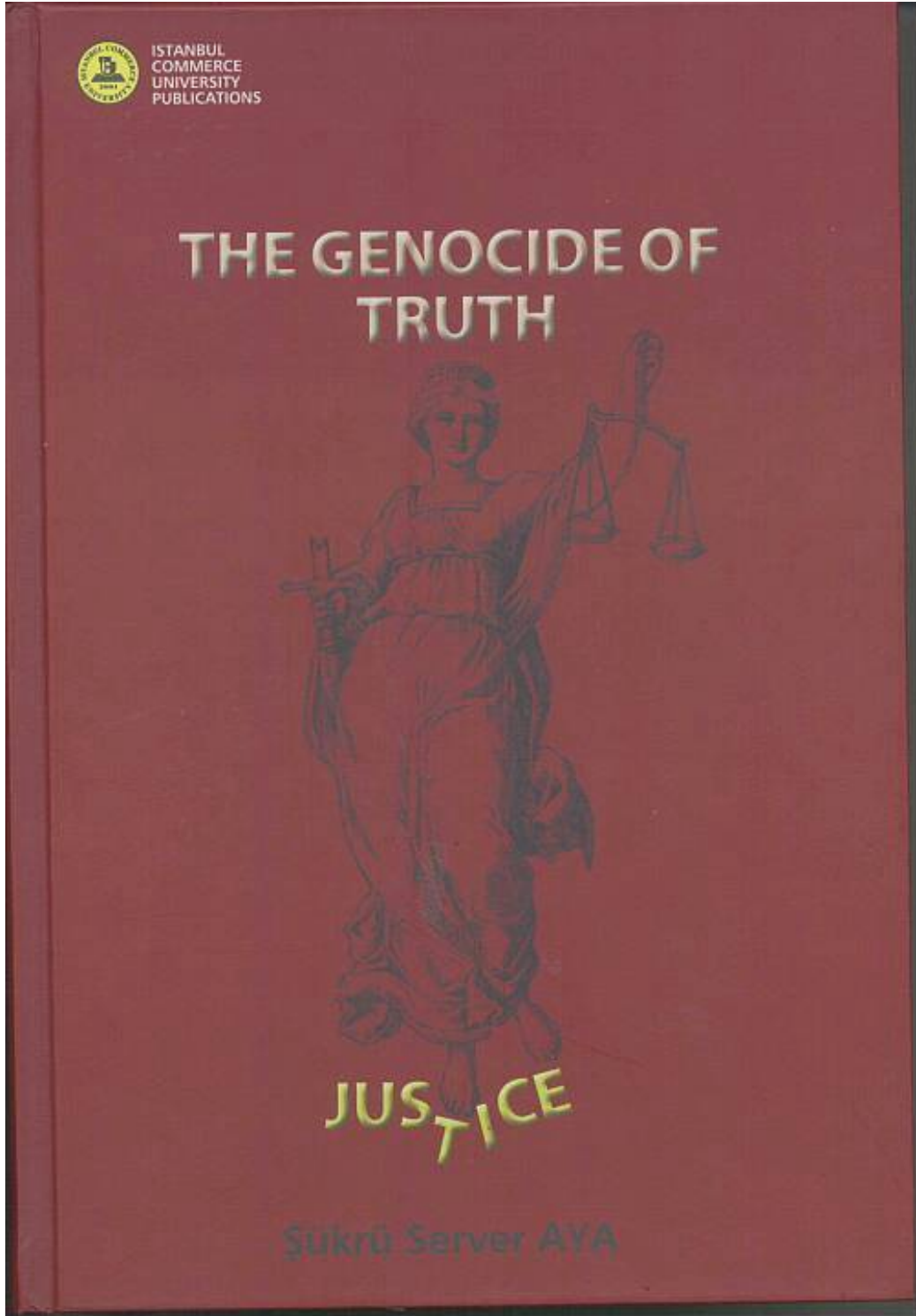


THE GENOCIDE OF TRUTH



Şükrü Server Aya

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INTRODUCTION & BIOGRAPHY

SETTING THE “INVENTIONS” STRAIGHT

In the closing decades of the Ottoman Empire, the Armenian upheaval culminated in tragedy. The Armenians, formerly identified as a loyal and privileged community, undertook sporadic acts of insurgency at a time when the Ottoman state was confronted with diverse internal problems in addition to conflicts with major European powers. The Christian world, incited by their missionaries in the Ottoman lands, took advantage of unrest there to spur Armenian nationalists into insurrection against Muslim Turks. Russians, longtime adversaries of the Ottomans, effectively mobilized militant Armenians to armed rebellion in eastern Anatolia. The Ottoman ruling establishment felt betrayed by an erstwhile trusted and loyal minority. It was a convulsive period when World War I was raging. The faltering Ottoman government erred in seeking a solution: It ordered the relocation of masses of Armenians. Large numbers of those deportees of all ages perished during the long march. What had been thought of as a practical way out of preventing civil war turned into a massive tragedy! Contrary to subsequent allegations decades of research have failed to substantiate such charges no order had been issued for extermination, no planned genocide occurred. As for the losses of life during the unfortunate deportation, the Ottomans of the time and the Turks of later decades bemoaned the tragic consequences. Today most Turks of goodwill feel deep sorrow. They feel chagrined that tens of thousands of people had fallen victim to the ill effects of nationalism, sedition, and foreign provocation – and a mismanaged relocation attempt.

This bitter harvest of history dating from the final Ottoman era, later became transmogrified into a smear campaign against the Turkish Republic and her citizens. Starting out as sustained propaganda it spearheaded such terrorist acts in many world capitals as assassinations of Turkish diplomats, and culminated in a series of anti-Turkish resolutions passed by numerous national parliaments.

Large segments of the Turkish people, believe that the Armenian tragedy that erupted when the Ottoman State neared its end had resulted from uprisings. Similar disasters would probably have taken place in other major states (for example, France, Germany, England or USA) if they were threatened by secessionist minorities instigated into action by outside powers in the course of a world war.

Interestingly, in its first forty years the Turkish Republic experienced no recrimination from the Armenian diaspora or from western governments or parliaments. A new strategy, devised mainly for rekindling Armenian national consciousness and religious allegiance, was introduced in the mid 1960s with the assassination of Turkey's Consul General in San Francisco. For two decades thereafter, as many Turkish diplomats was killed by the terrorist organization ASALA, a relentless propaganda campaign made flagrant accusations against Turkey in order to strengthen the waning Armenian national awareness and to augment church-attendance. By the 1960s, numerous Armenian churches in Manhattan had such sparse attendance that some of them had to close! Some ten years later, all of them reopened - and even a major Cathedral (St Vartan's Cathedral) was constructed.

The diaspora's campaign against Turkey ranks as one of the most effective propaganda wars waged in modern times. It persuaded many nations and communities that the Ottoman government perpetrated genocide and that the successor state, the Republic of Turkey, must be held accountable even ninety or a hundred years later.

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In the early decades of the Armenian propaganda war, Turkey often chose not to refute the allegations or challenge the figures even when those seemed exaggerated or fabricated. It contented itself by making outright denials that anything had happened or it advanced countercharges that large numbers (or even comparable numbers) of Turks, too, had been killed in the same events.

Silence or unconvincing explanations on the Turkish side strengthened the credence given to the Armenian assertions. It is only in recent years that Turkey has started to make creditable rebuttals, exposing some of the charges as fictitious and some of the figures as swollen.

An enlightening advocacy is now produced by Şükrü Server Aya, who has compiled authoritative evidence extricated from authentic sources. By quoting verbatim from reports, eyewitness accounts, books and articles, etc. by impartial observers, including some Armenian writers, he exposes a great deal of sham, prevarication, distortion, and falsification and reveals much brazenly anti-Turkish prejudice. Many of the excerpts here individually disprove charges and prove that some of them were pure inventions, or fantasy or figments of irresponsible imagination.

Compiling and presenting an anonymous collection of documents such as the contents of "The Genocide of Truth" requires tremendous efforts.

This volume has had the benefit of encouragement and moral support from the distinguished Turkish intellectual and statesman His Excellency Bülent Akarcalı, Turkey's former Minister of Health. His valuable guidance and joint assistance with Prof. Dr. Ateş Vuran, Rector of Istanbul Commerce University, who spared no effort to get this volume published and distributed, must be complimented. Aside from these two distinguished supporters, many individuals have provided other types of help, so that such a pioneering collection could see the light of day. My thanks go to them as well.

If readers maintain intellectual integrity, the material in this volume will convince them that not all propaganda is truthful, but much of it is probably (or at least possibly) chimerical. The Aya book sets the record straight in many ways, provides a wealth of objective perspectives, and contributes to the creation of an ambience of balanced judgment and fair play. This collection is an impressively strong document for the rectification of distortions and disinformation

Talât S. Halman

{Talat Halman served as the first Minister of Culture of the Turkish Republic. Currently he is Professor and Chairman, Department of Turkish Literature and Dean of Humanities and Letters, Bilkent University. Formerly he was on the faculties of Columbia, Pennsylvania, and Princeton Universities for many years, and from 1986 to 1996, Professor and Chairman of the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Literatures at New York University. He served as Ambassador for Cultural Affairs and Turkey's Deputy Permanent Representative at the United Nations. He has published more than sixty books (including 12 collections of his own poetry in Turkish and English) and 3000 articles in Turkish and English. From 1991 to 1995, he served as an elected member of the UNESCO Executive Board. Currently he is President of the UNICEF Turkish National Committee. He holds honorary doctorates from Boğaziçi and Ankara Universities. Honors and awards include Distinguished Service Awards of the Turkish Academy of Sciences and the Turkish Foreign Ministry, and "Knight Grand Cross, G.B.E., The Most Excellent Order of the British Empire", (counterpart of "Sir") conferred on him by Queen Elizabeth II.}

<Halman is a RC '51 graduate and served on several Board of Trustees of Istanbul American Colleges. For more information, please refer to: "CULTURAL HORIZONS" Syracuse Univ. Press, ISBN-08156-8132-1>

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FOREWORD and SHORT BIOGRAPHY:

The purpose of this compilation is neither to acquit the Ottoman Administration from the responsibilities of a generally badly managed deportation or relocation process, nor to degrade the Armenian people as a race or nationality. Their ulterior motives to create a state, one vaguely promised by Britain, France and Russia, would have covered several Ottoman provinces stretching from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean. They were to take advantage of this crucial political situation in order to fracture the Empire from within, to serve their own imperialistic purposes.

Right or wrong, the Armenians of eastern Anatolia were persuaded by Dashnak elements originating from Russia that they deserved an independent state and that World War I was the opportunity they had been waiting for a long time. On the other hand, assuming that the Turkish and Russian Armenians would fight on their side, the Ottomans promised them autonomy. However, this offer was rejected because of better promises given by Russia and Britain as well as the revolutionary activities of Armenians serving in the Turkish Army and villages, which indeed crippled the Ottoman Army, first during the disastrous Sarikamish Campaign, followed by an immediate revolt in the province of Van in 1915. Though the Ottoman Empire was finally dissolved, having been split into approximately 10 smaller states, a new Turkish Republic was born in 1923 and tiny Armenia had to go it alone, this fate, which continues, abated to the present day.

After some 100 years since the first of several reciprocating atrocities occurred, the issue is kept live on the agenda, for reasons, which do not seem logical, unless there is material gain for some people who keep poking through the ashes of the sad history! Before making our minds up in hasty generalization or unfounded, unproven accusations, let us look at some of the written history and documentation.

I do not claim to be a scholar, historian or novelist. This may be the only book I leave behind in my life! I make my living through the importation and distribution of workshop machinery and tools. The reader may construe this work as a sort of a reader's protest in the face of some paradoxical, misguided, non-sensual history books I have read. It is indeed alarming to see just how easy, not only public, but scholars and politicians are brainstormed by propaganda. Well, I apologize if what you are about to read leads to a self re-evaluation of your sense of decency and justice, regarding some well-known dignitaries. As some smart journalist had written it down back in 1915 (*I read and learned not to be "one of the many dupes" he was referring to!*)

I was born in 1930 to parents of Turkish descent, in Galati, Romania, an important port on the Danube River, as the youngest of five siblings. Our parents had come from Trabzon in the late-19th century to settle in the Danube delta town of Sulina, populated mainly by Turks. In Romania, we were praised by proverbs like "*Cinistit că un Turc*" (decent like a Turk)! Our closest neighbors were next-door Greek grocer Platis, with a charming daughter Rita, son Yanis... Behind them lived

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an Armenian doctor and other Rumanian neighbors. We never even thought of each other's ethnicity! My father was the very last of the Turkish pilot captains who worked for "Commissioné Européenne du Danube", an international organization with head office in Switzerland! This commission handled the tricky navigation of larger cargo ships from the mouth of the Black Sea to about 150 miles inland to Braila. Although our father earned a monthly salary, my two sisters went to the French school in Galati. As they, all went to school and I was left alone in the house! I remember crying that I too, wanted to go to school. My father enrolled me in an elementary school at the age of five rather than the normal accepted age of seven. By 1939, I had completed four years of Romanian elementary school. Today, I still can read, speak and understand Romanian. My father was out at work most days; and since he had to talk to captains of foreign-flagged ships, he could speak a myriad of foreign languages; good Greek, some French, Italian, and English, enough to pilot ships through their risky river voyage. As I could read the papers and listen to the radio, I well remember the "*Garda de fer*" (Iron Guards) of the Nazi-like dictator, General Antonescu and his "black-shirt partisans", (alike the Nazi brown shirts) some of which were local Armenians. They rounded up all the Jews in the area, before the start of WWII and placed them on cargo barges anchored in the middle of the river, which served as detention camps. My father, being a river captain, was able to go on board some of those "prison barges" (hot like furnaces in the summer) with news and letters.

In August 1939, Germany and Russia occupied Poland. I remember the Polish officers with their strange square hats taking refuge in Romania. Russia occupied the Basarabia Province of Romania (present day Moldava). My father packed up the house furniture within three days and loaded us onto a Turkish cargo ship loaded with timber. Thus, while we escaped WWII by arriving at our motherland, my father had to continue his work during German and later Russian occupation throughout the war, in order to qualify for his retirement pension.

In Istanbul, due to my poor Turkish and differences in school curriculums, I had to take the last three years of elementary over again, wasting my valuable years. I was accepted, to Robert College, the first American Missionary School, about which you will find many good and bad references later on in this work. My father died in a maritime accident in 1951 and his body was never recovered. As I needed to support my family, I was forced to disrupt my engineering studies at the college. I left to work for a Dutch company that was building a harbor in Zonguldak. It was at this time when I learned English and Turkish commercial correspondence. During my final two years of college, which I had left for nearly two years after my sophomore year, I had classes to attend when I could spare the time on top of my two jobs. One of these was Purchasing Agent in Istanbul for the Dutch company, where I had worked as the head of the correspondence department. The other job was with a Swiss company specialized in farming, road construction machinery and other engineering material. I graduated from R. C. in 1953 with a BA degree in Literature, since that branch did not require much homework or attendance, unlike the Engineering Dept. my classmates graduated! The 'Chula Vista' Rotary Club offered me a one-year scholarship in San Diego on journalism! I was silly enough to 'let it go', not wishing to deprive my family of financial support. Around this time,

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a friend of mine and myself all got together to establish a company. That was the start of my personal independence in business under my own name. It has been over 54 years since I got my start in international trading, and I am not retired!

Like my father and the rest of my family, I have always been very liberal-minded, never having any adverse nationalist or religious inclinations. Dutch, Greeks, Armenians, Jews, Danes, British, Italians, Swedes and Americans were and have been always good friends in my business and private life. However, after the mid-1970s, more than 40 innocent diplomats were killed just for “being Turkish” by ASALA (Armenian Secret Liberation Army). It was then that I started to hear about this “genocide tale.” The more I read, the more I became surprised about the size of bigotry and disinformation. Needless to say that, I have read several Turkish books, but later I concentrated on neutral history books of reputable scholars, (see Bibliography for most of them I read and had underlined) and many Turkish historians, to name but a few, Halil Inalcik, Enver Ziya Karal, Kamuran Inan, Turkkaya Ataov, Ilber Ortayli, Yusuf Halacoglu, Bilal Simsir and others! All authors who do not agree with Armenian charges are insulted as “Denialists” as if they are paid defenders of the Turkish State’s stance! Most likely, some will soon add my name to the same club, but without being able to defy the evidence provided in this study, or prove any relationship with any State Organization! Then, one may ask, “who is denying which truth”, or committing the **Genocide of Truth!**

To balance these historians, I also studied some of the pro-Armenian and anti-Turkish writers as well and jotted down what escaped their slanders. There are of course some neutral sources, which are not as tagged yet, as being guilty of not being “sufficiently anti-Turkish”. This study is a collection of crumbs of information, for facts, that were already written in excellent and undeniable references to many authoritative books. This may also explain why “I have not included any of the above solid (*denialist*) sources as reference”; I preferred to go the long way, mostly to Armenian, anti-Turkish or those infrequently read neutral sources.

This book is a compilation of information from a multitude of sources regrouped and re-classified by me, in order to shed light on particular arguments. I only use the information written by others, whereas “the responsibility of the truth belongs to given names”. You will note from the contents that some comments contradict each other, and some reconfirm or overlap with different words! In short, when you have the patience to study closely the statements regrouped, as I have done, the reader will see and judge with his own eyes and intelligence, the past dramatic events and may shake his head in amazement, as I did myself!

One of the most important factors that drove me to compile this work is the clear animosities created among people of different religions or nationalities, to serve the *imperialistic or unethical interests* of the ‘clever or educated politicians, always suppressing those less educated, but more innocent’. Look around our world today and judge the hypocrisy of pursuing a past drama, where incapability, inability and war conditions dictated bitter deprivations and bi-lateral brutalities caused by a sense of retaliation and revenge. Prudence and human compassion is thrown out the window when clear thinking is enslaved by religion or indoctrinated by animosities. Readers may also refer to Christopher Hitchens’, (Atlantic Books)

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“God is Not Great: How Religion Poisons Everything” in which he comments that “nobody went to war for atheism”.

This book is not a novel or storybook. I am told it is too long, and I must shorten it, ‘if I want it to be read’! Frankly, I did not dare to throw away, any of the various **mosaic** excerpts. Few persons, who did the proof reading, could not throw either. However, since this is not a novel, you may pick up any time, any of the chapters of interest, stop when you got the picture and hopscotch to the next chapter or page. You will not be losing much or you can go back anytime later!

While this book may shed light on one of the largest global swindles of humane sympathies or benevolence, the very same conditions persist today, and just because of effective propaganda and the milking of sympathies, we close our eyes to the facts of this drama, and regretfully waste our time trying to reveal the forgeries behind this lie. As you will see from historical evidence provided henceforth, there was no cause, no time, nor the means for any planned annihilation, whereby the impossibility has been distorted into a modern tale of genocide. Turkish archives have been open to researchers for quite some time, but the Dashnak archives in Boston or Yerevan have not been, (and I guess) **will never be opened!** Turkish Prime Minister Tayyip Erdoğan challenged Armenia in front of the world press and said: “our archives are open, you should open yours as well and let historians study and reach their own conclusions. We are ready to face our history and settle our accounts, but are you also ready?” The reply came on Dec.5th, 2006 through an interview of Turkish daily New Anatolian with FM Vartan Oskanian:

“Commenting on the Turkish Government’s intention to bring an action in the International Court on the issue of the Armenian Genocide, Armenian Foreign Minister Oskanian said: ‘For us, there is no court case, we will never talk about this, because we grew up with the real evidence, our parents and grandparents(?). That living evidence of this tragedy are the survivors of genocide. I am the son of one of them. So, for Armenians, there has never been an issue where we ourselves have to prove this by going to court to prove that this genocide happened. The question for us is to get a political solution. Because the issue is neither historical, nor legal... Turkey has politicized this by pursuing a policy of denial at the state level’. For Dr. Nilgun Gulcan, argues that Armenia knows that they have ‘no chance in a legal court’ and adds ‘Genocide, like murder, is a crime, it is a legal matter. You can’t accuse anyone without any verdict. You have to go to a court’ if there is a crime”

The words of FM Oskanyan, speaks of the reliability of the “genocide fanfare” where the plaintiff is also the court prosecutor, judge and the jury accusing the alleged criminal of not accepting the allegations made, without a court, defense or a debate of any sort... Yes, as FM Oskanian said, this is a **political condemnation, without any legal basis!** Do you want to join the lynch mob, or rely on reason?

US Congressman Adam Schiff, defending HS106 which he(?) worded based on distortions and plain lies, and interviewed by FOX News relative to the reaction of Turkey and the huge strategic consequences, shamelessly spoke that he wants TRUTH to be known, *a truth he believes based on grand-ma stories* he

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“heard” from his Armenian voters. But the huge hypocrisy is that the US Congress Representatives, when ‘assuming the self-appointed authority to judge’ for the history of another nation, so far back in time, location and away from their knowledge, did not deem it necessary, to ask the Turkish side, if they wanted to say or document anything and thus forestalled TRUTH from being openly exposed! The irony is **that its hypocrite defenders are killing truth!**

**It seems even more clearer to me, that higher levels of civilization must depend even more heavily on conscientious respect for the importance of honesty and clarity in reporting the facts, and on a stubborn concern for accuracy in determining what the facts are.*

**Numerous unabashed skeptics and cynics about the importance of truth (or about the related importance of long established strictures against plagiarism) have been found among best-selling and prize-winning authors, among writers of leading newspapers, and among hitherto respected historians, biographers, memoirists, theorists of literature, novelists - and even among philosophers, who of all people might reasonably have been counted on to know better.*

<“On Truth”, Harry G. Frankfurt, Alfred Knopf, NY p.18>

This study may be interpreted as a token for humane values, common to all, such as **decency, not lying-cheating-swindling-stealing-slandering etc.** and need of **trust, compassion, respect** for other humans, disregarding their ethnicity, nationality or faiths, beyond their control or personal preferences!

Şükrü S. Aya

*Sincere thanks to Mr. Bülent Akarcalı (Scholar, Ex-Minister of Culture and Health) who convinced me to put my knowledge in a book, also to the Istanbul Commerce University team and Rector Prof. Ateş Vuran and several friends who supported me like Yavuz Önderman, Meral Silaharoğlu, Stuart Kline and others. This book is an appreciation to the memory, and existing warm relations with many friends (too long to list) of Armenian ethnicity with whom I shared many happy moments of my life. My continued attachment to those wonderful persons was another incentive for this study. I feel sorry for those who live on grudge and hatred instead of tolerance and share of life. Truth, compassion and love will prevail on this drama some day; it always did!

This book is dedicated to the memory of those who brought new dimensions to our thoughts (George & Mary Williams), and continue to live in our memories, indulging us with a sense of righteousness, dedication and human compassion.

FLIER SHEET for the book "THE GENOCIDE OF TRUTH"
ISBN 9789756516249 - Istanbul Ticaret Universitesi, 2008

After printing of the above book, below very important document has been posted by "Turkish-Armenians"!

<http://armenians-1915.blogspot.com/2008/02/2335-free-e-book-near-east-relief.html>

<Full contents of this 28-page report, printed in 1923 by US Government Printing Office can be viewed at the above link>. (Report on the Near East Relief, Doc.# 192, presented by Mr. Lodge on 67th session of Congress-Senate, on April 22, 1922) A photo of subject document is shown on the back. The Relief Organization was approved by the President on Aug.6,1918 and the report gives the status and audits up to Dec. 31st, 1921. This new "*obelisk-like document*" sheds more light on the contents of following chapters of the book:

Ch. 2: "Ottoman Treat of Millets" - It confirms that CUP or Kemalist Turks helped-protected Relief !
Ch. 5: "Marvelous Missionaries" - It confirms that Turks never hindered Missionaries and Relief!
Ch. 7: "Distorting Realism" - It shows that HS 106 (Ch. 24) is an official distortion of above!
Ch.14: "Relocations-Arrivals" - It confirms that the figures of HS 106 and others are wrong!
Ch.15: "Population Controversy" - It proves that figures of Art. 1 of HS 106 and alike are all tall lies!
Ch.16: "Propaganda Fabrication" - It shows that HS 106 is a propaganda fabrication of high degree!
Ch.17: "Proven Forgery to distort History"- Self-explanatory involving the supporters of HS 106!
Ch.18: "Charity & Relief Organizations" - It gives detailed a/c \$ 52 million Relief to Christians only!
Ch.19: "Famine & Epidemics" - It implies deaths were caused by epidemics, famine and treks!
Ch 24: "The Success of Armenian Lobbies" - It proves that HS 106 Committee was misguided,

Page 4: It states that 300.000 Armenians returned to Cilicia after British-French occupation, but that they evacuated the region in 1921 after F. Bouillon's Treaty with Kemalist Turks. It says that 200.000 to 300.000 Armenians were alive in Syria region -in need of help-. (Other sources said 150.000 only!)
Page 5 It states that at the time 1.000.000 are alive in Caucasus Armenia,- 500.000 in need of help!
Page 8: It gives account of 64.000 alive in 124 orphanages + 50.000 in the areas = 114.000 living.
Page 9: It states that 500.000 persons have migrated from Anatolia to Caucasus region. (Other sources had indicated this figure as 400.000). It lists various orphanages in occupied - unoccupied cities of the Ottoman Empire and Kemalists, showing that Turks never hindered their activities!

Throughout the report, there is not a word of Turkish atrocities or refusal of cooperation or attacks on relief goods protected by famished soldiers or Turks, and that only Christians received subject Relief!

Articles 11 and 13 of HS 106 refer to previous Resolutions dated Feb.9th 1916, April 13th and May 11th, 1920 but MAKES NO MENTION OF ABOVE REPORT standing like an obelisk !

As a humble researcher, can I ask, the Honorable Congress Members: WHY? YES Sir! WHY?
Sukru S. Aya

2335) Free E-Book: Near East Relief Report 31Dec1921



- 1 - (*Turkish proverb*) A spear will not go inside a sack! (The tip will show somehow!)
- 2 - (*Ret.Col. Masud Akhtar Shaikh named his book*): "Lies, Lies and More Lies!" (Did he err?)
- 3- Those who would like to hear "*PM T.Erdogan's speech in Turkish with English sub-titles at the 44th European Security Conference in Munich on Feb.10-12th, 2008* pls watch:..

<http://armenians-1915.blogspot.com/2008/02/2344-video-turkish-pms-response-to.html>

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Chapter 1: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In view of different claims of land ownership in this part of Caucasus, which some Armenians trace to the legend of Noah's Ark on Mount Ararat, let us see first, how much validity these tales hold from standpoint of scholarship vs. divinity.

If we are to believe the teachings of all the holy books, we must conclude that Adam was made of mud and our first grand-grandfather Abraham was the first human from whom we are all born. I am still unclear if, humankind started with Abraham or with the "Children of Noah"! Anyway, the period of time all books refer to is the last Ice Age, which means that we are speaking of only 10,000 - 8,000 years B.C. This means, that if we can prove that humans lived before Abraham or Noah (10,000- 8,000 years B.C.) then, the whole theory of "creation" and "celestial rights of ownership of land" collapses into cosmic dust.

According to discovery of the rock-drawings of the Van region by Dr.Oktay Belli of Turkish Historical Society at Yedisalkim region of the Hakkari mountains, these are dated 15.000 to 7.000 BC.

Furthermore, according to paleontologists, the existence of Homo Sapiens in Anatolia goes back to about 600,000 years BC! Those who wish to argue about the "truth" of science vs. fiction may please refer directly to the footnoted sources below:

* L. Slimak – 2004 *Implantations humaines et exploitation des obsidiennes en Anatolie Centrale, Durant le Pleistocene*, Paleorient, 30/2, 7-20

* L. Slimak, H. Roche, D.Mouralis, H. Buitenhuis, N.Balkan-Atli, D. Binder & C. Kuzucuoglu, M.Grenet – *Kaletepe Deresi 3 (Turquie) aspects archeologiques, chronologiques et paleontologiques d'une sequence Pleistocene en Anatolie centrale*. <Comptes Rendu Palevol de l'Academie des Science de Paris, Vol.3, 411-420

Now that we have filed the Biblical rights regarding "who was first" in Anatolia, let us see what different writers have said about Armenia and the Aryan Race of Armenians:

"Armenia, East of Anatolia, extending to the region of Caucasus and the Persian border, is the site of the ancient Kingdom of Armenia. The population is not wholly Armenian – in fact, even before the the Great War, the majority of the people were Turks and Kurds, but here the bulk of the Armenian race was found. It is a rugged land, a succession of mountains and valleys, where the people have had to contend with nature for the establishment of their homes; but, like all highland countries, it has been the means of producing a religious, freedom-loving people."#1

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"As with so many other place names, the name 'Armenia' designates a geographical region, not a people. The Armenians call themselves 'Haik' in their own language. This already indicates that the area known as Armenia is in no way their place of origin." #2

"...that the Armenians arrived in Anatolia. At the end of the 5th century (401 - 400 B.C.), Xenophon wrote in Anabasis of the Armenians in connection with other Anatolian tribes. The very first mention of the Armenians anywhere is to be found in the tri-lingual (Persian, Babylonian, and Elamitic) inscription of Behistun in western Iran, in which the Persian king Darius (485 B.C.) lists Armenia as one of his suzerainties. This first written record could be seen as having symbolic significance, in light of the fact that the Armenian communities almost never in their history rose above the status of suzerainties, or at best semi-autonomous principalities..." #3

"A royal inscription on the castle of Van in Eastern Anatolia! The Urartu script has recently been deciphered. It has now been firmly established that the Urartian language is of Asian origin. It belongs, like Turkish, to the agglutinative languages. Linguists believe that the Hurrians came to Anatolia from the steppes and mountains of Central Asia. The Urartus came from the same area, splitting with the Hurrians around the middle of the third millennium B. C. Today, we know for certain that there is no connection between Urartian or Hurrian and the Indo-European Armenian language (aside from certain Urartian elements that were taken over by the speakers of Armenian after their immigration). Armenian belongs to the Satem group of Indo-European languages, whereas Urartian has the peculiar feature of forming new words by simply adding suffixes to a given root." #4

"... prove that there were settlements there between 6,000–5,000 B.C. Together, these discoveries provide more crucial evidence to indicate that early Hurri culture had its origins in eastern Anatolia. From there, Hurrian culture spread to northern Syria, Transcaucasia and Lake Urmia.

The technique of building round houses, which is so important to all Turkish tribes, was inherited from the Hurrians. Cuneiform tablets found in the Harbour Valley prove that Hurrians were living in eastern Anatolia in the third millennium B.C. – in other words, roughly at the time of the Acadians. Toward the end of the third millennium, Indo-European Hittite tribes pushed their way across the Caucasus to eastern Anatolia. The settlement of the Hittites in Anatolia 2,000 B.C. brought a number of changes to the life of the Hurrians of eastern Anatolia. Metalworking and trading in metals gained rapidly in importance, as did the raising of livestock. In spite of this shifting of the economic base, however, Hurrian culture remained largely unchanged. The protection provided by the mountains certainly played a role in this as well... " #5

"The Urartu were a confederation of indigenous tribes of an area that covers much the same terrain as the Later Kingdom of Armenia in Eastern Turkey near Lake Van. The word *Ararat* comes from them. The Armenians claim descent from them. So do the Turks. It

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is thought now that the people who became the present-day Armenians came down from the Balkans and the people of the region that became, for a little while, Urartu, had been there for centuries when the Asiatic Turks poured across Anatolia. " #6

"Armenian history reaches back more than 2,000 years. In 301 A.D., the Armenians were the first people to adopt Christianity as their official religion; the Holy Apostolic and Orthodox Church of Armenia (also known as the Gregorian Church) has played an important role in the survival of a people who for much of their history have lived under the rule of foreigners. The last independent Armenian state, the Kingdom of Cilicia, fell in 1375, and by the early part of the 16th century, most Armenians had come under the control of the Ottoman Empire. Under the *millet* system instituted by Sultan Mehmed II (1451-81) the Armenians enjoyed religious, cultural, and social autonomy. Their ready acceptance of subservient political status under Ottoman rule lasted well into the 19th century and earned the Armenians the title 'the loyal community' ". #7

"Just eight years after the conquest of Istanbul, Sultan Mehmed II (the Conqueror) summoned the Armenian Orthodox Archbishop of Bursa, Hovakim, to Istanbul. He had been chosen by the Ottomans, and the Sultan named him "patriarch." Patriarch Hovakim became the spiritual (and to a large extent, also the secular) leader of all non-Islamic, non-Greek Orthodox inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire. His power greatly surpassed that of the Armenian Catholicoses of Echmiadzin and Sis. Never in the history of the Armenian people had an Armenian possessed as much power and authority as Patriarch Hovakim (and his successors until well into the 19th century). The Armenians always got along better with the Ottoman Sultans than did the Greeks ...A golden age for Ottoman - Armenian cooperation. From the 15th - 19th century, the Armenians are the Sultan's 'loyal *millet*', and the Armenian Patriarchate of Istanbul is the Sultan Caliph's own creation." #8

"The Ottomans never entirely outgrew their origins as a marauding war band. They enriched themselves by capturing wealth and slaves; the slaves conscripted into the Ottoman ranks, rose to replace the commanders who retired, and went on to capture wealth and slaves in their turn. Invading new territories was the only path they knew to economic growth. In the 16th - 17th centuries, when the conquests turned into defeats and retreats, the dynamic of Ottoman existence was lost; the Turks had mastered the arts of war but not those of government " #9

At times when wars were aimed mainly to loot richer cities, it was a known practice that most of the time all males of the losing side were killed and women and children were traded as slaves. Turks changed this *killing habit* by granting the *right to live to the people of the Book*, provided they paid a special poll tax, which they had to bring to the *master* tax collector. Since hardly any pagans existed (who deserved to be killed) this change made the *inferiors* quite happy, because in return they were exempted from military service, had all freedoms of worship,

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ownership of land and carrying on the professions they preferred, for a tax much less than what the landlords in Europe were charging. This was some sort of "protection and freedom fee" and soon, those in *inferior status*, became wealthier and in full control of the economics of the presumed *superiors*. Consul Davis was reporting that 95% of the bank savings in the Harput province belonged to Armenians, who were only a fifth of the total population. The Ottomans had not realized that you cannot have muscle strength, unless the economy is strong.

"After adopting Islam, the Turks offered conquered Christian or Jewish peoples the choice of converting or remaining outside the mainstream of society. As 'people of the Book' or Bible, recognized by Islam, they were accorded the right to live within an Islamic society. They were also to be protected by their Islamic rulers, but this Koranic teaching was ultimately ignored. By institutionalizing the status of religious minorities, the Greeks, Armenians, and Jews, as beings whose rights in society were only recognized through a system outside the structural mainstream, were doomed to classification as inferiors. The Greek and Armenian *millets* were headed by archbishops designated by the Sultan to be patriarchs of their communities. The Armenian Patriarch also represented other monophysite Christians, including Copts, Assyrians and Abyssinians. The Jewish minority had the chief Rabbi, or *Haham Bashi*, appointed as their secular and religious leader." #10

"Merchants were pressing for diplomatic relations, but the sultan considered the U.S. so insignificant he refused to entertain the idea. When 85% of the Ottoman fleet was destroyed in 1827 by European Powers at the Battle of Navarino, Sultan Mahmud II developed an interest in the new nation that had defeated the formidable British Navy in the War of 1812. The 1830 US-Turk Treaty of Amity and Commerce included a most-favored nation clause, extending to the signatories the rights afforded other countries with which each had diplomatic relations. American shipbuilders sent to rebuild the Turkish Navy soon returned home, disillusioned by Turkish indifferences to the modernization of their fleet.

Missionaries, whose activities drew support from among the most powerful Americans, had greater success than merchants did in petitioning for a strong U.S. diplomatic presence in the Ottoman Empire. The assassination of two missionaries in eastern Turkey by bandits in 1862 and an attack on two others at the turn of the century made these appeals more urgent. The senior American diplomat in Constantinople finally received ambassadorial rank in 1906. Three years later, the State Dept. organized the Near East Division, perhaps spurred by the death of a missionary during massacres of Armenians in Cilicia in 1909. The new post of ambassador, like that of minister before it, was considered one of lesser importance to State Dept. officials." #11

"Armenian nationalistic feelings had begun in the Diaspora and in the larger towns, from which they gradually permeated the eastern provinces. Protestant missionaries and their schools played an important role in this process of radicalization. Both the government and the Armenian Church tried to discourage the influx of these foreigners and their

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Western ideas, but the number of missionaries, most of them American and German, kept growing. By 1895, according to one count, there were 176 American missionaries, assisted by 878 native assistants, at work in Anatolia. They had established 125 churches with 12,787 members and 423 schools with 20,496 students. Even though the missionaries denied that they instilled Armenian nationalistic, let alone revolutionary sentiments, the Ottoman Government saw it differently. As Charles Eliot, a well-informed British diplomat with extensive experience in Turkey put it: The good position of the Armenians in Turkey had largely depended on the fact that they were thoroughly Oriental and devoid of that tincture of European culture common among Greeks and Slavs. But now, this character was being destroyed: European education and European books were being introduced among them...The Turks thought that there was clearly an intention to break up what remained of the Ottoman Empire and found an Armenian kingdom... *'Onward, Christian soldiers, marching as to war,'* in English is a harmless hymn, suggestive of nothing worse than a mildly ritualistic procession; but I confess that the same words literally rendered into Turkish do sound like an appeal to Christians to rise up against their Moslem masters, and I cannot be surprised that the Ottoman authorities found the hymn seditious and forbade it to be sung..." #12

"...The Ottoman Government began to protest the growing European interest in the fate of the Armenians, regarding it as interference in Ottoman affairs. They suspected, not without justification, that the European powers were using the Armenian problem as a convenient pretext for further weakening of the Ottoman Empire. It was felt that Russia, in particular, which had seized some of the Armenian lands following the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29, was encouraging the Armenian agitation in order to annex the remaining Armenian provinces in eastern Anatolia... Matters came to a head in the wake of the Bulgarian revolt against Ottoman rule in 1876. Reports reaching the West about the ferocious manner in which the rebellion had been suppressed helped solidify the image of the 'Terrible Turk.' Russian public opinion clamored for help to the Southern Slavs, and in April, 1877, Russia declared war upon Turkey. The commander of the Russian Army invading eastern Anatolia was a Russian Armenian, Mikayel Loris-Melikov (his original name was Melikian). The Russian troops included many Russian Armenians; Armenians from Ottoman Anatolia were said to have acted as guides. The spread of pro-Russian sentiments among the Armenians of Anatolia, who hoped that Russia would liberate them from the Turkish yoke, was well known. All this alarmed the Ottoman Government and raised doubts about the reliability of the Armenians." #13

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"The harsh provisions of the Treaty of San Stefano stripped the Ottoman state of substantial territories in the Balkans and yielded Russia the Armenian districts of Ardahan, Kars and Dogubeyazit as well as the important Black Sea port of Batumi. These gains aroused the fears of the British that Turkey would become a client state of Russia, thus upsetting the balance of power in the eastern Mediterranean. Hence Russia, under pressure from the European powers, had to agree to the Treaty of Berlin several months later (July 13th, 1878), which greatly reduced Russian gains." #14

"In 1887, Armenians in Geneva founded the first Armenian party emphasizing Marxist principles. Their symbol was the bell ('hnsak' = bell). The Hunchaks drew their membership almost entirely from Russian Armenians, who gave the party the militant-revolutionary spirit that comes from the Caucasus (the young Dzhughashvili, commonly known as "Stalin", also came from this world). The party organ was called Hunchak, and in 1890 the group adopted the name 'Hunchakian Revolutionary Party', or 'Hunchaks' for short. Their leader was the fanatical revolutionary Avetis Nazarbekian. He was reportedly 'dark, slender, very handsome in an oriental style, and played the violin excellently'. He also saw 'revolutionary tenor' as the natural consequence of rejecting 'capitalist' legislation." #15

"Economic and technical commitments by the U.S. were almost non-existent compared with German's strategic Berlin-to-Baghdad railway and with British, French, Italian and Russian investments. At the outbreak of World War I, America sent an infinitesimal 0.17% of its yearly exports to the Ottoman Empire. Turkish exports to the U.S. then, (23% of the Turkish total, including tobacco, licorice, figs and dates) were only about 1% of the full value of imports into America. Prominent U.S. firms operating in Turkey were the American Tobacco Company, the Standard Oil Company of New York (Socony), the Singer Sewing Machine Company (with about 200 agencies and stores), and the Western Electric Company of Chicago. Religious and literary internationalists, paced by missionaries and by writers, meanwhile had become more conspicuous in American relations with the Near East than merchants. The internationalism contrasted with the political isolationism of the U.S. Government. Alongside the Protestant establishment were various Americans, curious about the physical habitat that nurtured the Christian Scriptures and *Arabian Nights*." #16

"The 'Armenian Question' was brought about by the entrance of Russia upon the stage. Toward the end of the 18th century, the province of Karabagh populated by 200,000 Armenians and 100,000 Moslems and governed by Armenian chiefs under the suzerainty of Persia, was conquered by Russia, so that Armenia is now divided between Persia, Russia, and Turkey. The Armenians in Persia have been treated well and are content; the Armenians in Turkey were enjoying fair treatment up to 1876. However, the trouble had begun, for Russia had framed a policy for the protection of the Rayahs of the Ottoman

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Empire and annoyed Turkey greatly by her intervention for 'reform'. First it was her co-religionists." #17

"In 1903, the Russian Government despoiled the sanctuary of Etchmiadzin, carrying away coin and plate and taking over farms and lands belonging to the church all over the land; furthermore Armenian churches were closed and their services discontinued. The government next attempted to bribe the Armenians to join the Orthodox Church; but neither coercion nor bribe could turn the faithful Armenian from the church of his fathers.

When they were thus suffering persecution, a traveling American missionary asked them: 'Don't you wish you were still under Turkey?' And the reply came: "Yes, for Turkey lops off our branches, but Russia digs us up by the roots". #18

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Chapter 1 - References and Footnotes:

1. National Geographic, July, 1918. pg.59
2. Erich Feigl, *A Myth of Terror*, Edition Zeitgeschichte Freilassing, Salzburg, Austria pg.23
3. Ibid, pg.24
4. Ibid, pg.28
5. Ibid, pg.10
6. Mary Lee Settle, *Turkish Reflections*, Touchstone NYC, pg.184
7. Guenther Lewy *The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey*, Univ. of Utah Press pg.3
8. Erich Feigl, *A Myth of Terror*, Edition Zeitgeschichte Freilassing, Salzburg, Austria pg.53
9. David Fromkin, *A Peace to End All Peace*, Henry Holt and Co. NY, pg.3
10. Leslie A. Davis, *The Slaughterhouse Province*, Aristide D. Caratas., NY, pg.17
11. Ibid, pg.16
12. Guenther Lewy, *The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey*, Univ. of Utah Press, pg.6
13. Ibid, pg.7
14. Ibid, pg.8
15. Erich Feigl, *A Myth of Terror*, Edition Zeitgeschichte Freilassing, Salzburg, Austria pg.65
16. James L. Grabill. *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East*, U.of Minnesota Press, pg.38
17. *National Geographic*, October, 1915, pg.351 - 353
18. Ibid, pg.350 – pg.357

OTTOMAN TREAT OF "MILLET" SYSTEM

Chapter 2: OTTOMAN TREAT OF "MILLETS" (Religious Groups)

"In early contests of Christians and Moslems, it was Christians who were fanatical and Moslems who were successful. Christian propaganda has invented stories of Moslem intolerance, but these are wholly false as applied to the early centuries of Islam. Every Christian has been taught the story of the Caliph destroying the Library of Alexandria. In fact, this library was frequently destroyed and frequently re-created. Its first destroyer was Julius Caesar, and it's last, pre-dated the Prophet. The early Moslems, unlike the Christians, tolerated those whom they called "people of the Book", provided they paid tribute. In contrast to the Christians, who persecuted not only pagans but also each other, the Moslems were welcomed for their broadmindedness. It was largely this that facilitated their conquests. To come to later times, Spain was ruined by its fanatical hatred of Jews and Moors; France was disastrously impoverished by the persecution of Huguenots; and one main cause of Hitler's defeat was his failure to employ Jews in atomic research." #1

In other chapters of this study, there are numerous examples of overall Christian antagonism against their hosts or rulers, the Ottomans. Below, excerpts present observations by several writers and the reader is at liberty to make his individual conclusion. As can be understood, the Ottomans were not "racists, or divinity bigots, trying to spread their religion" the way Christians did in many countries throughout the world. Employing successful or reputable advisers of the lands they conquered, the Ottoman Turks empowered them with very significant authorities, thus keeping them equal, happy and subservient. Actually, the Ottomans had discovered that instead of taking prisoners and killing them or selling them as slaves, it was more profitable "to let them work and produce", paying a special poll tax as non-Moslems, thus relieving them from heavy obligations, such as being called to the army to fight, pay heavy taxes or undertaking heavy burdens of the landlords. When strong, the Empire "granted capitulatory advantages" to keep the business, trade and production operations rolling and intact. Local administrators were appointed by the Sublime Porte, and many of them non-Moslems, though they served loyally and some times more effectively than Turks, who were not as educated or smart. This was "reliable income for the Treasury", which naturally needed to be protected. For the same reason, no efforts were made to assimilate or integrate the people of conquered lands, ruled by vassals appointed by the Sultan, but responsible for the law and order within their communities on all internal affairs. Hence, the Chief Rabbi or Greek and Armenian Patriarchs (later Catholics, Protestants and others) flaunted more power than what they would have been in their ethnic countries.

Below excerpts are taken from LORDS OF THE HORIZONS, James Goodwin, ISBN 0-8050-4081-1:

"The Ottoman Turks were never assimilated by the people they conquered. They won control too fast, their habits were too engrained, their faith too proud, their organization too advanced for Balkan Christianity".(p.18) "All land, they instructed, belonged to the Sultan; a

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fifth of all booty. The *sipahi*, or horseman, might receive income from the Sultan's lands, commensurate with his prowess, but not ownership."(p.19) "In the years before the Ottoman conquest, Balkan society had been quietly feudalizing itself: Dusan of Serbia had let his lords exact two days' labor a week from his peasants. Under the Ottomans, peasants (*the reayas*) were only expected to work three days a year for the local sipahi; beyond that small impost, and the tithe they paid as Christians amounting to ten percent of their income, they were undisturbed in either their religion or their cultivation".(p.20)

"Jewish communities in Anatolia flourished and continued to prosper throughout the Turkish rule. When the Ottomans captured Bursa in 1326 and made it their capital, Jews welcomed the Ottomans as saviors. Sultan Orhan gave them permission to build the Etz ha-Hayyim (Tree of Life) Synagogue, which remained in service until the 1940s."

The Chief Rabbi of Edirne between 1454-69, Isaac Sarfati wrote his famous "Edirne Letter" during this same period. It concerns several German Jewish families, which had immigrated to the Ottoman Empire. #1

"I have heard of the afflictions, more bitter than death, that have befallen our brethren in Germany, of the tyrannical laws, the compulsory baptism and the banishment, which are of daily occurrence.

...Brothers and teachers, friends and acquaintances! I, Isaac Sarfati... I proclaim to you that Turkey is a land wherein nothing is lacking, and where, if you will, all shall yet be well with you... Here every man may dwell at peace under his own vine and fig tree... Here you are allowed to wear the most precious garments".. #2

"The Black Death, in 1348, caused outbreaks of superstition of various sorts in various places. One of the favorite methods of appeasing God's anger was the destruction of Jews. In Bavaria, twelve thousand are reckoned to have been killed; in Erfurt, three thousand; in Strasburg, two thousand were burnt; and so on. The Pope alone protested against these mad pogroms." #3a

"Not only were superstitious methods of combating disease universally believed to be effective, but the scientific study of medicine was severely discouraged. The chief practitioners were Jews, who had derived their knowledge from the Mohammedans; they were suspected of magic a suspicion in which they perhaps acquiesced, since it increased their fees. Anatomy was considered wicked, both because it might interfere with the resurrection of the body, and because the Church abhorred the shedding of blood." #3b

"It is estimated that in Germany alone, between 1450 and 1550, a hundred thousand witches were put to death, mostly by burning." #3c

Translation of Capitulation Edict of Sultan Mehmet

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(The original document is in the British Museum):

"I, the son of Sultan Murad, known as mighty and greatest Sultan Mehmet Khan, swear in the name of our great prophet Muhammed and God's 124,000 prophets, and for the spirit of my father, and life of my sons, and for the devotion to the sword I bear, that in consideration of the pledge made to our Sublime Porte by the appointed high priests acting as ambassadors of the Catholic Nobilities, and namely Seniors Balatan Pacino, Marchio di Franco and translator Nicola Palazoni, I grant to the people of Galata their freedom and own laws, as already prevailing in all countries under rule and occupation of my government. Although the walls of the Galata Tower will be demolished, the occupants will keep their houses, stores, vineyards, windmills, ships, boats, trade, their wives and children to conduct them as they wish and that they are free to sell their commercial goods in all parts of my countries; that they are free to travel by sea or overland; that they will not be held subject to any customs duties or burden other than payment of tribute, (cizye) as prevailing already in other countries under my obedience. These laws and traditions, will be valid for ever, starting from today. I will care and defend them, as if my own self. The habitants of the town will keep their churches and prayers; however, it is forbidden to ring bells; I will not convert their churches into mosques, but they will build no new churches.

Genovese merchants will move freely with their trading business. I will not take their sons in the Janissary Corps. They will not be forced in any way to accept our religion. I promise to the people of Galata that I will not rule them through slavery. Settlement of conflicts amongst traders will be through their own selected arbitrators. Their houses will not be settled by Janissaries or prisoners. They will elect their own leaders for their own affairs. Ambassadorial nobles and their delegates will not be offended; they will be free to travel subject to their payment of tribute tax, as written in this permit. Written in the 857th year of the Hagira. (In Greek language at Edirne) #4

Some writers may claim that this was a separatist system, degrading non-Moslem minorities, but the truth is that these communities, (not being subject to Shariat restrictions of Moslems) could freely develop, use the printing press, learn much more and faster and become the elite business class of the Empire, even lending money to the Sublime Porte and controlling all the Financial and Economic sources!

Regarding the Istanbul Chamber of Commerce, which was set up by Greeks, more than 90% of its members were non-Moslems, while about 70% of the city population was Moslem. All principal trade, professions and State Administration positions were held by either Jews, Armenians or Greeks who acted as agents of Colonial States, free to sell and trade under capitulatory exemptions, which finally decayed the empire from within. Most trustworthy positions in the Treasury, Foreign Affairs (Consuls, Ambassadors, Minister of Foreign Affairs or their advisors) were non-Moslems. The Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1913 was Gabriel Nouradunian, an Armenian. The minister who represented the Ottomans at the Berlin Conference, was a Christian Greek, Kara Theodori Pasha. According to

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Turkish archives, only in the second half of the 19th century until 1915, following offices were occupied by Armenians, although they were only about 13% of the total population. Ministers: Foreign Affairs 1; Public Works 5; Post-Telegram-Telephone 3; Treasury 3. There were 4 senators in the 1878 Constitutional Revision, 11 Congressmen in the 1908 Revision, and several high government posts were filled by Armenians in jobs such as Assistant Governors, Assistant Treasurer, medical doctors and about 20,000 employees in the Customs. Similar examples of tolerance, equality, loyalty and confidence (despite ethnic and religious differences), either does not exist or is too rare in the history of other countries calling themselves democratic and liberal.

"In the 16th century, 'heretics' were burnt alive in London, Berlin, massacred in Paris, expelled from Vienna. In 1685, King Louis XIV expelled all Huguenots from France; until 1700, appreciative crowds, led by kings and queens of Spain watched heretics burned alive in the Plaza Mayor of Madrid. The Ottoman Empire, however, gave religious freedom to Christians and Jews. George of Hungary wrote in the 15th century: 'The Turks do not compel anyone to renounce his faith, do not try hard to persuade anyone and do not have a great opinion of renegades'. In the 17th century in the view of traveler/writer Monsieur de La Motraye: 'There is no country on earth where the exercise of all sorts of Religions is more free and less subject to being troubled, than in Turkey'. He knew what he was writing about, since he himself was a Huguenot forced to leave France after 1685." #5*

"In 1516, Eccumenical Patriarch Thelepus I hinted to the Czar that a Russo-Byzantine empire might be created. Clearly, the Patriarch had no objection to the 'Christian Emperor of all Christians' expelling the 'infidel Turks'. However, the stage had been set for one of the dramas of late-19th and early-20th century European history: the Russian drive south to the Black Sea, the Balkans and the ultimate prize, 'Russia's baptismal font'—Tsarigrad, the city of emperors. The Patriarch of Constantinople was one of the authors of the drama." #6*

"On March 21st, 1657, on the orders of the Grand Vizier, Patriarch Parthenius III was hanged from a city gate for writing to the Prince of Wallachia saying that the era of Islam was approaching its end and that soon "the lords of the cross and the bells will be the lords of the empire." The repeated transformation of a total of 42 churches into mosques asserted the supremacy of Islam." #7*

"As old churches were lost, new ones were built. Without towers or visible domes, they had to be discreet; even today those built before 1800 are hidden behind walls and invisible from the street." #8*

"The sight of the mosques and the sound of the muezzin made Islam visible and audible throughout Constantinople. Beneath the surface of triumphant Islam, however, was

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hidden, the Christian world of water. The concept of holy water or holy springs stems from the primeval association of water with life and purification." #9*

"Constantinople is one of the few cities where Moslems as well as Christians have lived together, over several centuries, in nearly equal proportions. It is not surprising that the two religions influenced each other. Balikli for example; was revered by Moslems as well as Christians. In 1638, Sultan Murad IV was said to have asked the monks to pray for his victory over Persians. The day they prayed, he took Baghdad. The crowd, drawn from rich and poor, Moslem and Christian, Bulgarian, Armenian and Catholic, was sometimes so great that the whole city seemed to be present." #10*

"However, although hamams (baths) and imarets (soup kitchens) were built within the immediate vicinity of mosques for Moslem charitable purposes, Christians and Jews were permitted to use them! Moslems go to Armenian churches, Surp Hiresdagaber or Surp Kevorg (St.George) at Balat, and even spend the night there, to cure epileptic children or consult a medium." #11*

"The collective memory and state of mind of the city acquired an instinctive tolerance, or acceptance, of other religions. The Conqueror's calculation, that it was possible to run a multinational capital, proved correct. Hatred might be expressed in words; it rarely exploded into acts." #12

"Artin Pasha Dadian was also a prominent figure in the Armenian community; he had helped draw up the Constitution of 1860, and in 1871-75 was President of the Armenian National Council." #13*

"In 1896, the Sultan appointed Artin Pasha Dadian, president of a council to resolve the conflict between the empire and the Armenian revolutionaries. Having secured an amnesty and liberation of 1,200 political prisoners, he sent his son to Geneva to talk to the exiles. He himself claimed to work for reforms in the East 'at once as an Ottoman civil servant and as an Armenian.' When an Armenian radical smiled at the phrase, he said: 'I know that you young Armenians, you do not believe in my patriotism and believe me to be a Turkish zealot. ... 'it is our duty to work faithfully for the state and fear movements of revolt so as not to suffer terrible punishments. He ended with a cry from the heart: 'Prudent patriotism, is it not also patriotism?' In a letter dated 1898, intended for the Dashnak party, he is lucid and prophetic... Four various organizations are fighting different causes, each in their own way, and in the middle of all this stands the pitiful Artin Pasha, who on one hand begs the Sultan for mercy by telling him that this would be the best thing for his empire and on the other hand fights base individuals who in order to attain their selfish aims are even willing to sell their nation." #14*

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"While some Armenians and Bulgarians chose violence, most Greeks were too prosperous to fight for 'the Great Idea,' they felt that while the Ottomans reigned, Greeks, through their banks and commerce, governed. In the words of one Greek businessperson: 'We lend them the vivacity of our intelligence and our business skills; they protect us with their strength, like kindly giants...' **#15***

"However, mullahs, Greek and Armenian priests and rabbis were photographed side by side, surrounded by Ottoman soldiers, in commemoration of their successful organization of the elections. Of the deputies elected in 1908, 142 were Turks, 60 Arabs, 25 Albanians, 23 Greeks, 12 Armenians (including four Dasnaks and two Henchaks) five Jews, four Bulgarians, three Serbs, one Vlach. The colloquial term appropriated by followers of the Committee, had about 60 deputies. Others included *ulema* opposed to secularization, conservatives, and liberals in favor of decentralization." **#16***

"... is inhabited largely by Kuzzilbash Kurds, who are neither good Moslems, good Christians, nor good pagans. Nominally they belong to the Sham sect of Moslems, who are looked upon with great aversion by orthodox Sunni Moslems, such as the Turks. In practice the Kuzzilbash are very cosmopolitan in their religious observances. When away from home they readily join in the prayers at either Shia or a Sunni mosque. If they happen to be in an Armenian village where there are no Turks, they often go in and join in the Christian service, kneeling and bowing with congregation. At home, they are said not to pray except when led by one of their sayids, or holy men, who are supposed to be descendants of Mohammed. In fact they, like the rest of the Kuzzilbash, are probably descended, in part at least, from Armenians whose conversion to Islam was not exactly a matter of conviction. One of the most peculiar customs of the Kuzzilbash is an ancient rite which is apparently of Christian origin. No European has seen it, but according to trustworthy Armenians, the Kuzzilbash men gather at the mosque on solemn feast days and one by one they advance to the front of the sacred building – on their knees, it is said by some. As each man comes forward a sayid takes a bit of meat, dips it in wine, and puts it in the man's mouth. Such ceremony can scarcely be anything but a relic of Christianity. In many places Turks, Kurds, Armenians all revere the same shrines – places which have probably been sacred since the far-off days of the pagans who fought with the Assyrians or opposed the march of Xenophon. One of the most notable of such places is located on Musa Mountain, inside the point of a sharp westward bend made by Euphrates River." **#17**

" 'The Young Turk' by Colby Chester: The great educational system is founded by these Americans comprises at present of more than 300 common schools in the Empire. 44 high schools, eight colleges, one normal school and five divinity schools. This scholastic work is spread out all over this former 'garden spot of the world', and has leavened the masses with high ideals of living, knowledge of free institutions, and longing for better government. Such an authority as Gladstone has placed upon record a statement that 'American missionaries in Turkey have done more good to the inhabitants of that country

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than has all Europe combined'. And Mr. James Bryce, the British Ambassador to Washington, goes even further and states: 'I cannot mention the American missionaries without a tribute to the admirable work they have done. They have been only good influence that has worked from abroad upon the Turkish Empire'. The people of Turkey as body have long since passed from the pale of the 'unspeakable Turk' and many of them stand out as peers of any people in the world in general intelligence, character, and all qualities that go to make good citizens; but of course as yet they are wanting in sufficient experience to guide without assistance, the ship of state to the high plane at which they are aiming. During my stay among these people I have found men of sterling character and unswerving integrity, men well fitted to lead their country through crises similar to those through which our own nation passed in its struggle for birth. While we Americans have done much toward the enlightenment of the Turk, I should say in all fairness to them that they have earnestly sought education through following the percepts of the Koran (their Bible). A short selection, reads:

'The duty of every Moslem is to acquire science. Science is the life of the heart. <The learned, shine in the world like stars in the sky>. Knowledge is the immortal soul of man.'

And that the Turks are apt scholars no one can doubt who has lived among them. One of the younger classmen of the Beirut American Univ., presented me, when I was there with a copy of a speech made by Dr. Bliss, its president, on the responsibilities of popular government, which this young student had taken down in shorthand and typewritten himself. This young man, a Syrian by birth, spoke English well, and more than a dozen other languages. Yet he was but an average scholar in the college. At Constantinople on more than one occasion, I have witnessed the presentation of some of Shakespeare's play by the young men of the American College for Girls that would compare with any similar representation in my own country. The Turkish people are reaching out to other civilizations for help to recover from the tyranny and stagnation that has bound them so long in slavery. They look to America particularly as the one nation of the West that has no political ambition to sub serve in its action toward them..." #18*

" 'Armenia and the Armenians' By Hester Donaldson Jenkins:

Armenia is a word that has widely different connotation for different peoples. To us, Americans, it means a vague territory somewhere in Asia Minor: to the makers of modern maps it means nothing: there is no such place; to the Turk of a few years ago, it was a forbidden name; smacking of treason and likely to bring up that bugaboo 'nationalism' than which Abdulhamid II feared nothing more, unless it were 'liberty'; but to *nearly 2,000,000 Russian, Persian and Turkish subjects*, it is a word filled with emotion, one that sends the hand to the heart and calls up both pride and sorrow. Armenia is not easy to bound at any period of history, but roughly, it is the tableland extending from the Caspian Sea nearly to the Mediterranean Sea. Its limits have become utterly fluid; the waves of conquering Persians and Byzantines, Arabs and Romans, Russians and Turks have flowed and ebbed

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on its shores until all lines are obliterated. *Armenia is not a State, not even a geographic unity, but merely a term for the region anywhere the Armenians live.* " #19*

"In the Ottoman Empire of the early 19th century, his religion provided a man's label, both in his own conceptual scheme and in the eyes of his neighbors and governors. He was a Moslem, Greek Orthodox, Gregorian Armenian, Jew, Catholic, or Protestant before he was a Turk or Arab, a Greek or Bulgar, in the national sense, and before he felt himself an Ottoman citizen. The empire itself was governed by Moslems; its law was based on the religious law of Islam. However, within this empire, several Christian communities and the Jewish community enjoyed a partial autonomy, whereby the ecclesiastical hierarchy, which administered the millet, supervised not only the religious, educational, and charitable affairs of its flock; it controlled also such matters of personal status as marriage, divorce and inheritance and it collected some taxes. This mosaic pattern, in which Christian and Moslem living side by side in the same state under the same sovereign were subject to different law and different officials, had served the Ottoman Empire well for four centuries. In the Near East law was still, as it had formerly been in the West also, personal rather than territorial." #20*

"The Moslem *millet* was dominant. This did not lead to any systematic persecution of Christians by Moslems, nor to any oppression of Christians by the Ottoman Government. Indeed, inefficient or corrupt and extortionate government in the empire often bore more heavily on Moslem Turks and Arabs than it did on Christians. The question of the equality of Christian, Moslem and Jew was by no means the major question faced by these statesmen, but it ran like a thread through many phases of the larger problem of Ottoman reforms and westernization." #21

"But it was during the *Tanzimat* period of 1839 -76, a new era in Ottoman efforts at reform and westernization, that the doctrine of equality of Christian and Moslem was proclaimed in the most solemn manner and came to play a prominent role in the central question of Ottoman revival." #22

"In 1844, the sultan engaged not to enforce the death penalty for the apostasy from Islam. Some Christians were appointed and some later were elected, to local advisory councils established in each province. Christians and Moslems were accepted together as students in the newly established Imperial Lycee of Galatasaray in 1867." #23*

"It also became obvious that the Turks wanted Christians to be equally liable to service so far as sharing the burdens and dangers went but balked at giving the Christians equal opportunity for promotion to the officer corps. Both Turks and Christians were satisfied to see the inequality continue. Another illustration of Turkish reactions is found in the experience of the considerable group of American Congregational missionaries in the empire. They reported in general a decrease in Moslem fanaticism and in interference in

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their work. One missionary who knew the country well observed that only the *ulema*, the Moslem theologians, kept up any semblance they could among the people and 'sponge' off the wealthy." #24*

"Such Christian minorities as the Greeks and Armenians developed interdependence with Western ideas and groups which undermined the Porte's authority and helped make reforms dead letters. – A sign of the nearly hopeless pulling and tearing in the Ottoman fabric was the multiplication of *millets*: in 1831 there was only three (Greek Orthodox, Jewish and Armenian Gregorian); in 1914 there were 17. – Dashnak groups armed primarily to protect Armenians against Kurdish sackings. – Approximate population figures in the year 1914 for the six provinces of Asia Minor with largest numbers of Armenians exemplified there: 1,000,000 Armenians (about 30%), 1,000,000 Turks (about 30%) and 650,000 Kurds (about 20%) in a total population of over 3,000,000 people (including Greek, Nestorian, Arab and others). Throughout all of the Ottoman Empire there were probably 1.800,000 to 2,000,000 Armenians." #25*

"In the impossibly brief time from 1908-14, Young Turks strove to create a modern Ottoman state. But in conflicts with such enemies as Italy, Greece and Bulgaria abroad and Armenians at home, the Committee of Union and Progress turned increasingly to assertive Turkification.

Cultural lag within the empire was helping make relations between Turks and Armenians a sorrowful experience, also for American missionaries." #26*

"Forces released in the Western balance of power helped begin hostilities between the Turks and the Armenians and Arabs, and also begin unprecedented trouble for the Protestants. – The American Protestants at first were not certain what to do. – Their reaction blended many aspects of diversified mission behavior of 1914: evangelistic and ethnocentric zeal (as represented by the slogan 'Christianize the nations'), theological flexibility, active humanitarianism, and readiness to use government aid for Protestant ends." #27*

"... 'The Armenian Question was created by the Russian dictate of San Stefano (Yeşilköy) in 1878. Before that time, the Armenian population of the Ottoman Empire was made up of four very distinct groups. In Istanbul and Izmir lived the influential Amiras, who were prosperous and highly educated Armenians. Anatolia was home to the Kavaragan. These were well-to-do, provincial craftsmen and traders, whose influence could be felt in the cities as well. The Armenian peasants had largely the same way of life as their Islamic counterparts. Last, but not least, were the mountain-dwellers, who had special rights. Even within the autonomy of the Armenian *millet*, they enjoyed special concessions; one could even call it semi-independence. As long as it was possible, the central Ottoman Government left the Armenians alone. Unfortunately there were a few Armenian revolutionaries and Protestant zealots whose nationalistic fervor, knew no bounds. These

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people used all available means of demagoguery to stir up unrest in the semi-independent rural communities. The Armenian uprising in Zeitun is an example of what resulted. Every national/religious community (in Turkish, "*millet*") within the Ottoman Empire enjoyed extensive autonomy and took care of its own administration..."#28*

"When the Church of Akdamar was built in the 10th century, the Armenians of eastern Anatolia and their princes were subjects of the Abbaside Caliphs of Baghdad. The Caliphs were in turn at the mercy of the 'Mamluks', who lived at the Caliphs' court and controlled art and culture (not just the military!). These Mamluks were Turkish and belonged to the administrative and military caste. They influenced both Seljuk and Armenian architecture with their classical round buildings." #29*

"The Ottoman Empire was organized into *millets*, a religious division. There being an Orthodox *millet*, and a Gregorian *millet*, a Catholic *millet*, and in the 19th century a Protestant *millet*. Each of these *millets* has its head, who is its representative or ambassador at the Porte. This is not a purely ecclesiastical position, like that of the Catholics, but is really a diplomatic and political office, and the demands intellectual rather than spiritual qualification. Therefore that patriarch of the Armenians is not necessarily nor by any means always a religious man, although an occasional patriarch like Ismirlian, is worth of great reverence. It is in this entanglement with politics, and its ancient ritual in dead language that lie the dangers to the Gregorian Church, namely formality and lack of application to daily living. One of the best things that Protestant missionaries have accomplished in Turkey is rectifying this ancient and noble institution. It will be readily seen that when an Armenian leaves the Gregorian to join a Catholic or Protestant Church, he in some sense loses touch with his nation, for nation or *millet* and church are practically one in Turkey. For this reason, if no other, all missionary work within the church is better than that done outside. Turkey governed very well, as governments went, in the first centuries of her rule, and Armenians were not unhappy. They were not admitted to the army, but paid a head tax instead; but many of their men, cleverer than the Turk in finance, became advisers to royalty. The Armenians formed a body of industrious farmers in Asia Minor and were useful businesspersons in the coast cities, where they won respect and envy. There is little, if any, racial antagonism between Armenian and Turks. Had religion and politics never come to antagonize them, they could live together in essential harmony." #30*

"Constantinople and Smyrna:

The Armenian population of Constantinople (today's Istanbul) in 1915 has been variously estimated to range between 70,000 and 160,000. During the night of April 24th 1915, while the Allies were landing at the Dardanelles, several hundred leading citizens were arrested and deported, and there were subsequent deportations of thousands of Armenians caught without a residence permit. The permanent Armenian population of the capital however, was never subjected to a mass deportation program and survived the war

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largely intact. On June 15th, 1915, the government hanged 20 Hunchak leaders. The men had been accused of involvement in a plot to assassinate Talaat (decided at a Hunchak conference in Constanza, Romania, in 1913), though in fact they had opposed the plan. It appears that the Hunchaks in Constantinople had failed to denounce the presence of two assassins, who were caught in 1914, and the government now used this abortive plot in order to highlight the unreliability of the entire Armenian community. Despite agitation against the Armenians that continued for many months the Armenians of Constantinople were not deported. " #31

"...attribute this fact to the presence of a large number of foreign diplomats and merchants in the capital. Lepsius argues that it was Germany that prevented the deportation! Whatever the real reasons for the decision to spare this large group of Armenians, it is certainly significant concerning the alleged intent of the Young Turks to destroy and exterminate the entire Armenian population. As a recent student of the subject has written: 'Could anyone conceive of Hitler allowing the Jews of Berlin to continue living in Berlin while he implemented his genocide against them elsewhere?'

About 13,000 Armenians lived in Smyrna (today's Izmir), and many of them belonged to the richest and most influential people in that city. In the early summer of 1915, the authorities conducted searches for weapons and there were some arrests, but otherwise the situation was normal. In July, a court-martial condemned seven Armenians to be hanged for an offense allegedly committed in 1909, and this sentence prompted a vigorous show of protest from the diplomatic corps as well as from prominent local Turks. The American consul in Smyrna, George Horton, informed Ambassador Morgenthau:

'This is a peaceful community; up till now we have had no massacres, serious plotting or wholesale hanging, and the spectacle of seven Armenians being hanged, generally believed to be innocent, will be a thing not at all salutary for Smyrna from any point of view.' Morgenthau thereupon intervened with Enver, and his efforts on behalf of the condemned men were successful. On August 25th, the government announced that, acting upon an imperial pardon, the sentence had been changed to 15 years imprisonment at hard labor. The Governor of Smyrna, Rahmi Bey, continued to have the reputation of being a moderate and opposed to the deportations.... A year later, in November 1916, weapons and bombs were found buried in an Armenian cemetery. This led to the arrest and deportation of 300 Armenians. Since the bombs dated from the time of Abdulhamid and since most of those arrested were rich people, the Austrian consul noted, it would appear that this was an instance of blackmail. " #32

"Like any other state, the Ottoman Empire strove to establish relations with other states. In February 1536, the empire signed an agreement with France, which permitted the French to trade throughout the Ottoman Empire. By this agreement, the Ottoman Government recognized the jurisdiction of French consular courts within the empire, with an obligation to carry out consular judgments, if necessary, by force. The Ottomans granted

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complete religious liberty to the French in their empire, and gave them the right to keep guard over the Holy Places, which amounted to a French protectorate over all the Catholics in the Levant. This ominous treaty marked the beginning of the Capitulations, a system of privileges granted to foreign Powers. It allowed the exchange of permanent envoys between the Ottoman Empire and France; it enabled the latter to become, and for a long time to remain, the predominant foreign influence at the Bab-ı Ali (Sublime Porte); and to act as the official protector of all the Europeans established in the Ottoman Empire until the enactment of the Capitulations with England in 1583. In granting to a foreign Power what came to be extra-territorial and supra-state, or supra-national, privileges within the frontiers of the empire, a precedent was established, fraught with problems and dangers, that would bedevil the Ottoman Empire for centuries, and would ultimately contribute to its downfall." #33

"The Beginning of the End —the Formation of Protestant Armenian Millet:

In 1846, the curtain came down twice on the Armenians, both literally and figurative. In the church of the Armenian Orthodox Patriarchate in Constantinople, with the curtains drawn and the altar covered, the patriarch read an excommunication order against the Armenians who had converted to Protestantism. They were accused of - and threatened with — every kind of evil in the world. Afterwards, the excommunication edict was read in all the Armenian Orthodox churches in the land under the same kind of theatrical circumstances. The great powers rushed to the aid of the Protestant Armenians, who had now been stripped of all their rights. England was especially eager to help because it saw the situation as a good opportunity for intervention... Finally; the grand vizier (equivalent to prime minister) of the Ottoman Empire was forced to act. On July 1, 1846, a new *millet* was created in the Ottoman Empire — the 'First Evangelical Armenian Church'. In 1848, the grand vizier published an imperial edict concerning this matter, and two years later the Sultan personally granted a charter to his new Protestant *millet*. Now the Protestant Armenians had the right to elect their own representatives, who could then present their concerns to the Sublime Porte with the same rights as the representatives of the Orthodox Church...

In the beginning, the new era looked promising. The intentions of the Protestant missionaries had undoubtedly been good, and they had shown unprecedented courage and selfless devotion. Nevertheless, the outcome was unintentionally disastrous for the Armenians of the Ottoman Empire." #34

Let us read what Cyrus Hamlin (the ardent Armenophile missionary who founded Robert College) had to say about protection given to Protestants against rival Orthodox and Catholics:

"The Patriarch of the Armenian Church was clothed with supreme spiritual power over all his flock, by virtue of the Imperial Constitution, given by Mehmet the Conqueror, soon after the taking of Constantinople in 1453. Having under him a large Christian population, firmly adherent to their faith, Mehmet wisely restored to govern them mainly

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through their spiritual chiefs. He first established the Greek Patriarchate, and allowed their bishops to present a candidate for the office whom he approved, and invested with the robes of office with his own hand. At a later date the Armenian Patriarchate was established in the same way. This office, while it did not change the ecclesiastical grade of incumbent, conferred great civil power over his flock. For any spiritual offense he could fine, imprison, or send into exile. In the latter case, the decree of exile had to be approved. ..But the truth was spreading. Many anti-evangelical ceremonies of the church were being abandoned, as the worship of the pictures of the Virgin Mary and of the saints, auricular confession, absolution, masses for the dead, and many other similar ceremonies. #35*

Cyrus Hamlin, speaks of Russian Orthodox hostilities and their pressure on the Porte, to prevent Protestant expansion because they were converting *Orthodox/Gregorian* Armenians to Protestants.

"He came to me one day in some excitement, and said: 'I have found a good teacher for you whom the Patriarch cannot touch. He is Russian-Armenian, Mesrob by name, and I like him very much. I have met no such Armenian before. He is not only enlightened, but he is a good Christian man.' Of course we had no hesitation in taking him right away. (*But later he disappeared and sent the following letter*). Dear Mr. Hamlin, My soul is exceedingly sorrowful. I am on board the Turkish steamer for Trabzon. I am destined to Siberia, by the order of the Russian ambassador. Give the bearer my cloths, burn the manuscripts. I give my books to the mission library. Let all brethren and sisters pray for me, for I am very sorrowful. – Mesrob Taliente'

... Boutineff haughtily replied: 'I might as well tell you now, Mr. Schauffer, that the Emperor of Russia, who is my master, will never allow Protestantism to set its foot in Turkey'..." #36*

"... We could then have no protection from the British Embassy, for Lord Ponsonby, unlike his successor Sir Stratford Canning, who although a Protestant, had a supercilious contempt for all missionaries... He laughed at the confidence of Drs. Goodell and Schauffer to the contrary. We immediately prepared our appeal to our government on the basis of the most favored nation clause in the treaty and claimed same rights which the Roman Catholic missionaries enjoyed. #37*

Hamlin speaks of a funeral procession of a Protestant, which was about to be turned into a bloody clash between Christians. He goes to the police and informs them in advance.

" The event was waited for by the persecutors. The roughs boasted that his body should never be buried; they should seize it when carried out to burial, tie a rope to the feet, and drag it through the streets of the city. It was an occasion of great anxiety and alarm. We apprehended that a mob of thousands might assemble. All the male members of the church

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and many evangelicals, not members, to the number of between one and two hundred, assembled both to honor the dead and guard his remains. Our minister resident, Mr. Carr, sent the dragoman to the chief of police governor of that side of the Bosphorus, to inform him of the threats of the mob to seize the body and drag it through the streets. He listened with Moslem gravity and simply replied: '*Insallah boyle bir sey etmeyecekler*' (God willing, they will do no such thing). This was quite satisfactory, and he sent 16 cavasses to guard the procession. Our minister and his aids were out on horseback with considerable display. The procession moved silently through the Grand Rue of Pera, attracting great attention. The brethren bore the casket, the pastor walked in front carrying a large Bible. The missionaries were with the rear of the column." (The clash was avoided and 'Protestantism' was made a new '*Millet*' with equal benefits. See notes for Hamlin's gratitude!) #38*

"In the interior there was little difference between Greek and Turk. Perhaps as many as 400,000 nominal Greeks were distinguished from their Turkish neighbors solely by their religion and by the fact that they used Greek characters to write Turkish words. In the decades before 1914, thousands of Greeks migrated to Turkey looking for work and opportunity. When the Young Turks seized power in 1908, the old, easy tolerance the Ottomans had shown to minorities was doomed; in 1912-13, when Moslem refugees fled from the Balkans back to Turkey, reprisals started there against Christian minorities." #39*

"The Sultan did what he could. neither the Seljuk Turks nor the Ottoman Turks were actuated by religious fanaticism. They wished to preserve the old social system as far as it was consistent with the dominance of the conquering caste; but they could not maintain the education, which was necessary in the old Roman organization. Moreover, the ruinous method of massacre was resorted to at times in order to prevent dangerous development among subordinate races. This has been carried to a hitherto-unknown extreme during the last 30 years and reprisals have not been unknown when opportunity offered..." #40*

"No other government had for the past four centuries shown 'so much toleration, or given so much religious freedom' as that of the Ottoman Empire. Every form of religion, Greek, Jewish, Nestorian, Roman Catholic and many others were allowed 'perfect liberty of practice and doctrine'. 'Had the Turks been less generous in the past, they would have escaped many of their present troubles', remarked Bartlett, and went on: 'When heretics were being burned to death in France and Germany and even in England, the Ottoman Government allowed its subjects entire religious freedom'... Bartlett then observed that even M. Ximenes, 'a Spanish geographer and man of science, a gentleman of much ability and general information', an eyewitness to the Sassun Rebellion of the Armenians, contradicted the Armenian 'massacre' allegations. Ximenes, who had visited many of the places where the 'alleged outrages' had taken place, had summed up the stories so widely circulated 'in such a horrible language and with such circumstantial detail, as a gigantic fraud'. The

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charges particularly against the Turkish troops Ximenes had described as 'absolutely ridiculously false'. ... " #41

"Like the Ottoman Empire itself, Salonika contained many nationalities. Even the laborers on the docks spoke half a dozen languages. About half of Salonika's people were Jews; the rest ranged from Turks to Greeks, Armenians to Albanians...When he was 19, Atatürk won a place in the Military Academy in Constantinople. He found a worldly, cosmopolitan capital. Less than half of its population was Moslem, The rest were a mix of Sephardic Jews whose ancestors had escaped from Christian Spain centuries before, Polish patriots fleeing Czarist rule and Orthodox Armenians, Rumanians, Albanians and Greeks." (Even after World War II, over half of the members of Istanbul's Chamber of Commerce had Greek names). #42

"Europeans ran the most important industries, and Western leaders kept the government solvent and supervised its finances. The Ottomans were now so weak that they were forced to give Westerners even more of the special concessions, which first started in the 16th century capitulations, which included freedom from Turkish taxes and Turkish courts. As a Turkish journalist wrote sadly: 'We have remained mere spectators while our commerce, our trades and even our broken down huts have been given to the foreigners'. In 1908, Austria annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina and Bulgaria declared independence. In 1911, Italy, the weakest of European powers, declared war and seized Libya. After the Balkan Wars of 1912 -13, Albania, Macedonia and part of Thrace, including Salonika, were gone. By 1914, the European part of the empire, which had once stretched into Hungary, was reduced to a small enclave in Thrace tucked under Bulgaria. In six years, 425,000 square miles had been lost...When the Great War started; Atatürk was enjoying life as a diplomat in Bulgaria... Many Allied reputations were destroyed at Gallipoli; his was made. As the author of the British official history later wrote, 'Seldom in history can the exertions of a single divisional commander have exercised, on three separate occasions, so profound an influence on the course of a battle, but perhaps on the fate of a campaign and even on the destiny of a nation'. The Constantinople Atatürk found at the end of the war was very different from the city he remembered. There was no coal and very little food." #43*

"It is during this period of decline that some Armenian leaders in the Ottoman Empire began to have closer relations, and in intrigue, with Western Powers. Following the conquest of Constantinople (May 29th, 1453), which was renamed Istanbul, Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II (1451-81) decided to organize the Armenian *millet*, as he had already organized the Orthodox Christians, and issued a 'ferman' in 1461, appointing Hovakim (Ovakim), the Armenian bishop of Bursa, to be Patriarch of all the Armenians within the Ottoman Empire. Turco-Armenian relations were founded on mutual trust, respect and sympathy, which were to last for centuries. Mehmet, one of whose official palace physicians was an Armenian named Amirtovlat, saved 70,000 Armenians from the Crimea, where they had been exiled

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by the Byzantines, and settled them on the coasts of the Sea of Marmara, near Istanbul. He placed them under his protection; recognized their religion rights and liberties and converted them into a most trustworthy and loyal element in the Ottoman state. So much so that in time they became known "as the '*tebaa-i sadika-i Şahane*' (loyal subjects of the Sultan), However, during the period of Ottoman decline, some of their leaders began to intrigue with the major expansionist Powers, mainly with Russia ..." #44

*"The Caliph's Secretary Salih Keramet, son of the poet Nigar Hanım, recorded in his diary that the cars frequently got stuck in mud on the road, and gendarmerie had to lay stones to enable to drive free. At 11, tired, hungry and sad, the party arrived at Catalca Station. The Caliph tried to smile when the police and gendarmerie gave him his last salute. The station manager tried to make them comfortable in his family's private quarters. He was Jewish and Jews were the only minority to retain bond of loyalty to the dynasty. When the Caliph expressed his thanks, the station manager replied in words, which brought tears in all eyes: 'The Ottoman dynasty is the savior of Turkish Jews. When our ancestors were driven out of Spain and looked for a country to take them in, it was the Ottomans who agreed to give us shelter and save us from extinction. Through the generosity of their government, once again they received freedom of religion and language, protection for their women, their possessions and their lives. Therefore our conscience obliges to serve you as much as we can in your darkest hour' ". #45**

"The Ottomans watched with horror this wholesale partitioning of their European empire but were powerless to arrest the avalanche. Nor could Sultan Abdulhamid's choice of representatives (at the Berlin Conference) have been worse. True, his chief negotiator, Caratheodory Pasha (Greek) was an efficient foreign official who won the respect of his peers but his timidity and muddled instructions he received from Istanbul prevented him from playing any meaningful role in the talks. The second delegate in Berlin, Minister Sadullah Bey was a miserable alcoholic who drank himself to death shortly after the congress. The third representative, M. Ali Pasha, was a deserter from the Prussian Army who had converted to Islam and had risen to military prominence in the Sultan's service." #46*

"A fundamental factor producing hostility between Turks and Armenians was the *millet* system. Begun in the 15th century, the *millets* were a series of non-territorial, ecclesiastical, 'states' within the Ottoman structure. Each *millet* was a religious community receiving more faithfulness from its adherents than did the central Turk administration. *Millets* handled marriage, divorce, inheritance, and other personal civil matters and nourished separate languages, courts, tax collections and cultural and educational institutions. After 1863, the Armenians even had their own legislature, which met biennially in Constantinople under the Gregorian Patriarch. As Westernization penetrated the Ottoman Empire, chiefly through French thought, the *millets* became the nuclei for European-style, territorial nationalism." #47*

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Chapter 2 - References and Footnotes:

1. Bertrand Russell, *Human Society in Ethics & Politics*, George Allen-Unwin Ltd. London 1954, pg.218.
2. Courtesy, Museum of Turkish Jews, *The Quincentennial Foundation, Istanbul* pg.76-77 "Bernard Lewis, *Jews of Islam*"
3. Religion and Science, Bertrand Russell, Oxford Univ. Press, New York 1997, ISBN 0-19-511551-1, pg.87-88-95
4. Courtesy, Italian Trade Commission, Istanbul, special book *Turkish-Italian Trade Relations* – 1993 Italian Institute F. Trade pg.8
- 5*. Philip Mansel, *Constantinople*, St. Martin's Press, NY, pg.47
- Sir Christopher Robert's fathers were from France and had moved to the U.S. because he was a "Huguenot!"**
- 6*. Ibid, pg.50
- Russian's conversion to Christianity from Paganism by Byzantines is another interesting episode!**
- 7*. Ibid, pg.51
- Wrong guess about Turks, at the height of their power...life pays!**
- 8*. Ibid, pg.52
- Proof of tolerance...how many mosques are left in the non-Moslem countries?**
- 9*. Ibid, pg.53
- Fountains/springs of curing by sacred/holy waters, is a popular Christian superstition, also believed by Moslems!**
- 10*. Ibid, pg.54
- In Istanbul, the Greek Orthodox "Balklı Hospital" built in 1753 as a "vakif = endowment", is next to a spring of holy water. The hospital is active, serving mostly Turkish patients, and is one of my all-time favorite clinics.**
- 11* Ibid, pg.55
- Superstitions know no religious barriers... Moslems may go to churches praying for miracles from same God!**
12. Ibid pg.56
- 13*. Ibid, pg.334
- Artin Dadian, held some of the highest positions but was not liked by the Dashnaks. After loyal services to the Sultan protecting his community, he too, had to side with them, to save his own life and did not return from Paris!**
- 14*. Ibid, pg.335
- Completely self-explanatory, eliminating most hesitations about the conditions and Dashnak ideology!**
- 15* Ibid, pg.337
- Eloquently said.**
- 16* Ibid, pg.348
- Excellent example of democratic representation, though short-lived!**
17. National Geographic, *Turks, Armenians, etc.* Oct. .1909 – pg.146
- 18* National Geographic, *Turks, Armenians, etc.* January, 1912 – pg.53
- The hypocrisy of Lord Bryce, his huge contribution as an Armenophile to mobilize and build the British propaganda machine – Blue Book – and direct contacts with American missionaries, are well documented in other chapters. He could never be neutral or truthful!**
- 19*. National Geographic, *Turks, Armenians, etc.* Oct. 1915 – pg.329
- This section is self-explanatory in respect of Armenian claims of population and land ownership.**
20. Roderic H. Davison, *Essays in Ottoman & Turkish History, 1774 - 1923*, U. of Texas Press, Austin pg.111
21. Ibid, pg.112
22. Ibid, pg.114
- 23*. Ibid, pg.115

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What more equality can be expected? But this paved the way to convert into Protestant Christian superiority using the special rights of capitulation, in hands of foreign consuls all over the Empire.

24*. Ibid, pg.124

The bigotry of the *ulema* was static and local. As seen in other chapters, the bigotry of the educated and clever missionaries and politicians, entailed more serious calamities, all blamed on nobody but Turks!

25*. Joseph L Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy & the Near East*, U. of Minn. Press, pg.51

Contradictions of population puzzle, are touched upon in another chapter for judgment.

26*. Ibid, pg.53

Theoretical and cultural Turkification was a hollow slogan, a kick-back to the effective propaganda of Christianity, reaction to songs "Onward Christian Soldiers" and similar...

27*. Ibid, pg.58

Self-explanatory.

28*. Erich Feigl, *A Myth of Terror*, Edition Zeitgeschichte Freilassing, Salzburg, Austria pg.39

True-neutral reflection.

29*. Ibid, pg.41

The church has been restored and opened as a museum in 2007 by Turkish Government spending some \$ 1.5 million.

30. National Geographic, *Turks, Armenians, etc.* Oct. 1915 – pg.347

Well-explained.

31. Guenther Lewy, *The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey* U. of Utah Press, pg.203

32. Ibid, pg.204

33. Salahi Sonyel, *The Great War and the Great Tragedy of Anatolia*, T.T.K., pg.3

34. Erich Feigl, *A Myth of Terror*, Edition Zeitgeschichte Freilassing, Salzburg, Austria pg.47

35*. Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times*, Boston, 1893 pg.282

Was Hamlin ever satisfied with any Turk!

36*.Ibid, pg.283

Hamlin confesses he knew the true rivals of Protestants, Catholics and Orthodox, but he blamed Turks only!

37*.Ibid, pg.186

Eventually the most favored did not suffice and he called for the Navy to teach Turks!

38*.Ibid. pg.187

Hamlin's Turkish antagonism never ceased... Maybe this was one of the reasons why Sir Robert, removed him from Presidency of Robert College and made Hamlin's son-in-law, George Washburn, President of the College.

39*. Margaret MacMillan *Paris 1919*, Random House, New York pg.350

Millels in harmony!

40* National Geographic, Nov. 1922, pg. 570

Learn from history, even if it is some times distorted...

41. Salahi Sonyel, *The Great War and the Great Tragedy of Anatolia*, T.T.K., pg.30

42*Margaret Macmillan, *Paris 1919*, Random House – New York, pg.370

Moslems did not know business, this is why Armenians, Jews, Greeks controlled all trade, finance, industry...

43*. Margaret Macmillan, *Paris 1919*, Random House – New York, pg.371

Self-explanatory confirmation of the above.

44. Salahi Sonyel, *The Great War and the Great Tragedy of Anatolia*, T.T.K., pg.4 - 5

45* Philip Mansel, *Constantinople*, St. Martin's Press, NY, pg.414

I have included this section for two reasons Firstly, it summarizes some six centuries of Ottoman type of yoke which the outsiders complained about, but the people under the yoke 'apparently' were happy until the given freedoms were exploited for imperialistic aims under humane (?) and nationalistic aspirations. The second reason is that secretary of the last Caliph, Keramet Salih Bey

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mentioned here, was my teacher of Turkish literature and taught us not only literature, but how to be a true (gentleman) 'efendi' in life.

46*. Efraim & Inari Karsh, *Empires of the Sand*, Harvard U. Press, pg.45

Again two reasons: Firstly to show that Christians and Jews could be easily promoted to highest positions of the Empire; secondly, when I went to school we rented the villa Kara Teodori Pasha had built for his daughters, next to his mansion in Arnavutköy, İstanbul.

47*. Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy & the Near East*, U. of Minn. Press, p 50

The author is a missionary, highly proficient on Armenian churches, divinity and Ottoman matters. His "sometimes neutral" remarks are worthy of being seriously evaluated, as dependable!

Chapter 3: AMICABLE RELATIONS

Contrary to the popular belief that the CUP (*Committee of Union and Progress*) and the Dashnaks were old time enemies, in this chapter we have plenty evidence of their full cooperation and bilateral support up until the start of World War I, when the Dashnaks sided with the Russians, even rejecting the autonomy offered to them in August, 1914.

