the quotation from "Forty Days of Musa Dagh," surely this must be the first time a Times commentary has cited a novel as a historical source.

Şükrü Elekdağ  
Ambassador of the Turkish Republic  
Washington, May 5, 1983

DOCUMENT LII

THE DESCENDANTS OF TURKS AND ARMENIANS ALIKE  
DESERVE BETTER

Source:  
*The New York Times*, May 23, 1985.

To the Editor:

In a span of eight days, you carried two editorials and two Op-Ed pieces that summarily indicted and convicted Turkey of the fallacious charge of genocide.

No one has ever denied the overall tragedy that, 70 years ago, brought death and suffering to all the peoples of the Ottoman Empire's eastern Anatolian region, and that Armenians perished as part of this. What must be disputed is any selective focus on the sufferings of one ethnic group, while ignoring the fate of 25 million Turkish and non-Christian people, many of whom died at the hands of Armenian revolutionary groups. The Armenian rebellion was instigated and supported by Czarist Russia, whose armies were invading Ottoman territories.

The Armenian revolutionary organizations intended to benefit from the resulting chaos and establish (by force) an exclusively Armenian state in an area where the population was preponderately non-Armenian.

Ottoman responsibility, if any, must lie in the empire's inability to protect its civilian population (both Moslem and Christian) from wide-scale civil war, famine and disease while fighting a world war on five fronts. To label that "genocide" threatens to deprive the word of meaning. The charge could apply to most countries at some time.

To compare events of 1914-15 in the Ottoman Empire with Hitler's planned extermination of European Jews in World War II is a disservice to the memory of millions of victims of the Nazis whose only crime was to be born Jewish. German Jews were loyal citizens, in contrast to the Ottoman Armenians, large numbers of whom joined the invading Russians and served as a fifth column behind Ottoman lines.

The "evidence" advanced by Armenian polemicists to support their claim of a pre-meditated policy of extermination is a series of forged telegrams attributed to the Ottoman Minister of the Interior, Talat Pasha. Quoted at length by Florence Avakian (Op-Ed, April 27), these crude forgeries were rejected when they appeared in 1920 even by the British, who were holding more than 150 former high-ranking Ottoman officials in Malta to charge with war crimes. The Crown Prosecutor's office, after a two-year investigation that included searches in Ottoman as well as United States archives, dropped the charges and released the detainees; since then no serious scholar has attributed authenticity to the Talat Pasha telegrams.

As for the purported Hitler quotation—"Who today remembers the Armenian extermination?"—the intent is clear. Link the "Armenian cause" to that of the Jewish victims of World War II, and you convince public opinion that the Armenian experience, too, must have been genocide.

But Hitler is not known to have made such a statement! The proceedings of the Nuremberg tribunal, usually given as the source, establish that no document that includes this quotation was introduced there.

Unfortunately, the press's relentless repetition of Armenian charges of "genocide" does nothing less than fuel the hatred that permits terrorist operatives to convert impressionable Armenian youths into murderers of innocents in 1985—in the name of retribution for erroneously interpreted tragedies of 70 years ago. Surely the descendants of Turks and Armenians alike deserve better than this.

Şükrü Elekdağ  
Ambassador of the Turkish Republic  
Washington, May 6, 1985

Source:  
Salahi R. Sonyel, *The Ottoman Armenians*, London (K. Rustem & Bro.), 1987, pp. xiii-xv.

A NUMBER of books have been published on the Armenians, particularly on their relationship with the Turks, and on the role of the Great Powers, such as Britain, France, and Russia, in influencing those relations. A selection of the more prominent works is listed in the bibliography; but most of these have been written by Armenians or Armenophiles, and reflect a partisan view. Very few works, published outside Turkey, have taken the trouble to examine the Turkish version of these relations, and other available reliable source material; therefore one of the main objectives of the present work must be to try to rectify this omission. The book also attempts to probe deeper into, and shed more light on, Turco-Armenian relations, to examine, in a broader perspective, the main events affecting those relations, and to try to provide a more authoritative response to a number of searching questions that still remain unanswered, or partially answered.

The book, which is mainly based on primary source material, begins with a description of the Armenians, their original homeland, culture, and migrations; and succinctly traces their history before, during, and after the coming of the Turks. It examines the organization and position of the Armenian *millet* (nation or community) within the Ottoman Empire, and deals with the main events that led to the inception of the 'Eastern Question,' which directly contributed to the birth of the 'Armenian Question.' It then traces cursorily the stages of the Turco-Russian war of 1877-1878, which resulted in the Treaty of San Stefano, the Cyprus Convention, and the Treaty of Berlin. These international instruments were supposed to procure more privileges to the Ottoman Armenians, with the possibility of ultimately leading to their autonomy, and even independence, but they were actually meant to enable the Great Powers, particularly Britain and Russia, to interfere in the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire in the hope of snatching a greater share of the spoils when that Empire came to an end.

The book critically examines the various efforts made by British Conservative and Liberal Governments after 1878 for the introduction of reforms in the Ottoman Empire for the benefit of the Christians, particularly of the Armenians, who inhabited mainly the Eastern Provinces of that Empire. One of their earliest unsuccessful efforts was directed towards the establishment of an autonomous Armenian province, which encouraged the Armenian extremists to provoke a rebellion that almost led to armed intervention by the Great Powers. When, in April 1880, the Liberal Party came to power, the new Prime Minister, Gladstone, showed greater zeal than his predecessors, Lords Beaconsfield and Salisbury, in persuading the Great Powers to put joint pressure on the Ottoman Government in order to force it to succumb to their demands and introduce far-reaching 'Armenian reforms.' This danger to the very existence of the Turkish Empire, and to that of his throne, compelled Sultan Abdülhamit II to concentrate all power in his hands. It also encouraged the Armenian extremists to set up secret societies and prepare for revolt in order to procure an autonomous, or semi-independent, Armenian province in Eastern Anatolia where the Armenians were not more than 15 per cent of the total population as against more than 80 per cent Muslims.

The book also deals with the financial collapse of the Ottoman Empire, and how the 'Armenian Question' became more acute as a result of that collapse. This led to a deterioration in Turco-Armenian and Anglo-Turkish relations, and to the disillusionment of the Armenians with both Britain and Russia, who were vying with each other for Turkish favours in order to cater for their own selfish interests rather than for the interests of the Armenians. Admittedly both Salisbury and Gladstone did their utmost to procure the joint intervention of the Great Powers in the domestic affairs of the Ottoman Empire, ostensibly in order to obtain more privileges for the Armenians, but actually in order to further their own interests. Such efforts, however, were unsuccessful, mainly because those interests conflicted.

The book then traces the bloody history of Armenian terrorism following the establishment, by the Armenian extremists abroad, of secret revolutionary societies such as the Hintchak and the Dashnaktsutun, which indulged indiscriminately in a campaign of terror, assassinations, sabotage, incendiarism, abductions, and forced levies, inflicted even on Armenians, and this culminated in suppression by the Ottoman authorities who hurriedly set up the Hamidiye regiments to counter Armenian terrorism.

The first full-scale conflict between the Armenians and the Turks took place at Sasun in Eastern Turkey, where the Armenian revolutionaries organized a revolt in the summer of 1895. This was followed by other incidents all over Anatolia where a state of virtual civil war was provoked between the Armenian and Turkish people, resulting in the death of

many victims on both sides, and in the destruction of much property. Meanwhile the Armenian Patriarch appealed to the Great Powers for help and this appeal activated the Liberal Government in London to prepare for armed intervention, and to resort to gunboat diplomacy. But the dissensions among the Powers, particularly between Britain and Russia, made these British efforts, later espoused by Salisbury, ineffective. The Powers were reluctant to intervene and thus risk their favoured position in Istanbul, and Abdülhamit was quick to sense and make full use of these divisions among the Powers to his advantage. He also tried to come to a *modus vivendi* with the Armenian insurgents, and the Young Turk revolutionaries, with some success.

The book also examines critically the efforts made to reconcile the Turks and the Armenians after the 1984-86 events. From 1896 to 1914, although the 'Armenian Question' flared up intermittently with every major crisis or event, such as the Turco-Greek war of 1897, the German Emperor's visit to Istanbul, the eruption of the Cretan and Macedonian Questions, the attempt by the Armenian terrorists to assassinate Abdülhamit in 1905, and the Balkan wars of 1912-13, nevertheless, it simmered on. It was instrumental in bringing about a *rapprochement* between the Armenian revolutionaries and the Young Turks. The resulting Young Turk Revolution of July 1908 contributed immensely to pacification and reconciliation between the Armenians and the Turks whose leaders vowed to do their utmost to bury the hatchet and to strive for 'liberty, equality and fraternity,' the watchwords of the restored constitutional order.

The 'Armenian Question,' however, did not come to an end following the Young Turk Revolution. It lingered on after that revolution, culminating, during the First World War, in a terrible conflict between the Turks and the Armenians. This conflict amounted to a civil war, which the Armenians label as 'massacre' or 'genocide' directed by the Turks against them, whilst the Turks describe it as 'Armenian atrocities and treachery' against the Turkish nation. These accusations and counter-accusations still linger on, after almost seventy years, and from time to time give rise to Armenian outrages and Turkish retaliation.

#### DOCUMENT LIV

#### THE U.S. CONGRESS AND ADOLF HITLER ON THE ARMENIANS

Source:  
Heath W. Lowry: *Political Communication and Persuasion*, Volume 3, Number 2, 1985.

Heath W. Lowry  
Institute of Turkish Studies, Inc.  
Washington, D.C.

#### Abstract

This article traces the history of a purported Adolf Hitler quote which cites the precedent of the world's lack of reaction to the fate of Armenians during the First World War as justification for his planned extermination of European Jewry in the course of the Second World War. By a detailed examination of the genesis of this quotation the author demonstrates that there is no historical basis for attributing such a statement to Hitler. Likewise, the author traces the manner in which this purported quote has entered the lexicon of U.S. Congressmen, and the manner in which it continues to be used by Armenian-Americans in their efforts to establish a linkage between their own history and the tragic fate of European Jewry during the Second World War. The author concludes with a plea to policy-makers that they focus their activities on the responsibilities of their offices and leave the writing of history to the historians.

A casual perusal of the pages of the *Congressional Record* (CR) of both the House and the Senate, on or about April 24, 1984, reveals a bipartisan group of our elected officials condemning the failure of the Republic of Turkey to acknowledge and assume responsibility for the "genocide" of the Armenian people allegedly perpetrated by the Ottoman Empire in the course of the First World War. In 1984, a total of sixty-six such statements, fifty-seven by members of the House and nine by Senators, were read into the *Congressional Record*. Of these sixty-six tributes in support of Armenian Martyrs' Day remembrances, exactly one-third—twenty-two—contained one or another version of a quote attributed to Adolf Hitler in which he purportedly responded to a query about his planned annihilation of European Jewry, by quipping, "Who, after all, speaks today of the extermination of the Armenians?"

### The Hitler Quote: Its Source and Its Avowed Focus

While the quiver of anti-Turkish invectives utilized by Armenian spokesmen contains a number of arrows, none is more frequently unleashed than this charge that Adolf Hitler was encouraged by his perception that the world had not reacted to alleged Ottoman mistreatment of its Armenian population during the First World War. He thus felt justified in going forward with his plan to exterminate European Jewry during the Second World War.

Given the widespread utilization of this quotation by Armenian spokesmen and their supporters, perhaps we should not be too surprised at the fact that it has found its way into the lexicon of our lawmakers. Even the dean of Armenian-American historians, Professor Richard Hovannisian of UCLA, stated in a 1983 address to the World Affairs Council of Pittsburgh, "Perhaps Adolf Hitler had good cause in 1939 to declare, according to the Nuremberg trial transcripts, 'Who, after all, speaks today of the extermination of the Armenians?'" Is it any wonder, then, that the following list of elected U.S. officials repeat the same charge?

Senator Rudi Boschwitz, R-Minn.; Senator Carl Levin, D-Mich.; Senator Howard Metzenbaum, D-Ohio; Congressman Les Aspin, D-Wis.; Congressman Howard Berman, D-Calif.; Congressman Thomas Bliley, R-Va.; Congressman Edward Boland, D-Mass.; Congresswoman Barbara Boxer, D-Calif.; Congressman Jim Courter, R-N.J.; Congressman Mervyn Dymally, D-Calif.; Congressman Edward Feighan, D-Ohio; Congresswoman Geraldine Ferraro, D-N.Y.; Congressman Hamilton Fish, R-N.Y.; Congressman William Ford, D-Mich.; Congressman Sam Gejdenson, D-Conn.; Congressman William Green, R-N.Y.; Congressman Richard Lehman, D-Calif.; Congressman Bruce Morrison, D-Conn.; Congressman Nicholas Mavroules, D-Mass.; Congressman Charles Schumer, D-N.Y.; Congressman James Shannon, D-Mass.; and Congressman Henry Waxman, D-Calif.

It is noteworthy that sixteen of the above-listed officials (with the exception of Boxer, Courter, Dymally, Feighan, Ford, and Schumer) all clearly state that Hitler made his statement in support of his planned extermination of European Jewry. Equally noteworthy is the fact that the three senators, Boschwitz, Levin, and Metzenbaum, and four of the members of the House, Berman, Gejdenson, Green, and Waxman, who made this linkage are themselves Jews.

The problem with this linkage is that there is no proof that Adolf Hitler ever made such a statement. Everything written to date has attributed the purported Hitler quote, not to primary sources, but to an article that appeared in the *Times* of London on Saturday, November 24, 1945. Said article, entitled, "Nazi Germany's Road To War,"<sup>2</sup> cites the quote and bases its attribution to Hitler on an address by him to his commanders-in-chief six years earlier, on August 22, 1939, a few days prior to his invasion of Poland. According to the unnamed author of the *Times* article, the speech had been introduced as evidence during the November 23, 1945, session of the Nuremberg Tribunal. Hitler is quoted as having stated, "Thus for the time being I have sent to the East only my Death's Head units, with the order to kill without pity or mercy all men, women, and children of the Polish race or language. *Who still talks nowadays of the extermination of the Armenians?*"<sup>3</sup> However, this version of the address was never accepted as evidence in this or any other session of the Nuremberg Tribunal.

Furthermore, the *Times* article of November 24, 1945, was not the earliest mention of Hitler's alleged statement on the Armenians. Rather, this quotation, and indeed an entire text of a Hitler speech purportedly made at Obersalzberg on August 22, 1939, was first published in 1942 in a book entitled *What About Germany?* and authored by Louis Lochner, a former bureau chief of the Associated Press in Berlin.<sup>4</sup>

On the opening page of his work, Lochner cites an unnamed informant as his source for a document called "Contents of Speech to the Supreme Commanders, and Commanding Generals, Obersalzberg, August 22, 1939." He further states that he obtained a copy of this speech (a three-page typed German manuscript) one week prior to Hitler's 1939 invasion of Poland.<sup>5</sup>

This "document," the provenance of which has never been disclosed, investigated, and much less established, is the real "source," and indeed the sole source, of Hitler's purported remark vis-à-vis the Armenians. In its historical debut, as published by Lochner, the "quote" reads as follows:

*I have issued the command—I'll have anybody who utters one word of criticism executed by a firing squad—that our war aim does not consist in reaching certain*

*lines, but in the physical destruction of the enemy. Accordingly, I have placed my death-head formations in readiness—for the present only in the East—with orders to them to send to death mercilessly and without compassion, men, women, and children of Polish derivation and language. Only thus shall we gain the living space [lebensraum] which we need. Who, after all, speaks today of the annihilation of the Armenians?'*<sup>6</sup>

Of particular interest is the fact that while this "quotation" has appeared in literally hundreds of publications in the past forty years, not a single one has ever cited Lochner's book as its source. Likewise, no work has ever suggested that this statement made its first appearance, not in the course of the 1945 Nuremberg trials, but rather in the 1942 wartime publication of an American newspaperman.

Of equal interest, assuming for the moment that Lochner's unnamed informant did in fact supply him with an authentic copy of Hitler's Obersalzberg remarks, is the total absence in this text of a single direct or implied reference to the Jewish people. Obviously, it is an anti-Polish polemic; the single reference it contains to the Armenians is clearly made in that context. In Lochner's version, Hitler states,

*Accordingly, I have placed my death-head formations in readiness—for the present only in the East—with orders to them to send to death mercilessly and without compassion, men, women, and children of Polish derivation and language. Only thus shall we gain the living space [lebensraum] which we need. Who, after all, speaks today of the annihilation of the Armenians?'*

Here there is no ambiguity in his meaning. If Hitler actually made this statement it obviously referred to his impending invasion of Poland and to the fate he envisioned for its citizenry; *it had absolutely nothing to do with his plans for the Jews of Europe*. This fact in and of itself belies the allegations of those sixteen members of the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives who in their statements in conjunction with the April 24 remembrance of Armenian Martyrs' Day, insisted that Hitler's remarks expressed the rationale for his slaughter of the Jews.