"The lot of the Armenians did not improve. The recent massacres were the one topic of conversation among them, and the Armenian Revolutionary Federation continued its activities, although in a more subdued manner. Wild rejoicing among Armenians, and great hopes for the future, arose with the Young Turk Revolution of 1908. Armenians cooperated with the CUP. A few steps were in fact, made toward realizing the Armenian hopes." #1*

"Influenced by French and Marxist socialism, Armenians (primarily Russian) sought to force European interposition by starting revolutionary movements. The Hunchakian party appeared in 1887 (but fragmented within a decade) and the Dashnaksuthiun (Armenian Revolutionary Federation) arose in 1890. The only important group solely Turkish-Armenian 'the Armenakan' began in 1885, and stressed education and self defense rather than revolt. Located in Van, the Armenakan had little relation to the other parties. Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Gregorian leaders among the Armenians did not endorse revolution and were usually apathetic about it. By the mid-1890s the Dashnaksuthiun was evolving into the first powerful secular institution in Armenian history. It menaced the status of the Gregorian Church. Attempts by western section of the Dashnaksuthiun to stir Turkish-Armenian brothers aggravated relations with the Porte. Turkish authorities indiscriminately jailed Armenians. Abdulhamid sought to end talk of rebellion by the massacres, started in 1894 at Sassun and continued the next two years. Armenian revolutionaries in August, 1896 temporarily seized the Ottoman Bank headquarters in Constantinople, hoping to bring European intervention. Memoirs of the Armenian volunteer fighter Rouben der Minasian epitomized its work. Between 1903-08, Minasian operated in roving, clandestine company ranging from 10 to 100 men. The band trained Armenians around Lake Van to use arms against preying Kurds, generated propaganda, assisted threatened peasants and administered reprisals against Turks and Kurds, The Young Turk party gave promise of better days when in 1908 - 09 it cooperated with Dashnaksuthiun to depose Abdulhamid." #2*

"It seems that the 'seditious' acts of the Armenian revolutionaries were the pretext for, rather than the cause of 1894-96 massacres. It was the decline and weakness of the Ottoman Empire... Mateos Izmirlian, the Patriarch of the Armenians in Constantinople, told Fitzmaurice, now First Dragoman at the British Embassy, of his firm conviction that the only safe course for making good their terrible losses during the old Palace regime, lay in working in loyal union with the Turks on the lines of prudence and moderation. Furthermore

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the Armenian Revolutionary Federation of Dashnaksuthiun entered into an 'understanding' for cooperation with the Young Turks Committee. The Turkish side of the question was that the Armenians had armed themselves, that certain members of the Hunchakian Revolutionary Party and the Armenian Bishop had openly urged the people to fight the Turks and set up a Principality. ...the vice - consul who had rushed to Adana, admitted that among the Armenians there was 'much vain boasting and wordy provocation'." #3*

"At a time when Russia was insisting on extensive reforms for the Ottoman Armenians, it was denying its own Armenians those very rights. In the end, the Ottoman Government accepted a Russo-German proposal, worked out in February, 1914, which provided for the creation of two Armenian provinces, one incorporating Sivas, Erzurum and Trabzon provinces and the other the provinces of Van, Bitlis, Harput and Diyarbakır. Each of the provinces was to be administered by a European inspector-general appointed by the great powers; by May the first two inspectors-general, a Norwegian and a Dutchman, assumed their posts. This was the situation in Ottoman Armenia at the outbreak of the Great War. The February, 1914 reforms had fallen short of Armenian aspirations, portioning the region in two separate entities instead of creating a unified province, diluting Armenian proportional strength in these new creations. Yet, for all their imperfections they contained the most far-reaching concessions the Armenians had managed to extract from their suzerain and most of them were eager to preserve these gains come what way. Hence, when the Ottoman Empire entered the war, the Armenian patriarch of Istanbul, as well as several nationalist groups, including the Dashnaksuthiun Party, announced their loyalty to the Ottoman Empire and implored the Armenian people to perform their obligations to the best of their ability. Not all Armenians complied with this wish. In its congress held in the Romanian town of Constanza shortly before the outbreak of war, the Hunchakian Party vowed to fight the Ottoman Empire. Scores of Ottoman Armenians, including several prominent figures, crossed the border to assist the Russian campaign. Others offered to help the Entente by other means." #4*

"This military fiasco left Eastern Anatolia open to a Russian advance which duly materialized when the weather improved. It also marked the beginning of the suppression of the Ottoman Armenians, still a controversial issue 75 years later. The Armenian community formed an important part of the population of the eastern Anatolian provinces, although in no province did they constitute a majority or even plurality. Estimates of the total number of Armenians in the empire vary, but a number of around 1,500,000, some 10% of the population of Ottoman Anatolia, is probably a reasonable estimate. After the troubles of 1896, the situation in the east had normalized to some extent, but relations between the local Armenians and Moslems, especially the Kurds, remained tense and there were frequent clashes. In May 1913, a representative of *Dashnakzutioun* had demanded the establishment of a foreign gendarmerie to protect the Armenians in Eastern Anatolia. The CUP Government had approached the British about this matter and the latter had discussed

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it with the French and the establishment of two inspectorates with far-reaching powers in eastern Anatolia and a Norwegian and a Dutch inspector were appointed in May. The outbreak of war prevented the scheme from being put into operation. At the outbreak of the war, Armenian nationalists saw in a Russian victory their chance to achieve the establishment of an Armenian state in Eastern Anatolia. Russian propaganda encouraged these aspirations. A few thousand Armenians joined the Russian Army; there were Armenian desertions from the Ottoman Army and guerrilla activity behind the Ottoman lines. Confronted with this situation, the Ottoman cabinet, on the initiative of the Interior Minister, Talaat Pasha decided to relocate the entire population of the war zone to Zor in the heart of the Syrian Desert. This relocation process (*tehcir*) was carried through 1915-16 and it resulted in the death of enormous numbers of Armenians. So much is undisputed historical fact. The controversies rage on three points. The first is the military necessity of the operation. Turkish historians and their supporters point the treasonable activities of many Armenians during the war and to difficulty of knowing which Armenians would remain loyal and which would side with Russians. The other side, - correctly - pointed out that the deportations were not limited to the war zone but took place all over the empire. In western Anatolia and Istanbul, the deportation of whole communities was exceptional, but members of the Armenian elite were persecuted. The second controversy is over numbers: Turkish historians have put the number of deaths as low as 200,000 while the Armenians have sometimes claimed ten times as many. The third and most important controversy concerns intent, and whether genocide was committed. The Turkish side and its supporters claim the situation in eastern Anatolia was one of the inter-communal warfare, in which Armenian bands (supported by the Russian Army) and Kurdish tribes (supported by Turkish gendarmes) struggled for control. They also recognize that the Armenians sent to Syria were subjected to vicious attacks by the local Moslem population (especially Kurds) but they attribute this to lack of control on the part of the Ottoman Government rather than to its policies.

They point out that the official records of the Ottoman Government do not, as far as is known, contain any documents which demonstrate government involvement in the killings...
" #5*

"The last Allied troops withdrew in January, 1916. During the fighting at Gallipoli, a greater cataclysm was decided in Constantinople. The Committee had at first enjoyed relatively good relations with Armenians. Between 1909-14, both the Armenian national assembly and congresses of the Hunchak party had met in the capital. An Armenian, Gabriel Noradounghian, a protégé of Ali Pasha had briefly been Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1912-13 (left for Paris soon after)...In 1914, some Armenians helped Russian troops in Anatolia against Ottoman forces. There was an Armenian rising in Van. In Constantinople itself some Armenians were seen gloating over the first Russian victories." #6*

The pressure from all sides on the Empire was so tense and varied, that the Ottomans accepted the subdivision of their land and authority under the "reform"

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packages. What saved them was the friction between the Powers on dividing the spoils, and the impending World War I.

"During the summer of 1913, the ambassadors of Russia, Great Britain, France, Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy in Constantinople and a commission appointment, excluded from these negotiations and seriously concerned about of the eastern provinces, sought to prevent the adoption of the European initiative by proposing its own reform for the entire empire, but this maneuver failed. The Russian draft was supported by France and England but was opposed by Germany, and Austria-Hungary, which sought to carry favor with Turkey and enlarge their influence in the Near East. ...The six eastern provinces were to be grouped into two provinces, each under an European inspector. There was no mention of the words "Armenia" or "Armenians," and the program of reform did not include Armenian populations living outside the two inspectorates as in Cilicia. The European powers, acting through their ambassadors, were given the right to supervise the execution of the reforms, but the obligation to guarantee their success was eliminated. On February 8th, 1914, Russia (on behalf of the Europeans) and Turkey signed the revised accord... Not until April did the sultan approve the choice of the two inspectors. The Dutch civil servant L. C. Westenek and the Norwegian officer Hoff, arrived in Constantinople a few weeks later to receive their instructions. There were more delays as the parties haggled over the authority of the inspectors. By the early summer of 1914, Hoff had actually reached Van and Westenek was about to leave for Erzurum, but on June 28th, the assassination of the Austrian Archduke Francis Ferdinand at Sarajevo provided the spark that set off WW1. On July 29th, Germany declared war on Russia, and on August 8th, Turkey ordered general mobilization. Soon thereafter the two inspectors were dismissed. In December 1914, after Turkey had entered the war on the side of Germany, the reform agreement was annulled." #7*

"Meanwhile, the arrival in May, 1914 the two inspector-generals for eastern Anatolia, Major Hoff, a Norwegian, and M. Westenek, a Dutchman, seemed to be an indication that Armenian dreams were about to be fulfilled, and the Ottoman Empire parceled out. Perhaps it was a coincidence that, in the first week in May, the Russian newspaper, Novoe Vremya published a leading article on Asia Minor and the Triple Alliance, in which it stated that a new claimant in the economic division of Asiatic Turkey had appeared in the person of Austria, a country which had hitherto not been actively interested in the Asiatic continent. This was a reference to Austrian claims for concessions to work the natural wealth of the regions adjoining the southern littoral of Asia Minor - namely the Tekke *sanjak* (district) of the Konya province and another *sanjak* of the Aydin province. The paper then referred to the Italian claims also in the *sanjak* of Tekke, and expressed the opinion that any friction between Austria and Italy would be adjusted by their powerful ally, Germany, and added that Germany was undoubtedly supporting Austria and Italy in their claims to share 'in the economic division of Asiatic Turkey', and had probably encouraged these two countries to present claims. This would result in all the Powers of the Triple Alliance 'receiving a good share of the Turkish inheritance in Asia Minor'. The paper then went on as follows: ...Thus,

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'the Armenian reform scheme' was nothing but an excuse for the major Powers to divide the Ottoman Empire into spheres of economic exploitation. The Ottoman Government, however, which dreaded the Russian menace behind the scheme, tried to curtail the authority of the inspectors, and as soon as the Great War broke out, dismissed them." #8*

"At the same time E. Aknouni, another Russian Armenian and spokesman of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, the Dasnaktsutiun, announced: 'One of the primary duties of the Dashnaktagans will be to protect, or defend, the Ottoman constitutional regime, to work for the unification of the Ottoman nationalities, and to cooperate with the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP of the Young Turks)' #9*

"The Ottoman Empire joins the Central Powers;

Between May and mid-July, 1914 the Ottoman Government made an alliance proposal to Russia through Interior Minister Mehmet Talat and closer relations with France, through Navy Minister, Ahmet Cemal Pasha, only to be politely rebuffed in both cases. Britain, too, was not willing to accommodate the Young Turk Government. When Germany declared war on August 1st, the Ottoman Government began to mobilize on the following day, after German Ambassador Liman von Wangenheim and the Ottoman Grand Vezir Said Halim Pasha signed a treaty of alliance between their countries. ..." #10*

"The Dashnakists had cooperated with the Young Turks with the hope that, in return, they would obtain some measure of decentralization that would go far enough to establish one or two purely Armenian provinces, but as regenerated Ottoman Government was aiming at the establishment of an Ottoman nationality without distraction of race or religion, their disappointment was great. Even Vice-Consul Dickson believed that the aims of the Dashnak Society were 'preposterously ambitious', and that they hoped for the establishment of an Armenian Republic, formed out of the portions of Ottoman, Russian and Persian Provinces, from which the non-Armenian elements would gradually be excluded. Dickson informed Lowther that the Armenian clergy were extorting their flocks to marry young, and to beget large families so as to swamp the other elements.' #11*

"It should be noted in passing, the de-ionization of Talat Pasha in Andonian's work represents an important change from the way in which many Armenians regarded Talat's character before the events of 1915. For example, on December 20th, 1913, British embassy official Louis Mallet reported to London that the Armenians had confidence in Talat Bey 'but fear that they may not always have to deal with a Minister of the interior as well disposed as the present occupant of that post' Similarly, after the German missionary Liparit had visited Turkey in December, 1914, he stated that Talat was a man 'who over the last six years has acquired the reputation of a sincere adherent of Turkish-Armenian friendship.' Some others who later came into close contact with Talat continued to adhere to this favorable appraisal. William Peet, the American head of the international Armenian relief effort in

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Constantinople, recalls that Talat Pasha always gave prompt attention to my requests, frequently greeting me as I called upon him in his office with the introductory remark: ' We are partners, what can I do for you today?' Count Bernstorff, between September, 1917 - October, 1918, the German ambassador to Turkey acknowledges Talat's failure to prevent the crimes against the Armenians but adds that he has come to respect him and calls him a man of absolute integrity. Perhaps the Turkish statesman at some point indeed turned into the vicious friend that Armenian writers have accused him of being, ever since the deportations and massacres. Or could it be that the Armenians after 1915 simply got it all wrong?" #12*

"Making use of the representative of the dominant Armenian political society, the Dashnaktsutiun (Armenian Revolutionary Federation), to convey his proposals, Cemal appears to have acted on the mistaken assumption that saving the Armenians - as distinct from merely exploiting their plight for propaganda purposes - was an important Allied objective. In December, 1915, Dr. Zavriev, a Dashnak emissary to the Allies, informed the Russian Government that Cemal prepared to overthrow the Ottoman Government. This was the month that the Allied evacuation from Gallipoli began; in the wake of that disastrous expedition it could have been expected that the Allies would be willing to pay a price to bring hostilities with Turkey to an end. Cemal's terms, as outlined by Russian Foreign Minister Sazanov, envisaged a free and independent Asiatic Turkey (consisting of Syria, Mesopotamia, a Christian Armenia, Cilicia, and Kurdistan as autonomous provinces) whose supreme ruler would be Cemal as Sultan. Cemal agreed in advance to the inevitable Russian demand to be given Constantinople and the Dardanelles. He also offered to take immediate steps to save the surviving Armenians. He proposed, with Allied help, to march on Constantinople to depose the Sultan and his government; and in return he asked financial aid to help reconstruct his country after the war. The Russians proposed to accept Cemal's proposal, and Sazanov seemed confident that his allies would agree to do so. But, in March, 1916, France rejected the proposal and insisted on having (in the south of what is now Turkey) a Greater Syria for herself." #13*

"In the impossibly brief time from 1908-14, Young Turks strove to create a modern Ottoman state. But in conflicts with such enemies as Italy, Greece and Bulgaria abroad and Armenians at home, the Committee of Union and Progress turned increasingly to assertive Turkification. ...Cultural lag within the Empire was helping make relations between Turks and Armenians a sorrowful experience, also for American missionaries." #14*

"With the growth of nationalism in the 19th century, both Armenians and Turks sought relief from the rule of despotic sultans...Operating largely in exile, Armenian and Turkish groups collaborated. When Sultan Abdulhamid II was finally challenged in 1908, Armenians assisted their Young Turk counterparts in reactivating the Constitution and reconvening the Turkish Parliament, which Abdulhamid had 'recessed' some three decades before. Turkish

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nationalism unfortunately became extreme, with many longing to restore the glories of the Ottoman past. Intellectuals such as Ziya Gökalp dreamed of uniting Turkish peoples from Thrace to the Central Asian Turkish homeland. Armenians stood in the way of this great unification plan." #15*

"Within months of taking office, Lloyd George was engaged in secret negotiations with the Young Turk leader, Enver Pasha. The Prime Minister's agent in the negotiations was Vincent Caillard, financial director of the giant armaments firm Vickers, who had spent many years in Constantinople as president of the council of administration of the Ottoman Public Debt. Caillard, in turn, acted through his close business associate, Basil Zaharoff, who had risen from the underworld of Smyrna to become the world's most notorious arms salesman, known in the popular press as the 'merchant of death.' Zaharoff journeyed in Geneva in 1917 and 1918 and reported that was able to conduct negotiations there with Enver Pasha, at first, through a go-between and then face-to-face.

Through his emissary, the Prime Minister offered bribes - large bank accounts - to Enver and his associates to exit the war on Britain's terms, which were: Arabia to be independent; Armenia and Syria to enjoy local autonomy within the Ottoman Empire; Mesopotamia and Palestine to become de facto British protectorates.... like Egypt before the war, though under formal Ottoman suzerainty; and freedom of navigation through the Dardanelles to be secured! In return, Lloyd George offered to pledge that the Capitulations (the treaties giving preferential treatment to Europeans) would remain abolished, and that generous financial treatment would be given to Turkey to aid her economic recovery. The terms offered by Lloyd George differed in two important ways from those envisaged by the prior Asquith Government. France, Italy, and Russia were to get nothing; and Britain was to take Palestine as well as Mesopotamia.

Zaharoff's reports - the veracity of which it is difficult to judge - indicate that Enver, after mercurial changes of mind and mood, did not accept Lloyd George's offer. It does not sound as though he ever seriously intended to do so. But the instructions that Zaharoff received, reveal Lloyd George's intentions with regard to the Middle East." #16*

"The scholastic year 1916-17 was to prove an exceedingly difficult one for both of the American colleges, particularly after the U.S. entered the war on the side of the Entente Allies on April 17th, 1917. Gates writes in his memoir of the increasing tension in Istanbul during the latter part of the fall semester of that year." #17*

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Chapter 3 - References and Footnotes:

- 1*. Roderic H. Davison, *Essays in Ottoman & Turkish History, 1774 – 1923*, Univ. Texas Press, g.181
Sentimental confusion: cannot love, but don't hate; cannot go or stay, but set me free without loss!
- 2*. Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy & the Near East*, Univ. of Minn. Press 1991, pg.49
Are States said to be free and democratic, more tolerant to the risk of terror, -not even revolt- today?
- 3*. Akaby Nassibian, *Britain & the Armenian Question 1915-23*, Croom Helm, London, pg.21
Another paradox: moderation and togetherness, but with pointed guns!
- 4*. Efraim & Inari Karsh, *Empires of the Sand*, Harvard Univ..Press, pg.153
According to the regulations for which there was no time to enforce, these provinces were passing under the control of the Super Powers, without any responsibility, but using <protection and reform of Armenians- as a valid excuse.
- 5*. Erik J. Zürcher, *'Turkey' a Modern History*, Erik J. Zürcher, I.B.Tauris Publis, London, pg.119-21
Writer is biased; in view of revolts, sabotages etc. military necessity cannot be doubted, given the fact that all populations, Kurds, Turks included were evacuated, the latter without any arrangements at all. Regarding some other relocations in other cities, these applied to the known supporters of revolutionists only and their being elite as leaders is totally normal. Some of the relocated people were eventually happy with the conditions at Zor or Aleppo!
- 6*. Philip Mansel, *Constantinople*, St. Martin's Press, NY, pg.375
This paragraph contradicts previous observation and commentary. The Armenian Foreign Minister was to go to Paris, involve in activities against the Ottomans! Tolerance and confidence betrayed!
- 7*. Guenter Lewy, *The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey*, U. of Utah Press, pgs.37-38
The creation of two inspectorates subservient to the Super Powers, was to erupt new chaos/revolts!
- 8*. Salahi Sonyel, *The Great War and the Great Tragedy of Anatolia*, T.T.K., pg.80.
This observation confirms above interpretation. Armenians were shown a carrot, but inside a jar!
- 9*. Ibid, pg.33
Propaganda words to comfort CUP , while preparing for internal war , as agreed in Tiblisi Congress !
- 10*. Ibid, pg.81
Ottomans desperately tried to join the Allies, who had already agreed to carve up the Empire.
- 11*. Ibid, pg.37
Dashnaks eventually refused the autonomy offered to them just before WWI , satisfied their craze to fight and take by force. Examples show, they had no limits to their demands and over estimations.
- 12*. Guenter Lewy, *The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey*, Univ. of Utah Press, pg.65.
Apparently, Talat went mad for no reason and decided to massacre them all for being Christians!
- 13*. David Fromkin, *A Peace to End All Peace*, Henry Holt and Co. NY, pg.214.
This commentary is questionable; despite it's importance, it has not been confirmed by other writers,
- 14*. Ibid, pg.53.
Missionaries role is discussed in detail in Chapter 5. Did the cultural lag appeared all of the sudden after 600 years of perfect harmony, or was it injected and provoked by Imperialist Powers, ready to split the "sick man" while in bed?
- 15*. Leslie A Davis, *The Slaughterhouse Province*, A. D. Caratzas, New York, pg.18.
A negative prejudice; CUP and Dashnaks were buddies. Ziya Gokalp tried to give moral support by speaking of cultural unity, hence the observation about Armenia's being an 'obstacle', is not logical.
- 16*. David Fromkin, *A Peace to End All Peace*, Henry Holt and Co. NY, pg.266 – 267.
This commentary too has not been confirmed by other authors, but sounds convincingly to be true!
- 17*. John Freely, *A History of Robert College*, YKY, Istanbul pg.220
The U.S. had cut diplomatic relations after entering World War I on the side of Allies, but there was no declaration of war between the Ottomans and the U.S. The relief and educational institutions' activities were not hindered. However, we know that U.S. Navy took part in operations against Turkey, and gave logistic and military aid to Greeks and Armenians.

Chapter 4: LOYALTY AND INNOCENCE ... BY REVOLUTION!

Most of the “Genocide fanfare” scholars totally ignore the abundant books and references about Armenian bravery and heroism in the wars they fought against Turks only. They insist that *all Armenians* were innocent and loyal subjects and have been subjected to the genocide of 1.5 million (almost double of the population that existed in the Empire in the areas in question) and simply for the fact that they were Christians and Armenians.

Known almost by all Armenians by rote, Article 6 of the Hunchak Party Declaration reads:

“The time for general revolution (in Armenia) will be when a foreign power attacks Turkey externally. The party will revolt internally”.

This chapter includes a wide range of incidents, expressed by anti-Turkish or neutral writers, to serve as undeniable evidence, rather than hearsay of old wives’ tales or eyewitnesses that generalize one single incident if not reverted. Contemporary Armenian postcards were showing *heroes* of terrorism, and in the middle of the top row was Armen Garo ‘MP Pastermadijan’ who was the ringleader of the raid on the Ottoman Bank. Various excerpts have been taken from his book Why Armenia Should be Free, Boston, 1918, in which he makes no reference to his expertise in terrorism but puts light on several incidents.

According to the “Rapport” presented by “Daschnaktzoutiun” at the 1910 “International Socialist Congress in Copenhagen” (French Print-Geneva, 1910, Archive: Institut Emile Vandervelede - Bruxelles, Bibliotheque No. B.S.79238) signed by M. Warandian, the Dashnaks have already written down, their plans for their future revolutions in Turkey’s mainly areas of Kastamonu, Bitlis and Diyarbakır, and their perfect cooperation with the CUP, which came into power later, and also with the other Christian members of the Parliament. It is clearly stated, that for each village with Armenian population, they would have five to eight trustworthy persons in the 30 - 50 age group, separately a ‘militant group of 30 to 50 fighters’, another ‘military group’ to procure arms, ‘auxiliary groups’ for finance and logistics, as well as a ‘women’s group’ to serve as messengers between different groups. These were to be organized in ‘mobile bands’ and this is what exactly happened between the years 1914–22. This 31-page report gave details about their propaganda and administrative publications covering Russia, Persia and Turkey.

The Dashnaks prove to be very capable organizers be it in propaganda, revolution or collections of *donations or dues* for the ‘cause’ that only their leaders knew about. (A very new example of this capability is presented in the last chapter of the book). The irony is that these ‘disastrous calamities’ taught nothing, and the Dashnaks who were primarily responsible for the course of events and devastation,

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are still in power in the Diaspora and the little State of Armenia, and they '*must keep this show of antagonism going on*' because it provides jobs and a living for a very large group of Dashnak rulers selling '*victimization of Armenia and the need to support them in the name of Christianity*!' They also convinced their community that they will succeed, and that Turkey will be obligated to *pay compensations and/or give up some land*! This means 'every Armenian will get a share' of this "treasure".

The information given in this chapter may compliment or overlap the contents of other chapters, but it will certainly prove *how innocent and loyal the Dashnak-goaded Armenians were...* Due to abundance of excerpts, the reader may read all or call off when he thinks "that's enough" and glance at some commentary footnotes in the reference section of the chapter.

"(in 1881) The decaying Russian Empire had become a breeding ground for revolutionaries, anarchists and nihilists and the Armenians were beginning to suffer along with all communities suspected of harboring revolutionary movements. Restrictions was placed on their churches, schools and newspapers and as far as the national aspirations of the Armenians were concerned, the Russians made it plain that they did not intend to allow another Bulgaria to arise on their own borders. This hardening attitude towards the Armenians was also a manifestation of Russia's changing strategic priorities." #1

"This rather left Britain out in the cold, but its own interests had hardly stood still since the 1870s. The atmosphere in which Armenian reforms had first been formulated was the fortuitously British and Armenian interests were running along parallel tracks. Britain wanted to block the Russians and the Armenians wanted reforms. The best way of blocking the Russians was by persuading the sultan to grant reforms that would redress the grievances of the Armenians and thus deny the Russian their usual pretext for intervention." #2

"The founders of the two main revolutionary parties were not Turkish-Armenians. The Hunchakian Revolutionary Party was formed in Geneva in 1887 by seven Russian-Armenian students, all in their twenties, who had left Russia to continue higher education in Western Europe! None of them ever lived under the Turkish flag. The Armenian Revolutionary Federation or Dashnaksutiun, a merger of various Armenian groups, primarily in Russia, was founded in Tbilisi in 1890." #3*

"About this time it was rumored that bombs and guns had been found in the possession of certain persons who were thought to be members of Armenian revolutionary societies conspiring against the Turkish Government." #4

"THE NEW YORK TIMES", Sept. 24, 1896 SWORN TO RUIN THE PORTE – Armenian Societies Active in Constantinople - They Receive Orders from a Secret Central Committee - They Are Responsible for Recent Disturbances – France Has Begun Negotiations to Settle the Turkish Question, with the Aid of England and Russia..."

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"Abdulhamid had been attempting to negotiate with the Dashnaks for months and the attack on the bank seems to have coincided with the failure of these talks. Far from being intimidated by what had already happened, the Dashnaks warned more attacks were already being planned. In the meantime those revolutionaries who had survived the raid were sailing into exile and bunting was fluttering from steam launches and yachts along the Bosphorus to mark Sultan's accession day (Sept. 30th). " #5*

"One Victorian worthy wrote another, 'Here is a nation in the freshness of a new life, burning to go on the noblest of crusades and our loathsome Jew (Disraeli) wants us to stop them'. - In 1896, 20 Armenian terrorists seized the Ottoman Bank in Stamboul to draw attention to their plight. It was the signal for a general massacre of Armenians throughout Constantinople, directed by the Porte. - The terrorists surrendered to an English director of the bank, in return for safe conduct out of the country aboard a banker's private yacht. - In 1909, 30,000 Armenians were butchered in Cilicia - as always, in the name of God, the All merciful, the All compassionate." #6*

"The lot of the Armenians did not improve. The recent massacres were the one topic of conversation among them, and the Armenian Revolutionary Federation continued its activities, although in a more subdued manner. Wild rejoicing among Armenians, and great hopes for the future arose with the Young Turk Revolution of 1908. Armenians cooperated with the CUP. A few steps were in fact, made toward realizing the Armenian hopes" #7

"The peasant mass was not very vocal. Higher classes of Ottoman Armenians wished rather for a regenerated and orderly Turkey and thought that autonomy would be possible only within Turkey and not under Russian domination. The Huntchak and Dashnakzouthiun were socialist and revolutionary though their program was subject to change. But the position of the Dashnakzouthiun, otherwise called the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, is fairly clear. It was easily the leading society by this time, claiming for itself in 1907 a membership of 165,000. The Dashnaks had cooperated with the Young Turks in the 1908 Revolution and continued to work with them until 1913. They were socialist and revolutionary and had stores of arms, but they restricted their actions for the most part of cultural and legal plane after the revolution...They did not believe that Russian occupation of Armenia would bring them more freedom, though it would bring more order. Varandian, writing as a member of the Dashnaks, asked reforms and autonomy for Turkish Armenia, saying that a complete separation of Armenia from Turkey was ethnographically and geographically impossible." #8*

"By the beginning of 1913, the Dashnaks and CUP representing the Young Turk now in power, were becoming strained. When the Balkan wars broke out, Armenians saw both an example of a fight for freedom and an opportunity for action. The magazine Pro-Armenia reappeared in Paris. Armenians resident in Japan and Burma, sent appeals to the Hague

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Court. Armenia, printed in the U.S., carried articles directed at awakening world opinion for reform. Russia wanted to help the Armenians to secure liberty and safety in Turkey. The real Russian motives are more obscure and there was apparently a conflict on policy within Russia itself. The immediate object of the czarist government seems to have been simply the establishment of Russian control over reform administration." #9

"These people had been told officially and unofficially that if they assisted the Allies in the war against the Turks, the Allies would take care that they would have national independence and be protected. Almost nothing was done." #10

From: Report A53A/1915/1712 - Adana, 13 March 1915:
(Conversation of Naval Attaché Humann & Enver)

"Several times after the bombardment of the Turkish barbarous by the English war-ships, the British came on land without any difficulty and went to the Armenians in Dort Yol to do their shopping. Some Armenians dealt with the English out of greed, while others were disgruntled on account of this, since they realized that the government would watch all this and would eventually blame all for the actions of a few... "

'From all these and occurrences one cannot deduct that the Armenians had any kind of organization for the purpose of a conspiracy or revolution. But one can surely say, that the arrival of the warships and their aggressive behavior generated joy among the majority of the Christian populace and especially Armenians, and if it should ever be possible for the English or French to reach land, they would be extremely welcomed by the Christians.'

"THE NEW YORK TIMES, Nov. 10, 1914: RUSSIANS TAKE TURKS' FOR NEAR ERZURUM – In Pursuit of Kurdish Cavalry – Armenian Students Enthusiastic Volunteers in Petrograd...."

"THE NEW YORK TIMES, Nov. 13, 1914: TURKISH ARMENIANS IN ARMED REVOLT – Were Ready to Join Russian Invaders Having Drilled and Collected Arms. See Day of Deliverance. Native Paper Says They Are Prepared for Any Sacrifice – Refuse to Join Turkish Army

Petrograd, Nov. 12,: Reports reaching the Russian capital from the Turkish border attach increasing importance to the part the Armenians are playing in the Russo - Turkish war "

"The Russians gave 2,400,000 rubles to the Dashnaks to arm the Ottoman-Armenians. They began distributing weapons to Armenians in the Caucasus and Iran in September, 1914. In that month, seven months before the Deportations were ordered, Armenian attacks on Ottoman soldiers and officials began. Deserters from the Ottoman Army at first formed into what officials called 'bandit gangs.' They attacked conscription

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officers, tax collectors, gendarmerie outposts, and Moslems on the roads. By December, a general revolt had erupted in the province of Van. Roads and telegraph lines were cut, gendarmerie outposts attacked, and Moslem villages burned, their inhabitants killed. The revolt soon grew: in December, near the Kotur Pass, which the Ottomans had to hold to defend against Russian invasion from Iran, a large Armenian battle group defeated units of the Ottoman Army, killing 400 Ottoman soldiers and forcing the army to retreat to Saray.' (Justin McCarthy Briefing in 2005 at Turkish National Assembly)

Extending across the Anatolian peninsula, the Baghdad railway zone was the object of his concern; it represented a heavy investment and contained many Armenians within its borders. From January 1913 onward the German diplomats and particularly Wangenheim at Constantinople expressed fear of a Russian partition of Anatolia. He described the Russian policy as one of deliberate provocation of incidents to provide an excuse for intervention and annexation. At times, his reports grew almost fantastic, saying at one moment that Russians were arming the Kurds to attack Armenians and at the next day, the Russians were causing Kurds and Armenians to ally in revolt. He realized that the Armenian complaints were just and advocated German cooperation with Turkey to make reform effective. In this way, Russian interference would be avoided for which Turks would be grateful to Germany; in addition, the Armenians would see Germany as their friend. The main object of Germany must be to prevent partition, for the Baghdad Railway sphere was too large and nebulous as yet to fall to her completely. Germany must, nevertheless, insure herself against all contingencies. Therefore, in a sphere 400 km. wide, reaching from the Eskişehir-Adalia line to the Persian frontier and including Van, Aleppo and Alexandretta, Germany should put forth every effort to increase her influence by means of more consulates, experts and merchants and missions and schools. Such a sphere would, Wangenheim acknowledged would clash with France in Aleppo and Russia in Van, but he maintained it nevertheless and with his conclusions, Foreign Secretary Jagow agreed. 'To go away empty-handed' said the latter, 'would be second Morocco for us'. The warship *Goeben* was stationed off Mersina in early- May, to prevent Armenian incidents.' " #11*

"THE NEW YORK TIMES, Jan. 8, 1915: FROM AMERICA TO FIGHT – Detachment of Armenians Welcomed Enthusiastically in Tiflis...."

"But Curzon opposed the Foreign Office view of a large Armenia where Armenians would be in a decided minority...If there were not a large Armenian state, the Turks would have a direct connection between Anatolia and the Turkish population in the Caucasus, which was exactly what the British wished to avoid, so far as Pan-Turanism was concerned. Robert Cecil agreed with Curzon that it would be very difficult to have one mandatory for Armenia and another for the Caucasus Republics. He admitted that the Americans did have a sentimental interest in Armenia, but he was convinced that they would never go to the Caucasus. They would 'never be there permanently; they cannot'. So, it was proposed to recommend the creation of Armenia, 'under the aegis of the French'. The Indian Secretary

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of State, Montague agreed. It was 'difficult' to get the Americans to undertake the Armenian mandate. The Foreign Office was of the view, therefore, that a French mandate over Armenia and Caucasus would provide the best practical solution." #12*

"THE NEW YORK TIMES, Sept. 29, 1915: ARMENIANS' OWN FAULT, BERNSTORFF NOW SAYS – They Brought Reprisals on Themselves by Trying to Stir Up Rebellion Against Turkey - Special to NYT "

"Curzon, who usually gave the impression that his views are 'rigid and inflexible', but who, according to Lord Beaverbrook had a talent for being on 'both sides of every controversy', now joined the Cabinet in its expression of satisfaction. Only in the case of disorder could the Allies have the right to occupy the six provinces." #13*

"Even before the Armistice, Armenians had been alarmed by rumors of abandonment." #14

"If either Cyprus or Rhodes took their women and children, the Armenians could make 'an important diversion from the Dardanelles'. Grey however did not favor the acceptance of these refugees in either Egypt or Cyprus, which had Moslem communities... It was for the French Government to arrange for their temporary accommodation at Rhodes or their transport to Algeria. Thus in 1915, all proposals to form Armenian volunteer groups under British direction were rejected. In 1917, however, it was the British authorities who tried hard to recruit Armenian manpower in the Caucasus..." #15*

"Boghos Nubar, the President of the Armenian National Delegation in Paris, who had 'assiduously' worked in the cause of Armenia, warmly congratulated Great Britain – Champion of 'justice': the day was Nov. 11th, 1918. The mightiest country in the world and the other victorious powers were sympathetic towards Armenia; and the Turkish Government 'if not cowed, was subservient'." #16*

"Colonel F.R. Maunsell of the War Office recommended the creation of both a separate state of Armenia and separate state of Kurdistan, Armenia occupying the country round Mount Ararat and Lake Van and including Erzurum and Black Sea ports of Trabzon and Giresun. The belt of country to the south should form Kurdistan. The Indian Secretary of State, Edwin Montague suggested a 'large Armenia'. Avetis Aharonian, the president of the Republic of Armenia's delegation in Paris, likewise implored for a mandatory and offered to put the Armenian Army under Allied supervision." #17*

"...evidence of some self-reliance and political ability in Armenia; that the continued existence of Armenia is an autonomous state dependent on Armenian efforts and capacity and cannot be based on foreign armies or foreign money'. On Nov. 12th, Aharonian called on Sir John Tilley at the Foreign Office and after expressing his 'warmest' thanks for the

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arms and fuel oil Britain had supplied, described 'the terrible situation' in which Armenia found herself. He said their 'only hope' was in armed intervention by Britain. Tilley told him 'that was entirely out of question'. Aharonian then suggested the formation of an army of Armenian volunteers from different parts of the world concentrating at a base on some Greek island. That too was 'wholly impracticable'. Aharonian then asked how the powers contemplated executing the Turkish Treaty. Tilley told him that the powers could execute immediately that which related to Constantinople and the Straits. Then they would organize 'Turkish' forces with which they hoped it would be possible gradually 'to pacify Anatolia'. So, the Treaty of Sevres regarding the Armenian clauses and the Eastern provinces, would only be carried out through pacifying Anatolia by 'Turkish' forces. When Aharonian urged how important it was for Britain to prevent the Turks and Russians joining hands, Tilley replied he was afraid 'Aharonian must expect nothing'. Referring to the above interview, he recorded on another page: 'I made it quite clear that it was 'fully out of question' that HMG should send any military aid of any kind or accept a mandate or do anything whatever to render assistance – even the sending of arms being now precluded by the Turkish advance'. Earlier, Lord Curzon had expressed his view that 'no reply need be returned'. Meanwhile, the Turkish Army was sweeping deep into pre-war Russian Armenia. Appeals were sent to King George V by the Catholicos at Etchmiadzin and to speaker of the House of Commons on behalf of 25,000 Armenians in California. In their desperation, the Armenians and their friends also tried to mobilize the League of Nations." #18*

"A province that earlier had been known as the 'slaughterhouse' province thus had become a place of relative security for its Armenian population. The lot of the survivors was still extremely difficult, especially after the break of diplomatic relations between the U.S. and Turkey in the spring of 1917, ended the flow of American relief funds. However, the deportations at least had finally stopped.

Trabzon: Estimates of the Armenian population in the city of Trabzon range between 6,000 –10,000. The Armenian community in the city had an active revolutionary organization. Local Armenians told the Austrian consul in January, 1914 that the Russians were supplying arms to the revolutionaries and had promised to intervene once an uprising was underway. A search for weapons conducted in March, 1914 yielded a large number of rifles and led to arrests. Overall, though, as German consul Dr. Heinrich Bergfeld noted, the searches of houses had been carried out with consideration. The Armenians themselves had told him this. The fact that the Armenians enjoyed full security, Bergfeld added, was all the more remarkable since the Armenians made no secret of their sympathy for the Allies and spread ridiculous rumors, such as the fall of the Dardanelles and of Constantinople ..." #19*

A53a/1915 – Notes of Conversation between Naval Attaché. Humann and Enver Pasha, 6 Aug. 1915:

"Enver further related the numerous warnings which he had given the Armenian Patriarch at the beginning of the war, pointing out at the same time the praise Sassonov had given in the

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Duma to the "loyal" Armenians in Turkey. Induced and incited by Russian agents, the Armenians have waged war so thoroughly against the Ottoman population that in the Vilayet of Van, which used to boast 150 000 Turks, only 30 000 Muslims are alive. Moreover, Enver is also aware of a conspiracy, whereby 30 000 Armenians in the area around Adabazar-Ismid wanted to support a Russian landing at Sakarya."

"Mugerditch for some time had been urging the Armenians of Urfa to start armed resistance, and by the end of August he finally prevailed. The Armenians, writes Jernazian, had now 'realized that the pitiable condition of the Armenian refugees from other cities could be theirs, too... Almost all of the influential people who had always opposed the decision to resist in the past were already dead.' Just at this point, Jernazian relates, an order arrived from Constantinople to stop the deportations. The order in question must have been the directive of August 29th, which stated that 'aside from those who have already been transferred and relocated, no additional Armenians are to be removed.' Jernazian informed Mugerditch of this order and inquired whether he might not wish to postpone the uprising, but the guerrilla leader rejected the idea. Jernazian quotes him saying: 'Badveli, the people refused to defend themselves at the right time. Now I don't care whether this is the wrong time or not.' The next Turkish aggression against the Armenians of Urfa was going to be resisted on the spot. It is not known whether the Armenian community at large was informed of the directive commanding an end to the deportations.

... Church bells rang to signal the start of the uprising. According to a long-existing plan, barricades were set up around the Armenian quarter. The Armenians, writes Jernazian, had 'resolved to die honorably rather than submit to being trapped and slaughtered.' Led by the charismatic Mugerditch, the resistance of the Armenian fighters in the heavily fortified stone houses lasted 16 days and was finally broken only with the help of a newly arrived contingent of 6,000 Turkish troops equipped with heavy artillery. The chief of staff of the Turkish general in command of these troops was German officer Eberhard Count Wollfskeel von Reichenberg, who several times himself commanded the attackers. He is the only German officer known personally to have participated in the killing of Armenians." #20*

"The surrender of the rebels took place on Oct. 16th. Mugerditch, who had been wounded several days' earlier, committed suicide in order not to fall into the hands of the Turks. Others are said to have shot their wives, children and then themselves. According to Künzler, several Armenian men and women committed acts of betrayal by pointing out hiding places. This was understandable, he contends, because a large majority of the Armenians had opposed the uprising but had been forced to endure the ill-fated rebellion. 'Betrayal was their revenge.' The fighters who surrendered were executed. Prisoners in one large batch, writes Glockler, 'were marched off to a neighboring ravine and shot. Another lot of about 100, they tied together and shot to death against the mission wall.' Still others were tried by court-martial and then were hanged in groups of five, six, or seven in different quarters of the city. According to the Turkish commander, his losses in the suppression of

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the uprising were 20 killed and 50 wounded; Consul Rössler spoke of 50 dead and about 125 wounded. As soon as the fighting had ended, Glockler reports, Kurdish men, women, and children swarmed in from the neighboring villages and began to loot the Armenian houses. They even stripped the dead bodies of the clothing they wore...Those who clearly had not belonged to the revolutionaries and the women and children were spared...

Whether the Armenians of Urfa might have been able to avert this horrible outcome if they had refrained from staging a rebellion will never be known...Little more than a year later a large number of Armenians were again living in Urfa. Finding themselves without pharmacists, bakers, tanners, shoemakers, weavers, or other artisans and merchants..." #21

"...the people of Urfa petitioned Cemal Pasha for relief. He ordered that 2,500 such persons and their families be released from the Armenian camp at Rakka, south of and about three days' travel away from Urfa. Rössler reported in February, 1917 that these craftsmen were living in Urfa 'relatively well and safely.' Jernazian calls them 'forced laborers', but acknowledges that they were able to move freely during off-duty hours. When he left the country in May, 1917, Jackson writes, over 6,000 Armenians were back in the city, though, according to Künzler, they were under pressure to convert. Künzler also took care of about 2,500 Armenian orphans as well as more than 2,000 women and children who had been in hiding and needed help. During the winter of 1917-18 food in Urfa was in such short supply that many died of starvation. After the war had ended, in the summer of 1919, the number of Armenians in Urfa was estimated to be 'several thousand.' The Swiss relief worker making this report noted that some children taken into Moslem homes and girls married to Moslems were reluctant to be 'liberated' and preferred staying..." #22*

On August 26th, 1896, Armenian terrorists raided the Ottoman Bank, taking hostages in the process. This was the sad culmination of a year, which had already seen more than its share of violence. This time, the operation was masterminded by the Armenian Dashnak Party. They saw this spectacular raid as a chance to catch up with their competition, the Armenian Hunchak Party, which was responsible for almost all the other acts of terrorism in 1896.

Three Armenians from the Caucasus (which was already in Russian hands at that time) executed the raid. Their ringleader, Karakin Pasdermadjian, would later be elected delegate to the National Assembly from Erzurum (1908) and lead a group of Armenian volunteers fighting for the Russian side against the Ottomans in World War I. On August 26, the terrorists forced their way into the bank, threw bombs, barricaded themselves in with sacks full of silver coins, and fired wildly in all directions. They took hostages and insisted that their list of demands be published and met. This operation served as a model for all terrorists to come, and the style of this type of terrorist raid has remained largely unchanged. ...After the standard negotiations that are always held in cases of hostage taking and death threats, the General Director of the Ottoman Bank, Sir Edgar Vincent,

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entered the besieged building along with the head dragoman of the Imperial Russian Embassy, Maximoff. Their negotiations ended with a guarantee that the terrorists could leave the country safely. This also set a precedent which is still valid today. The 17 insurgents probably expected the entire British and French fleets to turn up at Istanbul and give them festive welcome. While this did not happen, it was nonetheless aboard the sumptuous private yacht of Sir Edgar Vincent himself that the gang made its getaway. They later boarded the French warship *La Gironde*."#23*

"In 1914, a Dashnaksutiun Party Congress was held here. The Dashnaks regarded Erzurum as the capital of a future 'Greater Armenia'...The outbreak of World War I represents a decisive turning point in the history of the Armenian people. It was on the eve of the Ottoman Empire's entry into the war on the side of the Central Powers (which did not come until the beginning of November) that the revolutionary Dashnaksutiun held its congress in Erzurum. There are widely differing accounts of the events of the congress, especially concerning the attitude of the delegates towards the Ottoman State...Hovhannes Kachaznuni, who was later to become prime minister of the independent Armenian Republic, did, however, present a statement concerning this matter to the Bucharest Congress of the Dashnaksutiun in July, 1923: 'At the beginning of the fall of 1914 when Turkey had not yet entered the war but had already been making preparations, Armenian revolutionary bands began to be formed in Transcaucasia (i.e., in czarist Russia, editor's note) with great enthusiasm and, especially with much uproar. Contrary to the decision taken during their general meeting at Erzurum only a few weeks before, the A.R.F. (Armenian Revolutionary Federation — Dashnaksutyun) had active participation in the formation of the bands and their future military action against Turkey'...After commenting briefly on the (for Hovhannes Kachaznuni) distressing fact that the A.R.F. of Transcaucasia had never stuck to its decisions, the former prime minister of the Republic of Armenia continued: 'It would be useless to argue today whether our bands of volunteers should have entered the field or not. Historical events have their irrefutable logic. In the fall of 1914, Armenian volunteer bands organized themselves and fought against the Turks because they could not refrain' themselves from fighting. This was an inevitable result of psychology on which the Armenian people had nourished itself during an entire generation: that mentality should have found its expression and did so ... If the formation of bands was wrong, the root of that error must be sought much further and more deeply. The winter of 1914 and the spring of 1915 were the periods of greatest enthusiasm and hope for all the Armenians in the Caucasus, including, of course, the Dashnaksutiun. We had no doubt the war would end with the complete victory of the Allies; Turkey would be defeated and dismembered, and its Armenian population would at last be liberated...We had embraced Russia wholeheartedly without any compunction. Without any positive basis of fact we believed that the czarist government would grant us a more or-less broad self-government in the Caucasus and in the Armenian provinces liberated from Turkey as a reward for our loyalty, our efforts and assistance.'" #24*

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This picture appeared in the Armenian-American journal *Azk* on March 2nd, 1915. That means it was taken at least three months before the Ottoman Government's relocation order, which was issued in the wake of constant armed uprisings behind the front. The photo shows Hunchaks who fought against the Ottomans on the Caucasian front. For the most part, these were deserters who stood out for their cruelty against the civilian population... Armenian uprising behind the Ottoman front, February-March 1915. Among the faces in this photo is that of Papkene (standing, far left) who had already helped organize the raid on the Ottoman Bank, in 1896." #25*

"... Missionaries were only a factor in the bad feeling between Armenians and Turks. In 1453, when the Turks had taken Constantinople, they already controlled a vast territory previously part of the old Armenian Kingdom (the Armenian kingdom had lost its vast vestige of statehood around 1375). In time, the Ottoman Empire expanded and overran other areas. The Turks leniently treated the Armenians, who became the favorite non-Moslem minority of the Ottoman Government. Then in the Turco-Russian wars of the 1820s and 1870s (the second followed by the Treaty of Berlin of 1878), Russia obtained parts of Sultan's domain largely populated by Armenians. As reprisals for Russian attacks, Turks razed Armenian villages in 1877-78 and killed thousands of Armenians, particularly at Dogubeyazit. The creation of a Czarist Armenia intensified humiliation among the separated Russian and Turkish-Armenians. The Treaty of Berlin made a token statement on behalf of Armenians, who incorrectly interpreted this comment as a commitment to their freedom. Russia wanted to absorb the Armenians. Britain had a limited interest in an independent Armenia, which would be both inaccessible and peripheral to the route to India. The Treaty of Berlin stimulated nationalism among Russian and Turkish-Armenians without Western guarantees of aid, and upped the jitters among Turks without controls on Ottoman hostility. Influenced by French and Marxist socialism, Armenians (primarily Russian) sought to force a European interposition by starting revolutionary movements. The Hunchakian party appeared in 1887 (but fragmented within a decade) and the 'Dashnaksuithiun' (Armenian Revolutionary Federation) in 1890. The only important solely Turkish-Armenian group, the 'Armenakan,' was founded in 1885 and stressed education and self-defense rather than revolt." #26*

"Beylerbeyi Palace on the Bosphorus, one of the masterpieces of Ottoman-Armenian architect, Agop Bey Balyan, was the scene of a meeting between Sultan Abdulhamid and Russian Grand Duke Nicholas. At the beginning of the war, the Armenians had solemnly declared their loyalty to the Ottoman Empire, but in the Ottomans' hour of greatest need, the Armenians, who had always been the 'loyal *millet*' in the past, ran to the Russians and tried to take advantage of the situation. The Ottomans could never forget this breach of faith. Ottoman-Armenian relations started becoming more difficult from that moment on.

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(Patriarch said in return to the local Armenian community's discomfort from those coming from Armenia): More than discomfort there is a lack of confidence. The Armenian community does not trust these people, they say you cannot trust their word; they promise but don't do it". #27*

"The Armenian Patriarch of Istanbul (1874-84), Nerses II Vartabejian, wrote Lord Salisbury on April 13th, 1877 that co-existence between Armenians and Turks was impossible and that the only solution was to be the creation of an 'autonomous Christian organization' (in other words a Christian state) based on the Lebanese model..." #28*

"The Anatolian Armenian units were most invaluable behind the Ottoman lines, cutting telegraph wires and engaging in other 'commando' attacks. They also served as advance units of the Russian Army in numerous campaigns. The Armenians, however, were more valuable to the Russians by keeping Ottoman soldiers from the front. This was particular true in regions such as Van, Zeytun, and Musa Dagħ where major insurrections kept thousands of Ottoman soldiers occupied. Eastern Anatolia was in the state of perpetual insurrection, and the Ottomans were forced to keep many soldiers far behind the lines to protect the population... Armenian soldiers, officers and doctors serving in the Turkish Army, took every opportunity to escape with their weapons and join the Russian Army. It was later observed on many occasions during the most critical moments of battle, the position of Turkish munitions and reserves were pointed out to the Russians. Moreover, Armenians serving in the Ottoman Army were inciting Turkish soldiers to desert, thus creating confusion and defeatism in the battle lines. Some Armenians behind the lines constantly communicated with the Armenians in the Russian Army, informing the position and state of the Turkish units. Encrypted messages exchanged between them were frequently intercepted...In January 1915, there were signs of rebellion among the Zeytun Armenians again. They attacked the homes of government officials and gendarmes. Many sick and wounded Turkish soldiers, sent home, were brutally murdered on the road by the Armenians. In many villages of the Elazig region, Armenians opened fire on the gendarmes. On February 9th, two gendarmes were sent to the Sekur Village of Gargar, but were driven away after having been told that the government orders would henceforth not be obeyed. Eight gendarmes were then came to the scene, but were fired upon by the Armenians from fortified positions, and six of them were killed." #29

"Referring to the 'radical, almost socialistic tendencies' of the Armenian leaders, Mallet observed that 'the Armenians formed, at most, a third of the total population of the northeastern provinces, but they were organized and armed with rifles', not only in that area, but also in Adana province. Their 'relative preparedness' had alarmed the authorities, who, in the Adana province, had artillery ready to quell resistance, and who, in the Erzurum province, were arming the local people. The Armenians, however, might 'well respond to a signal for revolution from the Dashnakists, were the moment propitious', remarked Mallet. The Dashnakists had established ascendancy out of all proportion to their numbers by

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terrorist methods, and those who refused to be enrolled by them, had their trees cut down and their sheep driven off; they generally suffered, Mallet believed. Many cases had recently been reported to British consular officers." #30*

"As soon as the hostilities broke out, Karekin Pastermadjian, the Armenian deputy for Erzurum in the Ottoman parliament, known by his revolutionary name of Armen Garo, crossed the frontier and joined the Russian forces together with all the Armenian officers and men in the Ottoman 3rd Army. After a short while, he returned with them and indulged in a number of atrocities against ordinary, innocent Moslems. Even Armenian writer Richard Hovannisian admitted that 'several prominent Ottoman Armenians, including a former MP, slipped away to the Caucasus to collaborate with the Russian military officials, making it clear that the Armenians would do everything to frustrate Ottoman military action. As a result of these incidents, the Ottoman armies disarmed the Armenian soldiers and gendarmes, placed them in work battalions and employed them in construction and transport work. Many Armenians went on deserting from the Army, and committed numerous atrocities, thus giving much anxiety to the Turks who began to worry lest the Armenians living in the eastern provinces might revolt in similar fashion and attack them.'" #31*

"In March, Armenian insurgents indulged in numerous atrocities against the civilian Moslem population of a number of villages. The victims included women and children. As usual, the Dashnakists were involved. This party bore a major portion of responsibility, for it was often the leading force in perpetrating these massacres. The Dashnakists organized bands, recruited mainly from Armenian Army deserters, who would attack the Moslems and often exterminate the population of entire villages, as confirmed by Vorontsov-Dashkov, who had himself made use of such bands. At the All-Armenian National Congress held in Tbilisi, in February 1915, it was revealed that the Russian Government had given the Dashnakists 242,000 roubles to arm the Turkish-Armenians and to provoke their uprising at an opportune moment, as revealed by B.A. Borian, an Armenian writer. In March, Dashnakists bands attacked a small gendarmerie detachment, between Zeytun and Maras; there was a full-scale rebellion among the Armenians of Van province, who were armed with Russian weapons" #32*

"As these incidents continued, on March 3rd, Mikael Varandian, the delegate of the Armenian committee in Sofia, Bulgaria, requested Sir H. Bax-Ironside the British Minister there, to ask the British Government whether it could use the services of 20,000 Armenian volunteers to operate a descent upon the coast of Cilicia, in the region of Alexandretta. Half of the men were ready in America and the rest in the Balkans. Several committees existed for sending the men to the destination to be chosen by the British Government: Cyprus was suggested as a base. The Armenian committee hoped that, by their cooperation in the conquest of the region, they would secure its being placed under British protection." #33

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"Meanwhile, Lord Bryce had received representations from the Armenian organizations in America regarding the prisoners at Sumerpur, India, taken from the Ottoman Army in Mesopotamia. They were stated to 'desire intensely' to serve in the British Army in Mesopotamia against the Turks, or if that was not considered desirable, to join the Armenian volunteer contingent in the Caucasus or to look after Armenian refugees. The Viceroy of India considered their employment in Mesopotamia undesirable, but there would be no objection to their employment elsewhere. On June 30, 1916, the War Office suggested their being drafted into Armenian Labor Corps employed in the defenses of the Suez Canal. But the General Officer in command did not wish to use them in that capacity owing to some trouble having arisen already in that unit." #34*

"THE NEW YORK TIMES Oct. 18, 1916: THE KIND OF ARMENIANS A TURK KNOWS
– They Betray Their Rulers, Take Refuge in Christian Missions, and Have to be Dealt With as Dangerous Rebels..."

"If England would not act, suggested G.W.E. Russell, Russia was well-placed militarily and geographically to take the responsibility for the Armenians herself and even to occupy Istanbul 'if necessary'. Even Wilfred Scanwen Blunt, a fierce opponent of British intervention in Egypt, supported it for the sake of the Armenians:

*We have taken the Armenians solemnly by treaty under our protection, receiving substantial payment from their master for the protective right on the island of Cyprus. We have encouraged them for our own purposes to organize themselves and rebel, and the Sultan has now got them by the throat and backed by Europe is defying us to come on and deliver them. If we do not go to war, we shall be sitting down under the greatest affront we ever suffered as a nation. We bombarded Alexandria because a couple of hundred of the Alexandrian rabble, with Sir Beauchamp Seymour's valet, had lost their lives. Here some scores of thousands of peaceful citizens have perished through our fault and we have done nothing but talk. " #35**

"Fearing an insurrection among Christian minorities, Ottoman leaders became neurotic about American colleges which had an Armenian clientele. In 1892, Turks set fire to a missionary's house, and in 1893, the Ottoman police burned an unfinished building of the American Board School at Merzifon, Anatolia College; the police hoped to drive the foreign Protestants out of north-central Asia Minor. The student body of Anatolia College included 94 Armenians, 23 Greeks, and three Turks. Among the teachers, Turks claimed there were two members of an Armenian revolutionary organization who had posted at the school treasonous placards printed on a college duplicator. The placards asked for a British takeover of the Ottoman Empire. In his memoirs, Missionary George White of Anatolia College denied that the placards came from college duplicators. White is probably right. Revolutionaries outside Anatolia apparently put signs on campus to create an incident

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inviting Western intervention. Turks charged the two Anatolia teachers with treason and condemned them to death; officials also arrested and executed several Merzifon Armenians". #36*

"In the spring of 1919, it became clear how much better it would have been for everyone concerned if the Armenians of Izmir had also been moved sooner, since they did everything they could to harm their Turkish compatriots in the course of the Greek invasion. Certain Armenians truly distinguished themselves in the first days of the Greek occupation of Izmir with acts of violence against the Turks...When the terror in Izmir had gotten totally out of hand, the Greeks were finally forced to take action against their own supporters in order to stop the murdering and looting. Two Armenian agitators were among those condemned to death...The report of the Bristol Commission, which can be found in the Library of Congress in Washington, contains an assessment of the situation by an Allied officer. He speaks explicitly of Armenian gangs pillaging the Turkish villages in the area between Izmir and Istanbul, particularly around Yalova and Gemlik. These gangs also 'cleansed' the area of Turks, since it was to be ruled only by Greeks and Armenians in the future." #37*

"... forces marched into Izmir, a devastating fire broke out in the Armenian quarter of the city. 25,000 buildings, amounting to half the entire city, were reduced to ashes. Fire brigades ran around helplessly, searching in vain for water supplies. The cisterns were empty, fire hoses cut, and water supplies cut off.

This 'holokauston' was the greatest 'burnt-offering' ever made in the lands of the ancient world. It may well have been the work of the Dashnaks. If so, it is second only to the annihilation of Van (spring, 1915) on the list of most appalling Dashnak terrorist acts ever to plague the world. The arsonists naturally spread the rumor throughout the world that the Turks had laid waste to the second largest, second richest and second-most beautiful city in Anatolia on the day of their triumphant entry!...The world public swallowed this nonsense, just as they had swallowed the earlier reports of atrocity with great satisfaction. The tale of the 'Terrible Turk' was a sure-fire hit. On Oct. 11, 1922, the victorious Turks and the defeated Greeks signed the Armistice of Mudanya. (Mudanya is a town near Yalova where the Armenian irregulars had wreaked havoc during the Greek occupation.)..." #38*

"After the French-Armenian invaders had been thrown back by the Turks, Mersin and Tarsus were once again in the hands of their inhabitants, who were not about to have French-Armenian rule forced upon them. A gang of Armenian fanatics, however, decided to declare the region between the Seyhan and Ceyhan rivers 'self-governing'.

The ringleader of this ridiculous operation was Mihran Darnadjian, a terrorist who had grown old disgracefully. He had won his first bloody Laurels inciting rebellions in Sassun. When the French tried to put him in his place, he declared an 'independent Armenian state of Cilicia' on August 5th, 1920. With a handful of blindly loyal followers, he occupied the

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'Palais des Gouverneurs' of Adana in terrorist fashion...As representative of the 'Armenian National Delegation' (whatever that might have been in Cilicia), he declared himself 'Armenian governor under French protectorate'. This unfortunate farce ended an hour later, when the French commanding officer asked him and his '*government*' in no uncertain fashion to end '*cette comedie ridicule*' as soon as possible. The French ended their Cilician adventure shortly thereafter...On December 11th, 1918, a French battalion made up of 400 Armenians had occupied Dörtyol, the notorious region of Armenian rebellion surrounding Musa Dagı and Zeytun. On Jan. 20th, 1920, the French began pulling out of Marash. (On February 6th, the patriarch in Istanbul sent a telegram to Paris saying that 2,000 Armenians had been 'massacred' by the Turks; on February 25th, Reuters sent a telegram around the world saying that the Turks had slaughtered 70,000 Armenians in Marash...) It is true that the fighting on Turkey's southern flank was taking on a genuine warlike character, even if the situation did not resemble the rumors that Reuters was peddling, apparently still in the tradition of wartime slander. In fact, the fighting was taking place between the best-equipped Armenian units and recently resurrected Turkish troops led by their efficient government in Ankara. They made up for their lack of equipment and means of transport with love for their country. "#39"

"Vahan Cardashian, an Armenian lawyer who served, in the summer of 1915, as the Ottoman High Commissioner for the San Francisco exhibition, wrote on July 8th, 1918 to Lord Robert Cecil, then British Ambassador in Washington, claiming that, 41 days before the entry of the Ottoman Empire into the war (i.e. on Sept. 21st, 1914) he had informed the British Embassy in Washington of its decision to enter the war on the side of Germany, and had transmitted to the British Ambassador the Turkish plan of campaign." #40"

From: Ambassador Wangenheim to Bethham Hollweg – Enclosure – Copy Samsun 4 July 1915. No.349 "On 25th June inst., I telegraphed the following message":

"Due to a general conspiracy and treason as well as the destruction of some towns in Anatolia and the murder of their Muslim population, the government has ordered the expulsion of all the Armenian people to Mesopotamia, giving them five days' notice to wind up their local affairs. As the Armenians both here and in the interior of the country have considerable German debts, I am requesting steps to be taken to secure these. If the governmental measures are carried out to the full, those war enemies who are allied with the conspirators are expected to take reprisals by destroying all coastal towns. The main reason for these measures is said to have been the seizure of the town of Van on the part of the Armenians and the declaration of independence of the same, as well as the destruction of Schabin-Karahissar (Vilayet Sivas). Allegedly, the revolutionaries in both places have murdered the entire Muslim population, including the Greek Bishop in Karahissar who tried to hide Turkish families in his home.

It is a fact that a great Armenian conspiracy was excellently organized in the whole of Anatolia and was in constant contact with foreign countries. In all towns, the conspirators

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were well equipped with weapons, ammunition and bombs. Many of these were discovered by the authorities, but most of them must still be hidden. The government, therefore, has every reason to put an end to this dangerous revolutionary activity."

"The Armenians, too, had hopes of benefiting from the war; therefore, when the Ottoman Empire entered the war, Armenian leaders in the empire adopted two stances: the 'establishment' consisting of businessmen, churchmen, and educationalists, pledged individual support to the Ottoman Government, although they adopted neutrality; while militant groups stepped up their anti-Ottoman activities, including the stockpiling of arms in eastern Anatolian cities. On the other side, Armenians in the Russian Empire, far from professing neutrality, supported Russia, and joined the Russian forces with the intention of occupying the eastern provinces of Anatolia, which they labeled 'Armenia', and uniting with their co-religionists. They pledged loyalty to Czar Nicholas II, who promised 'to free' the Turkish-Armenians. Soon after, Alexander Khatissian, the president of the Armenian National Bureau in Tbilisi, in an appeal to the Czar, declared: From all the countries the Armenians are hurrying to enter the ranks of the glorious Russian Army, in order, with their blood, to serve for the victory of the Russian arms... Let the Russian flag fly freely over the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus... Let the Armenian people of Turkey, who have suffered for the faith of Christ, receive resurrection for a new life under the protection of Russia...The Armenian National Bureau began to make auxiliary military preparations, and to organize bands called *kumbas*, which joined the Russian Army." #41*

"On March 22nd, Miran Sevasly, an Armenian lawyer of Boston, the U.S., wrote to Cecil Spring-Rice, the British Ambassador in Washington, asking for permission for six Armenians to go to Cyprus in order to organize an uprising in Cilicia against the Turks. These Armenians were all Turkish subjects and belonged to the Hunchak party..." #42*

"On December 27th, 1914, HMS *Doris* carried out a raid on İskenderun (Alexandretta), where the railway was occupied, the telegraph wires were cut and the instrument was removed. There Armenian railway officials themselves smashed the electric batteries on the lines 'with particular satisfaction', reported Captain Frank Larken. The Armenians then appealed for protection, stating that they would be hanged for the damage done. They were taken on board the ship. One of them could speak French. They were subjected to a searching inquiry, and gave 'useful information' to the enemies of their country..." #43*

"The following verse from the song chanted altogether by the volunteer troops who slaughtered Turkish and Kurdish people is significant in displaying the mood of those troops: <Come on, destroy loot and kill, Whistle and walk freely over the hills>". # 44

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"One other purpose the writer had in view in writing this booklet: to make the great and generous American public realize that Armenians are not an anaemic and unaggressive people, with no fighting blood in their veins; that the Armenians have not been butchered like sheep, but, on the contrary, have fought most bravely and resisted most stubbornly the savage attacks of the Turks whenever they had an opportunity."#45

"But, in spite of this suspicious and crafty attitude assumed by the Russian administration, the Armenian inhabitants of the Caucasus spared nothing in their power for the success of the Russian armies." #46

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Chapter 4 - References and Footnotes:

1. Jeremy Salt, *Imperialism Evangelism and the Ottoman-Armenians 1878-96*, Frank Cass & Co. Ltd. U.K., pg.136
 2. Ibid, pg.137
 - 3*. Akaby Nassibian, *Britain & the Armenian Question 1915-23* Croom Helm, London, pg.15
- Those who never lived in Turkey, usually are more hostile compared to those who had lived in Anatolia..
4. Leslie E. Davis, *The Slaughterhouse Province – An American Diplomat's Report on the Armenian Genocide, 1915-17*, edited by Susan K. Blair –Aristide D. Caratzas, New York, pg.48
 - 5*. Jeremy Salt, *Imperialism Evangelism and the Ottoman-Armenians 1878-96*, Frank Cass & Co. Ltd. U.K., pg.110
- They were always pardoned through pressure by Western Powers... See next note as well.
- 6*. Kildare Dobbs, *Anatolian Suite*– Little Brown & Co. Canada, pg.201
- Writer, an Armenophile, explains the raid but makes no reference to the all-famous adventures of Bishop Mosheg in Cilicia.
7. Roderic H. Davison, *Essays in Ottoman & Turkish History, 1774-1923*, Univ. of Texas Press, pg.181
 - 8*. Ibid, pg.182 *
- CUP – Dashnak friendship confirmed, writer does not know about the Autonomy Offer made in Aug. 1914!
9. Ibid, pg.183
 10. Akaby Nassibian, *Britain & the Armenian Question 1915-23* Croom Helm, London, pg.238
 - 11* Roderic H. Davison, *Essays in Ottoman & Turkish History, 1774-1923*, Univ. of Texas Press, pg.187
- The Germans too, were colonialists for new land (20 km on each side of Baghdad railroad) plus Mosul oil.
- 12*. Akaby Nassibian, *Britain & the Armenian Question 1915-23* Croom Helm, London, pg.145.
- Armenians never admit that they were actually being used as bait or decoy!
- 13*. Ibid, pg.130.
- Curzon and Lloyd George were masters to speak nice words, and later find excuses for not keeping promises!
14. Ibid, pg.133
 - 15*. Ibid, pg.93
- And British patronage always proved to be flexible or unreliable...
- 16*. Ibid, pg.141
- Nice empty words only... Lloyd George later said that a person cannot be bound by words only!
- 17*. Ibid, pg.142
- Life is irony: Destinies and Maps for millions of people, drawn by illusions and fantasies of ignorant victors!
- 18*. Ibid, pg.213
- Zenith of hypocrisy! Sevres Treaty to be enforced by a new Turkish Army to be formed by new chopped Ottoman State to fight Kemalist Nationals and surrender Anatolia to the victors, so each can take their share making Turks fight Turks!
- 19*. Guenter Lewy, *The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey*, Univ. of Utah Press, pg.178
- Deportations stopped in mid-summer 1915 (not 1917). The U.S. and Ottomans had not declared war; American Relief efforts continued, (and were not inconvenienced by Kemalists) as long as they were available and could be distributed to Christians...
- 20*. Ibid, pg.201
- Proof of loyalty and innocence by full-fledged revolution!
21. Ibid, pg.202
 - 22*. Ibid, pg.203
- Paradox: 1917 thousands of Armenians living well and safely and moving freely? Weren't all 1.5 million Armenians massacred in 1915? What a ridiculous genocide type...this is?

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23*. Erich Feigl, *A Myth of Terror*, Edition Zeitgeschichte Freilassing, Salzburg, Austria, pg.69

Western Powers always gave asylum to Armenian terrorists and tuned them into heroes!

24*. Ibid, pg.70.

For full details of the manifest – confession, please read chapter 22!

25*. Ibid, pg.71

All Armenian terrorists are heroes. None ever punished by Armenians!

26*. Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy & the Near East*, U. of Minn. Press, pg.48-49

Another example of revolutionary loyalty!

27* Erich Feigl, *A Myth of Terror*, Edition Zeitgeschichte Freilassing, Salzburg, Austria, pg.60

Hürriyet, August 6th, 2006, Mesrob II Armenian Patriarch interview*.

(Examples of breach of faith or unreliability).

28*. Ibid, pg.61.

Patriarch Nerses was a true traitor; he had asked Russians to enter Istanbul!

29. Salahi Sonyel, *The Great War and the Great Tragedy of Anatolia*, T.T.K., pg.101

30* Ibid, pg.87.

Not only were Dashnaks revolutionists, they also terrorized their own non confirmers!

31* Ibid, pg.96.

What would others have done? To tell them to walk freely to the enemy lines, and take their scarce rifles as gifts?

32*. Ibid, pg.104 **Famously loyal Armenians, in a full-fledged revolution, soon to declare a Van State.**

33. Ibid, pg.105

34*. Ibid, pg.135.

Quite some reputation for making trouble, wherever they are subjected to discipline!

35*. Ibid, pg.137 **Some British gentlemen confessing their double-crossing Armenians?**

36*. Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy & the Near East*, Univ. of Minn. Press pg.41

Grabill's words are untrue! No missionaries were ever executed; the worst was being expelled!

37*. Erich Feigl, *A Myth of Terror*, Edition Zeitgeschichte Freilassing, Salzburg, Austria, pg.114

Do you still believe in loyal and innocent Armenians? (Most likely some were, but not many seen)...

38* Ibid, pg.115

Looks like, the world is not interested in the truth. Believing hearsays is easier and comforts all who prefer!

39*. Ibid, pg.110

News agencies always divert-invert-inflate-tailor news to suit and attract the interest of their (Christian) readers!

40*. Ibid, pg.88 **Another excellent example of espionage to contribute to the loyalty and innocence!**

41*. Ibid, pg.93 **This very apparent Dashnak craze for war, destroyed also the Armenians of Turkey, who were not much after a revolution, were somewhat content with their lives, but of course wanted some reforms for a better life (from a bankrupt government unable to pay salaries)!**

42* Ibid, pg.108 **'The New York Times' Jun.22. 1935 wrote <Armenian Patriot Miran Sevasly Dead – He helped Raising 10.000 Armenians to Fight Against Turkish Front in Armenian Legion>**

43*. Ibid, pg.89 **And still another example of loyalty and innocence!**

44. (Mehmet Perincek) See T.Hachikogian, 10 Let Armyanskoy Divizii, İzdadelstovo Polit. Uprav. KKA, Tbilisi 1930, p.5

45. Dr. G. Pasdermadjian, *Why Armenia Should Be Free*, Boston, Dec. 1918, Hairenik Publis. p.10

46. Ibid, pg.20

Chapter 5: MARVELOUS MISSIONARIES!

* “In 1792, the Baptist Missionary Society was founded in London, followed by the Church Missionary Society (1799) and the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews (1809). In the US, Congregationalist ministers from Massachusetts and Connecticut formed the Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions - American was later added (ABCFM) - in Boston in 1810. Both the American and British missions had as their initial goal the conversion of the Jews of the Holy Land. But Ottoman Jews proved just as resistant to the Protestant version of Christianity as had their forefathers to the earlier Catholic missions. Faced with indifference or open hostility in Jerusalem, the Americans moved their operations to Beirut in 1823 where they began to proselytize among the local Christians. They justified this targeting of their ‘brothers and sisters in Christ’ by characterizing them as being ‘nominal Christians’ in need of the ‘true Gospel.’ Accepted as Christians in name only, the missionaries were to instruct Christians of the Arab East as to what being Christian actually meant.”

Bruce Master, *“Christian and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World”*, Cambridge Univ. p.147

* ‘The pioneers and missionaries of religion have been the real cause of more trouble and war than all other classes of mankind.’

Edgar Allan Poe (1809-1849) p.193

* ‘Missionaries are perfect nuisances and leave every place worse than they found it.’

Charles Dickens (1812-1870) p.199

* ‘Modern-day conservative propaganda about the ‘Christian birth of our nation’ is therefore just as erroneous and self-serving as Christian pronouncements about the birth of our universe. In both cases, ‘men of God’ completely ignore the actual evidence at hand and conjure up a fictitious tale. They then spread the myth, along with fabricated evidence, and repeat the myth so frequently that it is soon accepted uncritically by the citizenry.

David Mills, *“Atheist Universe”*, Ulysses Press, Canada 2006” p.207

To the best of my understanding, most writers have refrained from commenting on the role of the “missionaries” in the conflicts that erupted. Let us

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not forget the fact that nearly *all information* concerning alleged cruelties was reported by the missionaries to the American Board or Relief Organizations and the U.S., British and other embassies. Since “missionaries had immunity under the capitulation agreements” and they were dedicated to spreading Christianity, both Roman Catholic and Protestant among Gregorian – Orthodox Armenians, they were in competition and frequently hindering each other. U.S. Protestant Missions outnumbered the few Catholic monasteries and with added educational and health facilities, they established themselves in a large number of cities and towns with Armenian communities. The excerpts I quote below will show that a good number of them were actively involved in delegating not only divinity and education, but revolutionary seeds, some with illegal support of their facilities which were protected by Turkish gendarmes. This means that the Ottoman State was protecting the institutions, most of which was fomenting and lecturing future revolutionaries. Although diplomatic relations between the U.S. and the Ottoman Empire were suspended during World War I, the *schools and relief organizations* functioned as always and no missionaries were deported. Local consuls (spread all over Anatolia) could give citizenship to those they wished, who were mostly Armenians. A good number of Armenians who became Protestants, were sent to the U.S. for education and when they returned, they filled positions of teachers, professors, assistant missionaries and even vice-consuls. The remarks set out below are self-explanatory. Some footnotes bear short comments.

“In the light of recent archival material, and many publications, it has become more evident that, some of these Christian minorities played an important role in efforts to dismember the Ottoman Empire. Their aims and ambitions, if fully realized, would involve the dissolution and disappearance of the Empire, to be replaced by puppet Christian states subservient to their patrons, the major Powers, although nowhere in the Anatolian provinces did they constitute more than 15% of the total population.

Some of the various Christian creeds in the Ottoman Empire realized at an early stage of their relationship, which began during the Turco-Russian War of 1877-8, and even before that event, and blossomed during the Balkan Wars and the Great War, that, in order to fulfill their aspirations they had to cooperate with one another. They also had to collaborate with the forces of instability, both inside and outside the Ottoman Empire, to act as instruments of those Powers that had a stake in the dissolution of that Empire, to benefit from any Ottoman crisis, or even to provoke such crisis, with the hope that the Powers would intervene on their behalf, and above all, to indulge in a propaganda campaign against Turkey and the Turkish people. In this, they were believed and assisted by a naive Christian world, which was skillfully manipulated by the powerful, resourceful and deceitful Christian propaganda organizations and organs of disinformation all over the world, particularly in Europe and the U.S.” #1

A very important and reliable “eyewitness report” is the rather long article written by Swedish Army Officer HJ Pravitz (Gustav Hjalmar Pravitz) which was printed in the Nya Dagligt Allehanda, 23 April 1917, under the title: The situation of the

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Armenians: By one who was among them. This officer was neutral, and traveled the area on horse and witnessed the situation of the columns. The followings excerpted from this first-hand imbedded eyewitness, a Protestant Christian, who had no reason to defend Turks! Full article is available at; <http://www.tallarmeniantale.com/swedish-eyewitness.htm>.

"Recently returned home from abroad I have right now – i.e. somewhat late – had the opportunity to look at two Swedish booklets on the Armenian issue. 'Sven Hedin – adelsman' (Sven Hedin – a nobility) by Ossiannilsson and 'Armeneiernas fruktansvärta läge' (the terrible situation of the Armenians), by Marika Stjernstedt. The former book went immediately in the wastebasket. In all its poorly hidden appreciation of the title character, it annoyed me more than a main article in Dagens Nyheter. The latter, which seemed spirited by the compassion of the suffering Armenians, I have read repeatedly, and it is really this and its inaccuracies that my article is about.

I dare to claim, that any other Swede has had the opportunity like me, to thoroughly and closely study the misery among the Armenians, since I now for about a month have traveled right among all the emigrating poor people. And this, during the right time, fall 1915, during which the alleged brutalities, according to both writers, were practically bad. I want to hope, that what I am describing below, which are my own experiences, will have the purpose to remove the impression of inhumanity and barbarity from the Turkish and German side, which is easily induced by the reading of the two booklets mentioned above. If I understand the contents of the books correctly, both writers want to burden the Turks as well as the Germans with deliberate assaults or even cruelties. My position as an imbedded eyewitness gives me the right and duty to protest against such claims, and the following, based on my experiences will support and strengthen this protest. ... I started my journey from Constantinople through Asian Turkey, with a certain prejudiced point of view, partly received from American travelers, about the persecution of the Armenians by their Turkish masters. My lord, which misery I would see, and to which cruelties I would witness! And although my long service in the Orient has not convinced me that the Armenians, despite their Christianity, are any of God's best children, I decided to keep my eyes open to see for myself to which extent the rumors about Turkish assaults are true and the nameless victims were telling the truth. I sure got to view misery, but planned cruelties? Absolutely nothing."
#2*

"While on a missionary trip to the Choctaw Indians, North American missionary William Goodell came up with the idea of 're-conquering' the Holy Land for Christianity. At that time, the Holy Land was entirely under Ottoman rule. This new Crusade -for that is exactly how the undertaking was seen- began with a series of reconnaissance tours, planned in an almost military fashion. The American missionaries spared no personal sacrifice in the course of these tours. Their total dedication to a cause in which they truly believed deserves our respect. In 1821, a small advance troop set up camp on the Holy Sepulchre. Their main objective was to have a missionary (Protestant) influence on the

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many pilgrims there. This first missionary effort in Jerusalem was a complete fiasco. Neither the Jews nor the Moslems nor anyone else was interested in being converted to American-style Protestantism. ...At that time, the Armenians were exclusively Gregorian. They were subject to the rule of their patriarch in Istanbul mission only met with success among the Armenian Gregorian. Two major facts about the Armenian Orthodox hierarchy contributed to this success. First of all, the hierarchy did not pay attention to the educational needs of the highly intelligent Armenian. Secondly, it was practically drowning in wealth and power. The Americans finally opened their mission headquarters in Constantinople under the direction of William Goodell. In studying the history of the American missionaries in the Ottoman Empire, it is quite intriguing to follow the story of all the wrong turns the missionaries took before they finally recognized with great relief that the capital of the huge empire was also without a doubt the best location for their headquarters. The studies done by the missionaries Smith and Dwight soon confirmed the pattern established in Beirut and Smyrna. The Armenians, hungry for learning, gratefully and eagerly accepted the education offered by the 'American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions' in Constantinople. As early as 1833, many Armenian students, eager for learning and knowledge, were converting to Protestantism. In the same year, the Protestant mission already had more than 15 young Armenian clergymen. The missionary wave soon spread from Constantinople into the provinces. In 1834, Benjamin Schneider opened a mission in Bursa. Another in Trabzon soon followed... Nevertheless, Protestantism continued to gain ground among the Armenians. This was undoubtedly due to the fine abilities of the American-Armenian clergy, as well as the thirst for learning of the Ottoman-Armenians. A Protestant mission even sprung up in Van, practically the farthest corner of the huge Ottoman Empire, and the Protestants won converts among the 'Mountain Nestorians' in the distant Hakkari Mountains. Protestantism did not bring much luck to either the Nestorians or the people of Van, however. Both the Armenians and the Nestorians started collaborating with the Russians (using American money) and finally drifted into the revolt movement of March, 1915. The Ottomans responded with a general relocation order. That was the beginning of the Ottoman-Armenian catastrophe of 1915 which claimed so many tragic victims on both sides." #3

"Missionary Reports – During the course of the 19th century Protestant missionaries had established stations in a large number of Anatolian towns. The most active group was sponsored by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), which by the beginning of the 20th century had placed nearly 145 missionaries and 800 native workers managing numerous churches, hospitals, and schools. Other American Protestant denominations sponsoring missions were the Presbyterian Church, the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the American Baptist Missionary Union. German missionaries were sent to Turkey by the Deutsche Orient-Mission (German Mission for the Orient), headed by Johannes Lepsius, and by the *Deutsche Hilfsbund für Christliches Liebeswerk im Orient* (German League of Assistance for Works of Christian Charity in the Orient), founded in 1896. The missionaries sent regular reports to their respective headquarters; many of them

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kept diaries and wrote memoirs about their years of service in Turkey. The writings of these missionaries represent another important source for the history of the deportations in 1915-1916. Twenty two of the missionary reports in Barton's survey were first-person accounts of the deportations, and 21 of these were published in 1998 under the editorship of Ara Sarafian. The report of Henry H. Riggs, because of its length, was brought out as a separate volume. Barton had asked the missionaries to distinguish between their own observations and what they had heard from others but believed to be true, and some of the responses paid attention to this distinction. Other materials collected by 'The Inquiry,' including a large number of missionary reports of considerable importance, can be consulted at the National Archives is also somewhat overdrawn. The reports of the missionaries did not ignore the suffering of the Moslem population. At the same time, it must be acknowledged that the strong commitment of the missionaries to the Armenian cause made many of their writings less than objective and often led them to include half-truths. In their zeal to help the Armenians they many times reported as facts events that they could not possibly have observed in person. Mary L. Graffam, principal of the girls' high school at Sivas, was one of the few missionaries who truthfully insisted that she had written 'only what I have seen and know to be true.' Hence, for example, when speaking of the fate of Armenian men who had been taken from a convoy she was accompanying, she acknowledged that the situation was unclear and constituted a profound mystery. I have talked with many Turks, and I cannot make up my mind what to believe! The picture of the Moslems that the missionaries presented frequently, conformed to the centuries-old image of 'the terrible Turk,' while Armenians were regularly depicted as innocent victims and Christian heroes who could do no wrong In the eyes of the missionaries; when Armenians used guns, it was always strictly for self-defense, while Turkish troops using force were usually described as engaged in murderous activities." #4

"American missionaries rapidly outnumbered merchants in the Ottoman Empire. The first representatives of the Congregational American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Mission arrived in Smyrna in 1819 with boundless optimism. When they learned that conversion from Islam to another religion was a crime punishable by death in a country in which the head of the state was also the Moslem spiritual leader, they focused their efforts on the Greek, Armenian and other Christian minorities. Idealistic Americans invested \$40 million (in 1915 dollars) in schools, hospitals and churches by the outbreak of World War I. Operating with charters from the Ottoman Government, these institutions by 1914 employed more than 450 Americans and 4,500 Ottoman nationals of various ethnic origins." #5

"Since 1876, the American Board has maintained a college there, which was at first called 'Armenia College', but the name of which was afterwards changed to 'Euphrates College' where most of the teachers and students were Armenians..." #6*

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"After the entry of Turkey in the war, the French monks left the country, but were subjected to many annoyances before they went. Soon afterwards, all the French monks left... Their buildings are used as Turkish hospitals..." #7*

"Bryce was aware of many Biblical connections and religious legends and traditions. Yerevan, built of clay and plastered brick, claimed to have been founded by Noah, as its name in Armenian was said to mean 'the Apparent', as evidence that it was the first dry land the patriarch had seen... 'Everyone seems greatly struck with your great exploit on Mount Ararat...' #8*

"Bryce stressed that many Armenians had entered the civil or military service in Russia and some had risen to posts of dignity. He quoted the example of Loris Melikov, the commander of the invading Russian army in Asia in 1877... Bryce believed that the Turkish Government 'deserves to die'." #9

"The cow dung fuel was called *tezek*. Curzon, present as a member of an international boundary commission charged with delineating the borders of Ottoman and Persian authorities, was tremendously amused by the idea of *tezek*. 'There are Armenians', he wrote, 'who are knowing in *tezek*'.- From prolonged mingling with Ottoman officials and potentates, Curzon caught something of their attitude to the Armenians of the cities. Until early in the 19th century, when Russians began the Great Game of imperial expansion toward India, Ottomans had always regarded Armenians as harmless, even useful. But with the Russian menace, it began to strike the Sultans that Armenians and Russians were both Christians. Armenians were a threat no longer to be trusted. And in fact many of them, not unnaturally, did hope to be saved from oppression by the Christian Czar. They had never forgotten their heritage as one of the most ancient peoples on earth, and the first nation to have adopted Christianity." #10

"Through all their vicissitudes Armenians held fast to their religion, for the most part under the leadership of their *Catholicos* or Pope. – Incorporated in Byzantium, Armenians became its intellectual and business leaders, supplying also of its best generals and even three dynasties of its Emperors. After the Ottoman conquest, they became, along with Greeks, the bankers, traders, architects and artisans –in effect the indispensable middle class elite- of the new empire. Curzon, conscious of the Great Game, and his own country's fear of the Czar's designs on India, feared urban Armenians as part of an international conspiracy. The influence of the *Catholicos* in furthering Russia's expansionist ambitions seemed to him sinister, spread through patriarchs, bishops and deacons through the Ottoman world." #11*

"Mission blending of society and religion helped Protestant emissaries become important in Ottoman-American relations. Missionaries disavowed union of Church and

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State but not of Christianity and culture. Since they dealt with the latter dichotomy so little, they were ill prepared to cope with upheavals in the Empire, which inextricably combined politics and religion. When upsets became large in the 1890s, missionaries were then the main interest of the U.S. Government in Turkey. Other interests, concerned tourists, academicians, merchants and naturalized Americans. There were diplomatic exchanges not directly concerning the American religionists in the two decades before 1914. But nothing during that period was larger in Turkish-American affairs than the missionaries and their difficulties. It did not seem in 1810 that missionaries were to become ascendant for Yankee traders then dominated relations between the Western republic and the Ottoman Empire." #12

"(In 1914, there were some 30,000, mostly Armenian and Arab-Americans). The Turkish Government protested that these people took unfair advantage of their adoptive citizenship. Partly to serve such people, but more because of mission pressure, U.S. consuls come to reside at Aleppo, Iskenderun, Baghdad, Beirut, Erzurum, Harput, Jerusalem, Mersin, Sivas, Smyrna and Trabzon. Occasionally missionaries influenced the choice of a council or vice-council or took the latter office themselves. - At no time did the Protestants from America become agents of the State Dept., even though other Western missionaries in Turkey sometimes used capitulatory rights to advance their nations' imperial interests. - Discomfort for missionaries intensified when Sultan Abdulhamid II harassed their schools and even occasionally closing them in the 1880s. Often French and Russian agents encouraged measures against American learning institutions, because these agents told Ottoman officials they had political object." #13*

"In exasperation, the American Board in 1885 asked the President use the U.S. Navy to help protect missions in the Empire. Only joint American-British complaints prevented disruption of schools. Fearing an insurrection among Christian minorities, Ottoman leaders became neurotic about American colleges, which had an Armenian clientele. - The student body of Anatolia College in 1893 included 94 Armenians, 23 Greeks and three Turks. Among the teachers, Turks claimed there were two members of an Armenian revolutionary organization who had posted at the school treasonable placards printed on a college duplicator. Turks charged the two Anatolia teachers with treason and condemned them to death; officials also arrested and executed several Merzifon Armenians. Pardoned and exiled because of pleas by British and American diplomats, the two Anatolia College teachers symbolized the growing import of missionaries in Ottoman-American relations. The U.S. Government asked for indemnities from the Porte for mission losses by fire in 1892 and 1893. The Sultan paid \$2,200 for damages at Anatolia College. Then came terror for the Armenians. Frustrated by small revolutionary Armenian groups, Abdulhamid promised booty to nomadic Kurds who would pillage Armenians. In the autumn of 1894, the Sultan also ordered Turkish soldiers to murder Armenians at Sassun, west of Lake Van. About 10% of the casualties were Protestants." #14*

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"The terror of 1895-96 spurred thousands of Armenians to emigrate to the U.S. where they later helped their government to take an active interest in the diplomacy dismembering the Ottoman Empire. The trickle of 2,000 Armenian immigrants into U.S. before 1895 had become a gush of 20,000 by 1914. The Protestant Armenian church in Harput in one year alone lost 25% of its 3,000 constituents as immigrants...The fury of the Sultan and the Turks hit not only Armenians directly, but the American Board. Beside decimating and scattering Armenian Protestants, the turmoil endangered missionary lives when in November, 1895, Turks destroyed thousands of dollars worth of Board property at Harput and Maraş...Missionaries soon helped organize relief for thousands of Armenian orphans and widows. A clergyman from a missionary family, Frederick D. Greene, became secretary of the National Armenian Relief Committee. Missionary son Edwin M. Bliss (also assistant editor of The Independent), with assistance from Cyrus Hamlin, wrote a book on the history of the Armenian question and on the killings. Bliss described the relief movement in the U.S.: 'Armenian Sundays were observed by many churches; collections were taken in churches, Sunday schools, colleges, societies and mass meetings; journals opened their columns for relief subscriptions; individuals collected funds privately; Armenians throughout the country contributed from their slender resources; and the money was forwarded promptly to the field. 'Red Cross and American Board personnel administered aid at missions stations, and the colleges throughout Asia Minor and eventually established orphanages and homes for widows which taught carpentry, tinsmithery, baking, lace making and silk culture.' "#15

"If Britain was not willing to read the writing on the wall, Russia would have to save the Ottomans from the French on his own. Rattling his saber, the czar mobilized two army corps and sent his special envoy Prince Alexander Menshikov to Istanbul to undo the Catholic gains and better still, to extract a formal agreement placing the Orthodox subjects of the Ottoman Empire under a Russian protectorate. The Porte, buoyed by the British position, informed Menshikov of its readiness to make some minor concessions as a token of goodwill, but rule out any formal recognition of a Russian protectorate over the Ottoman Orthodox. On May 21st, 1853, he left empty-handed." #16

"When Nicholas responded by sending his troops across the Danube, Britain and France declared war on Russia on March 28th. The Crimean War had begun." #17*

"The Armenians export silk and cotton, hides and leather, wine, dried fruits, raisins, tobacco, drugs and dyestuff. In minerals, too the country is rich. Coal, silver, copper, iron and other minerals lie beneath the surface, but the Turkish Government has not allowed them to be exploited. James Bryce thus speaks of the land: 'Here is a country blest with every gift of Nature; a fertile soil, possessing every variety of exposure and situation; a mild and equable climate; mines of iron, copper, silver and coal in the mountains; a land of

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exquisite beauty, which was once studded with flourishing cities and filled by an industrious population. But now from the Euphrates to the Bosphorus all is silence, poverty, despair. There is hardly a sail on the sea, hardly a village on the shores, hardly a road which commerce can pass into the interior. You ask the cause and receive from every one the same answer – misgovernment or rather no government; the existence of a power which does nothing for its subjects, but stands in the way when there is a chance of their doing something for themselves. The mines, for instance, cannot be worked without a concession from Constantinople”.