Interestingly enough, of the twenty-two elected representatives who incorporated the alleged Hitler quote into their Congressional remarks, only one, Congressman William Ford (D-Mich.), correctly identified the time and context of the statement attributed to Hitler. Ford said, "Even Adolf Hitler used past events to shape his own policies. In 1939 as he was beginning his invasion of Poland, Hitler ordered the mass extermination of its inhabitants, commenting, 'Who, after all, speaks today of the annihilation of the Armenians?'"<sup>7</sup> In contrast, most of his colleagues displayed their lack of knowledge about the subject they purported to address by the use of phrases such as:

*When Adolf Hitler was planning the extermination of the Jewish people . . . (Aspin)*

*When Hitler first proposed his final solution . . . (Boschwitz)*

*. . . on the eve of the extermination of the Jews. (Bernan)*

*Hitler's statement concerning the final solution for the Jews of Europe . . . (Bliley)*

*Hitler who while planning the extermination of millions of Jews was asked . . . (Boland)*

*We can only be haunted by the words of Adolf Hitler, who said, in embarking on this "crazed attack" on the Jews, 'Who after all, speaks today of the annihilation of the Armenians?'* (Ferraro)

*In speaking of the consequences of the Jewish Holocaust, Adolf Hitler once remarked . . . (Fish)*

*Hitler, before beginning his Holocaust against the Jews . . . (Gejdenson)*

*When Hitler was about to begin the Holocaust . . . (Green)*

*Questioned about his policy of Jewish genocide, Hitler said . . . (Lehman)*

*Looking at the Armenian genocide as a precedent for his own Holocaust perpetrated against Europe's Jews . . . (Morrison)*

*Etc., etc., etc.<sup>8</sup>*

#### **The Hitler Quote and the Nuremberg Trials**

Having established that the first published appearance of Hitler's alleged remark on the Armenians occurred in the 1942 Lochner book, we will now examine the history of its

subsequent appearance in the course of the Nuremberg trials. It is necessary to state at the outset, however, that contrary to Professor Hovannisian in the above-mentioned quote, and a whole body of scholars writing on the Holocaust, the Nuremberg trials transcripts do *not* in fact contain the purported Hitler quote. Instead, the Nuremberg transcripts clearly demonstrate that the tribunal *rejected* Lochner's version of Hitler's Obersalzberg speech in favor of two more official versions found in confiscated German military records. These two records are, respectively, detailed notes of the August 22, 1939, meeting taken down by Admiral Hermann Boehm, Chief of the High Seas Fleet, who was in attendance;<sup>10</sup> and an unsigned memorandum in two parts which provides a detailed account of Hitler's August 22, 1939, remarks at Obersalzberg. This document originated in the Chief of the High Command of the Armed Forces (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht* [OKW]) files and was captured by American troops at Saalfelden in Austria. This was the chief document introduced by the prosecution at Nuremberg as evidence in the course of the session concerned with the invasion of Poland.<sup>11</sup> In addition, a third eyewitness account of the Obersalzberg meetings is found in the detailed diary kept by General Halder.<sup>12</sup>

These three versions, the first two of which are in fact preserved in the transcripts of the Nuremberg Tribunal, are internally consistent one with the other in regard to the wording of Hitler's Obersalzberg speech. Of primary importance in the context of this study is the fact that none of these three eyewitness versions contains any reference whatsoever to Armenians.

The noted historian of the Second World War, William Shirer, reconstructed his account of the Obersalzberg meeting strictly on the basis of the Boehm notes, the Halder diary, and the captured memorandum.<sup>13</sup> In explaining his failure to incorporate the "Lochner version," he wrote with characteristic understatement, "it may have been embellished a little by persons who were not present at the meeting at the Berghof."<sup>14</sup>

An examination of the Nuremberg transcripts from the afternoon session of November 26, 1945, enables us to piece together the actual sequence of events which led to the *Times* of London article on November 24, 1945, which, as has been stated, is the source of all post-1945 references to the alleged Hitler quote.

From these records it becomes apparent that a total of three documents dealing with the August 22, 1939, speech were discussed in the course of the November 26, 1945, session of the tribunal. Called, respectively, US-28, US-29, and US-30, two of the three were subsequently introduced as evidence and preserved in the records of the trials: US-29 (Document Number 798-PS) and US-30 (Document Number 101--PS). The third document, US-28, was not introduced as evidence by the prosecution. An examination of the Nuremberg transcript provides the following detail in regard to these three documents. The prosecutor, Mr. Alderman, introduced the subject thus:

*In this presentation of condemning documents, concerning the initiation of the war in September 1939, I must bring to the attention of the Tribunal a group of documents concerning an address by Hitler to his chief military commanders, at Obersalzberg on 22 August 1939, just one week prior to the launching of the attack on Poland.*

*We have three of these documents, related and constituting a single group. The first one I do not intend to offer as evidence. The other two I shall offer.*

*The reason for that is this: The first of the three documents came into our possession through the medium of an American newspaperman and purported to be original minutes of this meeting at Obersalzberg, transmitted to this American newspaperman by some other person; and we had no proof of the actual delivery to the intermediary by the person who took the notes. That document, therefore, merely served to alert our Prosecution to see if we could find something better. Fortunately, we did get the other two documents, which indicate that Hitler on that day made two speeches, perhaps one in the morning, one in the afternoon, as indicated by the original minutes, which we captured. By comparison of these two documents with the first document, we concluded that the first document was a slightly garbled merger of the two speeches.*

*On 22 August 1939, Hitler had called together at Obersalzberg the three Supreme Commanders of the three branches of the Armed Forces, as well as the commanding generals bearing the title Commanders-in-Chief (Oberbefehlshaber).*

*I have indicated how, upon discovering this first document, the Prosecution set out to find better evidence of what happened on this day. In this the Prosecution*

succeeded. In the files of the OKW at Flensburg, the Oberkommando der Wehrmacht (Chief of the High Command of the Armed Forces), there were uncovered two speeches delivered by Hitler at Obersalzberg on 22 August 1939. These are documents 798-PS and 1014-PS in our series of documents.

In order to keep the serial numbers consecutive, if the Tribunal please, we have had the first document, which I do not intend to offer, marked for identification Exhibit USA-28. Accordingly, I offer the second document, 798-PS, in evidence as Exhibit USA-29, and the third document, 1014-PS, as Exhibit USA-30.<sup>15</sup>

Once again we must note the obvious: Neither of the Obersalzberg speeches introduced to the tribunal as evidence by Alderman (US-29/798-PS and US-30/1014-PS) contains any reference to Armenians.

Dr. Ottom Stahmer, the defense counsel for Hermann Göring, took exception to Mr. Alderman's presentation, stating, "The third document which was not read is, according to the photostatic copy in the Defense's document room, simply typewritten. There is no indication of place or time of execution."<sup>16</sup> This led to the following exchange between the president of the tribunal and Dr. Stahmer:

THE PRESIDENT: Well, we have got nothing to do with the third document, because it has not been read.

DR. STAHMER: Mr. President, this document has nevertheless been published in the press and was apparently given to the press by the Prosecution. Consequently both the Defense and the defendants have a lively interest in giving a short explanation of the facts concerning these documents.

THE PRESIDENT: The Tribunal is trying this case in accordance with the evidence and not in accordance with what is in the press, and the third document is not in evidence before us.<sup>17</sup>

The discussion was then joined by Prosecutor Alderman who made the following response to Dr. Stahmer's charge that "the third document" (US-28) had been "leaked" to the press, and had already appeared in print:

*On the other question referred to by counsel, I feel somewhat guilty. It is quite true that, by a mechanical slip, the press got the first document [US-28], which we never at all intended them to have. I feel somewhat responsible. It happened to be included in the document books which were handed up to the Court on Friday, because we had only intended to refer to it and give it an identification mark and not to offer it. I had thought that no documents would be released to the press until they were actually offered in evidence. With as large an organization as we have, it is very difficult to police all these matters.*<sup>18</sup>

As the reader has doubtless discerned, US-28, the document provided to the prosecution by "an American newspaperman," which was not introduced as evidence after the original minutes of the Obersalzberg meeting were found, is the source of the alleged Hitler statement on Armenians. Aided by the passages quoted above from the Nuremberg transcript for November 26, 1945, we can now account for the story which appeared in the *Times* of London on Saturday, November 24, 1945. To make his deadline the unidentified *Times* reporter based his story on a leaked document on the assumption that it (US-28) would have been introduced in evidence by the time his story broke on Saturday. As the transcript clearly attests, the reporter's expectations in this regard were not fulfilled. The results were far-reaching: The world has been misled for almost forty years into thinking that the Nuremberg transcripts provided the *Times* reporter with his source for the quote attributed to Hitler, "Who still talks nowadays of the extermination of the Armenians?" Armenian spokesmen have been free to argue that Adolf Hitler justified his planned annihilation of the Jews on the world's failure to react to the alleged Ottoman genocide of the Armenians during the First World War. The Armenian success in this regard is clearly reflected in the April 24, 1984, *Congressional Record*.

In truth, no document containing the purported Hitler statement on the Armenians was introduced or accepted as evidence in the course of the Nuremberg trials. In fact, the actual minutes of Hitler's August 22, 1939, Obersalzberg speeches (recovered from the files of the Chief of the High Command of the Armed Forces at Flensburg), as well as the detailed notes compiled during the speeches by Admiral Hermann Boehm, Chief of the High Seas Fleet, and the record preserved in General Halder's diary, are all totally devoid of anything resembling this alleged quote. In short, contrary to Richard Hovannisian and



a host of other Armenian spokesmen, the Nuremberg transcripts through their preservation of US-29 (798-PS), US-30 (1014-PS), and the notes of Admiral Boehm (which are corroborated by the relevant passages from the diary of General Halder), in no way authenticate the infamous Hitler quote. On the contrary, by establishing the actual texts of Hitler's Obersalzberg speeches they demonstrate that the statement is conspicuously absent from Hitler's remarks. The assertion that Hitler made a reference to the Armenians in any context whatsoever is without foundation.

#### **What About Lochner's *What About Germany*?**

Was Louis Lochner the "unidentified American newspaperman" who provided the Nuremberg prosecutor with the purported transcript of the Obersalzberg meeting (US-28 or L-3, as it is variously known), which contains the alleged Hitler quote on the Armenians? And, in fact, was the version of the August 22, 1939, Obersalzberg speech published in Lochner's 1942 book and that supplied by the "unidentified American newspaperman" at Nuremberg one and the same document?

The answer to both these queries is a resounding "yes." As regards the identity of the "unidentified American newspaperman," in a later book (*Always the Unexpected*),<sup>19</sup> Lochner quotes with some pride a passage from W. Byford-Jones's *Berlin Twilight*<sup>20</sup> regarding his role in supplying this document to the Nuremberg Tribunal. It reads:

*My coming with Louis Lockner [sic] had made the visit more exciting because he was no ordinary observer at the historic trial of the major war criminals. He had told me how he was responsible for the delivery of one of the most sensational of innumerable documents to prove Nazi conspiracy. This document, which described how Hitler maliciously planned the beginning of the Second World War by an attack on Poland... was given to Louis Lockner in Germany just before America came into the war, by a confidant of Colonel-General von Beck, and, having first written on top of it "Ein Stuck gemeine Propaganda" [A piece of filthy propaganda] (to protect himself if the Germans searched him), he smuggled it to America."<sup>21</sup>*

Since Lochner related the same story in the 1942 *What About Germany?* in regard to his initial receipt of the purported Obersalzberg transcript, there can be no doubt that he was Alderman's "unidentified American newspaperman."<sup>22</sup>

Furthermore, all three known versions of the speech containing the "who remembers the Armenians" passage (see Appendix II)—Lochner's 1942 *What About Germany?* version: US-28 (or L-3), the document discussed at the November 26 session of the Nuremberg Tribunal; and the one quoted in the *Times* of London article of November 24, 1945—are identical copies of the same document, i.e., the one which Lochner in 1956 finally identified as having come into his possession from a confidant of Colonel-General von Beck.<sup>23</sup> An awareness of Beck's role in the purveyance of this version of the speech may lend insight into the differences between the Lochner version, which was not accepted by the Nuremberg Tribunal, and the two sets of minutes of the Obersalzberg meetings that were accepted by the Nuremberg Tribunal and the Halder diary account (see Appendix III): Nuremberg documents US-29 [798-PS] and US-30 [1014-PS]; Admiral Boehm's minutes of the meetings; and General Halder's minutes of the meetings.

By August 1939 General Beck was the acknowledged leader, along with Halder, of that faction of the German officer corps plotting against Hitler and the Nazis.<sup>24</sup> If, as Lochner claimed, he had received his version of the Obersalzberg speech via Beck, i.e., if it were leaked to him as an American newspaperman by forces opposed to Hitler, this could well account for Shirer's assessment of the Lochner version as "embellished a little by persons who were not present at the Berghof."<sup>25</sup> His assessment is in fact a gross understatement. A comparison of the Lochner version with the Nuremberg and Halder versions, shows that the former contains far more than a little "embellishment." Passages which would have lent themselves to stronger anti-Hitler propaganda found in the Lochner version, are totally missing from the Nuremberg and Halder versions. These include the following phrases, each of which if published in the West, would have effectively portrayed Hitler in an extremely negative light to his allies (or potential allies), to the neutrals, and to the rest of the world:

*Mussolini is threatened by a nit-wit of a king and the treasonable scoundrel of a crown prince.*

*After Stalin's death—he is a very sick man—we shall demolish the Soviet Union.*

*The [Japanese] Emperor is a counterpart of the last Czar. Weak, cowardly,*

*undecided.*

*I got to know those wretched worms, Daladier and Chamberlain, in Munich.*

*[The peoples of the Far East and Arabia] are at best lacerated semi-apes who crave to be flogged.*

*Carol of Roumania is a thoroughly corrupt slave of his sexual desires.*

*The King of Belgium and the Nordic Kings are soft jumping jacks.*

*I'll have anybody who utters but one word of criticism executed by a firing squad.*

*[I have given] orders to send to death mercilessly, and without compassion, men, women, and children of Polish derivation and language. Who, after all speaks today of the annihilation of the Armenians?* <sup>26</sup>

In short, a comparison of the Lochner and Nuremberg versions of the August 22, 1939, Obersalzberg speech strongly suggests that the one leaked to Lochner by the confidant of Beck was a strongly doctored version designed for propaganda purposes. This interpretation is supported by the fact that General Halder's detailed diary entries for August 22, 1939, contain none of the above passages. Halder was, by that date, firmly in the ranks of the anti-Hitler German officers, and presumably he would have had no interest in censoring his own diary had Hitler in fact made such statements.<sup>27</sup>

While it may never be possible to completely reconstruct the reasons behind these addenda to the Obersalzberg speech and the manner in which they were made, nor why Lochner was chosen as the conduit to transmit them to the West, one thing is certain: The only versions of the Obersalzberg speech containing any reference to the Armenians derive from a single source—Louis P. Lochner.

Thus, not only is the provenance of US-28 (I-3) doubtful, but the actual transcripts of Hitler's Obersalzberg speech (US 30/1014-PS, Boehm, and Halder) are at total variance with the text of the Lochner version vis-à-vis the alleged Armenian statement (compare Appendices II and II). Therefore, one cannot help but share the opinions of the Nuremberg prosecutor and William Shirer, and reject the Lochner version.

#### **Why Has the Lochner Version Assumed the Importance That It Has?**

Why and how such a spurious quotation of forty-five years ago became so important that it has been cited by no fewer than twenty-two members of the U.S. Congress in 1984? The answer is complex and closely linked to American ethnic politics. Taking advantage of the flurry of press interest aroused by the activities of Armenian terrorist groups, activities which in the past decade have resulted in the assassinations of over thirty-five Turkish diplomats,<sup>28</sup> Armenian-American spokesmen have stepped up their ongoing campaign of vilification against the Republic of Turkey which they allege was responsible for the "genocide" of more than 1.5 million Armenians during the First World War. Unhampered by the limitations of logic or truth, these spokesmen attempt to justify current Armenian violence against innocent diplomats (none of whom were living in 1915), as a natural response to Armenian suffering in the course of the First World War.

In terms of logic (or the lack thereof), this is comparable to the descendants of peoples who suffered under the last Russian czars running around shooting Soviet diplomats today. Both the Soviet Union and the Republic of Turkey began their existence as revolutionary states in the wake of the First World War, the former emerging from the ashes of the Russian Empire, while the latter was created from the ruins of the 600-year-old Ottoman Empire, the political entity in existence at the time of the alleged genocide.

A significant portion of Armenian propaganda efforts in recent years has been devoted to establishing a linkage between their own historical experiences and those of European Jewry during the Second World War. The cornerstone in their case has long been the spurious Hitler quote, "Who, after all, speaks today of the extermination of the Armenians?" Certainly, the argument that Hitler himself cited the world's lack of reaction to the fate of the Armenians and was encouraged by it, must be very poignant to Jews. The following examples will serve to illustrate the mileage hitherto obtained by Armenian-Americans in this regard:

1. Under the tutelage of an Armenian-American Congressman, Charles Pashayan, Jr. (R-Calif.),<sup>29</sup> sixty-six elected U.S. Representatives made speeches on or about April 24, 1984 (Armenian Martyrs' Day), condemning the Republic of Turkey, a NATO ally, for failing

to acknowledge *its* responsibility for the "genocide" of the Armenians which allegedly transpired a decade before the Republic came into existence.

2. As noted earlier, seven of the twenty-two members of the U.S. Congress (three Senators and four Congressmen) who used the alleged Hitler quote in the course of their April 24, 1984, remarks were Jewish.
3. Utilizing the "linkage" conveniently provided by the spurious Hitler quote, the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council has agreed that the Armenians were the victims of the twentieth century's first genocide and therefore deserve inclusion in the planned memorial. Indeed Elie Wiesel, himself a Holocaust survivor and Chairman of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, in a 1981 speech delivered in the Capitol rotunda stated "Before the planning of the final solution Hitler asked, 'Who remembers the Armenians?' He was right. No one remembered them, as no one remembered the Jews. Rejected by everyone, they felt expelled from history."<sup>30</sup>

In a similar vein, Congressman Glenn Anderson, in his April 24, 1984, remarks, discussed the inclusion of the Armenians in the planned Holocaust Memorial in the following terms: "Toward this end, the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, established by an act of Congress in 1980, has unanimously resolved to include the Armenian genocide in its museums and education programs."<sup>31</sup>

4. During the past two years a number of state boards of education have adopted into their programs Holocaust curricula which include detailed treatment of the Armenian "genocide" as the precursor of the Jewish Holocaust. The curricula adopted by the states of Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New Jersey all stress the spurious Hitler quote as the tie that binds the Armenian and Jewish experiences. In New Jersey, the curriculum was actually prepared and published by the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League. This is, to say the least, ironic, as the continued repetition of the spurious Hitler quote, as it is used today, certainly defames the Turkish people.
5. On September 10, 1984, the U.S. House of Representatives unanimously passed a resolution (House Joint Resolution 247) designating April 24 as a National Day of Remembrance of Man's Inhumanity to Man, and requesting the President of the United States to issue a proclamation calling upon the American people to observe such a day of remembrance for all the victims of genocide, "especially the one and one-half million people of Armenian ancestry who were victims of the genocide perpetrated in Turkey between 1915 and 1923."<sup>32</sup>

This resolution, both by naming April 24 Armenian Martyrs' Day, and by specifically naming only Turkey as the "perpetrator" of a "genocide," does nothing less than brand one of the United States' NATO allies with the historically controversial charge of genocide. In regard to the label itself, the fact remains that there was no country of Turkey in existence between the years 1915 and 1923; rather, the governing power in the region was the multinational state known as the Ottoman Empire.<sup>33</sup>

House Joint Resolution 247 was submitted by Congressman Tony Coelho (D-Calif.) and 233 co-sponsors. Of interest to us is the fact that Coelho, who represents the "heartland" of California's Armenian community (the Merced-Fresno region of the San Joaquin Valley), cited the purported Hitler quote in urging his colleagues to vote for passage of the H.J. Res. 247.<sup>34</sup>

In addition to his own utilization of the quote, Coelho also entered a letter from California's Armenian-American Governor, George Deukmejian, supporting the resolution's passage in the record. In support of H.J. Res. 247, Deukmejian wrote, "One cannot ignore the chilling words of Adolf Hitler before he began his reign of terror during World War II. 'Who still talks nowadays of the extermination of the Armenians?'"<sup>35</sup>

At the time of this writing the U.S. Senate is considering the adoption of their half of this joint resolution.

Leaving aside the larger question of whether or not the fate of the Ottoman Armenians in 1914-1915 was in fact anything that could conceivably be termed genocide, and focusing only on the matter at hand, the spurious Hitler quote, we find that three things come immediately to mind.

The first is the obvious danger inherent in partisan ethnic politics as currently practiced in the United States. To appease a handful of potential voters, some American politicians

are willing to allow themselves to be used as tools of ethnic pressure groups, regardless of the truth or falsehood of the information they are fed.

Secondly, one cannot help but marvel at the patience of the Republic of Turkey, which, beleaguered by economic and social problems of its own, also has to cope with misinformed American politicians lecturing her on her own history. It is safe to say that if the U.S. Congress spent as much time hammering at the Federal Republic of Germany (another NATO ally) for the well-documented events which transpired forty years ago in that nation's history, as they spend lecturing the Republic of Turkey for actions alleged to have occurred seventy years ago in the Ottoman Empire, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization would long since have lost a member.

Finally, given the serious problems facing our nation, e.g., the arms race, unemployment, and budget deficits, in conjunction with the fact that as this study has repeatedly demonstrated, history is clearly not the forte of many U.S. Congressmen and Senators, it is not impertinent to suggest that the Congress would be better served if its members were to confine their activities to the business at hand and leave the writing of history to the historians.

#### APPENDIX I. Excerpts from Congressional Speeches on the Armenians

SENATOR RUDY BOSCHWITZ, R-Minn. (*CR-Senate*, 4/25/84, p. 54852): When Hitler first proposed his final solution, he was told that the world would never permit such a mass murder. Hitler silenced his advisers by asking, "Who remembers the Armenians?"

Today, I join my colleagues in answering Hitler by pledging the truth. . . .

SENATOR CARL LEVIN, D-Mich. (*CR-Senate*, 4/24/84, p. 54703): But, regrettably it was soon forgotten, not by the surviving Armenians, but by most of the rest of the world. So that when Adolf Hitler planned his invasion of Poland and the destruction of the Jewish people, he was able to scornfully state, "Who, after all, speaks today of the annihilation of the Armenians?"

SENATOR HOWARD METZENBAUM, D-Ohio (*CR-Senate*, 4/24/84, p. 54719): Three years ago, in a speech given here in the Capitol rotunda, Elie Wiesel, Chairman of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, made a telling point.

Professor Wiesel said: "Before the planning of the final solution Hitler asked 'Who remembers the Armenians?' He was right. No one remembered them, as no one remembered the Jews. Rejected by everyone, they felt expelled from history."

CONGRESSMAN LES ASPIN, D-Wis. (*CR-House*, 4/24/84, p. H2977): Two decades later, when Adolf Hitler was planning the elimination of the Jewish people, he is reported to have said, "Who remembers the Armenians?"

CONGRESSMAN HOWARD BERMAN, D-Calif. (*CR-House*, 4/24/84, p. H2982): It should be a source of concern to all of us that to this day Turkey does not acknowledge, despite eyewitness accounts, either the facts or its historical responsibility for the line from Armenia to Auschwitz is direct. The holocaust of European Jewry has its precedence in the events of 1915 to 1922. "Who stills talks nowadays of the extermination of the Armenians," Hitler told his generals on the eve of the extermination of the Jews. The horrendous events of World War II overshadowed the Armenian genocide, and it is only recently, through the peaceful efforts of the Armenian groups, that the rest of the world has once again begun to recognize the collective agony of the Armenian people.

CONGRESSMAN THOMAS BLILEY, R-Va. (*CR-House*, 4/24/84, p. H2979): Mr. Speaker, I know that the actions of the Ottoman Government did not lead directly to the forced starvation of the Ukraine by Josef Stalin, the gas chambers of Auschwitz, the gruesome slaughter of the Cambodians, Idi Amin's death campaign in Uganda, and the more recent actions in Matabeleland in Zimbabwe, but I know that human nature, even a warped and infamous human nature, needs the comfort of believing that it can get away with something before it proceeds. As an example I would cite Adolf Hitler's statement concerning the final solution for the Jews of Europe when he said, "Who now remembers the Armenians?" If more proof is needed then we can all look up Idi Amin's frequent statements of his adoration for Adolf Hitler as a man who knew how to handle a problem.

CONGRESSMAN EDWARD BOLAND, D-Mass. (*CR-House*, 4/24/84, p. H2975): The silence with which the community of nations greeted the decimation of the Armenian people may have emboldened those who would later perpetrate similar acts. It certainly

had an effect on Adolf Hitler who, while planning the extermination of millions of Jews, was asked how the world would respond to a program of mass murder. In reply Hitler said, "Who remembers the Armenians?"

CONGRESSWOMAN BARBARA BOXER, D-Calif. (CR—House, 4/24/84, p. H2977): The repeated denials of these well documented crimes of the Ottoman Turkish regime call to mind the Nazi maxim that a big lie if often repeated becomes truth. Hitler himself cited the Armenian massacres as evidence that humanity cares nothing for the murder of a people.

CONGRESSMAN JIM COURTER, R-N.J. (CR—House, 4/24/84, p. H2977): But there can be no doubt that this ignorance of history's darker events aids those who perpetrate them, and those who would do so in the future. It is known that Hitler cited the fact that the Armenian genocide was little known, little discussed and little remembered in his time. We can only imagine the conclusions he drew from this fact.

CONGRESSMAN MERVYN DYMALLY, D-Calif. (CR—House, 4/22/84, p. H2924): Today, historians argue about the number of Armenians actually killed. Others claim that no genocide took place at all. This is a devastating conclusion to the survivors, whether they be Americans, Lebanese, Egyptians, French or citizens of any other country. . . . If we deny the Armenian Genocide—a historical event that has been well documented—we echo the words of Adolph Hitler who said, "Who still talks nowadays, of the extermination of Armenians?"

CONGRESSMAN EDWARD FEIGHAN, D-Ohio (CR—House, 4/21/84, p. H2971): But only twenty years after the fact, the century's first genocide was the "forgotten genocide." As Hitler paused on the edge of his own reign of terror, he asked "Who remembers the Armenians?" And no one had. A world blind to the lessons of history saw them repeated on a wider scale.

CONGRESSWOMAN GERALDINE FERRARO, D-N.Y.: I have dwelled on the Armenian genocide not because it is unique as flagrant abuse of human rights, but precisely because it is not unique. The world knew about the Nazi Holocaust against the Jews—and failed to act. Those failures spread the shame of these unspeakable crimes against humanity far beyond those directly responsible for them.

The events in Turkey in 1915, and in Germany in World War II, and in Cambodia in the 1970's are of course not directly related. The madness and brutality of the perpetrators of each genocide had their own tragic basis.

But there is a strong tie in the world's silence in the face of each of these horrors. We can only be haunted by the words of Adolph Hitler, who said, in embarking on his "crazed attack" on the Jews, "Who, after all, speaks today of the annihilation of the Armenians?"

Now, today, years too late for the millions killed in the Nazi gas chambers and Khmer Rouge execution centers, we stand to say that we speak of the annihilation of the Armenians. And of the Jews, and of the Cambodians. We stand to remind the world of these crimes against humanity, that we may prevent future crimes.

CONGRESSMAN HAMILTON FISH, R-N.Y. (CR—House, 4/24/84, p. H2982): In speaking of the consequences of the Jewish Holocaust, Adolf Hitler once remarked: "Who remembers the Armenians?" Indeed it is our responsibility to do just that; remember that which we would rather choose to forget.

CONGRESSMAN WILLIAM FORD, D-Mich. (CR—House, 4/24/84, p. H2981): Even Adolf Hitler used past events to shape his own policies. In 1939 as he was beginning his invasion of Poland, Hitler ordered the mass extermination of its inhabitants, commenting, "Who, after all, speaks today of the annihilation of the Armenians?" Humanity's failure to remember the genocide of an entire people scarcely 25 years earlier gave Hitler the go ahead to exterminate millions of innocent people.

CONGRESSMAN SAM GEJDENSON, D-Conn. (CR—House, 4/25/84, p. E1766): In the now infamous quote, Adolf Hitler, before beginning his Holocaust against the Jews, referred to international indifference in the face of the Armenian genocide. "Who," he asked, "remembers the Armenians?"

CONGRESSMAN WILLIAM GREEN, R-N.Y. (CR—House, 4/24/84, p. H2972): When Hitler was about to begin the Holocaust and a member of his staff asked him what the world would think, Hitler is reported to have replied, "Who remembers the Armenians?"

CONGRESSMAN RICHARD LEHMAN, D-Calif. (*CR—House*, 4/12/84, p. H2793): Questioned by an aide about his policy of Jewish genocide, Hitler said: "Who after all now remembers the annihilation of the Armenians?"

CONGRESSMAN BRUCE MORRISON, D-Conn. (*CR—House*, 4/24/84, p. H2979): Adolf Hitler took advantage of the world's amnesia, looking at the Armenian genocide as a precedent for his own Holocaust perpetrated against Europe's Jews. Hitler said, in a chilling remark made in 1939, "Who, aft all, speaks today of the annihilation of the Armenians?"

CONGRESSMAN NICHOLAS MAVROULES, D-Mass. (*CR—House*, 4/24/84, p. H2979): Sadly, however, the Armenian genocide would be surpassed by the Nazi holocaust in the 1930's and 1940's. Adolf Hitler, in an attempt to explain away his n aniacal slaughter, would ask with a laugh: "Who, after all, speaks today of the annihilation of the Armenians?"

CONGRESSMAN CHARLES SCHUMER, D-N.Y. (*CR—House*, 4/24/84, p. H2976): It is of paramount importance that we do not let this tragedy be forgotten with the passage of time. This act of inhumanity, based on religious and nationalistic grounds, was as terrible as any manmade catastrophe to that time; yet, only two decades later, Hitler could ask, "Who remembers the Armenians?" Perhaps if the world had paid more attention to the plight of the Armenian massacre, later tragedies could have been averted.

CONGRESSMAN JAMES SHANNON, D-Mass. (*CR—House*, 4/24/84, p. H2973): This act of wholesale annihilation set the stage for Hitler's attempted extermination of the Jewish people. He justified his plan to doubting co-conspirators with the reasoning that no one remembered the Armenian genocide which had taken place only 15 years earlier.

CONGRESSMAN HENRY WAXMAN, D-Calif. (*CR—House*, 4/24/84, p. H2981): This day serves to remind us that this first genocide of our century served as a precedent for the holocaust of World War II when more than 6 million people were destroyed by a government leader who responded: "Whoever cared about the Armenians?" when it was suggested that the world opinion would not allow the Nazis to get away with their attempt to eliminate the Jewish people.

## APPENDIX II

### Exerpts from the Lochner Version of the August 22, 1939, Obersalzberg Speech Dealing with the Planned Invasion of Poland

Lochner, 1942, p. 2

Our strength consists of our speed and in our brutality. Genghis Khan led millions of women and children to slaughter—with premeditation and a happy heart. History sees in him solely the founder of a state. It's a matter of indifference to me what a weak western European civilization will say about me.

I have issued the command—I'll have anybody who utters one word of criticism executed by a firing squad—that our war aim does not consist in reaching certain lines, but in the physical destruction of the enemy. Accordingly, I have placed my death-head formations in readiness—for the present only in the East—with orders to them to send to death mercilessly and without compassion, men, women, and children of Polish derivation and language. Only thus shall we gain the living space (*lebensraum*) which we need. Who, after all, speaks today of the annihilation of the Armenians?

NCA, Volume VII, p. 753

Our strength is in our quickness and our brutality. Genghis Khan had millions of women and children killed by his own will and with a gay heart. History sees only in him a great state builder. What weak Western European civilization thinks about me does not matter.

I have given the order and will have every one shot who utters even one word of criticism that the aim of the war is not to attain certain lines, but consists in the physical destruction of the opponent. Thus for the time being I have sent to the East only my "Death's Head units" with the order to kill without pity or mercy all men, women and children of Polish race or language. Only in such a way will we win the vital space that we need. Who still talks nowadays of the extermination of the Armenians?

*The Times*,  
November 24, 1945, p. 4

Our strength is in our quickness and our brutality. Genghis Khan had millions of women killed by his own will and with a gay heart. History sees in him only a great State-builder. What the weak European civilization thinks about me does not matter.

I have given the order and will have everyone shot who utters one word of criticism . . .

Thus for the time being I have sent to the East only my Death's Head units, with the order to kill without pity or mercy all men, women, and children of the Polish race or language. Who still talks nowadays of the extermination of the Armenians?

## APPENDIX III

### Excerpts from the Nuremberg Versions of the August 22, 1939, Obersalzberg Speech Dealing with the Planned Invasion of Poland

US-30 (1014-P5)

TMWC, Vol. II, pp. 290-291

NCA, Vol. III, pp. 665-666

DGFP, Vol. VII, pp. 205-206

Destruction of Poland in the foreground. The aim is elimination of living forces, not the arrival at a certain line: Even if war should break out in the West, the destruction of Poland shall be the primary objective. Quick decision because of the season.

Boehm, August 22, 1939

TMWC, Vol. XLI, p. 25

The goal is the elimination and destruction of Poland's military power even if war should begin in the west. A swift, successful outcome in the east offers the best prospects for restricting the conflict.

Halder, August 22, 1939

DGFP, Vol. VII, p. 559

*Aim: Annihilation of Poland*—elimination of its vital forces. It is not a matter of gaining a specific line or new frontier, but rather the annihilation of an enemy, which constantly must be attempted by new ways.

I shall give a propagandistic cause for starting the war—never mind whether it be plausible or not. The victor shall not be asked, later on, whether we told the truth or not. In starting and making a war, not the Right is what matters but Victory.

A suitable propaganda cause will be advanced for the conflict. The credibility of this is unimportant. Right lies with the victor.

*Solution:* Means immaterial. The victor is never called on to vindicate his actions. We are not concerned with having justice on our side, but solely with victory.

Have no pity. Brutal attitude. 80 million people shall get what is their right. Their existence has to be secured. The strongest has the right. Greatest severity.

We must shut and harden our hearts. To whomever ponders the world order it is clear that what is important are the war-like accomplishments of the best . . .

*Execution:* Harsh and remorseless. Be steeled against all signs of compassion!

Quick decision necessary. Unshakeable faith in German soldier. A crisis may happen only if the nerves of the leaders give way.

We can and must believe in the value of the German soldier. In times of crisis he has generally retained his nerve, while the leadership has lost theirs . . .

*Speed:* Faith in the German soldier, even if reverses occur.

First aim: advance to the Vistula and Narew. Our technical superiority will break the nerve of the Poles. Every newly created Polish force shall again be broken at once. Constant war of attrition.