*“Armenian feels behind him this vast antiquity, giving him personal dignity and great national pride. They begin their history with the Garden of Eden, which they claim was in Armenia, basing the claim on the naïve statement that the land is beautiful enough to have included Paradise, and laughingly asserting that the apples of Armenia were worthy to tempt an Epicurean Eve. Their first recorded ancestors they find in the Book of Genesis.” #18**

“In a column for The London Times, Ben McIntyre regretted that Bush’s focus was not ‘the grimly inspired ironies of Siegfried Sassoon and Robert Graves, nor the poignant questioning of Wilfred Owen. Instead he was absorbed in the 1917 advice of evangelical war chaplain Chambers, whose counsel was to put aside any consideration other than God’s will, to ‘surrender your will to him absolutely and irrevocably’ and ‘become and more ablaze for the glory of God.’ For Chambers, said The Times, ‘the enemy was evil,’ religious duty was clear, and Christian soldier marched onwards in a straight line. ..Events in the Middle East had been part of Britain’s post-World War I debacle. Nearly a century later, the error was about to be blindly repeated by a president of the U.S. who shared Lloyd George’s Biblical frame of reference, thought the enemy was ‘evil,’ and failed to profit from the larger lesson taught by history!...Since the collapse of the Union, America has taken up the war whoops of militant Protestantism, the evangelical Christian missionary hopes and demands, the heady talk about bringing liberty and freedom to new shores, the tingle of the old Christian-Moslem blood feud, the Biblical preoccupation with Israel and the scenarios of the end times and Armageddon — the whole entrapping drama that played in British political theater a century ago. American evangelical, fundamentalist, and Pentecostal churches, in turn become the new flag bearers of crusades against Islam’s ‘evil ones.’...Prior to World War II, the mainstream U.S. churches led missionary work, but today, says historian Paul Harvey, ‘American foreign mission efforts are dominated by conservative evangelical groups (the Southern Baptist Convention and the Assemblies of God, the largest Pentecostal denomination, are the two largest senders of career missionaries) and Mormons (by far the largest sender of non-career missionaries).’ “#19*

“The cumulative effect of missionary and other writings in the U.S. was both an enlarged store of knowledge and a romantic perception of the Near East. While Americans wrote, their diplomatic representatives in Turkey had little to do but seek protection of nationals. Most of these nationals were evangelists, educators, returned emigrants and

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tourists. The earliest charge d'affair, then minister resident was David Porter, in Constantinople from 1831-43. Historian John A. DeNovo has remarked that White House representatives were so relaxed that such missionaries as George Washburn of Robert College and Howard Bliss of the Syrian Protestant College often felt they had become do-it-yourself diplomats. Washburn and Bliss directly dealt with British officials in Turkey as well as with local administrators. Troubles around the turn of the century prodded Washington to give the Constantinople officer ambassadorial rank in 1906 and to organize the Division of Near Eastern Affairs within the State Dept. three years later. In the 1840's, Secretary of State Daniel Webster voiced sympathy for defending Protestant individuals and institutions. Americans kept pressing for new exemptions from Ottoman law although such attempts caused resentment among Turks. Only once was there an extension the Porte revoked this concession in 1884."#20*

"In a bold letter to Abdulaziz, he contended that the Christian revolts in the empire were but symptoms of a malady – backwardness and bad government – that afflicted the uncomplaining Moslems even more than the Christians. The line of division ran, said Mustafa Fazil, only between oppressors and oppressed, not between Christian and Moslem." #21

"...First the Catholic missionaries, then the Protestants had begun a campaign of indoctrination among the Gregorians which created many problems. ...The Catholics in Turkey were protected by France and Austria; the Protestants mainly by Britain and the U.S., and the Orthodox by Russia. All these Powers aimed at increasing their influence in the Ottoman Empire, ostensibly in order to protect their protégés, but actually in order to promote their own interests. The Armenians were thus divided by the agents of the major Powers for their ulterior motives. Russia was using the Gregorian Armenians to descend to the warm waters of the Mediterranean and cut off the British route to India; hence it was pressing the Catholicos of Etchmiadzin to stop the progress of the 'heresy' of reforms and to clear the empire of it; Britain was using the Protestant and Gregorian Armenians to preserve its lifeline to India by containing Russia restricting French influence; and France was making use of the Catholic."#22*

"Barton soon was the dominant Board administrator. In the position of foreign secretary, he gave priority to educational missions, becoming perhaps the outstanding American promoter of colleges abroad. He eventually assisted the start of development of 20 inter-denominational Christian schools of higher learning in Spain, Greece, Bulgaria, Turkey, India, Ceylon, China, and Japan, helping them secure over \$30 million. In a constant dialogue with the U.S. Government, Barton sought to guard Protestant institutions in Turkey and elsewhere. With Barton as ACASR head, missionaries felt that not all would be lost. After months of dismay, the Protestant to Turkey began to hope again... During the

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winter of ACASR's birth in 1915 -16, Morgenthau left for home. When he reached New York, the executive committee of the ACASR met him on docks." #23

"The apprehension of Americans hardly disappeared over the first months of combat, because trade virtually ceased and several mission stations closed. In his worry of April, 1916, Barton came out in the letter to Lansing with the exaggeration that no country other than the U.S. 'has so extensive or long established financial interests in Turkey and the Balkans'. In reply, the Secretary of State assured him of protection of persons, not property...On a sophisticated scale, ACASR practiced conditional altruism not like that practiced by one untutored American contributor to the ACASR. This contributor wrote that since sending his gift 'I have thought I would like to have one of the brightest of the (Armenian) girls about 16 years old to live with me. I would make a lady out of her and when she is at a good age probably marry her'. Former ambassador to the Porte, Oscar Straus, had noted as early as December, 1914 in an article that mission endeavor in Turkey would be an 'important factor' in the post-war development of the Ottoman Empire. Barton and Dodge wanted a Turkish reconstruction which would advance missions." #24*

"He believed a healing could come to Turkey if Allied troops would replace Greek and if the Council would end its scheme of sovereignty by Athens over southeastern Anatolia: 'the country can only be saved from ruin under protection of a British or American mandate.' The head of Constantinople Woman's College, Mary Patrick, went to the French capital at the end of June and there prepared an article imitating the 14 Points: '14 Reasons for an American Mandatory over Turkey'. Point one on the staff side, argued that 'All the people of the Near East would welcome an American mandatory'. Armenians, Greeks, Turks would prefer the U.S., Miss Patrick said in her other points, because they felt it would be more democratic than other nations, would promote harmony among ethnic groups, introduce a superior educational system, not exploit the country commercially, and stay forever. The American Committee for the Independence of Armenia (ACIA), the institution whose founding Dodge and Barton had aided late in 1918 neglected all Ottoman peoples except Armenians. In contrast to ACIA, Caleb Gates upheld the unity of Asia Minor and showed a considerable objectivity about minorities there." #25

"... As the Ottoman Empire, tottered, Moslem lands became the next arena of European imperial ambition! Thus, when war finally broke out with Germany in 1914, H. G. Wells's famous phrase, 'the war that will end war,' caught the public fancy because it appeared to fulfill St. John's prophecy of the war between the legions of God and Satan, conveniently defined as England and Germany, respectively.'... The romance of the Crusades was alive and breathing strongly. As French and British imperialism moved into the lands of Islam during the 19th century, both nations turned out books with titles like The Cross and the Crescent and art like Delacroix's painting *The Entry of the Crusaders into Constantinople*... German East Africa had been captured, Egypt became a formal British protectorate in 1919, and Persia became an informal one, leaving the Holy Land -Palestine,

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Jordan, and Mesopotamia- as the missing link in complete British dominance from Cape Town to Burma.' Pushed by Lloyd George, Britain had by the end of 1918 sent 1,084,000 British and Commonwealth troops into Ottoman territory to control the carving up, and the so-called Settlement of 1922 fulfilled British ambition." #26

"The young man tried to kill at least one Turk before death; he then committed suicide. Using this incident to charge foreigners from the U.S. with Armenianism, the Turks drove out the Western religionists as well as bereaved women. This expulsion marked the end of American internationalism among Armenians in Bitlis. Why such a Turkish retribution? Large causes had to do with the *millet* system, scrambled ethnic groups, cultural lag, and Western interference." #27*

"An unorthodox view had arisen, and Barton saw Bristol and Gates had helped bring it into being. The public debate in late 1922 loosened the grip of Armenianism upon Americans. It also helped threaten the monopoly of opinion about Asia Minor held so long by missionary and Armenian groups. The debate came at the same time that President Harding decided the U.S. would send observers to a conference at Lausanne, which the Allies were calling to negotiate a peace with the Kemalists." # 28

"Bryce had a wide repute as an attorney, sometime professor of law at Oxford, former member of the House of Commons and several British Cabinets, author of the famous American Commonwealth, and ambassador to U.S. from 1907-13. The Englishman had gone to climb Ararat in 1876, beginning his fascination with the Armenians... By 1880, he had concluded that to expect the Turk to respect rights of minorities was useless. He became the principle Armenophile in Britain and founder of an Armenophile society. Bryce felt that the Armenians were one of the noblest races on earth and the potential revitalizers of Asia Minor. In 1914, he visited Howard Bliss at the Syrian Protestant College; after the Armenian conflagration of 1915, he and Barton corresponded. The Englishman persistently tried in the House of Lords and other places to get British troops into Armenia, to block the Turks. But he always heard that London could not spare soldiers from other areas." # 29*

"Surely the missionary boards do not understand how completely terrorism dominates everything and how the very race that our missionaries came to elevate would fear now to become the perjured instruments of their destruction, missions were guarded by Ottoman troops and no American lives were lost but the destruction of property was heavy." #30*

"The school of science and the seminary at Maraş were set on fire in October, 1895, while at Harput in the same month 'houses of Allen, Brown, Wheeler, lady's house, chapel, boarding house, girls' theological school, seminary buildings, worth \$44,000 burned; personal property \$55,000; stock and apparatus \$11,000. At Antep, the Moslems were said to be 'much inflamed' against the missionaries and several attempts were made to break

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into the college, the girls' school and the hospital. For those who had come to the Ottoman Empire in the name of the gospel of love, no contrast could have been more shattering. The question arises as to how close the missionaries came to being expelled from the Ottoman State because of their actual or presumed involvement in the political affairs of Ottoman Christians and particularly the Armenians. Herrick, a missionary in the Ottoman state for 50 years, wrote that the missionaries were threatened with expulsion in the 1840s, and when Mavroyeni was complaining about Hamlin in 1894, it was felt in the State Dept. that was 'paving the way for the general expulsion and exclusion of our missionaries from Turkey'...Abdulhamid himself claimed with much emphasis that reports of him issuing an *irade* (*edict*) to expel American missionaries were false – the power, in fact, were 'continually telling falsehoods'. "#31*

"The former American Ambassador to Germany James W. Gerard, now Chairman of the American Committee for Independence of Armenia, twice cabled Balfour asking him to press at the Peace Conference for an independent Armenia with big boundaries. In March 1919, 40 State Governors, 250 college and U. presidents, 85 bishops and 20,000 ministers and priests had petitioned Wilson in this respect. But charity unsupported by political and military assistance was quite insufficient to deal with the unhappy consequences of Turkish cruelty. The British interests in Armenia were 'purely sentimental'. "#32

"Militancy at home was constantly fed by militancy in the field. By mid-1905, Terrell was complaining that the missionaries wanted to 'drive the Sultan with a club'. Dwight was seeking for a *casus belli* for a new 'crusade'. A cruiser in the Sea of Marmara could protect Americans living in Istanbul (in fact their lives had never been threatened) and might help to persuade the sultan to grant missionary claims for compensation of property destroyed during the turbulences in the east. Dwight (he wrote) was seeking to 'reinforce Divine providence with battleships and propagate the religion with artillery'. In any case, it was not the missionaries of Istanbul who were in danger but those 'snowed in behind mountains which no cruiser can climb' and he mocked Dwight for clinging his 'tabernacles of flesh' with much tenacity as any sinner...The U.S. minister was further antagonized by what he regarded as missionary responsibility, for some highly personal criticism of him appearing in the American press. 'It is not pleasant to be subjected to the missionary whip operating through Christian press and press dispatches', he complained to the State Dept.. It was said in these papers that nothing intelligent or diplomatic ever came out of Texas, Terrell's home state; that the U.S. minister dined too frequently with the Sultan; that he had not filled consulates in important towns; and that he had failed to secure adequate protection for American lives and property. Terrell reacted testily to this snipping. He had obtained twice as many *irades* for American schools in two years as his predecessors had in 50 and he had seen to it that every U.S. mission a station was guarded by troops. No lives had been lost and no schools closed, points that Dwight conceded." #33*

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"According to Terrell, the impression prevailed in Istanbul that the atrocity publications of the British press were 'chiefly inspired by Americans residing in Asia Minor'. In the light of these activities, it comes as no surprise to learn from a British consul that by the end of 1895 the positions of both Cole and G. Knapp at Bitlis were very unpleasant. Early in 1896, the Sublime Porte finally took action against Knapp, accusing him of being mainstay of the Hunchak committee at Bitlis and inciting Christians to attack Moslems. The charges were set out in a statement drawn by an investigating magistrate and were accompanied by the depositions of 19 Armenians, one of them Knapp's own servant. The missionary was accused of inciting 'the credulous Armenians to attack the mosques during Friday prayers to kill Christians, in order that the crime might be attributed to Moslems'. In any other country but the Ottoman Empire, the Grand Vizier told the U.S. charge de affaires at Istanbul, Knapp would have been summarily executed. The missionary establishment was furious. Demands were made of Terrell to seek withdrawal of the charges and the establishment of a commission of inquiry into charges that American missionaries were sowing sedition. Terrell was more aware of the realities. He thought an open inquiry would be madness giving his reasons in a dispatch dated Jan. 28, 1896. "#34"

"But as far as the American minister was concerned, as long as he exercised his own judgment about 'Bible House policies and the Armenian race' his efforts seemed to count for negative. 'I am regarded as an obstacle alike by missionaries and Armenians, who hoped to secure autonomy as a state for the latter through the joint action of Great Britain and the U.S.' " #35

"But the rancor of party prejudice can sometimes be mollified by reason, while the blind fanaticism of religion, whether Christian or pagan, knows no bounds and is even more unscrupulous in its methods. Most of the missionary teachers in Turkey are good people. Some are bad and dangerous. It would indeed be strange if the Missionary Boards should be more successful than their Divine Master in selecting missionaries. He once selected a few of them Himself, and though they were but 12, one was a liar and another being covetous and mean betrayed Him, their Christ, in the very hour when He was suffering to secure eternal salvation of them all. Terrell was not the first diplomat based in the Ottoman Empire to strike trouble with missionaries. The backbiting revealed in the American dispatches was, of course, generated by the conflict ranging in the eastern provinces and the struggle of the Armenians and their supporters in England and the U.S. to secure intervention through the sheer force of outraged public opinions." #36*

"Rev. F.B. Mayer, a member of the British Armenia Committee, reported in December, 1919 that the Council of the Free Churches had issued to 1,000 of their branches a resolution in support of the claims of Armenia, which they were asked to pass and send to the government." #37

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"... But when the Armageddon of 1914-18 brought 40 million deaths instead of Christ's return, the embarrassment was not limited to flag bedecked Anglican churches or nonconformist chapels that had joined in the parade. Religion in general seemed to have failed, and British church attendance shrank - and then shrank again. It is not hard to imagine something similar happening in the U.S. by 2030 or 2040 as two or three decades of cynicism claim religious as well as economic and political victims. " #38*

"Other Western scholars and writers, too, agree that, rarely in history have facts been deliberately so distorted as to give a completely wrong picture, as the Armenians have done for more than a century in connection with the so-called 'Armenian question'. They succeeded in deceiving the public opinion of the Christian world because they posed as a martyred nation in the cause of Christ, and clamored that they have been 'massacred' by the 'fanatical, barbarous and infidel' Turkish Moslems in the name of religion. They exploited the dignified silence of the Turkish people, who by nature, custom and upbringing, are not articulate and vociferous, even when unjustly treated, to persuade Christian public opinion that, that silence was an admission of guilt. They also capitalized on Christian prejudice, fear, and even hatred, of anything that was non-Christian." #39*

Meanwhile, the influx into the Ottoman Empire of Catholic and Protestant missionaries during the 19th century did more harm than good. These missionaries began to indoctrinate the Ottoman Christians by not only teaching them their own history, language and literature, but also by inculcating in them revolutionary ideas, and directly or indirectly, influencing them to rise in rebellion against the state. The Protestant missionaries were clandestinely trying to convert the Moslems as well as the other Christian sects; the Catholics were trying to lure the Orthodox Christians to the Vatican; and the Orthodox were forcing their congregation to remain in their own church. In order to protect themselves and their protégés these missionaries, who posed as the champions of the Christian minorities in the Ottoman Empire, began to appeal to the major Powers for their intervention, and thus caused many diplomatic incidents." #40

"Theological Seminary professor Edward Robinson, labored with Eli Smith of the American Board to make the most systematic study of Palestine since that of Eusebius and Jerome in the 4th century. Robinson's published notes won for him the first gold medal ever given a Western hemisphere figure by the British Royal Geographic Society. His achievement helped for the American Oriental Society's founding at Boston in 1842, among whose 68 charter members were 16 American Board individuals. (Missionaries were the chief sources of information about the non-Western world for decades after the Society's founding). The work of both of Robinson and Smith and of the Society spurred the appearance of archaeologists, explorers and Biblical scholars in the Holy Land. By 1900, such people had founded the American School of Oriental Research at Jerusalem." #41

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"McKinley's concern for the indemnity developed in part because Secretary of State John Hay was a cousin of George Washburn, influential president of Robert College. A British ambassador to the Porte was known to give new members of the diplomatic corps in Constantinople a single piece of advice 'Cultivate Dr. Washburn'. Urged by this missionary educator, Americans in the U.S. legation at the Ottoman capital persuaded the commander of the *Kentucky*, a U.S. vessel passing through the Mediterranean in 1900, to bring his ship to Constantinople. There a 28-year-old charge d'affair, Lloyd C. Griscom, used the presence of the *Kentucky* as leverage. Seeking 'to make sure the battleship did not go off,' Griscom, obtained a promise for the indemnity from the Sultan. The Empire finally paid the sum in 1901... In addition to the Hay-Washburn relation, there was another mission tie with an American official, which after the events of the 1890s assisted missionary interests. This association had begun as a boyhood friendship between Howard Bliss of the Syrian Protestant College and Theodore Roosevelt. A bombastic soul who deplored the Armenian massacres, Roosevelt declared in 1909: 'Spain and Turkey are the two powers I would rather smash than any in the world'. As president of the U.S., Roosevelt was a spirited champion of American enterprises in the Ottoman Empire. Sending vessels on more than one occasion to bolster the American minister in Constantinople, helped keep missionary institutions open and secure rights and property." #42*

"One writer has summarized relations between Washington and Constantinople: 'It should not be understood that the missionaries exploited American diplomacy or that American diplomacy exploited the missionaries'. Nervous about criticism of regular appeals by himself and colleagues for diplomatic assistance, American Board Secretary James Barton insisted in 1906 that they had never asked for aid in the promulgation of Protestant operations." #43*

"The furloughed assistant treasurer to William Peet, Luther Fowle, strongly advocated in an interview with the Boston Herald that the U.S. take a mandate for Armenia. The Armenian Missionary Association, a group that the American Board had helped organize in America, resolved the deep appreciation to Barton for his acts on behalf of its countrymen overseas. The Armenian Missionary Association requested the Board to facilitate aspirations of Armenia for independence under the wing of the US! ... The words of Dodge and Williams about an obligation by Washington in the Near East were similar to the contentions of three presidents of mission colleges in Turkey. The president of the International College in Smyrna, Alexander MacLahlan, responded to a request from the American Peace Commission for his view on a Greek occupation of Smyrna. 'Of all the possible solutions of the Near East end of the peace settlement,' he wrote, 'the one proposed is the worst. It cannot fail to be disastrous for both Turkey and Greece. Turkey will never submit to Greek domination. So long as a Greek armed force remains in Asia Minor, we who are domiciled here will be doomed to live under bitter war conditions'. His analysis could not have been more accurate." #44*

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(President of Robert College, Gates) "Writing member of the American Peace Commission, he said: 'I think that the crux of the Near East Question is not the Armenians but the Turks. The attention of the Peace Conference should be centered upon giving the Turks a good government rather than upon delivering the Armenians and Greeks from the Turkish Government. Because it will be of little profit to establish an Armenia, more than half of whose people will be Turks, if alongside of this new State there remains a Turkey of the old type... To save the Armenians and the Greeks you must save the Turks also'. Wilson read this statement of Gates and said it was interesting and important. In Paris, the Robert College president opposed Greek control of Smyrna, broad territorial claims by Armenians, and the International Commission on Mandates in Turkey...Mark Bristol shared much of Gate's outlook. The admiral wrote that the Greek landing at Smyrna and other factors pointed to the absolute need of combining all of the Ottoman Empire under one mandate. Turks were leaning toward America as a mentor. After trips into Asia Minor, Bristol stated that Greece's possession of Smyrna had antagonized the Turks tremendously and would make an Ottoman treaty difficult. Seeking to point out from the Greek abuse of Turks in Smyrna that ethnic peoples in the Near East were alike, Bristol claimed that if someone would put all races 'in a bag and shake them up you could not predict which one would come out first as being the best one'. The admiral disapproved of excessive pro-Greek and pro-Armenian propaganda in the U.S. He believed it encouraged an American idea about the Empire which would create a new Balkan mess." #45

"It was from American missionaries concentrated in eastern Anatolia that the outside world received much of its news of what was going in the interior of the Ottoman State. Much of what they had to say in (or to) the outside world was hardly discreet, particularly as the Ottoman authorities already suspected them of spreading sedition in one way or another. They publicly expressed their hostility to the revolutionaries but it was difficult to avoid entanglement with them. The missionary predicament was summed up in a letter written by President Tracy of Merzifon College in May, 1895. As we have seen, considerable embarrassment had been caused two years earlier when it was alleged that Armenian teachers had printed revolutionary placards at the college. Tracy wrote:

'It has come to our knowledge that our enemies the revolutionists have been and are trying to stir up people against us by a double-faced lie – secretly accusing us to their sympathizers of having betrayed their nation and with the other face, with holy indignation, accusing us to the government of the very indignities of which themselves are guilty. I think the local government has got hold of the former class of accusations, which will work in our favor rather than otherwise. The old fact remains true, and it has been all along, that we have had nothing to do with political matters except as it has become necessary to do with political matters except as it has become necessary to rid ourselves of those whom we suspected of such a connection.' #46

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"The American Board secretary reported to Caleb Gates that recent publicity released by Near East Relief and the Federal Council of Churches had done something of worth for the Armenians: Washington had decided to join an international inquiry of Moslem-Christian relations in Asia Minor. Giving a sop to Armenianism, Hughes in June, 1922 publicly announced America's commitment to the inquiry. The Secretary followed Barton's desire and James Harbord became the American representative. But the French and Italians balked at a move which might weaken their relations with the Ankara Government; so the inquiry was put in the hands of the International Red Cross. In July, Dulles told Barton that the idea of an international commission was unworkable. Meanwhile Near East Relief continued its philanthropy. It had transferred work out of such Kemalist areas as Kars (annexed from Yerevan Republic in December 1920) and Harput to Soviet Armenia and Syria. Early in 1922, the Relief Group released 25,000 children from orphanages because of limited funds. It was in August, 1922 that relief chairman Barton observed Kemalist momentum pushing all before it. The Turkish nationalists began an offensive against the Greeks, and within three weeks pushed their antagonists into the Aegean Sea. Kemalists soon controlled all of Asia Minor. This drive to the Aegean outraged the American Board secretary, not least because a fire in Smyrna inflicted damage more than \$100,000 to Board property. Foreseeing an Armageddon, Barton burst against Turks, whom he chose to blame for missionary problems: 'The rights of Americans and of minorities are held in contempt and all civilized laws are defied' he wrote to Harding and Hughes 'as we must always expect from a distinctly Moslem Government. We are witnessing what promises to be beginning of another European war, in which barbarianism will be arraigned against civilization'. He urged a Western ultimatum to the Kemalists, and troops to the Bosphorus to save the Near East. Several church groups passed resolutions with similar language. But the thunder of World War I's rhetoric was ineffective." #47*

"The view of Turks in Barton's message to Harding and Hughes was inappropriate, as remarked by President MacLahlan of International College. The Turks did not massacre Greeks, as Greeks had done to Turks in May, 1919. About the worst the Turkish Army did was force captured Greek soldiers to shout 'Long Live Mustafa Kemal' (*in return to their forcing Turks to shout 'Zito Venizelos' when they entered Smyrna*) as they marched into detention. Turkish soldiers protected International College during the disruption of the occupation; a Turkish cavalryman rescued MacLahlan from irregulars who nearly beat the missionary to death while trying to loot the agricultural buildings of the college. A three-day Smyrna fire (Sept. 13th-15th), which Turks made every effort to control, destroyed nearly a square mile in Greek and Armenian areas, leaving 200,000 people homeless. Included in this loss was the American Board's Collegiate Institute for Girls. MacLachlan's investigation of the fire's origin led to the conviction that Armenian terrorists, dressed in Turkish uniforms, fired the city. Apparently, the terrorists were attempting to bring Western intervention. Informing Washington of a \$3 million claim by the American Board against the Ankara Government, Barton requested through an aide that the U.S. participate in any conference

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planned by the Allies to rewrite the Treaty of Sevres. As the West talked of negotiating with the Kemalists, part of the American public began to realize that Armenianism and godliness were not identical. Ever since missionaries in the 19th century had become the dominant U.S. concern in the Ottoman Empire, opinion in America increasingly favored Christian minorities." #48*

"By according territory in the provinces of Erzurum, Trabzon, Van and Bitlis to Armenia, the Allied powers took the decisive step of removing from Turkish rule lands which had constituted the national home of the Armenian people since the dawn of history; lands where they lived from Biblical times and for indisputably longer than the Turkish people had been in Anatolia. The Treaty was particularly significant because it acknowledged, at a time when these lands were completely and cruelly depopulated of their native inhabitants, their ownership by the Armenian people." #49*

"... The spread of American influence around the world has meant that American versions of the nature, purpose, and content of the Christian faith have also spread widely. (Mark A. Noll, The Old Religion in a New World, 2002)... While sermons and rhetoric propounding American exceptionalism proclaim religiosity an asset, a somber array of historical precedents – the pitfalls of imperial Christian overreach from Rome to Britain – tip the scales toward liability." #50

"Christianity in the U.S., especially Protestantism, has always included an evangelical -which is to say, missionary- and frequently a radical or combative streak. Some message has always had to be preached, punched, or proselytized. Once in a while that excitability has been economic - most notably in the case of the Social Gospel of the 1890s, which searched through Scripture to document the Jesus who emphasized caring for the poor and hungry. In the 20th century, though, religious zeal in the U.S. usually focused on something quite different: individual pursuit of salvation through spiritual rebirth, often in circumstances of sect-driven millenarian countdowns to the so-called end times and an awaited return of Christ. These beliefs have often been accompanied by great revivals; emotionalism; eccentricities of quaking, shaking and speaking in tongues; characterization of the Bible as in errant; and wild-eyed invocation of dubious prophecies in the Book of Revelation. No other contemporary Western nation shares this religious intensity and its concomitant proclamation that Americans are God's chosen people and nation. George W. Bush has averred this belief on many occasions. In its recent practice, the radical side of U.S. religion has embraced cultural anti-modernism, war hawkish ness, Armageddon prophecy, and in the case of conservative fundamentalists, a demand for governments by literal Biblical interpretation. In the 1800s, religious historians generally minimized the sectarian thrust of religious excess, but recent years have brought more candor." #51*

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"In Religion and the American Civil War, another useful volume, Randall Miller, Harry Stout and Charles Wilson waited barely a page into their introduction before instructing that the U.S. as the world's most Christian nation in 1861, became even more so by the end of the war. In the late 1830s, Alexis de Tocqueville had remarked on the pervasive influence of religion on American private and public life and swelled by revivals during the 1830s and again during the 1850s, membership in churches rose dramatically. " #52

"One after another members of the 'Avederanagan Miapanootiune' (the Evangelical Union) called to see and welcome us. The Union, I believe, then had 22 members. It was profoundly secret, for if known, every member would go to prison or exile instantly. In point of fact it was an active church. It had regular meetings. It had a secretary... The leader of these 'Unionists' was Hovannes Der Sahakian brother of our teacher. He could speak English, though with some difficulty. 'Take all my papers quickly to Mr. Hamlin. Our house will be searched.' ...'Now put them where they can't be found, Mr. Hamlin,' cried the teacher. 'They will be here in five minutes.'" #53*

"Dr. Schauffler saw the whole thing at a glance, and, bowing low to the ambassador, with equal dignity replied 'Your Excellency, the Kingdom of Christ, who is my Master, will never ask the Emperor of all the Russians where it may set its foot;' and so retired... A fact was thus suddenly revealed to us, which we were slow to learn - Russia's hostility to our missions. I might be excused for learning it in these circumstances, but I was often laughed at as a crank on Russia. Time has grandly vindicated me." #54*

"Whereupon he took out Commodore Porter's reply to a dispatch from the Sublime Porte that the government could no longer be answerable for the safe of the American missionaries, and they must at once retire from the country." #55

"The Protestant Church was thus launched upon a stormy sea...Canning had once been appointed English ambassador to St. Petersburg and Nicholas refused to receive him, giving no reason but his imperial will. England immediately gave the Russian ambassador in London his passports and diplomatic intercourse for a time was reduced to consular agencies. Canning opposed and thwarted the plans of Nicholas in Turkey with supreme skill and power." #56*

"He wrote: 'I am surprised to read in this letter that the missionaries of the American Board have been, and they are, 'the truest friends the Armenians ever had'. But I am greatly surprised to see Rev. Hamlin affirms that the Imperial Government is an oppressor, and that the missionaries 'have stood more than a half century between oppressors and the oppressed'. I likewise note the following admission, which proves that at a critical moment in our history and when Turkey most needed the services of her friends, the American missionaries sought to influence all Europe against our legitimate authority. ...But Rev. Hamlin goes further, for he affirms that 'the right of revolution is not to be questioned'. It is

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true, however, that he adds 'but when circumstances make success impossible, attempts and plots for it become criminal'. So then, according to Rev. Hamlin, it is not because any revolutionary movement whatsoever is criminal – far from that, it is solely because the Armenians are not in fact ready for it. It is therefore, in the interests of the Armenians themselves, that this strange apostle of the Gospel recommends them to abandon their subversive plans and it is for the same reason he asserts that the American missionaries are sincere advocates of pacific measures.' ...In his letter to the *Advertiser* Hamlin went even further, giving the name and address of the leading Hunchak in the U.S. 'for those desiring to get further information' and suggesting that the U.S. should perhaps station an ironclad or two in Turkish waters 'to enforce due regard for the American passport'. In the State Dept., his remarks were described as 'the mischief a garrulous old man can do when he lets his pen run away with his judgment. As we saw, Hamlin later had a change of heart and condemned the Hunchacks and the Russian gold and 'Russian craft' which he saw standing behind them." #57

"Perhaps it was mission-minded Prof. Albert Lybyer of Univ. of Illinois who kept the International Commission from expiring; Lybyer had taught for seven years (until 1906) at Robert College. Partly because of this experience, he had been able to write a book on Turkey, one of the best by Americans on Ottoman Affairs. He had been one of the activists in the ACRNE. In Paris since December 1918, a specialist on the Balkans within the U.S. delegation, he had worked with Crane, Bliss, Gates, Barton and Peet for American sponsorship of Armenians and Syrians. He also had contacts with such missionary professors visiting Paris as L. Scipio and Abraham Hagopian of Robert College." #58

"White took them food during the year they were in prison. He apparently did not perceive how removing a single revolutionary from a closet did not appear to Turks adequate to show impartiality in Turkish-Armenian tensions, especially when compared to White's general preoccupation with teaching Armenians and his regular visits to jailed Armenian students. At Central Turkey College in Antep, the 30 faculty members had trouble in 1909 with a secret Armenian revolutionary society among 200 male students (almost exclusively Gregorian and Protestant Armenians). The student revolutionary society threatened a strike to advertise its cause. Upon a recommendation from the faculty, President John Merrill closed the school for six weeks and readmitted only those students who proved they had belonged to the society." #59

"... On one side stood missionaries like Tracy, who went out of his way to note the great advances being made in the Ottoman State and to ask Americans to refrain from indiscriminate condemnation of the Turks, 'such as newspapers and travelers often indulge in' - the missionaries only wanted to develop the best qualities in the Armenians and 'if Christians of this empire would but learn to be good subjects, and good men they would vastly greater gain than by insubordination'. Even in the dispatches of their own diplomatic

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representatives the words, meddling and indiscretion are frequently found, and thus it can be imagined with what suspicion they were regarded by the Ottoman authorities.

As we have seen, the missionaries had a long history of involvement in the affairs of Ottoman Christians. If we take the Congress of Berlin as the starting point of the Armenian question as a European diplomatic concern in the 19th century, they were also there at the start, trying to influence delegates in favor of the Armenians. Following a letter which Cyrus Hamlin wrote to the Boston Daily Advertiser in 1894, the Ottoman minister in Washington, Mavroyeni (himself a Greek Christian) sent a long letter of complaint to the State Dept...
"#60

"Montgomery protested in Current History that American Missionary schools were not divisive. Armenian revolutionary leaders criticized the American Board schools, Montgomery said, because they prohibited politics. He stated that the feeling of both Armenians and Arabs against the Turks stemmed from racialism and Ottoman despotism...

Another missionary defender less restrained than Montgomery was Everet P. Wheeler, who had helped relief among Armenians since 1890s. Wheeler claimed it a perversion of patriotism to blame missionaries and Armenians for seeking victory over the Allied enemy, the Turks. History had praised the defense of the West against Moslem intrusion in the Middle Ages he said, and Christian nations should receive credit for seeking protection of Christians in the Near East." #61*

"Before World War I, American missionary educators provided the basis for one of the most important links between the U.S. and the Ottoman Empire and also played a prominent role in education within the Empire. World War I, which found Turkey fighting with the Central Powers, of necessity led to curtailment of American educational work, especially after the U.S. became associated with Turkey's enemies in April, 1917. Factors of more significance than World War I in explaining the problems of American educators in Turkey included the post-war disintegration of the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish nationalist movement, which emphasized secularism among its basic principle of operation. An obvious exemplification of Turkish secularization movement was the intense effort to reform and control the educational system by cleansing it of all religious influences. Turkish fear of foreign political, economic, and cultural domination also affected the educational system, particularly foreign schools. Closing many schools, imposition of crippling taxes, strict regulation of curricula and teaching personnel, and arbitrary inspections were among the by-products of these basic attitudes." #62

"In the autumn of 1922, a pro-Turk statement in an American periodical figured in a public debate about Asia Minor. (Ret.) Rear Admiral Colby M. Chester, believing opinion against Turks was harmful to State Dept. backing for his revival of earlier Chester Project (currently called the Ottoman-American Development Corporation) published, 'Turkey Reinterpreted'. Trying to reverse 30 years of Armenianism in one dramatic attempt, the

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flighty, 78-year-old Chester produced an extreme model. He depicted Turks as moral, religious, and honest ('Although I have been much in Turkey I never met a crooked Turk'). As for the Armenian massacres, he not only stirred up history but made a little of his own: 'Armenians were moved from inhospitable regions where they... could not actually prosper to the most delightful and fertile part of Syria... In due course of time the deportees, entirely non-massacred and fat and prosperous, returned'. He claimed that an acquaintance had seen Armenian towns filled with astonishing live ghosts. What a pity, he remarked, 'to upset the good old myth of Turkish viciousness... but in the interest of accuracy I find myself constrained to do so, although it makes me feel a bit like one who is compelled to tell a child that Jack the Killer really found no monstrous men to slay'. The mission-relief reaction to the old man was as serious as to Californian Congressman A.M. Free's public charge a year earlier that Armenians had killed more Turks than vice versa (Free retreated when Near East Relief pressed for evidence). The fat was in flames. In addition to the Chester-Montgomery interchange, Current History carried an analysis of missionary and relief organizations by journalist Clair Price. For a series of four articles Price, visited Ankara and Constantinople, including a talk with Bristol." #63*

"American educators adjusted admirably to Turkish nationalism, even though they became involved in many disputes requiring the services of American diplomatic representatives. In 1939, education continued to be one of the most significant Turco-American contacts, as it had been since the two countries first established formal diplomatic relations in 1830. During the Atatürk era, these American educators by their actions and attitudes contributed much to better the Christian-Moslem relationship in an important part of the Islamic world. By the time Turkey and U.S. re-established diplomatic relations in 1927, the American Board conducted classes for 1400 students at eight primary and secondary schools and one institution of higher learning, the International College in Izmir. The two private American institutions, Robert College and Constantinople Woman's College, continued to operate. By this time, (1927) secularization program was well under way. Furthermore, the past work of American schools had been exclusively with minorities, mainly Greeks and Armenians. The Turks wanted to prevent the growth of new Christian communities, which could result from continued Christian missionary work." #64

"The Turks were also aware of the role played by the missionaries in developing a hostile American public opinion toward Turkey. 'If American opinion has been uninformed, misinformed and prejudiced,' one observer wrote in 1929, 'the missionaries are largely to blame. Interpreting history in terms of the advance of Christianity, they have given an inadequate, distorted, and occasionally grotesque picture of Moslems and Islam'. The Turks believed that a student educated in a foreign school, especially if religious teaching was allowed, would be dominated by an alien culture. Foreign schools, if unregulated, would be hostile to Turkish nationalism and instruments of foreign political influence. Ambassador Grew expressed the point well: *As for the question of religious teaching in the schools, I*

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heard a remark the other day, which seems to me is very much in point. Somebody said, referring to our recent Presidential campaign in the U.S., 'it is therefore not the Catholic religion at all that is under attack, but the idea of the Catholic Church, as a foreign institution'. If you alter the word 'Catholic' to 'Christian', you have in a nutshell the attitude of the Turks toward our American schools in Turkey. It is not religion but cultural nationalism that is the stumbling block. Christianizing to the Turk means the weaning of Turkish youth away from Turkish nationalism and all that the term implies. Grew later pointed out that the Turks felt 'character should be formed not through religion but through the training of the mind plus the development of an intense nationalism'. A Turkish newspaper complained about 'unnamed Christianity' in American Schools." #65

"By creating a complete Christian environment for the Turkish youth to live in, their aim is to install in them gradually and unconsciously Christian ways and beliefs under the name of character-building and so forth'. Believing that religion, particularly Christianity, did not mix with nationalism, the Atatürk Government early prohibited any religious teaching in foreign as well as Turkish schools. Classrooms were to be free of religious symbols, teachers had to be approved by the government and certain subjects were to be taught by Turkish teachers appointed by government educational authorities. Faced with these restrictions, the missionaries of the American Board had to make the critical decision whether they should continue their work in Turkey. The decision should, it seemed, be based on the answer to this question asked by an American Board missionary, 'Was it worth while to keep open schools in which the Bible could no longer be the backbone of the curriculum, as it originally was?' The missionaries decided this question in the affirmative; their existence would be justified, they felt, if they could maintain a Christian influence on education by personal example and friendly contact. The missionaries were convinced that the Turkish people needed and wanted the American schools. As one American Board leader put it, 'The Turks acted as if they expected the missionaries to remain. The number of pupils from Moslem families was greatly increased... It was evident from the patronage given that there was a desire and even a demand for the continuance of the schools'. The Board's annual report for 1924 pointed out that the Turks had witnessed the 'great advance made by the Armenians and Greeks through their wide patronage of American institutions...and they covet this same opportunity for their own young men and women'." #66*

"Turkish parents who sent their children to American schools knew, of course, that the institutions had Christian affiliations, but they expected that laws against proselytizing would be obeyed. Obviously they did not want their children to become hostile to Turkish culture and traditions, but they recognized that the quality of instruction was superior to that in their own schools. The missionaries believed that through 'unnamed Christianity' they would be able to mold the characters of their students, the majority of whom were Turks. 'The Christian teacher... will impress upon his pupils those principles which lie at the very foundation of our Christian thinking and Christian living. The missionary will thus have

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opportunity to build Christian character into the lives of his Turkish pupils', the American Board reported in 1924. 14 years later the same spirit prevailed: A Christian atmosphere may be diffused even through 'secular' school or hospital, and the Board is using all the opportunities then present! Christians in Turkey today are trying to demonstrate through Christ-like spirit, that the Christian possesses something of infinite worth; something, too, which Turkey needs, if the republic is to develop into a strong and noble state. Thus, based on the conviction that they were wanted and needed and that they would be able to spread Christianity without open attempts to win converts, the American Board missionaries decided by 1923 to continue their work!...Even though it permitted Christian missionaries to carry on their educational activities, the Turkish Government often made it clear that it would not tolerate direct proselytizing. The most obvious example of this attitude occurred in 1928, when the Turks closed the American Girls' Lyceum in Bursa. This incident defined clearly the basic conflict between secularism of Turkish nationalism and religious teaching." #67

"The charges against the Bursa school in January, 1928, involved the alleged conversion of three Moslem girls to Christianity. Diaries in which the girls confided their thoughts fell into the hands of government authorities, who closed the school after investigation. The teachers charged with violation of law against religious proselytizing, were tried and convicted on April 30, 1928. The penalties for the teachers, two of whom had already left Turkey, were three days' house imprisonment and fines three lira each. The light sentences proved that the Turks intended to demonstrate their determination to enforce the laws against religious instruction rather than to show vengeance against the three teachers involved." #68*

"In a letter to a friend in the State Dept., Ambassador Joseph C. Grew wrote: 'The school incident is bad, very bad. But they had it coming to them and it came.' Grew was also uneasy about the impact the affair would have on Robert College and Constantinople Woman's College, even though they had no religious connections. He reported to Secretary of State Kellogg that these institutions 'deplore the situation owing to possible ultimate effects of the incident on all American educational institutions'." #69

"The Bursa Incident did prove that cultural nationalism and secularism were extremely important parts of Turkish nationalism. Foreign schools could continue their work as long as they conformed to Turkish regulations and confined their teaching to secular subjects; the promotion of antinationalism through religious teaching wouldn't be tolerated." #70

"The desire of the Turkish Government to eliminate all religious influences in the schools accounted not only for various restrictions during the period up to 1939, but also explained Turkish procrastination on the question of reopening various American Schools.

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When Ambassador Grew arrived in Turkey in the fall of 1927, his most pressing problem was the Board's campaign to reopen schools closed during the preceding decade." #71

"Thereupon, the government on February 26th, 1928, authorized the reopening of the Boys' School at Sivas and addition of vocational department to the school in Merzifon. Aras fulfilled his promise to release the Sivas building or to reopen another American school in August 1928, when the Ministry of Public Instruction announced that the institution at Talas could reopen if it would allow Turkish instructors to teach certain subjects, appoint a Turkish vice-principal, and comply with several other conditions. Incidentally, if the Turks had permitted other schools to resume instruction, the American Board probably would have closed them later, in view of the curtailment of its work arising from financial difficulties during the depression...

The Council of State held in July 1930, that the tax should not be applicable to money received by the American Collegiate Institute in a current account from the American Board in the U.S. This decision favorable to American institutions set a precedent later applied to all the schools and colleges. One American Board missionary wrote: 'It is a cause for devout thanksgiving that the highest authorities, when appealed to, have stood for justice and not for financial bleeding'. "#72

"When Turkey pressed in the mid-1930s for a revision of the Straits regime and later the acquisition of Alexandretta, the U.S. did not take sides. These political problems were chiefly the concerns of Turkey and European nations. The U.S., in contrast to various European nations, did not adopt a 'big brother' attitude toward Turkey. As a matter of fact, as illustrated by frequent comments by Turkish officials, the political disinterest of the U.S. in Turkey was an ever present factor promoting closer Turco-American relations. International politics is only a part of international relations. This history of Turkish-American relations from 1919-39 contradicts the view that Americans followed a rigidity isolationist code during these years. Although somewhat reduced in numbers, missionary and lay educators, now catering to Turks rather than to Armenians, Greeks and other minorities, remained an important group of Americans in Turkey." #73

"In June, 1938, the Ministry of Public instruction again decided that American schools and colleges would be exempt from the building tax because they 'serve public instruction'." #74

"The financial difficulties which caused the closing of several American Board schools were due to decreasing support from the Congregational Church in the U.S. One reason for this, according to Ernest W. Riggs, an American Board official, was the difficulty of convincing people that they should make contributions to schools giving Turkish students a purely secular education. Also critical were the effects of the post-1929 depression, which

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understandably forced American Board to curtail its work in Turkey as well as in other fields." #75

"By 1939, the only schools operated by the American Board were; the American Academy for Girls in Istanbul; the American Collegiate Institute in Izmir, the American School for Boys in Talas and the American College in Tarsus.

Robert College and Istanbul Woman's College, partly because they had no religious affiliations, were more acceptable to the Turks than the mission schools. Fortunately for Robert College, an ill-advised plan to institute religious activities there did not materialize. When Henry Sloane Coffin, chairman of Robert College's Board of Trustees, visited Turkey in January, 1935, he intended to examine the possibility of introducing religious elements into the college program, as actually required by the college charter. Ambassador Skinner, worried about the purposes of Coffin's visit, wrote to the Secretary of State that the Turks would never permit Robert College to make such changes in its program. Coffin apparently appreciated this fact, because he did not bring up the religious issue during his visit. His talks with Turkish officials, including Prime Minister Ismet Inonu, did indicate that the Turks valued the work of Robert College." #76

"The very fact that the Board schools were in existence in 1939 is proof that they had adjusted to Turkish nationalism. This adjustment did not come without hesitation, but the American institutions realized that they must either conform to Turkish policy or end their work. The events at Bursa in 1928 proved this. As for the missionaries, their decision was to rely on 'unnamed Christianity' to propagate their faith. The two independent colleges found that their goal should be to offer to Turkish youth the type of education most fitted to the needs of the Republic of Turkey. The question whether American educators adjusted to Turkish nationalism, with its emphases on secularism, can be answered clearly in the affirmative." #77

"The mission schools were filled to capacity in 1939 and had educated thousands of young Turks during the interwar period, but there was no increase in the number of Christians in Turkey...The American Board optimistically reported in 1936 that it was rendering a 'significant and far reaching service... Here is disinterested service in the name and in the spirit of Christ which can not fail to affect the life of the new Turkey.' As late as 1953, the Board observed that its role in the Middle East 'remains the essential one of representing the Christian West, of bringing the unique gift of Jesus Christ.' " #78*

"American Christian educators, by remaining in Turkey during the highly nationalistic period in that country's history, made substantial contributions. Most important, they demonstrated the attitudes and methods necessary for satisfactory relations between Christianity and Islam." #79

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George Washburn, (the son-in-law of Rev. Cyrus Hamlin, and reputed for being a person with top connections with the White House), served as president of Robert College, between 1877-1903. These were the turbulent years of Bulgarian revolution and Armenian incubation involving a fair number of Robert College graduates as leaders. In his book 50 Years in Constantinople, Washburn gives a detailed report of the events about the school programs, politics and surrounding events. Washburn, considered supporting Bulgarian and Armenians a top priority and was proud of R.C's. education on according to very strict Christian rules. Some 20 years later, as quoted in the above paragraph, teaching of all religions was prohibited by the new secular Turkish Republic, but the fundamental and ethical (Christian) principles was to be applied in educating a new generation of free-thinking people, indifferent to religious dogma and bigotry.

Chapter 5: References and Footnotes:

1. Salahi Sonyel, *The Great War & Great Tragedy of Anatolia*, T.T.K. pg.187
2. From the Swedish paper, "*Nya Daglight Allehanda*", April 23rd, 1917, by H.J. Pravitz
The writer was a Swedish officer; his eyewitness report is neutral and objective.
3. Erich Feigl, *A Myth of Terror*, Edition Zeitgeschichte Freilassing, Salzburg, Austria pg.45 - 46
4. Guenther Lewy, *The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey*, U. of Utah Press, pg.143-4
5. Leslie A Davis, *The Slaughterhouse Province*, A.D.Caratzas, New York, pg.16
- 6* Ibid, pg.39
- Remarkable record of claimed antagonism against Christians by Turks: "Armenia College"?**
- 7*Ibid, pg.45
- Orthodox + Catholics + Protestants were united in degrading Turks, but otherwise in competition with each other!**
- 8* Akaby Nassibian, *Britain & the Armenian Question 1915-23* Croom Helm, London, pg.37.
How naïve for a high level person like Lord Bryce! Ingrained hatred and antagonism against Turks, so clear!
9. Ibid, pg.38
- 10.Kildare Dobbs, *Anatolian Suite*, – Little Brown & Co. Canada, pg.198
- 11*Ibid, pg.199
- Confirmation that Christians were not oppressed but that they had become the rich class of the Empire.**
- 12.Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy & the Near East*, U.of Minn. Press, 1991, pg.35
- 13*Ibid, pg.40.
- While religions competed, consuls could give their own citizenships to persons serving them and thus protect them!**
- 14*.Ibid, pg.41
- Armenophile Grabill speaks of "ordering murder"; yet other details give evidence to "exploited liberties"...**
15. Ibid, pg.42
16. Efraim & Inari Karsh, *Empires of the Sand*, Harvard U. Press pg.73
- 17*.Ibid, pg.77
- The Crimean War put the Ottomans under heavy debts to Britain, entailing the temporary rule of Cyprus, ending with the loss of Cyprus to Britain!**
- 18*.National Geographic, Oct. 1915 pg.330.
- Excellent example of bigotry and demagoguery!**
- 19*.Kevin Phillips, *American Theocracy*, Viking – Penguin, pg.259
- Self-explanatory and evidencing for over a century, with similar calamities.**
- 20*.Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy & the Near East*, U. of Minn. Press, 1991,pg.39.
- Provocations of benevolent missionary activities, has seldom been noticed or underlined or avoided!**
21. Roderic H. Davison, *Essays in Ottoman & Turkish History*, 1774 – 1923, U. of Texas Press, Austin pg.126
- 22* Salahi Sonyel, *The Great War and the Great Tragedy of Anatolia*, T.T.K., pg.11
- Play station for intrigues of interest and evasions was the land of the host, the Ottoman Empire...**
23. Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy & the Near East*, U. of Minn. Press, 1991, pg.73
- 24*Ibid, pg.79
- When World War I started and diplomatic relations with the U.S. were stopped, none of the schools were shut, or relief operations suspended or any missionaries expelled. Contributions to Relief Funds continued (one donor was even expecting an Armenian girl in return, likely believing in the propaganda stories of harems, kidnappings etc.). Barton, was an extreme Turcophobe up to the very last day, but finally was dumped by Armenians when things did not work out, after all he had done for them!**
25. Ibid, pg.173

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26. Kevin Phillips, *American Theocracy*, Viking – Penguin, pg.256-8

27*. Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy & the Near East*, U.of Minn.Press,1991, pg.62

Missionary Grabill will hardly find anything wrong in bigotry, but charge Turks for retribution.

28*. Ibid, pg.267

Only Admiral Bristol was objective, fair and open. Kemalists later objected to U.S. observer status at the Lausanne Conference!

29*. Ibid, pg.74

Bryce was Britain's propaganda director. He met Bliss and Morgenthau in Beirut, who fed him with their hearsay reports!

30*. Jeremy Salt, *Imperial Evangelism & the Ottoman-Armenians 1878-96*, Frank Cass & Co. Ltd. U.K., pg.117.

Missions guarded by Ottoman troops, where missionaries were fomenting the destruction of their own guards!

31*. Ibid, pg.118

Ottomans had no power to expel missionaries, who were originally "hoped" to offset the Orthodox/Catholic pressures!

32. Akaby Nassibian, *Britain & the Armenian Question 1915-23* Croom Helm, London, pg.173

33*. Jeremy Salt, *Imperial Evangelism & the Ottoman-Armenians 1878-96*, Frank Cass & Co. Ltd. U.K., pg.133.

Christian Press, used to slander Turks, whipped even their own minister Terrel when he disobeyed.

Artillery backs religion!

34*. Ibid, pg.116.

Looks like this time missionaries caught as co-partners and supporters of the revolutionists!

35. Ibid, pg.134

36*. Ibid,pg.135

Note contents of next Chapter 6, "Divinity for Bigotry..."

37. Akaby Nassibian, *Britain & the Armenian Question 1915-23* Croom Helm, London, pg.239

38* Kevin Phillips, *American Theocracy*, Viking – Penguin, pg.383

History teaches only those who want to learn and avoid similar mistakes...

39*. Salahi Sonyel, *The Great War & Great Tragedy of Anatolia*, T.T.K., pg.175

The Armenians peaked their success in late-2006 by making Parliaments decide for genocide in many countries, thus eliminating the need for international court decisions, evidence documentation, even confrontation and debates of historians!

40. Ibid, pg.186

41. Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy & the Near East*, U.of Minn. Press, 1991, pg.38

42* Ibid, pg.45.

The whole arm of the Turks was now caught, having given a finger to missionaries, letting them come to teach...

43* Ibid, pg.46.

Was Barton speaking the truth as a devout Christian? His later actions influenced U.S. diplomacy at all times.

44*. Ibid, pg.172

Barton's lie, already disclosed in this paragraph as well...

45. Ibid, pg.173-174

46. Jeremy Salt, *Imperial Evangelism & the Ottoman-Armenians 1878-96*, Frank Cass & Co. Ltd. U.K., pg.111

47* Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy & the Near East*, U.of Minn. Press, 1991, pg.262,

Although all Barton's relief operations, missions and missionaries were guarded by Turkish soldiers (Ottoman/Kemalist) he was an ardent adversary at all times, for anything involving Turks and Armenians.

MARVELOUS MISSIONARIES

48*.Ibid, pg.263.

Has anything improved by 2007 in the U.S. on Turkish antagonism? (Despite fighting on the U.S. side in Korea, etc.) Or is it worse, owing to pressure of the lobbies?

49*. Akaby Nassibian, *Britain & the Armenian Question 1915-23* Croom Helm, London, pg.180.

Who believes in Biblical = mythological rights? For Jews, Armenians! (Existence of Turkic tribes in Anatolia is much older)

50. Kevin Phillips, *American Theocracy*, Viking – Penguin, pg.99

51* Ibid, pg.100

Please re-read this paragraph... Re-read please...the true revelations...

52. Ibid, pg.123.

53. Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times*, Boston 1893, pg.183-184.

Missionary Hamlin, involved in Evangelical Revolutionism?

54*.Ibid, pg.188

The Russian Emperor and the Kingdom of Christ, bestow duty on Missionary Rev. Hamlin to . . .wipe out Turks!

55. Ibid, pg.196

56*.Ibid, pg.285

The “Sea was the Ottoman Empire”; storm winds against Protestant Church came from Catholics and Orthodox! (Not Moslems)

57. Jeremy Salt, *Imperial Evangelism & the Ottoman-Armenians 1878-96*, Frank Cass & Co. Ltd. U.K., pg.113

58. Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy & the Near East*, U.of Minn. Press, 1991, pg.176

59. Ibid, pg.48

60. Jeremy Salt, *Imperial Evangelism & the Ottoman-Armenians 1878-96*, Frank Cass & Co. Ltd. U.K., pg.112

61*.Joseph L.Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy & the Near East*, U.of Minn. Press,1991, pg.266-267.

How logical, convincing and correct for the untouchable Christian Missionaries?

62.. Roger R. Trask *U.S. Response to Turkish Nationalism and Reform*, U. of Min. Press, 1971 pg.147

63*.Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy & the Near East*, U.of Minn.Press, 1991, pg.265.

Admiral Chester lived for a long time in Istanbul. Could he have had any reasons to lie, at that age?

64. Roger R. Trask *U.S. Response to Turkish Nationalism and Reform*, U. of Min. Press, 1971, pg.148

65. Ibid, pg.149

66*. Ibid, pg.150

How right Atatürk proved to be... By 2007, secularism is being eroded and degenerated by political radicalism and opportunism.

67. Ibid, pg.151

68*. Ibid, pg.152

More proof of the habitual Turkish tolerance and compassion!

69. Ibid, pg.153

70. Ibid, pg.155

71. Ibid, pg.157

72. Ibid, pg.160

73. Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy & the Near East*, U.of Minn.Press, 1991, pg.241

74. Roger R. Trask *U.S. Response to Turkish Nationalism and Reform*, U. of Min. Press, 1971, pg.161

75. Ibid, pg.164

76. Ibid, pg.165

77. Ibid, pg.167

78*.Ibid, pg.168 ...

... and had they not succeeded, this book could not have been written!

79. Ibid, pg.169

Chapter 6: DIVINITY for BIGOTRY and ANARCHY

* The Bible is the Book of the Church... The Jewish faith stands behind the Old Testament. The Christian faith stands behind the New Testament. The Bible is the Making. And behind the Church stands Priesthood. #1

* Their ears and eyes and minds are closed forever. No amount of science or logic will make any difference to them. They know in their hearts that God is on their side, and that anyone who disagrees with them is evil. ...This book is written for open-minded readers who are not afraid to learn—in fact, who are eager and fascinated to learn—about the many conflicts and controversies between science and the Christian Bible.

David Mills, *Atheist Universe*, Ulysses Press, Canada 2006, p.21

*As for myself, I do not believe that such a person as Jesus Christ ever existed; but as the people are inclined to superstition, it is proper not to oppose them.

Napoleon Bonaparte (1769-1821)

* My earlier views of the unsoundness of the Christian scheme of salvation and the human origin of the scriptures have become clearer and stronger with advancing years and I see no reason for thinking I shall ever change them.

Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865)

*In the experiences of a year of the Presidency, there has come to me no other such unwelcome to impress as the manifest religious intolerance, which exists among many of our citizens. I hold it to be a menace to the very liberties we boast and cherish.

Warren G. Harding (1865-1923)

*Religion is an illusion...

Sigmund Freud (1856-1939)

*The Bible is full of interest. It has noble poetry in it; and some clever fables; and some blood-drenched history; and some good morals; and a wealth of obscenity; and upwards of a thousand lies.

* Surely, the ass who invented the first religion ought to be the first ass damned.

* I have never seen, what to me seemed an atom of proof, that there is a future life!

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Mark Twain

*The Christian system of religion is an outrage on common sense.

*The study of theology, as it stands in Christian churches, is the study of nothing; it is founded on nothing; it rests on nothing; it proceeds by no authorities; it has no data; it can demonstrate nothing.

Thomas Paine (1737-1809)

*Sunday school: A prison in which children do penance for the evil conscience of their parents. .

*Say, what you like about the Ten Commandments, you must always come back to the pleasant fact that there are only ten of them.

H. L. Mencken (1880-1956)

*The most heinous and the cruel crimes of which history has record, have been committed under the cover of religion or equally noble motives.

Mohandas Gandhi (1869-1948)

*Organized religion is a sham and a crutch for weak-minded people who need strength in numbers. It tells people to go out and stick their noses in other people's business.

Jesse Venture (November 1999)

*Truth is never pure and rarely simple.

Oscar Wilde

*Superstition is the religion of feeble minds.

Edmund Burke

*Religion is the opium of the people.

Karl Marx

*The priests of the different religion sects, dread the advance of science a witches do the approach of daylight, and scowl on the fatal harbinger announcing the subdivision of the duperies in which they live.

*I have recently been examining all the known superstitions of the world, and do not find in our particular superstition (Christianity) one redeeming feature. They are all alike, founded upon fables and mythologies.

Thomas Jefferson

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*The immense majority of intellectually eminent men disbelieve in Christian religion, but they conceal the fact in public, because they are afraid of losing their incomes.

*One is often told that it is a very wrong thing to attack religion, because religion makes man virtuous. So, I am told; I have not noticed it!

*So far as I can remember, there is not one word in the Gospels, in praise of intelligence.

(Lord) Bertrand Russell

*At present, there is not a single credible established religion in the world.

George Bernard Shaw

**The prerequisite of a priesthood is a divine Avenger with man as a sinner and hence dependent on priests for salvation. To this end the process was continued: first the semi-mythic Elohist, rewriting and holifying the Jhwist's characters, and finally the Priest declaring a personal God created the world in six days by saying "Let it be". This God-concept of the priestly mind is the cornerstone of the Bible, and if it is false, everything based upon it is also false. #2-A*

To execute, every one for himself, the law of God' is, no doubt, an admirable principle. For a Catholic, who believes that the Church knows the law of God, it may even be made into a rule of government. The results, as seen in Papal States, may not have been quite what most moderns would think desirable; for example, the Inquisition still practiced persecution, and issued edicts so late as 1841 'commanding all people to inform against heretics, Jews and sorcerers, those who had impeded the Holy Office, or made satires against Pope and clergy'; while in 1851 a railway across Romagna was prohibited on the ground that 'railways produce commerce, and commerce produces sin'. #2-B

**These reasons are derived in some sacred book which is considered so authoritative that its dicta must never be questioned. Most of the moral extortion which is practiced by the clergy or by those who give strengthening advice in the YMCA, is concerned with extorting hearers to obey such precepts; and failure to obey them is viewed conventionally as much more heinous than unkindness, or malice inspired by envy, or group hatred leading to political disaster. #2-C*

**Religion is based, I think, primarily and mainly upon fear. It is partly the terror of the unknown, and partly as I have said, the wish to feel that you have a kind of elder brother who will stand by you in all your troubles and disputes. Fear is the basis of the whole thing – fear of the mysterious, fear of defeat, fear of death. Fear is the parent of cruelty, and therefore it is no wonder if cruelty and religion have gone hand-in-hand. #2-D*

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**Abrose Bierce said, 'To pray is to ask that the laws of the universe are annulled in behalf of a single petitioner confessedly unworthy... Religion is a daughter of Hope and Fear, explaining to Ignorance the nature of the Unknowable'. #2-E*

**For God and Morality" (The Economist- February 17, 2007- pg.34) "These differences also have religious roots that are not easy to pull up. It is no coincidence that a map of north and south follows up the contours of Protestant and Catholic Europe. Protestantism's fundamental insight is that the relationship between the believer and God matters above all. Catholics, in contrast, hold that relationship between believer and church is almost as important, and that the church, with its dogmas and rituals, acts as intermediary between its members and God." #2-F*

*"With those brave stupids, two or three,
Who in their folly are so wise,
They know what we scarce realize!
They only know the world, not we!*

*Thou'st better be an ass as well,
For they're so sunk in assishness
That they call every man, unless
He be an ass, an infidel!" #2-G*

It may be because of the concern towards what the 'general public will say', that historians and writers, always preferred not to 'touch the involvement of theocracy turning into bigotry, which in some cases led to anarchist inspirations.'

Yet, since this research is intended to bring written incidents under the light of intelligence, the reader is given a choice of several excerpts, some paradoxical to each other. The final evaluation and interpretation is left to the discretion of the reader.

**You shall not take the name of the Lord, your God in vain... #3-A*

**You shall not bear false witness against your neighbor... #3-B*

**You shall not covet your neighbor's house, nor is anything that is your neighbor... #3-C*

"From ancient times, comets had always been regarded as heralds of disaster. This view is taken for granted in Shakespeare, for example, in 'Julius Caesar' and in 'Henry V.' Calixtus III, who was Pope from 1455 to 1458, and was greatly perturbed by the Turkish capture of Constantinople, connected this disaster with the appearance of a great comet, and ordered days of prayer that 'whatever calamity impended might be turned from the Christians and against the Turks.' And an addition was made to the litany: 'From the Turk and the comet, good Lord, deliver us.'" #4

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The great hypocrisy of humans is that 'when end justifies the means', even the corner stones and pillars of Christianity may be denied or reverted to 'win some converts into the advertised showcase of the same faith'. Now let us read some more excerpts:

"Some moderate to liberal theologians have begun to challenge half-baked preaching about the rapture and the end times 'a toxin endangering the health-even the life- of the Christian churches and American society.' Suburban mega-churches, in turn, find themselves explained as offering spiritual equivalent of shopping mall; would you like physis healing today?..." #5

"...Too many Protestants, lacking priests to assure them forgiveness, searched God's grace in personal experience. By the 1890s, holiness Methodists was defecting from their old church. Baptists were overtaking and passing Methodists..." #6

"... Moreover, in these cases, the clergy were commonly among the most prominent drumbeaters." #7

"Besides inner conversion, evangelicalism also emphasized outward conversion efforts by its adherents. As a result, the 19th century saw a huge increase in foreign missionary activity, along with an upsurge of moral imperialism –belief in Britain's duty to save the world- that abetted and reinforced the everyday patriotism of parades, naval reviews, music-hall songs, and saber-rattling literature. Initial public enthusiasm for World War I, as we will see, marched in part stirring cadences of *Onward Christian Soldiers*" #8

"By 1914, many British churches were but all draped in flags..." #9

"Yet much of their activity purports to be missionary. Instead of British church people and Bible societies accompanying Queen Victoria's soldiers to India, we have U.S. missionaries following the flag to the Middle East." #10

Before we proceed further with other excerpts, let us take a break and glance through a book written by Prof. Edwin Grosvenor about Turks in Constantinople, and how they treated Christians, when Orthodox – Catholic – Protestants were fighting each other but managing to put the blame on the 'Antichrist Moslems'. Knowing how the empire was drained of all resources under the capitulations and heavy debts, it is worth while to read how much money the Sultan spent on the restoration of St. Sophia, which was used even as stable by the Catholic crusaders. What an irony, that the founder of Robert College, Cyrus Hamlin was such an extreme Armenophile, that he preferred to learn Armenian instead of Turkish (the host country) and eventually saw the right in himself to request U.S. battleships, which were sent to 'teach Turks!' #11

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"The church has never, before or since, been in so pitiable condition as just before the Ottoman Conquest. It and the Empire had grown old together. It was a question, which would outlast the other, the feeble, dying Empire, or the decaying church. The historical importance of Sancta Sophia is almost boundless. No other church in any land, no other structure reared in any age by human genius, has held so large a place in a nation's life. 'In its name is centered the entire duration of Byzantine history. The Cathedral of Rheims, Notre Dame, Westminster Abbey, Saint Peter's, the Parthenon, tenanted and crowded as they are by thrilling associations, evoke not so countless memories. This is the official sanctuary of an Empire wherein Church and State were one, and which through more than 1100 years was the heir and equal of Rome. Up its nave and aisles swept the pageantry of monarch and pontiff ..." #12

"On July 16th, 1054, while the church was thronged by the Orthodox clergy and people, Cardinal Humbert and two other Latin bishops, legates of the Pope, walked steadily up the nave till they reached the altar in the holy place. Then, standing under the colossal mosaic picture of the meek-eyed Christ, whose arms were stretched in blessing, they laid upon the altar the papal excommunication of the Orthodox Eastern Church, and the anathema against the seven deadly heresies of the Greeks, devoting them and all who shared their doctrines 'to the eternal society of the devil and his angels.' Then 'they strode out, shaking the dust from their feet', and crying, 'Let God see and judge.' Thus the seamless robe was rent; the hitherto undivided Christian Church was torn in twain, and has never since been reunited. The Protestant may ill determine or appreciate the rights and wrongs of the contending parties, — of Michael Keroularios the Patriarch, or of Pope Leo IX; time points at issue, so vast to them, may appear trivial and of almost microscopic littleness to-day ...

... Here, on Easter morning, in April 1204, the warriors of the 4th Crusade, red-handed from their conquest of the city, caroused and feasted. A courtesan, seated on the patriarchal throne, sang obscene songs in nasal tones to mock the chanting of the Greeks. Meanwhile the drunken soldiers indulged in nameless orgies with women of the street, and the fane resounded with their indecent and satanic glee. In derision, the consecrated bread and wine were mixed with blood and dung. Meanwhile strings of beasts of burden were driven in, covered with priestly robes and loaded with plunder..." #13

"... Some were indeed clinging to the ancient legend that when a victorious enemy reached the Column of Constantine, an angel would place a flaming sword in the hand of a little child, who forthwith would drive back the invaders. The Ottoman beat open the doors of the southern vestibule, whereon may still be seen the marks of their impatient violence. The crowded mob of refugees, paralyzed with horror, offered no resistance. No blood was shed, either of conquered or conqueror. No violence was used. The half dead captives, ascetic monk, and maiden on whose veiled face the sun had hardly shone, high born lady and

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kitchen scullion, patrician and beggar, were bound together in couples, and driven forth in long files to be sold as slaves." #14*

"The sultans have shown as much solicitude for the preservation of Haghia Sophia as did their predecessors the emperors. Murad III rebuilt the oft-shattered eastern semi-dome, collapsed by an earthquake, in 1575. The same Sultan undertook thorough renovation of time mosque, as had also done by his great ancestors, Mehmed II and Suleyman I. But the most important of all was that accomplished by Sultan Abdulmecid. This occupied more than two years, involved an expenditure of over \$1,500,000, and was performed in the most satisfactory manner by the Italian architects, the Fossatis. Every part was tested, and whatever lacked was supplied. A framework of iron girders was wrought in throughout. Each mosaic was laid bare, carefully cleansed and restored, and then as carefully covered over. When all was complete, Sultan Abdulmecid, on July 13th, 1849, performed his devotions in the renovated mosque, and afterwards, with his accustomed munificence, rewarded whoever had any part in its renewal. A commemorative gold medal was struck, bearing on one side the picture of the mosque and on the other the 'tuğra,' or monogram of the Sultan." #15*

"The Ottomans regard Haghia Sophia with the utmost reverence. Therein they but follow the example of the illustrious Conqueror, whose eager steps first turned hither after his hard-won victory, and whose first official act in his blood-bought capital was its conversion into a mosque. Alone of all churches submitted Islam, it retains its Christian name, the Aya Sofia of the Moslems being but the literal rendering of the 'Aya Sopia' of the Greeks." #16*

"Among them were the Duke of Argyll and Gladstone – drawn in *Punch* as the 'Old Crusaders' sitting on white chargers with lances in hand – and the Duke of Westminster, Lord Bryce and an assortment of higher ecclesiastics. Symbolically the first mass meeting of the "Armenian agitation" (May 1895) was held at St. James Hall, Piccadilly. The mood was one of uncompromising hostility to the Turks and their religion. The Duke or Argyll began by insisting that England had the duty to impose a protectorate over the Christians of the Ottoman state. The Moderator of the Church of Scotland, spoke of the sacred right of insurrection, of England's right and duty to intervene alone if necessary and if his reopening of the Eastern Question meant 'the abolition of the open scandal of the worship of Muhammed in the first great Christian church erected by the first Christian Emperor, the sooner the question was reopened the better' (*The Times* so reported). Both the Bishop of St. Asaph and Canon MacColl argued for a show of force to save the Christians and bring 'that abject coward the sultan' to his senses. The contribution of Lady Henry Somerset can scarcely be ignored. She spoke of love of Christian women 'for their sisters yonder in the clutch of the harem-despot of Constantinople'." #17 *

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"The Duke of Westminster outlined the case against the Ottoman Government and the need for a European supervision to stop the inhuman treatment of Christians in a land where 'Islam crushed up all prosperity, all progress, all happiness, as it did in the lands to which its withering influence extended'." #18

"How a declaration of war against Turkey is to be reconciled with the preaching of peace and goodwill towards men is a point which these champions of the Armenians are no doubt able to settle to the satisfaction of their conscience'. 'There is time in the history of a nation like Great Britain' asserted the Bishop of Hereford, 'when it should face for a just, inevitable and humanitarian act towards a suffering people'. England's honor, it seemed, was more important than peace. How England could launch an invasion of the Ottoman Empire was not a question, which the Bishop of Hereford or other clerics addressed in specifics. Presumably the generals would sort out these petty details once the decision had been taken." #19

"On the other side of the Atlantic public outrage was further excited by awareness of the danger to the numerous American missionaries and their families living throughout the eastern provinces of the Ottoman state. Otherwise, the American reaction was the mirror image of the Armenian agitation in Britain. Religious sentiment and patriotism were harnessed in defense of the Armenians. The New York *Tribune* gave this account of a public meeting addressed by a Miss Kirkorian: 'The Armenians have suffered and are crushed but thank God the door of His kingdom is open to the Turks. Oh churches of Christendom, do try to keep that door open.' After her appeal, she again presented to the audience while Miss Leithch, her fellow worker, wrapped her in the folds of an American flag and called on Americans everywhere to see that the protection of the government was extended to her people. This brought cheer after cheer from the audience. Elsewhere prayers were offered up for the 'death of Islamism and the downfall of the Turks'. To some the Koran seemed the ultimate source of the violence ravaging the Ottoman state because it 'commands its adherents to go out against the unbeliever's sword in hand and slay until Islam is the only religion'. Evangelical Alliance of Constantinople at the behest of the British ambassador accused the Ottoman Government of infringing the 'charter of Christian rights' and by doing so launching 'a direct war upon the Christian religion itself'. Even Terrell fell prey to this mode of thinking, writing to the State Dept. in explanation of what was going on that 'those who profess to know inform me, that among Moslems the killing of a Christian becomes a virtue when it tends to advance the cause of Islam, to which the Ottoman minister in Washington, Mavroyeni Bey (a Christian himself) responded with some acerbity that 'if in time of war the more enemies they kill the better it is for the cause which they are defending then the virtue of which Mr. Terrell is speaking is fully as much as Christian as a Mahomedan one.' Returning missionaries gave vivid and often lurid accounts of their lives among the Turks. Frederick Davis Greene's book The Armenian Crisis and the Rule of the

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Turk, was reviewed at length in The New York World under the heading 'Chapter of Horrors ... A returned American Missionary Describes the Armenian Massacres'. #20*

"It also seems that by September, 1915 it had become part of the policy of the British Government to use the Armenian massacres as one of the means available to influence public opinion in the U.S. They used any available means in their desperate military need. Perhaps they also felt, rightly, that Americans might be more sensitive to Armenian suffering and more sentimentally involved than any other people in the neutral countries, as over the years U.S. missionaries had done more for the education and the relief of that people than any other humanitarian or educational organization in the world." #21

"THE NEW YORK TIMES" Oct. 28, 1915: THE LIGHT THAT MAY GO OUT IN TURKEY - What the Armenians Have Done to Sustain Christianity and Western Civilization in the Household of the Prophet
By Arshag Mahdesian – Armenian Editor and Publicist..."

"With the massacres of the 1890s, attitudes had become fixed on the stereotype of the terrible Turk. It was Gates and Bristol who lead in weakening Armenianism in the American mind. Gates declared in his memoirs: 'I had often told my students that I was pro-Turk just as I was pro-Armenian, pro-Bulgarian, pro-Greek, pro-Jew'. Bristol though never disagreeing with missionaries that the U.S. should lead Ottoman reconstruction, had opposed their Armenianism. Believing Armenophile publicity 'exaggerated, misconstrued, and abusive' Bristol in early 1920 told Barton, in some ways it had called forth the worst Turkish feelings. He said to the mission secretary that it was contrary to the American sense of fair play to kick a man when he was down and give him a chance to defend himself. With concurrence from Gates, Bristol repeated often in 1921-22 that relief workers and minorities had provoked reprisals and was like the boy who 'poked the hornets' nest and naturally was thoroughly stung. Bristol thought the boy should be paddled. Troubled that killings by Armenians and Greeks did not get into the American press, the admiral wondered in his diary, 'Why aren't the atrocities committed by a Christian nation more heinous than those committed by Moslem races', if Christianity is better than Islam? He worked on the feelings of William Peet, but he decided Peet had an unchangeable resentment against Turks. Bristol acknowledged since Turks had failed the missionary so many times, there was a reason for his negativity." #22

"The U.S. Government, assessing the situation realistically, recognized that only by military force could the Turks be forced to permit establishment of an independent Armenia. U.S. policy toward Turkey, a necessary combination of realism and idealism, recognized the right of the Turks to govern themselves and chart their own development as long as they did not seriously harm American interests. Except for the economic loss, it would have been much easier for American missionaries, for example, to end their work in Turkey in the face

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of the almost overwhelming obstacles after World War I. They decided, however, to comply with regulations dictated by Turkish nationalism, rather than lose the opportunity, however limited, to advertise the goodness of Christianity by personal example in their schools and medical facilities. Obviously, the missionaries preferred to combine religion with education and to make direct attempts at converting Moslems to Christianity but, realistically, they acknowledged that these courses at action were impossible. At times missionaries and other Americans in Turkey grumbled and asked for diplomatic protection, but generally they recognized and respected Turkish nationalism. The 'Terrible Turk' stereotype was another important conditioner of Turkish-American relations, both during and after World War I. This conception of the Turk circulated widely in the U.S. in the late 19th and early-20th centuries impeded the State Dept.'s post-war effort to resume regular relations with Turkey. The description had some historical validity when applied to Turkish treatment of the Armenians, but it was unfair to the Turks of the post-Lausanne period. Armenian-Americans and their supporters, in their fight for an Armenian home and their opposition to the Turkish-American Lausanne Treaty, continued to use time worn epithet. This unfortunate representation contributed strength to the opponents of the Lausanne Treaty and helped defeat it in 1927. Led by the Armenian-American lawyer, Vahan Chardasian, the enemies of Turkey in the U.S., sought, with some success to cloud the issues in Turkish-American relations by poisoning American public opinion." #23*

"Bristol's preaching about un-Christian elements in Armenianism never found its mark with Barton until Kemalist guns made it ridiculous for the American Board to snub Ankara any longer. The Turks eventually named a hospital in Istanbul for Bristol in recognition of his sense of justice. The missionaries since the 1830s often had sustained their enterprise by being anti-Moslem and anti-Turk." #24

"Foremost among the factors conditioning American relations with Turkey between 1914-19 was nationalism, which complicated every problem between the two countries and affected all Americans living and working in Turkey. Nationalism was the lifeblood of the Turkish revolution and the ideological foundation upon which Kemal Atatürk based his program. Turkey, like the U.S. a century and a half earlier, fought for its independence and right to control its own destiny. Historically, Americans revered the right of independence and self-determination and thus they were inclined to be sympathetic with the Turks' desire to establish and maintain themselves as a nation." # 25

"But, particularly in the case of the Lausanne Treaty, the influence of a minority of the American public coupled with political considerations caused Senate to reject the treaty.

A similar reception was given to Turkey and the Armenian Atrocities, written by Edwin M. Bliss and Cyrus Hamlin and containing, according to <the Ottoman Ambassador in the U.S., a Greek - Christian> Mavroyeni, 'the most violent accusations against the Islamic religion, the Turkish race and the Imperial Government'. The Ottoman minister listed the

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names of the missionaries who in their letters to the Christian press of the U.S., 'openly pronounce themselves against a government and a people which after all are offering them hospitality'. Mavroyeni kept his government well-informed of these activities. In the case of Greene's book, Terrell's dispatch describing the 'profound sensation' it caused at the Porte is illuminating. Greene later published another similar book. The Armenian Massacres or the Sword of Mohammed (Philadelphia 1896). These 'calumnies and diatribes' emanating from missionary sources were all part of a public mood of unremitting hostility that convinced Mavroyeni that the U.S. was in the grip of 'a kind of religious uprising'...The Alliance approached Abdulhamid directly, in a petition sent to Istanbul in 1896 which warned that unless 'persecution; of the Armenians is ceased, we shall leave no effort untried to unite all liberty-loving people of the civilized world in urging government to avenge the wrongs and sufferings of the Christians of your Empire'. When a message arrived back from the sultan, denying persecution of the Armenians and pointing out that the Ottoman state had taken in thousands of Moslem refugees fleeing oppression of Christian Bulgaria and Russia, it was described by the alliance's General Secretary Dr. Josiah Strong, as a 'superlative illustration' of Abdulhamid's consummate impudence and mendacity." #26

"The Moslem Orientals attribute all mechanical skill and invention to Satan, which enables them to glory in their stupidity. Mr. Barone would sometimes introduce me as the most 'Satanic man' in the empire! He meant simply the most skillful." #27

"The experience of the years 1843-48 convinced me that something more should and could be done to get unemployed Protestant into active labor for their own support. Nothing demoralizes a Christian man sooner than idleness. It is true, in the case of these Protestants, it was enforced idleness. They were willing to work: but all work was..." #28*

"As I found the boys ridiculed my stovepipe hat and smooth face, I put on the Turkish fez and a moustache and beard. One thing I did what the village liked..." #29

"In the impossibly brief time from 1908-14, Young Turks strove to create a modern Ottoman state. But in conflicts with such enemies as Italy, Greece and Bulgaria abroad and Armenians at home, the CUP turned increasingly to assertive Turkification.–Cultural lag within the Empire was helping make relations between Turks and Armenians a sorrowful experience, also for American missionaries." #30

"... Churches sprang up wherever there was faithful missionary labor. In some places there was great suffering, in others comparative freedom from violence and wrong. But all along the truth has gained against the united opposition of the great majority of the people, and now (in 1893) there are about 150 Protestant churches throughout the empire, including Egypt and European Turkey. The work has proved to have divine leaven that diffuses itself – it is the grain of mustard seed becoming a tree." #31*

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"... 'Beheld from the angle of governing mythology,' says Cherry, 'the history of the American civil religion is a history of the conviction that the American people are God's New Israel, his newly chosen people'. The belief that America has been elected by God for a special destiny in the world has been the focus of American sacred ceremonies, the inaugural addresses of our presidents, the sacred scriptures of the civil religion...The Mormons in the American West of the 1840s and 1850s likewise immersed them"#32

"He <*Cristopher Robert, founder of Robert College*> took a lively interest in the work, and came to the conclusion that the Armenian race was the open door through which to enter Turkey. He gave himself to the study of the language with great zeal. He often took tea with us, and broached the idea of an English society to aid us with money, not with men. He saw clearly political reasons why the mission should always remain purely American" #33*

"Meanwhile, the American Board had refused to allow Cyrus to speak at any of its Congregational churches in Boston, for they were opposed to the idea of a college in which language of instruction was to be English, preferring vernacular education solely. Cyrus persisted, and after speaking to a receptive audience at Harvard College, he received invitations to lecture in a number of Boston churches, after which the American Board relented and removed its ban. Harvard donated a number of law books to the library of the new college, and Cyrus succeeded in signing up the first two individual benefactors, as he writes in his memoirs." #34*

"It was the crucial hour of England's effort to compel the Sultan to grant reforms for Asia Minor. Another eminent American teacher, President Herrick of Marsovan College went direct to England after the Marsovan College burned in 1893 to confer with Mr. Bryce and British Ministry. I met him in London, when en route for this post and knew the fact from his own lips. Another American professor Dr. Long, was a correspondent with Mr. Gladstone regarding the political desires of the Armenian race. Both Dr. Washburn and Dr. Dwight had frequent and confidential conferences with British Ambassador before and during the recent massacres, which they carefully concealed from the U.S. Legation, and were more than once visited by the British Ambassador for like consultations. Our teachers and Bible House people have established here an Evangelical Alliance, which corresponds on politico-religious topics with like alliances in London and the U.S. and the Duke of Westminster. They furnished from time to time for the press of New York, London and Boston the atrocity articles which excited so profoundly public sentiments." # 35*

"We had prayers at 5.30 a.m. Students read round in English a long but useful service. I threw in brief remarks as we went along. I offered prayer in Armenian. This exercise occupied from 20 to 30 minutes. Then came the morning recitations till seven; at

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seven, breakfast. The school reassembled at nine till twelve. Then lunch and recess till two; then study hours to five. Dinner at 5.30 for the school, a little later for ourselves; then an hour with the children; and study again from 7.30 to 9." #36

"Now I had come into circumstances favorable to the acquisition of the colloquial Armenian. As I found many Turkish words mixed in, I resolved not to use them, but so far as possible to speak a pure Armenian. Bebek Seminary had no small influence in the introduction of a purer style of speaking and writing the modern Armenian. It was then a rough uncultivated language; the Catholic-Armenians spurned it and chose the Turkish. Our mission saw clearly that, as the language of the Armenian race, we must adopt it and make the best of it. The idea of translating the Bible in such a language was ridiculed. There was a very imperfect translation of the New Testament and it was referred to with contempt." #37*

"I could not help learning the Armenian, for I was talking all the time with students or with visitors. But the Patriarch became alarmed about the Bible school. The bankers put him up to destroy it, to shut it up, to take every Armenian student from it. One of the students told me that the Armenian priest was trying to get a list of the students, 12 in number". #38*

"The storm burst in even greater power than any one anticipated. The Armenian community paid heavy taxes to the patriarchate, and they were determined to have delegates in the Council. They gained their end." #39*

"Their reaction blended many aspects of diversified mission behavior of 1914: evangelistic and ethnocentric zeal as represented by the slogan 'Christianize the nations', theological flexibility, active humanitarianism, and readiness to use government aid for Protestant ends. ...Lights started going out in Europe during August 1914, dimming things for the missionaries from the U.S. in the Near East as well. Forces released in the Western balance of power helped begin hostilities between the Turks and the Armenians and Arabs, and also begin unprecedented trouble for the Protestants. To missionaries it was as if diabolical figures were stoking furnaces hotter than ever before. The American Protestants at first were not certain what to do." #40

"Why such a Turkish retribution? Large causes had to do with the *millet* system, scrambled ethnic groups, cultural lag, and Western interference." #41*

"There is evidence that some Turkish-Armenians became Allied agents. But Van Armenians were not guilty of plotting an uprising against the government. Extermination possibly would not have reached the proportions it did if the Allied armies bound up in the Dardanelles unable to intervene. By early 1916, enormous casualties had been counted

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among the Armenians including the missionary constituency of the Evangelical Armenian Church." #42*

"It was announced in mid-December that four Armenians, Kirkor, Nazaret, Bedros and Mihran, with bishop Sahak, who had been condemned by the court-martial to hard labor for life and perpetual banishment, had been pardoned by the Sultan, and that further sentences to death of the culprits of the incidents should be commuted to hard labor for life. Yet many of the Armenians of Adana were not the innocent passive sufferers that they had sometimes been portrayed. They were insufferably and tactlessly loquacious, and their bishop Mousheg was 'a firebrand', who was seeking to force the foreign Powers to intervene, with the ultimate end of declaring himself 'king of Cilicia', as confirmed by secret British documents." #43*

"The situation was so explosive that, in December, 1913, Armenophile Lady Cavendish wrote to British Foreign Secretary, Sir Edward Grey, expressing uneasiness about rumors that Russia was likely to annex the eastern provinces of the Ottoman Empire, which she called 'Armenia'. She observed that Noel Buxton had advocated, in the 19th century magazine, the handing over of 'Armenian territory' to Russia, and remarked:

'I cannot look at that as a right solution of the Armenian terror... I have no faith in the Russian Government. Better for the Armenians to remain as they are, and wait for a better day! If handed over to Russia, the Russian-Greek Church would at once compel the Armenians to abandon their Gregorian forms, and adopt those of Russian-Greek, and the American missionaries would be sent out of the country' ". #44*

"At one of the numerous public meetings that the Armenians delighted to hold, some Dashnakists had spoken, advocating atheism. The population was furious, and a small riot ensued, while the Armenianist and the Hintchakist sections, jealous of the prestige of their Dashnakist rivals, had fanned the excitement of the people. There was, for a time, real danger of a serious faction fight in the Armenian quarter; but this was averted, mainly by the efforts of Vramian. This situation and its cause served as a pretext to increase the dislike of the local Moslems for the Dashnakists. The uneasiness had increased by the known..." #45

"Since Islam and Christianity began fighting in the 7th century, the holy land has often brought disillusionment after the Crusades (all nine of them), after the fall of Constantinople in 1453, and five centuries later for the British, in particular, after World War I. Unmindful Western nations may still be playing out the Crusader hand. As we will see, in the months before George Bush sent U.S. troops into Iraq, his inspirational reading each morning was a book of sermons by a Scottish preacher accompanying troops about to march on Jerusalem in 1917" #46

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"We have seen that between 1870 - 1914 the British developed a "national psychosis" of war expectation, and the U.S. displayed a lesser version in 1917-18. Several books have been written about the U.S. churches' militancy, for the rhetoric among U.S. clergy was as overblown as any in Europe" #47

"Thus, just as scholars of the British war mentality in the years prior in 1914 do well to study the patriotic bombast of the music halls, the stanzas of 'Onward, Christian Soldiers,' and the endless books predicting German invasions..." #48*

"Among missionaries in the field there were numerous examples of what Terrell euphemistically described as 'indiscretions'. In June 1895, missionary Cole sent a telegram from Bitlis to the U.S. Legation and the British Embassy claiming that 65 people died of starvation at Sassun and criticizing the administration of the sultan's relief funds. But it was found that no one had died of starvation at Sassun and Cole's remarks about the workings of the relief fund, which were likely to be brought to the attention of higher authorities, were classified by Terrell as 'an imprudent interference with the charity of others.'" #49*

"G.W.E. Russell, founder of the Forward Armenia movement, wrote that the governing impulse of the 'Turk' was 'hatred of the religion of the Cross': in his view the Ottoman Empire was the 'great anti-Christian and social power, standing where it ought not to be in the fairest provinces of desecrated Christendom, an empire founded on slavery, and polygamy and operating by massacre and rape. Not since the Crusades did there seem to be greater cause for Christian intervention in the Moslem World.'" #50

"Gladstone suggested that recent actions of the Porte 'in Armenia particularly but not in Armenia exclusively' were founded on 'a deliberate determination to exterminate Christians of that Empire'. No one apparently asked for evidence or suggested that without it such a statement was inflammatory and irresponsible." #51

"Evangelical Alliance of Boston passed a resolution calling U.S. Government to send such a naval force to 'Turkish' waters as would 'make the American name respected in the Mediterranean or on the Kurdish mountains' and to take action with other governments to 'forcibly prevent the ... butchery of fellow Christians in Armenia.'" # 52

"But Reverend Hamlin goes further, for he affirms that the 'right of revolution is not to be questioned'. It is true, however, that he adds 'but when circumstances make success impossible, attempts and plots for it become criminal'. ...In his letter to the Advertiser, Hamlin went even further, giving the name and address of the leading Hunchak in the U.S. 'for those desiring to get further information'....

As we have seen, Hamlin later had a change of heart and condemned the Hunchaks and the Russian gold and 'Russian crafty' which he saw standing behind them. "# 53

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"Following a letter Hamlin wrote to the Boston Daily Advertiser in 1894, the Ottoman Minister in Washington, Mavroyeni Bey (himself a Greek Christian) sent a letter to the State Dept... He wrote:

'I am not surprised to read this letter that the missionaries of the American Board have been, and they are 'the truest friends the Armenians ever had. But I am greatly surprised to see Reverend Hamlin affirm the Imperial Government is an oppressor, and that the missionaries 'have stood for more than half a century between the oppressors and oppressed'...' #54

Above excerpts need no other comments, since they are self-explanatory, and:

*"The 78-foot Papyrus of Ani is the longest papyrus of the Book of the Dead from the Theban period. Dating from 1420 B.C., it was created for Ani, a royal scribe. The ancient Egyptians believed that after death the magic powers of the right words- contained in the various Book of the Dead texts- would help them on their journey through the Underworld. The Papyrus of Ani contains many hymns to the gods, as well as spells for opening doors... The famous 'Negative Confession' describes the values they coin the Ani and other papyri they considered important to uphold while on earth to merit eternal life after death' on Judgment Day, the deceased enumerates the sins he has not committed. 'I have not stolen... I have not uttered lies... I have not committed adultery'..." #55**

How far or close are Merkel and Pope, to the Ani Papyrus?

"German Chancellor Angela Merkel has suggested Europe needs a constitution that makes reference to Christianity and God, following her audience with Pope Benedict XVI on Monday (August 29th, 2006). German leader, the daughter of a protestant pastor, visited the Pope at his summer residence in Castel Grandolfo, Italy, to discuss several issues in European and international politics, ahead of the Pope's September visit to Germany his homeland. 'We spoke about freedom of religion,' Ms. Merkel told journalists following the 45-minute meeting. She added 'underlined my opinion that we need a European identity in the form of a constitutional treaty, and I think it should be connected to Christianity and God, as Christianity has forged Europe in a decisive way,' according to press reports... During earlier negotiations on the content of the new EU charter, Spain, Italy and Poland were among the strongest supporters of a reference to God in the treaty. but its opponents argued it could prove controversial in view of Turkey's potential membership of the EU as well as due to the strict separation of state and church in some countries, such as France..." #56*

"Science, religion and philosophy come together in recommending humility proportional to our ignorance. "Only two things are infinite," said A. Einstein, "the universe and human stupidity." #57

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Moreover, about a century later, in November 2006, it is indeed regrettable for the average 'human intelligence and conception' to indulge in world politics and confrontations provoked by the clergy. Below is an excerpt from the Nov. 10, 2006 issue of "America Magazine NY," referring to the scheduled visit of Pope Benedict XVI to Istanbul, which sows the seeds of fomentation without giving any explanation regarding the cause, nor any leniency between different faiths exploited by fundamentalists of *all religions*.

"A principal purpose of the trip is to strengthen relations with Orthodox Church and Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew attending the celebration of the Feast of St. Andrew the Apostle (Nov. 30), patron of the See of Constantinople. How fraught with difficulty the journey may be is evident from the tensions between the Turkish Government and the Patriarchate over constraints Turkey has imposed on the religious freedom of the Great Orthodox Church. Following a recent meeting, the North American Orthodox Catholic Theological Consultation identified several of the difficulties faced by the Ecumenical Patriarchate. The group's statement declared: 'By decisions reached in 1923 and 1970, the government imposed significant limitations on the election of the Ecumenical Patriarch. Even today, the Turkish state does not recognize the historic role the Patriarch plays among Christians outside of Turkey. The Turkish Government closed the Patriarchate's Theological School on the island of Halki in 1971 and, in spite of numerous appeals from governmental and religious authorities, still does not allow to reopen, severely limiting the Patriarchate's ability to train candidates for the ministry.' "

This kind of religious bigotry goes much beyond any logic, rights of sovereignty, and reverts to a time even prior to *the conquest of Constantinople in 1453*. As much as there is no 'Batavia' or 'New Amsterdam,' the religious bigots should understand that there is no longer Constantinople for over 550 years, nor any island named 'Halki'. Please refer to Chapter 2, before evaluating above naive commentary.