Once again: the first priority is the swiftness of the operations. To adapt to each new situation, to shatter the hostile forces, wherever they appear, and to the last one.

Of paramount importance are the wedges (which must be driven) from the southeast to the Vistula, and from the north to the Narew and the Vistula. Promptness in meeting new situations; new means must be devised to deal with them quickly.

New German frontier according to healthy principles. Possibly a protectorate as a buffer. Military operations shall not be influenced by these reflections. Complete destruction of Poland is a military aim. To be fast is the main thing. Pursuit until complete elimination.

This is the military goal which is the prerequisite for the narrower political goal of later drawing up new frontiers.

*New Frontiers:* New Reich territory. Outlying protectorate territory. Military operations must not be affected by regard for the future frontiers.



## Notes

1. The entire text of Hovannisian's 1983 speech was read into the *Congressional Record—Senate*, pp. S4713-S4715, by Senator Carl Levin (D-Mich.) on April 24, 1984, as part of his remarks entitled, "69th Anniversary of Armenian Martyr's Day." Hovannisian's use of the alleged Hitler quote appears on p. S4714. On p. S4704 Levin notes that the Hovannisian speech and similar fact sheets and articles which he entered into the *Record* were provided him by the Armenian Assembly.

2. *The Times*, Saturday, November 24, 1945, p. 4. While the alleged Hitler quote on the Armenians normally appears bereft of source (as in the example cited above by Hovannisian), when "documented" the *Times* article is invariably given. The unidentified author of the *Times* article claims that his story was based on "An address by Hitler to his commanders-in-chief on August 22, 1939—a few days before the invasion of Poland—was read at yesterday's hearing of the Nuremberg trial [November 23, 1945]."

3. Italics added.

4. Louis P. Lochner, *What About Germany?* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1942), pp. 1-4 (hereafter cited as Lochner, 1942).

5. Lochner, 1942, p. 1.

6. Lochner, 1942, p. 2 (italics added).

7. Lochner, 1942, p. 2.

8. *Congressional Record—House*, p. H2981 (April 24, 1984).

9. See Appendix I for the use of the alleged Hitler quote in the remarks of the sixteen U.S. lawmakers.

10. The minutes of the August 22, 1939, Obersalzberg meeting kept by Admiral Boehm were submitted as evidence at Nuremberg in defense of Admiral Raeder. As such they are part of the trial transcript and appear in Volume XII of *Trial of the Major War Criminals Before the International Military Tribunal* (hereafter cited as *TMWC*), Nuremberg, November 14, 1945–October 1, 1946, pp. 16-25 (New York: AMS Press, 1971). Boehm's minutes were marked as *Document Raeder-27* (hereafter cited as Boehm, August 22, 1939).

11. The documents confiscated from the OKW were two in number. They were accepted by the Nuremberg prosecutors as the official minutes of the August 22, 1939 Obersalzberg meeting. As such they are preserved as part of the trial transcripts: *TMWC*, Volume II (New York: AMS Press, 1971), pp. 285-293. Given the trial numbers of US-29 (798-PS) and US-30 (1014-PS), respectively, these documents were also published in *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression* (hereafter cited as *NCA*). There, US-29 (798-PS) appears in Volume III, pp. 581-596, and US-30 (1014-PS) in the same volume on pp. 665-666. Likewise, they appear in *Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918-1945*, Series D (1937-1945), Volume VII (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1956) (hereafter cited as *DGFP*), pp. 200-206. In subsequent citations of these documents I shall cite the appropriate page numbers from each of the three publications listed above.

12. General Franz Halder's notes from the August 22, 1939, Obersalzberg meeting, while not submitted as evidence at Nuremberg, were subsequently published in *DGFP*, pp. 557-559 (hereafter cited as Halder, August 22, 1939).

13. William Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1960), p. 529-532. See in particular his detailed description of the documents in question on p. 529 (hereafter cited as Shirer, 1960).

14. Shirer, 1960, fn. p. 529.

15. This passage is taken from the transcript of the Nuremberg tribunal: *TMWC*, Volume II (New York: AMS Press, 1971), pp. 285-286 (italics added). The document discussed (but not submitted as evidence) by Prosecutor Alderman as Exhibit USA- 28 was subsequently published in *NCA*, Volume VII, pp. 752-754, where it was given the number L-3 (Note Shirer, 1960, fn. p. 529, mistakenly lists its number in this publication as: C-3).

16. *TMWC*, Volume II, p. 291.

17. *TMWC*, Volume II, p. 291 (italics added).

18. *TMWC*, Volume II, p. 292.

19. Louis P. Lochner, *Always the Unexpected* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1956), p. 287 (hereafter cited as Lochner, 1956).

20. Lieutenant-Colonel W. Byford-Jones, *Berlin Twilight* (London: Hutchinson & Co. Ltd., 1946), pp. 174, 176-77.

21. Lochner, 1956, pp. 287-288 (italics added)

22. Lochner, 1942, p. 405. What is harder to account for is the fact that neither the Nuremberg prosecutors nor William Shirer was aware of the fact that Lochner had originally published his document in 1942. In Lochner, 1956, p. 314, the author tells us that his *What About Germany?* appeared in print on October 15, 1942, and that "it was on the best-seller lists for a considerable time. Despite this fact, the present study is the first to establish that US-28 (L-3), the document discussed but not introduced as evidence in the course of the Nuremberg trials, was supplied to the prosecutors at Nuremberg by Lochner, and had in fact been published by him in 1942.

23. Lochner, 1956, pp. 287-288.

24. Shirer, 1960. For Beck's role as an organizer of the anti Hitler conspiracy, see pp. 309, 366-375, 387, 422, 488.

25. Shirer, 1960, fn. p. 529.

26. See Lochner, 1942, pp. 1-4, and NCA, Volume VII, pp. 752-754.

27. For a description of Halder's role in the anti-Hitler conspiracy, see Shirer, 1960, pp. 374-375, 378-379, fn. 380, 381-382, 404-408, 411-413, 422, 425, 517, 530, 558-559.

28. For an analysis of the manner in which Armenian spokesmen use the activities of terrorists to further their cause, see Heath W. Lowry, "Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Armenian Terrorism: Threads of Continuity," in *International Terrorism and the Drug Connection* (Ankara: Ankara University Press, 1984), pp. 71-83.

29. It was Pashayan who "took the special order" on April 24, 1984, under which the various members of the House of Representatives made their speeches on Armenian Martyrs' Day. See *Congressional Record-House* p. H2967 (April 24, 1984).

30. Quoted in the April 24, 1984, remarks of Senator Howard Metzenbaum (D-Ohio), which were published in the *Congressional Record-Senate*, p. S4719 (April 24, 1984).

31. Quoted in the April 24, 1984, remarks of Congressman Glenn Anderson (D-Calif.), which were published in the *Congressional Record-House*, p. H2970 (April 24, 1984).

32. *Congressional Record-House*, p. H9227 (September 10, 1984).

33. The most authoritative scholarly work dealing with the Ottoman population of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is Justin McCarthy's *Muslims and Minorities: The Population of Ottoman Anatolia and the End of the Empire* (New York and London: New York University Press, 1983). This demographic study shows (pp. 47-88) that Armenian deaths during the period in question did not exceed 600,000 and resulted from the same wartime conditions of starvation, epidemic disease, and inter-communal warfare which accounted for the loss of 2.5 million Muslim lives in the same period. The author provides no breakdown of the percentage of deaths experienced by either group resulting from the various causes he discusses.

34. *Congressional Record-House*, p. H9228 (September 10, 1984).

35. *Congressional Record-House*, p. H9228 (September 10, 1984).

## DOCUMENT LV

## AN ARMENIAN FALSIFICATION

### Source:

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International Relations Division, Faculty  
of Political Science, Ankara University.  
First printing: July 1985, Ankara, Sevinç  
Matbaası.

The picture on the cover of this booklet depicts a falsification. In fact, it is about the latest example of a series of falsifications invented, nurtured and disseminated by certain Armenian circles. The canvas in question has been printed in several places with the false attribution that it shows a heap of skulls, presumably those of "massacred Armenians" during the First World War. Either the date of 1915-17 is explicitly stated in the legend underneath or the same is suggested in one way or another.

It has been publicized as such, fraudulently and irresponsibly, on the cover of a book,

to accompany an article, inside a propaganda folio, or as a post card, distributed with the intention to deceive.

Actually, however, it is a painting entitled "The Apotheosis of War" and done in 1871-1872 by a Russian master called Vassili Vereshchagin, who was born in 1842 and died in 1904. Hence, the canvas, whose subject is not the Armenians, was done some 44 years before the alleged events of 1915, the artist himself passing away 10 years before the outbreak of the First World War.

I personally remember seeing the painting at the celebrated Tretyakov Gallery in Moscow, which houses some of the finest examples of Russian painting from the time when the Russian state emerged to the present day. As it can be observed in several catalogues of the same gallery, this is a collection of artistic works which tell about the cultural history of nation. It is a contradiction in terms that one of its masterpieces be used by others for a deliberate falsification.

As the date of the picture has been deliberately changed (in print), the intention to deceive is evident. The reproduction of the falsification in this instance has the specific intention of deceiving others as to the period and hence the subject matter of a particular material. The falsifier tries to deceive others for his own advantage. Therefore, the act is dishonest and immoral, cheating and deceitful, corrupt and evil.

It is unfair, not only to the Turkish people, but also to the Armenians as well. No one should be allowed to have the "right" to represent the Armenian people in a series of what may only be termed as falsifications. An overwhelming majority of the Armenians in the world certainly do not approve of such "methods".

Falseness exists when it is intended as such. It does not inhere in the object itself. Falsity is an aspect of judgement concerning the relation of the object to a particular idea or intention. Hence, neither the Tretyakov Gallery, nor the artist Vereshchagin, nor the canvas itself, loses any value because of falsification resorted to by others.

Truly, as I have expressed in some detail elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> the "Armenian question" is sadly clouded by a number of important falsifications. For instance, it has now been established that the so-called "telegrams", attributed to Talât Pasha, the Ottoman Minister of Interior in 1915, are fakes.<sup>2</sup> They are supposed to concern the extermination orders of the Armenians. The conclusions of Turkish academic research have been published in several foreign languages.<sup>3</sup> Turkish scholars, who critically analyzed the so called "documents" in terms of both form and content, verified beyond doubt that what an Armenian author by the name of Aram Andonian had announced in 1920 as "official telegrams" were no more than simple fabrications.

This booklet does not intend to dwell on these instances of forgeries because the topic has been already treated rather fully in many other publications cited in footnotes 2 and 3. However, it is important to remember even in this connection that while the victors of the First World War were searching everywhere for such documents to accuse the Ottoman leaders, then detained at the British Crown Colony of Malta<sup>4</sup>, they chose not to make use of Andonian's "documents". They knew that they were forgeries. In fact, it will not be an error to describe Andonian's enterprise as "One of the Greatest Forgeries of Our Century". The Armenian author has never been able to show the originals of the "documents" that he is talking about, simply because there are no such documents. The faked ones, on the other hand, abound in various factual mistakes, omissions and contradictions that give the falsifier away. The dimensions of the forgery gain more gravity especially when this confusion involving dates and numbers of the "documents" that Andonian has apparently fixed are analyzed. Some examples will follow below, in reference to an Armenian-subsidized book written in Persian.

The falsifications in respect to the "Armenian question" are not confined to the Talât Pasha "telegrams". Another fraudulent "statement" is the one attributed to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the Turkish Republic. According to a number of Armenian publications, he is supposed to have accepted the "Armenian genocide" and the Ottoman state responsibility for it. Some Turkish publications,<sup>5</sup> however, prove that the "statement" in question is also another forgery. An article signed by James Tashjian in the Fall 1982 issue of **The Armenian Review** (Boston) admits that Atatürk had never made such a declaration. Another forged "statement", again wrongly attributed to the same Turkish leader, will receive an adequate answer from a publication presently being printed.

Still another falsification concerns a "statement" wrongly attributed to Adolf Hitler.

The German dictator is supposed to have referred to the "extermination of the Armenians". The obvious inference is to connect in the minds, and if possible in action, the Jews and the Armenians. Such an approach is unfair towards the Jewish people (who underwent genocide) and the Turks, who stand out as a nation stretching a helping hand to the Jews. Separate publications by an American professor<sup>6</sup> and myself<sup>7</sup> establish that Hitler never uttered such a "statement".

"Falsification" is a broad term for any form of misrepresentation about the authenticity of a piece of work, document, an object of art and the like.<sup>8</sup> "Forgery", the production or conception of a fake, is a form of falsification.<sup>9</sup> It is a false creation, *malo animo*, for the purpose of fraud and deceit. The "usual" manner of forging is to prepare a piece of false writing and sign another's name to it. A fraudulent application of a true signature to a false instrument or vice versa!<sup>10</sup> This is what a circle of Armenian falsifiers has done in the 1920's. Its effects are still visible. They have certainly printed false "statements" and indulged in misrepresentations with the intent to defraud. Affixing a signature to a false instrument, for instance, is prejudicial to others.<sup>11</sup> According to S.G. Kling, it is not even necessary that one should be actually injured; it is sufficient if the instrument forged is prejudicial.<sup>12</sup> "Forgery" is mostly used in connection with a copy or an imitation of something genuine. One who adds words (not in the original) to the copy of a document and offers it in evidence on the ground that the original is lost, has forged the document.<sup>13</sup> Both terms, namely "falsification" and "forgery", are inseparable from the intention of deceiving.

Falsification or forgery is ordinarily accepted as a state crime. The person or persons who alter or issue any writing, document or piece of art are guilty of the same. In the United States and England, these crimes are generally referred to as "felonies".<sup>14</sup> According to **Black's Law Dictionary**, crime includes both the act of forging and the act of uttering as true and genuine any forged entity prejudicing, damaging or defrauding any other person or persons. Crime is committed when one makes or passes a false instrument with intent to fraud.<sup>15</sup>

Under early English common law, the only kinds of forgery that were punishable were forgery of the king's seal or money and reliance on a forged instrument in a court of law. An Act of Parliament in 1562 imposed severe civil and criminal penalties for forging certain writings. The scope of the crime was broadened still further by later statutes and by the common law courts. In 1830 the English law of forgery was first consolidated by an Act of Parliament.

Although forgery is generally regarded as a common law misdemeanor in the United States, most jurisdictions have statutes defining the offense and prescribing penalties for it.<sup>16</sup> For instance, whoever makes or prints, or authorizes to be made or printed any stamp, stamped envelope or postal card, forged or counterfeit in essence, is fined or imprisoned or both.<sup>17</sup>

A forgery is of course distinct from an imitation, which can be made by the master's pupils. Dishonest endeavours referred to above are distinguished from honest copies not intended to deceive, such as reproductions.

The earliest records reporting falsifications date from Roman times. Phaedrus (*Fabulae Aesopiacae* V, prologue) mentions sculptors who affixed the names of Praxiteles and Myron to their own statues.<sup>18</sup> Little is known about the same in the Middle Ages. It appears to have increased in the Renaissance. An example of a Renaissance artist forging a work by a contemporary was the *Christ Healing a Lame Man*, a fake "Dürer" painted by Luca Giordano.

A great increase in forgery occurred in the Eighteenth Century coincident with the new interest in archaeology.<sup>19</sup> With the excavations at Pompeii and Herculaneum forged Roman paintings appeared. Famous in this connection was Giuseppe Guerra, who sold 72 forgeries to the Jesuits for their Museo Kircheriano in Rome.<sup>20</sup> A.D. de Pradenne divides such falsifications into two classes: those which consist of disguised archaeological objects (that he calls "frauds") and those newly created ("forgeries").<sup>21</sup>

The height of archaeological forgery occurred in the Nineteenth Century when almost every major excavation was followed by a series of forgeries. Archaeologists were also victims of many of those frauds. The directors of the Berlin Museum acquired (1872-1876) terra-cotta objects, which were supposed to have come from "Palestine". Luigi Palma di Cesnola "discovered" the supposed treasure of Kurion (1875-1885) and left it to the Metropolitan Museum. The Campana collection of antique pottery contained several forgeries, done by Pietro Pennelli. A renowned example of forgery was the Tiara of

Saitapharnes, a solid-gold headdress with scenes from the Iliad and an inscription stating that it was a gift to the Scythian King Saitapharnes. It was purchased by the Louvre as an original work of the Third Century, B.C. The controversy over its authenticity was settled in the Twentieth Century when a resident of Odessa admitted that the tiara was his creation. One of the greatest forgers of the Nineteenth Century was Alceo Dossena, who was expert in fabricating Greek, Etruscan, Roman and early Renaissance sculptures. For many years, there were three colossal terra-cotta statues of warriors in the Metropolitan Museum. In 1961, Harold W. Parsons obtained in Rome a signed confession from one of the forgers of these figures. Some imitations of archaeological objects are made in Mexico, where dealers sometimes bury their forgeries giving the prospective victim the "privilege" of watching the "excavation" and purchasing their object right there.

Entire series of fine pottery, supposedly to belong to the Tang dynasty in China (618-906) are constantly forged. Imitations have been made of the bronze statuary of the great periods of Indian art. This is also the case with Siamese and Indo-Chinese bronzes. In several fields of Oriental art, there are the works of copyists that largely fill the museums and collections of the world. Some young French artists manufacture "African" art. The spokesmen of the aboriginal people of America have complained to the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs that some Japanese were making cheap reproductions of Indian handicrafts and that they had even gone to the extent of creating a small town called "Usa" to be able to stamp their imitations as "Made in USA". A workshop of primitive forgeries, especially of jade figures in the Maori style (New Zealand) existed in the Oberstein-Ildar area of the Rhineland.