In April 2007, Turks (mostly young women) rallied by millions in each large city (Ankara, Istanbul, Izmir etc) protesting the religious tendencies of the government, shouting that "Turkey will remain SECULAR, that Turks don't care about USA or EU, but will treasure full sovereignty." Even though present <mild Islamist ?> rule was fully supported by EU and USA speakers, the people unanimously remembered that "Shariat" caused the destruction of the Empire as all laws and rules had to comply with 1400-year old Koranic tribal rules, vs. science and intelligence. It is too bad that his 'consultancy staff' which prepared such an unintelligible declaration and request, were not aware of the missionaries and the traumas educational system had in the near past (Chapter 5). Diverting simple realities or assuming celestial rights, under 'human rights camouflage' or 'freedoms' to (foment trouble and) and interfering in the independence of a country, ruled by a logical man made Constitution and not by 'Clergy written fiction

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books', were shouted clear and loud to the whole world by the new Ataturk generation, youth and intelligence. Hence, it is clear that:

A. Turkey had even abolished the office of the Moslem Caliphate, which was in a higher position than the Patriarchates.

B. At the Lausanne Treaty, the Republic of Turkey offered to move the Orthodox Patriarchate out of Turkey, (because of too many sad experiences) but after the behest of the Conference parties, 'agreed to keep this post, only as priesthood within the district of Fatih. Turkey does not have to know, or acknowledge any exceptions to the "ecumenical or other titles of nobility or divinity'. Today, the Greek-Orthodox community in Istanbul is down to some 3000 or less. Just as the 'imam' of a mosque in U.S.A. has to be a U.S. citizen, the head of the Greek-Orthodox Church in Turkey has to be a 'Turkish citizen'. There is neither a 'Constantinople See', nor any patron to be 'diplomatically accredited' by the Republic of Turkey under our sovereign constitution.

C. The election for a Patriarch active in Turkey must be made by the 'citizens of Turkey.' If another sovereign State like Vatican is intended, sorry, but we Turks are fed up with this type of clerical domination and involvement in State affairs.

D. The Priesthood School in Heybeliada was 'shut down by the Patriarchate', which refused to comply with the Turkish law of education. The school can be reopened and become affiliated with one of our Univ. Faculties of Divinity, but the Patriarchate **wants its own independent self-sovereign rule** and the 'right to freely educate citizens of other countries.' Does the Greek State permit Moslems to even elect their own 'Greek citizen' leader of the Moslem community? No! Personally, after having made this study and presenting the **menace and catastrophe** they infected on humanity, just to hang on to **their dominant and wealthy status** all over the world, I would think that the return of capitulatory rights to clergy classes should be totally eliminated, whereas equality, instead of 'dictatorial unquestioned supremacy' should be brought into living practice.. The paradox between the simple life of Christ and the wealth of the Pope or the Patriarchs in their golden robes speaks for itself. In other chapters of this book, there are sickening examples of the 'warmongering of churches' and it appears that Clergy Unions (Vatican and other Churches, as well as fanatics such as Taliban or alike) will keep on poking the 'logic and common sense of humans' to **differentiate, so that they exist and their profession becomes 'indispensable'**. **The question is: 'Are clerics serving or exploiting the public?'**

"Such religious bigotry is no less offensive than claiming that a man born African American or Chinese is for that reason more likely to commit immoralities. So, while masquerading as a fountain of ethical virtue and love, Christian Fundamentalism instead teaches an unhealthy (and unethical) religious prejudice and hostility toward individuals of diverse opinion and background." # 58

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Chapter 6: References and Footnotes:

1. Lloyd M. Graham, *Deceptions of Myths of the Bible*, Citadel, (Preface)
- 2-A, Ibid preface 2
- 2-B* Bertrand Russell, *Freedom vs. Organization, 1776-1914*, London, Unwin Books, pg.139
- Proof that Moslems were more tolerant than contemporary Vatican towards other religions!**
- 2-C, Bertrand Russell, *Human Society in Ethics and Politics*, London, Unwin Books, pg.139
- 2-D, Bertrand Russell, *Why I am not a Christian*, London, Unwin Books, pg.26
- 2-E, *The Economist*, Dec. 23rd – Jan. 5th, 2007, pg.81
- 2-F. *Ibid*, Feb. 17th, 2007, pg.34
- 2-G Arberry. Arthur J., *Omar Khayyam*. London, John Murray Ltd. May, 1952, pg.44
- 3.A Bible - Exodus Chapter 20
- 3.B Ibid
- 3.C Ibid
4. Bertrand Russell, *Religion and Science*, Oxford Univ. Press, New York 1997, p.46
5. Kevin Phillips, *American Theocracy*, Viking – Penguin, pg.101
6. Ibid, pg.112
7. Ibid, pg.122
8. Ibid, pg.225
9. Ibid, pg.255
10. Ibid, pg.259
11. **Refer to explanation following note #53.**
12. Edwin A. Grosvenor, *Constantinople*, Boston, Little Brown and Company, 1900, pg.530
13. Ibid, pg.533-534
- 14*. Ibid, pg.536-537
- The trusted miracle had not happened then... Any reason to trust second coming of Christ nowadays?**
- 15 * Ibid, pg.539
- Turks were presented as the anti-Christ in those years... How ironic!**
- 16 * Ibid, pg.541
- Since 1935, this 'World Heritage' building has operated as a museum, not a mosque or a church!**
- 17*. Jeremy Salt, *Imperialism Evangelism and the Ottoman Armenians 1878-96*, Frank Cass & Co. Ltd. U.K., pg. 125
- 'Harem Despot Abdulhamid' was such an anti-Christ (?) that during his rule, he had a wooden walkway built inside the Hagia Sophia Mosque so that Christian tourists could freely visit and see this great Christian monument !...**
18. Ibid, pg.128
- 19*. Ibid, pg.130
- These idealistic talks were to cover the imperialistic ambitions – See 'Oil Field Freedoms' Chapter 11.**
- 20*. Ibid, pg.131
- What an irony and change of ethics at the Lausanne Conference...**
21. Akaby Nassibian, *Britain & the Armenian Question 1915-23* Croom Helm, London, pg.73
22. Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy & the Near East*, U. of Minn. Press 1991, pg.264
- 23*. Ibid, pg.243.
- The poison still works; it is kept being injected, all the time for about a century...**
24. Ibid, pg.267
25. Ibid, pg.242
26. Jeremy Salt, *Imperial Evangelism & the Ottoman-Armenians 1878-96*, Frank Cass & Co. Ltd. U.K., pg.132
27. Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times*, Boston 1893, pg.212
- 28* Ibid, pg.292

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Cyrus Hamlin was a much different entrepreneur, self-educated engineer, trader, bread and pipe maker, laundry washer, contractor, etc. and he became famous through his hard works and decency, providing also jobs to poor Armenians and school students. This great activity was beyond the aims of the American Board, and hence the activities and finances of Robert College. It had to be sustained independent of the American Board in Istanbul, but in close collaboration with it.

29. Ibid, pg.217

30. Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East*, U. of Minn. Press 1991, pg.53

31* Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times*, Boston 1893, pg.286-285

Hamlin boasts of the excellent results the Protestants obtained in the Ottoman Empire which contradicts his avenging activities, condemning the Turks at all times! Lucky he wasn't in Italy!

32. Kevin Phillips, *American Theocracy*, Penguin/Viking, pg.129

33. Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times*, Boston 1893, pg.380

34* John Freely, *A History of Robert College*, Y.K.Y. Istanbul, pg.56

Although it was Robert who put up the main capital and eventual financing, Hamlin was almost equally successful in obtaining other donations.

35* Jeremy Salt, *Imperial Evangelism & the Ottoman-Armenians 1878-96*, Frank Cass & Co. Ltd. U.K., pg.114

These lines leave no doubt regarding the services of leading missionaries, serving Britain, (probably for some rewards) as racist spies and providing the flow of propagandist information using U.S. diplomatic pouches. Morgenthau continued and crystallized this flow of information, to suit the expectations of British Government and Secretary Lansing and President Wilson, in need of documentation to justify the entry of the US into WW I.

36. Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times*, Boston 1893, pg.246

37*. Ibid, pg.270

The depth of Hamlin's Turcophobia is beyond the logical flexibility of linguistic scholars. Hamlin operated in Turkey, yet he even hated 'Turkish words'... Incredible antagonism!...

38* Ibid, pg.213

Neither the Catholic nor Orthodox Gregorian-Armenian Church ever liked the translation of the Protestant Bible into the Armenian language. The main obstacles were put forward by other churches, using the ruling Turks to their own ends.

39* Ibid, pg.216

Hamlin was turning up stones and halting the flow of centuries' old incomes of the Gregorian Church...

40. Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy & the Near East*, U. of Minn. Press 1991, pg.58

41* Ibid, pg.62

The *millet* system is explained, in another chapter of this book. This system was the secret formula to rule and tax minorities, with their internal freedoms and jurisdictions, and taxation much lower than the other Christian countries. Grabill hates Turks. His criticism is contradicted by the comments of others. The Ottoman State system was economically destroyed from within, by Capitulation rights granted when they were strong.

42*. Ibid, pg.63

This excerpt is given just to show what extent Grabill is biased. Details given in a separate chapter on the Van revolutionary incidents and alike do not justify Grabill's observations, following the interpretation of the events.

43*. Salahi Sonyel, *The Great War & the Great Tragedy of Anatolia*, T.T.K., pg.71

Another example of serving God and following the Bible!

44*. Ibid, pg.74

More evidence of involvement of various Churches in politics, competing against each other!

45. Ibid, pg.45

46. Kevin Phillips, *"American Theocracy"*, Penguin/Viking, pg.250

47. Ibid, pg.251

48 * Ibid, pg.252

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About a century later, Bush followed the same mentality of “patriotic and humane bombast” by occupying Iraq.

49*. Jeremy Salt, *Imperialism Evangelism and the Ottoman-Armenians 1878-96*, Frank Cass & Co. Ltd. U.K. pg.53,

Which missionaries followed Biblical laws and to what extent, cannot be known, with so many deviations...

50. Ibid, pg.124

51. Ibid, pg.129

52. Ibid, pg.132

53. Ibid, pg.113

54. Ibid, pg.112

55* E. A. Wallis, *The Book of the Dead*, Gramercy Books, N.Y. Original in 1895 – Cover pages

Do you see much difference between this and what the Early and Late Testament and Koran preach?

I don't!

56* E-mail: <http://euobserver.com/9/22280/?rk=1> 29. 08 2006 – 0946 CET | By Lucia Kubosova

And a last jewel of hypocrisy defying logic and intelligence!

57. David Mills, *Atheist Universe*, Ulysses Press, Canada 2006, ISBN10:1-56975-567-1 p.11

58. Ibid, p.18

Chapter 7: DISTORTING REALISM, BRINGS ANTAGONISM

In previous chapters, we saw examples of the “positive treatment of Turkish masters” to the “inferior *millet*s.” In this chapter, we offer the reader a large variety of excerpts and incidents, which transform the Superpower States into “the defenders of Christianity and humane values”. Since there are too many compliments said about Turks, some of them have been further clarified in the reference pages, marked with an asterisk.

“...‘that is to say that their personal appearance comes closer to the probable appearance of Our Lord than that of any other race.’

Francis E. Willard describes the Armenians as ‘unarmed’ and says that they would never do ‘anything to harm anyone’. In view of the huge quantities of arms that the Armenians not only stockpiled but also put in use in numerous uprisings, these remarks seem to be nothing but pure mockery. 1896 was a year of intensive Armenian terrorist activity. It was the year of the spectacular raid on the Ottoman Bank, where hostages were taken. But Islamic hostages obviously meant nothing at all to those who had an uncritical preference for the ‘Armenian race.’ After all, ‘the Moslems believe in the harem above all else’. Conclusion: ‘Armenians are the nation, the Sultan and his soldiers are the devil’s scourge. A cold-hearted observer is the Anglo—Saxon race.’

Apparently, the intervention of England and the U.S. was not enough to satisfy some Protestant missionaries. The Russians expressed similar views. By the turn of the century, the Armenians had become the great powers’ favorite pretense for getting involved in the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire...Artin Dadyan Pasha, Ottoman Under-Secretary of State Foreign Affairs (1880-87) actually did not work for the Sultan but for the Armenian case...” #1*

“...‘How dare you set the worthless Turks off against the dead Armenians in your book! When I asked in horror if I had understood correctly, he repeated even more vehemently, ‘Yes, I said the worthless Turks!’ The next question which this ‘shepherd’ directed at me whether, I ‘as a Christian’ could justify ‘taking sides with the Moslems’, sinks almost to the level of a review in the Austrian central organ of the Socialist Party, the ‘AZ’ of April 14th, 1987, in which a woman by the name of Annette Höss -at the beginning of a lengthy discussion, in which she does not spend a single syllable dealing with the central assertions of this book- dogmatically declares: ‘The genocide perpetrated against the Armenians living in Turkey at the time of World War I has been portrayed in many books and has long been recognized by the world public.’ Now we know: Whatever is ‘recognized by the world public’ must also be ‘true’ ...” #2

“... No: Armenian terrorists represent a unique case. Their view of history, their understanding of what happened in 1915 and before and after, is their only justification. Their motive is revenge, and in their eyes -according to their version of history- the ‘crimes’

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they are avenging are sufficient justification for the murder of a man like Erdogan Ozen. Even the inevitability of injuring or even killing totally innocent bystanders, airline passengers, department store customers, or policemen is fully accepted. ...And the fact that all this bloodshed comes generations after the 'crimes' that supposedly provoked, it makes no difference either." #3*

"The long struggle between Moslems and Armenians began in earnest during the Russo-Persian and Russo-Ottoman wars of 1827-29, when the Armenians felt that their opportunity had arrived. In these wars the Armenian subjects of the Persian and Ottoman Empires, as well as the Armenians living in the Russian Empire, fought on the side of the Russians against Persia and the Ottoman..." #4

"...Empire. In such wars, the pattern was always the same: Russian invasion of Moslem territory, Armenians siding with the invader, huge Moslem mortality and migration, and de facto population exchanges of Moslems and Armenians. That is how an Armenian majority was established what today is the Republic of Armenians, a majority created by the Russians. Yerevan was, until 1827, a Persian province with a Moslem (primarily Turkish) majority. The destruction, or forced migration, of Moslem population enabled the Russians to repopulate the region with Armenians from the Persian and Ottoman Empires".#5

"Armenian writer E. Aknouni claims that his co-religionists were deceived by the Czar, who had promised that the 'Armenian provinces' of the Ottoman Empire -i.e. the eastern provinces where the overwhelming majority of the population was Moslem- would be constituted into a separate kingdom under Russian protection..." #6

"...the expectations of the Armenians and the British public alike. Activists for the Armenian cause believed that Britain had taken the Armenians under its wing and could not now abandon them. Many hoped for military intervention. British or even Russian or a combined European force to 'save' the Armenians..." #7

"When the Great War came, the Christian minorities (in the Ottoman Empire) were hailed by the French and by Mr. Lloyd George as the small allies of the Great Powers who were fighting Turkey. The Armenians flattered by their recognition, went to the help of the invading Russian troops..., and from that moment their peril became dreadful and imminent. Their doom was made irrevocable when Mr. Lloyd George, changeable in everything else, remained steadfast in his appeal to the minorities in Asia Minor to wage war on our behalf..." #8

"This rhetoric undoubtedly was designed to win the support of the peace conference for an independent Armenia, and in this respect, the Armenians were not unduly modest encouraged by the promises of liberation from the Turkish yoke made by British prime

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ministers Herbert Henry Asquith and David Lloyd George, they claimed not only the six eastern provinces of Anatolia but also Cilicia, in order to have a port on the Mediterranean. In none of these provinces did the Armenians constitute a majority of the population, and these extravagant demands therefore required powerful supporting arguments. Still, the essential facts put forth by the Armenian delegation were correct. The Armenians had supported the Allies in a variety of ways; and if more of them did not actually get to do battle against the hated Turkish foe it was not for want of trying... Given this context, the Armenians can hardly claim that they suffered for no reason at all. Ignoring warnings from many quarters, large numbers of them had fought the Turks openly or played the role of a fifth column; not surprisingly, with their backs against the wall, the Ottomans reacted resolutely, not viciously." #9

"Gladstone suggested that recent action of the Porte 'in Armenia particularly but not in Armenia exclusively' were founded on 'a deliberate determination to exterminate the Christians of that Empire'. No one apparently asked for the evidence or suggested that without it such a statement was inflammatory and irresponsible. Too much cheering and applause a resolution was expressing the certainty that the government would have: Chester was followed by other meeting, particularly after the spate of violence which followed Abdulhamid's 'reform' decree of October, 1895. The rhetoric was unchanging, generally predicated on England's rights and responsibilities as a Christian nation and it was usually clerics who supported the idea of military intervention most vigorously. England's failure to 'do something for the Armenians 'was contrasted with its apparent readiness to go to war with the U.S. over Venezuela'. 'To fight for a few miles of territory did not become us: but war on behalf of the Armenians, on behalf of men being butchered and women who were being ravished, was surely if ever justified. Not everyone was impressed.' The ministers of religion who stood up to preach a crusade on Monday night; The Times wrote in an editorial after a protest meeting just before Christmas in 1895, they do not seem to have considered how their words are to be translated into action. How a declaration of war against Turkey is to be reconciled with the preaching..." #10

"By 2003, after a decade long drumbeat by religious organizations urging the U.S. to defend foreign Christian populations -another page taken from the British 19th century experience- the principal evangelical churches were not just war supporters but active mission planners. A year after the military took Baghdad, a survey by the Los Angeles Times found 30 evangelical missions in the city. Kyle Fisk, executive administrator of the National Association of Evangelicals, told the newspaper that 'Iraq will become the center for spreading the gospel of Jesus Christ to Iran, Libya and throughout the Middle East...

... Later, even during World War I, the Ottoman Empire was cast in the antichrist role, and by the 1970s fundamentalists were transferring that evil to the Arab world." #11

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"Germany did not want Turkey as an ally, but Turkey desperately needed an ally somewhere, to reconstruct its position in the Balkans, and it sought an alliance with Bulgaria in order to isolate Greece. It could not hope to achieve that without the patronage of one of the great powers. There was no obvious candidate. Each increasingly tended to subordinate its Turkish policies to its perceptions of the needs of the alliances of which it was a member. The French and British were pro-Greek, and yet the King of Greece was a Hohenzollern and so related to the Kaiser. Austria-Hungary was interested in establishing a new Balkan league around Bulgaria, to the extent that it risked war with Serbia to achieve it. Therefore Austrian and Turkish interests in the Balkans might converge. But Germany was opposed to Bulgaria. The fact that Russia did not possess a viable Black Sea fleet (not a single up-to-date battleship was ready to take to the water) did give Turkey some freedom of maneuver. It even sounded the Russians out as possible allies in May of 1914. Russian Foreign Minister Serge Sazonov was so taken aback that he did not know how to respond. In July, 1914, the Turkish Naval Minister, Ahmed Cemal, attended the French naval maneuvers off Toulon, and took the opportunity to float an alliance with France. But the French were too conscious of Russian sensitivities to respond. Thus, in the months immediately before the war the 'Turks were more open to an alliance with a member of the Entente than of the Triple Alliance. Britain was not approached largely because Turkey had proposed the idea three times in recent years - in 1908,-11-1913 and been rebuffed on each occasion." #12*

"Armenian riots in Istanbul, 1896: The tumult always followed the same basic pattern. First, an attack was carried out somewhere in the city. It might be at the Ottoman Bank, in front of the Sultan's palace, or near the seat of the patriarch, where feasible, European correspondents would be invited to these attacks. The troublemakers were almost always let off, partly due to foreign pressure and partly because the Sublime Porte hoped that its show of forgiveness would have a calming affect. That is why the same ringleaders kept turning up at one attack after another. This occasionally angered the people so much that the revolutionaries got their wish: Armenian riots with dead or wounded making news around the world once again." #13

"An illustration from the book Turkey and the Armenian Atrocities, published in the U.S. in 1896. Caption: 'Slaughter of Armenians in Sassun. This is a true picture of the slaughter of innocent people, which was inflicted on the innocent Armenians by the bloody Kurds and enraged soldiers. The carnage ended in the massacre of 50,000 people or more. Hundreds of thousands were left without food or shelter after the plundering and burning'...

...Gang leader Kavafian, one of the troublemakers at Sassun. He is seen here as a Russian officer, which he had been all along — even when he was making trouble in Sassun..." #14*

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"...and France was making use of Armenians for its own interests in the Near East. Consciously or not, the major Powers were, directly or indirectly, encouraging enmity between the different Armenian sects." #15*

"Despite the fact that the Armenian leaders and deputies in the short-lived Ottoman parliament of 1877 promised to stand by the Turks in their war with Russia, which broke out on April 24th, 1877, when the Russian armies, commanded mainly by Russian-Armenian generals, occupied Erzurum in June, some Ottoman-Armenians joined the invaders, acting as guides, while many others collaborated with the invading Russian armies. However, when the Russians were forced to retreat, the Armenians hastily changed sides and infuriated a British journalist, who remarked: 'A more selfish, narrow-minded, mean, cringing race I fancy does not exist'. In some remote parts of Anatolia, Armenian armed bands took advantage of the absence of all able-bodied Turkish men and troops, to attack unprotected peaceful Moslem villages..." #16

"... It is interesting to note here that, Captain Emilius Clayton, British Vice-Consul in Van, wrote in July 1879 as follows:

Remove the Turkish population from Eastern Turkey, transfer into the region some Armenians from abroad, amalgamate the Nestorians with the Armenians, keep the local Kurds in order by force... and thus create an independent Armenian state..., and establish a paramount British control over it." #17*

"... For example, in the summer of 1889, the Armenian chief of the village of Blaidar in the Bisherli sub-district of eastern Anatolia, who had become a Catholic, used the services of a banal chieftain of a nearby Kurdish village to exterminate his Armenian opponent and family, and put the blame on the Moslems. This incident was confirmed by Thomas Boyadjian... These allegations often found an echo in the Western press. For example, The London Daily News of December 11, 1889, claimed that an Armenian of the village of Zitzan was roasted to death by the Moslems. British Vice-Consul Dewey called such stories 'absurd'..." #18*

"Claiming that the Sultan's regime was 'a bottom pit of fraud and falsehood,' Gladstone, in his 1880-85 administration, washed Britain's hands of the Ottoman involvement, and the British Government withdrew its protection and influence from Constantinople. The Turks, unable to stand on their own, turned therefore for support to another power, Bismarck's Germany; a Germany took Britain's place at the Sublime Porte.

...When the Conservatives returned to office, it was too late to go back. Robert Cecil, 3rd Marquess of Salisbury (Prime Minister:1885-86, 1886-92, 1895-1900, 1900-02), aware that the Ottoman rulers were jeopardizing their own sovereignty through mismanagement, had thought of using such influence as Britain could exert to guide and, to some extent,

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reform the regime. Of Gladstone's influence having dissipated that influence, he lamented: 'They have just thrown it away into the sea, without getting anything whatever in exchange'." #19

"Between May-July, 1914, with increasing urgency the CUP leaders secretly approached three other European Great Powers in search of an ally. The Navy Minister Cemal, who was pro-French, made overtures to France but was rebuffed. Talat, in desperation, approached Russia - which was like asking the chief burglar to become chief of police - and his proposal, too, was rebuffed. Finally, the CUP leaders conferred together at the villa of the Grand Vizier and authorized Enver, who had served in Berlin, to approach Germany with a request for an alliance. Enver made his approach on July 22, 1914. His proposal was turned down by Hans von Wangenheim, Germany's ambassador in Constantinople. The Ottoman Empire's diplomatic isolation was complete; no Great Power would agree to protect it." #20 *

"U.S. Senator Shelby M. Cullom of Illinois introduced a resolution about the Ottoman Empire in Congress. The Cullom Resolution invited the President to ask European powers to 'stay the hand of fanaticism and lawless violence', against unoffending Armenians, and promised congressional support for the President 'in the most vigorous action he may take for the protection and security of American citizens in Turkey, and to obtain redress for injuries committed upon the persons or property of such citizens'. Persuading the chamber to approve his measure, Cullom helped start what became overly pro-Armenian sentiment in public consideration of the Ottoman Empire. -The heart of all Christendom is stirred to its very depths as it witnesses the piteous pleas of the suffering Armenians beseeching the Christian world to give them protection.- Cullom's style indicated images of public opinion and the imaginary environment within which the government then, and in the years ahead, developed policy toward the Ottoman Empire. The ideas of Cullom were like those of the Protestant relief propagandists. A cartoon distributed by missionaries and their associates, showed Kaiser Wilhelm of Germany congratulating Abdulhamid as they both stand over an Ottoman map strewn with Armenian skulls and bones." #21

"Miss Willard claimed Armenians physically resembled 'our Lord' more than any other race, were brave, chaste, simple in faith like New Testament Christians, earnest, unarmed, pastoral, peaceful. She castigated Turks as cruel, vindictive, insane, fanatical, wolfish, detestable, savage, torturing Armenians 'as could hardly have been excelled if the bottomless pit had vomited forth its leading spirits to urge the battle on.' - What was the outcome of the Cullom Resolution? President Cleveland dispatched to Turkish waters the cruisers *San Francisco* and *Marblehead*. He resisted mission pleadings, as in a public letter of Cyrus Hamlin, for aggressive gunboat diplomacy. The 86-year old Hamlin having missionary children and grandchildren in Turkey, thought a show of American force would stop both the massacres and the attempt of Abdulhamid to expel the Protestants and destroy their property. The U.S. Government asked the Sultan for an indemnity of around

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\$90,000 for damage to mission property. The Sultan felt that U.S. schools were a factor behind Armenian disloyalty, a notion that American Minister Alexander W. Terrell allegedly reinforced when he accused the missionaries of 'fomenting rebellion'. The reparation issue escalated into a matter of U.S. national interest, meriting mention in a presidential message to Congress." #22*

"McKinley's concern for the indemnity developed in part because Secretary of State John Hay was a cousin of George Washburn, influential president of Robert College. A British ambassador to the Porte was known to give new members of the diplomatic corps in Constantinople a single piece of advice 'Cultivate Dr. Washburn'. Urged by this missionary educator, Americans in the U.S. legation at the Ottoman capital persuaded the commander of the *Kentucky*, a U.S. vessel passing through the Mediterranean in 1900, to bring his ship to Constantinople. - The Empire finally paid the sum in 1901...In addition to the Hay-Washburn relation; there was another mission tie with an American official which after the events of the 1890s assisted missionary interests. This association had begun as a boyhood friendship between Howard Bliss of the Syrian-Protestant College and Theodore Roosevelt. A bombastic soul who deplored the Armenian massacres, Roosevelt declared in 1909: "Spain and Turkey are the two powers I would rather smash than any in the world". #23*

"These activities culminated in the foundation in Tbilisi in 1890, of an Armenian Revolutionary Federation, or *Dashnaktsutiun*, whose adherents became known as Dashnaks. Soon, however, the Dashnaks, ideologically more nationalist than socialist, split with the Hunchaks, but their overriding general aim of an armed struggle for Armenian freedom. 'The Armenians', they went so far as to proclaim, 'are no longer imploring. He now demands, with gun in hand.' No longer prepared to await help from the powers, which was not to materialize, he took the destiny of his race into his own hands. Alarmed at this insubordination of his Armenian subjects, whose cleverness had long aroused his mistrust, Abdulhamid responded with the sly policy of exploiting the difference between Moslem and Christian. Using the Kurds as a deliberate instrument of division and rule, he sanctioned their attacks on the Armenians by starting, in 1891, to recruit an armed force of irregulars from among the Kurdish tribesmen. Named the Hamidiye, the 'men of the Sultan', they were formed into cavalry regiments which by the end of 1892 comprised in all some 15,000 men, and which continued to increase year by year. In their gaudy uniforms these wild men from the east were soon attracting uneasy attention as they swaggered through the Christian quarters of Istanbul. In Armenia, they spread fear through the open avowal that their official task was to suppress the Armenians, and that they were assured legal immunity for any acts of oppression against the Christian population. Meanwhile, in 1893, the Armenian revolutionaries went beyond mere raids with a plot to stir up a Moslem revolt, in central and western Anatolia. They launched it by posting seditious placards on the walls of the towns and by calling upon all Moslems to rise against the Sultan's oppressive rule. Of this ingenious conspiracy, the only affect was the arrested imprisonment of large numbers of

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Armenians throughout Anatolia. Here was a serious setback to organized Armenian resistance. But such threats of disorder served as pretext, in 1894, for an atrocious campaign of massacre, launched by the Sultan's orders. In the region of Sassun, south of Muş, the exactions of the Kurdish chieftains had evolved into an organized system of tribute by blackmail, paid for the protection of the Armenian population. On top of this the Turkish authorities now chose to demand payment of arrears of government tax – which in the circumstances had for some years been tacitly remitted. When the Armenians refused to submit to this double exaction, Turkish troops were called into the area, in close concert with the Kurdish tribesmen." #24*

"While Nationalists left Constantinople to join the army, waves of refugees and orphans, Turkish, Kurdish and Armenian, poured into the city. There were so many that they took over military schools, palaces and mosques. A special American-funded charity called Near East Relief, fed over 160,000 people a day in Constantinople. Some horrors, however, were spared the city. In 1919 many died in Cairo and Alexandria during anti-British uprisings; the Greek occupation of Izmir began with a massacre of Turks; French forces bombarded Damascus in 1920. Constantinople, however, was miraculously free of bloodshed, except in March, 1920. Turkish memoirs reveal more injured pride than physical suffering: Turks complained of Greeks' and Armenians' 'intolerable smiles' and 'generally obnoxious' behavior on ferries and trams. They were accused of such crimes as traveling first-class on second-class tickets, or being given seats on trams by Armenian conductors while Moslems were ejected." #25

"Although as a student of history he should have known better, Curzon argued: 'Indeed, the record is one of misrule, oppression, intrigue and massacre, almost unparalleled in the history of the Eastern world.' His prime minister shared his sentiments; like many Liberals, Lloyd George had inherited his hostility to the Turks from the great Gladstone ... Britain still needed to protect the route to India through the Suez Canal. There was a new factor, too: the increasingly important supplies of oils from Mosul in the Ottoman Empire and from Persia. There had already been trouble over the Arab parts of the Ottoman Empire. Did Britain really want French ships at the eastern end of the Mediterranean, French bases up and down the coast? Curzon was quite sure it did not." #26*

"In 1919, drunk with victory, the Allies were about to impose a vindictive peace on the Central Powers, and to remodel Europe on nationalistic lines. The defeat of the Ottoman Empire was so total that some Allied statesmen hoped to inflict worse terms on the Ottoman Empire than on Germany, including the loss of Constantinople. The British Prime Minister Lloyd George was a believer in Mazzinian nationalism, passionately pro-Greek and an intimate of Sir Basil Zaharoff. In 1918 he had promised that Constantinople would remain Ottoman; in 1919 he declared 'Stamboul in the hands of the Turks has been not only the hotbed of every sort of Eastern vice but it has been the source from which the poison of

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corruption and intrigue has spread far and wide into Europe itself...Constantinople was not Turk and the majority of the population was not Turkish'. In the disruption that followed the war, statistics were particularly hard to compile. However, according to an estimate from British officers on the spot, the population in 1920 consisted of 560,000 Moslems, 206,000 Greeks and 83,000 Armenians. Of approximately 150,000 foreigners, a large number were Greeks with Hellenic, rather than Ottoman nationality. Nevertheless, the city had a Moslem, Turkish-speaking majority. Above all, in 1919 more than ever, Turks, Greeks and Armenians each wanted a state of their own, not a shared city. Curzon's fixation about this 'plague spot' led him into a militant Christianity, which, when governing India, he had rejected. An essay on the Emperor Justinian had won him a prize at Oxford..." #27*

"After the British finally withdrew their troops from Gallipoli early in 1916, and McMahon promised ambiguous freedom for the Arabs, Hussein in June of the same year declared war on his surprised Turkish overlords. Helped by T. E. Lawrence of the British Army, Faisal gave direction to the Arab revolt and by December 1916, his men occupied much of the western Arabia. The Arab uprising and the Armenian holocaust brought calamity and massive surge of anguish upon Protestants in the Near East. Cataclysm was the portion of the American Board, whose investments in the Turkish Empire of about \$20 million in property and 150 staff members had fallen by December, 1915 to about half of the financial value and personnel. Quite a few missionaries had died in epidemics. Many of the Americans became intensely and righteously determined to salvage as much as they could from a century's labor, wanting to succor the Armenian remnant and to say 'Amen' to punishment of the Turk." #28*

"Soon after the first convoy of Armenians had left Trabzon, a rumor spread that the deportees had all been murdered right after leaving the town and that the river Degirmendere, running parallel to the route of the convoy, was full of corpses. As mentioned in Chapter 8, Bergfeld and Reizer checked out this rumor by riding for several hours along the river and found it to be false. Meanwhile word had been received that this convoy had safely reached Erzincan. 'I therefore consider all rumors about misdeeds against the Armenians deported from Trabzon as unfounded,' Bergfeld wrote on July 25th, 'and I am inclined to assume that the Armenians who died on the way have perished as a result of suicide or disease.' A month later, Bergfeld reported that several Armenians who had received the permission of the governor to stay had been murdered right outside the city...We have little firsthand and verifiable information on the fate of the bulk of the Armenians deported from Trabzon. The Austrian consul in Damascus reported the arrival of a group of deportees from Trabzon who had reached the Syrian city after many tribulations. Half of them had perished during the long trek on foot..." #29*

"Consul Bergfeld does not mention any drowning; and Ara Sarafian, not given to minimizing Turkish misdeeds, after reviewing the state of the evidence similarly rejects the

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thesis of mass drowning. On May 22nd, 1919, a Turkish court-martial condemned both the governor of Trabzon, Cemal Azmi Bey, and the CUP functionary Nail Bey to death in absentia for using the deportations as a cloak for the massacre of the Armenian population. Among other crimes, the accused were said to have been responsible for the drowning of women and children. One or both of these men may well have been guilty of the offenses charged, but in view of the serious problems of due process afflicting these trials these sentences cannot be regarded as proof. ...A survivor from Sassun describes how a convoy that included Armenians from Sassun when passing through the province of Harput was repeatedly attacked by Kurds, who seized girls and stole clothing, blankets, and so forth. The gendarmes accompanying the convoy failed to provide protection. Most of the information in these accounts agrees with what we know to have happened to other deportees from eastern and central Anatolia. The Armenians of some convoys got through unmolested, while others were robbed and murdered. Some of the gendarmes protected their charges, while others made deals with attackers and shared the booty. The men in many instances were separated from the women and never heard of again. The state of knowledge does not allow us to determine the fate of each and every group of deportees from a particular location, but the general pattern unfortunately is all too confirmed..." #30 *

"The deportations from Cilicia involved a smaller loss of life than those from eastern or central Anatolia. First, many of the deportees were transported by rail and thus were spared the agony of long treks on foot. As an American relief worker noted, 'the distance between Cilicia and the Syrian wasteland was considerably shorter, and, although many thousands died in a blistering exile, at least half of the deportees from Cilicia still clung to life when the world war ended.' Secondly, while some of the convoys from Cilicia were attacked by brigands, the deportees did not have to cross the main Kurdish territory; and we know of no large-scale massacres during the deportations from Cilicia. Finally, many of the Armenians from Cilicia were acculturated to Turkish custom and spoke Turkish as their first language. This, coupled with their generally better economic situation, meant that they had an easier time making or obtaining through bribery ameliorative arrangements, such as getting carriages and carts of provisions for the journey. Miss Frearson, a foreign resident in Antep who was on her way to Egypt, met a convoy of deportees from Adana and Mersin near Aleppo. The refugees, she noted in a report that was published in the British Blue Book of 1916, had ox-carts, mules, donkeys, and a few horses and 'looked so much better off in every way than any refugees we had seen that they hardly seemed like refugees at all'..." #31*

"It is impossible to say precise how many Armenians died. Part of the problem is uncertainty as to how many were living in the Ottoman Empire in 1915 in the first place. Calculations range from 1.3 million to about 2.1 million. The difficulty of dispassionate analysis is compounded, rather than helped, by the readiness of Armenians and others to use the word 'genocide'. In terms of scale of loss such a word may be appropriate:

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estimates approaching a million deaths are probably not wide of the mark. In terms of causation, the issue is more complex. The initial violence was not centrally orchestrated, although the pan- flourishes of Enver and others indirectly sanctioned it. Once it had begun, it did, however, provoke the very insurrection that it had anticipated. The violence of war against the enemy without enabled, and was even seen to justify, extreme measures against the enemy within. By this stage - late May 1915- the Turkish leadership was ready to give shape to the whole, to Turkify Anatolia and to finish with the Armenian problem..." #32*

"'The causes of the Armenian Tragedy' are not to be found inside, but rather outside the realm of the multi-national empire of the Seljuks and Ottomans. In the 19th century, it was primarily Russia, which was responsible for bringing unrest to the Ottoman Empire. They did, however, have the help of some Americans, such as the Protestant missionaries from Boston. Russia's objective was to gain access to the "warm seas". The American Protestant missionaries proved themselves to be 'useful idiots' for the Russians." #33

"...Atrocity and counter-atrocity by Turk and Armenian alike had brought the situation to flashpoint, particularly at Erzincan. Wherever the truth about the atrocity stories lay (and it seems probable that the Armenians, seeking to avenge the genocide, were killing Turks without compunction)... As always in these cases, Armenians, or authors who sympathize with the Armenians, overlook the fact that the tragedy was largely brought on by the ruthless fanaticism of Armenian agitators who saw their people as 'de facto belligerents'. That is how the leader of the 'Armenian Delegation', Boghos Nubar, expressed it in his letter of December 3rd, 1918 to French Foreign Minister Stephen Pichon... To put this Armenian 'war of liberation' into perspective, we can imagine what would have happened if the Albanians, as the descendants of the Illyrians, had tried to regain control of the entire Balkan region and central Europe. They could have engaged in uprisings, bombings ..." #34

"Armenian terrorism reached a new climax after the war. Its purpose was no longer merely the re-creation of 'Greater Armenia' on the 'historical territory of Greater Armenia', a kingdom that existed for a few decades 2,000 years ago on lands that never in their history contained a majority of Armenians. The new purpose also included revenge - on the Turks in general and on the leaders of the Turkish people in particular. After World War I, the Armenian agitators kept pestering the allies and furnishing them with denunciations until the British finally decided to transport more than 140 Ottoman dignitaries - high officials, officers, cabinet members - to Malta." #35*

"An Armenian work of art glorifying the attack of the Hunchak on the imperial Ottoman troops. (The Hunchaks were a revolutionary Armenian party, strongly influenced from Russia). As always, the unsuspecting Americans were playing into the hands of the Russians: This publication, put out by the American Hunchak committee, was distributed in

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the Ottoman Empire thus serving only the interests of Russian expansionist policies as is often the case today..." #36

"The peacekeepers did not get around to the Ottoman Empire until Jan. 30th, 1919 and then it was only in the course of that difficult discussion over mandates for the former German colonies. Lloyd George who had spent the previous week bringing the Americans and his recalcitrant dominions to agreement, mentioned the Ottoman Empire briefly as an example of where mandates were needed. Because the Turks had been so bad at governing their subject peoples, they should lose control of all their Arab territories – Syria, Mesopotamia, Palestine and Arabia itself. Since the Arabs were civilized but not yet organized, they would need outside guidance. The Ottomans also ought to lose territory on their northeast frontier. They had behaved appallingly to the Armenians, and clearly an Armenian state should come into existence, there might have to be Kurdistan, south of Armenia. Lloyd George hoped that Wilson would take a hint and offer the U.S. as the mandatory power at least for Armenia and the straits. However, the Americans had not clearly established a clear position on the Ottoman Empire beyond an antipathy toward the Turks. American Protestant missionaries, who had been active in Ottoman Turkey since the 1820s, had painted a dismal picture for a bankrupt regime." #37*

"Smyrna, the coastal metropolis, was a Greek city, and had been a center of Greek civilization since remotest antiquity. According to the then -current (1911) edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica, of its population of 250,000, 'fully one-half is Greek.' The Britannica added that 'Modern Smyrna is in all but government a Christian town...' The notion of transferring its government from Moslem Turkey to Christian Greece appealed strongly to Lloyd George's Christian and Hellenist values. It appealed, too, to President Wilson's principles of self-determination." #38*

"President Gates had left the relief train at Aleppo and retraced his way to Robert College. There he made a speech, called a 'bombshell' by one missionary, which warned against hope for a final enlightenment of the Moslem-Christian enigma. Less of an Armenophile and farther-seeing than the ACRNE chairman, Gates felt that any treaty setting up a separate Armenia would be unwise. Unless the Peace Conference regarded Armenian and Turkish disputes within a single frame –preferably a mandate by the U.S.– strife between Moslems and Christians would persist. The missionary believed that Turks would adjust to this mandate if the Allies acted quickly. In his last comments Gates said: I have been astonished at the ardor and unanimity with which the peoples of Asia Minor, both Turks and Christians, express their desire for an American protectorate. Gates' evenhandedness so upset Armenian workers at Robert College that they planned a strike. Some Armenians in Constantinople were angry enough to think of seeking Gates' removal as head of the missionary school. With endorsement from Admiral Bristol, Gates departed the Bosphorus on April 24th to present his view at Paris. " #39*

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"As I walked through Pera, the European quarter of the city, I was amazed to see flags, especially the Greek flag, flying from many windows. Later in the day I crossed the Golden Horn to the Turkish quarter of Istanbul, where not a flag was to be seen. Pera and Istanbul were like two different cities. On my return home I sent word to all our families - Greek, English, and American - not to display any flag until the American flag should be seen on Hamlin Hall. The people among whom we lived were in trouble. They had been kind to us in our difficulties, when they were in power, and it would not be seemly now to flaunt their humiliation in their faces. There would be time enough to display flags to greet the Allied fleet, when it should arrive." #40

"Peace, order and justice were given the Armenians, as well as some nationalist rights, although at the same time Vorontzov made efforts to colonize Russians in Transcaucasia. The Armenians were still, however, a thorn in the Russian side. The Armenian deputies in the Duma lined up with the left wing parties, the Dashnaks with the revolutionaries, and the Hintchaks with the Social Democrats. The Dashnaks gave particular trouble, and as late as 1912 there was spectacular trial of 500 of the most important Armenians, or Dashnak sympathies, for high treason: the trial served in the end only to make the government look foolish, as all but 50 were acquitted. The matter became more pressing when the Balkan Wars broke out. The Russian Government now feared that its own Armenians might be inspired to rise, help their brethren in Turkey and try to form a nation: or else that the Armenians in Turkey, seeing the Turkish weakness and the Balkan example, would revolt and the conflagration would spread across the Russian border and also to the Armenians in the Russian sphere in northern Persia. Many Russian Armenians demanded annexation of Turkish Armenia to Russia. Russian Foreign Minister Sazonov was emphatic that this was not possible but promised to see to reform within Turkey. Russia needed a foreign success to appease public opinion after the many failures. But an active policy with regard to Armenia would have further practical value. This was true especially because of strategic position of Turkish Armenia." #41

"In all these considerations of strategy, Erzurum was the key point. This city, populated largely by Armenians and situated in the center of the most pronouncedly Armenian region, dominated all the roads from Russia into Turkey, the roads to Diyarbakır and Harput and Euphrates Valley, to Bitlis and the Tigris Valley, to Trabzon and Sivas, to Ankara and Constantinople and Alexandretta. The Campaign of 1877 had shown its importance to Russia. When Russia was occupied in the Far East, and with her own revolution of 1905, she depended on her treaty of 1900 with Turkey to keep other powers out of Armenia. Under this agreement, no railroad concessions could be given in Turkish regions adjacent to Russia without Russian consent. Still, Russian policy in 1912-14 was not one of immediate annexation of Armenia, nor of a drive through Armenia to Alexandretta or the Straits Military occupation of Armenia was to be considered only if Russian reform plans

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failed. Russia was not yet prepared for military action against Turkey for her own Caucasus railroads were incomplete and she could not operate effectively within Turkey. Sazonov reported to the czar toward the end of the crisis that territorial annexation at the moment would do Russia no good. Vorontzov-Dashkov added that it might increase Russia's troubles by increasing her Armenian minority. Ultimate annexation was probably contemplated and was certainly in the minds of many Russians. Immediate Russian policy was rather to insure a sphere of influence in Armenia in case the Ottoman Empire should fall apart and keep Germany out of this sphere. The Berlin-to-Baghdad railway zone was still nebulous but German activity among Cilician Armenians was great and was increasing to the north in Van and Bitlis. Russia wanted to forestall Germany in gaining favor among Armenians. The German Ambassador to the Porte, Wangenheim was convinced that Russia was trying to stir up the Kurds and Armenians to provoke a clash leading to military intervention. Undoubtedly, Russian agitators, some consular officials among them, gave money, arms and advice to Kurds and Armenians. Some of the agitation may be explained by the fact that many of the individual Armenian revolutionaries in Turkey had come from Russian Transcaucasia. Sazonov, though opposed to expansion, probably countenanced 'incidents' as mean of pushing a Russian-controlled reform scheme in Turkey." #42

"From the Caucasus such statements as the following went to ACRNE at home: 'Saw Refugee Women stripping flesh from dead horse with bare hands today... Another week will score 10,000 lives lost. For heaven's sake, hurry.' Missionary Ernest Yarrow succeeded Main in May, 1919. The latter went back to the U.S. Groups similar to the Main contingent went by train or U.S. destroyer to various parts of the Empire. George Washburn led a party to Konya, Harold Hatch to Samsun, Stanley White and Aaron Teitlebaum to Syria and Palestine. Other leaders took workers to such places as Smyrna, Adana and Bursa. Directed by American Board secretary Barton and accompanied by Caleb Gates and Gate's son, a 22-car relief train set out on the Baghdad railway, headed straight into evidences about Armenian massacres. The Protestants on the train discovered that the deported minority of Asia Minor usually had not dared to try to repossess its seized property. From Antep, the elder Gates winced: 'We have heard many sad, sad tales here'. At Urfa, young Moore Gates came up with rather stupefying data: only 12 out of 4,000 houses were intact in the Armenian Quarter, no more than 500 of 20,000 former inhabitants of the quarter remained; fewer than 500 Armenian children were in orphanages there, the Protestant Church building was empty! This information was fuel for Barton's Armenianism. It heated his conscience; he thought it wrong that no Western armies were occupying Anatolia in 1919 to provide security for Armenian survivors to find their broken houses and start afresh. He therefore left his group at Aleppo to go to Cairo for a few days, where early in April he sought persuade General Allenby to send British regiments into Asia Minor." #43*

"After the Barton Relief Commission was in Turkey, the Herald editor exuberated: It is the biggest advertisement of particular Christian altruism that the world has ever had. The

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men that are in it are making a demonstration that will never be blotted out of history's page. How's that for rhetoric? Rumor in Paris was that members of the Barton Relief Commission were to be part of the future administration of Turkey. The jests of Strong were not hiding the factor that a unique demonstration of Christian altruism was a play in Barton's game. The American Board leader wanted to get an ace, the Woodrow card, on the Near East table. A poor sign was Barton's own unwillingness to give credence to Turkish as well as Armenian nationalism, as the Robert College head had done in his speech at Constantinople. There was no small irony in that for a period of several days in May, 1919, two symbolic individuals – Barton, the West's chief Armenophile, and Mustafa Kemal Pasha, the future 'father' of Turkey – were in the Samsun-Sivas region and did not speak with each other. The ACRNE chairman coddled Armenians and scarcely communicated with the leaders of the Turkish ethnic group, by then the overwhelmingly majority people of the Eastern Anatolia." #44*

"This indemnity question met Turkish procrastination, and lingered for some time. The Sultan felt that U.S. schools were a factor behind Armenian disloyalty, a national that American Minister Alexander W. Terrell allegedly reinforced when he accused the missionaries of 'fomenting rebellion.' The reparation issue escalated into a matter of U.S. national interest, meriting mention in a presidential message to Congress. It provoked the individual who replaced Terrell during the 12 months following August, 1897, James B. Angell (the former president of the Univ. of Michigan), to ask for warships 'to rattle the Sultan's windows.' Missionary spokesmen in the U.S. complemented such belligerent." #45*

"Gates felt particularly helpless when the police took 13 Armenian servants from Robert College and sent them into the interior...Peet outlined to American Board headquarters in Boston in 1915 an idea which got by the censors. 'The deportation of the Armenians' Peet wrote, 'requires a pretty large expenditure in order to keep them alive, and this must be our first effort. They are sent generally either into the desert or into an unoccupied territory, or into absolutely new locations, where they will be needing everything, as they have left behind all they had in the world.' " #46 *

"... Armenian reform at most was the preparation of a Russian sphere in anticipation of such an eventuality. Sazonov countered with the assertion that if the Mandelstam plan were not adopted, the Armenians would revolt. Russian military intervention would be forced and partition would then ensue. England, supported to some extent by France, agreed with Germany that the Mandelstam Plan looked too much like the beginning of partition to be allowed; the cure was worse than disease." #47

"The Yenikoy Conference had failed to provide any solution to the Armenian question. Toward the end of July, when the futile sessions were just over, a new scare was thrown into diplomatic circles. Russian troops were reported concentrating on the Turkish

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border, near Mount Ararat. It appeared that Russia worsted in the Adrianople question, was on the verge of occupying a few cities in Armenia as a means of forcing the Turks to give up disputed stronghold. The German ambassador in St. Petersburg suspected such a move and Said Halim, the grand vizier, remarked to Pallavicini that this would not force the Turks out of Adrianople. Had the Russian occupation occurred, the Armenian question would have been settled, and the partition of Turkey would presumably have settled. The extreme tension was soon over, but the powers were now spurred on to settle the Armenian problem. Further incentive to find speedy solution was furnished by power by the growing Armenian unrest, which increased particularly after it became known that England would send no officers and that the conference of ambassadors had reached no agreement. Conditions were as bad as ever. The Kurds were evidently preparing a rising and receiving some encouragement from unofficial Russian *agents provocateurs*. Armenians were murdered near Bitlis at a rate of 27 a month. 'Depression among the Armenians is great' wrote a missionary on spot. 'All who are able are trying to get away. 50 are on the point of leaving Bitlis. Those left behind are being driven to desperation: they incline either to appeal to the Russian counsel, for protection or flee to the mountains'. Although still divided in counsel, more and more Armenians tended to look to Russia as the only protector, if also a despotic one. Their disgust with the concert of powers was evident: 'Lots of words make no *pilaf*' they complained. The editor of the Armenian *Avedaper* wrote: 'We have been deceived quite long enough'. He told his people that Russia might extend Persian sphere into Turkish Armenia. The Turks poured oil on the flames when *Tasvir-i Efkar*, the official CUP organ, chose this moment to label as a traitor the Armenian who was urging reform in the Western capitals, Boghos Nubar."#48*

"When Erzurum fell in February, 1916, an Armenian, with whom I just shared Russian imprisonment, uttered something I interpreted as 'it would have fallen earlier if we had been allowed to stay'. That a country like Turkey, threatened and attacked by powerful external enemies, is trying to secure itself against cunning internal enemies, no one should be able to blame her... Armenians have their own religion, their own language, both in speaking and writing, their own schools etc...As far as the much-discussed major Armenian migration is concerned, I am the first to agree that the attempts of the Turkish side to reduce the difficulties of the refugees left a lot to be desired. But I emphasize again, in the name of fairness, that considering the difficult situation in which Turkey, as the target of attack from three powerful enemies, was in and it was, in my opinion, almost impossible for the Turks under the circumstances, to have been able to keep up an orderly assistance activity...I have seen dying and dead along the roads –but among hundreds of thousands there must, of course, occur casualties-. I have seen children's corpse, shredded in pieces by jackals, and pitiful individuals stretch their bony arms with piercing screams of 'ekmek' (bread). But my travel companion of mine, Dr. Schacht, was also traveling along the river. He also had nothing to tell. In summary, I think that Mrs. Stjernstedt, somewhat uncritically' has accepted the hair-raising stories from more or less biased sources, which formed the basis for her

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lecture... But I do want to, as far as it can be considered to be within the powers of an eyewitness, deny that the regular gendarme forces, who supervised the transports, are guilty of any cruelties. (Rattvik, April, 1917, H.J. Pravitz") #49*

"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. 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". #50*

"I see that reports are freely circulated in the U.S. 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 has 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 U.S., 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 Alexandropol, and reports from such men in Yarrow, I have reports from my own Intelligence Officer and know that the Armenian reports are not true. Is there something that you and Near East Relief Committee can do to stop the circulation of such false reports?... 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 to the Armenian question, we run the risk of being accused of being party to this information... #51*

"To Venizelos, Lloyd George was like an Old Testament Prophet, with 'splendid capacities and clear insight of people and events;' to Lloyd George, his counterpart was 'a big man, a very big man'. Greek troops were fighting with the French against the Bolsheviks. The Americans were sympathetic; the Italians were his only major worry. Wilson asked minor clarification on Turkish atrocities Clemenceau said almost nothing." #52

"(Armenian) a desperate man when his honor or that of his nation was at stake, he was made of 'metal' which had produced warriors and fighters like the heroes of Zeitun in Cilicia, who had 'never' surrendered to the Turkish yoke. #53*

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"...they had recorded their confirmed opinion that a Russian occupation of Armenia would unquestionable be to the good. Any evil would be preferable to the state of Turkish Armenia..." #54

"The German ambassador had once stated that they 'appear to be pure invention'. He was also said, however, to have defended the Turks, action as a necessary wartime measure... However, it was generally believed in Washington that no official action would be taken unless American missionaries or American property suffered wrong." #55*

"Arnold Toynbee's book Armenian Atrocities: The Murder of a Nation, published in 1915, was, as its title implies, a lashing indictment of the attempt on the part of Turkish rulers 'to exterminate' the Armenian race 'once and for all'." #56*

" When the British, followed reluctantly by the French and Italians, took over the full control of Constantinople on March 16th, 1920, in the name of law and order and arrested a number of leading nationalists, Ataturk simply responding by arresting Allied officers within his reach, including the unfortunate Rawlinson, and by calling his own parliament. The center of power was now clearly in Ankara. Curzon was coming to the conclusion that the best thing might be to allow a new Turkey to emerge, with Ataturk at its head. After a series of Allied meetings, which culminated in April, 1920 with the conference in San Remo, a draft of treaty was finally cobbled together and presented to the representatives of the government in Constantinople, Turkey was to be small and subservient. The hodgepodge of outside financial controls from the 19th century was rationalized and indeed strengthened. Although the Turks were to remain in Constantinople, the straits were placed under international regime, France and Italy each had a sphere of influence in Anatolia; Greece was to have Smyrna and Thrace. There would be an independent Armenia (although no provisions were made for ensuring this) and something called Kurdistan would be autonomous within Turkey...By this point it was too late for Armenia, The collapse of Czarist Russia and then the withdrawal of Ottoman forces had opened a window that was starting to close. Armenia, Daghestan, Georgia and Azerbaijan had all declared their independence in the spring of 1918. The new states, shaky, poor, struggling to cope with refugees, might have survived the brigands, the deserters from the Turkish armies, the White Russian forces, disease and hunger. They might have held off General Denikin, the White Russian, because he had to deal with the Bolsheviks as well. What they could not withstand was the combination of a determined Russian assault from the north and a resurgent Turkey in the south. Even then, with some support from outside, they might have had a hope." #57*

"The President thereupon wrote Dodge: 'You need not doubt my advocacy of the utmost autonomy and protection for the Armenians and I am sure you do not'. Barton's 9-point plan for an integral Armenia under U.S. tutelage, noted above, went to the Peace Commission on Jan. 28th. At Supreme Council sessions two days later, Wilson hinted about

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a U.S. duty in Turkey. Lloyd George, influenced by James Bryce and other British Armenophiles, said the duty should be in Armenia. On Feb. 8th, the President wrote his Secretary of War, asking if it was legal to dispatch American soldiers to Armenia and Constantinople. He got an affirmative opinion, with the caution that 'bring-the-boys-home' demands were increasing. Then the New York Federation of Churches cabled Wilson asking British or American supervision for the Armenians in Asia Minor. Disembarking in Boston after re-crossing the Atlantic, Wilson in a speech of Feb. 24th orated there: 'Have you thought of the sufferings of Armenia? You poured out your money to help succor the Armenians... Now set your strength so they shall never suffer again. Lodge sympathized with Wilson's view, though he wanted nothing to do with America's appearing to help what he believed were tyrannical Turks'." #58*

"Unexpectedly, it was Italy's avarice for Adalia (today's Antalya) in southwestern Anatolia, not U.S. assent to a separate Armenian mandate of French cupidity for Syria, which first produced a dramatic display of the West's intent toward Turkey. Italian Premier V. Orlando was a 19th century imperialist guided by an excited feeling in his country that the promises of Adalia in Anatolia and other spoils to Italy by Britain and France at St. Jean de Maurienne in 1917 and in other secret agreements were sacred. Then on April 24th, 1919, Wilson showed in the Supreme Council and in a press release an indomitable opposition to Italy's violating the 14 Points by seeking to annex the Slavic speaking city of Fiume. Orlando thereupon left Paris and from Rome planned retaliation. Within a week, the Italian Government sent warships to Fiume across the Adriatic Sea and to Antalya. Soon Italians were ashore at points on the Turkish coast and moving inland. An occupation of Smyrna seemed imminent. At news of Italy's actions reached Paris, consternation arose not least within missionary Caleb Gates, who had arrived at the French capital in early May. This Robert College educator had said for months that procrastination over the Ottoman settlement would lead to the use of force. Consulting the American Peace Commission, Gates advocated a quick Supreme Council decision on the Ottoman Empire. He desired a U.S. mandate over Turkey down to the Arab-speaking line. As for Armenians, he believed only Western troops in Asia Minor could save them. To proclaim a separate Armenia without Allied soldiers in the area would cause a massacre." #59*

"The vague promises that had been made to Italy during the war -promises of access to ports such as Haifa and Acre; of a say in the administration of Palestine; of equal treatment on the Arabian Peninsula and the Red Sea- could be safely ignored and generally were. The U.S. was a different matter. While Wilson assumed that the Arabs would need guidance, presumably from Britain and France, he took seriously the idea of consulting the wishes of the locals. 'Every territorial settlement involved in this war,' he had said to Congress in his 'Four Principles' speech of Feb. 11th, 1918, 'must be made in the interest and for the benefit of the populations concerned.' Gaston Domergue, a former minister of colonies and vice chairman of the official French committee to formulate France's colonial

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aims, quite rightly exclaimed, 'The obstacle is America!'... The British and French Governments, in a declaration circulated widely in Arabic, conveniently discovered that their main goal in the war on Ottomans had been 'the complete and definite emancipation of the peoples so long oppressed by the Turks and the establishment of national governments and administrations deriving their authority from the initiative and free choice of the indigenous populations.' Words were cheap. The British, as Curzon had said, were confident that Arabs would willingly choose Britain's protection. The French did not take Arab nationalism seriously ..." #60*

"Wilson resisted. 'Italy' he pointed out, 'lacks experience in the administration of colonies.' – and surprisingly of Turks as a 'docile people, who never cut railroads, nor anything of that kind'. Wilson threatened to send a U.S. battleship to either Fiume or Smyrna. Lloyd George said that Venizelos offered to send a Greek warship." #61*

"When Venizelos reached out for Smyrna and its hinterland, he was going well beyond what could be justified in terms of self-determination. His great rival General Ioannis Metaxas, later dictator of Greece, warned this repeatedly. 'The Greek state is not today ready for the government and exploitation of so extensive a territory.' The Italians opposed Greek claims outright and the British and French were sympathetic. The American experts, who were prepared to admit Greece's claims in Europe, felt they could not, in good conscience, do so in Asia Minor. The Turks were in the majority in the area as a whole and even though Smyrna was Greek, it would be wrong on economic grounds to sever it from Turkey. As the American expert William L. Westermann said, 'Smyrna and its harbor are the eyes, the mouth, and the nostrils of the people of Anatolia.'" #62*

"In an article for the Missionary Herald, he remarked that leading Moslems were speaking freely of the U.S. and not Europe as the ideal: 'The Turks honor and respect American missionaries, their character, integrity and fairness... They know America only as they have learned through American missionaries. Removed from Gates' counsel by April, Barton in his messages thereafter dropped references to a single mandate for all of Turkey. Fresh from hearing sorrowful stories among the ethnic group to which he had given much of his life, he cabled House and others that the Armenians at once should have a guaranteed independence. He begged for a strong mandate immediately: 'The Turkish Government is not preventing new atrocities to the Armenians'." #63

"The circumstances gave rise to what might be called 'Gunboat Christianity.' Ottoman Christians were being slaughtered and the fleet should be sent in with orders to bombard Ottoman ports if necessary." #64

"Yet Barton went ahead with a case against Bristol, in which in March, 1922 he presented to Secretary Hughes. The theme was that Bristol had not protected American

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interests in the Near East. Commending the Admiral for zeal and ability, Barton declared that Bristol 'inclined to take the word of a Turk as more value than the word of an American', and to defend the Turks more than the minorities. But attacking a fairly perceptive Bristol was trying to remove a symptom. The missionaries needed to think about coming to terms with the Kemalists. Relying on a West determined to behave irresponsibly about Asia Minor was not producing security for the Armenians or for the Protestants from the U.S. ...Barton and other friends of Armenia could not obtain a State Dept. endorsement of the proposed dismissal of Bristol or of the Rogers Resolution. As the Allies in February and March, 1922 postponed scrapping the Sevres Treaty and reaffirmed a national home for Armenians, the American Government remained aloof. In April, 1922, the Secretary wrote Barton at length: 'I am very sorry to say that I see no way in which this Government can, in existing circumstances, act to the advantage of the Ottoman Greeks or of the Armenians'... Then, another flicker of hope. Barton acted vigorously when in May 1922, the British ambassador to Washington proposed a Western investigation of alleged Turkish atrocities. There had been reports of new deportations attending the Kemalist-Greek war. The executive committee of Near East Relief directed its chairman to ask Hughes to appoint a representative for the investigation." #65

"Despite the historical importance of the Moslem losses, they are not to be found in textbooks. Textbooks and histories that describe the massacres of Bulgarians, Armenians and Greeks have not mentioned the corresponding massacre of Turks. The exile and mortality of the Moslem is not known. The traditional view of the history of the Balkans, Caucasus and Anatolia is less than complete, if not misleading, because the histories of the Ottoman minority groups are taken out of context. A major part of that context is the suffering of the Christians, and often transcended them." #66*

"As the years passed, the futility of the Armenian cause and the splendid example being set in Turkey blurred the 'unspeakable' Turk image in the U.S. The efforts of U.S. diplomatic representatives, the State Dept., and other interested individuals to publicize Turkish development, and praise from Americans who worked or visited in Turkey, did much to improve public opinion in the U.S. The American Friends of Turkey, through philanthropic work in Turkey and a publicity campaign in the U.S., made an impressive contribution painting a more accurate picture of the new Turks. Fortunately, the old stereotype had almost disappeared by 1939. The Turkish people had shown their capacity to change, and the American people forgave past misdeed when confronted with a vastly changed situation." #67

"It was the 'inaction' of the powers which emboldened the Turks to disregard completely the terms of the armistice in eastern Anatolia and they did so with impunity. The power and prestige of the Turkish Nationalists rest only upon the 'abstention of the Allies to intervene', L.P. Chambers wrote from Constantinople. In his turn, referring to the Turks,

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Bryce concluded: < ... the maddening part of the whole Near East business is that it could have been settled with little trouble had it been taken up immediately after the war. There would have been no Angora rebellion, no pernicious Caliphate agitation in India>." #68

"Having made up his mind that Turkey should become the major power in the Near East, once the Denikin had collapsed, Sir Henry Wilson continued to press his views resolutely. When President Wilson asked him how many troops he required for the Armenian mandate, Sir Henry replied 'up to five' divisions and this 'terrified' the President. Pressing the government to make concessions to Turkey, the General Staff saw in the Turkish Nationalist movement a patriotic organization, the main object of which was to oppose the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire. Antagonizing the 'patriotic elements' in Turkey, would preclude the possibility of reducing British garrisons in Egypt, Palestine and Mesopotamia, and would cost the British taxpayer unnecessary millions." #69

"The War Office and the India Office successfully used the double levers of strategic requirements and opinion in India to press their pro-Turkish views on the government. Montague viewed the proposed peace with Turkey as disastrous and incredible. The Allies did not have the military strength to enforce it, he argued. Moreover, it was wholly opposed to the interests of the British Empire. The British should try to get the Turks to help them against the Bolsheviks. A 'friendly' Turkey would profit Britain; and 'incensed' Turkey would never cease to foment trouble in India." #70

"The end of Turkish-American trade and the work of the missionaries of the American Board would have been a calamity for persons directly concerned with these activities, but their termination would not have seriously jeopardized the larger national interest. Armenians and their supporters based their opposition to Mustafa Kemal's program on moral (or idealistic) grounds, saying that the long Turkish record of brutality against minorities disqualified the new Turks from international recognition. The Greeks and Armenians in Turkey, although Turkish nationals, were clearly a small minority. Obviously, the principle of self-determination could not be applied to two hostile groups occupying the same geographical area. " #71*

"The U.S. Government, assessing the situation realistically, recognized that only by military force could the Turks be forced to permit establishment of an independent Armenia." #72

"The President and his advisers made the decisions to sign the Lausanne Treaty in 1923 and the agreement of February, 1927." #73*

This chapter presented a wide selection of realities, distortions, prejudices, and even friction between the victors, but all uniting on one verdict: 'The Terrible Turk is responsible for all, because all Armenians and Christians are entirely

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humane, are innocent and victimized'. The '*Turk should be punished by all means and most severely!*'

Many persons holding authority are easily swayed away from compassion, understanding and prudence when instantly believing whatever is said or written 'for that particular moment'.

In the conclusive Chapter 30 of this study, readers will encounter other new documents of prejudice and propaganda.

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Chapter 7: References and Footnotes:

1*. Erich Feigl, *A Myth of Terror*, Edition Zeitgeschichte Freilassing, Salzburg, Austria pg.50

We have the reference for a race (Armenians) that is always innocent and another (Turks) who are devil's scourge.

2. Ibid, pg.6

3*. Ibid, pg.7

Contents of this book contain heavy evidence that the "revenge pretext" is but a cover for the present system of continuous collection and cash-flow circulation for diversified leverages against Turkey, plus invisible personal benefits of treasures.

4. Salahi Sonyel, *The Great War and the Great Tragedy of Anatolia*, T.T.K., pg.6

5. Ibid, pg.7

6. Ibid, pg.8

7. Jeremy Salt, *Imperialism Evangelism and the Ottoman-Armenians 1878-96*, Frank Cass & Co. Ltd. U.K., pg.124

8. Salahi Sonyel, *The Great War and the Great Tragedy of Anatolia*, T.T.K., pg.98

9. Guenther Lewy, *The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey*, U. of Utah Press, pg.109

10. Jeremy Salt, *Imperialism Evangelism and the Ottoman-Armenians 1878-96*, Frank Cass & Co. Ltd. U.K., pg.129

11. Kevin Phillips, *American Theocracy*, Viking – Penguin, pg.260

12*. Hew Starchan, *The First World War*, Penguin, 2004, pg.103

There is much evidence that the Ottomans were expected to remain quiet until the time it was to be torn apart. As all their efforts were repulsed by the British, French and Russians, they ended up surrendering to the Germans to save the Empire from death.

13. Erich Feigl, *A Myth of Terror*, Edition Zeitgeschichte Freilassing, Salzburg, Austria pg.67

14*. Ibid, pg.68

There are too many cartoons and depictions, all showing bloodthirsty Turks and virgin Armenian girl victims.

15*. Salahi Sonyel, *The Great War and the Great Tragedy of Anatolia*, T.T.K., pg.12

France supported the Catholics, Britain and the U.S. supported the Protestants, and Russia supported the Gregorian-Orthodox Armenians, thus splitting the Armenian community into sects of often conflicting patronage! However, they all were united, on the issue of Turkish antagonism.

16. Ibid, pg.15-16

17*. Ibid, pg.18

The plan was to eliminate the Moslems from these regions thus turning the Armenian minority into a majority.

18*. Ibid, pg.23

This is but an example regarding how small matters were distorted and reported as atrocities against Christians.

19. David Fromkin, *A Peace to End All Peace*, Henry Holt and Co. NY, pg.30

20* Ibid, pg.49

This coincides with above footnote # 13.

21. Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East*, U. of Minn. Press 1991, pg.43

22*. Ibid, pg.44

This passage reminds us of a Turkish saying: "Give us a helping hand, then try to save your own arm".

23*. Ibid, pg.45

24*. Lord Kinross, *The Ottoman Centuries*, Morrow Quill Paperback, NY 1977, pg.557

The Ottoman State often faced revolts by Armenians. Also, its authority was so weak that Kurdish tribes imposed taxes on some Armenian villages for their "protection." The Ottoman armies just did not have enough power to enforce law and order!

25. Philip Mansel, *Constantinople*, St. Martin's Press, NY, pg.397

26*. Margaret Macmillan, *Paris 1919*, Random House – New York, pg.373

DISTORTING REALISM FATHERS ANTAGONISM

Hostility against the Turks seems to have been one of the primary requisitions for politicians to come and stay in power.

27. Philip Mansel, *Constantinople*, St. Martin's Press, NY, pg.382

Hostility against the Turks was and still is an easy mantle to deem anything done by the Christian community as correct, and by Turks as evil and sinful.

28*. Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East*, U. of Minn. Press 1991, pg.64

Grabill bombasts the Turks for having resisted in Gallipoli, changing otherwise profitable plans and actions of Britain and the ANZACs.

29*. Guenther Lewy, *The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey*, U. of Utah Press, pg.181

Much of said hearsay was invented lies, readily accepted and announced. But, good and bad men are everywhere!

30*. Ibid, pg.182

The drowning episode sounds so plausible but impossible to implement with large crowds. There may have been a few such cases, however there is no mention anywhere about floating corpses and sharks generally do not lurk in the Black Sea!

31*. Ibid, pg.183

There is no evidence of any meditated mass killings other than individual cases due to lack of law and security.

32*. Hew Starchan, *The First World War*, Penguin, 2004, pg.114

For contradicting figures, please refer to the separate Chapter 15 regarding populations.

33. Erich Feigl, *A Myth of Terror*, Edition Zeitgeschichte Freilassing, Salzburg, Austria, pg.45

34. Ibid, pg.88

35*. Ibid, pg.89

Most historians do not refer to the some 1,600 persons tried in court-martials for wrong doings during the relocation by the Ottomans under CUP in 1916-17 during World War I. Some 67 persons were executed and another 600 were imprisoned and severely punished. These courts should not be confused with the 'kangaroo courts' set up during the Occupation of Istanbul (1919-23) just to please the victors where many innocent administrators were hanged for unproven crimes. As explained in Chapter 25, some 144 prominent officials, writers, politicians and dignitaries were arrested and imprisoned in Malta. During this same period, the Ottoman Government demanded two representatives from each of the following neutral countries (Sweden, Switzerland, Denmark, Holland and Spain) to participate in a special investigation regarding the Armenian charges. Some of these states (Spain for sure) consulted Britain, which advised them that there was no need to get involved as they were holding some 144 Turks allegedly responsible. The irony is that despite a two-year long search in the Ottoman archives headed by a Turkish-Armenian no legal evidence could be found elsewhere. Consequently, the arrested dignitaries, after being kept for over two years in Malta were repatriated back to Istanbul quietly, without even filing a single charge. The British did not want a kangaroo court.

36. Ibid, pg.69

37*. Margaret Macmillan, *Paris 1919*, Random House – New York, pg.375

Self-explanatory.

38*. David Fromkin, *A Peace to End All Peace*, Henry Holt and Co. NY, pg.393

Writers of texts published in encyclopedias were either British, Greek or Armenian whereas they wrote whatever they pleased without refute.

39*. Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East*, U. of Minn. Press 1991, pg.169

Although a staunch Armenophile (like the rest), Gates was more of a realist and admitted the existence of a Turkish majority.

40. John Freely, *A History of Robert College* YKY, Istanbul pg.229

41. Roderic H. Davison, *Essays in Ottoman & Turkish History*, 1774 – 1923, U. of Texas Press, Austin pg.184

42. Ibid, pg.185

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43*. Joseph L. Grabill *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East*, U. of Minn. Press 1991, pg.167

Gates or Grabill blame the Turks although the Protestant Church was there, untouched, though empty (because the community were either relocated or went south to safer places or Russia). Antep was a city with not even ten percent Christians. Turks peasants defeated the French and their 'Armenian Legion D'Orient.' The Armenians then fled with the French forces never to return !

44 Ibid, pg.170

Barton, who was serving Christianity, now wants to have political muscle...

45*. Ibid, pg.44

Also, many missionaries wanted to rattle the Sultan's windows, forgetting that they were "guests only"!

46*. Ibid, pg.68

As a devoted Armenophile on the Relief Committee together with Morgenthau, Peet did his best to comfort the Armenians when the relief convoys were guarded by starving Ottoman soldiers. While 98% of the relief goods went to Christians, a mere 2% was given to Moslems, most likely by accident! (If only 500.000 or 700.000 persons were relocated but 1.5 million died (?), whom the Relief committee was to save or feed?

47. Roderic H. Davison, *Essays in Ottoman & Turkish History, 1774– 1923*, U. of Texas Press, Austin pg.191

48*. Ibid, pg.192

Other than Nassibian, the Armenian Diaspora never speaks about how they were goaded by empty promises...

49*. From the Swedish newspaper, "*Nya Daglight Allehanda*", April 23rd, 1917, by H.J. Pravitz

This looks like a real eyewitness article.

50*. *New York Times* Current History, Feb. 1923 *Angora and the Turks* by Arthur T. Chester, representative of U.S. Shipping Board in Istanbul, son of Rear Admiral Colby M. Chester –

Eyewitness comments of a respected U.S. Admiral who lived a very long time in Istanbul are rarely considered as face value truth by prominent so-called scholars.

51*. Letter lt. March 28th, 1921 by Admiral Mare L. Bristol, U.S. High Commissioner to D.D. Barton, The Secretary of Foreign Dept. of Board of Commissioner Admiral Bristol was not liked because he defended the truth and U.S. interests. He was requested to be removed from his post, but his services in regards to normalizing relations between Turks and Americans found wide acceptance.

52*. Margaret Macmillan, *Paris 1919*, Random House – New York, pg.355

Why couldn't Clemenceau answer Wilson? Was he pro-Turkish or pro-truth and knew nothing serious about the tales of atrocity?

53*. Akaby Nassibian, *Britain & the Armenian Question 1915-23*, Croom Helm, London, pg.42

What a paradox: are the Armenians heroes and warriors as written, or innocent victims as advertised!

54. Ibid, pg.43

Good British advice to save the moment and leave Armenians exposed to the risk of Turkish domination.

55* Ibid, pg.76

While the Turks took no action against missionaries, U.S. ships carried munitions to the Greeks and Armenians.

56*. Ibid, pg.77

Toynbee was very successful in portraying Turks as bloodthirsty criminals and enemies of Christendom!

57*. Margaret Macmillan, *Paris 1919*, Random House – New York, pg.442

Denikin's Russian officers were training Armenian forces; some Armenians were fighting on Dennikin's side against the Red Russians.

58*. Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy & the Near East*, U. of Minn. Press 1991, pg.180

DISTORTING REALISM FATHERS ANTAGONISM

Along with Morgenthau and Lansing, Wilson did his best to drag the U.S. into World War I and he did that not knowing the imperialistic aims of the British and French he was serving. He tried his utmost for a mandate for Armenia, but the Senate did not go along for the ride!

59*. Ibid, pg.181

Wilson was so much in love with Christian Armenians and tried to reward them, but could not.

60*. Margaret Macmillan, *Paris 1919*, Random House – New York, pg.386 – 387

U.S. and Wilson never realized how they were toyed in the middle with idealism, while all the allies cared about, was how to split the spoils!

61*. Ibid, pg.429

Compliments for Turks as being, "docile" instead of criminals.

62*. Ibid, pg.430

The Greeks were never the majority in Smyrna, since they could not find jobs in Greece after independence, many came to Anatolia to find jobs and survive. Many times historians look at things quite superficially.

63. Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy & the Near East*, U. of Minn, Press 1991, pg.171

64*. Jeremy Salt, *Imperialism Evangelism and the Ottoman-Armenians 1878-96*, Frank Cass & Co. Ltd. U.K. pg.132

The Evangelical Churches of Boston need to be complimented for their evidence of pre-emptive shelling of the Turkish mountains to protect Christian Armenians! An excuse to be used by President G.W. Bush in the same Middle East...

65. Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy & the Near East*, U. of Minn. Press 1991, pg.261

66*. Salahi Sonyel, *The Great War and the Great Tragedy of Anatolia*, T.T.K., pg.174

For concise demographic information on Moslem sufferings, please refer to "Death and Exile" by Justin McCarthy. Darwin Press.

67*. Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy & the Near East*, U. of Minn. Press 1991, pg.244

68*. Akaby Nassibian, *Britain & the Armenian Question 1915-23*, Croom Helm, London, pg.166

69. Ibid, pg.168

70*. Ibid, pg.169

British politics can flip-flop on issues anytime on any day - and Turks will always be there to be blamed.

71. Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy & the Near East*, U. of Minn. Press 1991, pg.242

72. Ibid, pg. 243

73*. Ibid, pg. 245

Barton's fanatical antagonistic attitude against Turks exceeds the logic and common sense of a normal person, in holding such position and responsibility, who would at least follow the commandment: "Thou shall not lie about your neighbor".

(The seeds of antagonism in the U.S. Senate and Congress, as understood by above, have and are being watered by Armenian lobbies and Christianity Institutions. Relations lack the element of bilateral confidence and respect of rights and sovereignty).

Chapter 8: Di-fused AUTONOMY! (Goal or Pretext?)

For reasons hard to understand, most historians and writers (and particularly scholars defending the Genocide tale) make no mention that the Ottomans were so friendly with Dashnaks, they hosted their August, 1914 Congress in Erzurum on the eve of entering the war against Russia. At this congress, the Ottomans *offered* the Dashnaks and Hunchaks independence and autonomy, something they had been struggling to acquire during the previous 30 years.

Actually, for those who have read up on the relevant history, it is easy to comprehend that this *rejected offer was the straw that broke the camel's back* as far as subsequent developments were concerned. As too few historians have made reference to this reality, the reader may make his own judgment after having read different sources.

"In May, 1913, representatives of Dashnakzoutiun had demanded the establishment of a foreign gendarmerie to protect the Armenians in eastern Anatolia. The CUP Government had approached the British about this matter and the latter had discussed it with the French and Russian Governments. On February 8th, 1914, the Ayastefanos (Yesilkoy) Agreement was reached with the Russians regarding the establishment of two inspectorates with far-reaching powers in eastern Anatolia, whereas Norwegian and Dutch inspectors were appointed in May. The outbreak of war prevented the scheme from being implemented." #1

"Thus, idealistic statements concerning British war aims, including the liberation of Armenia, became a substitute for effective help. In their turn, the Armenians themselves were anxious for some clear assurances about their future. The Bolsheviks had publicized the Allied agreements to the portioning of historic Armenia, between Czarist Russia and France. Disappointed, the Armenians asked for assurances. These the British leaders readily gave under war conditions. For over a century, the conflicting policies of Britain and Russia in the Middle East were considered the main cause of the misfortunes of the Armenians in Turkey. When, however, Britain and Russia entered the war on the same side, it had seemed that a new era would dawn for the Armenian people. Not only had Russian-Armenians, as citizens of the Russian Empire, enlisted in the Russian Army, but they had also formed volunteer forces composed mainly of Armenians from the Diaspora (the Balkans, France and U.S.) and had borne the brunt of some of the heaviest fighting in the Caucasus. M. Philips Price, the special correspondent of the Manchester Guardian, had captured in his diary the mood of these volunteers in the basin of Van at the beginning of the war. Everyone felt the presence of the spirit of Armenia, for which they were fighting. Across the border, in Turkey, the General Congress of Dashnaktsutun, held in Erzurum in the autumn of 1914, had been offered autonomy by Turkish emissaries, if it would actually assist Turkey in the war. The Congress had replied that the Armenians, as Ottoman subjects, would faithfully do their duty individually, but as a nation they could not provoke

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revolts in the Russian Empire. It was following this refusal, described as 'courageous' by Robert Cecil, that the Ottoman Armenians had been systematically murdered by the Turkish Government in 1915." #2 (Refer also to # 8)

Having never realized the excellent opportunity offered to them by the Turks, the Dashnaks did not *satisfy their ambitions*. Some five years later, after having lost so many lives in wars, marches, famine, diseases and calamities of all sorts, their sole reward from Woodrow Wilson was:

"Much of their work had been among the Armenians, so they had reported first-hand the massacres during the war. Back in the U.S., large sums of money had been raised for Armenian relief. Col. House had cheerfully chatted with the British about ways of carving up the Ottoman Empire and Wilson had certainly considered its complete disappearance. The U.S. had never declared war on the Ottoman Empire, which put it in a tricky position when it came to determining the empire's fate. The only one of Wilson's 14 Points that dealt with it was ambiguous: 'The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development.' *What were the Turkish portions? Who should have autonomous development? The Arabs? The Armenians? The Kurds? The scattered Greek communities?*

Before the Peace Conference started it was generally assumed that, at the very least, the U.S. would take a mandate for Armenia and the Straits. Not everyone was pleased. British admirals, having got rid of the Russian menace, did not want to see a strong U.S. presence at the eastern end of the Mediterranean. The India Office was also concerned. Mehmet VI was not only the Ottoman Sultan but also the caliph, the nearest thing to a spiritual leader for all Moslems. " #3

"In it Boghos Nubar repeated that he had received a 'formal assurance' that after the victory of the Allies the Armenian 'national aspirations would be satisfied'. He was worried about deportees, still exposed to the vengeance of Turks, in the deserts of Mesopotamia. Boghos Nubar knew that the three Armenian *provinces* of Erzurum, Van and Bitlis would be probably annexed to Russia, but the other *provinces* reunited with Cilicia, would devolve to France. It was for this, Armenia having an access to the Mediterranean, that he asked for autonomy of the largest kind, and for which he had obtained 'a formal promise'." #4

"Thus the abandonment of Armenia was total and complete in respect of protection and help: but not in respect of advice and guidance. Britain had neither the power nor the will to protect Armenia and the Caucasian Republics. Nevertheless, she discouraged them from coming to terms with either Soviet Russia or Kemalist Turkey, the only states with real power in the Caucasus. After his visit to that region in October - December, 1920, C. Leonard Leese, the Organizing Secretary of the British Armenia Committee and special correspondent for The Manchester Guardian, revealed that an offer by Kemalist Turkey in

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the spring of 1920 to negotiate directly with Armenia was declined by the latter 'after consultation with the British Chief Commissioner for Transcaucasia'. 'Russia alone had forces to intervene' Arnold Toynbee, back from his long trip in the East, told in a meeting..." #5

"...and Armenia rejected all Soviet Russia's proposals of mediation to fix her frontiers with her neighbors and, in particular the frontiers of Turkish Armenia', Chicherin claimed. To the end, the British representatives faithfully tried to carry out Curzon's instructions: 'The rescue, if possible, of ... Yerevan from the influence of the Soviet Government'." #6

"The new Dashnaksuthiun planks were Armenian autonomy and election of representatives from their party to the Ottoman Parliament. - Militancy and independence again became the platform of Dashnaksuthiun. - Two American missionaries and 20 Evangelical Armenian pastors died. Five missionary women were fortunate to survive a week's siege at Hadjin. - British and American warships helped restore order as relief activities began among thousands of refugees. Young Turk investigation brought about the execution of several Armenians and Turks and compensation to injured Armenians. The government also proclaimed the innocence of Armenians generally and their loyalty to the central authority. Each *millet* was a religious community receiving more faithfulness from its adherents than did the central Turk administration. *Millets* handled marriage, divorce, inheritance, and other personal civil matters and nourished separate languages, courts, tax collections and cultural and educational institutions. After 1863, the Armenians even had their own legislature, which met biennially in Constantinople under the Gregorian Patriarch. As Westernization penetrated the Ottoman Empire, chiefly through French thought, the *millets* became nuclei for European-style, territorial nationalism." #7

"The Dashnak's western section met at Erzurum and rejected the proposal of the Porte. The proposal stated that if Russian and Turkish-Armenians would cooperate with the CUP in event of an Ottoman-Russian war, the minority people would receive autonomy under the Empire for three Turkish-Armenian provinces -Erzurum, Van, Bitlis- and for two Russian-Armenian provinces - Kars and Erivan... Soon after this meeting at Erzurum, the Russians appealed to the Dashnak-led Armenian National Council in Tbilisi. The Czar promised autonomy to six Turkish-Armenian provinces as well as the two Russian-Armenian provinces. Earlier a Czarist minister of foreign affairs reportedly had confided Russia's aim: 'We need Armenia, but without Armenians'. Primarily because of trust in France and Great Britain as associates of Russia, the Armenian National Council accepted the Czar's offer. - After a prodding by Germany, hostilities between the Ottoman Empire and the Turks called for a Holy War. Such an act by the rather irreligious Young Turks was partly cynical, to unify Arab and Turkish Moslems to appeal to Russian Moslems.- When Enver's forces moved across the Russian-Turkish border through the Bardiz Pass, Russian-Armenian volunteers held them up at Sarikamish. This Armenian effort gave Russian military unit, time to group

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and defeat the Turks. After this failure, the Committee became convinced that Turkish-Armenians were traitors, that not only should the police imprison and execute them but the Army should shoot them." #8

"With such aims in view, Russia, through Count Varantzoff Dashkoff, informed the Armenian National Council (then in existence at Tiflis) that if the Armenians would unreservedly give their support to the Russian armies during the course of the war, Russia would grant autonomy to the six Armenian vilayets.

After long and weighty consultation, with their hopes pinned on France and England, the Armenians resolved to aid the Russian armies in every possible way.

While Russian diplomacy was in the midst of these diplomatic negotiations at Tiflis, during the last days of August, 1914, a Turkish mission of twenty-eight members (the object of which was to organize a Pan-Islamic and a Pan-Turanian movement among all the races of the Near East against Russia and her Allies) left Constantinople for Armenia.

During those same days the annual Congress of the Armenian National Organization was in session at Erzeroum. In the name of the Turkish government the above mentioned mission appealed to the Armenian Organization with the following proposition:

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

In spite of these promises and threats, the executive committee of the Dashnaktzoutiun (Federation) informed the Turks that the Armenians could not accept the Turkish proposal, and on their behalf advised the Turks not to participate in the present war, which would be very disastrous to the Turks themselves. The Armenian members of this parley were the well-known publicist, Mr. E. Aknouni, the representative from Van, Mr. A. Vramian, and the director of the Armenian schools in the district of Erzeroum, Mr. Rostom.' " #9

"The best that could be said of the Armenians' Loyalty to the Ottoman Empire was that it was conditional. The responses of their community leaders in 1914 were characterized by *attentisme*, and the possibility of a rising in the Turkish rear was one which the Russians were ready to exploit. Significantly, the first note of international protest was prepared by Sazonov as early as April 27th, although it was not published until May 24th. In it he claimed that the populations of over 100 villages had been massacred. He also said that the killings had been concerted by agents of the Ottoman Government...This became the crux. On May 25th, 1915, Interior Minister Mehmed Talat announced that Armenians living near the war zones would be deported to Syria and Mosul. His justifications for the decree were rooted in the needs of civil order and military necessity, and it was sanctioned by the Ottoman council of ministers on 30 May. The latter included provisions designed to

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safeguard the lives and property of those deported. But three days earlier the council had told all senior army commanders that, if they encountered armed..." #10

"...if the Armenians - the Turkish as well as the Russian Armenians - would give active cooperation to the Turkish armies, the Turkish Government under a German guarantee would promise to create after the war an autonomous Armenia (made up of Russian Armenia and the three Turkish provinces of Erzurum, Van and Bitlis) under the suzerainty of the Ottoman Empire... The commander of the Ottoman Army reported that the Dashnaks at the Erzurum congress had adopted the following plans:

1. To preserve loyalty in tranquility pending the declaration of war, but to carry on with the preparations for arming with weapons being brought from Russia and others to be obtained locally.
2. If war is declared Armenian soldiers in the Ottoman Army will join the Russian Army with their arms.
3. If the Ottoman Army advances to remain calm.
4. Should the Ottoman Army then retreat or come to a standstill position, to form armed guerilla bands and begin programmed operations behind army lines." #11

"...it is known that the Minister of War, Enver sent a personal note to the Armenian patriarch, in which he asked him to restrain the militants and their expressions of support for the Allies...The salvation of the Turkish-Armenians is possible only by delivering them from Turkish domination and by creating an autonomous Armenia under the powerful protectorate of great Russia. The czar replied: 'Tell your flock, Holy Father, that a most brilliant future awaits the Armenians.' Hovannisian, who reports this exchange, comments: 'Though soothing and comforting to the political mind of the Armenians, such statements disturbed the few who feared that the declarations would only deepen the suspicion of the Ittihat Government toward its Armenian subjects.' "#12

"When giving the result of his arbitration on November, 1920, President Wilson, stressed that he had examined the question, as he put it, with a mind 'to the highest interests of justice' and in the light of the 'most trustworthy' information available. He decided that 42,000 km² of territory should be added to the Republic of Armenia from Turkish Armenia. Armenians all over the world were vibrant with patriotism. Kajazuni, would a few years later, comment with the wisdom of experience: 'The Treaty of Sevres had dazzled the eyes of all of us, restricted our power to think, clouded our consciousness of reality'. "#13

"It would therefore be undesirable, for the time being, to provoke an Armenian rebellion in Turkey. He added, however, that, in the event of war, he would expect the Armenians to carry out his orders. On receiving the Viceroy's reply the Catholicos wrote to Czar Nicholas II that the Armenians hoped for Russian protection. The Czar replied as

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follows: 'Tell your flock, Holy Father, that a most brilliant future awaits the Armenians' However, Russia was not really interested in the Armenians; it was prepared to use them only as tools in its expansionist policy. Meanwhile, Dr. Zavriyev, who directed the foreign relations of the Dashnakists, visited Vorontsov-Dashkov and confidentially promised him the help of his party and the Armenian people, in the event of war with Turkey. R. McDonnell of the British Foreign Office notes that it was Vorontsov-Dashkov who, on the outbreak of war, made very considerable use of the Dashnak Society for secret service purposes in Turkey; and for creating disturbances and opposing the Turks in Asia Minor.' #14

" According to Papasian, in August, 1914, the Young Turks suggested to the Dashnak congress that they should implement their Agreement of 1907, and incite the Caucasian Armenians to a rebellion against Russia. The Dashnakists did not accept this suggestion, but declared that, if war broke out between Turkey and Russia would support Turkey as loyal subjects; but that they would not be held responsible for the actions of the Russian Armenians...Another version of this is that the Ottoman leaders met with the Dashnakists in Erzurum in the hope of getting them to support the Ottoman war effort when it came, with the promise of Armenian autonomy. The Turkish branch of the Dashnakists promised that, if the Ottomans entered the war, they would do their duty as loyal citizens in the Ottoman armies, but that they did not know what the Russian Armenians would do. A booklet published in 1921 by the British Armenia Committee, and entitled The Case for Armenia, admits, however, that the Armenian leaders of the national congress of the Ottoman Armenians, sitting at Erzurum in the autumn of 1914, declared that, as a nation they could not work for the cause of Turkey and its allies. Nevertheless the Armenians failed to live up to their individual promise, since, even before this meeting had taken place, a secret Dashnak congress held in Erzurum earlier had already decided to use the coming war to undertake a general attack against the Ottoman state'." #15

"It is also interesting to note here that, a secret circular of the Ottoman War Office reported that Ottoman Armenian leaders, Papasian and Vramian, both belonging to the Dashnak party, had gone to Erzurum, taking with them the resolutions of the congress held in Istanbul. The circular referred to a meeting held in Erzurum with the participation of Dashnakist delegates from the Caucasus, at which the understanding reached with the Russians about the latter's promise that the Armenians would be given independence on territories to be annexed from the Ottoman Empire, was discussed. The meeting approved the Russo-Armenian agreement and resolved as follows: the Armenians would preserve their loyalty in peacetime, pending the declaration of war, but would carry on with their preparations and with arming themselves with weapons brought in from Russia and obtained locally. If war was declared, Armenian soldiers in the Ottoman Army would join the Russian armies with their weapons. If the Ottoman Army advanced, they would remain calm and loyal. If the Ottoman Army retreated, or came to a standstill, they would form armed guerrilla bands and begin programmed operations behind Ottoman lines." #16

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"As a result of this reform movement the Armenian *millet* was given a constitution that was sanctioned by the Sultan on March 17th, 1863. It was 'a remarkable document is institutionalizing a high degree of autonomy' according to Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis. It inaugurated a 'golden age' for the Armenian *millet*, some of whose militant leaders began to abuse their new privileges and strove for the establishment of an *imperium in imperio*. The Russians, who were not happy with the reforms, as they believed these would spread to their own Armenian subjects, used the Armenian constitution as a pretext to intensify their interference in Ottoman Armenian affairs..." #17

(German Chief of the General Staff, Felix Guse's Article):

"According to Joseph Pomiankowski, more than 40 German officers served within the Ottoman Army during the war. One of them was Chief of the General Staff of the 3rd Army, Felix Guse. Staying for more than three years in such an important post made it possible for Felix Guse to study the country and its people closely, and to deepen his information on events and developments. Besides Guse's memoirs, which have been translated to Turkish, there is an article written by him entitled '1915 Armenian Rebellions and its Results'. In his article, he stresses that false evaluations on the Armenian issue are widespread. He refers to his own experiences and he underlines them with quotations from significant sources. By doing this, he presents a realistic approach to the Armenian issue...The Dashnaks did not want separatism from the Ottoman Empire while the Hunchaks started turmoil in the population, which led to the massacres that the Armenians committed towards the Turks at the end of the 19th century. I witnessed in 1914 in Sivas that the requests of the Armenian Community were fulfilled immediately, whereas the Armenians were simply opposing everything. The Armenian leader Pasdermadjian admitted in his book that the Armenians were secretly arming themselves. At the Dashnak Congress in Erzurum in 1914, the Turks offered the Armenians autonomy when they joined the Turkish side and stopped supporting the Russians. The solution that the Turkish Government found against the Armenian rebellions was the population-relocation, which intended to resettle the Armenians of Anatolia to Mesopotamia away from the war zones. Of course, there were some difficulties during the relocation. But the fact the land and places to live were given to the relocated population, shows the goodwill of the Turks. This goodwill might have been at a minimum in the European sense, still for Eastern standards Turks did the best to comfort the Armenians. During the relocation, there were losses, but so-called reports of some Armenians were nothing but propaganda. In these reports exaggeration and repetition of some events can be observed." #18

"Russia, too, while happy to use Armenian support, was no more anxious than the Ottoman Government to see the lands of eastern Anatolia and the Caucasus formed into an independent Armenia state. There was no place for an autonomous Turkish-Armenia in the post-war plans of Russia. On the contrary, the region was marked for annexation as an

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integral unit of the Romanoff Empire, and for its possible repopulation by the Russian peasants and Cossacks. Hence, in mid-1916, Armenian hopes were rudely shaken. The Russian authorities abruptly ordered the demobilization of the Armenian volunteer units, proscribed Armenian civic activity, and imposed stringent press censorship, which left the Armenians aghast." #19

"Armenian National Delegation President, Boghos Nubar was more revealing when he added: *At the beginning of the war, the Turkish Government had offered to grant the Armenians a sort of autonomy asking from them, in exchange, volunteers to rouse the Caucasus against Russia. The Armenians rejected this offer and placed themselves without hesitation, on the side of the Entente Powers, from whom they expected liberation*" #20

"Bryce himself called at the Foreign Office early in March, 1915 with the suggestion that Russia should be approached to announce that it would be prepared to agree to an autonomous Armenia eventually instituted under Russian protection. Such a declaration would please the Armenians, Bryce believed, and stimulate them to afford assistance to the Allies in conflict with Turkey. In April, he was encouraging the Armenians to rise against Turks in Cilicia." #21

In the light of the above explanations from different sources, the *sincerity of the Dashnaks in their struggle for independence and autonomy* becomes fuzzy.

Maybe the comments of prominent Armenians such as Katchaznuni and Lalayan, who were saying what really they were and are still looking for, such as:

Remembering that kind-hearted people in the U.S., Britain, France and Russia were so affected by the 'Christians butchered by Moslems' editorials, they donated generously to the church alms boxes, some even giving their rings. From the aspect of how the feelings of innocent good-hearted people were being exploited and (maybe still) milked, this is a typical paradox, as per the instances sited in Chapter 30.

"Lying, cheating, playing tricks and distorting the truth are their outstanding features. Like other bourgeois parties, they cannot live without these. Therefore, this anti-revolutionist party of Armenian bourgeois is trying to show itself as a revolutionist and people's party." #22

"Zavriev, the head of the International Relations Dept. of the Dashnakzutiun Party, in a letter he sent to the ambassadors of the Czarist Russia in London and Paris in 1915, exposes the role played by Armenians in World War II.

Since the first days of the present war, the Russian Armenians have been in expectation of joining the war. This situation gives rise to the hope that the Armenian question will be taken up at the end of the war, and it will definitely be solved. For this

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reason, Armenians cannot hold back from participating in the prospective events and thus must take their place in the war, most passionately." #23

"As is known, the Russian Government donated 242,000 rubles at the beginning of the war to make preparations to arm the Turkish-Armenians and to incite revolts in the country during the war. Our volunteer units need to break the defense line of the Turkish forces and to unite with the rebels and to create anarchy on the front and behind the lines and by these means help the Russian armies pass through and capture Turkish Armenia." #24

"It would be useless to argue today whether our bands of volunteers should have entered the war or not. Historical events have their irrefutable logic. In the fall of 1914, Armenian volunteer units organized themselves and fought against the Turks because they could not refrain themselves from fighting. This was an inevitable result of a psychology on which the Armenian people nourished themselves during an entire generation: that mentality should have found its expression, and it did so." #25

"According to a memorandum drawn up by R. McDonnell of the British Foreign Office, the Dashnakists bought arms and ammunition in Russia, and sent them through the Caucasus and Persia to Turkey. They collected men and privately trained them. They planned and carried out every kind of agitation and assassination, including the murder of the wealthy Armenians who refused to contribute to their funds. The extremist activities of the Dashnak party are well portrayed by Ian Smith, British Vice-Consul in Van, and by R. McDonnell. The latter wrote about this party as follows:

*They raised money by terror among their own people, and spent large sums on arms and ammunition...; they fomented hatred of Moslems... For the Dashnaks there could be no peace without conquest; no decision will satisfy them, whose aspiration is an Armenia stretching from Yerevan to the Mediterranean Sea " #26**

On the 'Three Monkeys' blogsite, there was a mid-2004 interview by Andrew Lawless, with Prof. Dennis Papazian, on the subject "When is Genocide not Genocide"... The following is an excerpt from the interview: 'Why is it important to recognize the events as a Genocide'? It's widely recognized that atrocities were committed against the Armenians in 1915, why is official recognition important?

<Recognition opens all sorts of legal doors for restitution. It can be shown that the present Turkish state is the legal successor of the state of the Ottoman Empire, particularly that of the Young Turk Government which carried out the Armenian Genocide. While no significant annexation of land can be expected, there is every possibility that some sort of financial restitution. For example, my family owned tracts of land along the Bosphorus, land which would be priceless today, *I personally would like to get my hands on some of that money. It is not wrong for a victim to seek restitution.*">

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As it will be seen in other chapters of this book, the “very essence of the cause” was not “autonomy or freedom”; on the contrary, it was militancy, plundering and extortion from others, where the lives of all were easily expendable.

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Chapter 8: - References and Footnotes:

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 2. Akaby Nassibian, *Britain and the Armenian Question, 1915-23* Croom Helm, London pg.107
 3. Margaret Macmillan, *Paris 1919*, Random House – New York, pg.376
 4. Ibid, pg.110
 5. Ibid, pg.215
 6. Ibid, pg.216
 7. Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East*, U. of Minn.Press 1991, pg.50
 8. Ibid, pg.59
 9. Dr. G. Pasdermafjian, *Why Armenia Should Be Free*, Boston, Dec. 1918, Hairenik Publishing Company p.16-17
 10. Hew Starchan, *The First World War*, Penguin, 2004, pg.112
 11. Guenther Lewy, *The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey*, U. of Utah Press, pg.100
 12. Ibid, pg.101
 13. Akaby Nassibian, *Britain and the Armenian Question, 1915-23* Croom Helm, London, pg.181
 14. Salahi Sonyel, *The Great War and the Great Tragedy of Anatolia*, T.T.K., pg.82
 15. Ibid, pg.83
 16. Ibid, pg.85
 17. Ibid, pg.9 -10
 18. <http://armenians-1915.blogspot.com/>, 734
 19. Salahi Sonyel, *The Great War and the Great Tragedy of Anatolia*, T.T.K., pg.136
 20. Ibid, pg.84
 21. Ibid, pg.20
 22. A.A.Lalayan, *Taşnak Partisinin Karşı Devrimci Rolü (1914 - 23)*, Kaynak Yay. pg.25
 23. Hovhannes Khatchaznoui, *Dashnagtzoutiun Has Nothing to do Anymore*, Kaynak Yay. pg.17
 24. Ibid, pg.17
 25. Ibid, pg.37
 - 26*. Salahi Sonyel, *The Great War and the Great Tragedy of Anatolia*, T.T.K., pg.77
- This paragraph explains why money was collected, earned and spent for malice!**

Chapter 9: ATROCITIES, VAN etc.

Although this book concentrates more on incidents that occurred after 1915, the emergence of atrocities and revolutionary acts dates back to 1880s. For instance, The Berlin Tageblatt paper dated Oct. 3rd, 1895 published the following news: *"The Constantinople correspondent telegraphs that while the struggle between Armenians and the police was the most violent, two dragomans from the British Embassy drove up and down in a carriage through the crowd. It was universally remarked that the embassy was as splendidly informed of the happenings as were the police, who arrived on the scene at the same time as did the dragomans. The correspondent adds that 1500 entirely new revolvers of English manufacture, all being the same caliber and a great number of cartridges were found on the persons and in the streets in which rioting took place."* One has to wonder, how come all the revolvers were; (1) of same type, (2) new and made in England, and (3) if 1,500 of them were found on the rioting people in the streets, how many more were waiting for their turn in their homes! Of course they were "sold"; and some people should be making money on this trade!

The purpose of this research is to shed light on this ongoing controversy, one in which a nation of over 73 millions of Turks are charged by the worldwide Armenian community numbering some 4 millions, for so-called 'crimes' committed against them around a century ago. The latter classifies those events as 'genocide', a term that did not exist at that time, whereby today's inheritors of eastern Anatolia "should compensate Armenian inheritors by paying an indemnity, change current borders and express an open apology." The Armenian side *claims that it was merely an innocent and loyal community and that it was totally annihilated in 1915, simply because of its Christian faith and Armenian ethnicity.* Although there were several books subsequently written regarding the braveries and victories of Armenians against the Turks during World War I, the former party did not charge or punish a single person of his or her own persuasion throughout this extended episode, which started around 1870 and ended around 1923. On the other hand, the Turkish side admitted that there were reciprocal brutalities and that quite a number of Turks were punished, even executed, for failing in their duties. Although several incidents are explained in other chapters, our objectives here are; 1) to highlight several atrocities from the standpoint of anti-Turkish or neutral authorities and 2) to question whether Armenians were indeed loyal, innocent victims or else traitors who sided and fought for the enemies aiming to destroy the very existence of the Ottoman state. Since there are many examples, some paradoxical, overlapping, contradictory and retroactive, we ask the reader to excuse repetitive incidents from different writers and chronologies that may be encountered. For a very comprehensive study of full details, readers may refer to: *"The Armenian Revolt at Van"*, Univ. of Utah Press, 2006, ISBN 13-978-0-87480-870-4 by McCarthy, Arslan, Taskiran and Turan.

The intentions and preparations of the Dashnaks were no secret. On the contrary, they were trumpeted loudly and officially throughout Europe. Taken from a report submitted to 1910 Copenhagen Socialist Congress, the following excerpt,

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(translated from the original in French – Institute Emil Vendervelde, Bruxelles, Bibliotheque No. BS 792-38) leaves no question about their determination to revolt and cooperate with the enemies of the Ottoman Empire:

"In Turkish Armenia the same types of organizations exist. In Bitlis and Van provinces, two of the provinces with the largest Armenian population which we had under our flag until 1908 practically all of the rural population organized into political groups. (Political groups in our day still exist but their numbers are reduced).

These groups were used for offensive and defensive purposes. In every village the party used to choose five to eight of the best experienced and most courageous, reliable persons, often 45 - 50 years old and charged for the higher surveillance activities. These were mobile bands or '*Volante*' which had several types of assignments such as guerillas, to transport such persons place to place, to assure their rescue in case of prosecution and hasten to help neighboring villages in case of menaces of the Kurd bands. Next to mobile bands there were other groups in every village. Viz:

1. Militant groups, some 30 - 50 men, on watch everyday in the village, for the defense in case of an attack,
2. Auxiliary Group or 'financier' charged to find material resources,
3. Military Group in order to procure arms,
4. Woman Group charged especially to transport letters and correspondence between

In this manner, the whole Armenian population of the plain of Muş was organized; some 100 villages in Sassoun, Vaspourkan and others... Until 1908, the activities of our party in Turkey exercised clandestinely and by night, the comrades would not go out during the day time. The transportation of arms, the propaganda, the armament of the population, shooting exercises all was done using the possibilities of the night... These activities were indeed essentially political and revolutionary. ... They continue today but openly. In all centers of Turkish Armenia, also in other parts of the country which are inhabited by Armenians, our party has her *fedai* bands however the main goal is to watch that this reaction will not be relieved from minds. In this hard but necessary task there were wherever possible alliance with the "Ittihat" (Union and Progress)."

Also, in the two recent works referred to in the introduction of this book are more than 200 original photos of documents taken from the Ottoman Military Archives with their English translations, clearly reporting some incidents, orders, agreements and correspondence with Russian Army commanders. These documents fully confirm in detail, some of the atrocities and conditions prevailing at that time. Yet, since this study excludes Turkish references or the writings of prominent pro-Turkish (!) historians, the readers are reminded of other publications that are not widely known or read overseas. Taken from the Sunday, August, 15th, 1915 issue of "Cedar Rapids Republican", the following excerpt is from a long article with the full-page headline <Armenians Escape from Yoke of "The Terrible"

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Turk > shows the loyalty(!) of the Armenians: The relocation order was put in effect in early June 1915 and cancelled in August 1915.

<"Turkish Rule Van Province Ended at Last"- Graphic Story of Successful Uprising secured by the Associated Press... Armenians May Be Permitted to Establish Own Government and Province - May Come Under Russian Control - Turkey in Possession 600 Years....

A foundation of Armenian autonomy has been laid, however, by the naming of one of the Armenian leaders Ardin who was the former supervisor of schools, as civil governor and establishment of a provisional administration....

Dr. C.D. Ussher and E. A. Yarrow, of the American Mission, accepted the futile office of the intercessors. Cevdet was obdurate, he would put down rebellion at all costs, first at Sharlakh and then at Van. He tried to force the missionaries to accept a Turkish garrison of 50 soldiers or to give him a written release from responsibility for their safety...

Ammunition was scarce but Prof. Menassian Effendi, Head of the National School and graduate of Yale's Sheffield School of Science, cleverly transformed such chemicals as were at hand and manufactured smokeless and black powder, while mechanics turned brass cartridge shells. The Armenian laboratories were soon issuing 2000 cartridges daily, besides hand grenades... Women and children carried ammunition and food and water... After a three-hour fight, the Turks retreated, leaving 35 dead on the field. The Armenians here lost one killed and two wounded... The AP correspondent (*most likely George A. Schreiner, who wrote a bitter letter to Ambassador Morgenthau in 1918 after his book was published, accusing him of distortion and lies... See Chapter 16*) rejoiced exuberantly at the sight of the American flag, hospitably displayed to guide him into town and was enveloped in the peace of the hospitable missionary homes..." >

Turkey was fighting a war of liberation and survival, and parts of the country were under foreign occupation. If you judge that the excerpts are sufficient proof of "*innocence and loyalty*" you may skip the rest. In a few cases, footnotes have been added to self-explanatory excerpts.

"... Art. 6, of the program of the Hunchak Party stated: 'The time for the general revolution (Armenia) will be when a foreign power attacks Turkey externally. The party shall revolt internally.' In due time this program of course became known to the Turkish Government and during World War I, the Young Turks used the clause to justify the deportation of the Armenians... In order to achieve these aims 'by means of the revolution,' revolutionary bands were 'to arm the people,' wage 'an incessant fight against the [Turkish] Government,' and 'wreck and loot government institutions.' They were 'to use the weapon of the terror on corrupt government officers, spies, traitors, grafters, and all sorts of oppressors' ..." #1*

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"... Operating from bases in the Russian Caucasus and Persia and taking advantage of eastern Anatolia's mountainous terrain, Armenian guerrilla bands attacked Turkish Army units, gendarmerie posts, and Kurdish villages involved in banditry. There were charges of massacres of Moslem villagers. British consuls regularly mention the killing of Turkish officials. In late-November, 1892, an Armenian villager tried to assassinate the governor of Van. Upon interrogation, the British vice-consul reported, the villager stated that his brother and several others, including the village priest, had led him to believe that 'the Armenian national cause would thereby be advanced'..." #2

"...There is general agreement, writes Vahakn N. Dadrian, that 'the revolutionaries were not only opposed by the bulk of the Armenian population and of its ecclesiastical leadership, but in fact comprised a very small segment of that population.' Hence they were often driven to resort to terror against their own people. British consular reports mention several attempts to assassinate Armenian patriarchs and many instances of Armenians killed for failure to contribute to the costs of the revolutionary struggle or accused of being traitors or spies. A report from Marsovan, dated May 27th, 1893, noted that the 'terrorism they [revolutionaries] exercised over their more tranquil compatriots was increasing, and some murders which had recently occurred of supposed informers or lukewarm supporters had deepened the fears of the peace lovers. Dashnak literature contained long lists of persons liquidated by execution. 'Early issues of the Dashnak *Droshag* [Standard].' writes a historian of the Dashnaks, 'frequently carry notices of those against whom the death penalty has been served or about those who had met the penalty.' This way of enforcing revolutionary justice was considered fully justified, for, as another more recent defender of this practice put it, 'the revolutionary avenger was the Archangel Gabriel whom to oppose was unthinkable. He was sinless and impeccable, the executor of the will on high. He was invisible and invulnerable. His hands were always clean.' After all, he added, the revolutionary terror affected only 'those baneful elements which jeopardized the safety of the people and the progress of the emancipating cause.' 'The great majority of the Armenians, wrote American missionary Edwin M. Bliss, strongly opposed any sedition activity, and the idea of a general uprising was considered madness'...In the summer of 1892, the new Liberal Government in England, headed by William Gladstone, sent sharp notes of protest to the Porte that further inflamed the situation. In the eyes of many patriotic Turks the Armenians were, now more than ever, disloyal subjects in league with the European powers that sought to dismantle the Ottoman Empire...

In their attempts to suppress the revolutionary agitation, the Ottoman authorities in the eastern provinces made little effort to differentiate between the guilty and the innocent. Following the appearance of revolutionary placards in Marsovan in January 1893, the police arrested over 700 Armenians." #3*

"...In the summer of 1894, the rugged Armenian villagers of Sassun, under the prodding of Armenian revolutionaries, refused to pay the customary tribute to Kurdish chiefs.

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Unable to subdue their former underlings, the Kurds appealed for help to the Ottoman Government, which sent regular army units. After prolonged and sharp fighting and having been promised amnesty if they laid down their arms, the Armenians surrendered. Yet large numbers of villagers, without distinction of age or sex, were massacred, Christian missionaries and European consuls voiced their revulsion, and the sultan was forced to agree to a commission of inquiry with British, French, and Russian participation as well as to a number of reform measures. ...Some authors have argued that this and other incidents were part of a strategy on the part of Armenian revolutionaries, especially the Hunchaks, to provoke the Turks to commit excesses that would draw the attention of the Christian world and bring about European intervention." #4

"... For example, the 1894 troubles in Sassun were preceded by Armenian attacks on the Bekhran and Zadian tribes, which resulted in armed battles between the Armenian revolutionaries and Kurdish tribesmen! ...The provocative intentions of at least some of the Armenian revolutionaries to bring about such an intervention are well documented and are mentioned by many contemporary observers of the events in question. For example, an eloquent defender of the revolution explained to Cyrus Hamlin, the founder of Robert College in Constantinople, how Hunchak bands would use European sympathy for Armenian suffering to bring about European intervention. They 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 this scheme as immoral, he was told: '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 shrieks and blood of millions of women and children...' We are desperate. We shall do'. The program of the Hunchaks, Louise Nalbandian notes, required that the people were to be 'incited' against their enemies and were to 'profit' from the retaliatory actions of these same enemies. " #5*

"Other contemporaries report similar statements; it is clear that the actions of the revolutionaries did not just consist of self-defense, as most pro-Armenian authors are prone to argue. The American author George Hepworth, a highly regarded observer and friend of the Armenians, noted that 'the revolutionaries are doing what they can to make fresh outrages possible. That is their avowed purpose. They reason that if they can induce the Turks to kill more of the Armenians, themselves excepted, Europe will be forced to intervene.' The veteran British correspondent Edwin Pears noted that Russia had turned against the Armenian revolutionaries in the Caucasus, fearful that they would succeed in undermining the czar's autocratic rule, and that under these circumstances an Armenian revolt against the Ottomans had no chance of success...The observation of Consul Graves in Erzurum, made about two years before the horrible massacres of 1895-96, turned out to

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be sadly prophetic. A 'spirit of hostility and race hatred,' he noted on July 1st, 1893, 'has been aroused among the hitherto friendly Turkish population which may some day, if further provoked, find vent in reprisals and atrocities.' Unfortunately, that is what happened." #6

"The events of Sassun, as one writer puts it, 'opened the floodgates to a torrent of Turcophobia in Europe and the U.S.' Just as after the Bulgarian atrocities of 1876, there was an outcry of protest, and the press of Britain and America demanded action. The ambassadors of Britain, France, and Russia now began to pressure the sultan to accept political reforms for the six eastern provinces of Anatolia. According to the plan, there was to be an amnesty for Armenian political prisoners, one-third of all administrators were to be Armenians, the gendarmerie was to be mixed, and the Kurdish Hamidiye regiments were to operate only in conjunction with regular army units. The appointment of governors was to be subject to confirmation by the European powers, a control commission was to be established, and a high commissioner was to implement the plan. Many of the Armenians as well as Britain had hoped for more far-reaching reforms, but Russia was adamantly opposed to any scheme that might eventually lead to full Armenian independence or to the use of military pressure to gain acceptance of the plan" #7

"THE NEW YORK TIMES, Nov.2,1895: AGGRESSIONS OF ARMENIANS – Evidence of the Riots at Bitlis and Zeitun Shows Premeditation... Zeitoun is peopled by Armenian mountaineers. After killing the Major of the gendarmes and five other men here, the Armenians burned the Mohammedan village of Karmili. The run on the Bank of Constantinople on Thursday was organized by Armenians with the intent to depreciate Turkish stock. Measures have been taken to prevent such a plan being successful."

"THE NEW YORK TIMES, Dec.15,1895: ARMS AND BOMBS FOR ZEITUN – Armenians Start from Hudich with Connivance of Authorities..."

"THE NEW YORK TIMES, Dec. 21, 1895: A MASSACRE AT ZEITOUN - Insurgents Kill All Turkish Soldiers in Town Except Two (a Colonel and adjutant) - Terrell will Start for Smyrna - Armenian Patriarch Denies Accusations of the Porte Against Christians

"THE NEW YORK TIMES, Feb. 8, 1896: ZEITOUN STILL BESIEGED – Consuls Cannot Guarantee the Safety of the Inhabitants – No Provisions Needed Save Salt - Turkey's Sultan Assures Queen Victoria that the Armenians Attacked the Mussulmans in Mosque...."

"THE NEW YORK TIMES, Feb.19, 1896: SURRENDER OF ZEITOUN - Turks Finally Placed in Possession of the Fortified City - Five of the Hintchaks Exiled - Murad Bey Convicted and Sentenced to Death for Attacks on the Sultan..."

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"...in two instances Armenian revolutionaries decided to strike first. In the mountain town of Zeitun, located about 170 miles north of Aleppo and inhabited by strong-willed Armenians with a long history of militancy, Hunchak organizers had passed the word that the British and French fleets would come to the aid of an uprising. In late-October, the Zeitunis overwhelmed the local garrison and for several weeks successfully defended their stronghold against a large Turkish force that soon arrived on the scene and laid siege to the town. The rebellion finally ended with an amnesty, arranged with the help of European consuls. In Van, a center of Armenian nationalist feeling, revolutionaries barricaded themselves in the Armenian quarter. Here, too, a siege was resolved through the mediation of foreign consuls...During the winter of 1895-96 Armenian widows and orphans who had survived the wave of killing suffered from want of food and shelter, and large numbers died of cold, hunger, and exposure. ...

... and dynamite, seized the Imperial Ottoman Bank in Constantinople and threatened to blow up the bank if their demands for the introduction of reforms in Armenia were not granted. The demands included the appointment of a European high commissioner for the Armenian provinces and a general amnesty for Armenians convicted on political charges. Bombs were also thrown in several other parts of the city." #8*

"It appears that both the Turkish police and the Armenian community knew of the audacious plan before it took place. Many well-to do Armenian families had left the city on the morning of the attack... Once again the Armenian revolutionaries had brought about nothing but more suffering for their unfortunate and innocent compatriots." #9

"... Whatever figure is accepted, there can be little doubt that the events of 1895-96 created misery on a vast scale. Thousands of houses and shops were plundered and destroyed, many Armenians were forced to convert or made to flee for their life, and in the aftermath of the massacres hunger and disease added to the human toll. The loss of life, one should add, would have been even higher if (as several sources indicate) many Armenians had not been protected by their Moslem neighbors." #10*

"The American missionary Bliss reported that special care was taken everywhere to avoid injury to the subjects of foreign nations and to kill men only. Small wonder therefore, that the European press everywhere placed the blame for the massacres on Abdulhamid, an autocratic ruler known for giving minute attention to the internal affairs of his empire. Prime Minister Gladstone called him the 'Grand Assassin' and 'the unspeakable Turk.'" #11*

"...The acting British consul in Angora noted on Oct. 26th, 1895: 'The governor has made strenuous and hitherto successful efforts to prevent disturbances of any kind.' On Nov. 24, 1895, British consul Henry D. Barnham in Aleppo praised Lt. Gen. Edhem Pasha, the local commander, who, despite high tension and minor incidents, had been able to prevent a riot. Similar interventions occurred in other places...Many contemporaries who

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witnessed the massacres also stressed the responsibility of the Armenian revolutionaries, whose inflammatory propaganda had created an atmosphere of fear, and the empty promises of support by the European powers that had helped bring about the violent reaction of the Turks. The pamphlets of the revolutionaries, noted American journalist Sidney Whitman, had called for an uprising to throw off the Turkish yoke. The Turks had taken these threats seriously, and this had led to the horrors and 'the suffering of the innocent for the guilty.' "#12

"...Moslem refugees from the Balkans spread horror stories of how their homes and properties had been taken from them by the Christians and how Moslems had been butchered. After the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78 more than 500,000 Bulgarian Moslems alone had become permanent refugees in Anatolia and were known for their strong anti-Christian hatred. ...Even though a large majority of the Armenian population eked out a difficult living as downtrodden peasants in the countryside, many Armenians in the towns were doctors, pharmacists, or successful traders. 'The Turk had not the ability to compete with him, and was a constant loser, much to his disappointment and indignation'. The feeling of enmity had been growing steadily and only needed a proper occasion to explode in violence. The result was an orgy of violence that shocked the civilized world." #13

"The Young Turks Take Power:

After the massacres of 1895-96 Abdulhamid's rule lasted another 12 years. Until the Young Turks' successful seizure of power in 1908, Armenian revolutionaries kept up their attacks and even came close to assassinating the hated autocrat. They also tried again to achieve the intervention of the European powers. None of this brought the Armenians closer to their goal of liberation from Turkish rule. Indeed, there are indications that these activities stiffened the back of the Turks and eventually led to a new rupture between Armenians and Turks with even more disastrous consequences than during the reign of Abdulhamid.

Armenian guerilla warfare:

In late-July, 1897, one year after the ill-fated raid upon the Ottoman Bank in Constantinople, a force of 250 Dashnaks left their base on the Persian border and attacked the encampment of the Mazrik Kurdish tribe in the plain of Khanasor near the city of Van. The attack is said to have been a revenge for the tribe having wiped out an Armenian village. Benefiting from the element of surprise, the Armenians scored a major victory described by Armenian writers in various ways: 'a major part of the tribe was killed,' 'part of the men folk were massacred out right' or 'the entire tribe was annihilated.' According to Langer, the Armenians 'killed or barbarously mutilated men, women and children.' The Khanasor raid was widely reported by the European press, but its major impact was on the Armenians. They experienced a sense of encouragement, and hope grew that they would be able to attain their political freedom by themselves rather than having to rely on impotent European promises." #14

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"20 years after the first bloody fighting in the region of Sassun, a new battle broke out there in the spring of 1904. The Dashnaks had been distributing weapons and organizing fighting units for some time; according to a chronicler of the struggle, this was done 'with a view to a general uprising in the future.' Led by some of their best known commanders, such as Andranik (Ozanian) and Murad of Sebastia, the Armenians managed to fight off an attacking force of 15,000 Turkish troops for three weeks but finally had to withdraw into the mountains." #15*

"The new friendly relations between the Dashnaks and the CUP survived even a new massacre of Armenians in Adana and other parts of Cilicia that took place in the wake of a conservative counter coup in April, 1909. For some time, it appears, the leader of the Armenian community of Adana, Archbishop Muşeg, had urged his people to acquire arms, had voiced chauvinistic ideas, and had engaged in what was perceived as contemptuous behavior toward the Moslems. The Armenians of Cilicia, Pears was told by several observers on the scene, 'had asserted their liberty and equality with Moslems in terms which were unnecessarily offensive.' " #16

"... Another foreign observer on the scene attributes most of the killings in the villages around Adana to Kurds, who resented the role of the Armenians as moneylenders and usurers...The CUP, reinstalled in power, moved quickly to repair the damage. Money was appropriated for the relief of the victims; on May 1, the chamber of deputies voted almost unanimously to set up a court martial to try those guilty of the massacres. Eventually 50 Turks were condemned to death for murder and incitement to riot; 20 of these were actually executed—the first time that Moslems had been hanged for murdering Christians. Five Armenians were also among those condemned to death. At least three of them were probably innocent. The hotheaded Archbishop Muşeg escaped...The Armenians now became the most ardent defenders of the new regime. At their 5th Congress (held in the fall of 1909) the Dashnaks affirmed their policy of cooperation with the Young Turks, and they decided to discontinue their underground activities. Still, the collection of arms continued, ostensibly for self-defense. "#17*

"Tension between Turks and Armenians increased, especially in the wake of the Balkan wars. Turkish-Armenians were said to have served loyally in the ranks of the Ottoman military, but the Turkish Government did not fail to take note of the fact that one of the most famous Armenian commanders, Andranik, had relocated to Bulgaria, where he organized a group of volunteers to fight alongside the Bulgarians against Turkey. The Armenians of the Caucasus also agitated for Russian intervention against the Ottomans. Still more baneful was the influx of almost 500 000 Moslem refugees who had been forced to flee from their homes in the lost European provinces of the empire. During the parliamentary election of 1912, the Dashnaks and the CUP still agreed on a common

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platform, but by early 1913, relations had become strained. In the eastern provinces of Anatolia Kurdish, depredations were on the rise. ...A Hunchak congress held in Constanza (Romania) in September 1913 decided to move from legal to illegal activity, which included a plot to assassinate Talat, the minister of the interior. In January 1913, he had been one of a group of nationalistic CUP leaders who had overthrown the cabinet and effectively enthroned themselves as dictators. The attempt to assassinate Talat was not carried out, but it reflected the new more radical mood among many Armenian revolutionaries. Meanwhile Dashnak leaders, the heads of the Armenian church, and Armenians in the Diaspora, seeking to take advantage of the militarily defeated Turkey, renewed their efforts to for solving the Armenian question' by the intervention of the European powers." #18

From Report A-13922, Pera, 15.04.1915 of German Embassy:

"The ill feeling towards the Armenians is being enflamed by the news of the attitude of the Armenians abroad, thousands of them are said to be joining the Russian army voluntarily, not only from the Caucasus but also from the United States, Bulgaria and other countries and there are rumors that the Russian section of the Daschnakzutiun Party is demanding the destruction of the Muslim population in those areas which are to be relinquished by Turkey, in case the war ends unfavorably for that country. Finally, the reports about the behaviors of the Armenian soldiers in the Turkish army during the campaign in the Caucasus are particularly serious: they are said to have repeatedly turned their weapons against the Turks, a fact that is even being confirmed by German officers who were present during those combats. "

"... The insurgents were eventually saved by the advancing Russian Army. On May 17th, the Turkish garrison had to retreat in the face of superior enemy forces on May 20th, Russian- Armenian units, followed a little later by Russian troops, entered Van...The jubilant Armenians offered the commanding Russian general the keys to the city. In return, the Russian military authorities appointed Aram Manoukian, the head of the Armenian defense committee governor of the region. 'Armenian political consciousness was stimulated,' writes Hovannisian, 'for the promised reward, an autonomous Armenia under Russian protection, was within sight'..." #19*

"... deeds of vengeance committed by the victorious insurgents. After the flight of the Turkish garrison, all important buildings in the city of Van were set on fire. Revenge for centuries of slavery under Turkish rule exploded in 'a night of orgy, of saturnalia,' wrote an eyewitness. 'It is impossible to even faintly depict the grandeur of the flaming night,' Onnig Mukhitarian, the secretary of the Armenian defense council, recorded in his diary... After the departure of the Turks, writes the American missionary Clarence Ussher, the Armenians searched the city. 'The men they put to death; the women and children they spared.' Despite their protest, Dr. Ussher writes, this went on for two to three days. 'They burned and murdered; the spirit of loot took possession of them, driving out every other thought. The

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American Mission compound, which earlier had sheltered 5,000 Armenian refugees, now took in 1,000 Turkish women and children. 'These 1,000 fugitives,' wrote Mrs. Ussher in a letter, 'would all have been killed had we not opened our doors to them.' Another German missionary noted years later that the three days of Armenian revenge that she had witnessed in Van were difficult to forget... This charge is not implausible. An Armenian boy, recalled Dr. Ussher, entered the Turkish military hospital and killed several patients who had been left behind. Another eyewitness writes that some of the Armenians went to look for their wounded in the Turkish hospital, 'and when they did not find them they were so infuriated that they killed some of the Turkish wounded and burned the building.' A Swiss missionary concluded with considerable understatement that the victorious Armenians of Van 'did not act according to the provisions of the Geneva Convention and still less according to the words of Jesus Christ.' The Turkish side, too, has made charges of atrocities. Grand Vizier Said Halim told U.S. Ambassador Henry Morgenthau in 1915 that the Armenian rebels had killed 120 000 Turks at Van. A recent publication of the Assembly of Turkish-American Associations (ATAA) alleges that after the Armenian takeover, large numbers of Moslem inhabitants of the villages surrounding Van were murdered. 'In one incident, Moslems from villages to the North of Van were herded into the village of Zeve, where all but a few of the approximately 3 000 Moslem villagers were killed. Similar incidents took place throughout the region.' Another publication by the same organization includes interviews with survivors of the Van region, who tell how the 'Armenians skinned the men, castrated them, and raped and impaled the women.' Women and girls threw themselves into rivers to escape their tormentors. Many thousands of Armenians who feared punishment for the atrocities they had committed, writes a Turkish historian, fled with the retreating Russian troops into the Caucasus" #20*

"THE NEW YORK TIMES, Nov. 5, 1914: RUSSIAN INVASION of ARMENIA BEGUN – Several Towns Taken – Czar Has Splendid Native Soldiers to Fight the Turks "...

"THE NEW YORK TIMES, Nov.7, 1914: ARMENIANS FIGHTING TURKS – Besieging Van – Others Operating in Turkish Army's Rear

London, Sat. Nov.7: The Turkish town of Van (140 miles southeast of Erzurum, Turkish Armenia) is being besieged by a detachment of Armenians, who are aiding the Russians. The town has a large arsenal. Another Armenian detachment is operating in the rear of the Turkish Army"

"...The Englishman C.F. Dixon-Johnson, however, writing in 1916, saw 'good and sufficient reasons for believing that the Armenians themselves commenced the troubles' by rising in rebellion. " #21

"Edward Nathan, the American consul in Mersin, on Nov. 6th, 1915, mentions the arrival of an imperial commissioner 'to investigate the abuses of local officials regarding the taking of the personal property of the deported Armenians.' The place in question saw no

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mass killings, so the fact that this investigation dealt only with the theft of Armenian property does not necessarily disprove the occurrence of investigations for killings in other places. ...Talat's acknowledgment that most of the guilty remained unpunished does not distinguish between types of offenses. We do not learn from it whether the massacre of Armenians was punished less frequently than the unlawful appropriation of Armenian property. The documentary record has many references to the dismissal and punishment of officials who enriched themselves by seizing Armenian property, including governors. " #22*

"Scheubner-Richter

Notes by the Legation Councilor in the Foreign Office, Rosenberg pr.

02.10.1915 a.m. A-28569

Edhem Bey promised to speak to the ambassador and also to report to Constantinople. He admitted that riots had taken place, even if the news that was spread abroad was grossly exaggerated. Until the spring of this year, there had been quite a good relationship between the Armenians and the Turks, all the more explained by the fact that during the period of revolution the Armenians had sympathized with the Committee and together they had taken action against the old regime. A drastic change had first come about in April, when the Armenians revolted behind the Turkish army during the Turkish advance on Azerbaijan, during which no fewer than 180 000 Mohammedans were killed. Thus, it was not surprising that the Mohammedans had taken their revenge for this. The removal of the Armenians into the interior was necessary for military reasons and in the interest of Turkey's self-preservation. If attacks had been carried out during this, they were most certainly disapproved of by the central government. Unfortunately, because of the large spatial distances and the primitive conditions of the empire, the central government was not always in a position to prevent clumsiness and carelessness in the lower authorities. "

"ARMENIAN ATROCITIES: A CIVIL WAR WITHIN A GLOBAL WAR:

The Turkish Government and many Turkish historians argue that the events of 1915 can best be described as a civil war within a global war. In this civil war the number of Moslem deaths is said to have been far higher than the number of Armenian deaths. A Turkish-American publication issued in 1997 says that more than 1 000 000 Moslems 'lost their lives in inter communal fighting.' According to the memoirs of Cemal Pasha published in 1922, 1 500 000 Turks and Kurds died as a result of Armenian atrocities.

We do know that eastern Anatolia in 1915-16 was the scene of heavy combat and that Armenian volunteer and guerrilla units took an active part in these battles. Due to the changing fortunes of war and the seesawing from lines, the area was conquered and re conquered several times; hence, the local population suffered greatly. No reliable information is available on the total number of civilian casualties that occurred during this period or on the role of Armenian atrocities in accounting for these losses. That the fighting was ferocious and little quarter was given by either side is mentioned in many sources.

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European missionaries in Van, as we have seen earlier, observed the brutalities committed by all parties to the conflict. Many allegations of atrocities are probably fabrications, and others involve gross exaggerations, but many are probably true. This is the larger context in which Turkish charges that the Armenians instigated a civil war and committed numerous atrocities must be evaluated." #23*

"In only a few instances have Armenian writers acknowledged the killing of Turkish civilians. In a memoir privately published in 1954, Haig Shiroyan recalled the sad fate of his hometown, Bitlis: 'The Turks had killed and exiled all Armenians, looted their homes, burned down their houses. The Russian victorious armies, reinforced with Armenian volunteers, had slaughtered every Turk they could find, destroyed every house they entered. The once beautiful Bitlis city, under the retreating feet of defeated soldiers and incoming conquering armies, was left in fire and ruins. ...The American relief worker Stanley Kerr, drawing on another Armenian source, confirms this massacre. The pastor's choice of the word 'dispose' to describe the killing of Turkish villagers is typical of Armenian writing, in which, as Dyer has correctly observed, 'Moslem massacres of Christians are a heinous and inexcusable outrage; Christian massacres of Moslems are, well, understandable and forgivable... Turkish crimes, observed Arnold Toynbee in 1922, 'are undoubtedly exaggerated in the popular Western denunciations, and the similar crimes committed by Near Eastern Christians in parallel situations are almost always passed over in silence.'" #24*

"...They had raped, cut off breasts, burned a baby in an oven, and so forth. Numerous reports tell of the destruction of mosques and other public buildings... Nogales (a high-ranking South American officer in the Turkish Army) states that when the Dashnak leader Pasdermadjian went over to the Russians he took with him 'almost all the Armenian troops of the 3rd Army,' only to return with them soon after, burning hamlets and mercilessly putting to the knife all of the peaceful Mosulman villagers that fell into their hands.' The Turkish senator Ahmed Riza, whom Dadrian praises as concerned about Armenian suffering and as a man who 'valiantly challenged the Ittihadist (CUP) power-wielders,' in a memorandum dated March 17th, 1919, called for an international inquiry into the crimes committed against the Moslem population by Armenian bands before the deportation of the Armenian community." #25*

"Stronger evidence exists for the occurrence of Armenian atrocities during the last two years of the war. These crimes took place after the Armenian deportations and massacres of 1915 - 16 and therefore can be considered acts of revenge. Nevertheless, the large numbers and great cruelty of these killings prove that the Armenian side was fully capable of committing horrible deeds, and this finding lends some credibility to Turkish charges of earlier Armenian atrocities...In January, 1916, the Russians, led by advance guards of Armenian volunteers, took Diyarbakır. 'Those Moslems who did not succeed in escaping,' recalled the American missionary Grace Knapp, 'were put to death.' According to

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Vache Ghazarian, in July, 1916, an Armenian volunteer unit 'attacked seven Turkish villages, destroyed them, and killed the Turkish population. This attack had a two-fold purpose— to avenge hundreds of thousands of massacred Armenians, and to provide future security.' In November 1916, the special correspondent of the Manchester Guardian, M. Philips Price spent several weeks with Russian-Armenian volunteers in the Lake Van area, during which time he observed the killing of several Kurdish villagers. This happened, he noted because the Armenian volunteers saw 'absolutely no difference between combatants and non-combatants.' One of the reasons for the eventual disbandment of the Armenian volunteer units, is said to have been the charge that they were killing noncombatants in the occupied territories! ...A British political officer, Major E. W. C. Noel, reported on March 12, 1919, that after three months touring through the area occupied and devastated by the Russian Army and the Christian Army of revenge accompanying them during the spring and summer of 1916, I have no hesitation in saying that the Turks would be able to make out as good a case against their enemies as that presented against themselves. According to the unanimous testimony of local inhabitants and eyewitnesses, Noel wrote, the Russians, acting on the instigation and advice of the Nestorians and Armenians who were with them, had 'murdered and butchered indiscriminately any Moslem of the civilian population who fell into their hands.' There was 'widespread wholesale evidence of outrages committed by Christians on Moslems. The destruction was enormous, and 'anything more thorough and complete would be difficult to imagine.'...

After the Russian Revolution of March, 1917, Russian soldiers deserted in large numbers. Most of the front lines from then on were held by Armenian units of the Russian Army, who were joined by volunteers from the Turkish-Armenian population. The Turkish Army was able to stage a successful offensive, and during the Armenian retreat, numerous new atrocities were committed. When Turkish forces entered the city of Erzincan in February, 1918, they found a destroyed city and hundreds of bodies in wells and shallow graves. An Armenian author writes that the Armenian fighters who were forced to withdraw from the city, intent upon vengeance, fell upon the Turkish homes and 'committed extraordinary acts.' A Turkish report speaks of people being forced into buildings that then were set on fire. Erzurum fell soon thereafter; and there, too, large numbers of Moslem dead, including women and children, were discovered. A Turkish source speaks of 2127 male bodies that were buried during the first days after the fall of the city. The pro-Armenian French author Yves Ternon acknowledges that, following the Russian abandonment of the Caucasian Front, Armenians massacred the civilian population of Turkish villages and committed 'unspeakable crimes.'

Several foreign observers who toured the region some time later confirmed the Armenian atrocities. A report by two American officers, Emory N. Niles and Arthur E. Sutherland, (who visited eastern Anatolia in the summer of 1919 in order to ascertain the need for relief aid), noted that in the region from Bitlis to Trabzon, *the Armenians committed upon the Turks all the crimes and outrages which were committed in other regions by Turks upon Armenians. At first we were most incredulous of the stories told us, but the unanimity of the testimony of*

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all witnesses, the apparent eagerness with which they told of the wrongs done to them, their evident hatred of Armenians, and, strongest of all, the material evidence on the ground itself, have convinced us of the general truth of the facts, and massacred Moslems on a large scale with many refinements of cruelty, and second that the Armenians are responsible for most of the distraction done to towns and villages. A U.S. military mission to Armenia, led by Maj. Gen. James G. Harbord, reported in 1920 that the 'retaliatory cruelties (of Armenians) unquestionably rivaled the Turks in their inhumanity.' #26*

"... The Ministry of War as well as the Dept. for the Settlement of Tribes and Immigrants and the Dept. for Public Security, both in the Ministry of the Interior, were given oversight over the deportations, but these agencies were never able or willing to enforce the regulations issued in their name. Given what we know about the workings of the Ottoman bureaucracy, it is probably fair to say that the momentous task of relocating several hundred thousand people in a short span of time and over a totally inadequate system of transportation was well beyond the ability of any Turkish Government agency. For all practical purposes, as a recent study points out correctly, there 'was no central headquarters in overall charge of the deportation... There is nothing in the record to indicate that the military, the Ministry of the Interior, and local officials coordinated their efforts to alleviate the horrible conditions suffered by many of the deportees... Practically all Armenian authors consider the deportations a cloak for the intended destruction of the Armenian population. The Turkish side has argued that the deportations become necessary because of the treasonable conduct of the Armenian population and the threat that the Armenian rebellion represented to the survival of the country at a time of grave military crisis. The deportation of the Ottoman-Armenians, Talat Pasha wrote in his posthumous memoirs, was not the result of 'a previously prepared scheme' but was made necessary by the rebellious activities of 'strong Armenian bandit forces,' armed and equipped by Russia, in the rear of the Turkish Army on the Caucasus front. 'All these Armenian bandits were helped by the native Armenians. When they were pursued by the Turkish gendarmes, the Armenian villages were a refuge for them.' According to an official Turkish publication, 'The primary intent of the Ottoman order to deport Armenians was to deny support to the guerilla bands' and to remove the Armenians from railroads, war zones, and other strategic locations. 'Equally obviously, the Ottomans intended that the Armenian population be diluted so that the 'critical mass' of Armenian population would be too low for revolution.' Recent Turkish experience with other Christian minorities in the Balkans, writes Roderic Davison, 'had aroused an extreme sensitivity to revolt and territorial loss.' Enver explained to Ambassador Morgenthau on several occasions that it had taken only 20 to make a revolution (personably a reference to the Young Turk seizure of power in 1908) and that the government therefore had to act forcefully against the Armenian community, intent upon independence...The decisive factor in the deportation decision is said to have been the successful rebellion in the city of Van, which Turkish forces had been forced to yield to Russian troops on May 17th. The German naval attaché Hans Humann, a close confidant of

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Enver, told Morgenthau on August, 17th, 1915, that Enver initially had been willing to give the Armenians the opportunity to demonstrate their loyalty and had been inclined to moderation. After the events at Van, however, Enver had to yield to the pressure of the army, 'who insisted upon feeling sure that their back was protected.' The result was the decision to deport the Armenian community to a place where they could do no harm. 'The idea of collectively relocating the Armenian population,' write two Turkish historians, 'was born out of the Van rebellion' " #27*

"The Armenian revolutionaries were often violent and desperate people and very often mutilated the bodies of their victims. In June 1893, they murdered a number of Armenian informers near the Armenian convent of Yedi Kilise, and nailed the ears of their victims above the door of the convent. They even used boys under 15 to assassinate people they wanted to get rid of. Hajik, an Armenian lawyer, was assassinated by a 15-year old Armenian boy named Armenak. Sabotage, arson, and robberies were galore. They attacked foreign representatives in order to put the blame on the Turks and to attract the public opinion of Europe to their side. French Consul Carlier in Sivas, who had opened the Consulate to Armenian refugees, was shot by an Armenian youth, who, when challenged, declared that he wanted to kill the Consul so that this would have great repercussions in Europe, for they would have published the news that the French Consul, in whose house the Armenians had taken refuge, was assassinated by the Turks! ... Rev. Dr. Cyrus Hamlin, founder and first president of Robert College (now Bogazici University) in Istanbul, who lived in Turkey and knew the Turks and Armenians very well, in a letter he wrote from Lexington, U.S., and published in the Boston Congregationalist on Dec. 23rd, 1893, observes that an Armenian revolutionary party was causing 'great evil and suffering to the missionary work, and to the whole Christian population' of certain parts of the Turkish Empire. It was a secret organization, and was managed 'with a skill in deceit'. Hamlin was told by an Armenian intellectual that they were preparing the ground in Anatolia for the Russians to take over. He declared that the Hintchakist bands, organized all over the Ottoman Empire, would watch their opportunities to kill the Moslems, set fire to their villages, and then make their escape into the mountains. The enraged Moslems would then rise and fall upon the defenseless Armenians, and slaughter them with such barbarities that Russia would enter, 'in the name of humanity and Christian civilization', and take possession. When Hamlin denounced the scheme as 'atrocious and infernal, beyond anything ever known', the Armenian calmly replied, It appears so to you, but we Armenians are determined to be freed. Hamlin urged in vain that this scheme would make the very name of Armenia hateful among all civilized people. He replied: We are desperate; we shall do it'. 'They are cunning, unprincipled and cruel', remarked Hamlin about the Armenian terrorists. 'They terrorize their own people by demanding contributions of money under threats of assassination - a threat which has often been put into execution'. The revolutionaries were of Russian origin; Russian gold and craft governed it." #28*

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"They were so ruthless and satanic that in April, 1894, they even tried to assassinate their own Patriarch. According to a report which the French Ambassador in Istanbul, Paul Cambon, sent to Casimir Perrier of the French Foreign Office, on April 27th, two days earlier (on Sunday), Patriarch Ashikian, whilst returning to the Patriarchate after a religious ceremony at the Kumkapı Church, was attacked by an 18-year old Armenian youth, who tried him with a revolver. He failed because the weapon was out of order. The would-be assassin, who was said to belong to the Hintchak terrorist organization, and who had come from Cyprus, was arrested." #29

"During the summer of 1905, according to two English missionaries, some 300 Dashnak fighters conducted guerrilla operations on a fairly large scale in the district of Muş and to the west of Lake Van that cost 5000 lives." #30

"Whatever ambiguity may have been attached to the fighting in Anatolia, the attempt of the Dashnaks to assassinate the sultan was a manifestly offensive act. On Friday, July 21, 1905, as Abdulhamid was saying his prayers in a Constantinople mosque, the revolutionaries managed to plant dynamite in his carriage. Only the fact that the sultan had delayed his departure from the mosque by a few minutes saved his life." #31*

"A dramatic affair concerned a mountain stronghold west of Aleppo, Musa Dagħ, where 800 armed Armenians held 15 000 Turkish regulars over a month. The Musa Dagħ defenders protected about 5,000 of their people who eventually made it to the Mediterranean coast from which the French took them to Egypt. German writer Franz Werfel gave a lasting splendor to these Armenians in his novel 40 Days of Musa Dagħ." #32*

"Feelings of revenge for the part played by Russian-Armenian volunteers in the defeat of the Caucasus campaign and retaliation for the subversion carried out by Armenian revolutionaries may also have played a role. The American intelligence agent Lewis Einstein noted in his diary on July 4, 1915: 'They are taking it out on peaceful people, because of Armenian volunteers with the Russian armies at Van, and in the Caucasus.' Talat, he wrote on July 1, has declared openly that 'the persecution is revenge for the defeat at Sarikamish, the Turkish expulsion from Azerbaijan, and the occupation of Van, all of which he lays at the Armenian door.' The Austrian military plenipotentiary Joseph Pomiankowski mentions the 'boundless fury and vengefulness' of Enver and Talat, who attributed the failure of the Caucasus offensive to the Armenian rebellion." #33*

We should not forget that Enver's 1914 Christmas surprise attack against the Russians in Eastern Turkey was slowed by the resistance of Armenian volunteer units. This gave the Russians time to regroup, while a blizzard lasting some four or five days that struck in the middle of the Sarikamish Campaign. 80 000 troops out of an army of 90 000 froze to death, because of poor gear, starvation, typhus and poor communications. (A convoy of three Turkish ships, which were supposed to

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provide logistic supplies and aerial support to the army prior to the attack, had already been sunk by Russian battleships in the Black Sea, not far from the mouth of the Bosphorus Straits.)

"During the Italo-Turkish War of 1911-12, the White House toyed with an offer of mediation, partly because the American Board and several U.S. peace societies asked for this step. The President abstained.

One writer has summarized relations between Washington and Constantinople: 'It should not be understood that the missionaries exploited American diplomacy or that American diplomacy exploited the missionaries'." #34

"...and despoiling of American Board compounds showed a mission relation to nationalism among minorities in the Near East. Protestant organizations were among private groups in the Ottoman Empire facilitating identity not only among Armenians but also among Arabs, Bulgarians and Albanians. During Word War I, these ties between Americans and minorities would help draw the U.S. into considerations of which countries would gain the lands of the Empire. It appears that the religionists neither endorsed intrigue by Armenians, nor preached political revolt. There is 'evidence that Armenian extremists held it against the missionaries that they refrained overtly... supporting the movement for the Armenian independence'.

The missionaries' contribution to violence was insensitivity toward the possible results of their attention to Armenians instead of Turks. Missionaries apparently did not expect that invigoration of the Armeno-Turkish language by a modern bible translation and maintenance of many schools among Armenians would encourage nationalism. American Board members neglected their indirect livening of the conflict. Instead they cried out against Ottoman injustice, and gave the Turks a terrible reputation in the U.S. The Ottoman ambassador to Washington, Ahmet Rustem, (Note:*) remonstrated against oversimplification of his nation's affairs: 'Turkey has been the object of systematic attacks on the part of the press of U.S. She is represented as being a sink of iniquity'. Missionaries did not understand that they were expecting the Porte to react benignly as they trained an Armenian minority in literacy and professions – a minority which included people who spoke of independence. The American Protestants did not imagine how they might have behaved if for several decades in their homeland a foreign educational system directed by Moslems had devoted itself to, say, Afro-Americans, with the result that the black Islamic minority became more proficient than the majority of white Americans. Regarding the troubles of 1894-96, George White of Anatolia admitted that the missionaries at Merzifon were 'intensely. Interested spectators and friends' of the Armenian cause. But White believed they were not at all 'actors on the stage'." #35*

"The Turks leniently treated the Armenians, who became the favorite non-Muslim minority in the Ottoman Government. The creation of a Czarist Armenia intensified humiliation among the separated Russian and Turkish-Armenians. The Treaty of Berlin

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made a token statement on behalf of the Armenians, who incorrectly interpreted this comment as a commitment to their freedom. Russia wanted to absorb the Armenians. Britain had a limited interest in an independent Armenia, which would be both inaccessible and peripheral to the route to India. The Treaty of Berlin stimulated nationalism among Russian and Turkish-Armenians without Western guarantees of aid, and upped the jitters among Turks without controls on Ottoman hostility." #36

"In March, 1913, for example, the British Consul in Aleppo reported to Ambassador Lowther in Istanbul that certain leading Armenians are toying with the idea of occupying Adana and establishing a small principality there with access to the sea. At about the same time, a committee of the Armenian National Assembly, the governing body of the Apostolic Ottoman Christians, submitted to the Russian Embassy in Istanbul an elaborate plan for Ottoman Armenia. The Russians picked up the gauntlet. Styling themselves as champions of the Armenian cause, they demanded ... the six Armenian *vilayets* into a single province under an Ottoman Christian or European governor, in which each nationality would be allowed cultural and administrative autonomy." #37*

"Report A-12287, Pera 3.04.915 Cable No.195

According to Roessler, the rebellious Armenians set off from the monastery and fled to the mountains. Battles against the city did not seem to be upcoming. 125 people liable for compulsory service reported in Zeitun, 450 in Marash. House searches had been carried out in Marash. Djemal had ordered that any Moslem who attacked an Armenian would be court-martialled. From the Consul in Aleppo (Roessler) to the Reichskanzler (Bethmann Holiweg)"

"According to the statement, the removal of Armenians from certain region to others was a measure 'dictated by imperative military necessity'; no coercive measures were taken by the Imperial government against the Armenians 'until June, 1915', by which time they had risen in arms at Van and other military zones. This was 'after' they had joined hands with the enemy. On Sept. 10, 1915, the Pope himself had addressed an autograph letter to the Sultan, but no answer had been received. Bryce and Toynbee refuted the Turkish charges point by point in their 'summary' of Armenian history in the Blue Book. They indicated that the Armenian volunteers organized in the Caucasus were, generally, not citizens of Turkey, but rather Russian-Armenians – citizens of the Russian Empire. In addition they stressed that there was no organized revolt in Van; Armenians had defended their quarter only after it had been beleaguered and attacked by the Turkish troops." #38*

"According to the terms of the Constitution of 1908, the government of Enver could indeed mobilize the Armenians as well as the Turks in age to be in the armed forces. But an armed opposition started immediately, notably in Zeytoun. At the oriental border, the Armenians began to desert to pass in the Russian armies and the government of Enver, doubtful of the loyalty of those that stayed, separated them from the fighting forces to allocate them to battalions of engineers... In April, 1915, Lord Bryce and 'Friends of

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Armenia', in London, began to collect money to arm these deserters. One can't claim that the Russians remained indifferent in front of the supplement of these volunteers. Finally, at the end of April, they seized Van... And, having massacred the Turkish population, they delivered what remained of the city to the Russian Army.." #39*

"May 17th, 1915: The Armenians conquer Van and set fire to the Moslem part of town. It was a tragic but telling coincidence that April 24th was the day the Ottoman Minister of the Interior gave the order to arrest the party functionaries, known revolutionaries, and agitators in Istanbul. (There was not yet any talk about a relocation order.) On that very same day, the governor of Van sent the following telegram:

<UNTIL NOW APPROXIMATELY 4000 INSURGENT ARMENIANS HAVE BEEN BROUGHT TO THE REGION FROM THE VICINITY. THE REBELS ARE ENGAGED IN HIGHWAY ROBBERY, ATTACK THE NEIGHBORING VILLAGES AND BURN THEM. IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO PREVENT THIS. NOW MANY WOMEN AND CHILDREN ARE LEFT HOMELESS. IT IS NOT POSSIBLE NOR SUITABLE TO RELOCATE THEM IN TRIBAL VILLAGES IN THE VICINITY. WOULD IT BE CONVENIENT TO BEGIN SENDING THEM TO THE WESTERN PROVINCES?>

Truly an absurd telegram. The Governor of Van wanted to move the Moslem women and children to the safety of the West! No one was yet thinking of relocating Armenians, only Moslems.

On May 8, the Armenian rebels began a general assault in the vicinity of Van. All the surrounding Moslem villages went up in flames. The Ottoman governor, Cevdet Pasha, now ordered a withdrawal. On May 17, the Ottoman troops abandoned Van. On the same day, the incoming Armenians set fire to the Moslem part of town and established total Armenian control... A few days later, the Russian vanguard arrived in Van. It was made up of Armenian units. Several days after that, regular Russian troops followed. The new Armenian ruler of Van, Aram, presented the Russian commander, General Nikolayev, with the keys to the city... Two days later, Nikolayev confirmed the Armenian provisional government in office, with Aram as governor. The point of this Russian show of generosity was clear. It was intended to give the Armenians an appetite for similar self-government in the wake of similar rebellions.

...The specter lasted only six weeks; then the Ottomans advanced and re-conquered Van. They moved into an empty town. The Moslems had been killed, and the entire Armenian population, along with the American missionaries, had fled north with the Russians to the safety of Transcaucasia." #40*

"Concentrating their forces around Karakilissa and Erivan, early in June, the Armenians in two fierce battles drove the Turks back almost to their frontier. In the battle of Karakilissa, which lasted four days, the Turks left 6,000 dead before the Armenian posts, and escaped to Alexandropol." #41

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(Photo): "Spring, 1915. Armenian irregulars, provided with artillery by the Russians, open a second front behind Ottoman lines in order to facilitate the Russian conquest of Van"

(Photo): "The 2nd company of the volunteer the Hunchak regiment" ('Le Jeune Armenie', July 20th, 1915).

(Photo): "A group from the 8th Company of an Armenian Hunchak regiment, which fought alongside the Russians against the Ottomans on the Caucasian Front."

(Photo): "The Order issued by the Ottoman minister of the interior resulted in the arrests of Armenian separatist leaders and the confiscation of incriminating material on April 24th. It also had some unexpected results: the discovery of hundreds of arms caches, weapons and munitions depots, which included canon and heavy mines... What had happened in Van - the taking of a provincial capital by Armenian rebels behind Ottoman lines could just as easily have happened in Adana, Maraş, Ankara or Adapazari. This would certainly have represented a deadly threat for the Ottomans as the war progressed." #42

"The opening of a second front in Van, behind Ottoman lines, gave a decisive advantage to the Russians. The 'struggle for Van' thus became a favorite theme for the Allies, who supported the Armenian rebellion as much as possible. In the hinterland, this support was provided through the missionaries, who put their good services at the disposal of the Armenians." #43*

If not convinced as yet about the type of "innocence and loyalty" displayed by the Armenians, applauded by all enemies of the Ottoman Empire, we can quote other new examples:

"...a fear well-justified in view of the Allied plan to partition Turkey in the ungratified Treaty of Sevres of 1922. Russia is generally blamed for backing nationalist Armenians in an attempt to split up Anatolia, having successfully exploited similar policies in the Balkans. The first serious clashes with Armenian nationalists flared up in Anatolia in 1890-96. Officially, between 5000 Moslems and 13 000-20 000 Armenians died, but the numbers are hard to pin down. Foreign and Armenian dead range from 40 000 to 300 000. In Europe these clashes were usually presented as outrageous massacres perpetrated by Ottoman Turks against Christians. As far as the Ottomans and some foreign embassies were concerned, however, they were felt in large part to be caused by agitators determined to attract European support for their goal of independence. The atmosphere was explosive, with Armenian agitation matched by the provocations of the irregular tribal cavalry newly recruited by the Ottomans from among the Kurds. These Cossack-like units, known as the *Hamidiye* regiments, were named after their increasingly paranoid patron in Istanbul, Sultan Abdulhamid II. – The Porte's paranoia about European involvement was hardly surprising. European mediators negotiated the end of a bloody uprising in 1895 in the rebellious district of Zeytun and to a devastating attack on the Ottoman Bank in Istanbul. After both uprisings,

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the Ottomans, could only watch as the Armenian revolutionaries sailed safely back to Europe on European ships." #44*

"Over the Russian border in Transcaucasia, Armenian militia, including the Dashnaks, were also busy organizing against the Young Turks. The head of the Armenian Church in the Russian Transcaucasus pledged loyalty to St. Petersburg on behalf of Russian-Armenians and assured the czar of the 'unfailing sympathy' of the Armenians under Ottoman rule. Ottoman soldiers of Armenian origin started to desert in large numbers to the Russian side. The Ottoman general staff in February, 1915 ordered its units to disarm Armenians and to remove them from any work in the command centers. Many were forced into work battalions. Bands of Armenians took to the hills, sniping at military movements, cutting telegraph lines, supplying enemy ships and harassing Ottoman outposts. The situation faced by the empire in the spring of 1915 was dire. An Allied fleet was bombarding the Dardanelles in the West. Most of the expeditionary force under Enver Pasha had frozen to death at Sarikamish in December, 1914, leaving the Ottoman east wide open to a drive forward by the Russians, who were secretly suggesting to the British that the Armenian partisans be armed. To the south, fighting had started near Suez Canal and the Arabs were soon to rebel. Governors of central and eastern provinces of Anatolia cabled reports of movements by thousands of Armenians in readiness to attack Ottoman forces in the rear. Fearing the loss of the Anatolia heartland, the Ottoman general staff ordered garrisons to crush 'in the strictest fashion any local revolts', but in peaceful areas, 'to avoid any act that might be seen as oppression or terrorizing the population.' By April, 1915, Armenia militia had barricaded themselves into their quarter in the eastern town of Van in open revolt against the oppression of Governor Cevdet Bey, a brother-in-law of Enver Pasha. They kept Ottoman forces at bay for weeks, long enough to be able to hand the keys of the city to the advancing Russians." #45*

"National economy was vital to Britain which had no practical interests of any kind in Armenia. Thus it seems that it became British policy to try and pass responsibility for Armenia on to other countries. In September, 1919, the French proposed to land a 12 000-strong force at Alexandretta (*Iskenderun*) which would then proceed to help the Armenians in the Caucasus." #46

"The journalist stated that American missions, Armenian clauses in the Treaty of Berlin, and such societies as the Dashnaktsuthiun had alienated Armenians from Turks. After the war, he declared, missionaries to the Ottoman Empire sought to take over the country and use Armenians for this vast political project. Price said that the Near East Relief was at the same time of his writing flooding the U.S. with Armenianism through its monthly publication, The New Near East (successor to The News Bulletin). He noted that its editor, Talcott Williams had published a book pleading for America to adopt a protectorate over Asia Minor. (Actually, Williams in his book, although showing special concern for the 'great people' of Armenia, did recognize that both Christians and Moslems committed atrocities

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against each other). Price regarded Kemalist leaders as trustworthy and not implicated in the Armenian massacres. He thought that mission and relief workers should communicate with the Ankara Government, stop 'clamorous Armenianism', realize that the millet system made it almost impossible for Turks to regard Christianity as anything other than an unfriendly political program, and accept the Turkification of Asia Minor. Montgomery protested in *Current History* that American Missions were not divisive. Armenian revolutionary leaders criticized the American Board schools, Montgomery said, because they prohibited politics." #47

"No longer the complacent rulers of the flock, the Ottomans were baffled and afraid when the people rose in nationalist revolt. Massacre became the stock response to threat; the authorities made little effort to check the atrocities; and frenzied bloodlust of the Turks in retreat is still a delicate subject. Excesses were committed by all sides; the arrival of Protestant missionaries, singing 'Onward Christian Soldiers' among the once quiet Armenians alarmed the Ottomans into thinking that the process which had turned their Bulgarian, Greek or Serbian *reaya* against them was about to be repeated." #48

(From Turkish proclamation) (Announced prior to relocation of Harput Armenian community)

"At Harput, despite the repeated affirmations of the Armenians and of their bishop who protested loyalty to the Government, and declared that they did not stockpile any arms, more than 5,000 rifles and revolvers and as many muskets, close to 300 bombs, 40 kilos of fuses for bombs and 200 packages of dynamite were found; more than it would take to blow up the entire province. Among the personal effects of the bishop of Arapkir one found, amongst bombs and arms, two complete dervish outfits and accessories. In January, - February, 1915, many Moslem sick and injured who were returning to their homes from the front, were pitilessly massacred in Armenian villages through which they passed. Before and after our entry into the war with Russia, the Armenians who made it their duty to aid the Russian Army against Turkey, had already formed battalions, which were directed against Van and the Persian border. Many of these battalions were formed out of Armenians who escaped from the province of Mamuretul Aziz (Elazığ), or who, originally from this province, were abroad." #49

The U.S. Commercial Consul, who never had *any* commercial transactions while on duty in Harput, was a practicing Christian, sympathizing and protecting the Armenians, whom he did not much admire! In his book, he makes no reference to very many incidents and severe fights going on in Van, almost next door, which clouds his objectivity. It might be because the Greek editors either omitted this section knowingly, or that Ambassador Morgenthau had requested a report 'only on the Armenian's sufferings'. Readers are expected to evaluate matters, knowing that 'not everything that is written may be the entire, partial or even inverted truth'!

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"The Ottoman Government was supported in its actions by Liman Wangenheim, the German Ambassador, who believed that there was a 'gigantic Armenian underground movement which threatened the very existence of Turkey'. He suggested that the Ottomans should take more drastic action against the Armenians.

Armenia Incidents Continue:

...Despite the enactment of the Law of Relocations Armenian insurgence continued. There were rebellions at Boğazlayan on July 23rd, 1915, at Findıcık (Maraş) on August, 1st at Gormus Village of Urfa on August, 9th at Musa Dagh (Antakya) on Sept. 14th, at Urfa on Sept. 29th, at Islahiye on Feb. 7th, 1916, at Akdag Madeni on April 4th, 1916, at Tosyan on April 9th, 1916, and in many other places. While these rebellions continued, Armenian leaders abroad were still trying to procure intervention. On July 15th, 1915 Boghos Nubar wrote to Sir Arthur Nicholson of the British Foreign Office, enclosing a memorandum from Kevork V, the Catholicos of the Armenians, on Armenian aspirations. The *desiderata* of the Armenians, as summarized in this memorandum, entailed an 'autonomous and neutralized' Armenia composed of the six eastern provinces of Turkey and Cilicia, and possessing a 'status' based on the reform scheme of 1913. A commercial outlet via Mersin was also expected, and Boghos Nubar expatiated on the economic and political advantages which this would mean to the Allies -especially to Britain, who would thereby secure a neutralized terminus for its overland route to India. The chief point, however, was Nubar's insistence that this future Armenia' should be under the protection, not of Russia alone, but of all the three Allied Powers."#50*

"The two parties of the Armenians in Van, the Dashnakists and the Armenists, were now allied. They formed a powerful party, led by the guerrilla chiefs Aram, the 'Doctor' (Vahan Papazian), Sarkis and Ishkhan. At that particular moment the Dashnakists were practically blindly followed by the whole Armenian population of the province. The chiefs were Russian-Armenians whose ideas, according to British Vice-Consul Dickson, were those of 'advanced socialism, amounting to anarchy, current among certain classes in the Caucasus who used terrorism as a means of attaining this end'. These men, in the words of Dickson, 'with their apishness' and insolence, and their habit of dictating to all and sundry', were not likely by their leadership to make the Armenians more popular among the Moslems under the new regime. " #51

"... The town of Mersin, located on the Mediterranean coast with a population of about 1,800 Armenians, was initially exempt from the deportation decree. On August, 5th, however, the order was received to expel the entire Armenian community. The American consul in Mersin, Edward I. Nathan, reported to Ambassador Morgenthau two days later that the deportation order 'appears to have been hastened by the operations of some bands of Armenian outlaws who are said to have attacked villages near the border of this *vilayet* and Maraş. The governor has gone to the scene of the alleged outrages. The coincidental arrival of six British and French warships at Alexandretta several days ago is stated to be connected with this matter'. The Turks may or may not have known of the assurances given

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by Boghos Nubar to the British that the Armenians in Cilicia were ready to give them their 'perfect and total support'. With the British offensive at the Dardanelles bogged down, it was feared that the Allies would open a second front by landing troops at Alexandretta or Mersin. 'The Turks,' wrote the American intelligence agent Lewis Einstein in his diary on July 17th, 1915, 'are particularly anxious to be rid of those Armenians along the Cilician coast lest they should give aid to the English.' The Armenians expelled from Mersin were sent to nearby Adana. The city of Adana, too, at first had been exempt from the deportation decree, but tensions there were high. The police were making house to house searches for weapons, and the prisons were full. Three Armenians accused of giving signals to the British fleet were hanged. On May 28, Consul Nathan reported that several hundred expelled Armenians had been stopped after leaving the city, and in many instances permitted to return to Adana. The nervousness in Adana has consequently somewhat abated as further deportations have also been indefinitely postponed..." #52

"It was a graveyard the size of a town, all that was left of the Turkish section of ancient Van after the revolt when the Armenian guerrillas raised the standard of the Republic of Armenia in the city of Van in April, 1915 .

For years the imperial Russian Government had backed Armenian nationalism in the area in the hope of having an indigenous population to come over to them when they succeeded, after so long, in taking the Dardanelles. It was to be the last series of wars czarist government fought, including the Crimean War, to gain access to the Mediterranean. When the Russian Army retreated, hordes of Armenians went with them. The whole of the Eastern Front had become a place of disease starvation a no-man's land. When the Armenians left Van, they torched the Turkish section and in a few days, killed 30 000 Moslems, including Armenians who had become Moslems, but mostly Turks. It was during this revolt that the order went out to result that Ottoman force clear the Armenian population from the war zone, with its tragic, unforgivable results. They were forced out of the grave they had made of Van and from all the country around, those who had not followed the Russians. The awful moving march to the coast began of neglect, starvation and tragic cruelty. I think that the march has gone on ever since in both the minds of the Armenians and the Turks, never to end, never to be forgotten by either of them." #53*

"The European discovery of new lands and new routes had turned the Eastern Mediterranean into a backwater and had resulted in the loss of Ottoman trade; the flow of cheap American silver and rise in price of gold, brought about the ruin of some sections of population; the changed conditions of warfare necessitated the maintenance of ever larger paid professional armies, caused a shrinking economy and costly superstructure resulting in the harsher taxation of the rural population. The decline of Ottoman power, fostering intolerance and reaction, coincided with the awakening of Armenian national consciousness, which made conditions worse than before. The activities, first of the Roman Catholic, and later Protestant missionaries, the foundation of Mekhitarist Order in the island of St. Lazarus

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in Venice in the 18th century, the impact of the French Revolution, especially on Armenians studying in European Universities, Works of Abovian, Raffi, Nalbadian, Hayrik called 'father' awakened Armenians to a new nationalism. Armenians also wanted to be treated with justice and humanity. In March, 1872, a group of Armenians in Van met and decided to act together for self-protection...Self-administration within the framework of the Ottoman Empire would be the most desirable improvement." #54

"The demonstration of Kumkapi in Constantinople in 1890, the 'rebellion' of Sassun in 1894, when the peasants of Sassun simply refused to pay the additional tribute -*hafir*- to the Kurds and resisted the Turkish forces who supported the Kurds, the demonstration of Bab-i Ali in Constantinople in 1895, the rebellion at Zeytun in 1895-96 and the seizure in 1896 of the Ottoman Bank in Constantinople, were mainly aimed at arousing European interest for the implementation of Article 61 of the Treaty of Berlin." #55

"The only result of these demonstrations and terrorist acts was widespread massacre.... They did not join the revolutionary parties. Nor did well-to-do wish to be committed to illegal methods. The clergy were, on the whole, apathetic towards political developments, so too were the majority of the peasantry in the eastern provinces...The Hunchaks were strong in Cilicia, yet they represented but a 'fraction of the people'. " #56

"As a result of Russian agitation, European and American missionary work, and not the least, the nationalist revival in the Balkans, a surge of national consciousness within the three Armenian religious communities, Gregorian, Catholic and Protestant, began to take root. In the 1870s, Armenian secret societies sprang up at home and abroad developing gradually into militant nationalist groups such as the 'Hunchakian' and the 'Dashnaksutiun.' Uprising against Ottoman rule erupted time and again; terrorism became a common phenomenon, both against Turks and noncompliant fellow Armenians. Nationalists pleaded with the 1878 Berlin Treaty which had obliged the Porte to undertake 'improvements and reforms demanded by local requirements in the provinces inhabited by the Armenians and to guarantee their security against the Circassians and Kurds'. By 1903, a vicious circle of escalating violence was underway yet again and rebels engaged in dialogues with Ottoman exiles on joint measures to overthrow the sultan. On July 21st, 1905, during Friday prayers, Abdulhamid narrowly escaped an assassination attempt by a group of nationalists" #57

" American missions were not critically disturbed until Enver in April, 1915 launched an assault near the city of Van against Turkish-Armenians whom he considered treacherous. Van was a center of Armenianism in the Empire (60% of its 50 000 people were Armenians) and the location of both a strong evangelical organization and the Protestant school, American College. Enver's brother-in-law Cevdet Bey on April 16th, murdered some individuals in an Armenian delegation from Van calling him to reaffirm loyalty. Led by the Dashnaks, about 1 500 Armenian men (many of whom had pledged

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allegiance to the Ottoman Government) prepared to defend themselves and approximately 30 000 members of their ethnic group in the walled Armenian Quarter. Within a few days an incident set off exchanges of rifle and cannon fire between Turks and Armenians. At the same time, Cevdet's troops began razing 20 nearby Armenian villages and killing many of their inhabitants". #58 *

"Activists for the Armenian cause believed that Britain had taken the Armenians under its wing and could now abandon them. Many hoped for a military intervention, British or even Russian or a combined European force to 'save' the Armenians. The sultan was described as a 'miserable caricature of a monarch' with a satanic lust for blood who might yet turn his criminal and insane mind towards the destruction of foreign as well as native Christians. Punch portrayed him as the 'Unspeakable Turk', hurling with sword drawn amid ruins of an Armenian village. The Ottoman authorities were accused of working a 'Plan of Extermination', in which thousands of Christians locked in behind the Toros mountains were being martyred...many of those who had led the Bulgarian agitation returned to the speaker's platform to demand action from their government for the Armenians." #59*

"... He (*Captain C.B. Norman of British Royal Artillery sent to the Ottoman Empire*) referred to a manifesto, dated Nov. 19, 1895 and addressed to the Armenians of the Adana region, which extorted them as follows: 'Armenians, arm yourselves now for the battle... Let us draw our swords and fall on the foe'. British journalists, he claimed, were duped by the Armenians. Noting that 'the touching story of Armenian matrons throwing their children over the cliff on Antokh Dag (Sassun), and their jumping over themselves to avoid dishonor, is an absolute myth'. He wrote that, not only were the Armenian population figures 'very exaggerated', but also the number of victims." #60

"The outbreak of the second incidents in Adana had given rise at the time to ugly stories of complicity of the Roumelian troops, but British Ambassador Lowther found no truth in these reports. They were in reality started by some desperate Hinchakist terrorists who in the wild hope of provoking foreign intervention, had attacked and killed 15 newly-arrived Roumelian soldiers who were picketed in the Armenian quarter. Lowther could give no definite figures of the dead and wounded but in Adana 2000 bodies were buried of whom 600 were stated to be Moslems. The Turkish Government subsequently issued an official estimate of 5,400 casualties for the whole district; but Lowther found this was 'grossly under-estimated', and believed that the figure should probably be somewhere between 15 000 – 20 000, with 15 000 destitute Armenians. Cemal Pasha states that 17 000 Armenians and 1850 Moslems were killed. Armenian deputy for Edirne (Adrianople), Hagop Babikian, in a report he prepared for the Ottoman Parliament, which was not discussed as he had passed away, gave the number as 21 001. The Ottoman Government committed an initial grant of 30,000 TL for relief work and subsequently parliament voted for further sums of 100,000 TL each for rebuilding the burnt quarter." #61

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"Meantime in 1909, two American missionaries and 20 evangelical Armenian pastors died. Five missionary women were fortunate to survive a week's siege at Hacin. British and American warships helped restore order as relief activities began among thousands of refugees. Young Turk investigation brought execution of several Armenians and Turks and compensation to injured Armenians. The government also proclaimed the innocence of Armenians generally and their loyalty to the central authority" #62*

"Dr. Judson Smith (of the ABCFM) should be informed that both the French and Russian Ambassadors have declared to me personally that their consular agents in Asia Minor report that the American missionaries have excited the Armenians to revolution, and their ambassadors believe it." #63

"According to Aneurin Williams, the British Armenophile M.P. following the Ottoman mobilization hundreds of Armenians fled to the mountains rather than join the Ottoman Army; and at least three encounters took place between Turkish gendarmes and bands of such Armenians in the province of Van. About three months earlier, British Vice-Consul in Van, Ian M. Smith had written to Louis Mallet that Armenian and sometimes-foreign newspapers published reports from time to time of gendarmes ill-treating the inhabitants. As far as the Van province was concerned, these reports were 'much exaggerated'. Unimportant incidents were magnified by the Armenian papers for their own purposes. The Ottoman Government was ready to employ the Armenians in the gendarmerie and the army, but they were unwilling to serve under the Turkish Government and thus associate themselves with the 'governing race'..." #64

"Revolt in Van

As early as December, 1914, the commander of the gendarmerie in Van, Kazım Bey, informed the authorities in Istanbul that two captured spies had revealed that a rebellion was being planned by the Armenian insurgents in the city and province of Van. Armenian incidents in the Karachikan (Karacikan) and Gevas districts of Van at the beginning of December, involving the cutting of telegraph wires, firing at the district administrator and his entourage, ..." #65

"In April, the Dashnakists, with the help of their members from the Caucasus, organized a revolt in the city of Van, promising the Armenians living there Russian military assistance, if they showed loyalty to the Czar by helping drive the Moslems out. The Russian Army of the Caucasus, including Cossacks, had already begun an offensive towards Van with the help of a large force of Armenian volunteers recruited from Anatolian refugees and Caucasian Armenians..." #66

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"There was also a telegram from The French Consul at Salonica (Selanik) which read as follows: 'I have just learned from travelers arriving from Constantinople (Istanbul) that the Armenians at Van Revolted and massacre the government officials and Moslems' "#67

"Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Gregorian leaders among the Armenians did not endorse revolution and were usually apathetic about it. The Dashnaktsuthiun developed a robust program straddling the Russian-Ottoman border, with an eastern section directed from Tbilisi in Russia and a western one from Erzurum in Turkey. This movement touched nerves of national pride among large numbers of peasants. By the mid-1890s, the Dashnaktsuthiun was evolving into the first powerful secular institution in Armenian history. It menaced the status of the Gregorian Church. Attempts by the western section of Dashnaktsuthiun to stir Turkish-Armenian brothers aggravated relations with the Porte. Turkish authorities indiscriminately jailed Armenians. Abdulhamid sought to end talk of rebellion by the massacres, started in 1894 at Sassun and continued for the next two years. Armenian revolutionaries in August, 1896 temporarily seized the Ottoman Bank headquarters in Constantinople hoping to bring an intervention. The Great Powers sought to divert the Sultan from repression to reform, but this effort miscarried. The Dashnaktsuthiun did not give up; memoirs of Armenian volunteer fighter Rouben der Minasian epitomized its work. From 1903 – 08, Minasian operated in a roving, clandestine company varying from 10 – 100 men. This band trained Armenians around Lake Van to use arms against preying Kurds generated propaganda assisted threatened peasants, and administered reprisals against Turks and Kurds. The Young Turk party gave promise of better days when in 1908 - 09 it cooperated with the Dashnaktsuthiun to depose Abdulhamid." #68

"Often the massacres were timed for a Friday, when the Moslems were in their mosques and the myth was spread by the authorities that the Armenians conspired to slaughter them at prayer. Instead they were themselves slaughtered when the Moslems emerged to forestall their design. Only in one place were the Armenians themselves the aggressors. This was in the mountain fastness of Zeitun, in the former province of Cilicia where a force of Armenians with strong nucleus of Hunchaks took the offensive." #69*

"They defeated a Turkish force in battle, ejected Turkish garrison from the citadel of Zeitun, captured 400 Turkish prisoners, and changing into Turkish uniforms, looted and burned a neighboring Turkish town, thus obtaining a wide measure of control over the district. The Turks finally advanced with a large force on Zeytun, bombarding the citadel after the Armenians had evacuated it and setting it on fire. But meanwhile the Armenian community in Istanbul had appealed for mediation by the foreign ambassadors, and it was agreed with the authorities that all in the district, whether Turk or Armenian, should surrender their arms, with a view to an amnesty. In August, 1896, the succession of Armenian massacres culminated in Istanbul itself. Once again, as in the previous year, the Turkish authorities were presented with a pretext for action by an Armenian revolutionary

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group. A small body of Dashnaks was so bold as to enter the Ottoman Bank, the stronghold of European capitalist enterprise, during the lunch hour for the ostensible purpose of changing money. Porters accompanying them carried sacks which contained, so they pretended, gold and silver coinage. Then at the blast of a whistle 25 armed men followed them into the bank, firing their guns and revealing that the sacks in fact were filled with bombs, ammunition, and dynamite. They declared that they were not bank robbers but Armenian patriots and that the motive of their action was to bring their grievances, which they specified in two documents, to the attention of the six European embassies, putting forward demands for political reform and declaring that, in the absence of foreign intervention within 48 hours, they would 'shrink from no sacrifice' and blow up the bank. Meanwhile, its chief director, Sir Edgar Vincent, had prudently escaped through a skylight into an adjoining building. While his colleagues were held as hostages, he thence proceeded to the Sublime Porte. – The negotiator was the First Dragoman of the Russian embassy, who after gaining for them a free pardon from the Sultan and permission to leave the country, addressed them at length with some eloquence. Finally, with assurances of talks to come, he persuaded them to leave the bank. Retaining their arms but relinquishing their bombs, they proceeded quietly on board Sir Edgar Vincent's yacht, later to be conveyed into exile in France, as young men of ideals inexperienced in the wiles of political agitation. They had failed to benefit their friends and played into the hands of their enemies." #70*

"Huge amounts of arms and ammunition were stored all over Turkey, particularly at Oltu, Sarikamis, Kagızman and Iğdir regions, and these were used in arming the Armenians living in the border villages and towns. The son of the Russian-Armenian General, Loris Melikov, accompanied by the leading Dashnakist leaders, Melkon and Ohannes, went to Van on Oct. 10th in order to make arrangements for the distribution of weapons in the Van and Bitlis areas. Moreover, an irregular cavalry, consisting of 1500 Armenians, was formed of those who had escaped from Oltu, were sent to Oltu and Hodicor. Some 6000 Armenians, consisting mostly of those of Bayezit, Van, and Bitlis, and of army deserters, assembled at Iğdir. They were armed and organized in guerrilla bands under Antranik, Eshan, Portokalian, and Surpin. Armenian spy centers were set up in the towns of Trabzon, Erzurum, Muş, Bitlis, Van, Sivas, and Kayseri. Their duty was to inform the Russian Army on the position, movements and operations of the Ottoman Army". 71*

"Kars, Sarikamish and Trabzon. 1000 of them went in Iğdir to be deployed in the Bayezit region, and 500 The British Government wished to use the Armenians as a volunteer force for their own interests; but they were, as usual, too ready to make promises that they did not intend to keep. The Armenians were perfectly willing to be used as a 'wedge' separating the Anatolian Turks from the Tatars of the Caucasus and Central Asia; but when they were given arms in order to fight for Anglo-French imperialist ambitions, they used them in their private vendettas among themselves and against the Moslems. Yet, the

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Armenians boast that 'General Ozanjanian Antranik and his units helped the Russians, and in 1917, with the breakdown of the Russian Army, they took over the Caucasus Front, and for five months delayed the advance of the Turks, thus rendering an important service to the British Army in Mesopotamia. The Armenians also cooperated with the Nestorian forces of Mar Shimoun in their wicked deeds against the Moslems." #72*

"In the hinterland, this support was provided through the missionaries, who put their good services at the disposal of the Armenians. On the broader scale, arms shipments and money were provided. The ambitious Armenian uprising in the Province of Van led to the capture of the provincial capital by the insurgents. At the same time, the Allies were threatening the capital of the Ottoman Empire with massive attacks on the Dardanelles. The instructions to move the Armenians out of the endangered areas were not given until after the Armenian uprising in Van." #73*

"...Meanwhile the Russian troops reached Van on May 14th and were deliriously welcomed by the local Armenian population. This Russian occupation compelled the Turkish Army to evacuate the city of Van on May 17. Four days after this evacuation, the Armenians burnt the Moslem Quarter completely. Following these incidents, an Armenian state was established in Van under Russian protection and the governorship of Aram Manoukian, one of the revolutionary leaders. Moreover, an Armenian legion was constituted to expel the Turks from the entire south shore of the lake in preparation for a concerted Russian drive into the province of Bitlis. On May 21st, Czar Nicholas sent a telegram to the Armenian revolutionary committee of Van, thanking it 'for its services to Russia'; whilst the Armenian newspaper Gochnak, published in the U.S., proudly reported on May 24th that 'only 1,600 Turks remain in Van', the rest having been slaughtered, or expelled." #74*

"For several weeks the besieged Armenians in Van, possessing a few hundred rifles, withstood Turkish bombardment. The 11 missionaries there, including Clarence Ussher and Ernst A. Yarrow, ministered casualties. Ussher, the only physician in the city, worked from dawn until midnight with Armenians. Two missionary nurses served the wounded among Cevdet's soldiers at a Turkish hospital. Thousands of Armenians found refuge in the American Board compound, located next to the quarter. Missionaries and Armenians sent messages to Russia for aid. As the Czar's forces and Russian-Armenian volunteers neared Van the second week in May, Turkish shells fell into mission premises almost incessantly for a day, turning many buildings into rubble. The Turks fled. Next, Armenians 'burned and murdered: the spirit of loot took possession of them'. Soon Turkish civilians found shelter and medical treatment in the American Board compound. By August, 1915, the Russians had retreated toward Tblisi, with Americans and Armenians joining the exodus. Amid epidemics in this awful withdrawal, Mrs. Ussher and another missionary wife died. Ussher himself barely survived successive cases of typhus, pneumonia, and dysentery; Yarrow nearly succumbed also." #75

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"Nationalism Spreads from the Church to Secular Organizations:

Armenakan, Hunchaks and Dashnaksutiun: Revolutionary Parties; Terror as Method: ...Their aim was to 'win for the Armenians the right to rule over themselves, through revolution.' The members of the Armenakan in Van and the surrounding area were equipped with the most modern weapons and trained in the art of guerilla warfare and in 'preparing the people for a general movement' with due consideration given to the support 'of friendly great powers'. Soon, the Armenakan had revolutionary cells in Trabzon and Constantinople, as well as cadres in Russia, Persia, and the U.S....According to the pro-Armenian historian Christopher Walker, the 'enlightenment developed by Portukalian' was soon lost in the 'sterile brutality' of the Armenian terrorist scene...

Finally, the 'Federation of Armenian Revolutionaries', the 'Hai Hgapokhakanneri Dashnaksutiun', appeared as a result of the need for an umbrella organization for all the little terrorist groups and revolutionary cells. The goal of the organization was (and is) to win Armenian independence by means of a people's war...

Theater curtain from an Armenian school in eastern Anatolia showing the revolutionary Hunchaks, Habete Tavekelian and Kalust Andrassian. Terrorists such as these prepared the ambitious, carefully planned 'Rebellion of Van' which was supposed to rouse world opinion once again against the 'atrocities of the Turks'.

Money was needed for this purpose, lots of money, and the abbot of Aktamar Monastery in Lake Van was expected to contribute his share. He refused to pay tribute to the terrorists because he felt that the Armenians had a good life within the Ottoman Empire. Consequently, he and his secretary were murdered. The terrorists quartered their bodies and threw them into the lake. Abbot Boghos' successor willingly paid the sum demanded. A year later, in June, 1896, the Revolt of Van erupted. It was a bloody preview of the tragedy of 1915, when the terrorists wiped out the entire population of the Islamic part of town." #76

"The Armenian volunteer detachments coming from Russian territory, the Turks claim, were joined by Armenian deserters from the Ottoman Army, who destroyed bridges, raided convoys, and did everything possible to facilitate the Russian advance. An historian close to the Dashnaks appears to confirm this charge when he speaks of guerilla fighters in the Caucasian Campaign who distributed arms to the peasants and thus saved many lives..." #77

"The American mission to the Armenians of Van began its work in 1872. The resistance from the indigenous Armenian Orthodox clergy was bitter. (Van had, after all, been the seat of the Armenian Catholicos for a long time.) It was thus a full five years before the Americans managed to erect the first place of worship for their mission. The Americans called Van 'the Sevastopol of the Armenian Church' obviously alluding to the long siege and eventual assault by the allies in 1855. Partly because of the bitter rivalry between Orthodox

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and Protestant Armenians over who the 'better' Armenian was, Van quickly became a breeding ground for fanatical nationalism. This erupted in a number of uprisings and finally led to the Revolt of 1915, in which tens of thousands of Moslems lost their lives. What had started as an offer of education ended in nationalistic excesses, in spite of the idealistic zeal of many well meaning missionaries, such as Dr. Reynolds and his wife." #78

"Early in 1896, the Sublime Porte finally took action against Knapp, accusing him of being mainstay of the Hunchak committee at Bitlis and inciting Christians to attack Moslems. The charges were set out in a statement drawn by an investigating magistrate and were accompanied by the depositions of 19 Armenians, one of them Knapp's own servant. The missionary was accused of inciting 'the credulous Armenians to attack the mosques during Friday prayers to kill Christians 'in order that the crime might be attributed to Moslems'. In any other country but the Ottoman Empire, the grand vizier told the U.S. charge de affaires at Istanbul, Knapp would have been summarily executed." #79

"U.S. Professor Justin McCarthy, who has done extensive research in this field, gives a lurid picture of the Armenian atrocities. According to him, the worst Armenian massacres of Moslems, and destruction of Moslem villages, took place in the two periods at the beginning and end to the war. In between, when the Russians occupied eastern Anatolia, scattered reports indicate that major massacres of Moslems took place, particularly in the Van and Bitlis provinces. A post-war British source stated that Armenians 'massacred between 300 000 – 400 000 Kurds in the Van and Bitlis districts'." #80*

"Those who did so were slaughtered. 10 days later, after the slaughter began, Ottoman troops entered Erzincan, now a ghost town; Armenian had left, and Moslems were dead. The Ottoman soldiers marched along a road of corpses. 'For three days', wrote Vehib Pasha, the Turkish commander, 'we have done nothing but gather up the bodies of Moslems killed by the Armenians, then cast aside. Among these innocent victims are children not yet weaned, 90-year old men, and women cut to pieces. Vehib Pasha estimated that more than 1000 houses had been destroyed. The Erzincan wells were full of corpses of Moslems. Dismembered bodies, hands, legs, and heads were spread all over the gardens of the houses, one report ran. 312 unburied bodies were found by soldiers, 606 were found buried in wells and ditches, and many more that had been killed. The fate of 650 Moslems, who had been taken from the city, ostensibly for road building, was unknown." #81

"The situation in the village to the north of Erzincan was much the same as that in the east. These villages had suffered greatly from Armenian bands during the Russian occupation, and suffered even more during Armenian retreat. A correspondent from Austrian newspapers, who was on the scene, Dr. Stephan Eshanie, reported that 'all the villages from Trabzon to Erzincan and from Erzincan to Erzurum were destroyed'. 'Corpses of Turks brutally and cruelly slain are everywhere. I am now in Erzurum, and what I see is

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terrible. Almost the whole city is destroyed. The smell of the corpses still fills the air'. A list of Moslem villages destroyed by the Armenians in the last months of the war would be as long as the list of the massacred. After the Armenian retreat, much of eastern Anatolia was a graveyard.'