The most publicized forgeries have been paintings. For instance, a work passed off as Lucas Cranach's was actually done by the German forger F.W. Rohrich (1787-1834).<sup>22</sup> Manet often revised his paintings; however, research reveals that some pictures were also reworked after his death.<sup>23</sup> The most famous of modern forgers was Hans van Meegeren (1884-1947), a Dutch painter, who claimed to have discovered several lost paintings by Vermeer. He sold them to Hermann Goering and was put on trial after the Second World War for selling national treasures. He established his "innocence" by painting another "Vermeer" in his jail cell.<sup>24</sup> Artist David Stein is a convicted forger who served prison terms in New York and France in the 1960's for selling fake "masterpieces". He was caught when Chagall saw one of the three "Chagall" water-colours that Stein had sold.<sup>25</sup>

There has also been literary forgery.<sup>26</sup> The fabrications have ranged from works of epic length to the falsification of a date on a title page, such as the Jaggard-Pavier Shakespeare Quartos published in 1619. The *Epistles of Phalaris*, the Sixth Century tyrant of Agrigento, stirred up a controversy among English scholars when they were edited in 1695 by Charles Boyle. They were demonstrated to be fraudulent by Richard Bentley, who noted that the dialect of the text was not proper to Sixth Century Sicily and that various towns mentioned did not exist at that time. Religious motives as "justification" for falsifying documents became prominent during the early Christian era. Much of such behaviour had their genesis in the desire to make a sectarian doctrine creditable. Enthusiasm for Shakespeare motivated William Henry Ireland in 1796 to attempt to put on stage his pseudo-Shakespearean play *Vortigern*. About sixty years later, a similar taste for Shakespeare explains the forgery by John Payne Collier, who falsified several "documents".

The forgers of our day are generally aware of the many techniques to detect forgeries. Forgeries are revealed in one of the two means: internal evidence or a critical analysis of the contents, and external evidence or chemical analysis, X-rays, ultraviolet rays and other forms of scientific examination. It is generally assumed that there is no forgery that cannot be eventually exposed.

One may now focus on the latest Armenian falsification in respect to the Vereshchagin painting. The second edition of *Der Prozess Talaat Pascha*,<sup>27</sup> originally offered to the German reader by a certain (originally Armenian) Armin T. Wegner, was reprinted in Göttingen and Vienna in 1980 under the new title of *Der Völkermord an den Armeniern vor Gericht*. The Vereshchagin painting appears on the very cover of this German book, Talât Pasha's photograph inserted in the upper left hand corner (see Annex 1). The German publication "confidently" announces in the inner pages that the cover photograph shows "Turkish barbarism" (*Türkische Barberei*), supposedly depicting a pyramid of skulls in Western Armenia, 1916-1917 (*eine Schädelpyramide in Westarmenien 1916/17*). I may here, once again, remind the reader that Vereshchagin painted this canvas in 1871 and that the artist died in 1904.

It appears that some Armenian circles during the Shah's time have supported the

publication of a book in the Persian language entitled **The Massacre of Armenians (Katliami Ermeniyan)**. For the Persian and Armenian covers of the same book, see Annexes 2 and 3. It was authored by a certain Ismail Rā'in, printed by the "Emir Kebir" Publishing House (Teheran) in 1352 copies in the year 1979 (**Shahinshahi** 2537). This Persian book as well published (in black and white) on pages 151 and 273 (see Annex 4) the same photograph with the trivial trick of printing the same in different focus and once from the right and then from the left, to give the impression that they are different photographs. In other words, one photo is just the reverse of the other, the skulls and the crows having changed places proportionally. The former has an Armenian and the latter a Persian legend underneath. They both present it as if the picture depicts massacred Armenians. For instance, the Persian legend specifically states that the subject matter of the photograph is the events of 1917. It clearly says: **Serha-yi eramene-ike katliam shudend der sal 1917** (or "the skulls of Armenians massacred in the year 1917").

The Persian book also printed three so-called "documents", offered to the reader as "proof" of Ottoman "orders" to exterminate the Armenians. All three are forgeries. They were originally published by the Armenian author Aram Andonian and proved to be falsifications by Turkish scholars.

One may devote some time to the analysis of these very "documents" published in the Persian book. The first one that appears in page 193 (see Annex 5) of the Persian text is actually the second forged "document" in Andonian's books, appearing in pages 104-105 of the French and in pages 52-53 of the English editions.<sup>28</sup> The "order" to exterminate is supposed to have been written on a simple piece of paper with no official heading. This happens to be a cliché or a copy of the "original", which Andonian said that he had lost(!). The "besmele", or the customary Ottoman practice of starting any letter with a reference to "God's name", is written in such a clumsy, incompetent, awkward and incorrect way, apparently by a non-Moslem (Armenian) falsifier, that even this evidence is enough to give Andonian away. This forged "document" is actually the second of such fraudulent "documents" in the Andonian publications. The first Andonian "document" is dated (Julian) February 18, 1331 (Gregorian: March 2, 1915). The Ottoman New Year starting with the 1st of March, the second "document" (that is, the one on page 193 in the Persian book) may only be March 25, 1332 and not March 25, 1331 (as so published by Andonian). This error stems from the fact that Andonian did not know the intricacies of changing from Julian (Rūmī) to Gregorian (Milādī) calendars. To make his first forged "document" look real, Andonian should have put 1330 (or 1915) and not 1331 (or 1916). Realizing, however, this scandalous error later, Andonian refers to the first "letter" in his second forged "letter" as dated 1915, but he has already given himself away. The first forged "document" with the date it has on it looks as if the order for the displacement of the Gregorian Armenians living near the Ottoman-Russian war theatre in Eastern Anatolia, has been given, for the first time, some nine months after the displacements have actually started(!). This is the reason why Andonian refrains from publishing the so-called "original" of the so-called "document" in the later English edition. He merely refers to the first "document" as dated March 25, 1915 (this time, not 1916) to evade attention and hide his forgery. Andonian also pretends that the signatures under the first and the second (in p. 193 of the Persian book) "documents" belong to a certain Bahaeddin Şakir. In no way, can these "signatures" be read as such. Plainly, the signatures are also forgeries. Just because the old Ottoman letters are not generally read in the world nowadays does not mean that no one can read them and establish the forgery.

The second "letter" (see Annex 6), published in page 197 in the Persian book, is another forged "document" that could have been written by anyone on a simple sheet of paper, supposedly signed by Mustafa Abdülhalik, the Governor of Aleppo (now in Syria). This is a faked signature and does not correspond with the genuine signatures of the same official that we have in the Turkish archives.

The third "letter" (see Annex 7), published in page 203 of the Persian book, is still another forged "document". The French version of this so-called "document", as printed in Paris in 1920, bears the date of January 23, 1915. It is very important to note that the displacement of Armenians had not started at that date. Moreover, the date of the same so-called "document" in the English version is January 23, 1916 (this time, not 1915). But the date of the (Andonian faked) "Turkish" version of the very same "document" is February 5, 1917 (or January 23, 1332). It is apparent that Andonian is a very poor falsifier. Nevertheless, he has been able to deceive the uninformed and the prejudicially inclined. What is more, Andonian forgot to add the so-called "note" of Governor Mustafa Abdülhalik in the English edition of his book. The so-called "order" itself states (in

Andonian's terms) that it is unnecessary to make so much expenditure on Armenian children. Andonian has apparently forged this "statement" to help disseminate the opinion that the Ottomans were out to obliterate the future Armenian generations.

The Persian author, who has absolutely no critical approach to the subject, has merely recited the information handed to him. He has published the Vereshchagin paintings not once, but even twice in his book, connecting it with the events of the First World War.

A certain "Committee for Support to Max Hrair Kilndjian"<sup>29</sup> (Comité de Soutien à Max Hrair Kilndjian), based in Marseille (France), printed cards for distribution, on one side of which the same Vereshchagin picture appears (see Annex 8). Such a drive for reproduction and posting shows that such falsifications reach the level of an "industry", as a result of the zeal of certain Armenian quarters in France.

Further, the daily *Nova Svetlina*, dated April 23, 1985, of Bulgaria, published an article, entitled "Tragic Memories" (*Tragichni Spomeni*) and signed by an Armenian, M. Sofian (see Annex 9). It reproduces the same Vereshchagin painting with the following legend: "The terrifying traces of barbaric massacres of the Armenians in Turkey in the year of 1915". The original Bulgarian reads: **Potresavashchite sledi ot barbarskoto klane na armentsi te b Turtsiya prez 1915 godina**. With such a forgery, author Sofian's powers of persuasion would normally dwindle with the editors. The Bulgarian editors, on the other hand, may easily check and compare the information given here with the original of the Vereshchagin painting at the Tretyakov Gallery in Moscow.

Let us come to the *Gosudarstvennaya Tretyakovskaya Galeriya*, or the Tretyakov Gallery itself. Founded in 1895 and opened to the public three years later, it houses one of the best collections of paintings and sculptures by Russian artists, and a large number of drawings and prints, works of applied art and folk art of early Russia. The Museum's collections cover a period of nearly one-thousand years, from the Eleventh Century to the present day. They begin with the Russian icons and include some of the outstanding samples of artistic achievement, including those by A. Ivanov, P. Fedotov, V. Perov, I. Repin, I. Shishkin, A. Benois and others—certainly including Vasili Vereshchagin. . . .

In page 12 of the Novosti publication on the Tretyakov Gallery (for cover pages, see Annexes 10 and 11), there appears a paragraph (see Annex 12) on painter Vereshchagin and his celebrated work. I prefer to quote verbatim:

"Impressed by the glory scenes of war in the Balkans and Central Asia, Vasili Vereshchagin (sic.)<sup>30</sup> created on his canvases an image of the soldier as hero and martyr. His imagination was stirred not so much by 'great' battle episodes as by the bloodshed, the misery and suffering brought by war. Perhaps his most striking picture on the subject is **The Apotheosis of War**, which shows a pyramid of skulls. It is a painting that has much to say to our own day and age. The artist expressed his indignation by dedicating this picture to 'all the great conquerors of the past, present and future'".

Not a word about 1915! Not a word about 1917! Not a word about the Armenians! This massive catalogue is an official and a reliable Novosti publication, in page 12 of which Vadiin Olshevsky, who wrote the "Introduction" to the book, says the following in the concluding paragraphs of his manuscript: "Let us now look at the date of the paintings". . . . So, let us look at the date of the Vereshchagin painting: It says in page 24 (see Annex 13) that the painting in question was done in the years 1871-1872. How can this be tied up with 1915? Such a falsification can throw dust only into the eyes of the mentally retarded. How can what is done in the early 1870's portray 1915? Especially when one remembers that the painter himself (as seen in the same Annex 13) passed away in 1904! The gallery or the descendants of the painter may wish to demand damages for slander of title.

Coloured postcards, printed by the Aurora Art Publishers in Leningrad and selling for 5 kopeks (see Annex 14), naturally also indicate that the painting entitled "The Apotheosis of War" was done in 1871 by Vassili (spelled there as Vasili) Vereshchagin (1842-1904), that it is an oil on canvas (*holst, maslo*), measuring 127 x 197 cm. and hanging at the Tretyakov Gallery in Moscow. What a difference from the postcard disseminated in France!

Obviously, we are confronted with an important falsification. To paraphrase William Blake, this beats all the lies one can invent. Doubtless, this is a fraudulent manipulation of an object, a deceitful arrangement of things, not once but several times, in such a manner as to create an erroneous impression or a false inference in the minds of those who observe them. It aims to insult the Turkish people, to sow hatred between the Turks

and the Armenians and deceive others. As Francis Bacon said, such lies sink and settle and hurt! Those who assist them get spread, even though ignorant of the deceit, are also accountable." The Turks and the Armenians should not allow such falsifications.

#### Notes

1. For instance: *Terrorist Attack at Orly: Statements and Evidence Presented at the Trial, February 19-March 2, 1985*, Ankara, Faculty of Political Science, 1985, pp. 39-70; *Procès de l'attentat d'Orly 19 février-2 mars 1985: dépositions et plaidoirie*, Ankara, Faculté de sciences politiques, 1985, pp. 41-52; *Orly Saldırısı Davası, 19 Şubat-2 Mart 1985: Şahit ve Avukat Beyanları*, Ankara, Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi, 1985, s. 39-49.
2. Şinasi Örel and Süreyya Yuca, *Ermenilerce Talât Paşa'ya Atfedilen Teşviiatların Gerçek Yüzü*, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1983. The full English and French translations of this important work of 344 pages are being printed. (They were published in 1986.)
3. Türkkaya Ataöv, *The Andonian "Documents" attributed to Talât Pasha are Forgeries: Les "Documents" d'Andonian attribués à Talât Pacha sont des faux; Die Talât Pascha zugeschriebenen Andonianischen "Dokumente" sind Fälschungen*, Ankara, Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi, 1984; 2nd pr.: Ankara, Sistem Ofset, 1984; Türkkaya Ataöv, *Talât Paşa'ya Atfedilen Andonian "Belgeler" i Sahtedir* (in Turkish); *Talât Pasayin Verakirvatiz Andoniani Vaveratugteri Geğdz Yen* (in Armenian); *Zaif Watha'ek Andonian al-lati nisubat hata'en ilâ Talât Basha* (in Arabic); *Esnadi Andonian kâbe Talât Pasha müntesab shuda sahteki est* (in Persian), Ankara, Sistem Ofset, 1984; Türkkaya Ataöv, *De Andonian "Documenten", Welke Aan Talât Pasha Worden Toegeschreven, Zijn Bedrog*, Ankara, Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi, 1984.
4. Bilâl Şimşir, *The Deportees of Malta and the Armenian Question*, Ankara, Foreign Policy Institute, 1984.
5. Türkkaya Ataöv, *A "Statement" Wrongly Attributed to Mustafa Kemâl Atatürk*, Ankara, Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi, 1984; 2nd pr.: Ankara, Sistem Ofset, 1985; Türkkaya Ataöv, *Une "déclaration" faussement attribuée à Mustafa Kemâl Atatürk*, Ankara, Sistem Ofset, 1984.
6. Heath W. Lowry, "The U.S. Congress and Adolf Hitler on the Armenians" *Political Communication and Persuasion*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (1985), pp. 111-139.
7. Türkkaya Ataöv, *Hitler and the "Armenian Question"; Hitler et la "Question arménienne"*, Ankara, Sistem Ofset, 1985.
8. Ralph Mayer, *A Dictionary of Art Terms and Techniques*, New York, Thomas Y. Crowell, 1981, p. 141.
9. R.G. Reissner, *Fakes and Forgeries in the Fine Arts: a Bibliography*, New York, 1950; Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Catalogue of a Collection of Counterfeits*, London, 1914; British Museum, *An Exhibition of Forgeries and Deceptive Copies*, London, 1964; P. Eudel, *Trucs et truquers*, Paris, 1907; M.J. Friedlander, *Genuine and Counterfeit*, New York, 1930; A. Donath, *Wie die Kunstfälscher arbeiten*, Prague, 1937; Hans Tietze, *Genuine and False*, London, 1948; O. Kurz, *Fakes*, London, 1948; G. Isnard, *Faux et imitations dans l'art*, Paris, 1959; S. Schülder, *Forgers, Dealers, Experts*, New York, 1960; George Savage, *Forgeries, Fakes and Reproductions*, London, 1963.
10. John Bouvier, *Bouvier's Law Dictionary and Concise Encyclopedia*, Third ed., Vol. 1, Kansas City, Vernon Law Book Co., 1914, p. 1283.
11. Samuel G. Kling, *The Complete Guide to Everyday Law*, Chicago, Follett Publishing Co., 1973, p. 433.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 434.
13. *Bouvier's Law Dictionary and Concise Encyclopedia*, *op. cit.*, p. 1283.
14. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Vol. 9, p. 621.
15. Henry Campbell Black, *Black's Law Dictionary*, Fifth ed., St. Paul, Minn., West Publishing Co., 1979, p. 585.
16. *Encyclopedia Americana*, Vol. 11, p. 595.
17. *United States Code Annotated, Title 18: Crimes and Criminal Procedure*, St. Paul, Minn., West Publishing Co., 1969, p. 62.
18. *McGraw-Hill Dictionary of Art*, ed. Bernard S. Myers, Vol. II, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1969, p. 420.
19. Adolf Rieth, *Archaeological Fakes*, New York, Praeger, 1970; S. Türköl, *Prähistorische Fälschungen, eine Rundfrage*, Graz, 1927; Bernard Ashmole, *Forger's of Ancient Sculpture*, 1961.
20. *Encyclopedia of World Art*, Vol. V, New York, etc., McGraw-Hill, p. 338.
21. André Vayson de Pradenne, *Les fraudes en archéologie préhistoriques*, Paris, 1932.
22. *The New Columbia Encyclopedia*, eds. William H. Harris and Judith S. Levey, New York, Columbia University Press, 1975, p. 980.



23. Charles F. Stuckey, "Manet Revised: Whodunit?", *Art in America*, Vol. 71, No. 10 (November 1983), pp. 158-241.

24. P.B. Coremans, *Van Meegeren's Faked Vermeers and De Hooghs*. Amsterdam, 1949.

25. *Newsweek*, January 24, 1981, p. 9.