The report by U.S. Captain Emory Niles and Mr. Arthur Sutherland is damning evidence against the Armenians. 'In the area from Bitlis through Van to Bayezit, in the entire region,' state the reporters, 'we were informed that damage and destruction had been done by the Armenians, who, after the Russians retired, remained in occupation of the country, and who, when the Turkish Army advanced, destroyed everything belonging to the Moslems'. Their report continued as follows: 'Moreover, the Armenians are accused of having committed murder, rape, arson and horrible atrocities of every description upon the Moslem population... corroborated by material evidence. The only quarters left at all intact in the cities of Bitlis and Van are Armenian quarters, while Moslem quarters were completely destroyed. We believe that it is incontestable that the Armenians were guilty of crimes of the same nature against the Turks as those of which Turks are guilty against the Armenians'."#82

"The aim was to get rid of the Moslems in a region where they constituted the overwhelming majority of the population, and so facilitate the demands of the Armenians for the establishment of an Armenian state on Moslem lands. Firuz Kazemzadeh observes that, in those parts of Turkish 'Armenia' which the Armenian Army had re-occupied following the retreat of the Turks, massacres and pillage of the Moslem population reached tremendous proportions. A Soviet writer, Borian, himself an Armenian, states that the Armenian politicians had organized state authority, not for the purpose of administering the country, but for the extermination of the Moslem population and the looting of their property. When voices were raised in Armenia against this 'murderous policy', many of the leaders of the Yerevan Government answered, 'The Turks have always looted the Armenians; so why would it be so strange if the Armenians should for once loot the Turks? Borian accused the Armenian Dashnakists for having 'excelled the Turks'. His opinion was largely supported by the American General Harbord, who wrote that the Turks had committed many atrocities, but that 'where Armenians advanced and retreated with the Russians, their retaliatory cruelties unquestionably rivalled the Turks in their inhumanity'." #83*

"Meanwhile, on May 26th, Georgia declared its independence. Two days later, Azerbaijan and Armenia followed suit. Earlier, as a result of a prolonged strife in Baku between the Armenians and the Moslems, the government power in the city and its environs had fallen in April into the hands of the Council of People's Commissars, which was composed exclusively of Bolsheviks and left-wing Mensheviks. Headed by Armenian Bolshevik, Stepan Shaumian, the Council looked to Moscow for direction, and delivered large quantities of oil to Soviet Russia during its brief tenure of office. Early in June, the Baku Soviet dispatched a 'Red Army' towards Elizavetpol to block the advance of the Turks

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and 'liberate' the Azeris from 'the forces of reaction'. During the ensuing campaign, the Baku Army, composed mostly of Armenians, indulged in many acts of terror against the Moslem population along the way, but was successful in holding up Turkish commander Nuri's army. By the end of July, the columns of Nuri's forces had reached the Caspian Sea, south of Baku, and began to close in on the city...Faced with the imminent attack by the Turkish-Azerbaijani army, the non-Bolshevik majority in the Baku Soviet voted to call in British help; the nearest British force, about 1,000 men under the command of Major-General L.C. Dunsterville being only a few days' march away in northern Persia. Shaumian and the other Bolshevik commissars refused to get involved with the British 'imperialists', and eventually, on July 31, left the city. They were intercepted and brought back as prisoners by the newly formed government of Baku. This new regime, organized by the social revolutionaries and supported by the Armenian nationalists, immediately invited Dunsterville's force to come to the rescue of Baku, and the first British soldiers arrived there on August, 4th. But before the arrival of those forces, between 8 000-12 000 Moslems were killed in Baku alone. Even the Director of British Military Intelligence informed the Foreign Office on Sept. 16, expressing doubt whether 'absolute denial of massacres of Tartars by the Armenians could be accepted'. On July 9, M. Lindley of the Foreign Office had sent the following information from Leslie Urquhart, British official in the area: 'The Armenians joined the Bolsheviks and restarted their blood feud with the Tatars instead of continuing to fight the Turks. Over 8 000 Tatars were killed in Baku, over 18,000 unarmed Tatars were ruthlessly murdered in the Elizavetpol district, mainly by Armenian rebels and Bolsheviks. Evidence as to the needless aggressiveness of the Armenians is also contained in Sir C. Marling's Communiqué No. 76 of April 30th, 1918, and Wardrop's No. 452 of April 29th, 1918." #84

"On Feb. 26th, the appearance of an Armenian delegation before the Supreme Council briefly reminded the peacemakers that the Ottoman Empire remained to be settled. Boghos Nubar Pasha was smooth, rich and cultivated: his father had been prime ministering Egypt. His partner A. Aharonian, was tough, cynical poet from the Caucasus. Boghos spoke for the Armenian Diaspora, Aharonian for the homeland in the mountains where Russia, Persia and Turkey met. In what was by now a familiar pattern they appealed to history – the centuries that Armenians had lived there, the persistence of Armenian Christianity – to their services to the Allies (some Armenians had fought in Russia's armies) and to Allied promises. And, like other delegations, they also staked out a claim for a huge area of land, stretching south and west from the Caucasus down to the Mediterranean. They placed their hopes on the U.S. 'Scarcely a day passed', said an American expert, 'the mournful Armenians, bearded and black clad, did not besiege the American delegation or, less frequently, the President, setting for the really terrible conditions in their own native land.'" #85*

"Eyre Crowe of the Foreign Office added the following: 'I have spoken with Sir Mark Sykes about this. It is of course quite natural for the military authorities to wish to avoid the

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impression being given that the retirement from Baku was due to any failure of the British troops, when in fact it was precipitated by the treacherous attitude of the Armenians at Baku'. Nevertheless Mark Sykes' comments come as a surprise in view of what he had said about the Armenians in his book. The Caliph's Last Heritage, which was published in London in 1915. In his book, Sykes observed that there was no distinction between Turkish and Armenian villages... and in most cases the two lived side-by-side... #86*

"Sykes also claimed that, whether through tyranny or mismanagement, or by breeding or education, or a combination of all, the Armenians of the Mush Plain [in eastern Anatolia] are at present an extremely difficult people to manage'. He went on as follows:

They are very avaricious and would object to pay the most moderate taxes; they are also exceedingly treacherous to one another, and often join the revolutionaries to wipe off old scores on their fellow villagers. As for the tactics of the revolutionaries, anything more fiendish one could not imagine - the assassinations of Moslems in order to bring about the punishment of innocent men, the midnight extortion of money from villages which have just paid their taxes by day, the murder of persons who refuse to contribute to their collection-boxes, are only some of the crimes of which Moslems, Catholics and Gregorians accuse them with no uncertain voice. " #87

"The ruined buildings, many blown up with dynamite left in a Russian munitions dump, were filled with Moslem bodies. 700 corpses of children alone were counted by the Ottoman troops, who entered the ruins. The remaining Turks and Ottoman troops blamed the Armenians for the atrocities. In Erzurum, as soon as the Russians left the Turks began to experience at first indignities at the hands of the Armenians, then abductions and theft, and finally rape and murder. The Turks were attacked in the streets and were little safer from the roving Armenian bands in their homes. The final massacre in Erzurum began on Feb. 10th, 1918. On that day a large number of Moslems were taken under pretext of *corvee labor*, then they were robbed and killed before the Kars Gate, which led out of the city of Erzurum. Thousands were killed in city houses. The Ottoman authorities estimated 8 000 killed in and around the city. Only the rapid advance of the Ottoman Army saved Erzurum from greater misfortune. When the Turkish units entered the city they found thousands of corpses of Moslems murdered by the Armenians..." #88*

"... When, on March 20th, Brigadier General F.Clayton of General Headquarters, Egyptian Expeditionary Force, sent to the Foreign Office what he called 'propaganda material' by an Armenian priest of Ourtass Convent at Bethlehem, in connection with 'massacres', William Young of the Foreign Office commented: 'Surely we don't want any more Armenian propaganda'. But S. Gaselee asked Arnold Toynbee: 'What is your opinion about articles on Armenian atrocities at the present time?' To which Toynbee replied: 'The moment is hardly opportune as the Armenians seem to have been doing counter-massacres

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during the recent fighting'. Gaselee admitted that 'there seems to be some ground for the accusations against the Armenians'.

Following the signature of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty on March 3, 1918, by which Russia undertook 'to ensure the immediate evacuation of the province of eastern Anatolia and their lawful return to Turkey', the situation in Transcaucasia became highly unstable. There were numerous clashes between armed Armenian bands and the Moslem population in some districts. By May 1918, 250 Moslem villages in the eastern Caucasus had been burnt down by the Armenians. Even the British, who were committed to the Armenian cause and the creation of an Armenian state, formally warned the Armenians that they would lose the sympathy of the world if such massacres continued." #89*

"Following the Bolshevik Revolution, the Armenians began to occupy the Turkish territories evacuated by the Russians. This led to an orgy of unprecedented savagery and atrocities by the Armenian soldiers of the Russian Army..."#90

"It was Gates and Bristol who lead in weakening Armenianism in the American mind. Gates declared in his memoirs: 'I had often told my students that I was pro-Turk just as I was pro-Armenian, pro-Bulgarian, pro-Greek, pro-Jew'. Bristol though never disagreeing with missionaries that the U.S. should lead Ottoman reconstruction, had opposed their Armenianism. Believing Armenophile publicity 'exaggerated, misconstrued and abusive' Bristol in early 1920 told Barton in some ways it had called forth the worst Turkish feelings. He said to the mission secretary that it was contrary to the American sense of fair play to kick a man when he was down and give him a chance to defend himself. With concurrence from Gates, Bristol repeated often in 1921 and 1922 that relief workers and minorities had provoked reprisals and were like the boy who 'poked the hornets' nest and naturally was thoroughly stung. Bristol thought the boy should be paddled. Troubled that the killings by Armenians and Greeks did not get into the American press, the admiral wondered in his diary, 'Why aren't the atrocities committed by a Christian nation more heinous than those committed by Moslem races', if Christianity is better than Islam? He worked on the feelings of William Peet, but he decided Peet had an unchangeable resentment against Turks. Bristol acknowledged that since Turks had failed the missionary so many times, there was a reason for his negative ness." #91*

"The Ottomans, and later the Turkish Nationalists, and in particular the Ottoman and Turkish Nationalist generals on the eastern front, lodged many complaints about the way the Moslems were treated by the Armenians. The complaints and lists of atrocities were usually sent first to the Russian commanders, who were nominally in charge, later to the generals, particularly General Odishelidze, in theory commander of the Transcaucasian Forces. He was, forced to admit that the massacres had taken place. Accounts are also supported by Georgian sources. Here are a few examples..." #92

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"(Actually, Williams in his book, although showing special concern for the 'great people' of Armenia, did recognize that both Christians and Moslems had committed atrocities against each other. Williams felt this factor was reason enough for Anatolian peoples to receive assistance under an experienced umpire like Uncle Sam.) Price regarded Kemalist leaders as trustworthy and not implicated in the Armenian massacres. He thought that mission and relief workers should communicate with the Ankara Government, stop 'clamorous Armenianism', realize that the *millet* system made it almost impossible for Turks to regard Christianity as anything other than an unfriendly political program, and accept the Turkification of Asia Minor." #93

"Meanwhile, on Sept. 4th, the Turkish Army attacked Baku. On the 15th, they crushed the defense of the city, while the local Moslem elements went on a rampage in the Armenian districts, killing 9 000 Armenians. Dunsterville and his force ran away. On Sept. 26th, Nuri's regulars formally occupied the city and gradually restored order. They protected the remaining Armenians. There were 60 000 refugees from 420 Moslem villages destroyed by the Armenians. When The London Times and other British papers of Sept. 20, published a news item about the Armenian atrocities and referred to the 'unreliability' of the Armenians, Sir Mark Sykes drew up the following minute:

'I desire to draw attention to the heading and tenor of the appended cuttings from The Times, The Daily Mail and The Daily Express. The facts in the communiqués about [Armenian atrocities] are correct but they are displayed in a manner calculated to do the greatest damage to the Armenians as a whole... It must be pointed out that a local event such as had taken place at Baku, should not under any circumstances have been used in way to give a bad impression of the Armenian race as a whole... The effect of the communiqués and headings will be to promote dissent'... "#94*

Although there are thousands of documents in the Turkish archives open for academic research, this study is heavily based on anti-Turkish or neutral sources. However, just a very few of the documents in the Turkish military archives and relating to some of the reports of the Russian officers involved in action, are added below, translated in English.

(Doc.#54, Archive 4-3671) Letter dated Feb. 8th, 1918, No.15251, sent by Lt.General Odishelidje, Commander of the Russian Caucasian Army to General Vehip Mehmet, Commander of the Caucasian Ottoman Army):

"Acknowledge herewith receipt of your cable of Feb. 17th, 1918. I have promptly informed the Commander-in-Chief of the contents. I was deeply grieved by the incidents concerned. On behalf of the Caucasian Army and myself, I feel obliged to extend my condolences for the untimely annihilation of the innocent Moslems. Please accept my deepest respects."

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(Doc.#77, Archive 1-2, translation of report dated April 16th, 1918 – Erzurum, by Lt.Col. Toverdodleyov, acting commander of the 2nd Erzurum Artillery Regiment - few paragraphs from the long report):

"We learned the details of this incident from Commander-in-Chief, Odishelidge. They were as follows:

The killings were organized by doctors and employers, and the act of killing was committed solely by Armenian renegades. I am unable to give the names of the two Armenians, since I cannot remember them. More than 800 unarmed and defenseless Turks have been killed in Erzincan. Large holes were dug and the defenseless Turks were slaughtered like animals next to the holes. Later, the murdered Turks were thrown into the holes. The Armenian who stood near the hole would say when the holes were filled with corpses: '70 dead bodies, this hole can take 10 more'. Thus, 10 more Turks would be cut into pieces, thrown into the hole, and it would be covered over with soil when full...

The Armenian responsible for the act of murdering would frequently fill a house with 80 Turks, and cut their heads off one by one. Following the Erzincan Massacre, the Armenians began withdraw towards Erzurum. A Russian officer, who wanted to protect the transport line from the attacks of the Kurds, had once attempted to get some of the Armenian troops inside the transport line. However, since the Armenians did not like the idea of entering an organized war, they attempted to burn the houses of the Russian officers while they were sleeping. The Russian officers extinguished the fire with great difficulty and most of their property was lost in the fire. The Armenian renegades along those who withdrew to Erzurum from Erzincan raided the Moslem villages on the road, and destroyed the entire population, together with the villages... Odishelidge himself told us that all Turks who could not escape from the village of Ilica were killed. Their heads had been cut off with axes. He also told us that he had seen thousands of murdered children. Lt. Col. Gryaznov, who passed through the village of Ilica three weeks after the massacre told us the following: 'There were thousands of dead bodies hacked to pieces on the roads. Every Armenian who happened to pass through these roads cursed and spat on the corpses. In the courtyard of a mosque which was about 25 x 30 m², dead bodies were piled up to a height of 140 cm. Among these corpses were men and women of every age, children and old people. The women's bodies had obvious marks of rape. The genitals of many girls were filled with gunpowder... A few educated Armenian girls who worked as telephone operators for the Armenian troops, were called by Lt.Col. Gryaznov to the courtyard of the mosque and he bitterly told them to be proud of what the Armenians had done. To colonel's disgusted amazement, the Armenian girls started to laugh and giggle, instead of being horrified.' ...An Armenian contractor at the Alaca Communications zone, narrated the following incident which took place on Feb. 20th: 'The Armenians had nailed a Turkish woman to the wall. They had cut out the woman's heart and placed the heart on top of her head.' ... At the club of the artillery officers, Antranik promised in front of everyone that discipline would be established. However, this promise was never fully kept...On the night of Feb. 26th, the

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Armenians deceived the Russians, perpetrated a massacre and escaped for fear of the Turkish soldiers...The number of murders committed on that night reached 3000. It was the Armenians who bragged about details of the massacre... The Armenians fighting against the Turkish were so cowardly that they could not withstand the Turkish soldiers of a force of 500 and 2 cannons, for one night and fled. The leading Armenians intellectuals had shared the same ideas with the renegades in this massacre, just as in all others. The lower classes within the Armenian community have always obeyed the orders of the leading Armenian figures and commanders. All the officers of my troops were Russians. However, all the enlisted men were Armenians... 'You are Russian; you can never understand the Armenian cause.' They would commit massacres and then would flee in view of the Turkish soldiers."

"Dashnaks as the perpetrators of the extermination of the Muslims:

The Dashnak documents are full of accounts of massacres committed by Dashnaks who were under the command of the Tsarist Russia and Western imperialism. The instruction with the number 34 and sent on June 22nd, 1915 by Nikolayev, the Russian commander of the Van troops, to Aram who became governor of the province after the occupation of Van ordered the Armenians to avoid attacking the Kurdish population in the region and looting their villages. In his protesting reply, Aram informed that the orders would not be fulfilled and the perpetrators would be punished severely as possible to set an example for the Muslims still unoccupied." #95

"But the Turkish Armenia behind the front, who were being deported and massacred as early as the month of July, by their heroic resistance, occupied the attention of four Turk L divisions and tens of thousands of Kurds just at the time when the Turks had such great need of those forces to aid them in their July drive. It is worth while, therefore, to point out here that, during the deportations and massacres of 1915, whenever the Armenians had any possible means at all of resisting the criminal plans of the Turkish government, they took up arms and organized resistance in different parts of Armenia." #96

"At Shabin-Karahissar, nearly 5,000 Armenians, for twenty seven days without interruption, in the same month of July, kept busy another division of Turkish troops with their artillery. There took place one of the most tragic and heroic episodes of the present war. "#97

Chapter 9: References and Footnotes:

1. Guenter Lewy, *The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey*, U. of Utah Press, pg.12

2. Ibid, pg.13

3* Ibid, pg.14 – 15

The Archangel Gabriel was active then... His twin brother Angel Cebrail of Moslems is very much on duty this time around, serving Al-Qaeda and other fundamentalists... Bigotry, how ruthless you can be and yet no one sees or dare to speak of your strength!

4. Ibid, pg. 16

5*. Ibid, pg. 17 – 18

Still believe in their innocent loyalty? They succeeded then and are succeeding now!

6. Ibid, pg. 19

7. Ibid, pg. 21

8* Ibid, pg. 24

Can these acts comply with innocence claims?

9*. Ibid, pg. 25

These 'innocent and loyal people' did not even care about their own compatriots! ...

10* Ibid, pg. 26

Armenian brigands would raid Kurdish villages to bring retaliation so that Western powers would intervene. They did succeed in this bloody plot. Most Turks were affectionate, despite all this, and protected some Armenians when they were relocated.

11*. Ibid, pg. 27

Similar compliments (!) provided more explanations in another chapter.

12. Ibid, pg. 28

13. Ibid, pg. 29

14. Ibid, pg. 30

15*. Ibid, pg. 31

Andranik's loyalty was proven by his fighting on the side of the Bulgarians in the Balkan Wars, and on the side of Russia in World War I.

16. Ibid, pg. 33

17*. Ibid, pg. 34

Ottomans or CUP penalized many Turks (some 67 were hanged in 1916) for their wrongdoings... Has any Armenian ever been punished or even criticized for any of their too many crimes? No! They are all innocent loyal heroes of war!

18. Ibid, pg. 36

19*. Ibid, pg. 96

In May 1915, when the ANZACS were fighting at Gallipoli, Armenians had conquered Van and declared their new Republic and presented the key of the city to the Russian commander to prove their loyalty... to Russia!

20*. Ibid, pg. 97- 98

Self-explanatory details on the innocence of revolutionaries! Compare this information with new movie scenario, based on Dr. Ussher's memoirs!

21. Ibid, pg. 99

22*. Ibid, pg. 114

Turks admit that some abuses occurred, but some of them were severely punished... Have Armenians, Russians, British, French ever punished any Armenians? Could they dare to? They are all peaceful, loyal innocent people!

23*. Ibid, pg. 115

Self-explanatory confirmation...

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24*. Ibid, pg. 116

Moslem deaths were never mentioned in the Western Press. Even Arnold Toynbee, editor of the famous Blue Book, confessed years later, that they had prepared propaganda books, with false tales!

25*. Ibid, pg. 117

Innocent, loyal but barbarous! Which part should we believe?

26*. Ibid, pg. 118–119

How come these cruelties are never mentioned by historians when there are so many documents?

27*. Ibid, pg. 155-156

The reader can judge from the evidence if this was an intended destruction or matter of unavailability and incapacity during war! Before any such claim is taken seriously, Enver should be charged firstly, for the loss of his 80,000 men.

28*. Salahi Sonyel, *The Great War & the Great Tragedy of Anatolia*, T.T.K., pg. 27-28

Hamlin was Armenians' greatest benefactor of all times. He first learned Armenian, translated the Protestant Bible into Armenian, created jobs, protected, taught and saved them. His coffin, was carried only by Armenians in Boston. Hence, his remarks should be taken at face value.

29. Ibid, pg. 29

30. Guenther Lewy, *The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey*, U.Utah Press, pg. 31

31*. Ibid, pg. 32

Invention of the first time bomb! Contribution of the Dashnaks to civilization, for the art of terrorism!

32*. Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy & the Near East*, U. of Minn. Press, pg. 61

Grabill's Armenophilia is self-explanatory. Rebels were saved by French battleships. Franz Werfel's novel is based on notes given to Pastor Lepsius by Morgenthau, during his one-month stay in Istanbul ... Lepsius never left Istanbul.

33*. Guenter Lewy, *The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey*, U. of Utah Press, pg. 157

Certainly, the Sarikamish defeat followed immediately by the Van Revolt, plus the rejection of the last warning made to the Istanbul Armenian Patriarch in April 1915, must have provoked the urgency of the relocation by logic...

34. Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy & the Near East*, U. of Minnesota Press, 1991, pg.46

35*. Ibid, pg. 47

More examples on the missionaries' roles covered in greater detail in two other chapters of this book. This statement is refuted by photos dated Oct.1914 (before war started) showing Armenian Volunteer soldiers sanctified by Armenians priests in Anatolia, other photos with cannons they sized in Van in April 1915. Refer to: <http://armenian.tales.googlepages.com/Pastermadjian-1918.pdf>

36. Ibid, pg. 48

37*. Efraim & Inari Karsh, *Empires of the Sand*, Harvard U. Press pg. 152

The Russian demand was met in February, 1914 with two foreign governors (Norwegian Col. Hoff and Dutch M. Westenek –ranked as General Inspectors) arrived in May 1914, later went to Van and Erzurum, but the project was annulled because of the start of World War I.

38*. Akaby Nassibian, *Britain & the Armenian Question 1915-23*, Croom Helm, London, pg.89

Bryce and Toynbee, most reputed Turkophobes, writers of the Blue Book and other propaganda books, as can be seen, do not hesitate to create illogical excuses and manipulate bare facts! <http://armenian.tales.googlepages.com/Pastermadjian-1918.pdf>

39*. Clair Price, "The Rebirth of Turkey", New York, 1923 (T.A.T bulletin e-mail: <http://www.tallarmeniantale.com/armenian-troops.htm>)

Clair Price confirms Lord Bryce's neutrality in her 1923 book!

40*. Erich Feigl, *A Myth of Terror*, Edition Zeitgeschichte Freilassing, Salzburg, Austria, pg. 73

What more evidence is needed to prove revolution?

41. Dr. G. Pastermadjian, *Why Armenia Should Be Free*, Boston, Dec. 1918, Hairenik Publish. Co.p.37

42. Erich Feigl, *A Myth of Terror*, Edition Zeitgeschichte Freilassing, Salzburg, Austria, pg. 74

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43*. Ibid, pg. 76

Besides that found in other chapters, missionary involvement and support to Armenian Revolutionaries, is again confirmed!

44*. Nicole & Hugh Pope, *Turkey Unveiled*, The Overlook Press, N.Y., pg. 40

Another Armenophile writer applauding Europeans for mediation, overlooking the fact that same parties provoked Armenians into rebellion and terrorist acts! What an irony or hypocrisy!

45*. Ibid, pg. 41

In this paragraph, the writer contradicts previous comments!

46. Akaby Nassibian, *Britain & the Armenian Question 1915-23* Croom Helm, London, pg. 174

47*. Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy & the Near East*, U. of Minn., pg.266

Armenophile Grabill, nevertheless confesses some realities...

48. Jason Goodwin, *Lords of the Horizons*, Henry Holt Co, NY, pg. 315

49. Leslie A Davis, *The Slaughterhouse Province*, A.D.Caratzas, New York, pg. 195

50*. Salahi Sonyel, *The Great War & the Great Tragedy of Anatolia*, T.T.K., pg.127-128

Boghos Nubar was begging Allied Powers for the AUTONOMY they have been struggling for decades, by force of the Victors, forgetting that in their craze of war, they had turned down Enver's generous autonomy offer, in August, 1914...

51. Ibid, pg. 35-36

52. Guenther Lewy, *The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey*, U.of Utah Press, pg. 183

53* Mary Lee Settle, *Turkish Reflections*, Touchstone, NYC, pg.190

A rather truthful and neutral observation of the status, then...

54. Akaby Nassibian, *Britain & the Armenian Question 1915-23* Croom Helm, London, pg.16

55. Ibid, pg. 18

56. Ibid, pg. 19

57. Efraim & Inari Karsh, *Empires of the Sand*, Harvard U. Press pg. 151

58*. Joseph Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy & the Near East*, Univ. of Minn. Press, pg. 60

Grabill almost praises Armenian bravery and their spirit of looting, burning and murdering Turks!

59*. Jeremy Salt, *Imperial Evangelism & the Ottoman-Armenians 1878-96*, Frank Cass & Co. Ltd.U.K.pg.124

This hatred of Turks and involvement in religious provocation, such as the 'Crusades' prevails in full regalia in 2006, in the U.S., the E.U. Parliament and in the Vatican's pronouncements. Remarks in Chapter 6, "Divinity for Bigotry and Anarchy" ring true!

60. Salahi Sonyel, *The Great War & the Great Tragedy of Anatolia*, T.T.K., pg. 31

61. Ibid, pg. 60

62* Joseph Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy & the Near East*, U. of Minn. Press, 1991, pg.50

Government's proclamation of innocence of Armenians because of British warships, sounds logical!

63. Jeremy Salt, *Imperial Evangelism & the Ottoman-Armenians 1878-96*, Frank Cass&Co. U.K .pg.116

64. Salahi Sonyel, *The Great War and the Great Tragedy of Anatolia*, T.T.K., pg. 86

65. Ibid, pg. 109

66. Ibid, pg. 110

67. Ibid, pg. 124

68. Joseph Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy & the Near East*, U. of Minn.Press, 1991, pg.49

69* Lord Kinross, *The Ottoman Centuries*, Morrow Quill Paperback, NY 1977, pg. 560

Compare Lord Kinross' remarks with previous other comments... Does he sound neutral?

70*. Ibid, pg. 561

Lord Kinross builds up a tale of bravery and patriotism, out of an evil plan of terrorism. Given such praise, apparently the suicide bombers of the 21st century might also deserve praise and justification! See any logic and common sense? (*Proverb: Common Sense is not so common*)

71*. Salahi Sonyel, *The Great War and the Great Tragedy of Anatolia*, T.T.K., pg. 96

Which state can remain idle, when faced with such an extensive internal war?

72*. Ibid, pg. 159

Wasn't 1,500,000 Armenians plus Nestorians all annihilated in 1915? Famous Andranik on stage again!

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73*. Erich Feigl, *A Myth of Terror*, Edition Zeitgeschichte Freilassing, Salzburg, Austria pg. 76

Biased historians never refer to the Van Revolt and that relocation decree which was issued in haste to safeguard the rear of the Turkish Army. Logically, it could not have been planned in advance, because there was no cause. Dashnaks and CUP were good friends in late 1914.

74*. Salahi Sonyel, *The Great War & the Great Tragedy of Anatolia*, T.T.K., pg.110

Proud reports of the slaughter of all Moslems and revolt to serve the enemy!

75. Joseph Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy & the Near East*, U. of Minn.Press,1991, pg.60

76. Erich Feigl, *A Myth of Terror*, Edition Zeitgeschichte Freilassing, Salzburg, Austria pg. 65

77. Guenther Lewy *The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey*, U. Utah Press, pg.103

78. Erich Feigl, *A Myth of Terror*, Edition Zeitgeschichte Freilassing, Salzburg, Austria pg. 49

79. Jeremy Salt, *Imperial Evangelism&the Ottoman-Armenians 1878-96*, Frank Cass & Co. U.K., pg.116

80*. Salahi Sonyel, *The Great War the Great Tragedy of Anatolia*, T.T.K., pg. 160

Which historians have mentioned that Armenians had killed 300 000 – 400 000 Moslems between 1915-22 in Van-Bitlis area only?

81. Ibid, pg. 161

82. Ibid, pg. 162-163

83*. Ibid, pg. 160

This research is not aimed to find out which 'butchers were more efficient' at carrying out bilateral carnage, which was originally planned and invoked by Dashnaks as explained...

84*. Margaret Macmillan, *Paris 1919*, Random House, New York, pg. 377

For living Armenians declared by Venizelos at Paris conference please refer to Chapter 15, "Population".

85*. Salahi Sonyel, *The Great War & the Great Tragedy of Anatolia*, T.T.K., pg.166

Mark Sykes was the highest British authority who travelled the area and signed the Sykes-Picot Agreement... If, even he blames Armenians for treachery against the British, what parts of the distortions should we believe?

86*. Ibid, pg. 167

Mark Sykes' reports are objective, authoritative and reasonable!

87*. Ibid, pg. 162

Weren't all Armenians in Erzurum deported south to Dar-El-Zor and killed en route? From where did these come back to Erzurum to butcher all Moslems?

88*. Ibid, pg. 164

Massacres continued, but were never talked about, despite the extensive relief operations in the subject areas.

89. Ibid, pg. 159

90. Joseph Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy & the Near East*, Univ. of Minn. Press, pg. 264

91*. Admiral Bristol's observations excerpted in other chapters in this book.

92. Salahi Sonyel, *The Great War & the Tragedy of Anatolia* T.T.K, pg. 161

93. Joseph Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy & the Near East*, Univ. of Minn. Press, pg.265

94* Salahi Sonyel, *The Great War & the Great Tragedy of Anatolia*, T.T.K., pg. 166

Sir Sykes had to cover up their servant Armenians, even when they were doing wrong! What an irony that General Nuri's regular army actually "protected Armenians"!

95. (Mehmet Perincek) USSR October Revolution Central State Archive (TsGAOR SSRR) cited fromf.579,1.1., d.1880 y.3-7 by: A.O. Arutyunyan, mentioned text on p.369

96. Dr. G. Pasdermajian, *Why Armenia Should Be Free*, Boston, Dec. 1918, Hairenik Publish. Co. p.24

97. Ibid, p.27

Note (*): Ahmet Rüstem (Turkish Ambassador in Washington) was originally Christian (Pole named Alfred)! He was recalled to Istanbul, based on request of the White House, which could not tolerate his Ottoman Reaction. Another Christian (Greek) Mavroyeni Bey, was to succeed him and resist the allegations by Cyrus Hamlin in the U.S. Press! 'Alfred' was the translator when Gen. Harbord met Mustafa Kemal in 1920, at the start of the national resistance and wrote an objective report!

Chapter 10: ON THE BATTLEFIELDS (Sarikamish-Gallipoli-Suez)

"Governments habitually overestimate what they can achieve and underestimate how much of their working day they have to spend on the really tricky issue at hand. " #1

Few historians or writers outlined the importance of other facts predominant at that time, and the drastic impact some battles may have to tilt the progress of war for better or worse. Unless these conditions are also taken into consideration, no correct assessments of the situation can be made.

"... In June and July (General Lunderdorff) planned operations for the Caucasus and Mesopotamia, largely using Turkish forces as though they were willing to fulfill Germany's objectives rather than their own. He had lost all grasp of strategic reality. The Turks were no longer willing to do Germany's bidding. Hindenburg asked Enver Pasha to withdraw the Ottoman 3rd Army from any points beyond the frontiers set by Brest-Litovsk, and concentrate against the British in Persia and Mesopotamia. Enver refused. He was bent not only on supporting the Moslem peoples of the north Caucasus but also in getting the oil of Baku. So were the Germans, but for themselves. Halil Pasha, the army group commander in the Caucasus, declared at the end of June that, 'If necessary I would not hold back from waging war on the Germans'." #2

"The Ottoman base for operations was Erzurum, almost 100 km from the frontier and 10 times that from the railhead linking it to Constantinople. Guse favored short leaps after careful preparations; Enver decided on deep envelopment with immediate impact. He argued that the more exposed the route was, the more it would be swept clear of snow. His aim was to encircle the Russians at Sarikamish on Christmas Day, 1914, and he directed his left hook on Ardahan, almost 100 km further on. His units were short of boots and groundsheet, and those with the deepest snow to traverse were instructed to leave their packs and greatcoats behind. The mildest temperature in the entire operation was -31°C. The Turks' supplies ran out on Dec. 25th. The Russians held Sarikamish and then counterattacked in the first week of the New Year. The 3rd Army was shattered. Its total casualties were at least 75 000 men, and some estimates rise as high as 90 000. The majority fell not in battle but to the terrain, the climate, the supply situation and the lack of medical care. The blow to the notion of holy war, at least in this quarter of the Ottoman area of operations, was devastating, and that to pan-Turkism scarcely less so. Russian intentions for the spring were limited: to push from Kars in a southerly direction, west of Lake Van, and so secure their Persian Flank. Six provinces of eastern Anatolia contained populations which were Armenian and therefore Christian, although in none of them were they in a majority. Indeed, the forced migration of Turks from Russia had reduced their profile proportionately. While at the same time elevating the affront they presented to both militant Islam and pan-Turkism. In 1894-96, Armenian revolutionary activity had culminated in violence which had been bloody and protracted. Moreover, it was a moment which enjoyed

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Russian patronage. In 1914, both Foreign Minister Sazonov and the governor of the Caucasus sketched out plans to foment revolt. At least 150 000 Armenians who lived on the Russian side of the frontier were serving in the Czar's army. Enver persuaded himself that his defeat at Sarikamish had been due to three units of Armenian volunteers, who included men who had deserted from the Ottoman side. The Ottoman 3rd Army knew of the Russian intentions and anticipated problems as early as September. Its soldiers began murdering Armenians and plundering their villages in the first winter of the war. On April 16th, 1915, as the Russians approached Lake Van, the region's Ottoman administrator ordered the execution of five Armenian leaders. The Armenians in Van rose in rebellion, allegedly in self-defense. Within 10 days, about 600 leading members of the Armenian community had been rounded up and deported to Asia Minor." #3

"On Dec. 6th, 1914, Enver left Constantinople and on Dec. 21st, took command of the Ottoman 3rd Army. He led the attack on the Caucasus plateau in person. The Russians were terrified and appealed to Britain to help somehow; they had no idea they faced a foe which was utterly inept.

Enver left his artillery behind because of the deep snow. His troops were forced to bivouac in the bitter cold (as low as - 30° C.). They ran short of food. A typhus epidemic broke out. With routes blocked by the winter snows, they lost their way in the tangled mountain passes. Enver's plan was for his forces to launch a coordinated surprise attack on the Russian base called Sarikamish, which blocked the invasion highway; but, having lost touch with one another, various Turkish Corps arrived at different times at Sarikamish to attack and to be destroyed piecemeal. The remnants of what had once been an army straggled back into eastern Turkey in January 1915. Of the perhaps 100 000 men who took part in the attack, 86% were lost. A German officer attached to the Ottoman General Staff described what happened to the 3rd Army by saying that it had suffered a disaster which for rapidity and completeness is without parallel in military history." #4

"The tenth army corps, during its march from Olti to Sarikamish, suffered a delay of twenty-four hours in the Barduz Pass, due to the heroic resistance of the fourth battalion of the Armenian volunteers which made up the Russian reserve.

...Opposite Sarikamish, where a battle was waged for three days and three nights, the Turks suffered a loss of 30,000 men, mostly due to cold rather than to the Russian arms.

...Six hundred Armenian veterans fell in the Barduz Pass, and at such a high price saved the 60,000 Russians from being taken prisoners by the Turks." #5

"The first battalion of the Armenian volunteers, under the command of the veteran Andranik, strongly enforced in its trenches, repulsed the attacks of Khalil Bey for three days continuously, until the Russians, with the newly-arrived forces from the Caucasus, were able to put to flight the army of Khalil Bey. Thirty-six hundred Turkish soldiers lay dead before the Armenian trenches in the course of those three days." # 6

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"The troops settled down to a winter which was to be hard and bitter. Izzet's force, at the mercy of long and badly planned lines of communication, was deficient not merely in guns but in foodstuffs. Nor could an army any longer subsist here on the country, for the ironical reason that in the earlier stages of the campaign, the Armenians had been massacred or deported en masse, leaving the land a virtual desert, without peasants to grow food or artisans to provide service. One division was reduced to a third of a ration per man and there was almost no fodder for the draft animals. Many of the troops had only their summer uniforms, with foot-rags for boots and, following blizzards, while detachments were found in caves, dead from hunger and cold. It was to the command of this decimated army that Kemal was promoted in the course of the winter, in succession to Izzet, who was now put in overall command of both the 2nd and 3rd Armies. As it happened, they did not have to fight a spring campaign. For, in March 1917, a political event of world importance supervened — the Russian Revolution. The Caucasian Front remained more or less static while the Russian armies fell slowly to pieces and finally withdrew towards Tbilisi, disorganized 'soldiers committees' which gave orders to the staff and deprived officers of their badges of rank..."#7

"Enver was a dominant leader among the Young Turks, a short, slim man with a mustache which curled upward like the Kaiser's. When Enver's forces moved across the Russian-Turkish border though Bardiz Pass, Russian-Armenian volunteers held them up at Sarikamish. This Armenian effort gave the Russian military unit enough time to regroup and defeat the Turks. After this failure, the Committee became convinced that Turkish-Armenians were traitors, that not only should the police imprison and execute them but that the Army should shoot them." #8

"Fought under snowy conditions the Battle of Sarikamish turned out disastrous for the Ottomans. The 3rd Army lost more than 80 000 men within a matter of days: nearly 90% of those participating in fighting. As the Russians crossed joint border and began advancing on Erzurum, Enver escaped by the skin of his teeth, arriving in Istanbul in early January, 1915. Anxious to hide the magnitude of his defeat, he ordered a blackout on news from the front and quickly blamed the debacle on the lack of German support. Cemal, a member of the triumvirate since 1913, the minister of navy resented his transfer from the capital in Nov., 1914 to command the 4th Army. Cemal saw the attack on the Suez Canal as a potential personal coup, a golden opportunity to outshine Enver and to regain his central place in the national leadership. On the night of Feb. 2nd, 1915, Cemal at the head of a 12 000 strong force, attacked the Suez Canal, only to suffer an ignominious defeat. #9

"Meanwhile, in the winter of 1914, the Ottoman Army set out to regain the provinces it had lost to Russia in 1828 and 1878. Enver Pasha had assumed the title of acting Commander-in-chief of the Ottoman armies on Oct. 21st, 1914, personally led the Ottoman

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3rd Army in the Caucasus Campaign, but his 100 000 -man force was decimated at Sarikamis in January, 1915 by the bitter cold weather and by the stubborn resistance of several Russian divisions assisted by three Armenian volunteer units from Transcaucasia. The Armenians were hailed by all leading organs of the Russian press as the 'saviors' of the Caucasus. According to the May 14th, 1915 issue of the Italian newspaper, Tribuna, Enver Pasha accused the Armenians as traitors and this accusation was probable correct for Armenians never failed, under any circumstance, to desire the triumphant march of Russia, and to help towards it... 'They hoped to see the salvation reborn from the embers of Europe in conflagration', declared the paper. The way was prepared for a new Russian push into eastern Anatolia to be accompanied by an open revolt against the Sultan." #10

"Yet even as he rode back from the catastrophe in the northeast, Enver ordered another ill-conceived offensive. In command was Navy Minister Cemal Pasha. Jealous of Enver, whose prestige and power had begun to overshadow those of the other Young Turks, Cemal took the field as commander of the Ottoman 4th Army, based in Syria and Palestine. On Jan. 15th, 1915, he began his march toward Egypt to launch a surprise attack across the Suez Canal...Again, logistical problems were ignored. The roads of Syria and Palestine were so bad that not even horse-drawn carts could move along many of them; and the wastes of the 130-mile wide Sinai Desert were trackless. The Ottoman soldiery nonetheless performed prodigies of endurance and valor. Somehow they transported themselves and their equipment from Syria to Suez. Kress von Kressenstein, a German engineering officer, dug wells along the route, which enabled them to survive the march through the desert. The time of year, for once, was well chosen: January, is the best month in Egypt for avoiding the terrible heat...But when the 4th Army reached the banks of the Suez Canal, Cemal discovered that most of his troops could not use the bridging pontoons that were meant to transport them to the other side. The German engineers had brought the pontoons from Germany, but the troops had not been trained in their use. Cemal ordered the attack to commence nonetheless. Early in the morning of Feb. 3rd, while the sky was still half-dark, it began. The British, from behind their fortifications, awoke to discover an Ottoman Army on the opposite bank of the enormous ditch; and with their superior weaponry, they opened fire upon it. In the battle and the subsequent rout, 2 000 Ottoman troops <about 10% of Cemal's forces> were killed. Cemal ordered a retreat; and kept on going all the way back to Syria." #11

"Buchan's novel concerns spies and skullduggery. So did German methods and British counters. Fiction and fact were closely intertwined. A German expedition crossed Persia to reach Kabul, in a bid to persuade the Emir to raise an army for the invasion of India. German consuls in the U.S. bought arms for shipment to Indian revolutionaries. Their agents penetrated nationalist movements throughout North Africa and Central Asia, and their propaganda was disseminated from locations in Constantinople and neutral Bern. And yet there was no holy war. The Moslem soldiers of India remained loyal to the British.

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Moreover, the defeats at Gallipoli and Kut overshadowed a far more significant albeit limited victory, the successful defense of the Suez Canal against Turkish attack in February, 1915 and 1916. The key waterway linking the British Empire to the east with that in the west was held and the threat of revolution in Egypt was contained. Germany's global strategy was checked." #12

"But Enver saw himself in the role of Islamic Alexander the Great, moving against Britain in quest of a new Turkish Empire of Asia. For its realization he decreed two immediate offensives; the first northwards against Russia, the second southwards against Egypt. The first offensive, designed to encircle the Russian forces in the Caucasus and executed against the advice of the German commander, General Liman von Sanders, ended in total disaster. In appalling winter conditions virtually a whole Turkish Army was lost – a crucial force which should have been held in reserve for the defense of the east." #13

"Meanwhile Enver was proceeding –again against the advice of von Sanders– with his second offensive. This was to be a swift descent upon the Suez Canal with the object of ejecting British from Egypt." #14

"Enver decided to form a separate army, the fifth, for the defense of the Dardanelles and appointed Liman von Sanders to command it. Liman asked for a new division, the 19th, and it was to the command of this that Lieutenant-Colonel Mustafa Kemal had been posted with his headquarters at Maidos." #15

"On arrival Kemal found chaotic conditions. The troops on the spot were mere remnants of any army, exhausted and demoralized, rotting with disease, exploited by unscrupulous officers in leave with corrupt contractors and reduced to bedrock in arms and ammunition. At one moment, he and his men were involved in a hand-to-hand fight with a large force of Russian infantry amid a 'forest of bayonets' which almost surrounded them. Then on his own responsibility, he ordered a general retreat, gambling on the belief that the Russians would not follow it up. In the course of the retreat, a Turkish soldier grumbled to him: 'What cowardly commanders are these? I was killing Russians all the way. Why do they drag us back'? Kemal replied: 'Very good. But the battle will not be decided just by your killing Russians. This is a big army and there may be reason for the retreat that you don't understand', 'And who may you be?' 'I am your commanding officer!' #16

"But the heat that made that an attractive option also brought flies and then disease, particularly dysentery; water supplies were a constant headache. Only 30% of British casualties in the campaign were sustained in battle...The respect that built up between the allies and the Turks should not be exaggerated. There were Armistices to collect the dead. But snipers when captured were regularly shot out of hand, as were other prisoners. One

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French officer, Jean Giraudoux, wrote on June 13th, 1915, 'The Australians massacre all the Turks: the Australians national enemy, one of them said to me, is the Turk.' " #17

"It was not only Australian and New Zealand national identity that was forged at Gallipoli, it was also Turkey's. This was a major victory, less for the Ottoman Empire than for the ethnical and geographically more defined state that emerged from World War I. Moreover, although many of the architects of the defensive battle were German, it produced a Turkish hero who became the founder of that state, Mustafa Kemal. It was he who was accorded the credit for rallying the Turks at ANZAC on April 25th, and it was he whose men had checked Malone's New Zealanders at Conkbayır on August, 8th." #18

"German submarines sank the *HMS Triumph* on May 25th and the *HMS Majestic* on May 27th. All capital ships were withdrawn to port, and only destroyers with 4-inch guns remained to support land operations. The navy's major contribution thereafter was also submarine — sinking the Turkish merchant vessels supporting the troops on the peninsula; the Turks lost half their merchant fleet in the campaign..." #19

"They fought not for Australia or New Zealand but for the 'old country', with which they still had strong ties of kinship and sentiment. Moreover, most of them were city-dwellers, not the bronzed 'diggers' from the outback of popular legend. Morale came close to collapse on April 25th. The landings at Z beach were poorly managed, with too many troops clustering towards the north, in what became known as Anzac Cove. The result was congestion and administrative chaos. Moreover, here the Turkish reaction was vigorous and swift. Disregarding Liman von Sanders' orders to wait until he could be sure about the direction of the main attack, Mustafa Kemal committed his whole division to holding the high ground above the beaches. 'I knew -- I don't know how, but one guessed from the way those guns were firing at all of ours, that the troops were being very severely tried', Bean wrote in his diary of that afternoon's fighting. 'It was sickening to hear it.' Many unwounded Anzacs were making their way back to the beaches, and both the corps divisional commanders favored re-embarkation..." #20

"When Townshend reached Ctesiphon (or Selmān Pak) on Nov. 22nd, 1915 his units were one-third below their establishment. The Turks fought a successful defensive action. However, Townshend's decision to fall back on Kut was a reflection of his waning confidence rather than of any Turkish superiority. At Ctesiphon almost half his British officers were sick or wounded, and the lack of officers had two direct consequences for his force, as well as for its relief when it found itself besieged." #21

"...in Kut. First, staff work collapsed. Townshend himself failed to form a proper estimate of his food position or of how long he could hold out. Back at Basra, a divisional staff could not be formed for the three brigades that arrived in January, 1916. Secondly,

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junior Leadership declined and morale with it. Townshend was reluctant to breach religious scruples regarding diet for fear of worsening the spirit of his troops, but he could not prevent 147 of them deserting during the course of the siege. Rather than fight his way out, he waited for relief, which did not arrive. ...

The relieving force could not envelop the Turks in its path: it was tied on one flank to the river that provided its transport and it lacked the man-power to stretch out into the slush to get round the other. Four attempts resulted in 23 000 casualties, almost twice the strength of the Kut garrison...

Kut fell on April 29, 1916. Townshend and 13 000 men went into captivity from which very few of them returned. Townshend was an exception, living in comfort overlooking the Bosphorus for the remainder of the war. Britain's humiliation in the Middle East and Central Asia was complete. Its worst fear, that of resurgent Islam in the empire, seemed to be about to be realized. 'For me', von der Goltz had written home, '...the hallmark of the 20th century must be the revolution of the colored races against the colonial imperialism of Europe'. In 1916 the novelist John Buchan produced Greenmantle, one of the best-known of what he called his 'shockers'." #22

"Tensions were also multiplying in Germany relations with the Ottoman Empire. Turkey's value to Germany lay in the threat it could to Britain in the Middle East and in its ability to divert Russian troops from the European front to the Caucasus. In achieving the second of these objectives, the Turks lost eastern Anatolia. The Russians captured Erzurum by Feb. 15, 1916 and reached Trabzon on the Black Sea coast on April 18th. With the British defeated at Gallipoli and Kut, the Turks were able to concentrate 26 of their 52 divisions on the Caucasus front by the summer of 1916. But as combat casualties (which peaked in the first two years of the war) fell, attrition through desertion and disease rose.

...The success of the Russians in pulling Turkish divisions to the north of the Ottoman Empire had reopened the British route to Baghdad. The city fell on March 11, 1917. This as no side-show for the Germans: Ludendorff had begun prodding Enver about measures for Baghdad's defense long before the Ottoman minister of war woke up to the threat..." #23

"...He proposed to strike first against the British in Sinai before turning back to Mesopotamia..." #24

In his usual optimistic naivety, Enver had hoped that his offer of autonomy in six provinces, could bring the Russian and Turkish-Armenians over to his side, since this was what they had been struggling for several decades. It was a gamble, he lost and the very opposite happened. Not only did he lose 80 000 soldiers in about two weeks time without even a fight, but he had no army left to stop the Russians on the eastern front and the British-French-Arab forces in the south. Armenians took pride in their fights and wrote several books on their victories and braveries.

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Patriarch Zaven, returning from his exile to Baghdad, was giving the following declaration to the Constantinople newspaper *Le Journal d'Orient* of Feb. 26, 1919 to please the occupying forces:

'I hope that the allies will appreciate the collaboration and loyalty of the Armenian volunteers fighting with them in Palestine, the Caucasus and other fronts'.

How the Young Turks, when their country was attacked from all sides, and even from the inside by their own citizens, were to have the time, capability and means to separate the *brave* culprits from the *poor* innocents? Taking into consideration their *risky military operations, without the minimal necessities for their own troops* and the terrible logistics (all ports being under Allied blockade) they may not have had any other feasible alternative than *relocating everyone in the battle zones!* The other available alternative was to push the civilian population up to the front between crossfire, which was a known Russian practice currently, applied when they advanced into Anatolia in November 1914.

The drama of the Moslem refugees, with no means of transportation, no food, no shelter, no money and no one to take the slightest care, is never taken into consideration as *humans of equal value*. Some photos show soldiers in rags without any footwear. In other chapters, you will be reading that the relocated columns were given at least some bread and soup in evenings, provided with some shelter tents, permitted to carry their belongings on ox-carts or transported by rail where possible, despite army's need of the single-track line.

In some notes, we read that the "sick (Armenian) immigrants" were even given milk and yogurt instead of soup and bread; it is a fact that the soldiers on the Sarikamish Campaign marched only with five-day ration of dry bread, because the three ships that were supposed to provide them logistic support, were sunk by the Russian fleet in the Black Sea, just a short distance out of the Bosphorus.

It should be reminded that all Turkish ports were under the blockade of the Allied Navy and most of the feeble Ottoman Navy was already sunk. The blockades were lifted only for the ships bringing relief goods, which were distributed directly to the emigrants. The Turkish kitchens providing food in transfer stations, were given none of the imported relief food, which they would have served the destitute.

Chapter 10 - References and Footnotes:

1. *TIME – U.S. (weekly)* July 17th, 2006 pg.24
2. Hew Starchan, *The First World War*, Penguin, 2004, pg.299
3. Ibid, pg. 110-112
4. David Fromkin, *A Peace to End All Peace*, Henry Holt and Co. NY, pg.120-121
5. Dr. G. Pasdermadjian, *Why Armenia Should Be Free*, Boston, Dec. 1918, Hairenik Publish. Co. p.21
6. Ibid, pg.22
7. Lord Kinross, *Atatürk – The Rebirth of a Nation*, Weidenfelt and Nicolson, London pg.100
8. Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy & the Near East*, U.of Minnesota Press, pg.59-60
9. Efraim & Inari Karsh, *Empires of the Sand* Harvard U.Press, pg. 141
10. Salahi Sonyel, *The Great War and the Great Tragedy of Anatolia*, T.T.K., pg.104
11. David Fromkin, *A Peace to End All Peace*, Henry Holt and Co. NY, pg.121
12. Hew Starchan, *The First World War*, Penguin, 2004, pg.126
13. Lord Kinross, *Atatürk – The Rebirth of a Nation*, Weidenfelt and Nicolson, London pg.69
14. Ibid, pg.70
15. Ibid, pg.72
16. Ibid, pg.99
17. Hew Starchan, *The First World War*, Penguin, 2004, pg.122
18. Ibid, pg.123
19. Ibid, pg.120
20. Ibid, pg.121
21. Ibid, pg.124
22. Ibid, pg.125
23. Ibid, pg.281
24. Ibid, pg.282

Chapter 11: OILFIELD (or oil fired) FREEDOMS

Behind much of all the fanfare that was propagandized in the past or present “to save Christians, bring freedom, civilization, democracy...” to certain regions, of course the main purpose was to share the spoils and oil of the Ottoman Empire. Baku was in a cumbersome place and it needed too much force without means of support. Mosul was more convenient, and there was ‘nothing unethical’ in taking it three days after the Armistice was declared and the armies were to hold their positions. Woodrow Wilson in his naive idealism of the “14 Points” had no idea as regards how Ottoman spoils were already shared by Sykes-Picot agreement. He had joined World War I, with huge American losses not to actually save Christendom, but to assist unknowingly; France and Britain expand their colonies!

“The ambitions of these Powers were directed towards infiltration into that order to exploit its vast and practically untouched resources, and to incorporate it into their orbit of economic and other influence. One of the main resources that made this venture attractive to them was oil. They were so keen to possess this rare liquid mineral that they were perfectly willing to indulge in acute competition, even to the extent of armed conflict, in order to possess the vast oil resources of the Middle East. In fact, one of the chief causes of World War I was this internecine economic competition among such Powers.

... It is interesting to note here that in August, 1918 British Foreign Secretary Arthur James Balfour drew the attention of the Imperial War Cabinet to the ‘incredible prospects for Iraqi oil development. Thereupon Prime Minister David Lloyd George declared, ‘I am in favor of going up as far as Mosul before the war is over. (Minutes, War Cabinet 457, Imperial War Cabinet, 30, 13.8.1918 in Cab. 23/43). Mosul was part of the Ottoman Empire, and on the conclusion of the Armistice of Mudros on Oct. 30th, 1918, ending the war between the Entente Powers and that empire, it was being defended by the Ottoman 6th Army commanded by General Ali Ihsan (Sabis). The British force under General Sir William Marshall seized Mosul three days after the signature of the Armistice, thus ‘putting the finishing touch on Britain’s apparent mastery of the Middle East’...” #1

“However, before we look at premillennialism’s impact on U.S. policy in the Middle East, it is useful to recall the calamitous pre -World War I legacy of British evangelicalism, moral imperialism, and religious hawkish ness. In some ways, although certainly not all, the U.S. picked up the evangelical baton Britain dropped nearly a century ago and ironically, few Americans were more aware of Britain’s 1917 invasion of the Turkish-controlled holy land than George W. Bush. ... An itinerant preacher, Chambers spent his last days bringing the gospel to Australian and New Zealand soldiers massed in Egypt in late 1917 for the invasion of Palestine and the intended Christmas time capture of Jerusalem. “#2

“Since 1919 the State Dept. had reflected a worry over depleted domestic oil resources by resisting British and French attempts at exclusive oil contracts in

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Mesopotamia, Palestine, and Anatolia. The State Dept. not only defended equal opportunity for its nationals in the Near East, but asked American consuls to check on oil prospects. As noted, Bristol had gotten a U.S. Dept. of Commerce official to talk informally to the Kemalists about economic possibilities for Americans in Asia Minor." #3

"Moreover, by 1909 oil was transcending its market as kerosene, the large but humdrum U.S. export of the fuel-lamp era. Instead, as Germany built a Berlin- to -Baghdad railway and British admirals verged on a massive upgrading of their battle fleets by conversion from coal-fired to petroleum- burning engines, oil was truly marching as to war. From Pennsylvania and Texas to Romania and the Russian Caucasus, petroleum resources were shaping up as the new fulcrums of great-power rivalry. ...The years prior to 1914 saw sixpenny thrillers become current-affairs manuals. Parliaments barely knew where secret services ended and oil company activities and. munitions marketing began. The war itself raised control of petroleum to high strategy. In 1916, a British raid under Colonel 'Empire Jack' Norton-Griffiths crippled the Romanian oil fields before the Germans took them, in 1917. Berlin's oil-powered submarine warfare threatened vital Allied fuel deliveries, and 1918's last-minute Turkish drive to refuel the Central Powers was too late in capturing Russia's Baku oil fields. Combat did indeed become petroleum-centric in 1917, once Allied trucks, tanks, airplanes, and gasoline -- 80% of the fuel shipments in this period came from America --replaced wagons, cavalry and horses." #4

"The Armistice uncorked both celebrations and further schemes. Allied leaders boasted, in the words of French Premier Georges Clemenceau, that 'oil is as necessary as blood' or that 'the Allies floated to victory on a wave of oil,' as phrased by a British War Cabinet member, Lord Curzon. However, for foreign offices, chancelleries, and state departments with eyes to read and ears to hear, the revelation of secret Franco-British plans to divide the resources of the Turkish Empire, along with U.S. political schemes in Mexico, another major producer, had their own urgency. The great post-war oil hunt had already begun...The governments of Britain and France, both wed to substantial state ownership and control of strategic oil resources, had colluded in the clandestine Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916 to carve up the post-war Middle East.

France was to get primacy in Syria and Lebanon, while Britain took control of Mesopotamia and Jordan, with Palestine to be under international control. No change was made to London's existing sphere of influence in Persia and the Persian Gulf. Modified in private talks and at a post-war conference in San Remo, the reshuffling also proposed a more or less three - parts British, one-part French split of the oil resources in what became Iraq. To fulfill this arrangement, France got Germany's quarter share of the old Turkish Petroleum Company, while Britain kept most of the rest. Initially, the U.S. was to be excluded... The British moved to take charge in the Middle East. In 1918 - 19, more than 1 000 000 of His Majesty's forces had arrived to make up what became a *de facto* regional occupation force. Britain and France each dreamed of a Texas on the Tigris, pumping cheap

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fuel for automobiles, army motorized brigades, and the great battle fleets berthed in Toulon, Portsmouth and the Scapa Flow. As the chapter will detail, there was also a sense on Britain's part expressed with some candor by Prime Minister David Lloyd George - of returning to the holy lands in a modern-day Crusader role..." #5

"The French reneged on their offer and never landed troops at Alexandretta (Iskenderun) or the Black Sea ports. Armenia was not, after all, an exclusively British concern. Pro-Armenian humanitarian feeling was substantial in France, Italy and the U.S. But Hankey himself knew that these Allies had been alienated by British maneuvering in the former Ottoman Empire. Britain had secured for herself alone the richest and strategically the most important parts of the Ottoman territories. Influenced by Admiral Slade, Hankey was convinced, even before the end of the war, that Britain 'ought' to make it a 'first class war aim and peace aim' to acquire oilfields in Persia and Mesopotamia. In Paris, taking a 'very intransigent attitude' Lloyd George had wanted to go back on the Sykes-Picot Agreement in order to get Palestine and Mosul for Britain. At the peace negotiations during the first of 1919, Lloyd George had succeeded in establishing an increasing ascendancy and in the end had 'always got his way'. The French talked of '*La Paix Anglaise* - the English Peace - recorded Hankey." #6

"Further details of the Sykes-Picot agreement was bargained in San Remo, Italy starting on April 24th, 1920, with a signed agreement between France and Britain regarding the plundering of the Mosul oil. 'Turkish Petroleum Company' was founded by the famous 'Mr. 5%' Armenian Galust Gulbenkian, in which Germans had 25% participation. After the agreement, Germany's share passed to France, Mr. 5%'s status was not changed and the lion's share of 70% passed to Britain. Eventually, the terms of the Sevres Treaty were so written to safeguard this agreement, which left U.S. out of the deal. At the time, Curzon was saying that U.S. already had 82.5% of the world oil in her region and Mexico and that Britain was poor having only 4.5% of the Persian oil." #7

"Besides being naive, Edgar was impolitic. Still, Britain now took oil seriously. Also in 1921, Britain's Foreign Secretary, Lord Curzon, dismissed U.S. demands on behalf of Standard Oil. No concessions, he said, would be allowed to American companies in Mesopotamia or elsewhere in the British Middle East. The U.S., Curzon suggested, already had all the oil it needed." #8

"Perhaps one day visitors will drive up the Tigris River to tour sites and battlefields of the 100 Years' Oil War that has devastated Iraq and Iran. More pretentious, freedom-related explanations will seem irrelevant. For now, though, it is hard to imagine travel posters for Fallujah, Nasiriya, Mosul, or the steamy Shatt el-Arab, the estuary of the combined Tigris and Euphrates, near Kuwait. But the 100-year duration is clear enough, the subject matter was indeed oil, and English speakers -British, Americans, Australians, New Zealanders-

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were invariably among the arms bearers...Americans wound up as the leaders, but the epic began in 1897, when a nervous local sheikh asked the British to assume a protectorate over Kuwait, then a minor outpost of Turkish Mesopotamia. With oil widely reported in the Tigris-Euphrates Valley, Germany had begun the Berlin-Baghdad Railway, hoping to negotiate for Kuwait as its Persian Gulf terminus. The British took it first. By 1914, the Germans had negotiated oil rights as far as Mosul, as Britain had for Kuwait, which at that time had less promise. When war broke out, Turkish Mesopotamia quickly became a battleground, and British units slowly moved upriver from Basra. They fought through Nasiriya and Kut, losing badly at first but eventually overcoming German-led Turkish troops. Luckily for the British War Office, the first local German commander, Field Marshal Colmar von der Goltz, a crack strategist who beat them at Ctesiphon and Kut, died of typhus in 1916.

Realizing the future stakes, British and French diplomats made a secret arrangement in 1916, the Sykes-Picot Agreement mentioned earlier, for a post-war split of oil-rich Mesopotamia: the Mosul region was to be under France's tutelage, the rest under Britain's. However, deciding that they needed Mosul, too, British troops kept fighting after the November, 1918 Armistice, captured the city in December, and installed themselves there. Other satisfactions were provided for the French, notably accepting that they might occupy portions of a defeated Germany.

In 1922, Turkey sought to take back Mosul from Britain, but failed. Lord Curzon, foreign secretary, famously insisted that the influence of oil on British policy was 'nil'. 'Oil,' he said, 'had not the remotest connection with my attitude, or with that of his majesty's Government, over Mosul.' Mocked in Parliament and the press, Curzon ultimately took to the pages of *The Times* in 1924 to plead his case, but most historians have scoffed at his claim. There is something about oil that makes high officials lie! Despite several promises of self-determination to the Arabs, a 1920 rebellion in Iraq caused the British to tighten control through a surprising and unprecedented instrument, the fledgling Royal Air Force." #9

This was a small portion of the *oiled fingers or fields* involved in this conflict, and of course, no historians or writers so far, ever mentioned this important factor or "*blood of industrial transfusion*"!

About a century later, USA which was left out of the Mosul oil, was to return again with pretexts of human rights, democracy, freedom and similar fabrications, but causing genocidal calamities, whereby over 600 000 Iraqi Moslem civilians died in activities of different groups of insurgents. USA came for the "too **late** plundering of oil". Yes, much late and at a huge expense, draining this Super Power of her economic might, more like WW I had exhausted the financial reserves of Britain. History is full of lessons, but very few care to learn, if ever!

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WAGING WAR FOR MONEY WITHOUT MONEY

Chapter 12: WAGING WAR FOR MONEY WITHOUT MONEY

"The general policy of the British Government was opposed to extensions of the Empire until 1886, but Cabinets were repeatedly overborne by the force of circumstances.

The first signs of a change occurred during Disraeli's Government of 1874-80. Disraeli loved the East, and enjoyed the pomp and splendor of our Indian Empire; Queen Victoria, with much relish, accepted from him the title of Empress of India. The Near East (especially the neighborhood of Palestine) always fascinated him; he bolstered up the Turk at the Congress Berlin in 1878, and was glad to get a say in the affairs of Egypt. He showed considerable skill in dovetailing finance and politics. Turkey being unable to pay the interest due to British shareholders, he leased Cyprus from the Porte for an annual tribute, but paid the tribute, on behalf of the Sultan, direct to that potentate's British creditors. When the Khedive, owing to his extravagance, was obliged to sell his Suez Canal shares, Disraeli bought them on behalf of the British Government. Gladstone, with intense moral fervor, thundered against him for his support of the 'unspeakable Turk,' whose atrocities shocked that generation more than they would shock ours, which has 'supped full of horrors.' Nevertheless, when Gladstone became Prime Minister in 1880, he found himself compelled to carry on and develop some of his predecessor's policies, particularly as regards Egypt... There were two motives which led Gladstone's Government to occupy Egypt in 1882: the Suez Canal and the bondholders. Both were threatened in that year by a nationalist mutiny, which the British suppressed in the interests of the Khedive." #1

Napoleon had said it: "To win a war, you need three things: MONEY, MONEY, and MONEY."

Allied Christian countries had supported the Armenian *victims* with large philanthropic donations, mainly through church collections, in the U.S., Britain, France and other countries. Even in a country like Russia, where people were poor, 1,000,000 rubles was collected in 1915 to help the Armenian refugees. As can be guessed, auditing such collections and expenditures is not easily and openly done, and this may *be one of the vital reasons, why the Diaspora Armenians, pursue this cause even 100 years later...* Several excellent proofs can be seen in the last chapter.

However, the fact is that only small portions of such collections were used for their intended purposes! Reading other chapters of the book, it is not hard to guess, "with what money, uniforms, arms, ammunition and even three airplanes were purchased" when Britain and U.S. were refusing to give *further loans*. Below are some excerpts, which will give an idea as to how the Superpowers treated Armenians, when they *lost this gamble because of always adhering to the advice of the British!*

The following excerpt is taken from Prof. Justin McCarthy's speech at the Turkish Parliament in a meeting held in 2005, for being briefed on the subject: .

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"The other group that most threatened the power of the rebels was the Armenian merchant class. As a group, they favored the government. They wanted peace and order, so that they could do business. They were the traditional secular leaders of the Armenian community; the rebels wanted to lead the community themselves, so the merchants had to be silenced. Those who most publicly supported their government, such as the Mayor of Van, Bedros Kapamacıyan, and the Kaymakam of Gevaş, Armarak were assassinated as were numerous Armenian policemen, at least one Armenian Chief of Police, and Armenian advisors to the government. Only a very brave Armenian would take the side of the government.

The Dashnaks looked to the merchants as a source of money. The merchants would never donate to the revolution willingly. They had to be forced to do so. The first reported case of extortion from merchants came in Erzurum in 1895, soon after the Dashnak Party became active in the Ottoman domains. The campaign began in earnest in 1901. In that year, the extortion of funds through threats and assassination became the official policy of the Dashnak Party. The campaign was carried out in Russia and the Balkans, as well as in the Ottoman Empire. One prominent Armenian merchant, Isahag Zhamharian, refused to pay and reported the Dashnaks to the police. He was assassinated in the courtyard of an Armenian church. Others who did not pay were also killed. The rest of the merchants then paid.

From 1902 - 04, the main extortion campaign brought in the equivalent, in today's money, of more than \$8,000,000. Moreover, this was only the amount collected by the Central Dashnak Committee in a short period, almost all from outside the Ottoman Empire. It does not include the amounts extorted from 1895 - 1914 in many areas of the Ottoman Empire. Soon the merchants were paying their taxes to the revolutionaries, not to the government. When the government in Van demanded that the merchants pay their taxes, the merchants pleaded that they had indeed paid taxes, but to the revolutionaries. They said they could only pay the government if the government protected them from the rebels. The same condition prevailed all over Eastern Anatolia, in İzmir, in Cilicia, and elsewhere.

The common Armenian folk did not escape the extortions of the rebels. They were forced to feed and house the revolutionaries. British Consul Elliot reported, "They [the Dashnaks] quarter themselves on Christian villages, live on the best to be had, exact contributions to their funds, and make the younger women and girls submit to their will. Those who incur their displeasure are murdered in cold blood."

"... 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... I certainly was surprised to hear from your letter, that there was a movement on foot to loan money to Armenia... We have already loaned Armenia over \$50,000,000 and that money is lost. I recommended against this loan at the time. Another loan would be simply throwing good money after bad..." #2

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"Lloyd George perceived the U.S. as the source of money required. He had been told that Armenia would need a loan of £10,000,000. Who was prepared to advance such a sum? America should be informed that the Allied powers now had an 'impossible burden' on their shoulders. She should take care of that burden. If she refused, let her refusal be 'definitely placed on records'. Then she could not continue to complain of the inability of the Allies to protect Armenia'. Lloyd George, simultaneously devised another scheme: the Allies should find equipment for the Armenians who should be armed and given a chance of fighting their own battles. If they were not in a position to defend their own frontiers, then he thought that there was 'no use for a nation of that kind in the world'. Was then the policy of the Allied powers and especially of Britain towards Armenia cynical? Yet, the powers had drafted a treaty, for the implementation of which, as regards the Armenian clauses, they would spare neither a single battalion nor any money" #3

"If surplus arms were not available in abundance, neither was money. Armenia's request for a loan of £1,000,000 was turned down by Curzon. Neither flour nor arms could be sent to the Caucasus because the three republics had no sterling credit. Both Treasury and the War Office were insisting on previous payments with 'interest!' ... Thus when Aubrey Herbert, a Turkophile Member of the Parliament asked permission to send a letter to Talat appealing for better treatment of British prisoners, the Foreign Office refused. According to Lloyd George, declarations about liberating nationalities inside the enemy Empires were 'intended to a propagandist effect'. They would help to break up the solidarity of the enemy countries. Britain had felt 'compelled' to endorse the claims to independence of the various nationalities. Further, Lloyd George had maintained during a Supreme War Council Meeting that 'Nobody was bound by a speech'. "#4*

< *"The lesson of history is, that we don't learn lessons from history".*

T.A. Donlan, Baron's 2005 >

On the Ottoman side, French and British investments and sales under the strong umbrella of the 'capitulations' had already destroyed what little industry existed, and drained whatever little income was left, after paying installments by Debt Directorate run by creditor countries. The Empire was bankrupt since 1877; its backbone nonexistent and the creditors 'would not permit increase of import tariffs' to help the budget. The State was bled heavily, yet no blood transfusion was permitted because they had to sell the medicine only to keep the 'sick man stay in bed'.

"It was calculated in 1904 that the average *ad valorem* equivalent of the import duties levied by Germany, on the principal manufactures exported from the United Kingdom, was 25%. The corresponding figure for Italy was 27%; for France 34%; for Austria 35%; for the U.S. 73%; and for Russia 131%. The figures are rough; but they illustrate tolerably well the relative intensity of protective tariffs....Whether because of the tariffs or not, German industry grew rapidly and continuously from 1879 to 1914. To begin with the most important:

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iron and steel. This industry depended chiefly upon the ore of Lorraine and the coal of Westphalia." #5

"Under a 5% tariff, the merchant often paid 50% on the cost of his goods. Turkish industries flourished, for they were really and powerfully protected. When at length this policy of the government was completely overthrown, by England chiefly, the industries of Turkey perished and her rapid impoverishment began." #6

"... English goods poured in vast abundance, the quality generally wretched, but the prices low, and then this store in Koorchoon (Kursun) Khan completely changed its character. It began to have cheap goods, cheap and shabby." #7

"The Porte ran up huge budget deficits during wartime years, and helplessly ran paper money off the printing presses to pay for them. During the war, prices rose 1575%. Before long, the war had brought the Ottoman economy almost to its knees, and the Young Turk government had no idea what to do about it" #8

"Even France the foremost champion of nationalism, showed little sympathy for the insurgents. Istanbul was up to its neck in debt - £200,000,000 bearing an annual interest of £12,000,000 as against £22,000,000 in annual revenues. On Oct. 6, 1875 the Porte declared that it was no longer able to meet its financial obligations. As Turkey's primary creditor, France was far more interested in salvaging its financial investments in the ailing empire." #9

"Upon his accession, Ismail of Egypt had inherited a public debt of £3,000,000 by the mid-1870s this had risen to £90-100 million at the terrifying rate of £7,000,000 per year." #10

"Until April, 1907, the Turkish customs duties had been 8%. The powers had assented to an increase of 3%, namely to 11%, but not a further increase of 4%, as asked by the Turkish Government... In 1879, the Ottoman Government was forced, through bankruptcy and financial chaos, to assign six sources of revenue to the service of national debt; and hand over their collection to the Public Debt Administration, managed by foreign, European representatives. Sir Ernest Cassel founded and controlled the National Bank of Turkey. 75% of the shares in the Turkish Petroleum Company, which had exclusive rights over the oil deposits in the vilayets of Baghdad and Mosul, were held by British interests." #11

"French capital investments in Turkey surpassed those of any other country, including Britain and Germany. Within the territorial limits of present-day Turkey, they amounted in

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1914 to about 900,000,000 gold francs or approximately 4,500,000 paper francs. Of the Ottoman public debt, 62.9% was owed to France and 22.3% to Britain..." #12

"The Entente Powers were caught off guard by the Ottomans' Sept. 9th announcement of the abolition of capitulations." #13

"As late as Oct. 9th, Grey was still willing to offer a compromise to the Ottoman Empire on custom tariffs." #14

"...Grey, the British foreign secretary, thought military action might provoke a coup d'etat in the Ottoman capital; given the instability of Turkish politics in the years preceding the war, as well as the divisions on the issue of entry to the war itself, this was hardly an unreasonable expectation. British intelligence offered a bribe of £4,000,000. Offering cash was not in itself misplaced; the Ottoman public debt was evidence of that. The real difficulty was that the Germans had just handed over £5,000,000... Moreover, success at Gallipoli might have repercussions in two directions. Both the Central Powers and the Entente were actively competing for allies in the Balkans. Indeed, the possibility that Greece might side with the British in August, 1914, and that therefore its army would be available for use against Turkey, was what had first triggered the Gallipoli idea in Churchill's mind ..." #15

"The mobilization had placed an unbearable strain on the crumbling Ottoman economy, and on Sept. 30th, the Porte appealed to Germany for a loan of 5,000,000 TL in gold, only to be thoroughly disappointed. Berlin was willing to lend Turkey the requested sum, Undersecretary Zimmerman told Ottoman Ambassador to Berlin, Muhktar Pasha, but only after the Ottomans entered the war; until then, Turkey would have to content itself with an advance payment of 250,000 gold TL. - Two days later, Enver paid yet another visit to the German ambassador, this time with Talat, Cemal and Halil. The four reaffirmed their commitment to war and promised to allow Souchon to attack Russian targets the moment the German Government deposited 2,000,000 gold TL in Istanbul. These meetings did the trick. On Oct. 12th, a shipment of 1,000,000 gold liras left Germany on its way to Istanbul to be followed five days later by a second shipment of TL.900,000. This was manna from heaven to Enver. With German credit he could immediately see to the upkeep of the army and have forces ready to go into action," #16

"Talat-Enver promised that they will initiate hostilities the moment a large consignment of German gold arrived." #17

According to other unconfirmed sources, Cemal Pasha had said that if the war had not started and the German loan had not arrived, they would have no money to pay the salaries of the army officers!
Recently, new demands appeared in the press about Armenian Diaspora's claims from "Deutsche Bank" that the Armenians of Turkey had deposits in their bank

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equal to 25,000,000 marks. The following excerpt is bound to confuse the reader even further! Did the 5,000,000 gold TL that the Ottomans had borrowed from Deutsche Bank actually come from the deposits of its Armenian citizens?

"On Sept. 26th, 1924, the leaders of the two main opposition parties in Britain, H.H. Asquith, the former Prime Minister, and Stanley Baldwin, a future Prime Minister, presented an extremely remarkable memorial to Prime Minister, Ramsay MacDonald. The signatories argued that the British Government should respond to a letter from Secretary-General of the League of Nations, dated March 24th, 1924, and support the work of assistance to the Armenian people by 'a substantial contribution' to the scheme for the following reasons:

1- Because the Armenians were encouraged by promises of freedom to support the Allied cause during the War and suffered for this cause so tragically...

2- Because during the War and since the Armistice, statesmen of the Allied and Associated Powers have given repeated pledges to secure the liberation and independence of the Armenian nation...

3- Because, in part, Great Britain is responsible for the final dispersion of the Ottoman-Armenians after the sack of Smyrna in 1922...

4- Because the sum of £5,000,000 (Turkish gold) deposited by the Turkish Government in Berlin, 1916, and taken by the Allies after the Armistice, was in large part (perhaps wholly) Armenian money..." #18

"As an evidence of this we may mention the fact that during the last eight months and a half the Armenians have received from the Allies only 6,500,000 rubles (\$3,250,000) of financial assistance, and the 2,800 British soldiers who were too few and arrived too late to save Baku" # 19

"Curiously, Picot and Sykes managed to work well together. Their plan, which was approved by their respective governments in May, 1916, was reasonable enough, if you were a Western imperialist. The Syrian Coast, much of today's Lebanon, was to go to France, while Britain would take direct control over Mesopotamia, around Baghdad, and the southern part around Basra. Palestine, a thorny issue because of the intense interest of the other Christian powers (Russia in particular), would have an international administration. Almost as soon as the deal was made, the British nevertheless began to regret it. Would it not be wiser to control Palestine, so close to the Suez Canal, directly? This was much urged by British officials in Egypt. Why should the French get Mosul? When Russia dropped out of the war in 1917, it suddenly seemed less essential to have France as a buffer. In France, a heterogeneous colonialist lobby – fabric manufacturers in Lyon, who wanted Syrian silk; the Chamber of Automobile Manufacturers, who noted that Mosul was a wonderful country for

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driving, Jesuit priests, whose order ran a university in Beirut; the financiers, officials and intellectuals in the Comité des l'Asié Francasié – urged their government to stand firm.” #20

“While the British disagreed among themselves, Allied policy on the Turkish settlement, never particularly coherent, was in disarray. With its failure to ratify the Treaty of Versailles, the U.S. was clearly withdrawing from overseas involvement; American mandates for Anatolia, the straits or even Armenia would be out of question. When Wilson left Paris, Lloyd George claimed, the Allies were convinced that he would be able to persuade the American people to take on mandates, and so they waited. Then Wilson fell sick in September 1919. Italian interest in Turkey, never strong, was also waning. The Italian troops on the coast of Asia Minor seemed to be doing little beyond clashing with the Greek forces. Although Italy had promised in May 1919, under considerable pressure from Britain, to send a force to replace British troops in the Caucasus, it delayed in doing so. On June 19, 1919, the Orlando Government fell, taking along with it Sonino. Nitti, the new prime minister, preferred to concentrate on Italy's formidable internal problems. He immediately canceled the expensive and hazardous expedition to the Caucasus. As far as Asia Minor was concerned, both he and his foreign minister, Tittoni, were more interested in concessions, for coalmines for example, than in territory. France continued to take an interest in Turkey, but was in no mood to work with Britain. The Syrian issue festered on, and many French feared that the British were trying to maneuver them out of the Turkish territories as well. Clemenceau had always been lukewarm in his support for Greece and he was under considerable pressure from his own financiers to come to terms with the Turks. French interests held 60% of the Ottoman debt; if Turkey was portioned, it might well be impossible to salvage the debt.” #21

“Italy and France argued that they were no longer under any obligation to support Greece and that the Treaty of Sevres must be revised. The Italians hinted that they would be willing to work with Ataturk to modify its terms. The treaty was also unpopular in France, where the colonial lobby denounced a sellout. The French Government, for its part, could no longer afford the 500,000,000 francs per year for France's zone of occupation in the southern part of Asia Minor – or the losses. By the start of 1920, the Turks were waging an increasingly effective guerilla war. Over 500 French soldiers were casualties in the first two weeks of February, alone. The French were forced to abandon one post after another and this threatened their hold in Syria to the south. In October 1921, France signed a treaty with Ataturk's Government, which provided for the withdrawal of all French forces from Cilicia in the south. French got some economic concessions, while Ataturk gained something more important – recognition by a leading power. Curzon was furious.

The Greek Government, which had appealed in vain to its allies for money and military support, resigned itself to a negotiated peace with Turkey and the loss of at least some of the territory it was occupying. In April, 1922, Ataturk refused an offer brokered by Britain, France and Italy. Turkey would accept an Armistice only if Greece started to

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evacuate its forces at once from Asia Minor, something that was politically impossible for the Greek Government. Greece's political and military leaders hesitated what to do next. On the front lines, the Greek soldiers dug in and waited." #22

"With regard to their mutual territorial interests, Chicherin favored a referendum in the various Turco-Russian areas, and proposed mediation in the settlement of Turco-Armenian and Turco-Persian frontier problems. Agreeing to this in principle, Kemal offered a deal by which he accepted Russian claims to Azerbaijan in return for a free hand to invade Armenia. In conclusion he asked for "money and arms in order to organize our forces for the common struggle". These exchanges made it necessary to postpone meanwhile the operations against Armenia for which Kazim Karabekir had been impatiently pressing and which Kemal authorized for the end of June. Kazim grew testy in his isolation, sending countless telegrams which criticized Kemal's conduct of affairs. In fact, as he failed to realize, time was working for Kemal. While he sat fretting in Erzurum at the inaction of his forces, the Supreme Council sat wrangling in Paris as to whether or not to give the city, and most surrounding province, to the Armenians as a 'free independent state'. It became clear, however, that it was unprepared to reinforce the grant by any form of military action. Kemalists and the Bolsheviks were ensuring, on the spot, once and for all, that no independent state of Armenia should ever appear on the map of Asia." #23

"In the span from 1811-20 around 80 American ships stopped at Smyrna, selling cotton goods, tobacco, gunpowder, bread-stuffs and rum (the last being the most important item). In return, American merchants picked up such Turkish exports as nuts, silver, raw wool and hides, and participated more and more in the opium trade between the Near East and China. After 1815, the U.S. Government sought to assist commerce through a naval squadron in the Mediterranean, based at Minorca. During the 1820s, Henry Clay of Kentucky, who favored the Greek drive for independence from the Ottoman Empire, thundered in the House of Representatives against pro-Turkish attitude of commercial circles in the U.S.: 'A wretched invoice of figs and opium has been spread before us to repress our sensibilities and eradicate our humanity'. Throughout the Greek War, American opinion was divided between merchants who longed for expanded trade with Turkey on the one hand, and agrarian and missionary interests, which saw a vindication of Christianity and of America's self-determination in the Greek rebellion on the other. President James Moore in 1823 came close to recognition of Greek independence. But the U.S. Government remained aloof while commerce with the Ottoman Empire expanded. After 1811, the chief merchant at Smyrna, David Offley led these Yankee businessmen. Offley's Philadelphia firm controlled about 30% of the goods exchanged there.

New England was remote and unimaginable to the Sultan. As it was to a later shah of Persia who ordered the preparation of camels for a trip to the White House, and sent a man to a London 'bazaar' to discover the caravan route to the U.S., Turkey in the early 19th century felt no need for formal communication with the U.S., especially since its ships did

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not touch there and its Greek minority handled most of the transactions at Smyrna. The most the Porte wanted from America was naval aid." #24 *

"Negotiations in 1830 produced a Treaty of Commerce and Amity, including most-favored-nation clause, and assurances that American individuals would privately assist in rebuilding the Turkish fleet. Consent to the treaty by the U.S. Senate came a year later. Missionaries and traders alike profited from capitulatory rights – traditional exemptions for Westerners from Ottoman jurisdiction. The 1830s and 1840s were the heyday of a U.S. outreach guided by people other than those of the American Board. American trade and export of technical knowledge declined after 1850, hurried by high tariffs passed by the U.S. Congress, lack of governmental interest in the Ottoman Empire, British competition, European imperialism, and other factors. Business concerns opened the American Chamber of Commerce for the Near East in 1911. But economic and technical commitments by U.S. were non-existent compared with German's Berlin to Baghdad Railway and with British, French, Italian and Russian investments." #25

"Prominent U.S. firms operating in Turkey were the American Tobacco Co., the Standard Oil Co of New York (Socony), the Singer Sewing Machine Co. (with about 200 agencies and stores) and the Western Electric Co. of Chicago. Alongside the Protestant establishment were various Americans, all curious about the physical habitat that nurtured the Christian Scriptures and the *Arabian Nights* Missionaries were the chief sources of information about the non-Western world for decades after American Oriental Society's founding in Boston in 1842... The work of both of Robinson and Smith and of the Society spurred the appearance of archaeologists, explorers and biblical scholars in the Holy Land. By 1900, such people had founded the American School of Oriental Research at Jerusalem." #26

"In the short space of 20 years, a new enlightened republican government had installed itself firmly in a Turkey, vastly changed from the time of the Sultans. The government of Kemal Ataturk was a benevolent dictatorship; it designed its principles, policies and programs to revitalize the Turkish people as a nation and restore them to a position of consequence on the international scene. American diplomats, missionaries, doctors, traders, businesspersons, archeologists and tourists provided the individual links so essential to understanding between the two nations. The two countries smoothed over their problems and built a solid basis for friendship without the assistance of foreign-aid programs like those of the World War II and post-war eras. Money did not lure Turkey along the paths of harmony with the U.S. During the interwar period, not one cent of such aid went to Turkey from the U.S. Government." #27*

"...Turkey's most inveterate enemy, Russia, with which it had gone to war three times since 1828, lacked economic and maritime clout, but because it, too, was now linked into

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the security system of Europe through the Entente neither France nor Britain was likely to oppose it in its Ottoman policy. It wanted control of the Dardanelles, through which a third of its exports (and three-quarters of its grain) passed, and it seemed to sponsor the nationalisms not only of the Balkans but also of the Caucasus. Georgians, Armenians and Tatars straddled the frontier and threatened the stability of both empires: Russia's solution, Russification, was defensive, but that was not how it looked to Turks, concerned for the survival and even promotion of Turkish culture.

Each of the main actors, with the exception of Russia, had managed to secure a holding position. The British became advisers to the Turkish Navy in 1908, and the French administered the gendarmerie. The Germans had a military mission, although the defeats in the Balkans had dented its -and its parent army's- reputation. But in the desperate circumstances of the Balkan wars, the Turks could not afford a change of style and ethos, and in 1913 they invited Germany to send a fresh military mission. Its head, Liman von Sanders, had been passed over for the command of a corps in Germany, but was determined that he would enjoy in Turkey the status and pomp which such an appointment would have conferred on him at home. Initially, he was not disappointed. He was asked to command the Ottoman Army, and to make Turkey an instrument of German foreign policy and a counterweight to Russia." #28

"The British, as Curzon had said, were confident that Arabs would willingly choose Britain's protection. The French did not take Arab nationalism seriously at all. 'You cannot' said Picot, 'transform a myriad of tribes into a viable whole'. Both powers overlooked the enthusiasm with which their declaration had been received in the Arab world; in Damascus, Arab nationalists had cut electric cables and fired off huge amounts of ammunition in celebration. At the end of November, 1918, a dark, handsome young man who claimed, with some justification, to speak for the Arabs boarded a British warship in Beirut bound for Marseilles and the Paris Peace Conference, Faisal was a descendant of the Prophet and member of the ancient Hashemite clan, was clever, determined and ambitious. No matter that had been brought up in Constantinople, he was everyone's image of what a noble Arab would be. With 'the cavalry of St. George' (gold sovereign) British weapons and advisers, Faisal had led an Arab revolt against the Turks. In 1915, Sir Henry McMahon, a senior official in Cairo, had opened conversations with Faisal's father Hussein, the sharif of Mecca. McMahon, in what has remained a highly controversial correspondence with the sharif, promised that, if the Arabs rose against the Turks, they would have British assistance and, more important, their independence." #29

"In consequence, in 1920, expenditure on the armed forces was reduced by more than half, from £604,000,000 to £202,000,000 and over the next two years it was reduced by more than half again to £111,000,000. The result was further demobilization and 'a shrunken British Army to handle a shrunken British budget'. On the other hand the governments had decided that no Allied force should be sent to Armenia." #30

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"Lloyd George was against the inclusion of Erzurum in the future state of Armenia: the creation of a Larger Armenia would make for 'bad feeling' among the Moslems of India. After every war there always were large numbers of men and officers who, trained in arms would be quite prepared to enlist as long as they received good regular pay." #31

"But it led nowhere, soon the Turkish troops came up, people were trapped and slaughtered. Could Armenia be saved from above adversaries? Treaty of Sevres was never ratified; neither her international position nor her frontiers were clearly defined; and finally she never received adequate military and material assistance essential for her survival. The Treaty of Sevres made Armenia a prey to Turkish attack. It provided her with boundaries at the expense of Turkey; but not with the means of defense. On the other hand, a Foreign Office paper to counter the charge of Armenia's abandonment by the Allies, blamed the 'international dissensions' between Dashnaks and the 'Democrats'; and Lord Curzon angrily referred to the reluctance of wealthy Armenians to help their country financially." #32*

"Finally, worries regarding British trade with Turkey were expressed by the Dept. of Overseas Trade. The Kemalists had brought trade between Britain and Turkey 'virtually to a standstill' by almost completely interrupting the communications with the interior. The value of the stranded British goods in Turkish ports was estimated between £5 - 12 million. The Prime Minister was also reminded that the value of pre-war British exports had amounted to £8,500,000. Even the King found the proposals of his Minister of War, advocating an attitude of friendship towards Kemalist Turkey and an immediate withdrawal of all British troops from Turkish territory, as 'very sound' and made his view known to the Cabinet. Annexing territory to Armenia was now viewed by the Foreign Office as extending Soviet territory and was, therefore, undesirable: '...it would seem that the attempt to give Armenians the Wilson frontier would merely be to bring Russian influence nearer Constantinople -- which neither we nor the Turks want.' Armenia might be ignored! Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy of India, cabled about suggestions that the 'dissension', between Moscow and Angora 'be emphasized' in the press. D. G. Osborne, minute: 'The ruining of Turkey by Russia is a point we might make in our discussions with the Turks. Their choice is between the Allies and Russia.'" #33*

"When discussing the revision of the terms of the Treaty of Sevres to be proposed, the Cabinet approved in December, 1921, Curzon's advice, that: '... an enclave should be created in the South near the sea where, under guarantees of protection all the remaining Armenians should be congregated.' Three months later, however, he had to put another proposal to the Cabinet as he thought that there was no chance of the Turks accepting the scheme in Cilicia. Curzon despaired of doing much for the Armenians. But the Soviet Armenian republic was 'safe' for the moment. He would like to persuade the Turks to increase the size of this state. However, the British Government's intention generally to treat

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Turkey as a defeated country, which unprovoked had joined the enemy, closed the Straits and committed so many crimes, was veritably sabotaged by both Italy and France. The unity of the Entente Powers, especially regarding Turkey, was another illusion. Italy backed Kemalist Turkey because Britain was supporting Greece, and because, frustrated of what she deemed her due in Paris, she looked for prospective economic concessions in Anatolia. France, too, backed Kemalist Turkey against Britain because she felt that the latter had let her down over the Rhine. French financiers, having heavily lost in Russia following expropriation by the revolutionaries, were particularly anxious not to lose also in Turkey. French politicians took a propitiatory line towards Turkey in order to safeguard their country's 'material and moral' interests there.' " #34*

“...first, as a fountain of wealth, the Turks knew very well that the Russian government received from the oil wells of Baku an annual income of more than 200,000,000 rubles (\$100,000,000); a sum which is more than all the revenues of the bankrupt Turkish government put together, and they looked upon these financial resources as indispensable for the accomplishment of their plan of a Pan-Turanian Empire;...” #35

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Chapter 12 : References and Footnotes:

1. Bertrand Russell, *Freedom Versus Organization 1776 - 1914*, London, Unwin Books, 1965 pg. 183
 2. Marc L. Bristol, *U.S. High Commissioner, letter* dt. March 28.1921 to D.D.Barton
 3. Akaby Nassibian, *Britain and the Armenian Question 1915-23* Croom Helm, London pg.136
 - 4*. Ibid, pg. 193 **The Armenian Diaspora either don't know or else forgot these betrayals.**
 5. Bertrand Russell, *Freedom Versus Organization 1776-1914*, London, Unwin Books, 1965 pg.172-173
 6. Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times*, Boston 1893, pg. 305
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 9. Efraim & Inari Karsh, *Empires of the Sand*, Harvard U.Press pg. 85
 10. Ibid, pg. 48
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 12. Ibid, pg. 27
 13. Efraim & Inari Karsh, *Empires of the Sand*, Harvard U.Press pg. 131
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 15. Hew Starchan, *The First World War*, Penguin, 2004, pg. 118
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 17. Ibid, pg. 134
 - 18* Akaby Nassibian, *Britain and the Armenian Question 1915-23* Croom Helm, London, pg.250
- The Armenian Diaspora loves to make claims on probabilities though most of them -like Genocide planning- is impossible to be true. It is clear that this was a loan to pay for the guns and ammunition Germans supplied.**
19. Dr. G. Pasdermajian, *Why Armenia Should Be Free*, Boston, Dec. 1918, Hairenik Publish.Co. p.47-
 20. Margaret Macmillan, *Paris 1919*, Random House – New York, pg. 384
 21. Ibid, pg. 441
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 23. Lord Kinross, *Atatürk – the Rebirth of a Nation*, Weeidenfeld & Nicholson, London, pg.241
 - 24*. Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy & the Near East*, U.of Minnesota Press, pg. 36
- Algiers was an Ottoman province. Between 1784-1801, U.S.A. paid an annual tribute said to be \$60,000 to protect their maritime trade. Full contents of the 1795 Treaty of Peace and Amity available at: <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/diplomacy/barbary/bar/1795t>**
25. Ibid, pg. 37
 26. Ibid, pg. 38
 - 27*. Ibid, pg. 246
- Sure, not a cent goes by any mistake to a Turk! Only 2% of relief (under Turkish guard) was given to Moslems!**
28. Hew Starchan, *The First World War*, Penguin, 2004, pg. 102
 29. Margaret Macmillan, *Paris 1919*, Random House – New York, pg. 387
 30. Akaby Nassibian, *Britain and the Armenian Question 1915-23* Croom Helm, London, pg.184
 31. Ibid, pg. 185
 - 32*. Ibid, pg. 220
- Lord Curzon knew the Dashnaks addiction for money and he was always ready to say shining words to boost the morale of the Armenians. When things failed, he could now blame rich Armenians for not helping!**
- 33*. Ibid, pg.230
- <Beware of false prophets, who come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravenous wolves> Mathew 7/15.**
- 34*. Ibid, pg. 231
- <The love of money is the root of all kinds of evil for which some have strayed from the faith in their greediness and pierced themselves through with many sorrows >. Timothy 6/10**
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SOME REMARKS ON ARMS AND ARMIES

Chapter 13: SOME REMARKS ON ARMS AND ARMIES

The Genocide boosters loudly claim that “*1,5 million innocent people were exterminated by a devious plan of the Turks, simply because they were Christian Armenians*”.

Unfortunately, a few Turkish writers seeking quick repute, have endorsed such baseless accusations, which made them popular, especially for those who bring forth such alleged accusations without any factual and scholarly valid documentation!

This chapter gives very wide and diversified excerpts from different anti-Turkish or neutral sources, and because there are so many, the reader may become overwhelmed by the contents and/or the retrospective dating of the information provided.

The contents will leave no doubt that the Ottomans were not only at war with the Russians in the Caucasus, the British, French and ANZAC forces at the Dardanelles, and again with British, French and Arabs on the Mesopotamia - Palestine fronts, but they were also at *internal and external war* with Armenians from Russia and Turkey. These acted as guides to the foreign armies and also had their own regiments in uniform with several ‘Volunteer Cavalry Brigades’ armed with field and machine guns and logistically supported by the Russians, French, British and even the Americans. Fifth Column activities behind the Ottoman lines speak for themselves. Naturally, the revolutionaries received logistic and other support from the villages with partial or a total Armenian population. In other chapters, the revolutions and battles of these units are detailed separately. Covered in Chapter 9, the Van Revolt was the first and undeclared start of a war, heard all over the world. For photos of Armenians in revolt please refer to; <http://armenian.tales.googlepages.com/Pastermadjian-1918.pdf>

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the number of soldiers or other fighters in wars on different fronts or rebels behind the lines, and show the physical and moral conditions of the parties. It is important to remember that the Ottomans when fighting on so many fronts with severe shortages in clothing, medicine and food; the American ‘*relief trains*’ of supplies for deportees kept coming and distributed ‘under the guard of Turkish gendarmes’ to non-Moslems only, apart from the Ottoman budgetary expenditures for essential provisions, which was 86% of the available funds, in the chapter of these expenditures.

The decree relating to the ‘relocation of all people in the war zone’ is dated May 25th, 1915 and implemented after the joint Russian-Armenian forces occupied Van on May 20th and the Allied forces were on land at Gallipoli already. The Armenians had openly entered into a full-fledged internal war with Turkish Army units, wiping out the Moslem population of occupied lands. According to one

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source only 3000, while according to another source only 1500 Moslems were left when Van was re-conquered few months later. The act of *clearing war zones of all people* was partially put into effect by some Turkish military commanders earlier. Moslems, too, were deported, without any care or place of eventual settlement. There is not the slightest doubt that the 'evacuation of the war zones' was an imperative measure, and much more lenient than the 'Russian solution to push the crowd to the front to be killed by crossfire'. We should also remember how the Americans treated those of Japanese ethnicity, whom they put inside barbed wire camps, or how the French treated their Alsatian nationals in World War II, when neither were disloyal or were involved in any kind of revolutionary activity. The American history has too many dark chapters starting with the imprisonment of Confederate soldiers in rotting damp ships without food, or the fact that no Japanese soldier that surrendered was taken prisoner in Okinawa, or Mai Lai and other current 'cleansings'. The 'organizing and logistic ability' of the Ottomans, should be first judged with their "Sarikamish" winter campaign where some 80 000 soldiers, a complete army perished in about two weeks time, without fighting.

Below excerpt has been quoted from the briefing speech of Prof. Justin McCarthy in 2005, in Ankara.

"Desertion Zone: As World War I threatened and the Ottoman Army mobilized, Armenians who should have served their country took the side of the Russians instead. The Ottoman Army reported: 'From Armenians with conscription obligations those in towns and villages east of the Hopa-Erzurum-Hinis-Van line did not comply with the call to enlist but have proceeded east to the border to join the organization in Russia.' The effect of this is obvious: If the young Armenian males of the 'zone of desertion' had served in the Army, they would have provided more than 50,000 troops. If they had served, there might never have been a Sarikamish defeat.

The greatest cost to villagers was the forced purchase of guns. The villagers were turned into rebel 'soldiers,' whether they wished to be or not. If they were to fight the Turks, they needed weapons. The revolutionaries smuggled weapons from Russia and forced the Armenian villagers to buy them. The methods used to force the villagers to buy were very effective, as British consul Seele reported:

<The rebels had more than military organization in mind when they forced the villagers to buy weapons. The villagers were charged double the normal cost of the weapons. A rifle worth £5 was sold for £10. Both the rebel organization and the rebels themselves did very well from the sales.> '

'General Maude's staff officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Maitland Edwards had just returned from the Caucasus, where after having made exhaustive enquiries had come to the conclusion that the only really loyal troops in the Caucasus were the Armenians. It was

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unfortunate that the Russians themselves had not grasped the importance of having all their available Armenian soldiers on the Caucasus Front. Of about 150 000 Armenians in the Russian Army, less than 35 000 were there. Elated with prospect of having discovered a valuable source of manpower for north Persia and Mesopotamia, General Barter concluded:.. It is obvious that 150 000 Armenian infantry anxious to fight, and moreover having fullest confidence in us would prove an invaluable asset on the general strategical situation in Caucasus. I propose to suggest to Russians, that as many reinforcements as possible for Caucasus Army should in future consist of Armenians. It would perhaps be good to offer to take Armenian infantry into our Mesopotamian Forces. Might it not also be possible to obtain the consent of the Americans to allow Armenians in America to be enrolled for service in Mesopotamia with Maude?" #1*

"...War cabinet suggesting that 'all in our power' should be done to secure the early inclusion of the as a great an Armenian element as possible in the Russian forces in the Caucasus and North Persia. The secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to concert with the U.S. Government in bringing diplomatic pressure to bear on the Russians to:

A. To get Armenian troops now serving on the Eastern Front sent to the Caucasus.

B. To allow on the recruitment and formation of Armenian units for service on the Caucasus Front...

However, six Armenian battalions, just formed in the Caucasus, refused for 'political reasons' to be sent to the Persian Front in October. The Armenian Committee in Petrograd also decided 'not to press' for the formation of Armenian military units until the future political status of Armenia was decided upon." #2*

"During the war, the Caucasian Armies, including Armenian volunteers, had crossed the Turkish frontier and had occupied three of the six Armenian provinces. Now with the disintegration of the Caucasian Front, not only these provinces but also that of Yerevan in the Russian Caucasus was in danger. Who would defend them against the Turks? Moreover, Armenians did not know what objectives they were being asked to fight for. They were uncertain and worried about their future. About 150 000 Caucasian Armenians had loyally fought in the Czarist armies... But in the re-conquered portions of Armenia, Armenian landowners had been evicted and Tatar and Cossack settlers put in their place... Thus, it was mainly in order to stimulate further the war efforts of the Armenians on the fast-disintegrating Caucasian front that the British leaders found themselves necessarily having to make generously sympathetic statements about the liberation of Armenia... The future of Armenia before organizing the recruitment of new volunteers... Lord Bertie pointed out to Boghos Nubar that Persian, Mesopotamian and Caucasian fronts were all parts of one campaign on which the future of Armenia depended. He asked him to intervene with the Catholicos at Etchmiadzin and the Petrograd Committee." #3

"Full of optimism, the Russian - Armenians, in addition to contributing more than 200 000 men to regular Czarist armies, formed seven volunteer contingents specifically to

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assist in the 'liberation of Turkish Armenia'. The partisan tactics of the volunteers, and their knowledge of the rugged terrain, proved invaluable to the Russian war effort. This is also confirmed by two Armenian leaders. Avedis Aharonian, president of the Armenian delegation to the Paris Peace Conference, stayed on Feb. 26th, 1919... At the very beginning of the war, our nation not only forgot all the grievances against Czarist rule, and rallied wholeheartedly to the Russian flag, in support of the Allied cause, but our kinsmen in Turkey and all over the world, offered to the Government of the Czar (the Russian Embassy archives in Paris prove this) to establish and support Armenian legion, at their own expense, to fight side by side with the Russian troops under the command of Russian generals..." #4*

"Boghos Nubar, however strongly insisted on the feeling among Armenians that they should only fight on the Armenian front. There was fear that the Russian troops might abandon the three conquered provinces, and that the advancing Turks and Kurds would join hands with the Moslems in the Caucasus in the extermination of the Armenian population, both native and refugee... But Boghos Nubar believed, army units composed of Armenian soldiers, having the native land to defend, would hinder the Turkish Army from re-conquering the provinces and would succeed in preventing massacres. There were 35 000 on this front and it was desired that this total should be increased to 150 000 by reuniting all the Armenian soldiers from other fronts. The War Cabinet decided that the policy of the British Government was to support any reasonable body in Russia that would 'actively oppose the Bolshevik Movement' and at the same time to give money freely, within reason, to such bodies, when prepared to help the Allied cause."5*

"Boghos Nubar drafted a telegram to the Armenian leaders in the Caucasus, to be transmitted by the British authorities through the Catholicos at Etchmiadzin. It was indispensable, he stated, to increase the number of Armenian soldiers in the Caucasus and raise volunteers in order to resist Turkish offensive on the liberated Armenian provinces and eventually join hands with the British Army in Mesopotamia... 'British officers will be sent' to help organize the Armenian and Georgian forces, he added... Robert Cecil, specified that the Allies were bound to protect if possible the remnant of the Armenians, not only to safeguard the flank of the British-Mesopotamian forces in Persia and the Caucasus, but also because an Armenian autonomous or independent state, 'united if possible' with a Georgian state, was the only barrier against development of a Turanian movement that would extend from Istanbul to China." #6*

"When the French Government expressed its willingness to undertake the responsibility for financing and organizing the Ukraine and Bessarabia, General Macdonogh suggested that in that case the organization and financing of the Cossacks, Armenians and Georgians should be left to the British Government. The agreement was finalized on Dec. 23rd, 1917. 'Help to Armenians' therefore, would be a British duty... Boghos Nubar hoped, with the assistance of Allied officers it might be possible to hold Armenia, against the 'reduced Turkish troops on the front'." #7*

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"Despite the lull on the Russian Front in 1917 and the urgent need for reinforcement on their southern fronts, the Turks had kept their 3rd Army under Vehib Pasha earmarked for the Caucasus. In the early summer of 1918 they had 'something between 55 000 and 60 000 seasoned infantry divisions' with the addition of several thousand irregulars. According to Allen and Muratoff, the military historians, such a force would be more than sufficient to overcome any resistance by Georgians and Armenians. Through the 'bottomless advance into Transcaucasia' the Turks are going to 'lose all of Arabia' Palestine and Syria', Liman von Sanders wrote in June, 1918... Britain proved unable either to organize Armenian and Georgian forces or to finance them... Yet he only reached Baku, with 'less than 1000 rifles' on August, 17th, 1918. By then all, the Caucasus was under Turco-German domination. Baku fell to the Turks on Sept. 16th. 'Dunsterforce' had come 'too late and proved too small'." #8*

"During the war the British Government had sympathized, mainly in its own interests, with the suffering of the Armenian people and with their future. After the war, therefore it was faced by a number of dilemmas all arising from the basic dilemma: how to reconcile public statements with its reluctance to assume responsibility for Armenia. It resorted to various expedients: efforts to throw responsibility of aid on to other countries; awkward arguments to justify the reluctance to help; half-hearted measures instead of effective action. Britain was not willing to spend money or men in a far-away and inaccessible country which was of no interest to her either strategic or on economic grounds; a desolate country which was only rich in misery. Thus at the end of the war, the Armenian question looked like an additional liability for British statesmen... Even before the war many Turkish troops had been in the most wretched condition. In 1916 some were fighting with 'no overcoats and no boots', and thousands were deserting. By 1918, Turkey was in the grip of war-weariness and bankruptcy. Inflation had risen by nearly 2,000%." #9*

"During the last two months, a number of Armenian soldiers have been brought back in groups of 200-300 from Erzurum. They have arrived in a most pitiful state due to their exposure on the way at this season of the year and in the deprivations they had suffered." #10*

"The Turkish-Armenian leader General Andranik and his partisans entered Zangezur in July, destroyed a number of Moslem settlements, and brought the central region of the country under Armenian control. On Dec. 2nd, 1918, Andranik and his volunteers crossed the Karabagh border. Within a few days, the Karabagh Armenians might have come under the jurisdiction of the Republic of Armenia. General Thomson, however, commanding at Baku, sent instructions to Andranik to stop all military operations and return to Zangezur. Thomson approved the Azeri Government's choice of Dr. Khosrov Bek Sultanov, a notorious Armenophobe, as the Governor General of the two regions. At the end of 1918, the

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Armenian Government had expelled a number of Moslems from Daralagiaz and repopulated the villages with Armenian refugees. But the Tatars of Sharur and Nakhichevan would not allow the resettlement of Armenians in their countries and were prepared to fight. The British authorities intervened again. Finally, General Forestier-Walker turned both Sharur and Nakchievan into a British military governorship in late-January, 1919." #11*

"As seen above, in June, 1920, the British authorities withdrew from Batum. Thus, by the summer of 1920, Soviet Russia was clearly poised to become the potential master of the Caucasus... As to Soviet Military power in the Caucasus, the General Officer Commanding in Chief-Mesopotamia, reported, referring to the 11th Bolshevik Army, that the discipline, equipment and clothing of the troops were very good. The army officers, however, were untrained. The Bolsheviks had taken over large consignments of arms recently sold by the Italians to the Azeris." #12

"The Armenian Army was no match for Kazım (Karabekir)'s and retired in disorder towards the Arpacai, followed in panic by droves of civilians dreading, not wholly without reason, rape and robbery and massacre at the hands of the Turks...The Armenians, having appealed in vain to Chicherin and received empty assurances from President Wilson of mediation and 'adjustment of differences', sued an Armistice. Early in December, at Alexandropol, the Turks and Russians signed the Treaty of Gumru, the last international agreement to be contracted by the Nationalist Government. It restored to Turkey her traditional eastern frontier along the banks of the Aras and Arpa Chai. The Russians were thus free to annex the rest of Armenia. Their cavalry entered Yerevan, their horses treading softly through the snow without a shot fired or a sound from the crowds. From the balcony of the Parliament building, there were speeches with fervent quotations from Lenin and Marx, cries of 'Long live Soviet Armenia!' "#13

"In fact, the military authorities in Britain consistently and persistently refused in 1915 to provide arms and training to the Armenian volunteers in the Diaspora, and especially in the U.S... Volunteers in Egypt would be joined by volunteers from the Armenian communities in America, Bulgaria, Romania and Greece. A landing in Cilicia, they stressed, could also help the Allied war effort. It could completely isolate Syria, Mesopotamia and Arabia and could deprive the Turkish Government of its important reservoirs of military forces... They could not be 'indifferent and inactive'. They would have no difficulty in holding the Taurus, Anti-Taurus and Amanus mountains especially now that the Turks were fully occupied with the Russians on the Caucasus and the Anglo-French in Gallipoli. But they needed the authorization of the British Government, arms that could be spared, permission to congregate in Cyprus, assistance in transport and a small Allied contingent. In Buenos Aires, 300 Armenian volunteers asked the British Consul for acceptance as fighting units." #14*

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"Whenever proposals by Armenian volunteers in the Diaspora to help their compatriots in Turkey were referred to the War office, the reply of the Army Council was invariably a short refusal... Thus the zeal and enthusiasm of the Armenian communities in the Diaspora, to take part in the Great War effort and rescue their compatriots in Turkey, were wasted. A landing in Cilicia, were it successful, might have also provided the Allies, bogged down in Gallipoli, with some relief from the Turkish pressure. On Sept. 7th, 1915, the French Admiral of the Syrian coast cabled the High Commissioner in Cyprus that 6 000 Armenians were 'bravely' fighting against the Turks at Jebel Musa near the Bay of Antioch. On request, the Admiral had supplied them with munitions and provisions, but they had asked for the removal of their 5 000 old men, women and children to Cyprus." #15*

"The Cilician city of Zeitun pledged to assist a Russian advance on the area provided they were given the necessary weapons: to the British they promised help in the event of a naval landing in Alexandretta. The rebels made a similar offer to the British Ambassador to Bulgaria, Sir Bax-Ironside in March, 1915. Although these activities were an exception to the otherwise loyal conduct of the Ottoman-Armenian community, they confirmed the standard Ottoman stereotype of the Armenians as a troublesome and treacherous people. These views were further reinforced by Enver's crushing defeat in Sarikamish and the later setback in northern Iran, where an expeditionary force that occupied Iranian Azerbaijan in January, 1915 under the command of Halil Pasha, Enver's uncle, was forced out by the Russians several months later. In both instances (non-Ottoman) Armenians were implicated in the Russian war effort, but particularly galling to Enver was the mass participation of Russian-Armenians in the Battle of Sarikamish, which dealt a devastating blow to hit pan-Turanism dreams, That Enver would never forget. Before long the Ottoman-Armenians were subjected to the ultimate punishment inflicted on rebellious Middle Eastern population since Assyrian and Babylonian times: deportation and exile." #16*

"Thus Britain could neither organize the Caucasian -including the Armenian- forces, nor give them effective help." #17*

"By early-1918, the Armenian Corps consisted of two divisions of Armenian rifles, three brigades of Armenian volunteers, a cavalry brigade and some battalions of militia... Yet all this time the Armenians were 'shedding blood' for their existence around Yerevan. 'How can you abandon us?' Alexander Khatisian (the Head of the Armenian Delegation in Batumi, and later a Prime Minister) asked Noi Zhordania, the Georgian Menshevik leader." #18*

"The Treaty of Batum, by which the fighting stopped, was signed between the 'Republic of Armenia' and Turkey on June 4th, 1918. It stipulated that Armenia would have an area of 10,000 km²; Ottoman troops and material would be transported unhindered over Armenian territory; and the Ottoman Army would reserve the right to use its own forces if the

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Armenians proved incapable of maintaining order and facilitating transportation. Turkish cannons were installed four miles from Etchmiadzin and four miles from Yerevan. During the desperate days in May, 1918, when Yerevan and Etchmiadzin -the very heartland of Russian Armenia- were threatened, the Armenians were able not only to stop the advance of the Turks at the Battles of Sardarabad, Bash-Abaran and Karakilisa, but even to repulse them." #19*

"Furthermore, various Armenian groups outside the republic's frontiers went on fighting the Turks even after the Treaty of Batumi. Thus General Andranik (Ozanian) the 'quiet, dignified and soldierly' hero of the Turkish-Armenians, the officer for whom the British War Office had 'a good deal' of respect, had been fighting the Turks the whole way back to Erzurum to Karabagh. He 'absolutely refused' to make peace with the Turks, minuted a member of the Foreign Office staff. Denouncing both signatories and the Treaty of Batumi for handing over the Armenian Plateau to Turkey, Andranik continued his fight in Zangezur. Likewise, in Baku, it was the nationalist Armenians, in an unholy alliance with the local Soviet, which to a large extent kept the Turks out of the oil center until Sept. 16th, 1918, that is only about a month before the Armistice of Mudros was signed. For Caucasian Armenia, there was first of all immense human burdens of the thousands of refugees, the remnant of the decimated population of Turkish Armenia. There was also, initially, the necessity to defend the long Erzincan-Van front, a distance of nearly 250 miles. Other difficulties in poor communication, lack of experience as a regular army, suspicion between Russian-Armenians and Turkish-Armenians and especially inability to maintain lasting discipline, dissipated their strength. But despite these inauspicious conditions and mistakes, the Armenian forces took over the Caucasian front after the breakdown of the Russian Army, and as Lord Cecil acknowledged, 'for five months', from February - June, 1918, 'delayed the advance of the Turks', thus rendering an important service to the British Army in Mesopotamia. The British authorities were aware that their promises to organize and finance the Caucasian and Armenian forces were not realized. Boghos Nubar's and General Shore's special requests for strong military missions were particularly unfulfilled." #20*

"At the beginning of the war, about 150 000 Russian-Armenians were enlisted in the Russian armies. In addition, seven groups of volunteers operated on the Caucasian front. Besides these, Boghos Nubar had been instrumental in the formation of the *Legion d'Orient*, at the 'request' of the French Government and with the agreement of the British Government in late 1916. It was composed mainly of his own compatriots from the Armenian Diaspora. Throughout the war, the Armenians were sustained in their war effort by the statement of sympathy of the Allied statesmen... Czar Nicholas II had told Catholicos Gevorg V, 'tell your flock, Holy Father, that a most brilliant future awaits Armenians', in response to the Catholicos' appeal to liberate the Turkish-Armenians and take them under Russian protection. By the Russo-Turkish Reform Scheme of Jan. 26th, 1914, Turkey had recognized the privileged position of Russia in the Armenian question...Of course,

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Armenians did not know then that the Czar was 'not all keen to incorporate' the Armenian provinces and did not wish to have much to do with Armenians, as the Russian ambassador had told Sir Arthur Nicholson, the Under-Secretary of foreign Affairs, during a conversation in 1915. Nor did they know that during the Sykes-Picot negotiations, Russia had insisted that Sivas and Lesser Armenia should go to France and in return she should get the Kurdish populated Hakkari-Mush in the east. The reason had been Czarist Russia's desire to have 'as few Armenians as possible' in the Russian territory and to be relieved of Armenian 'nationalist responsibilities'..." #21*

"At the outbreak of the war, the Ottoman armed forces consisted of some 600 000 troops, grouped in 38 divisions and three armies. The largest of these, the 250.000-strong 1st Army, comprised of five army corps, was based in the European parts of the Empire for the defense of Istanbul and the straits. The 2nd and 3rd Armies, each with 125 000 troops, were deployed along the Asian shores of the Sea of Marmara and Transcaucasia along the Russian border, respectively. Yet another 100 000 troops, scattered across the Empire's Arabic speaking provinces were incorporated into a 4th Army shortly after the outbreak of war and placed under the command of the Minister of Navy, Cemal Pasha. During the last months of 1914, von Sanders proposed an invasion of the Ukraine from Odessa. This, however was not to the liking of Enver who hoped to win a rapid victory in Transcaucasia, which was defended by a mere eight Russian divisions.

Such a venture would not only satisfy the Ottoman's yearning for revenge and recovery of lost territories, particularly the strategic fortress of Kars, but would also open the door to Ottoman incursions in Russian Caucasus and possibly the Ukraine or Central Asia. For a while Enver's strategy seemed to be well conceived, as the 3rd Army scored a string of successes. The elated Enver decided that it is time to strike immediately while the Russians were still licking their wounds, and would personally assume command. Ignoring von Sander's warning of the *merciless winter conditions* in Transcaucasia, he packed and hurried to the 3rd Army's headquarters in Erzurum. The Russians had exploited the lull in the fighting to improve their defense and reorganize their forces, while the Ottoman troops were not ready for winter." #22*

"It was only when the Russian ambassador in London represented to him that for military reasons it was 'very important' for his government 'to make a public declaration' in order to satisfy Armenian opinion in Russia', that Grey concurred and expressed his willingness to publish such a statement in London as soon as the French Government agreed to do likewise. Over 150 000 Russian-Armenians were fighting in the Russian armies, and thousands more from the Armenian Diaspora had joined the Allied forces. Apparently both Russian Government and presently Grey agreed to condemn the Turkish authorities solely from military considerations, in order not to lose Armenian support in the war." #23*

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"During the war, Britain, France and Russia had held a number of discussions about the future of the Ottoman Empire. In 1916, the British and French representatives, Sir Mark Sykes and Georges Picot had agreed that their two countries would divide up the Arab-speaking areas and that the Turkish-speaking parts, France would have a zone extending north into Cilicia from Syria. The Russians, who had already extracted a promise that they would annex Constantinople and the straits, gave their approval on condition that they got the Turkish provinces adjacent to their borders in Caucasus. In the Supreme Council on Oct. 30th, Lloyd George and Clemenceau quarreled angrily over Britain's insistence on negotiating the Turkish truce on their own. Lloyd George told Clemenceau: 'Except for Great Britain no one had contributed anything more than a handful of black troops to the expedition in Palestine, I was really surprised at the lack of generosity on the part of the French Government. The British had now some 500,000 men on Turkish soil. The British had captured three or four Turkish Armies and had incurred hundreds of thousands of casualties in the war with Turkey. The other Governments had only put in a few nigger policemen to see that we did not steal the Holy Sepulchre!' " #24*

"But whereas France had only the will to renege on the agreement, Britain possessed both the will and the muscle. During the war Britain sent 1 400 000 troops to the Middle East as opposed to France's meager military contribution to this theater of war. Prime Minister Lloyd George reprimanded his French counterpart, Georges Clemenceau, during the Paris Conference. ... he told an Anglo-French meeting on Dec, 23rd, 1919, 'Unfortunately it had turned out that the war in this theatre had had to be fought almost entirely by Great Britain, who had expended some £750,000,000 on all the Turkish operations... If the French Government would reimburse HM Government one half of this sum they might have any boundary they liked here, or elsewhere'." #25*

"It was now 'certain that no Power will accept a mandate for Armenia'. The break-up of the German, Austro-Hungarian, Russian and Turkish Empires, the defeat of the Central powers and the withdrawal of the U.S. from Europe in 1919 had created for the victorious Allies and especially Britain, a vast political vacuum. The Allied and especially the British leaders suddenly found themselves with unprecedented worldwide responsibilities shaping the destinies of millions of people and settling the frontiers of a host of countries. The result was an exaggerated sense and awareness of immense power and prestige. Thus during the London Conference of the Allied Representatives in February 1920, when the Kemalists attacked the French forces and massacred between 15 000 – 20 000 Armenians, Curzon was outraged. He told an Allied meeting that it was 'impossible' for the Allies to tolerate this 'insulting defiance' by the Turks, and that all three powers should join in exacting 'the appropriate penalties'. Likewise, Lloyd George expressed his grave concern about the 'prestige' of the Allies throughout the Turkish Empire and the 'dignity' of Great Powers. But with armies melting fast, Britain's military strength was shrinking. British authority, prestige and

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power, unsupported by military capability, were illusory and certainly insufficient to impose the Turkish Treaty in its entirety." #26*

"Less than three months after the dispatch of British troops to the Caucasus, Lloyd George's Cabinet decided on their withdrawal. The British Command in the Caucasus, caught up in the local territorial disputes, had made demands for more and more troops... Involvement had grown. Yet, the Cabinet was not prepared to incur these additional responsibilities. On Jan. 30, 1919, Lloyd George formally asked the Supreme Council in Paris that the military representatives of the Allied powers should meet 'at once' and present a report as to the most equitable and economical distribution among the powers of the 'burden' of supplying military forces for maintaining order in the Turkish Empire and Transcaucasia pending decisions of the Peace Conference. On Feb. 5, the military representatives agreed that Italian troops should replace the British in Transcaucasia and Konia. It was in order to catch the war-weary public mood that Lloyd George had apparently promised, during 1918 elections' an immediate demobilization and return to a peace footing, and Sir Henry Wilson accused him of conducting a 'cursed campaign' for 'vote-catching'. A quick demobilization would satisfy an electorate which was fatigued and pacific and a Treasury urging the necessity for retrenchment. Even from the earliest stage, Balfour had opposed the policy of assuming responsibilities in the Caucasus. He was really frightened at the responsibilities which the British were taking upon themselves: 'Who has to bear those responsibilities? The War Office and the Treasury are mainly concerned. Where are they going to find the men or the money for these things? I do not know. Those matters are never considered.' " #27*

"Great reductions could 'only be obtained by reductions in *men*'. So, the British armies melted fast. On the day of the general Armistice (Mudros, Oct.30,1918) the total strength of the army was 3 615 000; on Sept. 16th, 1919 it had dropped to 904 164. Yet another reason for the withdrawal was Lloyd George's wish, as recorded by Sir Henry Wilson in his diary, to force the pace in the settlement of Asia Minor; to force President Wilson to take his share in garrisoning or in naming the mandatory. There was also his view that the British troops in the Caucasus should reinforce those in Constantinople and Asia Minor, ready to counter any possible move by the Italians (who were basing their territorial claims on the wartime Treaty of London of April, 1915)." #28*

"The Allied leaders had simply to make use of any possible source of manpower.. A few days later the Bolshevik Revolution had occurred resulting in Armistice, the withdrawal of Russian forces from occupied Turkish territory, a separate peace, and the creation of an enormous vacuum in the balance of power in Eastern Turkey and the Caucasus. Harold Nicolson minutes: 'The Russian Revolution has changed the whole aspect of the Armenian question'... Henceforth, British statements about the actual liberation of Armenia simply became unrealistic utterances... As already mentioned, six Armenian battalions had refused

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to go to the Persian front for 'political reasons', and the Armenian Committee in Petrograd had decided not to press for the formation of military units until the 'future political status' of Armenia had been decided upon. #29*

"Allies too were contemplating peace with Turkey. The Armenian Military Defense Committee in the Caucasus, evidently in a panic, told the British Consulate at Tbilisi that were Armistice with the Turks to be concluded, Armenia would be in danger of 'returning under the Turkish rule'. It was against this background and mainly to stimulate the Armenian war effort that the British leaders made their 'pledges' to the Armenians from December, 1917 onwards. They were designed on the one hand to induce the Armenians to go on fighting with a tottering Caucasian Front and on the other hand to avoid too much commitment. 'Liberation from the Turkish yoke' implies either annexation by another power or some form of self-government." #30*

"Arabia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine are in our judgment entitled to a recognition of their national conditions, and 'it would be impossible to restore' these territories to their former sovereign, Turkey. The statements made were meant to maintain the morale of the Armenians combating the Turks. After all, by the start of 1918, British arms had successfully conquered those territories in the Ottoman Empire where she had distinct ambitions." #31

"Balfour answered: 'Yes Sir, His Majesty's Government are following with earnest sympathy and admiration the gallant resistance of the Armenians in defense of their liberties and honor, and are doing everything they can to come to their assistance'... (Robert Cecil, Asst. Foreign Secretary) also referred to the Armenian soldiers 'still fighting' in the ranks of the British, French and American armies, and to the part they had borne in General Allenby's great victory in Palestine." #32 *

"Britain was best placed to provide immediate aid. At the end of 1918, British forces from Mesopotamia had moved into the Caucasus on the Caspian side to occupy Baku and its oilfields. British intentions, though, even to the British themselves, were not clear. Access to Caspian Sea oil, protecting a possible route to India, keeping the French out, furthering self-determination: all were reasons for British to occupy the Caucasus. The British troop withdrawal nevertheless continued, and, lest Denikin be upset, Britain held off on granting the Caucasian republics recognition. Only in January, 1920, when it was clear that the White Russians were finished and that the Bolsheviks were poised to sweep southward, Britain finally recognized the little states and send them some weapons. The War Office took the opportunity to offload surplus Canadian Ross rifles, famous for their ability to jam even under perfect conditions." #33*

"(British Foreign Office replied): ... it is not part of the policy of His Majesty's Government to prevent by force of arms the advance of the Bolsheviks into Georgia... that

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among the difficulties in complying with the request (for arms) was the question of payment: Parliament and public opinion would not support the gift of arms." #34*

"When the Ottoman Empire entered the war, Enver Pasha, one of the triumvirate of Young Turks who had ruled Constantinople since 1913, sent the bulk of its armies eastward, against Russia. The result, in 1915, was a disaster: the Russians destroyed a huge Ottoman force and looked set to advance in Anatolia just when the Allies were landing at Gallipoli in the west. The triumvirate gave the order to deport Armenians from Eastern Anatolia on the grounds that they were traitors, potential or actual. Many Armenians were slaughtered before they could leave; others died of hunger and disease on the forced march southwards. 'Say to the Armenians' exclaimed Orlando, 'that I make their cause my cause'. Lloyd George promised that Armenia would never be restored to the 'blasting tyranny' of the Turks. Fine sentiments, but they amounted to little in the end. At the Peace Conference, even heartfelt agreement in principle faltered in the face of other considerations. Armenia was far away; it was surrounded by enemies and the Allies had few forces in the area. Moving troops and aid in, at a time when resources were stretched thin, was a major undertaking; what railways were had been badly damaged and the roads were primitive. Help was away, but Armenia's enemies were close at hand. Russian armies, whether they were White or Bolshevik, were advancing southward and would not tolerate Armenia or any other independent state in the Caucasus." #35*

"In Paris, Armenia's friends were lukewarm and hesitant. The British, it is true, saw certain advantages for themselves in taking a mandate for Armenia: the protection of oil supplies coming from Baku on the Caspian to the port of Batumi on the Black Sea, and the creation of a barrier between Bolshevism and the British possessions in the Middle East. On the other hand, as the War Office kept repeating, British resources were already overstretched. The French Foreign Office, for its part, toyed with ideas of a huge Armenia under French protection which would provide a field for French investment and the spread of French culture. The Italian like the French, preferred to concentrate their efforts on gains on the Mediterranean coast of Turkey and in Europe. That left the Americans. Wilson's judgment had deteriorated that, on May 14th, when Armenia came up to the Council of Four, he agreed to accept a mandate, subject, he added, to the consent of the American Senate. This ruffled the French because the proposed American Mandate was to stretch from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean, taking in the zone in Cilicia promised to France under the Sykes-Picot Agreement. Although no one suspected it at the time, no arrangement made in Paris was going to make the slightest difference to Armenia. If all the claims, protectorates, independent states and mandates that were discussed actually had come into existence, a very odd little Turkey in the interior of Anatolia would have been left, with no straits, no Mediterranean coast a truncated Black Sea coast and no Armenian or Kurdish territories in the northeast." #36*

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"But the position of these powers as regards the Armenian clauses was somewhat false. That position fatally based on an illusion of power and authority when in reality the Allies lacked effective means -the will and forces- to implement the Treaty of Sevres. Should the Turkish Government refuse to carry it out, according to their report, the Allies needed for such a task 27 infantry divisions in all, while they only had on the spot 19 divisions. In more detail they stated that the territory of the future Armenian state was occupied by '4 Turkish infantry divisions with large stocks of military materials' and that these divisions could be reinforced by large numbers of irregulars. On the other hand, Armenia, in view of 'feeble strength' at her disposal – 15 000 men, insufficiently armed and without war material – was 'nor in position' to establish her sovereignty and to resist possible attacks from Turkey or Azerbaijan. The General Staff concluded that the British Government could enforce the proposed peace treaty, only if it was prepared to face 'a further call for troops'. But... even the existing armies were only too impatient to return home. In 1919, there had been open riots at some military camps to protest against slowness of demobilization. In addition, military expenditure became a major target for economies." #37*

"In August, 1920, the Ankara Government reached an agreement with Soviet Russia on the establishment of diplomatic relations, and seven months later signed a bilateral Treaty of Friendship with Moscow. Within this framework, the Soviets accepted the National Pact in its totality, including delimitation of Turkey's frontiers, repudiated all treaties concluded between the Ottoman Empire and Czarist Russia (including the Capitulations, which had been restored by the Treaty of Sevres), and promised to extend military aid to Nationalist Turkey in its struggle against 'imperialism'. Having secured his northern front, Kemal could concentrate his efforts on the Armenian problem. In the Treaty of Sevres Turkey had recognized the independence of Armenia, created on the ruins of the Russian Empire. But in late- October, 1920, as Wilson was about to announce the award of large tracts of Turkish territory to Armenia, Kemal's forces invaded the country, defeated the Armenian army, and advanced as far as Alexandropol. The following month, Russian forces invaded northern Armenia and declared the formation of a Soviet Government there. In the ensuing Treaty of Gumru (also known as Leninakan), concluded on Dec. 3rd, 1920, Armenia surrendered all its territorial gains to Turkey, including the strategic fortress of Kars and Ardahan and repudiated all claims on Turkish territories." #38*

"In September, 1920, less than a month after the Treaty of Sevres had promised an independent Armenia incorporating part of Turkey, Ataturk's forces attacked from the south. Despite their best efforts and the attacks of their tiny air force of three planes, the Armenians were gradually forced back. When Aharonian, the Armenian poet who had spoken for his country in Paris, tried to see Curzon in London, he was brushed off with a letter. 'What we want to see now is concrete evidence of some constructive and administrative ability at home, instead of purely external policy based on propaganda and mendicancy', wrote Curzon. On Nov. 17, the Armenian Government signed an Armistice

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with Turkey which left only a tiny scrap of country still free. Five days later, a message arrived from President Wilson. Under the Sevres Treaty, he had been asked to draw Armenia's boundaries; he decided it should have 42,000 km² of Turkish territory. With a nation abandoned by the world and crushed between two enemies, the Armenian prime minister said, 'Nothing remains for the Armenians to do but choose the lesser of two evils'. In December, Armenia became a Soviet republic; the Bolshevik commissar for nationalities, Joseph Stalin, was active in bringing it to heel. The following March, the Treaty of Moscow between Turkey and the Soviet Union confirmed the return of the Turkish provinces of Kars and Ardahan to Turkey. The border has lasted to this day. Kurdistan was finished, too. By March, 1921, the Allies had backed away from the vague promises in the Treaty of Sevres. The 'existing facts' were that Ataturk had denounced the whole treaty; he had successfully kept part of the Armenian territories within Turkey; and he was about to sign a treaty giving the rest to the Soviet Union. Kurdish nationalists might protest, but the Allies no longer had any interest in an independent Kurdish state." #39

"The British withdrawal presented, therefore, an opportunity for the Kurds, Tatars and Turks of these disputed territories, to try to sabotage and invalidate, with active help of Turkish officers and arms, any territorial arrangement which might favor Armenia. In their turn Armenian bands in Kars, 'without discipline and not under effective control' apparently pillaged insurgent Moslem villages and committed atrocities. They argued to Lt.Col. Rawlinson that in order to take control of the region it was necessary that they should disarm the population. But the authorities in Yerevan had neither the time nor the money to organize a properly disciplined army. The Armenians felt themselves separated from the Turkic peoples by the blood of hundreds of thousands of their kinsmen systematically murdered during the war. These mutual relations were apparently discussed in Paris. On March 4th, 1919, Stephen Bonsal, the distinguished American journalist serving as secretary to president Wilson, referred in his diary to the 'blood-curdling' atrocities committed against Armenians by the Turks which he had seen with his 'own eyes' in Turkey. 'No, I do not close my eyes to the crimes which the Armenians have committed...from time to time when the rare occasion presented against the diabolical Kurds and the Turkish irregulars... Indeed I approve of them'." #40*

"Commander Luke considered the agreement as a betrayal of trust on the part of Armenia and an act of treachery against Britain. As he reported to Curzon, he had referred... 'in strong terms to the painful impression which this act on the part of Armenia, amounting in effect to a betrayal of trust, was bound to make on His Majesty's Government, who would... feel that they had been ill-paid for their help to Armenia in the matter of munitions and otherwise.' Again he stressed that: '... the Armenian Government's consent to the Bolshevik occupation of Nakchievan, which opened their road into northwest Persia and into Turkey, almost amounted to an act of treachery against Great Britain, and

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especially deplorable at the time when Armenia had just received a large consignment of British munitions' ". #41*

"General T. Nazarbekian, the Commander-in-Chief of the Armenian armed forces, also considered the late arrival of British arms as one of the causes of Armenia's military reverses. Armenians were being attacked on all sides, by the Azeris, the Turkish Nationalists, the Russian Bolsheviks, and, within the disputed territory, by the Molokans and the Kurds. Moreover, Armenia was hampered by a lack of financial resources, of fuel, and of means of transport. But besides the misleading Treaty of Sevres, the Allies could give neither goodwill nor effective diplomatic assistance. In the summer of 1920, Armenia was fatally isolated in the Caucasus. (General Milne) even suggested a word of 'warning' to be given to the Armenian Government as regards Colonel Katheniotes, an officer in the Greek Army. According to Katheniotes' plan, volunteers would be raised among the Greeks of the Black Sea coast to help Armenia occupy Trabzon, in return for the ultimate grant of some sort of autonomy to the Greeks in such parts of the coast which might come under Armenian sovereignty. The warning to Armenia was duly given by Commander Luke who believed that the plan merely seemed to be a vehicle to resuscitate the Pontic Republic - a Hellenistic state which had existed in the Old Ages. Thus, Armenia was urged not to make concessions to the Soviets. But from nowhere in the Allied camp did she receive even diplomatic help." #42 *

"Kemal 'gladly' accepted the offer of mediation. He added that the Turkish Government had postponed military operations in the provinces of Kars, Ardahan and Batumi on receipt of Chicherin's note. In 1920, Armenian troops moved into Olti, a district rich in coal, on the Russian side of the pre-war Russo-Turkish frontier, as a preliminary step towards the Treaty of Sevres. Bekir Sami claimed that Olti formed part of the Ottoman Empire under the Treaties of Brest-Litvsk and Batumi. He therefore requested the withdrawal of the Armenian troops 'without any delay'. The Armenian Government however, rejected both treaties as bases for the relations between the two countries. The district was an incontestable part of the Armenian republic. Having signed the Peace Treaty with Turkey, Armenia would await the decision of the President of the U.S. and was not crossing the former Russo-Turkish frontier. Thus, in the summer of 1920, Armenia based her claims on the Treaty of Sevres; Kemalist Turkey on the Treaties of Brest-Litvsk and Batumi although Brest-Litvsk had been renounced by Soviet Russia in the autumn of 1918. In September, 1920, Commander Luke reported to the Foreign Office that at least four battalions of Kazım Karabekir's troops crossed the 1914 Russo-Turkish frontier, and by a surprise attack had driven the Armenians back 30 versts east of Oltu. The Armenians had suffered heavily. Having captured Olti, the Turks were advancing in large numbers towards Kars with the object of seizing the district. Armenia was certainly being squeezed by anti-Allied powers: Turks attacking on the west, Bolsheviks pressing on the north and hostile Azerbaijan maneuvering on the east." #43*

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"It seems that by making excessive territorial claims and by using delaying tactics, the Armenian Government was naively -and dangerously- playing for time. Encouraged by the British, the Armenian leadership was following a frightening policy of illusion. Within the next 20 days Armenia lost everything to the Turks. On Nov. 7th, an Armistice was signed between the Armenian Government and Kazım Karabekir on the latter's terms. Karabekir perceived that since 1919, British power was ebbing in the Caucasus, and had argued, with chilling realism, that no assistance whatever would come to Armenia." #44*

"... the Armenian Government had finally to sue for a fresh Armistice on Nov. 18th, Alexander Khatisian was appointed to negotiate peace with the Kemalists. The Armenian Government realized that it was obliged to make peace either with Turks or Bolsheviks. The Bolsheviks assured the Armenians that they could settle the Turkish trouble immediately if Armenia 'will denounce' (?) the Turkish Peace Treaty. The Armenian Government wanted to adopt a course which would, so far as possible, meet with the 'approval of Britain'. Replying, Curzon stated that Britain could not be a party to a treaty with the Nationalists, but considered that the alternative of a treaty with Soviet Russia was 'doubtless worse'. Earlier two members of the Foreign Office had similarly indicated that a peace with the Turks was 'clearly preferable'. The offer was rejected. Armenia finally agreed to the 'half loaf' left by Turkey as she believed that the 'whole loaf' offered by Bolshevik Russia would mean 'the loss of all sympathy in Europe'." #45 *

"The crushing Treaty of Alexandropol left Armenia with a territory of 27,000 km²: Kars and Surmalu, including Mount Ararat would go to Turkey; Nakhichevan and Zangezur would become Azerbaijani protectorates; Armenia would be permitted to have a detachment of only 1 500 soldiers equipped with 20 machine-guns and eight cannons; compulsory military service forbidden. Turkey would have the right to supervise goods entering Armenia. Finally, Armenia would declare the Treaty of Sevres null and void; the representatives of the Allies should leave. The only Armenian state permitted by Karabekir was a tiny protectorate wholly dependent on Turkish goodwill. The renunciation of the Treaty of Sevres by Armenia had been the pre-condition for Turkish negotiations. But it had also been the only major condition asked by Soviet Russia in return for her mediation in securing the pre-war Russian frontier. She had in addition agreed to recognize her independence. The offer was rejected. Had it been accepted, Kars and Surmalu might have been within Armenian territory, the war might have ended earlier and Karabekir's troops would not have wrought death and destruction as thoroughly as if they were committed to annihilation." #46*

"Thus it failed to draw on the support of all sections and classes and especially could not attract Armenian capital from the Diaspora... they had no resources in men or money, a member of the Foreign Office minuted. Moreover, although there was often much provocation on the part of the Tatar population within the frontiers of Armenia, the

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administration at times unable to prevent Armenian bands from committing excesses in Moslem villages. The result was their alienation and an increase in the hostility of both Azerbaijan and Turkey. Significantly, Baldwin twice characterized this faith as 'blind': Armenia ...held a blind strange faith in Great Britain, who had made so many promises to help her and who had once beaten the Turks. And again, that Armenia 'had a blind faith in England and anyone English'." #47*

"Writing in 1921, Wilson insisted that Britain should have a strong friendly Turkey, 'stretching from Smyrna to Baku' on her side. Evidently there was no room for Armenia in his plan. With such views prevalent among General Staff, what were the arms sent to Armenia in the summer of 1920? H. W. Harcourt wrote on Dec. 1st, 1920: ... 'the utility of the shipment was largely destroyed by the fact that the War Office took this opportunity to unload on the Armenians the Canadian Ross rifles -marksmen's rifles- which had been tried in France and proved useless for general field service.'" #48*

"But the Foreign Office easily found the justification needed for explaining Britain's unwillingness and inability to help Armenia effectively. (William Haskell) on his way back home to the U.S. he had called at the Foreign Office to tell D.G. Osborne that: 'The country is a desert and the people nothing but professional beggars... There is no administrative or political capacity in the country, no money, and no resources to develop. Foreign Armenians who have amassed fortunes... Will neither contribute nor return to the national home'. Osborne prepared a brief for his seniors that: 'His Majesty's Government is not a charity organization and that instead of perpetual appeals for foreign pity and assistance we should like to see evidence of some self-reliance and political ability in Armenia; that the continued existence of Armenia as an autonomous state is dependent on Armenian efforts and capacity and cannot be based on foreign armies and foreign money'." #49*

"Here was the articulation of Germany's strategy for world war: it would weaken the Entente powers by attacking them indirectly through their empires. Moltke's problem was that the German army and German weapons were all fully committed to the war in Europe. He had no rifles he could send to those who might rise against British, French or Russian rule, and certainly no troops. And, even if he had had them, British naval supremacy meant that he could not send them by sea. The Ottoman Empire could confer two strategic benefits on Germany: its army could provide the troops for overseas deployment and its land mass could open the overland routes to Central Asia and Africa... Germany, Britain, Holland, France, Italy, and Austria-Hungary were represented on the Ottoman Public Debt Commission, an attempt to consolidate Turkey's overseas borrowing, which by 1878 consumed 80% of Turkish state revenues. But none of the powers intended to be marginalized from other forms of profiteering within the Ottoman Empire through this process. The privileges given to foreign businessmen in the days of Ottoman might — exemptions from Turkish law and taxation, called 'capitulations' prevented any increase in

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tariffs to protect nascent Turkish industries from cheaper imports or the generation of state wealth from exports. Between them Britain and France controlled most of the Ottoman Empire's banking and financial system as well as its debt. While the great powers exploited the empire, they also staked out their claims in anticipation of its demise. France jockeyed for position in Syria and Palestine. Britain had interests in Iraq, both as a buffer for India and because of the discovery of oil: its first oil-fired battleship, HMS Queen Elizabeth, was laid down in 1912..." #50*

"Authors who have written about the period of World War I have put forth their own descriptions. Former ambassador Morgenthau speaks of 'Chetes or brigands.' The *chettes* of 1915, Toynbee maintains, were brigands out for loot, reinforced by released convicts, who were organized and armed by the authorities in order to 'accomplish results which they desired to see accomplished but preferred not to obtain openly for themselves.' A more recent author defines the *chettes* as bands of Turkish irregulars. These different descriptions of the *chettes* do not completely contradict each other and overlap to some degree. The common element is that the *chettes* were irregulars who (no matter how recruited, directed, or composed) participated in the robbing and killing of Armenian deportees... The general mobilization of August, 1914 resulted in the drafting of most able-bodied Armenian males aged 19-45 into the army, but their service as regular soldiers did not last very long. The brutal treatment of all recruits resulted in a generally high rate of desertion, and the number of Armenian deserters appears to have been especially large. Some Armenian soldiers joined guerrilla bands or went over to the Russians. Unsure of the loyalty of the Armenians, the government therefore began to disarm the Armenian soldiers and put them into labor battalions (*amele tabouri*). This decision apparently was made in September, 1914. The British consul in Erzurum reported on Oct. 14, 1914, that 'in the last two to three weeks many Armenian soldiers have been permanently disarmed and put to spade work... The governments are doubtful of the willingness of the Armenian soldiers to fight Russia.' The process of disarming the Armenian soldiers took several months. On Feb. 25th, 1915, the Turkish High Command reminded the commanders of the 3rd and 4th Army that Armenians were not to be employed in any military unit, including the gendarmerie". #51*

"They were well-organized; they had a regular and considerable income from subscriptions; and their agents throughout the Armenian villages in the province of Van worked for the party, and kept in touch with the central committee in the city of Van. According to the British Vice-Consul there, Ian Smith, the Dashnak Party had actively and secretly imported arms during 1913, and distributed them among its followers. " #52*

"The extremist activities of the Dashnak Party are well-portrayed by Ian M. Smith, British Vice-Consul in Van, and by R. McDonell. The latter wrote about this party as follows:

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They raised money by terror among their own people, and spent large sums on arms and ammunition...; they fomented hatred of the Moslems... For the Dashnaks there could be no peace without conquest; no decision will satisfy them, whose aspiration is an Armenia stretching from Yerevan to the Mediterranean Sea." #53*

"In a letter dated Oct. 28th, 1914, Garabet Hagopian, the chairman of the Armenian Patriotic Association in London, informed British Foreign Secretary Sir Edward Grey that the Armenian people had not been idle spectators, but when the war broke out, they offered up special supplications in their Churches for the success of the land and sea forces of the British Empire. Armenians serving in the Russian lines with the Caucasian army were giving a good account of themselves, while a number of them were serving with the French Army as volunteers.. He went on to observe that after the war was resulting in the glorious victory of the Allies, Russia should be given a mandate to take charge of the eastern provinces of Turkey, and establish a really efficient and honest administration under which it might be possible for the Armenians to freely exercise their duty and privileges as Christians and as pioneers of a true civilization. Moreover, the Archbishop of Canterbury and many other British dignitaries including Armenophiles such as Lord Bryce, Lord Robert Cecil, and others, admitted that during the war the Allies definitely encouraged the Armenians to join as volunteers in fighting the Allied cause, and supplied them with munitions of war." #54*

The reputation of the deeds of Armenian soldiers in French uniforms is mentioned in other publications with pictures. The following excerpts have been added for further clarification on this part.

["http://armenians-1915.blogspot.com/2006/08/924-le-petit-journal.html"](http://armenians-1915.blogspot.com/2006/08/924-le-petit-journal.html)

(Picture: Armenians massacring Moslems in Zeytun) Translated explanation from French

"Le Petit Journal:

European Protection.

In July, 1895, the insurrection that took place in Zeytun lasted up to January, 1896 and tens of thousands of Turks lost their lives...Under European pressure the responsible were not punished and the Turkish Government had to stop the military campaign...The consuls of six European countries went to Zeytun and took the leaders of the insurrection under their protection and sent them out of Turkey. Under foreign pressure the government had to pardon them, and lower taxes.

The Petit Journal is a denial of the French to the members of congress who at that time (1915-17) had published 1 300 000 Armenian victims.

Extracts from French military reports regarding atrocities committed by the Armenian Legion against Turks in Cilicia' from General du Hays, *Les Armees Francaises au Levant*, 1919-39, Tome I: L'Occupation Francaise en Syrie et en Cilicie sous le Commandment

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Britannique, November, 1918 - December, 1919 (Ministere de la Defense, Etat Major de l'Armee de Terre, Service Historique Chateau de Vincennes, 1938) pgs. 123-128

'(General Hamelin) clearly saw that to send the Armenian legionnaires to Cilicia and Alexandretta was to supply powder and detonator to the situation. Incidents and disorders followed with little delay. On Jan. 3^d, 1919 in the small village of Euzerli, near Dörtöl a quarrel broke out between the Armenian Legionnaires and the Turkish civilians. One Turk was killed and there were eight wounded on both sides. The legionnaires then assaulted the village and seven civilians were killed... The gravest incident took place at Alexandretta during the night of the Feb. 16th -17th. Following a quarrel between (Senegalese) riflemen and Armenian legionnaires, gunfire was exchanged and a legionnaire was wounded. Then the legionnaires of the battalion which had just been formed and was poorly disciplined and weakly organized, spread out in the town, assaulted the Turkish inhabitants and pillaged and burned two houses... The 4th Battalion of the Armenian Legion was then disarmed...some were distributed among the other forces, but some 400 were returned to Port Said... Numerous incidents took place this time, so at the start of March 1919, the British commander requested that the entire Armenian Legion be removed from Cilicia and sent to Morocco. However, the regulations of the Legion did not permit it to be sent outside Cilicia. The only solution in this situation, therefore, according to General Hamelin, to gradually dissolve it through selection and losses in battle. Finally, to make some use of the Armenian legionnaires, the 21st Corps ordered that they be taken out of the villages and stationed instead along the railroad to guard it. But after new incidents took place, orders were issued to remove them from the railroad as well. The spirit and the morale of the Armenians became worse and worse, there were large numbers of desertions, and General Difeux, who had commanded the Legion for some time concluded that the only solution was to dissolve the Legion because it had caused so many difficulties. The order of dissolution was given in August, to take effect in September, 1920" #55*

"The Armenian patriarch Monsignor Zaven, made the following declaration to our reporter... The friendship between the Jews of Mesopotamia and Armenians is stronger than what we observe here. The Rabbi of Mosul showed me great kindness and friendship during my exile there... I hope that the allies will appreciate the collaboration and loyalty of the Armenian volunteers fighting with them in Palestine, Caucasian and other fronts." #56

"Soon after the Erzurum congress the Russian branch of the Dashnaks began to organize volunteers to fight the Turks on the Caucasus front. Most of the volunteers were Russian subjects, exempt from military service; but some of them came from as far as America and Western Europe, and Turkish-Armenians, too, began to cross the border to join these units. An Armenian source put the total number of these volunteers at 15 000. According to one of his biographers, the famous Armenian military commander Andranik had arrived in the Caucasus on August, 2nd, and in a meeting with General Mishlayevsky, commander of Russian forces in the Caucasus, pointed out the routes through which the

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Russian Army should advance on Turkey. In addition to the volunteer detachments, led by veteran Armenian revolutionary figures such as Andranik, Dro (Igdir Drasdamat Kanayan), Garo, about 150 000 Armenians served in the regular Russian armies." #57*

"... One of the first Turkish-Armenians to offer his services to the Russians was Garegin Pasdermadjian, the Dashnak revolutionary who had participated in the seizure of the Ottoman bank in 1896, later had become the Armenian deputy for Erzurum in the Turkish parliament, and was known by the revolutionary name of Armen Garo. He did so, recalled Pasdermadjian in his memoirs, despite warnings from some of his comrades that his service with the Russians 'could have negative effects for the Armenians in Turkey.' Many Turkish Dashnaks are said to have expressed serious fears of a large-scale massacre... Armenian volunteer units contributed to the success of the Russian winter offensive. Turkish troops attacking on the Caucasus front at first had been very successful, but they were ill prepared for the harsh winter in the high mountains and soon had to retreat amidst heavy losses. Of the original 90 000 men in Enver's 3rd Army, only 12 000 came back alive. The others were killed, captured, died of hunger and disease, or froze to death. By Jan. 4, 1915, Enver had to admit defeat, and he is supposed to have blamed the disastrous outcome on the treacherous activities of the Armenians. The major factor in the Turkish rout, of course, was the lack of preparation for a winter campaign. Still, the Armenian volunteer units, organized in six legions of battalion size each, reaching a total of 8 000 to 10 000 men, were of significant benefit to the Russians. Familiar with the rugged mountainous terrain, they acted primarily as scouts, guides, and advance guards. At the Battle of Sarikamish, which marked the final defeat of Enver's offensive, their dedicated and courageous service drew the praise of Russian military commanders and even of the Czar." #58* (refer; <http://armenian.tales.googlepages.com/Pastermadjian-1918.pdf>) full details !

"Most of the references to the killers by contemporary witnesses involve Kurds, Circassians, brigands, irregulars, and the gendarmes accompanying the convoys. Gendarmes are also implicated in the murders of Armenians arrested before the beginning of the deportations. None of the observers on the scene as much as mentions the Special Organization, which the courts-martial of 1919-20, Dadrian and a few other authors contend, was the agent of the state-sponsored exterminatory process. (NOTE: There exists no document or reason, to justify any such contention see footnote explanation)

Relations between Armenians and Kurds had been strained and hostile for many decades, but the year 1914 brought new tensions. The rights granted the Armenians under the reform agreement signed by the Ottoman Government under the threat of Russian intervention were seen by both Turks and Kurds as the opening wedge for Armenian independence. Turkey's declaration of a 'holy war' on Nov. 13th, denounced England and France as infidel nations and enemies of Islam. Even though the declaration was not aimed against the empire's Christians it nevertheless encouraged religious fanaticism. Finally, the continuing activities of the Armenian revolutionary movement created fears of the

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establishment of Armenian hegemony in the contested territories of eastern and central Anatolia. Kurdish farmers were afraid of losing their lands, and these concerns were exploited and cultivated by Ottoman propaganda, especially after the beginning of the war and the Russian offensive of 1914. The Armenians, it was said, had made common cause with the Russians. Unless the Kurds actively helped the Turks against the Russians and their Armenian allies, in the event of a Russian victory they could expect a terrible vengeance for the wrongs they had inflicted on the Armenians in the past. Kurdish depredations against the Armenian population received a new license.

The Ottoman Government had never been able to establish full security for the Anatolian countryside; conditions on the roads were especially bad in the eastern territories, where the Kurds had a reputation for being ardent robbers and brigands. An English traveler who journeyed through this area in 1913 noted that 'highway robbery takes place with impunity even under the walls of the large towns.' After the outbreak of war Ottoman troops and soon even gendarmerie units left for the front, and the imperfect protection formerly provided by the presence of these forces came to an end. Kurdish bands now could operate with relative impunity. Security on the roads also suffered from the presence of tens of thousands of deserters. It is estimated that by the summer of 1916 there were 50 000 deserters from the Turkish 3rd Army alone. 'They roamed the countryside, living off the land and turning into robber bands.' It is possible that some of the attacks on Armenian convoys were carried out by such deserters from the Turkish Army.

The Kurds had always looked upon the Armenians as their natural prey; the Armenian deportations became for some of them a welcome opportunity to gather booty and seize women. Many Armenians in the convoys were known to carry large sums of money and gold. Wartime conscription had taken most of the younger men and had left Armenian girls and women without much protection. The few men in the convoys were usually killed first, and Kurdish tribesmen then could plunder and kidnap with little risk. With their religious fanaticism enhanced by government anti-Christian propaganda of simply out of greed for the clothing of the victims, the Kurds often murdered even women and children. They may have caused the greatest toll of lives by stealing the Armenians' money; in view of the little food that was provided to the deportees, without money to buy provisions the exiles were condemned to starvation and death" #59*

"On March 23rd, 1916, the American Charge d'Affaires in Constantinople cabled the secretary of state on behalf of the Red Cross:

-Great suffering throughout the country, particularly at Constantinople and suburbs along the shores of Marmora, at Adriano, Broussa and Smyrna. In these regions 500 000, not comprising Armenian refugees, need help for bread. Hundreds dying of starvation. No relief in sight. Sugar and petroleum oil at famine prices. Typhus is spreading, high mortality-.

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The food situation soon became even more severe. From 1916 until the end of the war in 1918, an Armenian pastor has written, the city of Urfa was plagued with famine, and many of the local poor died of starvation. 'Starving Armenians and Turks were begging side by side in front of the same market and together were gathering grass from the fields.'

The shortages of food were made worse by the hoarding of speculators, who sold goods at exorbitant prices, and the widespread corruption. Some food supplies bought for the army never reached the fighting units. The troops, reported a German officer in November 1916, received a maximum of one-third of the rations they were supposed to get, and undernourishment was at a dangerous level. The Turkish soldiers concentrated in Palestine, another observer noted, 'had not enough bread to maintain their strength. They received almost no meat, no butter, no sugar, no vegetables, and no fruits.' Whatever supplies were available in the rear had trouble reaching the troops in the front lines because of severe transportation problems. The few existing one-track railroads were overburdened. At times locomotives could not be used because of severe shortages of coal and wood. A crucial tunnel on the line toward Syria (the famous Baghdad railway) was finished only in September, 1918. Because of these transportation difficulties, the feeding of soldiers 'varied enormously, depending on whether they were close to, or far away from, grain producing areas.' A German officer reported in February, 1917 that soldiers had started to eat grass because the bread ration was completely insufficient...The worst situation prevailed during the winter of 1917-18. The German ambassador, Count Johann von Bernstorff, informed Berlin on March 30th, 1918. 'There is actually a famine, which is only veiled by the fact that no one troubles whether the poor die.' The head of the German Turkish military mission and inspector-general of the Turkish Army, Otto Liman von Sanders, reported to the German ambassador on June 20, 1918, that by April of that year 17 000 men of the Turkish 6th Army in Iraq had died of hunger and its consequences. Descriptions of the horrible life in the camps to which the Armenians had been sent leave the impression that it was only the deported Armenians who suffered from starvation. Yet, in fact, similar conditions at times prevailed even for soldiers in the Turkish Army. European travelers and missionaries who witnessed the misery in the camps in the Syrian Desert reported that the Armenians at best received a small quantity of bread at irregular intervals and gradually were reduced to eating grass roots and even dead animals. A German engineer, who had visited the Armenian encampments along the Euphrates River, on Sept. 10, 1916, reported to Jesse Jackson (the American consul in Aleppo) that in Abou Herrera he had seen women 'searching in the dung of horses barley seeds not yet digested to feed on.' The unfortunates were gradually dying of hunger. All this bears a striking similarity to what a German officer wrote on conditions in an artillery unit of the Turkish 14th Infantry Division during the winter of 1915-16: 'The men received, if they were lucky, a handful of barley. They began to gnaw at the carcasses of dead animals and scraped meager seeds from the dung of horses that originated from still better times. Gradually they fell victim to hunger-typhus and pined away... None survived the month of January!' " #60*

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"The corruption and incompetence of the Ottoman Government, aggravated by a natural catastrophe, led to severe food shortages and sporadic famine that afflicted the Moslem civilian population as well as the Turkish Army. In this situation, the high death toll among the Armenian deportees resulting from lack of food and disease in and of itself does not prove that the Ottoman Government aimed at the annihilation of the Armenian community." #61*

"... Many of the soldiers had neither boots nor socks, and they were dressed in rags. 'The treatment received by these men by their officers,' wrote another American missionary and president of Euphrates College, Henry Riggs, 'offered spectacles every day that made the blood boil.' Cruelty on the drill ground was common ..." #62

The American consul in Harput, Leslie Davis, described the situation in the winter of 1915 - 16:

"All that winter sick and wounded Turkish soldiers came from the front to Mamouret-ul-Aziz. Notwithstanding what we know about the way the Turks treated the Armenians, it seemed incredible that their own soldiers fared little better. They were sent away from Erzurum and other distant places in mid-winter, without food and with little clothing. They were told to go to the hospitals in Mamouret-ul-Aziz, which were the nearest to them. As no means of transportation was provided, they were obliged to make the journey of several weeks on foot, begging or stealing something to eat in the villages through which they passed and occasionally stealing a donkey on which to ride... because of the lack of beds, patients shared beds or simply lay next to each other on the floor, some on mattresses, others on blankets. Many hospitals had neither running water nor electricity; there was a shortage of medications, syringes, medical instruments, and clean linen. Hygienic conditions were catastrophic. There were not enough doctors and nurses, and pharmacists and orderlies had to substitute for regular medical personnel... According to Maria Jacobsen, the situation was no better in Harput. The Turkish doctors did literally nothing for the sick because, firstly, they have little knowledge, and secondly, a human being counts as nothing with them. If he lives, he lives. If he dies, he dies. The efforts of German doctors gradually brought about some improvement..." #63*

"...in this situation, but a high mortality rate continued to take its toll. A German nurse recalled that in the hospital in which she worked in the fall of 1917, 40% - 50% of the patients admitted died of exhaustion and undernourishment before it was possible to treat them. Hygienic conditions, too, continued to be a serious problem... In view of these conditions, it is not surprising that typhus, cholera, dysentery, and other infectious diseases spread rapidly among the troops. Two Red Cross surgeons reported on March 3, 1915, from Erzincan that a typhus epidemic, made worse by the lack of sanitary arrangements and sufficient medical help, was decimating the ranks of the military 'in a manner unthinkable under German conditions.' A German doctor estimated that the death toll from typhus

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among Turkish soldiers at times reached 50%, while among German military personnel it was about 10%. According to Consul Davis in Harput, as many as 75 – 80 soldiers died of typhus there on same days during the winter of 1914 -15. Maria Jacobsen noted in her diary on May 24th, 1916, that cholera had broken out in Malatia, and 100 soldiers were dying every day. The army there will soon be wiped out without a war....From the deportees the disease spread to the Moslem population. Lice carried in clothing brought typhus to villages and towns along the routes of deportation. Typhus was also spread in the thousands of Turkish refugees who fled the Russian offensives of 1915 - 16. An American intelligence agent estimated in July 1915 that 300 000 had died from typhus in eastern Anatolia. In Aleppo, more than 35 000 were reported to have died from the disease between August, 1916 - August, 1917. Even though Ottoman casualty figures are incomplete, it is clear that Turkish military losses from disease by far exceeded those resulting from combat. According to a new history of the Ottoman Army by Edward Erickson, the Turkish armed forces experienced 243 598 Combat deaths, while 466 759 soldiers died of disease. Another 68 378 succumbed to their wounds. Nearly seven times as many Turkish soldiers died of disease as died of wounds experienced in combat. No other army in World War I appears to have had such a disastrous ratio of losses from disease and wounds versus the number lost in combat. Furthermore, it is estimated that at least 1 500 000 Moslem civilians died as a result of the war, most of them probably from disease and malnutrition or starvation. The terrible death roll among Turkish Moslems quite obviously does not excuse the horrible fate of the Armenians, but neither can it be ignored " #64*

"Five days after Russia declared war on Turkey, Francis Blyth Kirby, the former acting British Vice-Consul at Rostow-on-Don, wrote to the British Foreign Office from London, that before leaving his post, a wealthy Armenian prince named David Chernoff had told him that the Armenians in Russia and Turkey were extremely anxious that war should break out between these two countries, in which case they would avenge themselves on the Turks for all the wrongs they claimed to have suffered at their hands. He also stated that 60 000 Armenians in the Caucasus, and on the frontier, had already volunteered to fight the Turks in the event of war breaking out, and were begging the Russian Government to supply them with arms. He believed that a revolution would break out among the Armenians generally, if they could rely on the support of Russia under whose protection they hoped to obtain the freedom of their country" #65*

"Meanwhile Russian Armenia had become a center for arms collection and revolutionary organization aimed at the Ottomans. The activities of the revolutionaries were greatly facilitated by their relationship to the Armenian Church. As a body, the Church crossed the Ottoman-Russian border. Using the facilities of the Church, the revolutionary clerics easily kept up communication between the revolutionaries in southern Caucasus and Anatolia, and between the Russian Government and the revolutionaries. The presence in the Armenian revolutionary movement of priests and bishops brought together the two foci of Armenian identity: Church and nationalism. Church officials also gave practical

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assistance to the revolutionaries; for example the monastery of Derik, on the Persian side of the Ottoman-Persian border, was organized by its revolutionary abbot, Bagrat Vartabed Tavaklian, on 'Akki', into an arsenal and infiltration point for the Armenian revolutionaries in the Ottoman Empire." #66*

"Meanwhile a committee was established at Batum, consisting of Russian, Armenian and Greek members, in order to facilitate the import into Anatolia of arms, ammunition, and explosives to provoke rebellion in the Black Sea region by utilizing the services of Armenians and Greeks living there and to gather intelligence and pass it on to the Russians. Many Armenians in the towns and villages east of the Hopa-Erzurum-Bitlis-Van line did not comply with the call for the enlistment, and escaped to Russia, where they joined Armenian organizations working against the Ottoman Empire. Numerous Russian weapons were discovered in the houses, schools, and churches of the Armenians and at a number of places and Armenian bands, consisting mostly of army deserters, began to attack and murder unarmed Moslem villagers...Following these incidents the Ottoman 3rd Army command began to realize that the Armenians were plotting a rebellion. In fact, plans for such a rebellion were under way in various places where arms, ammunition and explosives had been stored for future use. The principal centers of the rebellion were to be Van, Bitlis, Erzurum and Karahisar and secondary centers were to be Sivas, Kayseri, and Diyarbakir – all locations on the supply lines of the Ottoman Army. As it became evident from the confessions of a number of arrested Armenians, who were tried by court-martial held at Sivas, the Armenian rebels had already appointed generals, inspectors, war commanders and guerilla leaders and had ordered registration of all Armenian able-bodied males at the Dashnak branches. They would later be armed and used in the revolt." #67*

"In mid-February, it was discovered that the Karahisari Sarki organizations of the Dashnak committee, which had been arming the Armenian youth in the Sivas region since the restoration of the constitution, had set up an armed and equipped contingent of some 30 000 men in the region. Of these, 15 000 were sent to Russia, while 15 000 remained behind, ready for a rebellion upon orders from Russia. They were said to be capable of prolonging the revolt for 30 days. A war command had been established by the committee, consisting of 30 members, and headed by the Armenian bishop of Karahisar. Searches carried out at Purek village by the Ottoman Army showed that many arms had been supplied by the local Armenians in preparation for a rebellion. Each Armenian had at least one weapon, with abundant ammunition, in addition to the arms and ammunition stored in depots. Printed revolutionary leaflets and programs were also seized. In the Sivas and Erzincan regions alone, number of arms in the possession of the Armenians was estimated to be about 30 000.

...The insurgents set the houses on fire. On Feb. 22, 1915 about 50 armed Armenian army deserters attacked the gendarmes at Sironik village, near Mus. In many other villages the Armenians rebelled. As these incidents continued in Anatolia, on Feb. 19, the Allied

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attack on the Dardanelles began by an Anglo-French task force. Five days later Count Benckendorff, the Russian Ambassador in London, wrote to the British Foreign Office, asking them, on behalf of Russian Foreign Minister Dimitriyevich Sazonov, whether the British Government would join with France in sending arms and ammunition to Alexandretta for the use by Armenians against the Turks." #68*

(Cyrus Hamlin, explaining the importation of a boiler for his flourmill to increase bread-making capacity...) "... When the boiler arrived, they came up near to its value, but I wondered how they came to guess so low. The whole was 20% below cost. I laid it up against him. The next was a case of Colt pistols, which they reported, I believed, as a sort of fancy pistol, and he said \$3.50 each..." #69*

"...fact that the Armenians, according to British Vice-Consul Captain Dickson, had been receiving revolvers by the hundreds through the post..." #70*

"What could be thought of a preacher, a Russian-Armenian, wondered the report, who, in a church in Adana where there had been a 'massacre' preached revenge for the 'martyrs of 1895'. 'Revenge', bishop Mousheg said, 'murder for murder. Buy arms.' " #71

"... An American missionary, who was present, got up and left the church. Bishop Mousheg toured the province preaching that he who had a coat should sell it and buy guns." #72*

"According to American missionary Krillman, as quoted by the Armenian newspaper Gochnak, a number of hotheaded and emotional Armenians went around in Adana and Mersin, singing old Armenian songs. They were supported by the 'young and inexperienced Armenian Bishop Mousheg', who perambulated round the villages in the Adana plain, urging the Armenians to eat less, to sell their belongings and to buy weapons. Bishop Mousheg having thus prepared the ground, left for Egypt, and as soon as he departed, the Adana incidents began." #73*

"... In this venture the Armenians were assisted not only by the French but also by the British and the Americans. The writer goes on to claim, without evidence however, that American transport ships, laden with arms, under the protection of French warships, were clandestinely landing weapons for the Armenian terrorists. The British also were bringing arms and ammunition from Cyprus to be distributed to Armenian bands. Moreover, the Armenians had set up an arsenal at Saimbeyli (Hacin) where they manufactured guns, revolvers and ammunition. The greatest support, however, came from Russia who wished to gain access to the Mediterranean. The Armenian Church in Adana, and its bishop, seems to have been the chief instigators of this movement. The Turks believe that in April, 1909, Armenian bands had attacked Turkish quarters and had begun to massacre the people in

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accordance with a vow of vengeance that they had taken earlier. Those Turks who had managed to procure arms had retaliated. These incidents were echoed to the European press as the 'extermination of the Armenians by the Turks'." #74*

"British witnesses such as M. Gibbons and M. Chambers, who had given evidence before the military commission, were convinced of the existence of an Armenian 'nationalist' plot. Moreover, the American diplomatic representative in Istanbul had furnished British Ambassador Lowther with a report from one of the 'most experienced' American missionaries in Anatolia, Rev. Dr. Christie, which gave an account of the very origin of the incident. He declared that the young Armenians of Adana were nearly all revolutionaries; that arms and ammunition had been on sale for months, and that both sides had been laying in store of them. He also attributed a large share in the events to the 'evil counsels' of the Armenian bishop, whom he described as 'a very bad man'. These comments of Dr. Christie went far to show that, among a number of Armenians, headed by their bishop, the idea of a revolutionary plot did exist." #75*

"Meanwhile, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, William Harcourt, informed the office administering the Government of Cyprus that the Maronite Christians of the Lebanon were being supplied with arms by the Greek Government to resist Turkish attacks. It was proposed that the arms should be sent to Cyprus and transported to Asia in small sailing boats" #76*

"According to a British Embassy report, under the constitution all men could bear arms. From the 'delightful novelty of the thing', thousands of revolvers were purchased. Even schoolboys had them... But worse followed: the swagger of the arm-bearing Armenian and his ready tongue irritated the 'ignorant' Turks. Threats and insults passed on both sides. Certain Armenian leaders, delegates from Istanbul, and priests ('an Armenian priest is in his way an autocrat') urged their congregation to buy arms. It was done openly, indiscreetly, and, in some cases, it might be said wickedly." #77*

"... Nevertheless the situation in Konya and Aydın in early-April, 1909, was perfectly quiet to all outward appearances, despite the report sent to British Ambassador Lowther by his Vice-Consul in Mersin, Major Doughty Wylie, that there were disturbing elements below the surface, such as the large importation of arms, and the dangerous weakness of the local authorities. 40,000 guns, revolvers and automatic pistols had been imported into the province since the restoration of the constitution, reported the British Vice-Consul. The judicial authorities had refused to condemn the guilty parties, however overwhelming the proofs of their guilt might be, for fear of incurring unpopularity, whilst the governor of Adana was being strongly attacked in the local paper, which observed that he was a good clerk but a bad governor, an honest man but one who was incapable of action, and recommended him to return to Istanbul and resume his occupation there as a secretary..." #78*

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"...Eventually, he writes, 'the mountains swarmed with Armenian irregulars.' A French military historian, too, links the Ottoman-Armenian volunteers to the partisans who attacked isolated Turkish units. Pasdermadjian noted with pride that the Armenian resistance movement in the summer of 1915 tied down five Turkish divisions and tens of thousands of Kurds, who therefore were not able to fight the Russians on the Caucasus front. Not surprisingly, the Turks eventually came to consider the Armenians a fifth-column and decided to take decisive measures to put an end to these treasonable actions. Ambassador Morgenthau reported to Washington on July 10th, 1915, that 'because Armenian volunteers, many of them Russian subjects, have joined the Russian Army in the Caucasus and because some have been implicated in armed revolutionary movements and others have been helpful to Russians in their invasion of Van province, terrible vengeance is being taken.' The Turkish position is that the issue was not revenge but national survival in a situation of extreme danger.

... During the Turkish mobilization none of the inhabitants of Zeitun accepted enlistment in the army, and by the end of 1914 clashes between Armenian bands and gendarmes had taken place. On Feb. 23, 1915, the French ambassador in Moscow reported that representatives of an Armenian revolutionary group in Zeitun had arrived in the Caucasus. Almost 15 000 men, the emissaries declared, were ready to attack Turkish lines of communication, but they lacked guns and ammunition. The commander of the Russian Caucasus army wanted to know whether British and French warships could bring arms via the port of Alexandretta. The British rejected this idea as impracticable because of the difficulty of transporting arms and ammunition into the interior." #79*

"... When the British showed themselves unwilling to reconsider their rejection of an Armenian volunteer force, the Armenians shifted their pressure to the French. On Sept. 2nd, a French warship had rescued more than 4 000 Armenians who had taken refuge on the mountain of Musa Dagh on the Mediterranean coast and had fought off Turkish troops for 53 days. Unwilling to sit idle in an Egyptian refugee camp, the leaders of this group approached the French and requested the formation of an Armenian unit that would fight alongside the French against the Turks. During the fall of 1915, prolonged negotiations took place between the British and French about the formation and training of such a force; and on Feb. 2nd, 1916, the French signed an agreement with the Armenian National Defense Committee in Egypt that provided for the 'creation of a unit troops:' 400 men from the refugees of Musa Dagh were to them the nucleus of this formation, but other Armenian volunteers could also join... The British were asked to agree in the use of Cyprus for the training of the Armenian volunteer force, and this consent was finally given in 1916. Boghos Nubar also decided to go along, though he urged discretion...The French were well aware that the Armenians were hoping to use the military contribution of the volunteers in order to strengthen their claims for an independent Armenian state. Hence the French hedged when Boghos Nubar sought assurances that after the Allied victory the 'national aspirations' of the

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Armenian people would be satisfied. The same sentiment of caution may explain why, when the French Ministry of War formally established the new formation on Nov. 15th, 1916, it was given the name Legion d'Orient rather than Armenian Legion and while the volunteer unit had to wait nearly two years before it saw action. The French also opened the new unit to Syrians and Arabs, thus further diluting its special Armenian character...Not surprisingly, Armenian recruiters were the most active; and by 1918 some 4 000 Armenians from all over the world had arrived in Cyprus for military training. In July of that year, the Legion d'Orient, composed of three battalions of Armenians and one company of Syrians, was finally sent to Palestine, where it participated in the victorious offensive of Gen. Edmund Allenby in Palestine and Syria. After the signing of the Armistice of Mudros on Oct. 30th, 1918, the French sent the three Armenian battalions, called the 'Armenian Legion' and possessing its own flag, to occupy Cilicia. There the Armenian Legion quickly began to engage in acts of revenge against the Turkish population. Turkish authors speak of atrocities such as 'raping the women, killing innocent women and children, and torching the mosques after having filled them with local Moslems,' ...but even outside observers concede that Armenian troops committed numerous crimes. Eventually the legion was disbanded, though many of its members stayed in Cilicia...Whatever the degree of Turkish knowledge, the Armenians' eagerness to fight alongside the Allies and their promise of an insurrection by local revolutionaries certainly speak for themselves. The fact that the Armenian volunteers actually joined the fighting against the Turks in Palestine and Syria only near the end of the war in the summer of 1918 is irrelevant in this context: as we have seen, the delay was not due to any Armenian restraint...After the war had ended and at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, the Armenians talked with pride about the important contribution they had made to the Allied victory. In a letter written on Oct. 29th, 1918, to French Foreign Minister Stephen Pichon, Boghos Nubar asserted that the Armenians in fact had been belligerents since they had fought alongside the Allies on all fronts. Between 600 - 800 volunteers had served on the western front with the French Foreign Legion, and only 40 were still alive; three battalions had taken the field in the Middle East and had been cited by General Allenby for their courage; and 150 000 had fought in the Russian Army and had held the front in the Caucasus after the Russians had dropped out of the war in 1917. The Armenians, therefore deserved their independence and their own country. 'We have fought for it. We have poured out our blood for it without stint. Our people have played a gallant part in the armies that have won the victory.' Armenia, Boghos Nubar told the peace conference on March 8th, 1919, had been devastated by the Turks 'in retaliation for our unflagging devotion to the cause of the Allies'..."#80*

"As we have already seen, those few battalions even, in 1914 and 1915, rendered to the Russians invaluable services, twice saving the right and left wings of the Russian army from an unavoidable catastrophe by their heroic resistance;..." #81

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"These were the circumstances under which the mobilization of 1914: took place in the Caucasus. The Armenian reservists, about 160,000 in number, gladly responded to the call, for the simple reason that they were to fight the archenemy of their historic race. Besides the regular soldiers, nearly 20,000 volunteers expressed their readiness to take up arms against the Turks. "# 82

"...Underfed, misused, paid but little and that rarely, ragged and dirty, these Turkish troops were as wretched in their liberty as we were in our captivity." #83

"...Even the Moslems suffered. I felt sorry for these recruits. They were such a miserable, submissive lot, just resigned to their fate. They never joked or laughed. Some of them were barefooted. They lived on bean soup and brown bread, but the soup was like dishwater, and lucky was the man who fished out a bean. They were starving." #84

"The Turkish soldier ... was neither protected from heat, cold, or sickness." #85

To add some military documentation to the very same subject, I want to add a few examples out of the thousands of Turkish Army's interior communiqués. The original documents are of course in old Ottoman in Arabic script. English translations have been quoted from two volumes of Documents on Ottoman-Armenians published by "Directorate General of Press and Information of Prime Ministry" and said to be excerpted from the periodical Askeri Tarih Belgeleri (Military History Documents) No. 81, dated December, 1982. Subject volumes provide more than 200 documents original with English translation next to it, indicating the archive number, drawer, section, index etc.

Document No... 1896/92: Encrypted Message No. 319 Dated Oct.7th, 1330 (Oct. 20th, 1914) from Armed Border Battalion in Eleskirt to the 9th Army Corps:

- 1- The great majority being from Armenians of our land and army deserters, over 8 000 Armenians gathered at Kagizman.
 - 2- Their formation is some sort of guerilla band. They are armed by the government and their needs are supplied by the people on the basis of war commitments.
 - 3- Kosti from Karakilise, Aramis from Central Eleskirt and Ipik from the Bacli village of Eleskirt are leaders of the gangs.
 - 4- 10 more Plaston companies arrived in Kagizman during the last four days. Total forces in Kagizman are estimated 15 000. This information was furnished by a reliable Moslem from Kagizman through a special messenger.
- Signed: Battalion Commander Hakki (Received Sealed by 9th Army Corps, Oct. 22nd, 1914.

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Document No. 1912/108: Encrypted Message from Reshid Bey, Governor of Diyarbakır of 14.2.1331 (April 27th, 1916) received on the 16th.

Firm action has been carried against army deserters for 10 days. During searches, a great number of weapons ammunition and army uniforms were found in the Armenian homes. In yesterday's searches, a great amount of explosives, 50 bombs, plenty of ammunition and weapons, state property dynamite powder were captured. 12 members and leading figures of the villages were arrested. Up to date, over 1000 army deserters, most of them affiliated to the committees, have been arrested. Investigation and search continues.

Document No. 1914/110: Encrypted Cable to the 4th Army Command; April 13th, 1331 (April 26th, 1915) Message No. 3519

The Armenian Charity Association has nothing to do whatsoever with its name. Many committee members from Egypt and other countries disguised under the title are going to Adana, Aleppo and near Syria to bring in weapons and for political motives and purposes. This Association is similar to other political organizations and its leading members are committee members.

Signed: Tevfik –

File 6/172 Bogos Nubar Pasha Charity Organization (*AGBU – Armenian General Benevolence Union*)

Document No. 1918/114: To the 3rd Army Command Erzurum 3.5.1331 (July 16th, 1915)

The contingent assigned to protect Armenian convoys against attacks by Kurdish gangs, was attacked by Kurdish gangs from all four directions on their way through the Kop Mountains on 28.4.1331 (July 11th, 1915). The contingent dispatched from Bayburt under command of 2nd Lt. Szalih efendi, comprised 56 enlisted men from the communication zone troops. After a *two-hour* armed clash, two of the gang were killed, the rest escaped. The contingent suffered no casualties and the Armenian convoy was saved, according to information from Bayburt post. Signed- Communication inspector Fuat Ziya

Document No. 1921/117 - July 18th, 1331 (July 31st, 1915)

Encrypted Message received by the Acting Supreme Command from Erzurum

Orders and instructions were issued not to give way to insults or humiliation of Armenians being transferred to inner regions and for strict protection of their properties and goods. The same orders are reiterated July 17/18, 1331 (July 30/31, 1915)
3rd Army Commander – Mahmud Kamil

(NOTE: This short military order, when evaluated in sincere logic, refutes all genocide accusations. Who would give such an order, if people were to be heading to death?)

Document No. 1923/119 dated January 8th, 1331 – (Jan. 21st, 1916)(^{*}): To the Ministry of the Interior. The following was reported in a cable from the U.S. State Dept. to the U.S. Embassy in Istanbul:

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\$100,000 was delivered to the Permanent Mutual Assistance Committee of Philadelphia by the Armenians living in the U.S. for distribution among Armenians in Turkey who are in need and have financial difficulty. Earlier, another sum of money was sent from the U.S. The Embassy, however, rejected distribution by us. Both this last amount and the sum reached earlier are undoubtedly being distributed through secret channels. Investigation of this matter with the outcome is requested. – Signature

(NOTE: Writer's remark: This document proves that despite the fact that U.S. had joined the Allies <without declaring war and Ambassador Morgenthau left Turkey in February, 1916>, U.S. aid to relocated Armenians, was not interrupted by the Ottomans or Kemalists at any time. Even this shows the goodwill but deprivations of the CUP Government!)

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Chapter 13: References and Footnotes:

1. Akaby Nassibian, *Britain & the Armenian Question 1915-23*, Croom Helm, London, pg.95
Armenians were looked upon as “men eager to fight” for Armenia, or looting or serve their masters.
2. Ibid, pg. 96
And Armenians were that naive...
3. Ibid, pg. 97
- 4*. Salahi Sonyel, *The Great War & the Great Tragedy of Anatolia*, T.T.K., pg. 93-94
The regular Armenian army in most places is referred as 150,000; here it is 200,000. It is safe to estimate a minimum of 150,000 soldiers. Where did this army, plus some 30,000 guerillas and volunteers come from? Weren't 1,500,000 already killed through genocide?
- 5*. Ibid, pg. 98
Too frequently, the British gave advice and nice speeches, but rarely money and munitions!
- 6*. Ibid, pg. 99
The Turanism movement was another fake excuse about a State which could not even provide boots.
- 7*. Ibid, pg. 100
Massacred troops but strong enough to hold Armenian front against the Turkish Army!
- 8*. Ibid, pg. 101
Armenians never understood that courting the Brits actually implied Baku oil and Batumi, port facilities.
- 9*. Akaby Nassibian, *Britain & the Armenian Question 1915-23*, Croom, pg.121
The British did not seriously plan to spend money on Armenia and expand their territory, other than using them as a wedge to safeguard the route to India, as well as obtaining some benefits from the Persian and Azerbaijan oil reserves recently discovered.
- 10*. *The Slaughterhouse Province” 1915-17*, Leslie E. Davis, Caratzas, New York, pg.181
It is not clear if these were prisoner Armenian soldiers or unarmed labor team of Armenian soldiers. Since they had marched some 200 miles most likely from Erzurum under guard, logically we can wonder why they were not killed, but moved south!
- 11*. Akaby Nassibian, *Britain & the Armenian Question 1915-23* Croom Helm, London, pg.156
This paragraph confirms the butchery and ethnic cleansing done by Andranik, which the British General Thomson, was forced to stop!
12. Ibid, pg. 196
13. Lord Kinross, *Atatürk – The Rebirth of a Nation*, Weidenfelt and Nicolson, London pg. 244
- 14*. Akaby Nassibian, *Britain & the Armenian Question 1915-23* Croom Helm, London, pg.91
What more evidence can be needed to prove the treason of the Armenians to stab Turks in the back?
- 15*. Ibid, pg. 92
The loyalty and innocence of the Armenians and logistics of the Allied Powers speaks for itself...
- 16*. Efraim & Inari Karsh, *Empires of the Sand*, Harvard U. Press, pg. 154
For full other details please refer to Chapters 9–10 and others...
- 17*. Akaby Nassibian, *Britain & the Armenian Question 1915-23* Croom Helm, London, pg.103
The British encouraged with words so many times, but left them flat when the party became desperate... But the Dashnaks always listened!
- 18*. Ibid, pg. 104
From where did these important Army forces came in 1918? Weren't they all, massacred in 1915?
- 19*. Ibid, pg. 105
These innocent massacred Armenians now boast for having stopped the advance of the Turkish Army!
- 20*. Ibid, pg. 106
What an orgy of paradoxes and hypocrisy? Andranik and the Armenians would be rewarded later!...
- 21*. Ibid, pg. 108

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By the secret Sykes-Picot Treaty, Armenia was divided between Russia-Britain-France! The Armenians? Forgotten!

22*. Efraim & Inari Karsh, *Empires of the Sand*, Harvard U. Press, pg. 140

For more details, refer to Chapter 10, on the Sarikamish campaign, which was the breaking point.