26. F.K. Chambers, *The History and Motives of Literary Forgeries*, Oxford, 1891; John Carter and Graham Pollard, *An Enquiry into the Nature of Certain Nineteenth Century Pamphlets*, London, 1934; Henry T.F. Rhodes, *The Craft of Forgery*, London, 1934; Wilson K. Harrison, *Suspect Documents: Their Scientific Examination*, London, 1958.

27. Berlin, Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft für Politik und Geschichte 1921.

28. Aram Andonian, *The Memoirs of Naim Bey: Turkish Official Documents Relating to the Deportation and Massacres of Armenians*, London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1920; *Documents officiels concernant les massacres arméniens*, Paris, Imp. H. Turabian, 1920.

29. More correct spelling: Kilindjian (meaning: son of a kilim merchant).

30. A better spelling in the latin script should probably be Vereshchagin (instead of Vereschagin).

31. *Bouvier's Law Dictionary and Concise Encyclopedia*, op. cit., p. 1:83.

## DOCUMENT LVI

### Source:

Joint Communiqué issued by the three Armenian Political Parties active in the United States of America (Armenian Revolutionary Federation-Dashnaks, Social Democrat Huntchak Party, and the Armenian Democratic League-Ramgavars). This Communiqué was published in the April 4, 1987, issue of the 'Armenian Weekly' newspaper (p. 4).

### Joint Communiqué Issued by The Three Political Parties Of Western United States

During the years of World War I, the Turkish Government's planned and perpetrated the genocide of the Armenian people, which not only took the lives of 1.5 million Armenians, but was also the method used to empty the Armenian homeland of its inhabitants.

To this day, approximately 70% of our historic lands remain occupied by the Turkish government.

Despite the struggle carried out by the Armenian people for the past seven decades, the first genocide of the 20th century remains internationally unrecognized and the brutal occupation of the fatherland continues to this day—72 years after the Genocide.

In order to cover up the fact of its usurpation of the historic Armenian homeland, which is the crux of Armenian political demands, fascist Turkey continues its anti-Armenian policy in the following ways:

1. Turkey denies the historical fact of the Armenian Genocide in order to shift international public opinion away from its political responsibility.
2. Turkey, employing Turkish and non-Turkish paid "historians," attempts to call into question the veracity of the Genocide.
3. Turkey has also implemented state-sponsored terrorism in an attempt to silence the Armenian people's vehement demands and protests.
4. Using all its human, financial, and governmental resources, Turkey attempts to silence through terrorism, bribery and other subversive methods, non-Armenian supporters of the Armenian Cause, be they political, governmental and human rights experts.

Using all the aforementioned methods, the Turkish government is attempting to neutralize the international diplomatic community from making the Armenian Case a contemporary issue.

Yet despite the efforts of the Turkish government and its close allies, in the last decades, thanks to the struggle of the Armenian political parties, the international wall of silence on this issue has begun to collapse, and consequently a number of governments have become supportive of the recognition of the Armenian Genocide.

The Armenian political parties, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, the Armenian Democratic League, and the Social Democrat Huntchak Party, who have jointly led the pursuit of Armenian territorial demands for decades, gladly affirm that some international authoritative bodies, such as the European Parliament's Political Commission, the People's Permanent Tribunal, and the U.N. Human Rights Sub-Committee have adopted positive stands regarding the Armenian Case.

In the United States, we must recognize the praiseworthy efforts of some Representatives, Senators, and other political figures in gaining recognition for the Armenian Genocide.

With the full knowledge that the struggle for the Armenian territorial demands are still in their initial stages, the Armenians, led by the Armenian national political parties will unflaggingly continue in this sacred struggle, therefore the Armenian Political Parties demand:

1. that the Turkish Government, as the heirs of the Ottoman Governments, recognize the Armenian Genocide;
2. that Turkey return the historic homeland to the Armenian people;
3. that the Turkish Government make material reparations for their heinous and unspeakable crime to the victims of the Armenian Genocide;
4. that all world governments, and especially the Superpowers, officially recognize the Armenian Genocide and Armenian territorial rights and refuse to succumb to all Turkish political pressure;
5. that the U.S. Government free itself from the friendly position it has adopted towards its unreliable ally, Turkey, and officially recognize the historical fact of the Armenian Genocide as well as be supportive of the pursuit of Armenian territorial demands;

And given that Soviet Armenia, according to the Soviet Constitution, enjoys a status equal to the other republics within the Soviet Union's structure, the Armenian political parties demand:

6. that the Soviet Armenian government use effective means to have the Armenian Case (including the internal territorial demands) recognized by the Soviet Central Government.

The awareness of the Armenian people of the necessity of solidarity in the efforts to pursue the Armenian Cause is seen by the Armenian National Political Parties as a positive step. Furthermore, a new generation has risen—equipped with a deep sense of Armenianism, politically mature and militant, who determinedly pursue the Armenian Cause, through all necessary means, ranging from the political and diplomatic to the armed struggle.

The National Parties will continue to confront the difficulties resulting from the struggle. Furthermore, the Parties will continue to lead the activities for the Armenian Cause until its inevitable victory and the final restoration of the Armenian People's inalienable rights.

Therefore, we call upon all Armenians in the Western United States to participate vigorously in the political, cultural and religious activities of the 72nd Anniversary of the Armenian Genocide.

**ARMENIAN REVOLUTIONARY FEDERATION**  
Western U.S., Central Committee

**SOCIAL DEMOCRAT HUNTCHAK PARTY**  
Western U.S., Executive Body

**ARMENIAN DEMOCRATIC LEAGUE**  
Western U.S., Regional Executive

DOCUMENT LVII

#### **ANC Chairman Discusses Plans and Activities**

Source:

Interview with Leo Sarkisian, Chairperson of the Armenian National Committee, Eastern U.S.A. Published in the March 21, 1987, issue of 'The Armenian Weekly' newspaper, p. 2

*Editor's Note: Ara Khachatourian, director of the Boston "Siamanto" AYF-YOARF Chapter's Communications Committee, recently had the opportunity to interview the chairperson of the Armenian National Committee, Eastern USA, Unger Leo Sarkisian. This is a transcription of that interview.*

**Question:** What if the resolutions pass? What will be the next step for the ANC?

**Sarkisian:** We have to think about realistic and practical means of raising the political

and territorial issues of the Armenian Case. We need to start dealing with American foreign policy, and start winning converts to the notion that American foreign policy simply cannot ignore the fact that there is an unresolved question to be dealt with here, and our emphasis should be in that area.

**Question:** What are the ANC's plans for the future?

**Sarkisian:** Our short-term goal, at this point, is to see the resolutions through and, just as important, to use the resolutions to educate congressmen about the Armenian Question, about Armenian History. And should the resolutions pass, I think it's appropriate that we think about next steps and move on to other issues.

**Question:** We all know about the major problem of Armenians, in that the Turkish government is denying that there ever was a Genocide. What if the denial stopped, and the Turkish government actually recognized their perpetration of the Genocide? What are the steps the ANC will take?

**Sarkisian:** Clearly, the Armenian Question is a lot more than the issue of Genocide. It's a question of territorial restitution, it's a question of reparations, it's a question of statehood—statehood meaning independence and freedom for Armenians. What has to happen is that once the question of the Genocide can be set aside, then we move on to these political issues. We didn't necessarily have to deal with one before dealing with the other, but we don't have to time to deal with both at once. There have been many opportunities to raise the political and territorial issues, and we didn't do that. We are not a one-issue movement, obviously. It just happens that the Turks had finally perceived the Genocided [sic] issue as a precursor to other demands. The demands are there whether or not the Genocide issue is faced by the Turks or not.

#### DOCUMENT LVIII

#### MINORITY VIEWS ON HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 132

Source:  
U.S. House of Representatives—Report  
100-232 (July 23, 1987). Section entitled:  
'Minority Views on House Joint  
Resolution 132.' Submitted by Cong-  
ressmen Frank Horton, John T. Myers,  
Gene Taylor & Dan Burton (pp. 4-5).

We oppose House Joint Resolution 132. This resolution does not constitute a simple commemorative. Its provisions are the subject of intense historical debate and controversy. Enactment could have a serious impact on our relations with Turkey—a trusted ally—and hence, on the NATO alliance around which we and all member nations depend for security. The resolution deserves the closest, and most careful and critical examination.

House Joint Resolution 132 states that the Ottoman Empire pursued a policy of genocide against the Armenians when its empire was under attack during the early part of this century. As are all wars, the war that dissolved the Ottoman Empire was a tragedy. The senseless killing of hundreds of thousands of Armenians—in Eastern Turkey especially—was a tragedy. The violence that took the lives of more than two million Turkish soldiers, men, women, and children was a tragedy. Indeed, this was a great war. A great tragedy.

However, to dissect this war and state that the actions by the Ottoman Empire against the Armenians were genocide is to enter a debate of great historical controversy. Genocide is a very serious and abominable crime; we believe it is the highest crime against humanity. People around the world know and understand the horror of genocide. The holocaust of Jews in World War II was genocide. We know that to be true. Our knowledge is based on undisputed and overwhelming empirical evidence. The historical record behind the killing of Armenians during the war in question is not so clear. Evidence does not abound; the record is not closed to debate. The cause for the death of countless Armenians is argued intensely. The scarcity of evidence, however, and the nature of that war itself, prompted practically every prominent international scholar of this period to publicly state in a Washington Post advertisement their opposition to this resolution.

Prominent scholars of World War II, on the other hand, do not dispute the genocide of that war. They recognize it as perhaps the most horrific crime ever committed.

When we vote for House Joint Resolution 132, we are accusing the Ottoman Empire of genocide. The present government of Turkey traces its roots to the Ottoman Empire. The resolution says the Ottoman Empire; it might just as well say Turkey. The implications to the Turkish people are the same. To accuse any nation of genocide, without overwhelming historical evidence and widespread scholarly agreement is irresponsible. To

accuse arguably the most strategically located NATO ally, is more than irresponsible. It is reckless.

Turkey is, without question, the poorest of our NATO allies. Yet Turkey contributed a substantial amount of its GNP to meeting its NATO defense commitment. Turkey shares the largest common border of any NATO ally with the Soviet Union. Its location for intelligence and monitoring is obvious. It is also home of the largest U.S. air base between Italy and the Philippines.

Military and alliance considerations notwithstanding, we are, with this resolution, accusing a nation of genocide whose record of religious toleration is a source of great pride among Turks around the world. From the Spanish Inquisition to the holocaust, Turkey was a sanctuary for many thousands of Jews and others persecuted for their religious beliefs.

We do recognize, however, that the war which destroyed the Ottoman Empire exploded with violence that caused the senseless killing of thousands of Armenians and Turks alike. We share with American Armenians an anger and frustration of this war. For a number of reasons, the tensions during that period—in Eastern Turkey especially—were high and perpetrated senseless attacks on Armenians. Many American Armenians believe these acts justify enactment of this resolution.

For others, however, enactment of this resolution gives an aura of legitimacy to even more senseless killing. A worldwide network of Armenian extremists, whose principal goals are (1) recognition of a genocide, (2) reparations by the present Turkish government and (3) relinquishing by Turkey of certain lands for the formation of an Armenian state, would use this resolution to legitimize and continue a record of violence that has claimed the lives of more than 70 people around the world, including 40 Turkish diplomats. Some of these murders were committed on American soil.

House Joint Resolution 132 is not a simple commemorative. The accuracy of its provisions is a matter of great debate. It is not the kind of legislation that merits the stamp of approval of the United States House of Representatives. We strongly oppose passage of this resolution and urge our colleagues to join us in our vigorous opposition.

FRANK HORTON,  
JOHN L. MYERS,  
GENE TAYLOR,  
DAN BURTON.

#### DOCUMENT LIX

Source:  
U.S. House of Representatives—Report  
100-232 (July 23, 1987). Section entitled:  
"Additional Views of Congressman  
Stephen J. Solarz on House Joint  
Resolution 132, Man's Inhumanity To  
Man (pp. 6-9).

#### ADDITIONAL VIEWS OF CONGRESSMAN STEPHEN J. SOLARZ ON HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 132, MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN

This resolution, which expresses the regret of the House over the tragic fate which befell the Armenian people in the early part of this century, certainly underscores the sentiments of all Americans who are concerned about human rights and suffering. In the long history of man's inhumanity to man, this tragic chapter in the history of the Armenian people is a poignant and powerful reminder of the kind of injustice which we all deplore.

At the same time, we also need to recognize that adoption of this resolution could have serious consequences for our relations with Turkey, thereby endangering some of our most vital security interests in the eastern Mediterranean. Turkey is, in many respects, the key to the southern flank of NATO. Through its control of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, it gives us the capacity to protect the Sixth Fleet, which in turn gives us the ability to maintain naval supremacy in the eastern Mediterranean. With the second largest army in the alliance, Turkey also makes a very significant contribution to the conventional balance of power in Europe.

Earlier this year Turkey signed a Defense and Economic Cooperation Agreement (DECA) with the United States, which provides the U.S. with access to vitally important facilities in their country. I have been advised by the Turkish Ambassador to the United States, Sukru Elekdog, that the passage of this resolution, coming on top of a large aid cut to Turkey, might well lead to such extensive public criticism in the Turkish media of the United States that the Turkish Government would feel obligated to repudiate the DECA. Clearly, this would not be in the best interest of the United States.

How does one resolve these competing considerations? If we reject the resolution it would be a profound disappointment to those Armenians who feel we need to take note of the tragic suffering of their people. Yet, if we adopt this resolution, we could severely complicate our relations with an important ally.

In considering how to deal with this dilemma it may be helpful to consider what the Congressional response would be if a resolution one day came before the House memorializing the victims of Hitler's genocide against the Jews. Under these circumstances it is not inconceivable that someone might advance the argument that however tragic the Holocaust may have been for Jews, we cannot run the risk of alienating a significant NATO ally. Leaving aside the argument that the Federal Republic of Germany would undoubtedly have no such objections, in as much as it has sharply condemned Nazism in all its manifestations and excesses, a case could still be made that such a resolution would merit approval whereas it would be a mistake to adopt the Armenian resolution. The difference being that the resolution before us today, which memorializes the victims of what has been characterized as the Armenian genocide, takes a definitive position on how to characterize the tragedy which befell the Armenian people, which is still very much a matter in dispute.

The problem here is that the resolution asserts that what happened to the Armenians was a genocide when the contention that it was a genocide is still open to question. No one seriously denies that hundreds of thousands of Armenians (and maybe more) lost their lives in the Eastern parts of the Ottoman Empire during the early part of our century. But whether it was a genocide is a separate but very significant issue. There is, after all, a distinction between mass killings, which have gone on since the beginning of time, and genocide itself, which consists of a systematic effort to exterminate an entire race of people.

This is not to suggest that mass killings are any less objectionable than genocide. Murder, after all, is murder, and we should have no hesitancy about condemning it. But there is a significant difference between genocide and massacre. Genocide, as defined in the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide adopted last year by the United States Senate, means an attempt to eliminate, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group. Massacre, on the other hand, is defined as the killing of a number of usually helpless or unresisting human beings under circumstances of atrocity or cruelty.

The two terms clearly differ in definition and it is inappropriate to describe the former as the latter. Both should clearly be deplored but, given the particularly odious contemporary implications of the concept of genocide, it necessitates an especially vehement response. There must be a recognition that the occurrence of genocide represents a fundamental departure from other atrocities which may occur, especially during times of war.

As hard as it may be for many of the members to believe, those who have visited Turkey in recent years know that the adoption of this resolution, given its actual wording, would generate an extremely negative reaction in Turkey. Affirmative action on this measure would reinforce the already widespread feeling on the part of the Turkish people that they are being accused of the crime of genocide, which they do not believe fairly or accurately describes what happened to the Armenian people during the period of time covered by this resolution.

It is important to note in this regard that the majority of the leading academic specialists on Turkey, the Ottoman Empire and the Middle East in our country, including Bernard Lewis at Princeton University, perhaps the preeminent specialist in the entire country on these questions, and J. C. Hurewitz at Columbia University, another nationally prominent expert on this subject, have written to every member of Congress on the subject of this resolution. The telegram which they sent when Congress considered this issue in 1985 reads, in part:

As for the charge of "genocide": No signatory of this statement wishes to minimize the scope of Armenian suffering. We are likewise cognizant that it cannot be viewed as separate from the suffering experienced by the Muslim inhabitants of that region. The weight of evidence so far uncovered points in the direction of serious intercommunal warfare (perpetrated by Muslim and Christian irregular forces), complicated by disease, famine, suffering and massacres in Anatolia and adjoining areas during the First World War. Indeed, throughout the years in question, the region was the scene of more or less continuous warfare, not unlike the tragedy

which has gone on in Lebanon for the past decade. The resulting death toll among both Muslim and Christian communities of the region was immense, but much more remains to be discovered before historians will be able to sort out precisely responsibility between warring and innocent, and to identify the causes for the events which resulted in the death or removal of large numbers of the eastern Anatolian population, Christian and Muslim alike.

The signers conclude:

By passing (this) resolution, Congress will be attempting to determine by legislation which side of a historical question is correct.

I share the anguish of the Armenian people. Countless numbers of them were clearly killed in a cruel and barbarous fashion during the period of time covered by this resolution. But there were also countless numbers of Muslims who were killed in a cruel and barbarous fashion as well. My opposition to this resolution in no way represents indifference on my part to the suffering of the Armenian people or their desire to achieve recognition of this tragic series of events. In the long history of man's inhumanity to man this is but one of many tragedies which we need to recall in order to sensitize ourselves and prevent further such episodes.

In addition to these troubling questions, in recent years over 50 Turkish diplomats have been murdered by Armenian terrorists. The terrorists have claimed revenge for the events of many years ago as the rationale for their actions. Passage of this resolution, even though it were not so intended, would be interpreted by these terrorists as vindication of and support for their heinous crimes. And it would be seen in Turkey as an expression of American insensitivity to continuing consequences of events which took place 70 years ago.

If we are going to adopt a resolution which could jeopardize our relations with an important ally, and thus put at risk vital American national security interests, we need to be absolutely convinced of the textual accuracy of that resolution. Even then there might be persuasive arguments against the resolution, but we would at least know that we had acted on the basis of an unambiguous historical truth and in response to a compelling moral imperative. But for us to adopt a resolution which is likely to have the counterproductive consequences of this one, after its textual accuracy has been challenged by many of the leading scholars in the nation, would be both reckless and wrong.

STEPHEN J. SOLARZ.

DOCUMENT LX

THE SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

Source:  
July 31, 1987, letter from the U.S.  
Secretary of State, the Honorable George  
P. Shultz to Congressman Frank Horton.

July 31, 1987

Dear Mr. Horton:

Your letter concerning the Armenian genocide resolution recently passed by the European Parliament is very timely. It has particular relevance, as you know, to HR Resolution 132 and SJ Resolution 43, which are currently under consideration by the Congress.

As you correctly state, only a small minority of the parliamentarians took part in the voting on this issue in the European Parliament (EP) last June. The resolution was supported by about 145 (28%) of the Parliament's 518 members although, since the final vote was on a show of hands, an exact count is not available. In all, about 150 members or less than one third of the total EP membership participated in the vote.

In addition to most of the French members and all of the Greek members, a majority of Communists, Socialists and Greens voted for the resolution. Some moderate socialists did not participate and others abstained. Of the remaining EP parliamentarians, we understand that three center-right political groups—comprising approximately one half of all EP members—refused to participate in either the debate or the vote on the grounds that the European Parliament should not make historical judgments.

The European Parliament does not express the views of the 12 member governments of the Community, which includes 11 NATO members. The European Parliament is a directly elected body and therefore, reflects the diversity of political opinion in its member states.

The British government made this clear in a Foreign Office press briefing during the July 5-7 visit of Turkish Foreign Minister Halefoglu. The Foreign Office spokesman said that the UK Secretary of State had assured Minister Halefoglu that Her Majesty's Government (HMG) was not associated with the recent European Parliament Armenian Resolution. He pointed out that the European Parliament did not speak for EC member states and that the member states had no responsibility for the views expressed by the European Parliament, an independent elected body. He added that the European Parliament had passed resolutions in the past which were unwelcome to HMG.

I thank you for your letter and for your concern over this issue. In the hope that it may be of assistance to you, I enclose a statement of this Department's views on the Armenian Resolution currently before the Congress.

Sincerely yours,

George P. Shultz

DOCUMENT LXI

**THE SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON**

Source:

Letter of August 4, 1987, from the  
Honorable George P. Shultz, U.S.  
Secretary of State, to all members of the  
U.S. House of Representatives.

August 4, 1987

I am writing to urge that you vote against H.J. Res. 132, the so-called "Armenian Resolution," when it comes before the House for a vote.

This Resolution, which deals with a tragic page in the history of the Ottoman Empire, will have a severely negative impact on our country's relations with a major ally and friend, modern-day Turkey. If passed, the Resolution would seriously damage the NATO Alliance. There are important American national security interests involved in our friendship with Turkey, whose government and people are offended by this Resolution. While I do not doubt the motives of the sponsors of this Resolution, I believe its passage will be used to justify the acts of Armenian terrorists who, since 1975, have murdered more than 45 Turkish diplomats. I am confident that we are all determined to defeat international terrorism.

Because I believe there are compelling national interest reasons for voting against H.J. Res. 132, I urge that you cast your vote against it.

Sincerely yours,

George P. Shultz

DOCUMENT: LXII

**Department of State Press Statement**

**August 3, 1987**

Source:

August 3, 1987, U.S. Department of State  
'Press Statement' entitled:  
'Turkey: Armenian Resolution.'

**Turkey: Armenian Resolution**

The House Rules Committee August 3 reported out H.J. Res. 132, also known as the Armenian Resolution. The Administration is strongly opposed to this resolution.

Turkey is a major ally of the United States and a key member of NATO. Our country has major national security interests in this relationship. The resolution, which is seen in Turkey by voters and leaders as a gratuitous insult to Turkey, endangers those interests.

Nobody wishes to deny the suffering of the Armenians who resided in eastern Anatolia where the Christian and Moslem population suffered great deprivation and death during the First World War. However, there is a question whether the United States should legislate historical judgment of events in another nation when there is debate about the events among reputable scholars.

We are all associated in the fight against international terrorism, the Administration does not doubt the sincere motives of the sponsors of this resolution. However, we believe that Armenian terrorists who have been responsible for the murder of 45 Turkish diplomats since 1975 will use the resolution to justify their acts.

The Administration hopes that the House membership will take these important concerns into account and reject H.J. Res. 132.

## DOCUMENT LXIII

### Source:

August 3, 1987, letter from Ambassador Şükrü Elekdağ, Turkey's representative in Washington, D.C., to all members of the U.S. House of Representatives

Dear Congressman,

You will soon be asked to vote on HJ Res. 132 falsely characterizing the intercommunal warfare and accompanying human tragedy of the First World War in the Ottoman Empire's Eastern Anatolian region as a "genocide" against the Empire's Armenian citizens.

Statements by the President of the Turkish Republic, the Prime Minister and the leaders of all the political parties represented in the Turkish Parliament show clearly that the passage of this resolution by the United States Congress will inevitably and irreparably damage Turkish-American relations and cooperation.

These foreseeable reactions stem from the fact that the Turkish people as a whole and the Turkish body politic view the charge contained in the resolution as not only historically unfounded but also as a direct insult to and defamation of the Turkish people. The great majority of American scholars on Ottoman history challenge the "genocide" charge and have asked the Congress not to legislate faulty history.

Furthermore, Armenian terrorists claiming revenge for the misrepresented events of 73 years ago as a rationale for their heinous crimes, have murdered more than 70 innocent people around the world, including 40 Turkish diplomats.

Consequently, the Turkish public justifiably believes that the passage of this resolution will be interpreted by these terrorists not only as a legitimization and vindication of their crimes by the United States Congress, but also as an encouragement for continuing their murderous campaign.

As recent events have clearly demonstrated, this sort of resolution will inevitably fuel international terrorism against Turkey. The resolution's passage will be seen by Turks as a product of American insensitivity toward Turkish lives which are at risk because of Armenian terrorism. In addition to casting doubt on the credibility of the United States' commitment to combat international terrorism, this will also seriously alienate the Turkish nation from the United States.

Likewise, in view of territorial demands advanced by the Armenian terrorists and by "mainstream" Armenian groups as well, the Turkish people will view the passage of this resolution as a vote for the dismemberment of the Turkish Republic, your strategically important NATO ally.

I am sure you must understand that no representative government will be able to mitigate or ignore the wave of public outrage the passage of this measure is certain to generate.

Contrary to the claims advanced by its proponents, HJ Res. 132 is not merely a symbolic gesture on behalf of a particular American ethnic group. It is in fact a measure with serious and long term foreign policy implications for the United States and the Western alliance.

Advocates of HJ Res. 132, advance the argument that the European Parliament has recently acknowledged the veracity of Armenian allegations. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Only 68 members of the 518-member European Parliament supported the paragraph regarding Armenian allegations. Almost all of these were Communist party members, extreme left wing socialists, Greens, and Greek Parliamentarians, all of whom are consistently hostile toward Turkey. Over two-thirds of the Parliamentarians boycotted the debate and the vote on the grounds that the European Parliament had no business discussing historically controversial cases or on passing historical judgments.

Already the Governments of Great Britain and West Germany have officially disassociated themselves from the actions of the European Parliament which, according to



its charter, is simply a consultative body and cannot speak for the 12 member governments of the European Community.

I urge you to oppose this resolution, as its passage will jeopardize the full range of crucial Turkish-American interests and ties.

Sincerely,

Dr. Şükrü Elekdağ  
Ambassador of the  
Turkish Republic  
August 3, 1987

DOCUMENT: LXIV

August 6, 1987

Source:

August 6, 1987, letter from H. E. Turgut Özal, Prime Minister of Turkey, to the Honorable James Wright, Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives.

Mr. Speaker,

I am writing you in a personal appeal that you do all in your power to prevent passage by the United States House of Representatives of H.J. Res. 132.

I am sure you will understand I would not make this request unless the matter has extreme urgency and vital importance for our two countries.

First of all, as I had already explained to you personally, I must emphasize that a political body such as the US House of Representatives should not pass a judgment on historical events. For, a decision by a political body based on distortions will be erroneous and prejudicial, particularly if the matter is itself controversial and still being debated amongst the scholars.

The Turkish Government has almost completed the preparations to open the Ottoman archives, which will no doubt bring significant contribution to shed further light on this matter.

In view of the above, the adoption of such a resolution will therefore be a great injustice to the Turkish nation even though it does not mention the present day Turkey. The Turkish people will view such resolution not only as an insult to their past but also an attempt to threaten their future. As a result, Turkish-American relations will suffer to a great extent.

Thus the adoption of this resolution will play only into the hands of those who want to damage the ties of Turkey with the Western world and to discredit her image before the world public opinion.

Moreover, the resolution will provide justification to the Armenian terrorists in their future crimes and ill intentions.

I appeal to you, Mr. Speaker, to make this clear to your colleagues.

Sincerely,

Turgut Özal  
Prime Minister  
Republic of Turkey

DOCUMENT LXV

Source:

Telegram addressed to all members of the U.S. House of Representatives, sent by Mr. Tunca Iskir, President of the Assembly of Turkish-American Associations.

Dear Congressman

We, Americans of Turkish descent, urge you to vote against H.J. Res. 132. It is based on historical falsehoods: it encourages terrorism and hatred of the Turkish people. H.J. Res. 132 is not just an innocent piece of ethnic recognition for the Armenians. It has far-reaching detrimental consequences for our national interests and for the people of Turkish origin.

Tunca Iskir  
President  
Assembly of Turkish American Associations

**Official Deception on Paris Bombings**

Jack Anderson and Dale Van Atta

## Source:

Jack Anderson & Dale Van Atta: "Official Deception on Paris Bombings," *The Washington Post* (October 29, 1986), p. C12.

French officials are deliberately misleading their own people and the international press about the true source of the terrorist bombings that have rocked Paris in recent months. They may be trying to cover up a secret deal that the French hope will end the carnage.

Responsibility for the indiscriminate bombings, which killed 10 persons and wounded 162, was claimed by an unknown group called the Committee for Solidarity with Arab and Middle Eastern Political Prisoners. "With" may be the key word.

Each bombing was followed by a demand to release three terrorists held in French prisons. Two, Georges Abdallah and Anis Naccache, are Maronite Christian Lebanese; the third, Garbidjian [sic. Garabedian], is an Armenian Christian, born in Syria.

French officials from Prime Minister Jacques Chirac down have convinced the press that Abdallah is the key individual. He heads a small terrorist group, the Lebanese Armed Revolutionary Factions, but is charged with only minor crimes in France. There's not enough evidence on which to hold Abdallah for very long; the French will have to set him free in a few years at most.

Naccache, who bungled an attempt to assassinate an Iranian exile leader, is small potatoes. He doesn't even belong to a terrorist organization capable of a series of bombings.

As for Garbidjian [sic. Garabedian], he is serving a life sentence, with no chance of parole, for the 1983 bombing at Orly Airport outside Paris that killed seven persons. He asserted responsibility for the bombing.

Garbidjian [sic. Garabedian] is a top leader—if not No. 1—of one of the deadliest terrorist groups in the world: the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA). In the last decade, ASALA assassins have killed more than 70 Turkish officials, family members and bystanders, and have wounded more than 300 in attacks all over the world. ASALA demands that the present Turkish government admit the genocide of Armenians during World War I, and that an independent Armenian homeland be carved out of eastern Turkey.

Our sources, who are terrorism experts in various Western intelligence agencies, believe Garbidjian [sic. Garabedian] is the French prisoner whose release is the crucial demand of the Paris bombers. In this scenario, Abdallah, the Lebanese terrorist, is just a red herring to divert the press from a deal over Garbidjian [sic. Garabedian]. In fact, a similar situation developed five years ago.

On Oct. 25, 1981, ASALA launched a series of 15 bombings in Paris to win the release of an ASALA leader, Monte Melkonian, and better treatment for four other members charged with the takeover of the Turkish consulate in Paris, in which a security guard was killed.

Our sources confirm that the French cut a deal with ASALA in January 1982. The bombings stopped, Melkonian was set free and the four other ASALA prisoners were given light sentences.

The truce blew up—literally—with the Orly Airport bombing. Although Garbidjian [sic. Garabedian] tried to convince the French it was an accident, they sentenced him to life. Our inquiries into the Garbidjian [sic. Garabedian] link have made French sources nervous. Meanwhile, though, Chirac has succeeded in selling the story that Abdallah is behind the bombings.

## DOCUMENT LXVII

**French Foil Turks' Hunt for Terrorist**

Jack Anderson and Dale Van Atta

## Source:

Jack Anderson & Dale Van Atta: "French Foil Turks' Hunt for Terrorist," *The Washington Post* (October 31, 1986), p. E5.

France's appeasement of terrorists has taken another ugly turn. The French refuse to let Turkish counterterrorist investigators see photographs of the man who has directed the slaughter of Turkish diplomats and their families.

For more than three years, Turkish intelligence officials have been pleading with the French to give them a picture of the No. 1 Armenian terrorist, who used the nom de guerre "Hagop Hagopian."

The deadliest of the Armenian organizations is ASALA, the Armenian Secret Army

for the Liberation of Armenia. Its goal is to force the Turkish government to acknowledge what they claim was the 1915 genocide of 1.5 million Armenians by the Ottoman Turks, and to establish an independent Armenian state in eastern Turkey.

ASALA was founded in Beirut in 1975 by the shadowy Hagopian, a Syrian-Armenian with Marxist inclinations.

After the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982, Hagopian fled and set up new bases in Damascus and Athens. He also broke with the Palestine Liberation Organization, which had given ASALA training and support. Hagopian linked up with Abu Nidal, the anti-PLO leader responsible for much anti-American terrorism.

Hagopian has never given a face-to-face interview, and descriptions of him vary. A photo of him would be of enormous value to the Turks, who have been trying to track him down.

The French secret services have obtained photographs of Hagopian. Intelligence sources tell us that a top PLO leader, Salah Khalaf, slipped the French some pictures of Hagopian and other Armenian terrorists in December 1982, following the ASALA-PLO break.

Using these pictures, the French were able to identify Hagopian when he visited Paris in April 1983. They didn't arrest him, but followed him to all his secret meetings and compiled an extensive file on ASALA.

As we reported, the French cut a deal with ASALA in January 1982, releasing an Armenian leader in return for an end to a series of deadly bombings. The truce was broken in July 1983, by the premature detonation at Orly Airport of a bomb terrorists say was intended to go off aboard a Turkish airliner.

Using the information from their surveillance of Hagopian, the French quickly rounded up 51 people linked to ASALA. One of them, Vardjian Garbidjian [sic. Varoujan Garabedian], was sentenced to life for murder; he is one of three terrorists whose release has been demanded by those responsible for the recent wave of bombings in Paris.

One theory for the French refusal to give Hagopian's picture to the Turks is that Garbidjian [sic. Garabedian], the Armenian terrorist now in a French prison, may be the elusive Hagopian. A photo of Hagopian would enable the Turks to prove this by comparing it to pictures taken of Garbidjian [sic. Garabedian] at his trial.

The Hagopian/Garbidjian [sic. Garabedian] theory would explain the wave of Paris bombings. ASALA (with a little help from Abu Nidal) wants its founder released; with the previous deal as precedent, the Armenian terrorists figure they can win Hagopian/Garbidjian's [sic. Garabedian's] freedom with a series of bombings.

#### DOCUMENT LXVIII

#### ASALA Cooperating with Radical Lebanese?

Source:  
"ASALA Cooperating with Radical  
Lebanese," *The Armenian Reporter*, July  
9, 1987, p. 1.

NEW YORK, N.Y.—"The Mossad, the Israeli intelligence service has cautioned M.I.T., the Turkish secret police organization to watch for new developments as the result of the establishment of close cooperation between the 'Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia' (ASALA) and the Hizballah, the extreme and radical Lebanese underground group that strongly supports Iran's Ayatollah Khomeini.

The Israeli intelligence service has told its Turkish counterpart that ASALA, working together with Hizballah, is planning a series of violent acts directed at Turkish diplomats and targets."

#### DOCUMENT LXIX

#### Radical Group Hosts Well-Attended Solidarity Meeting

Source:  
Edward K. Boghosian, "Radical Group  
Hosts Well-Attended Solidarity Meeting,"  
*The Armenian Reporter*, May 1, 1986,  
pp. 1 & 18.

By Edward K. Boghosian

ATHENS, Greece—An array of representatives of Greek political parties, including the ruling PASOK party, and a host of political groups, both Armenian and non-Armenian, joined to voice their solidarity with the Armenian people in their pursuit of their cause and activities of a new Armenian political force were voiced here on Sunday, April 20 during

the 2nd International Meeting of Solidarity with the Armenian People. And judging from encouraging messages offered by the representatives of these political groups and organizations, at least here in Greece, the Armenian Cause enjoys abundant support from a wide spectrum of the political world.

The International Meeting of Solidarity was sponsored by the Greek branch of the Armenian Popular Movement, a comparatively new political force headed by younger generations of Armenians, who openly profess their support of the armed struggle and of the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA). The organization has branches in various European and Middle Eastern countries and the United States although some of these branches appear to have gone through a switch of loyalties because of the split within the ranks of ASALA.

The conference was held at the University of Pantios for Political Science, a location that furthered the image and importance of the gathering. It also received a wide coverage in the Greek press and on television. Some 200 people, including guest representatives of the numerous political groups attended the gathering. Most of the political groups represented at the conference, the second to be held here, were portrayed as "progressive, democratic and revolutionary" terms that identify them as being leftist organizations.

The program of the conference consisted mostly of messages delivered by participants voicing their solidarity with the Armenian people and support for their claims from Turkey. Outside of two messages, all were delivered in Greek and no simultaneous translation was provided. However, almost all of the messages received were offered in the English translation for the benefit of those who do not understand Greek.

Voicing the support of PASOK, the ruling party in Greece, to the Armenian people, was Mr. Charalambidi Michalis, a member of the Central Committee of the party and the Greek member of the Permanent People's Tribunal. Perichli Rod'akis, a noted Greek historian, focused on Turkish chauvinism and drew a parallel between the sufferings of the Greek and Armenian people at the hands of the rulers of Ottoman Turkey. Explaining the goals and aspirations of the Armenian Popular Movement was Ara Sarkisian. Significant was the address delivered by Mr. Bassam Abu-Salim, on behalf of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (P.F.L.P.) headed by Dr. George Habash. Mr. Abu-Salim pledged his movement's continued support of the Armenians' armed struggle in their pursuit of their cause, pledging that Palestinian operated and run training camps would always be open to Armenian youth who need training for such a struggle. Later, Mr. Abu-Salim, answering a question put to him by this writer, affirmed that his organization had always trained Armenian members of ASALA and that this policy will continue. "The doors of our camps are always open to Armenian freedom fighters," he affirmed.

Among the prominent Greek politicians who attended the conference was the son of Prime Minister Papandreou, who himself holds a post in the Greek cabinet; two members of the Cypriot Parliament who had journeyed to Athens for the specific purpose of attending the international gathering; representatives of the Christian Democratic party, EDIK Center party, two wings of the Communist party, representatives of an assortment of labor unions and trade associations, a number of mayors of Greek towns and cities; two Greek members of the European Parliament and other members of the Greek Parliament were also among those who participated in the international conference. Also on hand to follow the deliberations was the ambassador of Bulgaria in Athens.

More than significant was the large number of messages received by the organizers, including the following: Palestinian National Revolutionary Movement, Fatah; Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command; the Central Committee of the Palestinian National Liberation Movement-Fatah; the Socialist Progressive Party of Lebanon; Arab Socialist Labor Party; the Kurdistan Democratic Union of Iraq; and numerous other international groups, all noted for their radical stand in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

#### **SUPPORT FROM ARF-RM**

Among messages received from Armenian groups was the Armenian Revolutionary Federation-Revolutionary movement, the group that has claimed the abduction and assassination of key party leaders in Lebanon accused of selling out to foreign interests and powers. The message clearly gave its support to the Armenian Popular Movement pledging that the Revolutionary movement will continue to "reveal the realities, no matter how bitter or tragic they are," to expose the anti-Armenian activities of the leaders of the

Dashnag "Bureau." The message was taken as an indication of the link, loose as it may be, that exists between the dissident Dashnag group and the Armenian Popular Movement, open supporters of ASALA and armed struggle.

During the course of the program, it was revealed that some 165 signatures were collected from prominent Greek political leaders calling on the Turkish government to release Very Rev. Manuel Yergatian, who has been imprisoned since 1980 on charges that he conspired against the security of Turkey. At the time of the effort to solicit the support of Greek politicians for Father Manuel, it was still not known in Greece that the Armenian priest would soon be released from prison and banished to a remote location in Turkey for a period of four years.

The Armenian Popular Movement has set up its headquarters in a suburb of the Greek capital, known as Neos Kosmos, where there is a large Armenian presence. The headquarters are located in a two-story building, which appears to have turned into a beehive of activity on the part of scores of Armenian youth, who prefer to give their first names only when invited to introduce themselves. The organization regularly publishes periodicals in at least five languages, including one in Turkish, which are widely distributed. Among the titles published thus far are some named after the cities and towns in historic Armenia.

During impromptu discussions held by this writer with some of the young men at the headquarters, it became quite clear that the Movement is clearly critical of the traditional Armenian political parties, which in their estimation not only have failed to devote their energies toward the pursuit of the Armenian cause, but have divided and fragmented the Armenian people to such an extent that the Armenian people cannot efficiently pursue its cause. Cited was the effort on the part of the local chapter of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, the Dashnag party, which, in an apparent effort to hurt the International Solidarity Meeting, had announced a running race on the same day, that the conference was scheduled.

A spokesman for the group, who identified himself as Armen, asserted that his group does not seek to dominate the Armenian community and rather strives to generate a close cooperation among all Armenian groups. "We rather see these groups operate separately and when the need arises cooperate with others like us," affirmed the youthful spokesman. He also spoke of the inroads that the new organization had achieved at least in Greece, where there appears to be wide support for the Armenians. He revealed that no overt effort was made to ensure the participation of the guests, however, a sizeable number of invited guests had readily accepted the invitation and had taken part.

The principal purpose of the Armenian Popular Movement appears to be to build up a wide support among the countries in which it operates and eventually enlist the support of a phalanx of friends and advocates who could play a major role in influencing world public opinion for the Armenian cause.

The young men and women who have rallied around the Armenian Popular Movement and who appear to have originated from Greece and from Middle Eastern countries, leave a vivid impression on any visitor who comes in contact with them. They appear to be well educated, strongly motivated and truly dedicated to a cause and are determined to pursue it both through armed struggle and by means of political militancy.

## DOCUMENT LXX

### U.S. and Greece in Dispute on Terror

#### Source:

Alan Cowell, "U.S. & Greece in Dispute on Terror," *The New York Times*, June 27, 1987, p. 4.

By ALAN COWELL

Special to *The New York Times*

ATHENS, June 26—A dispute developed today between Athens and Washington over United States intelligence reports saying that Athens had, for several months, conducted negotiations with the terrorist known as Abu Nidal. Greece rejected the assertions.

The United States intelligence reports were presented at a meeting here Thursday between the Greek Foreign Minister, Karolos Papoulias, and the United States Ambassador, Robert Keeley, people with knowledge of the encounter said.

They declined to specify the nature of the reported negotiations with Abu Nidal. They said the contacts were verified in what were termed hard intelligence reports.

Abu Nidal leads the Palestinian splinter group Al Fatah Revolutionary Council, implicated in the 1985 airport bombings at Rome and Vienna that contributed to the Reagan Administration's decision to bomb Tripoli, Libya, last year.

#### **No Formal Link to Expulsion**

The terrorist group was said to have maintained offices in Tripoli and Damascus. Arab diplomats said recently that the Syrian authorities ordered Abu Nidal to close his Damascus office shortly before this month's Venice summit meeting of leading industrialized nations, which was attended by President Reagan.

The United States has since indicated its readiness for improved relations with Damascus, but has drawn no formal link to Abu Nidal's reported expulsion from Syria.

In Washington, State Department officials said that when Administration officials learned about the contacts, the State Department drafted a strongly worded *démarche*. The officials also expressed unhappiness with Greece's dealings with Asala, the Armenian Liberation Army, which has carried out terrorist acts against Turks, although it is unclear whether that was included.

The people familiar with the meeting Thursday said Ambassador Keeley's accusations drew an instant protest from Mr. Papoulias, who was reported to have made several telephone calls to Greek officials during the encounter to ascertain that the assertions by the United States were untrue.

#### **No Comment on Meeting**

An official spokesman said Prime Minister Andreas Papandreu's Government had decided to make no official comment on the meeting.

The United States Embassy also declined formal comment on the accusations.

Abu Nidal was reportedly ordered to close his office in Damascus after a meeting this year of the Palestine National Council, the Palestine Liberation Organization's so-called parliament in exile. Abu Nidal was said to be seeking to attend the meeting along with other Palestinian figures who were prepared to defy President Hafez al-Assad of Syria by reconciling with Yasir Arafat.

## **DOCUMENT LXXI**

### **Cyprus Is a Reluctant Crossroad for Terrorists on the Go**

Source:

Juan O. Tamayo, "Cyprus Is A Reluctant Crossroad for Terrorists on the Go," *The Miami Herald*, October 1, 1986.

By JUAN O. TAMAYO  
Herald Staff Writer

NICOSIA, Cyprus—Welcome to Cyprus, sun-and-surf paradise for topless Scandinavian sunbathers, ancient crossroads for Arab-European trade and now favorite way station for the traveling terrorist.

In the past year, Palestine Liberation Organization gunmen killed three Israelis and a Syrian in Cyprus, Abu Nidal bombed a Jordanian office, pro-Iranian terrorists attacked two Iraqis, and Libyan agents shelled a British military base and tailed U.S. diplomats around the island.

Cypriot police arrested a dozen Arabs carrying hand grenades and pistols, and refused entry to dozens of suspicious travelers. Israeli gunboats intercepted two Cyprus-based ships delivering weapons to Palestinians in Lebanon.

"It's like Lisbon during World War II—a neutral but weak country where every side gets to play nasty games," a Western diplomat in Nicosia said of Cyprus.

Not that the government of President Spyros Kyprianou permits these bloody intrigues in Cyprus, a Mediterranean island of 650,000 people ruled by the British until 1960 and now divided into a Greek-speaking south and a Turkish-occupied north.

In fact, Western diplomats here and terrorism experts in Israel give Kyprianou high marks for tight security and say that Cyprus generally is a peaceful island worthy of its claim as the birthplace of the Greek goddess of love, Aphrodite.

"We have our problems, but we are alert on terrorism," said Nikos Rolandis, a former foreign minister and likely candidate in the 1988 presidential elections.

But terrorists and shady characters of all stripes are being attracted here by the same factors that turned Cyprus into a major turnstile for trade between Arabs and Europeans, especially since Beirut was decimated by the Lebanese civil war.

Cyprus sits at the hub of the eastern Mediterranean, 130 miles from Beirut and 200 miles from the Suez Canal, and has daily flights to the Middle East and Europe and a modern telephone system. Its one million tourists a year and the thousands of Lebanese refugees living in "Little Beiruts" around the island provide good cover for terrorists on the go.

Add to that an efficient and discreet banking system and an ancient tradition of smuggling through the island's myriad beaches and coves, and Cyprus turns out to be an excellent, even if reluctant, base for clandestine operations.

#### **Murder of Israelis**

Three members of the PLO's Force 17 commando unit murdered three Israelis in September 1985, in the southern port of Larnaca, and the Israeli Embassy in the capital of Nicosia has been bombed twice.

PLO rebels who oppose Chairman Yasser Arafat have assassinated two Arafat supporters and have bombed the PLO mission in Nicosia, which has diplomatic status, and the home of the PLO Ambassador Malath Abdo. Arafat's gunmen have been blamed for the murder here of a PLO rebel and a sailor from Syria, which harbors the chairman's foes.

Abu Nidal claimed responsibility for the bombing of a local office of Jordan's Alia airline last year, and pro-Iranian Lebanese Shiites are suspected in the car-bomb murder of the Iraqi Airlines director here last November and the recent kidnapping of another Iraqi alleged to be an intelligence agent.

Libyan agents—Tripoli's embassy was manned by 35 diplomats until a recent drop to four or five because of their country's economic crisis—are known to have followed U.S. diplomats in Cyprus and are suspected in a mortar raid on the British air force base of Akrotiri in August.

Libya also finances an Islamic studies center in Nicosia and allegedly helps a left-wing Cypriot party by giving it control of Cypro-Libya Trading Co., which takes a 2 percent commission on each deal between the island and Col. Moammar Gadhafi's government.

ASALA, an Armenian terror group that attacks Turkish targets in retaliation for alleged massacres of Armenians before and during World War I, reportedly operates from Cyprus under the cover of an import-export company and a religious studies institute.

#### **Releases terrorists**

Foreign diplomats here and Israeli experts say that Cyprus' key failings in the fight against terror have been its live-and-let-live attitude—"We have repeatedly made appeals to be left out of any disputes and conflicts in the region," Kyprianou said in a recent speech—and its readiness to release and expel captured terrorists.

Police in August freed a Lebanese Shiite arrested last December when he tried to board a Jordan-bound airplane carrying two wine jugs stuffed with hand grenades, two pistols and a silencer, in exchange for two Cypriot students kidnapped in Beirut.

Cypriot police also released two other Shiites who had hijacked a Libyan-bound jetliner in 1983 and surrendered in Larnaca, in exchange for the release of a Cyprus Air jetliner and passengers seized in Beirut.

Cyprus officially denies that it trades prisoners for hostages, but government officials say privately that the island cannot afford to confront terrorist extortion threats, partly to protect its Arab trade links and partly to win Arab support for its case against the Turkish military occupation of north Cyprus since 1974.

"Being a small country we cannot fight terrorism in the same way as the United States," said Rolandis, the former foreign minister.

#### **Shady dealings**

But Cyprus' location and facilities also are attracting other kinds of clandestine activities, from drug deals to spying:

- The island is a major transit point for Lebanese heroin and hashish—police stopped a freighter carrying 14 tons of hashish earlier this year—and the U.S. Embassy in Nicosia has a detachment from the Drug Enforcement Administration.

- Israeli businessmen say they use Cyprus to “launder” Israeli-made goods for sale on forbidden Arab markets, repacking their products in Cyprus and bribing local businessmen to certify that they are “made in Cyprus.”

- Israeli secret agents keep a sharp eye on the Palestinians.

- Cuba has a three-man embassy in Nicosia although President Fidel Castro’s government does virtually no business with Cyprus.

- Moscow usually keeps an intelligence-gathering trawler off Cypriot waters, and a hush-hush British army unit eavesdrops on the Soviet Union with an array of listening devices mounted atop the island’s highest peak, the 6,000-foot Mount Olympus.

The British unit was rocked last year by allegations of a homosexual spy ring involving Soviet agents, an Arab pimp and the base guitar player in an all-girl Filipina rock band.

## DOCUMENT LXXII

### “Abu Nidal’s Advisers” Reportedly Training “PKK & ASALA Militants” in Cyprus

Source:  
The British Broadcasting Corporation,  
*Summary of World Broadcasting—July 6, 1987: Part 4-A: The Middle East*, p.  
ME/86-12/A/1

Nicosia, Ankara, Tel Aviv. The Israeli secret service, Mossad, is reported to have acquired significant information in connection with the camps set up in the Troodos mountains in Cyprus for the training of militants of the PKK and ASALA [Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia]. According to sources close to Mossad, about 700 Kurdish, Greek Cypriot and Armenian militants are undergoing training in the Troodos mountains in southern Cyprus [sic]. The same sources stated that Abu Nidal’s special advisers are giving military training to the PKK and ASALA militants in the camps. They added that the militants leave southern Cyprus for Libya, Lebanon, Syria, Greece and Iraq after completing their training. Mossad has established that due to the clashes which were taking place among the terrorist groups based in Syria, the PKK and ASALA organisation moved to the Greek Cypriot part of Cyprus, where they would be more comfortable. They also transferred a number of their camps in northern Syria to the Troodos mountains.

Mossad revealed that the Armenian National Movement which is known as the MNA has opened liaison offices in Nicosia, Athens and Tripoli in order to meet the needs of the camps. The offices are used to provide material support for the Armenian camp. Meanwhile, the leader of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, George Habash is reported to have ordered his men not to participate in the operations carried out by the PKK and ASALA, which he described as “extreme racist, extreme nationalist and fascist. Reliable sources have said that Habash believed that the recent operations carried out by the PKK militants show that organisation to be a band of irregulars engaged in extreme nationalist operations. They added that he instructed his militants to sever their links with the PKK and avoid clashing with it. It has been established that George Habash expelled ASALA militants from his camp after ASALA’s connections with drug trafficking were exposed.

## DOCUMENT LXXIII

### Turks Accuse Greece for Providing Shelter to Armenian Gunman Just Released by Yugoslav Authorities

Source:  
“Turks Accuse Greece for Providing Shelter to Armenian Gunman Just Released by Yugoslav Authorities,” *The Armenian Reporter*, July 30, 1987, p. 1.

NEW YORK, N.Y.—“Turkey last week accused Greece for continuing its support of Armenian terrorists and said the latest evidence of this support is the shelter granted Mr. Krikor Levonian, the partially paralyzed Armenian gunman who was recently released from a prison in Yugoslavia.

Mr. Levonian, who was given a long prison sentence for the 1983 assassination of the Turkish ambassador in Belgrade, was released on April 24 from prison where he was confined along with an associate, both members of the ‘Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide.’ Soon after his release, according to Turkish sources, Mr. Levonian was allowed entry into Greece, where Turks say Greek authorities offered him shelter and provided the much needed medical treatment.