23*. Guenter Lewy, *The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey*, U. of Utah Press, pg.115,

The Allies did their utmost to use the large Armenian Army of not less than 150,000, whenever and wherever possible!

24*. Margaret Macmillan, *Paris 1919*, Random House – New York, pg. 374

Colonialism, imperialism, opportunism and finally a conflict on dividing the spoils... Who contributed more, etc.!

25*. Efraim & Inari Karsh, *Empires of the Sand*, Harvard U. Press, pg. 248

Money, money... war for money, over money... Who gets the lion's share now?...

26*. Akaby Nassibian, *Britain & the Armenian Question 1915-23*, Croom Helm, London, pg.187 In 1920, the weak Kemalist forces were fighting against the Greeks in Anatolia and the Armenians in the Caucasus. British armies were fast melting for reasons of finance and soldiers returning home. There were not enough troops to enforce the Sevres Treaty which was left on the table. The resistance against French-Armenian Forces in the south was by the villagers, helped by few army officers.

27*. Ibid, pg.159

Britain too had over-extended and overspent herself... So, who was to provide men plus money?

28*. Ibid, pg.160

No one could ever imagine that the sick man, now in a coma, would recover from almost certain death, and fight again!

29*. Ibid, pg.111

No one ever imagined that the Czarist Russian Empire, when winning the war, would break up from inside.

30*. Ibid, pg. 112

The British could not care less for the Armenians when they were losing... they could still fight to the last operate!

31. Ibid pg.113

32*. Ibid pg. 115

Allies had learned that buttering/flattering Armenian morale was enough to make Dashnaks go ahead, blindly!

33*. Margaret MacMillan *Paris 1919* – Random House, New York, pg.194

This bitter truth should have been framed by Dashnaks and taught to future Armenian generations as, realpolitik!

34*. Akaby Nassibian, *Britain & the Armenian Question 1915-1923* Croom Helm, London, pg.194

Another TRUTHFUL LESSON OF HISTORY, which the Dashnaks never learn, never taught to future generations.

35*. Margaret Macmillan, *Paris 1919*, Random House – New York, pg. 378

Still another lesson of true history of what happens when boasting stupid rulers trust fake promises in true life!

36*. Ibid, pg.379

This much hypocrisy, lying, cheating by the World's great States, can make some stomachs sick... But Dashnakists can swallow and digest these cheatings and abstain from teaching the truths to next generations!

37*. Akaby Nassibian, *Britain & the Armenian Question 1915-23*, Croom Helm, pg.183

Lessons of history that the concerned never read learn or teach to future generations! Scholars do not care either!

38*. Efraim & Inari Karsh, *Empires of the Sand*, Harvard Univ.Press pg. 335

Armenia had gambled too much with weak cards, relying on hearsay, and finally the inevitable happened and she lost it all!

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39. Margaret MacMillan, *Paris 1919*, Random House, New York, pg. 449

40*. Akaby Nassibian, *Britain & the Armenian Question 1915-23*, Croom Helm, London, pg.163

This paragraph and strong evidence, besides those confirmed also by Katchaznuni and Lalayan, leaves no room for Armenian denials and claim of being victims only! The Turkish side does not deny the bilateral butchery! Who was more ruthless and started it first, is not within this study.

41*. Ibid, pg. 206

This much of hypocrisy can make some blood boil but not that of the Dashnaks! The British are blaming Armenians for treason after they lost almost everything! ... and speak of the worthless Ross rifles they sold to the Dashnaks!

42*. Ibid, pg. 207

Greeks trying to get a share from spoils, based on the Sevres Treaty, which Kemalists never accepted!

43*. Ibid, pg. 209

Diaspora and Armenia rulers never learn or give up trying every chance, frequently overestimating their power.

44*. Ibid, pg. 217

Reckless gambling brings disaster and some like the Dashnaks never quit gambling on other people's lives! (Bekir Sami was the Commander of "S.O." in 1914-1915)

45*. Ibid, pg. 218

The Dashnaks obeyed Britain's slippery advice, they gambled and lost again... they never learned...

46*. Ibid, pg.219

Dashnaks kept on gambling, lost everything and had no alternative but to sign a humiliating treaty still valid! After the treaty, Karabekir provided food to starving people!

47*. Ibid, pg. 221

Results of having blind faith in anyone English, taught nothing to Armenians. The excesses of Armenian bandits are reconfirmed. Britain blamed Armenians again for the present status... they failed to attract Armenian capital?

48*. Ibid, pg. 229

Business is for business, ethics and lives do not count... Dashnaks never quit hating Turks and loving Brits!

49 * Akaby Nassibian, *Britain & the Armenian Question 1915-23*, Croom Helm, London, pg. 212

The great insult by Britain is never surfaced, or remembered as a bitter lesson of history and reality!

50*. Hew Starchan, *The First World War*, Penguin, 2004, pg. 101-102

Ottomans were poorly armed; Germans had no extra weapons or the means to send them to Turkey. Ottomans were in economical chaos, and their blood was drained by "leeches".

51*. Guenther Lewy, *The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey*, U.of Utah Press, pg.228

Other sources show that some Armenian soldiers were among the Turkish fighting force in the Battle of Sarikamish of January, 1915. It is after this battle and desertions that Armenian soldiers were put in labor units, some working to complete the Taurus railway tunnel. Chettes or bands were not limited to Turks! Armenians, Kurds, Turks, brigands, deserters, criminals, etc. were all involved in banditry.

52*. Salahi Sonyel, *The Great War and the Great Tragedy of Anatolia*, T.T.K., pg. 76

The Dashnak system of collections, giving duties and profits on sales of arms is again visible.

53*. Ibid, pg. 77

These aspirations also confirmed by Katchaznuni, raising money..., no peace without conquest, etc...

54*. Ibid, pg. 94 – 95

Another reconfirmation of British Clergy and Politics, encouraging Armenians to fight for them!...

55*. <http://armenians-1915.blogspot.com/> e-mail; <http://armenians-1915.blogspot.com/2006/08/924-le-petit-journal.html>

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Evidence of atrocities and lack of discipline of Armenian Legion d'Orient fighting in French uniforms in Cilicia...

56. From "Le Journal d'Orient" Feb. 26th, 1819 No. 191

57*. Guenter Lewy, *The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey*, U. of Utah Press, pg. 101

This paragraph penned by G. Lewy contradicts somewhat with above note #51

58*. Ibid, pg. 102

Treason of Armenians and large military power, contribution to the Sarikamish disaster, again confirmed.

59*. Ibid, pg. 221 – 222

Turkish Military Army records bear no evidence to Dadrian's scenarios. Please refer to G. Lewy's. "Revisiting the Armenian Genocide" Middle East Quarterly Fall 2005, pp 3-12 and Vahakn Dadrian "Correspondence" Middle East Quarterly, Winter 2006, pp 77-8. for argument and reply by Edward J. Erickson, in "Middle East Quarterly, Summer 2006", giving full details of military actions involving <Captain, later Colonel Strange> (Artillery specialist), who was posted for defense artillery in the Erzurum fortress, later Ardahan - Artvin offensive in January, 1915; retreating to Erzurum in late-March 1915, which later fell to Russians. Stange was in temporary command of Turkish regular army forces, reinforced by Special Organization's 'uniformed' soldiers, who had their own commanders. However, Stange had only to 'cooperate' with such S.O. forces, which was a quasi-civilian task force. Their duty was to foment trouble and revolts behind enemy lines. A good portion of this force was already in Batumi on duty. There is no reason, evidence, or time for this special task force for active involvement in the relocation process, <may be with rare exceptions> which was guarded by 'provisory gendarmes.' The 1919-20 Kangaroo Courts set up by the victors of the Great War, condemned innocent officials to please victors. In the years 1915-16, the CUP Government had court-martialed some 1600 officials for their wrongs during relocations. Over 600 were severely punished, imprisoned, some 67 hanged, and others released. If the CUP Government were to be involved, these trials would have been avoided. Did the Germans ever court-martial any SS officers? Everyone was in need of money, starving and robbed each other; Moslem, Kurds, Christians... it made no difference. (Total S.O. Force was less than 4 000, and only about half of this was on the Eastern Front, some on duty were in Batumi. Commander Bekir Sami, as written by Armen Garo in above book, was head of the twenty-eight persons who offered autonomy in Erzurum in 1914! Haven't historians read even Pasternadjian's book?)

60*. Ibid, pg. 55 – 56

Please see separate Chapter 19 regarding the prevailing famine, plagues and common sufferings.

61*. Ibid, pg. 57

Sure, Moslem refugees were not provided even as much as could be given to Armenian deportees. The Turkish soldiers on the Russian Sarikamish Campaign had only dry bread for five days. They were told they would receive Russian provisions when they win. Similar situations prevailed also in Europe, German soldiers were fighting for the food rations of Italians during WWI in the Alps.

62*. Ibid, pg. 58

Very true... Even Kemalist armies procured socks and "chariks" (footwear), through obligatory donation of every household, as late as the 1920s...

63*. Ibid, pg. 59

While Leslie Davis reports the status of mid-1915, things got much worse and acute in the following years!

64*. Ibid, pg. 60 – 61

While such high losses were suffered in the Army, is there any logical reason for the lot of deportees being better?

65*. Salahi Sonyel, *The Great War and the Great Tragedy of Anatolia*, T.T.K., pg. 97

This information augments the number of Armenians fighting against Turks in Caucasia from 30,000 to 60,000, plus guerillas.

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66*. Ibid, pg. 25

The Church's heavy involvement in weapons caches, trafficking and distribution is reconfirmed again.

67*. Ibid, pg. 95 – 96

Are we still in doubt about the Armenians' revolutionary plots, with able-bodied men fighting on the enemy's side?

68*. Ibid, pg. 102–103

Supplementary information about the Armenian forces plus the provisions they were receiving!

69*. Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times*, Boston 1893, pg. 306

Even Rev. Hamlin was importing Colt pistols! We are not told how many for whom and where/when they were going to be used in a guarded Christian Educational institution!

70*. Salahi Sonyel, *The Great War and the Great Tragedy of Anatolia*, T.T.K., pg. 46

Happy arms trading!... The liberty to import guns even through the mail... Why were so many needed?

71. Ibid, pg. 58

72*. Ibid, pg. 59

What an effective salesmanship brainstorm from a Bishop! Kill first, before you catch a death from the cold!

73*. Ibid, pg. 62

Emotional Armenian songs of bravery!... Bishop Mosheg seems to be the No.1 salesman in history!

74*. Ibid, pg. 63

While Armenian bands were being supplied with an excess of munitions to attack Turkish villages, the European press was writing about the extermination of Armenians by Turks! It does not look like much has changed in the prevailing prejudices of the 21st century.

75*. Ibid, pg. 66

Innocent or Revolutionary Armenians? With so much evidence, claims for innocence sound ridiculous!

76*. Ibid pg.99

Arming Armenians was not enough; Maronite Christians were also armed by Greeks, all to kill Turks!

77*. Ibid, pg. 53

Again, buy arms, kill Turks ... a short-cut sermon to go to Heaven!

78*. Ibid, pg. 71

Kingdom of Cilicia, before other Kingdoms were created in Mesopotamia! All proof of loyalty and innocence!

79*. Guenter Lewy, *The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey*, Univ .of Utah Press, pg.103

Self-explanatory, but needs some clarification: Russian-Armenians were already drafted in the Russian Army, there was a mass exodus of Armenian soldiers from the Turkish Army, plus volunteers that joined the enemy, fought in Van, etc.

80*. Ibid, pg.106 - 107 - 108

In light of the above... belligerent, but innocent? Are we not ridiculing decency and history?

81. Dr. G. Pasdermajian, *Why Armenia Should Be Free*, Boston, Dec. 1918, Hairenik Publishing Company p.28

82. Ibid, pg.19

83. Harold Armstrong, *British POW*, 1925, pg. 23

84. Leon Surmelian, 1945, 99. 74-5

85. Dr. C.D. Ussher, (American ABCFM missionary and physician in Van, whose memories were the basis for the film, 'ARARAT')

RELOCATIONS (ARRIVALS –LOSES-CONTRADICTIONS)

Chapter 14: RELOCATIONS (Arrivals, Losses, Contradictions)

The very heart of the so-called Genocide issue is the charge that the process of relocation was not necessary and it was merely a veil to cover up the true intention to annihilate the whole innocent and Christian-Armenian population living in Turkey. Since this accusation is not supported by a single authentic document and there was no mention of genocide until the mid-1970s, with various assassinations and terrorist acts of the (Dashnak) ASALA, the reader must reach his own logical conviction by reading as many different views and evaluations of writers and/or documents as possible.

Some footnotes are commented on with short notes for better guidance and comparison. Also, some events may be repetitions from different writers, and subjects may overlap with other data.

(Document No. 1916/112 – Archive 1 / 2 Cabin 109 File 361)

(Full text of Sublime Porte Ministry of Interior's "Regulation Related to Settlement and Boarding and Lodging and other Affairs of Armenians Relocated to Other Places Because of War Conditions and Emergency Political Requirements. Dated May 30th, 1915" – Seal Dept. for Settlement of Tribes and Immigrants, Ministry of Interior – English translation)

Art. 1- Arrangements for transportation of those to be transferred is the responsibility of local Administrations.

Art. 2- Armenians to be transferred are free to take all their movable properties and animals along.

Art. 3- Protection of lives and properties of Armenians to be transferred en route their new settlements, their board and lodgings and their resting is the responsibility of local administrations en route. Civil servants in all echelons are responsible for any negligence in this regard.

Art. 4- Reaching the destinations of their new settlements, Armenians will either be settled in individual towns and villages in the houses to be built, or in the villages established in locations designated by the Government. Due attention will be paid to establishing the villages in places to suit public health conditions, agriculture and construction.

Art. 5- If there is no un-owned and derelict land in places of settlement for establishment of villages, state owned farms and villages may be allocated for this purpose.

Art. 6- Boundaries of villages and towns to be established anew for the settlement of the Armenians will be at least 25 km. away from the Baghdad Railway and other railroad links.

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Art. 7- A registration log will be established covering very accurately in an orderly way, the name, family name, age, profession, place of origin, place of settlement, together with names and ages of all members clearly indicated for all Armenians to be settled in villages and towns or newly established villages, this log, being the basis of the population registers.

Art. 8- Persons to be settled at the designated places are prohibited to go to other places without permission from the Commission to which they are attached and without necessary special document from the local security force.

Art. 9- All boarding needs of the people arriving, and the construction of the houses of those who are in need, is the responsibility of the Government, such expenses to be financed from the immigrants' appropriations.

Art. 10- Arrangements for boarding and housing, expediting the completion of these, preservation of health and welfare of the people, are the responsibility of the immigrant commissions, led by the highest local civil servant. In places where there are no immigrant commissions, these will be established anew, in accordance with the Regulation on immigrants.

Art. 11- District and provincial governors are authorized to assign sufficient civil servants to carry out efficiently the task related to the transport, board, lodging and settlement, with the concurrence of the Ministry.

Art. 12- Each family to be resettled will be allocated appropriate land, taking into account their previous economic condition and their present needs.

Art. 13 - Allocation and distribution of land will be handled by the commissions.

Art. 14- Boundaries and areas of the allocated land will be indicated in a Temporary (Provisional) Receipt, which will be issued to the owner, with identical information clearly registered in a logbook.

Art. 15- Those engaged in agriculture and craftsmen who are in need, will be issued an appropriate amount of operating capital, or necessary tools and instruments.

- Recep 1333/ May 17, 1331 (May 30, 1915) Certified Copy with Seal of the Ministry. "

"Between the years 1820 - 1920, Russians forcibly evacuated and killed many of the 2 000 000 Moslems who fled found refuge in the Ottoman Empire. In the process, whole nations - Crimean Tatars, Abkhazians, Circassians - ceased to exist in their ancestral

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homes. During the same period, about 600 000 Armenians fled the Ottoman Empire to Russia and 2 millions Moslems came from Russia to Turkey. " #1

From the Ambassador in Constantinople (Wangenheim) to the Reichskanzler (Bethmann Hollweg) Report pr. 07.05.1915 am. A-15363 No. 267 Pera, 30 April 1915

<There were all kinds of uncontrollable rumors going around in public concerning the reasons for these measures. Among other things, it was said that explosives, bombs and weapons had been discovered in Armenian houses and churches and that the Armenians had planned attacks on the Porte and other public buildings for the day of the Coronation festivities (27th inst.). When the Armenian Patriarch asked the Grand Vizier and the Minister of the Interior about the reasons for these mass arrests, he received the reply that the organization of the Armenian people in political parties could be used at the present time by individual, influential persons to disturb the public peace, and that it seemed to be in the interest of the welfare of the state to prevent such possibilities by removing the leading personalities from the capital! The Minister of the Interior explained the following to the first dragoman: The government had now decided to put an end to the present situation whereby each religious community made their own special 'politics' and could found and maintain special political associations for this purpose. In Turkey, only one 'Ottoman policy' was to be pursued in future. Among the local Armenians, there were a number of personalities who were politically not quite safe; these were, of course, to be found in particular among the members of the clubs and editorial offices. The fear that in case of an unfavorable change in the war, these elements could take the opportunity for stirring up trouble was not to be overlooked. The time seemed favorable for removing all these suspects from the capital. Many people would definitely be among the deportees who were by no means guilty. The government would not deny this and he - Talaat - would grant permission for these to return of his own accord and without needing any special intervention. Talaat Bey declared that the claim that there was evidence available of a coup being planned for the day of the Coronation festivities was incorrect.

The events in Van and the recent attacks by the Russians on the Bosphorus and by the united French and English troops on the Dardanelles would not be without influence on the decision of the government.

Wangenheim>

"Thousands of Moslem refugees passed through Mamouretul Aziz (Elazığ) after the advance of the Russian in the winter of 1915-16. They came from Russian-occupied Turkish provinces, fleeing before them and wandering from place to place. Many of them settled for a time in the villages from which the Armenians had been driven out... The government has completed the destruction of most of them by tearing out timbers of the houses for firewood, as no other fuel was obtainable in that region during the past two years. The houses, which consisted principally of mud and straw, then crumbled to pieces." #2*

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"I certainly have no desire to pose as a champion of the Armenian race or to defend any Armenian revolutionaries. After the expulsion of the greater part of the Armenian population during the first two or three weeks of July, subsequent deportations have naturally been on a smaller scale, and have occurred at longer intervals." #3*

"I should estimate that at least 75% of the Armenians in this region have now gone. A few are now receiving the benefits of the decree which exempts Catholics and Protestants from deportation, but most of these were sent away before the decree was received..." #4*

"Turkish scholars have studied the original documents and published versions of what happened next, but Turkish schoolbooks do not dwell on the subject. The grim tone of the half-told story in a leading textbook leaves it open to many interpretations: 'The Russians used the Armenians as a cat's paw. Thinking they would achieve independence, they attacked their innocent Turkish neighbors. The Armenian 'committees' massacred tens of thousands of Turkish men, women and children. This made it hard to wage war on the Russians. So the Ottoman state decided in 1915 to forcibly deport the Armenians from the battlefields to Syria. This was the right decision. During the migration, some of the Armenians lost their lives due to weather conditions and insecurity... the Turkish nation is certainly not responsible for what happened during the Armenian migration. Thousands of Armenians arrived in Syria and there lived on under the protection of the Turkish state.' - On April 24, 1915, the day before the Allied landings near Gallipoli, the Ottoman Government signaled its formal intention to take action. On that day' commemorated by the Armenians as the anniversary of what they term a genocide, the ministry of the interior ordered Armenian 'committees' closed down and their leaders detained; officially, 2,345(!) Armenians were arrested including politicians, writers and many who had seen themselves as loyal to the Ottoman state. The deportations, officially ordered by the cabinet on May 30th, had probably started even before this time. Encrypted telegrams from the interior ministry specified that the Armenians could take with them only what they could carry. The safety of the refugee columns was to be assured. Never can the wishful orders of a Turkish Government have been so adrift from the reality of what happened. The horrors inflicted on the Armenians are some of the worst of any war. Men were separated from their women and children and massacred." #5*

"As Commander of the 4th Army, Cemal Pasha was 'furious' that deportees were sent to faraway Mesopotamia, thus hindering the movement of the Ottoman troops, instead of being resettled in central Anatolia." #6*

"As Davis saw it, by June, the arrests had created a "reign of terror." The authorities made little distinction between those involved in the revolutionary movement and people who were entirely innocent. Several hundred Armenian men had been seized, including nearly every person of importance. Almost all of them were being tortured in order to reveal

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hidden weapons and seditious plots. 'Professor Lulejian, at Euphrates College, whom I afterwards hid for some weeks in the attic of the Consulate, related to me how he had been beaten with a stick by the *Kaymakam* of Harput himself'. " #7*

"...Davis reports that he saw Armenian mothers sell their children for a few piastres. Turkish officers and others brought along their doctors to examine the prettiest girls, whom they had selected for their harems..." #8*

"According to the American missionary Tracy Atkinson, the Turkish administrator of the Red Crescent hospital in Harput told her on July 19th that he had 600 of the sick Armenian exiles in his hospital. Their death rate was 25 patients a day." #9*

"A close reading of his comments as recorded in Morgenthau's 'Diary' suggests that his comparison of their plans for the Armenians with the American treatment of the Negroes may have been, despite Morgenthau's suggestion, well spoken. It is in fact 'segregation' which he is referring to, as is clear from the final statement attributed to Talat on this matter, to wit, 'He said they would take care of the Armenians at Zor and elsewhere but they did not want them in Anatolia'. Why does Morgenthau not challenge Talat on this statement? Because it is not out of keeping with what he is hearing at that time from others, including Zenop Bezjian, the 'vekil' (representative) of the Armenian Protestants in the Ottoman Empire. A month after the above mentioned conversation with Talat, Morgenthau receives a visit from Bezjian, which he records in his diary 'Diary' in the following terms:

'Zenop Bezjian, Vekil of Armenian Protestants, called! Schimavonian introduced him, he was his schoolmate. He told me a great deal about the conditions in the interior. I was surprised to hear him report that Armenians at Zor were fairly well satisfied: that they have already settled down to business and are earning their livings; those were the first ones that were sent away and seem to have gotten there without being massacred. He gave me a list where the various camps are and he thinks that over 500,000 have been displaced. He was most solicitous that they should be helped before winter set in.'" #10*

From Report of Aleppo Consul Rossler to Reccskanzler Hollwegö 1915-A-35047.

Aleppo 16 Nov.1915: (Migration of the Armenians to Der-Zor):

"Sabcha;... the first settlers' station. Formerly having several hundred inhabitants, it presently registers 7 000 people (statement by the Nah Mudir). The village is situated between the rocky drops of the desert and the course of the river ... the old part of the village with some gardens is on the bank of the river ... the settlement has now grown towards the mountain crest ... in streets that have been laid out straight at right angles; thousands of hands working with the greatest zeal; long rows of undressed stones are stored there ... over 100 new houses have been erected. A further 250 houses are to be completed shortly. The first settlers arrived from Setun in July and August. Many still live in rented houses (with a rent of 3-4 Medjidije), most still in camps and on farms. The

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authorities have given the land for building and permitted stones to be cut. Bread and flour is distributed in quantities, which are hardly sufficient, leading to complaints. The settlers have set up a smithy, the sale of meat, 1 plumber and 2-3 small general stores. Many Armenians die from illness. Those in the camps, forced to protect themselves, banish the sick — mostly women — from the camp and leave them to nature. Without food, a doctor or care they lie whimpering and begging for bread until a kind fate lets them die ... (approx. 40 dreadfully disfigured people). I counted 12 corpses washed ashore across from the crossing point; their dreadful smell does not rouse a single soul to bury them. According to the statement by the head of the district council, many more thousands of 'settlers' are coming! His actual words were, 'We let them come to cultivate the land.' Up-and downstream there is, however, terrible land for the survivors. Medical aid is absolutely necessary there.'

"For 1920-21, Miss Burgess had written from Constantinople what an American missionary from Marsovan had told her: that the Turks had forbidden them to teach, on the grounds that their instruction was 'poisonous'.

A few of the deported Armenians were returning in a 'most deplorable state.' Some little orphans, the pretty ones, had been saved from death, and 'gathered as Turks put into Moslem homes' but children with plain faces suffered cruel deaths of a 'most painful nature'.
" #11*

"The Ottoman authorities tried to put a shiny gloss of legality on their genocidal actions, The general deportation decree of May 30th, 1915 for example, instructed the security forces to protect the deportees against nomadic attacks, to provide them with sufficient food and supplies for their journey and to compensate them with new property, land, and goods necessary for their resettlement. ... the rights granted by the deportation decree had never been followed." #12*

"There were of course noteworthy exceptions in which Moslems, including Turks, helped the long-suffering Armenians, but these were very rare, isolated instances and were always rebuffed by the authorities. In some of the transfer stations, notably Aleppo, the hub where all convoys converged, thousands of Armenians would be piled up for weeks outdoors, starving, waiting to be taken away. Epidemics spread rapidly, chiefly spot typhus. Particularly horrific outrages befell the Armenians arriving in the mountainous areas of northern Mesopotamia, where they fell prey to gangs of Kurds." #13*

"Two. When Turkish Armenia was almost wholly emptied of its Armenian inhabitants, due to these successive retreats, the Russia government raised all sorts of barriers before the refugees to prevent them from returning to their former homes when the Russian army recaptured the Armenian vilayets. For example, in 1916-1917, scarcely 8,000 to 10,000 Armenians were permitted to go back and inhabit the region of Van; the rest were compelled to stay within the borders of the Caucasus as refugees. Toward the latter part of 1916, even

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among Russian governmental circles there was talk of transferring to Siberia nearly 250,000 Turkish Armenian immigrants who had sought refuge in the Caucasus, because it was objected that no available lands existed there for them. Russians considered it a settled question that even after the war the Turkish Armenians would not be permitted to return to their own homes. "#14

Below excerpt is taken from Prof. J. McCarthy's briefing in 2005, to Turkish Congress members:

<Some took to boats on the lake, but nearly half of these were killed by rebels firing from the shore or when their boats ran aground. Some of the Moslems of Van survived at least for a while, put in the care of American missionaries. Most who did not escape were killed. Villagers were either killed in their homes or collected from surrounding areas and sent into the great massacre at Zeve. The ensuing suffering of Moslems and Armenians is well-known. It was a history of bloody warfare between peoples in which all died in great numbers. When the Ottomans retook much of the East, the Armenian population fled to Russia. There they starved and died of disease. When the Russians retook Van and Bitlis Provinces, they did not allow the Armenians to return, leaving them to starve in the North. The Russians wanted the land for themselves. It is also well known that Armenians who remained, those in Erzurum Province, massacred Moslems in great numbers at the end of the war.>

"Kurdish tribesmen looted columns of survivors and carried all marriageable girls slung over their saddles.- One or two heroic legends of resistance were born, notably that of the Armenians of Musa Dag, who were saved from a mountaintop siege near modern Iskenderun by the ships of an Allied fleet. The suffering of the other miserable survivors was not over when they reached camps in the blistering heat of Deir ez-Zor, a river town on the Euphrates in the northern Syrian Desert. As in 1890-96, numbers have assumed a symbolic importance. The most comprehensive Turkish official history calculates the number of Armenian dead in the war as 300 000. It gives evidence to show that most were killed in combat, epidemics or by the winter cold. This is not unlikely. When French occupying troops evacuated the Anatolian town of Marash in 1920, half of the 5 000 Armenians who left with them died of cold and hunger. Of more than 580 000 Ottoman soldiers known to have died in World War I, well over half died of disease. But the 300 000 dead is the lowest possible estimate. One independent Turkish historian prefers the figure of 800 000 Armenian dead calculated by the Ottoman War Crimes Tribunal set up by the Allies after World War I. Armenian historians, however, allege that 1 500 000 Armenians died: that is, practically the entire Armenian population of Anatolia. – Nobody seems to know how many Turkish and Kurdish Moslems were slaughtered by the Armenian militia. Some Turkish and Kurdish historians have estimated that between 30 000 – 40 000 Moslem civilians were massacred during the war. Other sources are partial and vague. To add to this confusion of numbers, it

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is not uncommon in Moslem villages in Eastern Turkey to find, with a little prompting, that some people's grandparents were Armenians" #15*

"Faisal's lofty protestations of Arab unity meant little. Lacking any sense of common Syrian identity, their loyalties were mainly parochial – to family, clan, and local potentate, religious, ethnic, social or linguistic group. There was no real political interaction between the two provincial capitals of Damascus and Aleppo, both of which had been administered separately by the Ottomans and the immediate concern of their residents was to recover from the dislocations of war, to get food and work. The two cities were flooded with rural refugees who had fled their famine-stricken districts; Aleppo, in addition, was swamped with Armenians fleeing Ottoman oppression. These wretched people now competed with natives in an already depressed labor market. Tensions ran so high as to trigger massacre of Armenians in early 1919. Nor did Faisal enjoy the support of non-Moslem communities." #16*

On Nov. 26, 1921, Bishop Toregom in Egypt cabled that the French authorities in Syria and British authorities in Palestine, Egypt and Cyprus were refusing to accept the Armenian refugees. The British Government now stated that they could not 'afford' to give the Armenians asylum in British territory. The British Government had made public and repeated promises to the Armenians during the war that they would be delivered from Turkish rule...The government, however, thought otherwise. It believed it was a practical impossibility to accommodate the refugees in Cyprus, Egypt, Mesopotamia and Palestine, and there was no money to defray the very heavy expenses of maintenance." #17*

"But these British authorities were naturally not happy at all that they alone should care for over 50 000 refugees at Bakuba Camp near Baghdad. The Archbishop of Canterbury asked for the 'practical, strong, and substantial aid' of the Americans for sharing responsibilities towards these Eastern Christians and solving their problems." #18*

"On Aug. 11th, 1920, the Arabs of the region had rebelled and had taken control of Bakuba, which, however, later been recaptured by the British. The Armenians had to go to Nahr-Umar camp near Basra and the Assyrians to Mosul. In December, 1920, however, the Armenian Republic in the Caucasus had collapsed. It could not possibly be considered the fault of the refugees that they had remained a burden on the shoulders of the British taxpayer." 19*

"... Colonial Office, responsible for the administration in Mesopotamia, was about to issue to the press a communiqué in which the cessation of the government relief would be announced and justified on the grounds that the recipients were 'lazy and inefficient'. Whatever the wrangle, the Mesopotamia camp was closed by the British Government, not in the summer as planned, but later in 1921. The bulk of the Mesopotamian refugees would be

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transferred to Yerevan, now in Soviet Armenia. However, this was also the time when, following the Franco-Turkish Agreement of Oct. 20th, 1921, thousands of Armenians from Cilicia were seeking asylum." #20*

"On Dec. 21st, 1921, the steamship *Dara* had arrived carrying 3 000 refugees. Northcote also maintained that the Armenian authorities claimed they had consented to accept the refugees at the rate of 1 000 per fortnight. They had been unable to handle as many as 3 000 at once owing to great lack of accommodation in Batumi and the great shortage of railway wagons and engines. Buxton had also visited the countryside. Near Etchmiadzin, he had talked to a group of refugees looking 'starved and miserable' as they shuffled along the frozen road in their 'scanty rags'." #21*

"Now the Ottoman Empire in its turn was on a downward path. The city was crammed with refugees and soldiers from the defeated armies, short of fuel, food and hope. Their fate appeared to depend on the Peace Conference." #22*

"And in the Eastern provinces, in Kars, Ardahan and Batumi, recently evacuated by the Russians, Armenian bands committed to the creation of a greater Armenia were advancing, taking revenge on the Turks for the massacres of Armenians they had perpetrated in World War I." #23*

(Compulsory military service in the Ottoman Army): "Normally three years followed by six years in active army reserve and nine years in the reserve. Some 25 years".#24*

"The humiliation inflicted on the Ottoman 3rd Army at Sarikamish, combined with the expectations of further Russian advances and fears regarding Armenian treachery, led in 1915 to one of the greatest tragedies of World War I, the deportation and massacre of more than 500 000 Armenian inhabitants of the eastern provinces. The precise motivation of the Ottoman Government in ordering the deportations and instigating the massacres to which they gave rise, remains in doubt; but this much is clear. In the early months of the war Armenian groups belonging to Dashnaksutun and Henschak, based in Tbilisi and other towns in the area, organized Armenian volunteer units which it was hoped would assist the Russians in their conquest of the eastern provinces and liberate the Armenian inhabitants of the area. At the same time Armenians living in Zeytun, a town in southeastern Anatolia, who had refused to be conscripted into the Ottoman Army, organized corps of volunteers designed to disrupt Ottoman lines of communication, while Armenians living abroad approached the Entente Powers, with offers to raise a force of some 20 000 men, capable, if properly armed and equipped by the Entente Powers, of instigating an insurrection in Cilicia and securing control of Iskenderun, a strategic port on the Syrian coast. Then in April, 1915, the Armenian inhabitants of Van rose in revolt, with the result that Ottoman forces stationed in the area, convinced that they were facing a widespread Armenian uprising,

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began an indiscriminate massacre of Armenians; and in May, following a second Armenian uprising in Zeytun, the Porte passed a series of deportation laws authorizing the removal of the Armenian population from the Diyarbakır. In the ensuing implementation of the deportation laws, carried by Ottoman gendarmerie units, convicts released from the prison for the purpose, Kurdish tribesmen and according to some accounts, units belonging to the special organization, robbery, rape and murder occurred on an extensive scale...Few of the Armenian columns arrived at their destination; and even those that did were frequently exposed to further starvation and massacre strategic areas and their resettlement in the Euphrates Valley and other areas to the south of the province of. Turkish historians argue that the deportations instituted in 1915, in the midst of the Gallipoli Campaign, which threatened the very survival of the empire were the inevitable consequence of Armenian treachery and rebellion. As for the unfortunate consequence of the policy of deportation, entirely unplanned and unintended, those were merely the outcome of the sickness and exhaustion suffered by the deportees on their long marches, of the attacks launched by marauding gangs of Kurds and other irresponsible elements, beyond government control, and the poverty and deprivation suffered by all inhabitants of the area, Turk as well as Armenian, in that period. Documentary evidence would appear to support the Turkish view. " #25*

"It seems that at first the British Command sanctioned the activities of the republic's Moslem National Council at Kars; they mustered some 8 000 men, armed from the abandoned Russian dumps, claimed authority from Batumi to Nakchievan and actively supported the local Turco-Tatar bands fighting the troops of Armenia along the border. The National Council was apparently determined to keep the province under Turkish influence and to block the repatriation of over 100 000 Armenian refugees who had escaped the Tbilisi and Yerevan provinces during the Ottoman offensive of early 1918. When Captain Clive Temperley attempted to enter Kars with a company of British infantry and a number of Armenian officials to assume his duties as military Governor General of the province, armed Moslems warned him that his party would be fired upon unless the Armenian officials returned. Alexander Khatisian would later tell a British Armenia Committee meeting in London that from the U.S. of America they had received much assistance of a material kind, but political help only from Great Britain." #26*

"And more refugees were pouring in: Russians fleeing the civil war, Armenians searching desperately for safety, and Turks abandoning the Middle East and Europe. By the end of 1919, perhaps as many as 100 000 were sleeping on streets of the city. Local Greeks, intoxicated by the hope of restored Hellenic rule, hung out the blue and white flag of Greece; a giant picture of Venizelos went up in one of the main squares. The Greek patriarch sent aggressive demands to Paris, denouncing the Turks and demanding that Constantinople be made Greek again. The Greeks were, said an English diplomat, 'apt to be uppish'. When the Turkish press was critical of their guests, the Allies took over press

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censorship as well. Some hotheads jostled Turks in the streets and made them remove their fezzes. When Constantinople was officially occupied in March, 1920, it was hard to tell the difference. The sultan's government, as weak and demoralized as its figurehead, did nothing, seeking only to placate the Allies." #27

"Word has recently been received from a few individuals who have reached Aleppo. It is noted that they are all women. Apparently no man arrived there." #28*

"Three times in as many years have masses of these 300 000 people crossed and re-crossed mountains advancing and retreating as Russia threw the Turkish armies back or withdrew before them" #29*

"Relocation of the Armenians:

In the initial stages of the Caucasus operations, the Russians had shown that the best means of organizing a campaign was by evacuating the Armenians from their side of the border to clear the area for battle, with the Armenians going quite willingly in expectation that a Russian victory would soon enable them to return and also occupy the Turkish areas across the border. Enver Pasha followed this example to prepare the Ottoman side, and to resist the expected Russian invasion. The Armenian leaders, in any case, had declared their open support for the enemy, and there was no other alternative. It was impossible to determine which Armenians would remain which would follow the appeals of their leaders. Therefore on April 20th, Enver informed the commander of the Ottoman 3rd Army that some of the Armenian and Greek soldier in the Ottoman service, particularly those employed in labour battalions, were deserting, forming small bands everywhere, resorting to violence against the gendarmerie dispatched to arrest them, and becoming tools for certain political aims in places where large Armenian and Greek communities lived. As the number of desertions was rising, and the number of the gendarmerie in the provinces and districts had declined, the Armenian deserters at large were increasing every day because they could not be captured... Under the circumstances, with the Russians advancing along a wide front in the east, with the Armenian guerrillas spreading death and destruction while simultaneously attacking the Ottoman armies from the rear, and with the Allies invading the empire along wide front, the Ottoman Government had to do something about what it considered to be 'Armenian treachery'. The Ottoman Government had reason to distrust many of the Armenians of Anatolia because of the assistance given by them to the invading Russian armies in 1828, 1854 and 1877." #30

"Nevertheless, even after the Armenian revolt and atrocities in Van, the Ottoman Government made one final attempt to secure the loyalty of Armenians. Summoning to a meeting the Patriarch, some Armenian deputies and other delegates, it warned them that drastic measures would be taken unless the Armenians stopped their atrocities against the Moslems and gave up working to undermine the war effort; but Armenian militant leaders

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saw in this warning the weakness of the Ottoman Government, and intensified their activities to their aspirations... Even the British High Commissioner in Cairo, Sir Henry McMahon admitted in a cipher telegram to the Foreign Office, dated May 12th, 1915, that the Turks were facing considerable trouble from the Armenians, and that latter had risen in several places. 'Any information regarding such a movement would be of value to the Military Authorities here', he remarked. Two days later the Foreign Office replied: 'There has been an Armenian rising, apparently in Van which has been suppressed. But when Lord Bryce asked a question in parliament on Oct. 6th, 1915, about the massacre' of Armenians, Sir Edward Grey denied that there was any 'ground for the suggestion that there has been any rising on the part of the Armenians'; nevertheless the events contradicted him." #31

"These diplomatic interventions appear to have had some success. Bergfeld reported on June 29, that the governor had informed the Porte of his decision to exempt, for the time being, Catholic Armenians, widows, orphans, old men, and pregnant women. Heizer confirmed these exemptions in a dispatch a day later. He noted that, together with his German and Austrian colleagues, he was continuing his efforts on behalf of women and children generally. By July 7, Heizer informed Morgenthau, 5 200 Armenians had been sent away. 'When the parents so desired, the children were left behind and placed in large houses in different parts of the city. There are approximately 3 000 such children, retained in these houses called by the Turks 'Orphanages.' Girls up to 15 years of age inclusive, and boys to 10 years of age inclusive are accepted; those over these ages are compelled to go with their parents.' A survivor has described how he was taken to one of these orphanages and was told by the gendarme guarding the institution not to be afraid. "#32*

"...The Armenian... should be transported to the areas previously determined. The Catholics should be excluded from this relocation measure. Signed: Talat, 23.7.1915. ...

28.7.1915. The laws relative to the liquidation of debts and credit between relocated Armenians and official institutions or private individuals, will be sent to you shortly. In the meantime, enter the particulars in a special register so that cases will not be lost sight of. Signed: Talat, Minister (of the Interior.)

30.7.1915. It is learnt that the private property of relocated Armenians is being sold very cheaply to monopolists of this class of business, thus greatly wronging the proprietors. Consequently, the following measures must be taken..." #33*

"... 30.8.1915. Make special officials accompany the groups of relocated Armenians, and see that they are provided with food and other things that they have need of. Expenses incurred in this respect will be settled from the allocation for the migrants. Signed: Ali Münif for the Minister.

On August, 2nd, Interior Minister Talat informed the provincial governors that Armenian deputies and their families should not be relocated, and that the families of soldiers and officers, as well as military doctors, should be left in the areas where they were

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settled and not to be transported to other areas. Two days later, Talat ordered that the relocation of Armenian officials, workers and other employees working on railways and carrying service documents with them and their families, should be stopped, and their numbers reported to the Interior Ministry.

On August 28, the Ottoman Ministry of the Interior drew up a number of instructions with regard to the relocation of Armenians, which were then sent in confidential dispatches to the various governors responsible for carrying them out, with specific orders that they should use their best efforts and give careful attention to their implementation. Some of the instructions were as follows:

Art. 1 - The convoy of those to be relocated on foot or in carts will be concentrated in the nearest station to their place of departure.

Art. 3 - The families of soldiers, Protestant and Catholics not yet relocated from the places where they have lived for a long time, must be maintained in their places of residence, as well as any manufacturers who are really necessary to the country, and also any workers employed in the factories which produce goods of public utility, or who are employed on railways and in the stations. The families of Armenians in this category will be equally maintained in their locality..." #34*

"Art.13 - Those to be relocated between Eregli and Pozanti must be forced to leave partly by railway and partly in motor cars. Sick people, the indigent, women and children must be sent first by rail, and the others according to their capacity for endurance, either in carts or on mules or on foot. Each convoy must be accompanied by a detachment of guards and the food supply for the convoy must be looked after until the destination is reached" #35*

"Paradoxically, a secret telegram which the Viceroy of India sent to the India Office on Oct. 27th, 1915 does not refer to any 'massacres'. The telegram was as follows:

1 500 Armenian women and children recently arrived at Mosul from Van and are said to have been given subsistence allowance of two annas per diem by the Turkish Government. Armenians have been deported from Baghdad to Deir-ez-Zor by Nuruddin (Nurettin). The general policy seems to be to exile the Armenians to places as far removed as possible from any of the theaters of war and so prevent their aiding the Allies by revolution or leakage of intelligence. To this end, they are moved eastwards from the Aleppo area and northwards from Baghdad..." #36

"The following day (May 27th) the Provisional Law of Relocations, enabling the military authorities to implement the necessary measures connected with those who disobey (oppose) government action during war was passed. It did not mention the Armenians by name. It was provisional because parliament was not in session. It was discussed at the

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Council of Ministers on May 30 and approved. It was also sanctioned by parliament after Sept. 15th." #37

"In the wake of the enactment of the above legislation there followed a long correspondence about complaints regarding the evacuated Armenians and about the attempts of the government to remedy any arising problems, especially with regard to the protection of the Armenians against bandits. The government also spent 25 millions piastres in 1915, 80 millions in 1916 and 150 millions piaster in 1917 in order to defray evacuation expenses. The total number of those evacuated by the end of 1916, according to Turkish sources, was about 700 000. It should be mentioned, however, that Greeks and Moslems, too, were evacuated for similar considerations, in accordance with the Law of Relocations." #38*

"... The Ottoman Government, in reply, denied these allegations, and pointed out that the Armenians in Erzurum, Tercan, Egin, Sassun, Bitlis, Mush and Cilicia were not relocated as they had acted properly. In Istanbul, out of a population of 77 735 Armenians, only 235 were relocated. The Ottoman Government then declared that the Armenians were actually provoked to rebellion by the Entente Powers, particularly by Russia and Britain. The Ottoman Government had only quelled the Armenian rebellion, without any massacres. While the British and the French Navy commanders were bombarding the hospitals at Gallipoli, and the Russian Government was provoking the Armenians to massacre the law-abiding Moslems in the Kars province and exterminating the Turkish prisoners of war in the Caucasus, 'is it not strange for the Governments of Russia, Britain and France to talk about humanity?' They asked, and went on: 'Britain, France and Russia have not only organized the Armenian rebellion in Turkey, they also tried to provoke the Moslems to rise in rebellion against the Ottoman Sultanate. Those responsible for the incidents are the Entente Powers'..." #39

"...The government set up commissions to deal fairly with Armenian properties, and bring to justice those who committed excesses. It then emphasized:

The removal of the Armenians from certain regions to others was a measure dictated by imperative military necessity. No coercive measures were taken by the imperial Government against the Armenians until June, 1915, by which time they had risen in arms at Van, and in other military zones. This was after they had joined hands with the enemy." #40

"When Turkish Armenia was almost wholly emptied of its Armenian inhabitants, due to these successive retreats, the Russian government raised all sorts of barriers before the refugees to prevent them from returning to their former homes when the Russian army recaptured the Armenian vilayets. For example, in 1916-1917, scarcely 8,000 to 10,000 Armenians were permitted to go back and inhabit the region of Van; the rest were compelled

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to stay within the borders of the Caucasus as refugees. Toward the latter part of 1916, even among Russian governmental circles there was talk of transferring to Siberia nearly 250,000 Turkish Armenian immigrants who had sought refuge in the Caucasus, because it was objected that no available lands existed there for them. Russians considered it a settled question that even after the war the Turkish Armenians would not be permitted, to return to their own homes. "#41*

" While the Russians were preventing the Turkish Armenian immigrants from returning to their own lands, they, in the spring of 1916, commenced to organize in Turkish Armenia colonies of Cossacks.

...In the month of July, 1915, the Armenian inhabitants of Erzerum, nearly 25,000 in number, were likewise deported by the Turkish government, leaving all their real and personal property at the disposal of the Turks. The governor of the place, Tahsin Bey, arranged a scheme by means of which every Armenian before leaving the city, could store his goods and household furniture (with the name of the owner on each article) in the cathedral, with the apparent purpose of returning them to their owners after the war, but with the real purpose of preventing so much riches from falling into the hands of the Turkish mob, in order to appropriate them later for the government. The cathedral of Erzerum was packed with the goods of the exiled Armenians when the Russians captured the city in February, '1916. Ordinary human decency demanded that the Russians should not have touched the articles stored in that sacred edifice, especially as they belonged to the very martyred people whose professed sympathies for them (the Russians) were the cause of their being exiled to the deserts of Mesopotamia. But the fact is that the commander of the Russian army, General Kaledine himself, set the example of desecration; he personally entered the cathedral first and selected for himself a few car-loads of rugs and sundry valuable articles. Then the other officers of the Russian army followed his example, and in a few days half of the contents of the church was already pillaged before the representative of the Armenian Committee. Mr. Rostom, after repeated telegrams, was able to receive an order from Tiflis to stop the plunder. "#42*

"They gave the greater part of the Armenian territories to the other two nations, and the remainder was claimed by Turkey, with the exception of 32,000 square kilometers (about 12,350 square miles), with 700 000 Armenian inhabitants, which were left to the Republic of Ararat. According to these terms only one-third of the Armenians of the Caucasus are included within the Republic of Ararat, while the remaining 1 400 000 Armenians are left in territories allotted to the Tartars or the Georgians.

... and only early in September succeeded in shattering the Turkish lines and thereby reached the city of Hamadan in Persia, where they entrusted to the care of the British forces the protection of about 40 000 Armenian and Assyrian refugees." #43

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"The End of the Deportations:

The deportation of the Armenian community did not end at a definite date. Beginning in late August, 1915 the government repeatedly issued orders that no further Armenians were to be deported; but these orders apparently were seldom obeyed, thus necessitating the promulgation of further such decrees. The same holds true for the various exemptions granted to Protestant and Catholic Armenians as well as to the families of soldiers, doctors, and other important professions and crafts. Here, too, we know that these decrees were frequently ignored." #44*

"... Those who survived the death march were put to work on the construction of the Baghdad Railway; but they were too weak to do any real work, and the dying continued. Eventually those still alive were sent to a POW camp...Survivors later testified that there had been some brutality by the guards, but there also were cases where Turkish soldiers shared their meager ration with the captives. The guards, a British officer recalled, were not cruel or even hostile. For the most part, the prisoners died as a result of sheer neglect, incompetence, and mismanagement. Of the British rank and file, who were held in captivity, 70% lost their lives; yet all this occurred without my plan to murder the prisoners." #45

"... Zürcher, who in 1984 had discussed the SO (*Special Organization*) without any reference to Armenian deportation, in 1997 referred to 'indication' that an inner circle within the CUP leadership, under the direction of Talat Pasha, had pursued a policy of extermination and had used the relocation as a cloak for this policy..." #46*

"The Turkish Position:

The relocation of the Armenians, it is argued in this literature, was an emergency measure made necessary by the treasonable activities of the Armenian revolutionaries who organized a full-scale rebellion behind the Turkish lines. Unable to tell who was and who was not in league with the enemy, the Ottoman Government had no choice but to remove the entire Armenian community to a new location in the interior of the country. This removal was relocation and not deportation, they insist, since the destinations in Syria and Mesopotamia were part of the Ottoman Empire. During this relocation, most Turkish authors concede, unfortunate excesses took place and many Armenians lost their life. However, the government did its best to prevent these killings and punished those who could be found responsible for them. There were no large-scale massacres; moreover, many Moslems, too, died as a result of what, in effect, were a civil war within a global war." #47

"...it is fair to state that most (though not all) Armenians privately hoped for Turkish defeat and the end of Turkish domination." #48

"An Equally Tragic Sequel on the Southern Front:

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The murderous Armenian uprisings of Mush and Van in 1915 had amounted to the opening of another front against the Ottomans within the borders of the Empire. Under these circumstances, the Ottoman Government had seen it necessary to protect the threatened part of Anatolia by moving the Armenians elsewhere. Several hundred thousand Armenians ended up in Syria.

Almost as soon as the Armistice of Mudros was concluded, these people started streaming back to their original homes. Their intention now, was to establish a new Cilician-Armenian state, but in the region where they wanted to have this state they were just as much a minority now, after the war, as they had been before it... Since it is not possible to go into the events of this secondary theater of war in more detail, a description of a single episode will have to suffice. This episode illustrates the dimensions of a campaign that was supposed to 'recall the tradition of the Crusades' (and unfortunately did so): "#49

"Moslems and Christians, wrote the British military attaché in Constantinople in a book published in 1925, 'showed themselves equally villainous in their bestialities. Whichever side got on top massacred the other.' Taken together with what we know about events in the city of Van, and the conduct of the Armenian Legion in Cilicia, these reports make it likely that at least some of the Turkish charges are true... Two large waves of Moslem refugees generated by the Russian advances into eastern Anatolia in the winter of 1914-15 and the summer of 1916 are another indication of the prevalence of Armenian atrocities. An Ottoman commission on refugees reported that more than 850.000 Moslems had to flee their homes in order to escape the fury of the conqueror. These were the officially registered refugees, and the total number may have been more than 1 000 000.

German Staff Officer Guse writes that those who failed to flee were frequently abused and killed by the Russians and Armenians...Many of the refugees had to travel large distances on foot, and the mortality from starvation and disease was high. A Turkish report on the resettlement of refugees from the war zone claims that by the end of October, 1916 as many as 702.900 refugees had been 'resettled, fed, and given medical care as well as clothes'.

Only a few provinces provided real care in most places the refugees were simply abandoned to their fate. This crisis was a repeat performance of the failure of resettlement of refugees from Tripoli and the Balkans in 1914.

According to observers on the scene, the fate of the refugees was nothing short of catastrophic. The Austrian consul in Samsun reported on April 7th, 1917, that the lot of the refugees was going from bad to worse. The distribution of bread had ceased weeks ago; and cases of death by starvation, especially among women and children, were becoming ever more frequent. The American missionary Henry Riggs in Harput described the miserable condition of the refugees, who had been put into the houses still left standing after the deported Armenians had abandoned them:" #50

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"Crowding was beyond all reason, and yet it was impossible to find place for all without crowding them into small quarters. In some of the houses, which were designed for a single family, there were as many as 50 or 60 people, and at night, the floor was literally covered with prostrate people trying to get a little sleep. Lying on the floor close together with only covering enough of one blanket for half a dozen people, and often not even that, it is not to be wondered at that disease became terribly prevalent. Hunger and privation had weakened the people, and herded together as they were, epidemic swept through them and carried off many.

Other missionaries report similar conditions. Grace Knapp in Bitlis observed that 'hundreds of the fleeing Moslem civilians died from illness and exposure.' Ernst Christoffel in Malatia took note of the efforts of the Turkish authorities to feed the refugees but concluded that there not enough food and that 'thousands perished on the way.' The German Consul in Sivas, Carl Werth, returning from a journey to Erzurum and Erzincan, reported that most of the refugees, fleeing from the Armenians who robbed and massacred them, died on the roads of hunger and cold. McCarthy's estimate that more than half of those who survived the first battles and massacres must have become refugees. Judged on the basis of the general wartime mortality of the Ottoman eastern provinces, more than half of the internal refugees in eastern Anatolia must have died...Armenian authors have ignored or denied the allegation of atrocities. They have also taken strong exception to the Turkish argument that the conflict in Anatolia was a civil war in which the Moslem population suffered a larger number of deaths than the relocated Armenians." #51*

"However, as we have seen earlier, the Turkish-Armenians were able to field large numbers of fighters from their own ranks; and on the Caucasian Front they had the support of thousands of Russian-Armenians, both regular troops and volunteer detachments. These well-armed Armenian units were strong enough to keep large numbers of Turkish troops tied down. Fighting here was fierce and protracted, and many innocent Moslems died...Some of the Armenians who perished during those years died as a result of battling their Turkish enemy in inter-communal fighting. But many others lost their lives as a result of the deportations and the massacres that accompanied this forcible dislocation of the Armenian community," #52

"...come from Enver Pasha, the acting commander-in-chief of the army, who on May 2nd proposed to the minister of the interior that in view of the continuing revolutionary activities around Lake Van 'this population should be removed from this area and that this nest of rebellion be broken up.' He made a suggestion to expel the Armenians in question to Russia, or to relocate them and their families in other regions of Anatolia.' The formal decision to extend the deportations to the larger Armenian community apparently was made on May 26th, even though orders to this effect were sent out by Talat already on May 23rd". #53

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"On May 30th, the cabinet approved a set of 15 regulations for the implementation of the deportation law. Local administrators were given the responsibility to arrange for the transportation of the deportees

(Art.1) The Armenians to be transferred had the right to take along their movable properties and animals

(Art.2). Local administration en route were to protect the 'lives and properties of Armenians to be transferred' to their new settlements and to provide 'board and lodging' during the journey

(Art.3). The Armenians were to be settled in locations designated by the government. 'Due attention will be paid to establishing the villages in places which suit public health conditions, agriculture and construction'

(Art.4). The new villages and towns were to be 'at least 25 km. away from the Baghdad Railroad and from other railroad links'

(Art.6). Other articles of the decree dealt with the financing of the resettlement, the allocation and distribution of land as well as tools and instruments, arrangements for boarding and housing, and the like...Turkish and pro-Turkish Western historians such as Stanford Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw have cited these regulations as proof of the benevolent intentions of the Ottoman Government. Neither in the decree of May 30th nor in any other such orders, writes Salahi Sonyel, 'is there any mention of 'massacre' or 'genocide'; on the contrary, in every one of them strict instructions are given that the Armenians should be taken to their destination and allowed to set up new abodes there'. The documents 'include strict and explicit rules about the safeguarding of the life and property of the relocated Armenians.' According to Mim Kemal Oke, 'When the CUP Government decided to transport Armenians from the Russian border to the interior of the country, it took certain measures to ensure the safety of the lives and property of the emigrants. The infirm, women and children were to be sent by rail, and others on mules or on foot. They had to be provided with food and medicines. Special registers were kept on the debts and credits of the relocated Armenians.' As the Turkish Foreign Policy Institute has put it, 'great care was taken to make certain that the Armenians were treated carefully and compassionately as they were deported.'...Unfortunately, published decrees are not self-executing. The regulations of May 30th and June 10th gave the deportation law a modicum of fairness, but hardly any of these rules were implemented; and the actual course of the deportations and resettlement bore little resemblance to the procedures outlined in the law..." #54*

"Many German consular officials attempted to alleviate the harsh treatment of the deportees, and the German Government even provided funds to German missionaries for their relief efforts. In order not to endanger the military alliance with Turkey, all of these interventions were carried out without publicity. To do more was seen as jeopardizing Germany's southeastern flank and risking German lives...The deportations, he wrote, were 'not a purely Turkish solution' but were proposed and demanded by German officers, who considered them necessary irrespective of their consequences. At least one such officer,

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Lt. Col. Otto von Feldmann, is quoted as acknowledging that he and others at times were forced to advise that 'certain areas to the rear of the Turkish Army be cleared of Armenians.' Such advice, it is important to note, did not involve the deportation of the entire Armenian community..." #55

"... As a result of prodding by the German ambassador and other diplomats, on June 9th the government had given orders that 'the transfer of those working for the military, as well as helpless women, be postponed.' On July 11, Scheubner-Richter confirmed that the governor was adhering to this policy. But little more than two weeks later, on July 28th, the German consul reported that the commander of the Turkish 3rd Army, Gen. Mahmud Kamil Pasha had given orders for the deportation of all remaining Armenians in the city. Women and the infirm were asked to surrender their previously issued permissions to stay and were driven out on the roads, 'facing a sure death'. The governor, he wrote, was powerless to prevent these harsh actions... An unknown number of Protestant and Catholic Armenians were able to remain in Erzurum even after July 28, indicating that the governor was not always the loser in this contest. American Consul Heizer, who visited the city on August, 17th, was told by the governor that 'he had received instructions from Constantinople to allow the Protestants and Catholics to remain where they were for the present'... The most informative account is by the President of Euphrates College, Henry H. Riggs, who was born in Turkey and was fluent in both Turkish and Armenian. We also have reports by the U.S. Consul in Harput, Leslie A. Davis, a career foreign service officer who had arrived here in 1914." #56

"Riggs noted that there was 'some variety in the experiences of the various parties' that reached Harput. Some reported that 'their guards had actually taken good care of them, even providing food as well as protection, of course in exchange for heavy payments of money.' Some of the convoys from Erzurum and Erzincan, in particular, 'arrived in Harput in comparative safety, a large percentage of men being among them.' Other parties, however, had very different experiences: ..." #57

"Suspect peoples were moved from other potential combat zones: the Armenian population in Cilicia, which was canvassed as the tart of an Entente amphibious operation, and the Greeks along the Bosphorus were also deported. The Turkish Army was engaged in a desperate defensive battle on three fronts. Ostensibly, it had the strategic advantage of interior lines. Its enemies were approaching from different points of the circumference, were a long way from their home bases, and were having to operate on sea lines of communication. The Turks, by contrast, could move troops and supplies along the chords within the circle. But such logic assumed that the Ottomans had a satisfactory system of internal transport. It did not. The Berlin-to-Baghdad railway was not complete. It had still to cross the Taurus and Amanus mountains in southern Anatolia, and the track from Aleppo to Baghdad had barely been begun. The Mesopotamian front was even more isolated than

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Caucasia, and insurrection anywhere in the interior could only result in the collapse of the entire system. Desperate situations called for desperate responses." #58

"Armenians living in the Arab provinces of the Turkish Empire were spared deportation... The notion of a solid 'Turkish block' also fits into the Pan-Turanism ideology, which had considerable attraction for the Young Turk leaders... Finally, the deportation of the Armenian community helped solve the problem of relocating the large number of Moslem refugees from the lost Turkish provinces in the Balkans and Tripoli as well as the new wave of refugees from the battle zone in the Caucasus. The Austrian military-attaché Pomiankowski was told by Grand Vizier Said Halim Pasha in August, 1915 that, in addition to security concerns, the deportations had been carried out in order to take care of the Moslem refugees" #59

"When the deportations from Erzurum proper got underway about two weeks later, the situation had improved somewhat. The first group of about 500 deportees, Scheubner-Richter wrote, lost 14 persons. At his suggestion, the second group had been accompanied by 100 gendarmes. Still, part of the group, especially men, had been separated and were feared killed. The remaining Armenians from Erzurum were deported in several convoys, reached Erzincan safely. A German Red Cross physician in Erzincan, Dr. Neukirch, confirmed that the most recent later deportees from Erzurum looked far better than earlier groups. They were accompanied by a large number of gendarmes under the command of officers, and the exiles had large ox-carts with their belongings and even cattle. During the first weeks of the deportations, there had been serious abuses, but now the program proceeded 'in a relatively orderly manner according to oriental conditions.' There had been no new massacres." #60*

"Heizer, also described the governor as 'a very reasonable man.' On a visit to Erzurum, the governor told him that 'in carrying out the orders to expel the Armenians from Erzurum he had used his best endeavors to protect them on the road and had given them 15 days to dispose of their goods and make arrangements to leave. They were not prohibited from selling or dispensing of their property and some families went with five or more ox carts loaded with their household goods and provisions. The Missionaries confirm this.' Scheubner-Richter, too, spoke well of the Turkish governor. The governor had made efforts to protect the Armenians, had provided ox-carts to needy families and for families without males had arranged the discharge of men from the labor battalions so that they could accompany their families..." #61*

"According to the Austrian military-attaché Joseph Pomiankowski, Cemal Pasha condemned both the deportations and massacres. This is correct insofar as the decision to send the Armenians into the Syrian Desert is concerned. Cemal wrote that he was furious at the use of the Baghdad Railway, which interfered with the shipment of troops and supplies

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for the attack on Egypt. 'I considered it more expedient to settle the Armenians in the interior of the provinces of Konya, Ankara and Kastamonu. 'When his views were overruled, Cemal did his best to direct the deportees to Syria and Lebanon. He was convinced that the deportation to Mesopotamia was bound to cause great distress; and he therefore thought it better 'to bring a large number of them into the Syrian provinces of Beirut and Aleppo; I succeeded in obtaining the desired permission after I had made vigorous representations to Constantinople. In this way I was actually able to bring nearly 150 000 Armenians to these provinces.' Cemal Pasha's efforts to this effect and other improvements in the lot of the deported Armenians, achieved by the viceroy are confirmed by German Ambassador Poul von Wolff-Metternich, who calls Cemal one of those Turks ashamed at the way in which the deportations had been carried out. Cemal Pasha's interventions on behalf of the Armenians are said to have earned him the nickname 'Pasha of Armenia.'

The plight of the Armenians also arose in connection with Cemal Pasha's offer in December, 1915 to march on Constantinople and overthrow the Ottoman Government. The documentary record does not reveal all of the events in this affair, one of the more bizarre episodes of World War I, but we do know that Cemal used Dashnak officials to contact the Russians and British and propose a separate peace. The offer envisaged an independent Asiatic Turkey governed by Cemal Pasha as sultan and consisting of several autonomous provinces, one of them being Armenia. He also promised to take immediate steps to protect and feed the Armenians. Russia, which was to get control over Constantinople and the Dardanelles, was sympathetic to the proposal, but France rejected it. The French had their own territorial ambitions in the Middle East, which they were unwilling to forego...The outbreak of war strained relations between Moslems and Armenians in Urfa. The Christians made no secret of its hopes for a victory of the Allies. Large numbers of Armenian conscripts deserted. By April, 1915, the authorities had started searches in Armenian homes for weapons and seditious literature, and the first arrests had taken place. The fall of Van in mid-May led to threats against the Armenian community." #62*

"Some of the deportees did reach their places of resettlement in eastern Syria; others found refuge in Aleppo. Davis reports that in the fall of 1915, communications were being received from those exiles that had arrived at different places. Some had left money with the missionaries, some with Armenians who had been exempted from deportation, some with Turks, and one or two with me. They now sent for their deposits, and during the next year we received many telegrams and letters asking for them...These telegrams came every day or two for a while, some of them asking for the deposits of as many as 10 or 15 different persons..." #63*

"... Due to the large increase in prices and the general shortage of food, Maria Jacobsen noted in her diary on Jan. 7, 1917 that there is 'a steady stream of new arrivals whom up to now have been living in either Turkish or Kurdish villages or Turkish homes. Now that living costs are so high, they are being sent away without anything, so they come

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to us'. In a letter dated June 21, 1917, and published in a German missionary journal, Ehmann gave a figure of 7 000 Armenians living in Harput and Mezreh. Riggs attributed the improved situation in part to a new military governor, 'a man of remarkable refinement and a man of kindly and sympathetic temperament.' Something like 25 000 widows and orphans, Riggs estimated, were now living in the province. The German mission in Harput, headed by Ehmann, alone took care of about 700 orphans." #64

"... According to Ruth Parmelee, 'Turkish authorities knew about these flights and very likely received bribes to close their eyes to it all'. Armenian survivor Alice Shipley describes how she left Harput on August, 2nd, 1916, guided by three Kurds and, fleeing through the Caucasus, eventually reached England." #65

"Another way of escaping deportation was to renounce Christianity and to accept Islam. 'Whole families turned Moslem,' writes the American missionary Isabelle Harley. 'Some mothers sacrificed one or two daughters to Moslem husbands in order to save themselves and the rest of their children. In some cases it succeeded and in other cases it did not.' The Turks resorted to pressure and incentives to obtain Armenian women. Maria Jacobsen relates how they told them: 'If you are sent away, you will be attacked on the road by the Kurds, who will rob you of everything. You will lose your children, and you will be either captured or killed yourselves. For your children's sake—surrender here.' With all this talk there is many a mother who cannot resist. Some of the women and girls who thus entered Turkish families were treated fairly well; others suffered greatly. The total number of conversions and adoptions is not known. It is said to have been high. The last deportation from the province of Mamouret-ul-Aziz took place in November, of 1915. Thereafter the Armenian population began to increase again. Large numbers of deported Armenians managed to escape from the convoys, and by the spring of 1916, American missionaries at Harput were giving out bread rations to about 5 000 people..." #66*

"As mentioned earlier, Talat had issued orders in mid-August to the provincial authorities, including those in Adana, to exempt families of soldiers, artisans, and Catholic and Protestant Armenians..." #67

"... During the week beginning Sept. 19th, Nathan informed Morgenthau, the population of Adana became extremely agitated over reports that an Allied landing was imminent. There was talk of burning Adana, and thousands of Moslems and their families abandoned the city for the interior: " #68

"The total Armenian population in the sancak (district) of Marash was about 30 000. The deportation decree of May 23rd, 1915, provided for the relocation of the Armenians in the villages of the district but exempted those in the capital city. During the month of April, there were house to house searches for weapons in the city of Marash, and by May 12th

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about 200 heads of prominent families had been arrested. On June 14th, Rev. John E. Merrill (president of Central Turkey College in Antep, who had visited Marash) reported to the American consul in Aleppo that so far only seven or eight men had been deported. The governor, who had a good reputation, had assured him that nobody would be deported without specific charges against him...Little information is available about events during the following months. It appears that the issue of the Protestant Armenians also caused confusion in Marash. According to a message from Consul Rössler in Aleppo to the German ambassador dated August, 28th, the Protestants first had been sent away, but after an intervention by the minister of the interior were allowed to return to Marash! ... A major crisis was precipitated in the spring of 1916 after the arrest of several Armenians who were found to be in possession of new English weapons. Their interrogation led to the discovery of an arms depot in Aleppo. Cemal Pasha thereupon commanded the deportation of all of the remaining Armenians in Marash, though the execution of this order appears to have been limited to 120 families. Additional groups of families were exiled during the rest of 1916, yet a sizable number of Armenians were able to stay in Marash until the end of the war. Survivor Krikor Kaloustian told the American relief worker Stanley Kerr that '6 000 Armenians remained unmolested in the city throughout the war.' Levon G. Bilezkian gives the figure of 8 000 who 'were allowed to stay in the city for one reason or another.' Some were important craftsmen, like his father, who made uniforms for the Turkish military. A German study published in 1989 speaks of 6 000 who stayed in Marash. ...The Baghdad Railway Route: The railroad had only one track, however, so the trains made up of overcrowded cattle cars filled with deportees had to compete with the transport of troops and war supplies..." #69

"According to the deportation orders of May, 1915 the Armenians were to be settled in the southern parts of the province of Mosul, the district of Urfa (with the exception of the provincial capital), and the district of Zor. Most of these destinations were in the eastern part of Syria. Local officials were instructed to protect the lives and property of the deportees passing through and to provide them food and shelter. Once they arrived in the resettlement areas, the Armenians were to be 'relocated in accordance with local existing conditions, either in houses which they will build in existing towns and villages, or in newly established villages, which will be located in areas to be determined by the government'. According to the implementing regulations approved on May 30, attention was to be paid 'to establishing the villages in places which will suit public health conditions, agriculture and construction.' When needed, the government was to provide funds for the construction of houses, operating capital, and tools for those engaged in agriculture and crafts. Each family to be resettled will be allocated appropriate land, taking into account their previous economic conditions and their present needs.' Unfortunately, hardly any of these fair sounding provisions for resettlement were implemented. The majority of the deportees ended up in inhospitable areas and hardly any of them received help to start a new life of self-

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sufficiency. An uncounted number of the exiles never reached their destination in the resettlement zones and perished of starvation or disease or were killed on the way ..." #70*

"They also probably were in better condition on arrival because they did not have to get there on foot. The first transports of Armenians arrived in early-July, 1915. Beginning in late-October, for a time, groups of exiles arrived from Aleppo every day, and by February, 1916, the Armenian population of Ras-ul-Ain was estimated to be about 20 000...According to a survivor, most of the time, the guards left the camp inmates alone, and those with money could go out and buy food in the marketplace. Others had to depend on an erratic distribution of bread that was never sufficient to meet all needs. A German engineer reported a 'flourishing trade in girls' conducted by the gendarmes. For an appropriate sum of money it was possible to acquire girls or women for a limited time or for keeps. Sanitary conditions were extremely poor, and soon dysentery and typhus were taking their toll. A German officer noted that hundreds were dying daily...A German missionary who visited Ras-ul-Ain in June 1917 found only a handful of impoverished Armenian women and children and two craftsmen. He thought that the motive for the killings had been greed. The huts of the Circassians, he reported, were crammed with the possessions of the murdered Armenians..." #71

"The Route of Horrors:

The largest concentration of deported and resettled Armenians was in Der-el-Zor, about 270 miles southeast of Aleppo. Some exiles reached Der-el-Zor by boat on the Euphrates, but most of the deportees got there by means of a long and difficult trek on foot through the Syrian Desert. The German consular official Wilhelm Litten, going from Baghdad to Aleppo, traveled this route in January, - February, 1916 and in his report to Rössler called it 'The Route of Horrors.'...

...Weakened by hunger, disease, and pain, Litten wrote, the laggards among the exiles staggered on. Those who failed to catch up risked their life: the way stations with water were about 40 miles apart, and many of the deportees did not have enough food or water to last even the three days of walking that it took to get from one station to the next. At some stations, no food was available at all. Those able to survive the trek through the desert, Litten predicted, would die later because of the shortage of food and the spread of typhus.

...He observed women searching in the dung of horses for undigested barley seeds on which they fed. When he gave them some bread, they stuffed it voraciously into their mouths amid hiccups and epileptic trembling. What he had seen and heard, Bernau wrote, 'surpasses all imagination. Speaking of a 1001 horrors' is very little in this case. Bernau estimated that there were about 15 000 deportees in these transit camps, who, 'ill-treated by the authorities, put in an impossible position to provide for their food, are gradually dying of hunger.' Unless substantial relief funds reached these exiles, he concluded, 'these unfortunate people are doomed.'

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...An emissary of Sister Rohner, sent to the encampments along the Euphrates to distribute money, returned from there on June 20th and reported seeing 3 500 deportees and more than 100 orphans. A few had found work as bakers, coachmen, and so forth, but most of the exiles were forced to beg, since the government did not distribute any food. Every tent contained sick and dying persons. Those who did not manage to obtain any bread through begging lived on grass, which they cooked and ate...

These are but living phantoms. Their superintendents distribute to them sparingly and very irregularly a piece of bread. Sometimes three or four days pass when these famished people who have nothing to eat but this piece of bread, receive absolutely nothing. Dysentery makes numerous victims among them, especially among the children. The latter fall ravenously upon all that come under their hands, they eat herbs, earth and even their excrement. I saw, under a tent of five or six square meters, about 450 orphans pele-mele in dirt and vermin." #72*

"Poor children receive 150 grams of bread a day, sometimes and this is more often the case, they remain two days without eating anything... Bernau related that, according to information he had been able to obtain in Meskene, 'nearly 60 000 Armenians are buried there, carried off by hunger, by deprivations of all sorts, by intestinal diseases and typhus which is the result... Rössler reported to Berlin that an emissary of the American consulate (who had just returned from a trip undertaken for the purpose of distributing money) had informed him of the most recent conditions in the camps along the Euphrates. Some of the deportees were now being used for the purpose of building roads, bridges, and houses." #73*

"... On Feb. 4, 1917, Talat Pasha was elevated to the post of grand vizier. In a declaration before parliament some days later, the new head of government affirmed the equality of all nationalities in the Ottoman State, a formula that was seen as a repudiation of the extremist wing of the CUP. In a personal talk with the German ambassador, Richard Von Kühlmann, Talat confirmed that he intended to steer a new course regarding the non-Turkish nationalities. He had met with the Catholic and Gregorian patriarchs and had assured them that the legal rights of the Armenian population would not be infringed upon." #74*

"Unfortunately and not surprisingly, the ability of the central government to influence events in the provinces remained limited. At a time of increasingly grave shortages of food and other essential commodities, the lot of the surviving Armenians continued to be dismal. In many places pressure to convert persisted. But the deportations for all practical purposes had finally come to an end, and there was even talk of an amnesty that would allow the deportees to return to their homes. Before these measures could be realized Turkey suffered decisive military defeats and had to sign an Armistice. Many Armenians now drifted back to their old communities, only to find their houses either plundered or occupied by

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Moslem refugees and face starvation. At the end of the war even the capital, which throughout the war had enjoyed relatively good supplies of food, experienced near-famine conditions. An American who lived in Constantinople reports that the misery of the people was unconcealed, and people were collapsing in the streets. The deportations had exacted a huge death toll, and the once flourishing Armenian community in Turkey had ceased to exist. "#75

"The treatment of the Armenian soldier-laborers was harsh. At a time of general food shortages, the provisioning of the Armenians had low priority. A survivor recalls working 12-hour days with little food. A Jewish doctor, who treated Armenians sent to the Sinai Desert to build roads and railway tracks, noted their high mortality. 'Without clothing, poor supplies or no supplies at all, limited food, without proper sanitary conditions, all this quickly decimated some battalions by 30%. There were days in which tens and even hundreds would die in a single day. A typhus epidemic ravaged them. By the end of March, 1916 there was, in effect, no longer a single labor battalion in the desert.' According to an official German source, the labor battalions in the Beersheba Desert were the worst hit by the typhus epidemic. The Latin American mercenary Nogales reports that the Turkish officers stole the rations and lived in grand style, while their laborers died of starvation and disease. There was pressure to convert, and those who hesitated were threatened with deportation..." #76

"Numbers of Armenian males,' writes Erickson, 'remained alive as the Turkish Army continued to use Armenian manpower in its labor battalions until the end of the war.' The Swiss missionary Künzler speaks of several hundred Armenian soldiers returning to Urfa after the Armistice, and these may have been members of labor battalions. According to Sarkis Atamian, large numbers of Armenians escaped service in the labor battalions, joined guerrilla forces, and engaged in numerous skirmishes and battles with the Turks. The Baghdad Railway employed about 800 skilled Armenians, while more than 8 000 Armenians in labor battalions were used in construction work, especially in the completion of the tunnels. The men were housed in tents and primitive huts. Food was of poor quality and was distributed irregularly. Because large numbers of infected persons passed along the railway route, workers suffered a high rate of disease, especially typhus...For more than a year the railway workers were exempt from deportation; but in June, 1916, local officials in Adana, under the pressure of a rabid anti-Armenian CUP branch, ordered the deportation of thousands of Armenian railroad workers and their families. Interior Minister Talat reaffirmed the exemption order on August 4, but the local officials disregarded it. The tug of war over the fate of the Armenian workers continued until the end of the war. The German engineers directing the construction sought to keep their workers, and they were supported by the directors of the railway company. Humanitarian considerations also played a role." #77

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"The important role played by local CUP branches was already apparent before the outbreak of war. In a dispatch of Feb. 25th, 1914, German Consul in Trabzon, Dr. Heinrich Bergfeld, noted that every official sought first of all to find out what the local CUP committee thought. If the wishes of these men contradicted orders received from the central government, then these orders were disregarded... About a year later, a dispatch by an American embassy official similarly noted the destructive role of the local CUP organizations, which carried out deportations without instructions from the central government and excused these activities as measures of local necessity." #78

"...For one thing, the size of the Armenian community in 1914 was itself controversial. More importantly, the number of Armenians who survived the tribulations of the war period can also be fixed only approximately, and there is no way of separating the number of Armenians who died as a result of starvation or disease from those who were killed. The Moslem population also suffered a very large death toll from famine and epidemics; a certain number of Armenians therefore undoubtedly would have died from these same causes even if they had not been deported. Still, it is probably safe to conclude that as a result of being removed from their homes the number of Armenians who lost their life was far higher than it otherwise would have been. We know that many of the deportees perished as a direct result of the deprivations incurred during the long marches through inhospitable terrain and due to the terrible conditions in many of the settlement sites...Finally, an undeterminable number of Armenians lost their lives as a result of the guerrilla war waged by Armenian revolutionaries. Some of this fighting may be considered a defensive reaction to the threat of deportation. Other armed engagements, however, especially in the eastern provinces of Anatolia, were offensive in nature, designed to help the Russian invaders. It is therefore not obvious that the losses incurred in this warfare should be included in a tabulation of Armenian victims of the Young Turk regime. While we can arrive at an estimate of the total Armenian death toll, probably a very high percentage of the resultant figure -but clearly not all of it- is due to deliberate Turkish malfeasance." #79

"Conditions were somewhat better in Rakka, a town on the left bank of the Euphrates, in which a sizable number of Armenians were allowed to stay and which therefore can be considered a place of resettlement. In February, 1916, some 10 000 Armenians were said to be living in Rakka and the surrounding villages. Some Armenian artisans were able to open shops in the town; an Armenian baker even provided bread to the military garrison in the town. Bernau reported in Sept. 1916 that '5 000 - 6 000 Armenians mostly women and children, are scattered in different quarters of the town, and live in groups of 50 - 60 in houses which the kindness of the governor has procured for the most poor.' Armenian women and children could be seen begging in the streets. On the right bank of the Euphrates, opposite Rakka, was a transit camp of some 1 000 deportees who lived in tents and were famished...By February 1917 the situation of the exiles in Rakka had seriously deteriorated. Bernau, who once again had visited Rakka to distribute aid, reported that the

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town itself now experienced hunger and that the government hence, had almost completely stopped distributing food to the deportees. A typhus epidemic had broken out among the exiles living crowded into close quarters, and 20 were dying every day".#80

"Rössler wrote, the 6 000 Armenians in Rakka for the most part would have to starve to death. The persons leading the aid program had decided that they would use the limited money at their disposal to help those deportees who had a chance to survive. In places like Rakka, any help provided would result merely in prolonging the agony of the exiles by a few days or weeks...Help for the Armenians at Rakka came from an unexpected quarter. In December, 1916, Cemal Pasha had ordered that 2 500 Armenian artisans and their families be sent to Urfa. During the summer of 1917, another large group of deportees was taken from Rakka to Urfa to do road work, for which they received a daily ration of bread. In a report to Rössler submitted on Dec. 9, Künzler noted that the number of Armenians left at Rakka was now down to about 1 000. He had been back to Rakka in August, and the misery of those left behind was beyond description. I can only say that seeing it was almost more than my nerves could stand! ...

...DER-EL-ZOR: For about a year the final destination of the Armenian deportees sent to Mesopotamia was the district of Der-el-Zor. We have contradictory figures about the number of exiles settled there. Consul Jackson in Aleppo reported in early-February, 1916 that some 300 000 Armenian exiles had been settled in Der-el-Zor and the surrounding villages; but in a dispatch of Sept. 10, 1916, Jackson gives the figure of 30 000. In a report composed about two years later after his return to the U.S. Jackson speaks of 'about 60 000 collected at Deir-el-Zor'. In March 1916, Consul Rössler gave the number of Armenians there as 40 000, a figure accepted by a contemporary author. A German military chaplain, who was in Der-el-Zor in April 1916, also speaks of 40 000 Armenians there. According to an Armenian survivor, 180 000 exiles arrived in Der-el-Zor between June, 1915 and May, 1916." #81*

"For about a year the exiles in Der-el-Zor were treated relatively well. The Governor of Der-el-Zor, Ali Suat Bey, was a decent and educated man who spoke English and French and did what he could with the limited means at his disposal. He scattered the Armenians on farmlands, built homes for them, and sought to provide food, clothing, and medical care. On Sept. 26, 1915, as Ambassador Morgenthau recorded in his diary, Zenop Bezjian, the representative of the Armenian Protestants, called on him and asked for help for the various camps of the deportees. At the same time Morgenthau was surprised to learn from his conversation with Bezjian that the 'Armenians at Zor were fairly satisfied; that they have already settled down to business and are earning their livings.' Of course, the good intentions of Suat Bey were not sufficient to solve all problems created by the huge influx of largely destitute people. An Armenian priest sent to Der-el-Zor by the Catholicos of Sis to look into conditions there reported back that most of the more than 15 000 exiles who had

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arrived by mid-July were still living in the open without adequate shelter and that there was not enough food. Rössler heard from a military physician, who had visited Der-el-Zor in November, about a continuing shortage of vegetables and bread. The three hospitals in the town were overcrowded; according to the municipal doctor, the daily death toll was 150 - 200. Many others were dying in the tent camp outside the town. Yet, Rössler felt that the *mutassarif* was 'doing everything in his power to relieve the misery.' ...In April 1916, the situation got drastically worse. The original deportation orders had included the provision that the relocated Armenians were not to exceed 10% of the Moslem population among which they were to be resettled. As Rössler reported on April 27, the Governor of Der-el-Zor had now been reminded of this provision and had been ordered to reduce the Armenian population accordingly. The Armenians above the quota were to be sent to Mosul, located northeast of Der-el-Zor in today's Iraq. The German consul feared that this meant the expulsion of at least 13 000 persons. Those exiles who escaped the depredations of Bedouins and Kurds, he wrote, would perish on this new trek as a result of starvation and disease." #82*

"Due to the intervention of Cemal Pasha more than 100 000 Armenians were sent to the province of Darnascus rather than to the Syrian Desert. Most of these deportees could use the railroad. Many men with means bribed the authorities and thus were able to rent quarters in the major cities (Hama, Homs, and Damascus), where they made themselves useful as artisans or traders. At times there was pressure to convert, and the exiles in southern Syria experienced losses due to shortages of food and epidemics. There were no massacres, however, and large numbers of these deportees survived... Austrian Consul in Damascus, Dr. Karl Ranzi reported on Sept. 24, 1915, that to date some 22 000 Armenians had come through the city. The Turkish authorities had let it be known that the exiles would receive shelter and arable land to settle on; but so far, Ranzi wrote, this had been granted only to one group, who had been put into homes prepared for Moslem refugees. While in Damascus, the Armenians had been under guard, but quite a few had managed to escape and had found refuge with local Armenians...Some five months later Ranzi noted a change for the better in the situation of the exiles! While previously the deportees had been sent to the southern thinly populated areas east of the Jordan, they now also were being sent to more populated parts of the province, and some had even been kept in Damascus. Many exiles had found work in agriculture and with the railroad. The subsistence allowance paid to them had been raised. Credit for these improvements, the consul wrote, was generally given to Cemal Pasha. In a declaration publicized in all the newspapers, Cemal had recently stated that the removal of the Armenians was necessary for reasons of state but that the life, honor, and property of the relocated were under the protection of the government. The fulfillment of this obligation was a matter of moral integrity." #83

"Having experienced more losses than any Western nation in the war, France decided that Syria was the only vital interest it could afford in the Near East. When the

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French left Cilicia, over 150 000 Greeks and Armenians fled with them. Since January, 1921, Bristol had been receiving evidence that the Ankara Government wanted formal relations with the U.S. After the French agreed to withdraw from Cilicia, Bristol persuaded Washington to send to Ankara a U.S. Dept. of Commerce official to discuss economic matters informally... During the Commerce official's stay in the Kemalist capital, the Armenia-America Society kept trying to get an Armenian national home. Montgomery got stimulation from a visit by Bryce to the U.S.; Bryce thought the Greeks could force a Turkish evacuation of Cilician Armenia. Montgomery and Riggs drafted a resolution and persuaded Congressman John J. Rogers of Massachusetts to introduce it in December, 1921. The Rogers Resolution requested that the U.S. call a conference to consider methods for establishing the Cilician-Armenians as a nation. Back from the Far East, Barton set about getting Secretary of State Hughes to bring up the Cilician issue at the Washington Naval Conference. He had such a concert partly because the Kemalists had driven American Board personnel out of Cilicia. But Bristol summed up the State Dept.'s reaction to Barton, writing that partiality for Christian minorities was an injury to them so long as the West did not supply the military forces required for Turkish compliance with a separate Armenia. Bristol's attitude irritated Barton and Montgomery, who sought to have Bristol removed as American high commissioner to Turkey, in part because Bristol had not defended Ernest Riggs when the Kemalists had expelled that missionary. Rather, Bristol had remonstrated with Riggs for favoritism to Armenians. Barton felt that Bristol's apparent accommodation to the Kemalists was absolutely wrong. Riggs doubted the wisdom of an anti-Bristol position; 'I confess that I fear' he confided to Montgomery, 'that a new man going from America might be led to the same position which Admiral Bristol holds.' " #84*

"... The government's order to move the Armenians as a group out of the endangered areas (Istanbul and İzmir were not affected since they were considered 'safe' and 'under control') did not come until months later. It brought on by the horrifying assault of Armenian terrorists and irregulars on the city of Van. This event represented a shocking climax of Armenian terrorism. The rebels conquered Van, declared an 'Armenian Republic of Van', and completely destroyed the Moslem part of the city. Some 30 000 Moslems lost their lives in the violence. Once again, the idea of moving the Armenian population (and not just the terrorist ringleaders) out of the endangered areas did not arise until after the catastrophe of Van. The government troops were forced by the rebels to leave Van on May 17, 1915. At this time, Van was behind Russian lines, which were moving deeper and deeper into eastern Anatolia. The spearhead of the Russian-Czarist assault troops was made up of Armenian volunteers, who distinguished themselves with their particularly brutal treatment of the Moslem population of eastern Anatolia. In the meantime, the true dimensions of the catastrophe of Van became known in Istanbul. It was at this point that the idea arose of relocating the Armenian population Anatolia as a whole. Until this time, there had only been arrests of ringleaders and known terrorists on a local level - nothing more. The concept of a re-location came up when the acting commander of the army, who had learned his lesson

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from the horrid outcome of the Van Revolt, suggested responding to steps taken by the Russians (which appear to have been discussed with the Armenians!) with similar measure from the Ottoman side." #85

This suggestion was made in a secret Interior Ministry communiqué (No. 2049):

<The Armenians around the periphery of Lake Van, and all other regions which are known to the Governor of Van are engaged in continuous preparations for revolution and rebellion. I am of the opinion that this population should be removed from this area, and that this nest of rebellion be broken up.

According to information provided by the Commander of the 3rd Army, the Russians, on April 7th (April 20th), began expelling their Moslem population, by pushing them, without their belongings, across our borders. It is necessary, in response to this (Russian) action, and in order to reach the goals that I have outlined above, either to expel the Armenians in question to Russia, or to relocate them and their families in other regions of Anatolia. I request that the most suitable of these alternatives be chosen and implemented. If there is no objection, I would prefer to expel the creators of these centers of rebellion and their families outside our borders, and to replace them with the Moslem refugees pushed across our borders. April 19th, 1331 (May 2nd, 1915).>

The importance of this document lies in the fact that it clearly states what the Supreme Military Commander's motive was. The Russians had sent the entire Moslem population of the Caucasus region to eastern Anatolia, leaving them with nothing but the shirts on their backs. At the same time, the Armenians in the eastern part of the Ottoman Empire (particularly in Van) had seized total power, killed the Moslems, and proclaimed their 'Armenian Republic of Van'. Under these circumstances, the decision to relocate the Armenians of Anatolia -those living within the borders of the Ottoman Empire- is understandable. They were to be moved to 'areas considered safer', areas not so exposed to the grasp of the Russians and the Allied powers of Europe.

(Photo)<...A "Hiroshima" of terrorism: Only the foundation wall of the Islamic district of Van survived and a few remains of once proud, mighty mosques. The Armenian uprising of Van began in February 1915 and reached its first climax in April. The rebels set fire to the old Islamic city on May 17, the same day on which the small Ottoman garrison was forced to withdraw from the town. It was not until July 22, 1915 that the Ottomans were able to retake Van. In the meantime, the entire Islamic population of Van, which had not been able to escape in time, was liquidated by the Armenian terrorists."#86*

"After this dramatic day, the issue of the unfortunate Armenians, who were seduced themselves by the promises of the Allies, was not brought up again at the conference. The Russians had created a diabolical pretext inserting an Armenian clause at San Stefano and at Berlin (1878). Since the words 'Armenia' and 'Armenian' do not appear in the text of the Treaty of Lausanne, that pretext was finally destroyed. This was to the benefit those Armenians who remained in Turkey and now live there as citizens like all other people in the

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Turkish community, with the same rights and responsibilities as everyone else...On July 24, 1923, the powers signed the Treaty of Lausanne. The Armenian delegation had already left Lausanne on Feb. 2nd, when they recognized the futility of their efforts and the helplessness of their 'allies'...For the sake of completeness, it should be mentioned that the Soviet Russians, who had total control over Russia Armenia again since the founding of the 'Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic' on Nov. 29th, 1920, were through their foreign minister, Chicherin talking of 'national foyer for the Armenians' on the Volga or in Siberia. In the 1930s, Stalin turned this cynicism into horrifying reality when he started a large-scale relocation of the Armenians to -of all places- the Altai region, the original homeland of the Turks." #87*

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Chapter 14: References and Footnotes:

1. Salahi Sonyel, *The Great War and the Great Tragedy of Anatolia*, T.T.K., pg. 173

2*. Leslie A Davis, *The Slaughterhouse Province*, A.D.Caratzas, New York, pg. 118

Evidence that war zones were totally evacuated and Moslems were even worse off, with no arrangements at all.

3*. Ibid, pg. 168

US Consul confirms actions of Armenian revolutionaries.

4*. Ibid, pg. 169

US Consul confirms that soon Protestant and Catholics as well as Armenians already working, were (in August 1915) excluded!

5*. Nicole & Hugh Pope, *Turkey Unveiled*, The Overlook Press, N.Y. pg. 42

An objective explanation, but: Not "all men were massacred" and there is no evidence that gendarmes conducted any massacres. There were plenty of bandits. Number of arrested ring leaders is 235 but some sources quote 2345. German Ambassador Wangenheim mentions some hundreds. I am more inclined to credit "hundreds" being main "ring leaders" sent into exile.

6*. Akaby Nassibian, *Britain & the Armenian Question 1915-23* Croom Helm, London, pg. 90

Cemal Pasha was displeased that all these were sent to his war zone, restricting his movements, and short sources.

7*. Guenter Lewy, *The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey*, U. of Utah Press, pg. 169

Euphrates-Armenia College Prof. Luledjian was a ring leader. Beating with a stick is a lenient torture which sometime works! U.S. Commercial Consul's patronage and involvement is noteworthy!

8*. Ibid, pg. 171

I did not notice such a harem conclusion in Davis' book. Seems, G. Lewy adds some flavor! Even one woman is a man's harem. Only Sultan and Grand Viziers could afford to have harems with concubines and up to four wives. Logically, very few officers should have been in mood for more sex, instead of more bread to survive! Why Armenians were admitted in Red Crescent hospitals and fed, instead of disposing of them right away?

9. Ibid, pg. 167

10*. Heath W. Lowry, *The Story Behind Ambassador Morgenthau's Story*, The Isis Press – 1990, pg.50

This important direct report, has not been made public by Morgethau or others! The number of displaced persons indicated as over 500,000 confirms other official reports of 650,000 – 700,000 (700,000 has been declared by Bogos Nubar to French Ministry...)

11*. Akaby Nassibian, *Britain & the Armenian Question 1915-23* Croom Helm, London, pg. 60
Contradictory statements... Many Armenians returned, many were saved in Moslem homes; some resettled, some left...

12*. Efraim & Inari Karsh, *Empires of the Sand*, Harvard Univ.Press pg. 157

As a prejudiced writer, Mr. Karsh forgets that the Ottoman Army perished at Sarikamish because of the lack of food/clothing!

13*. Ibid, pg. 158

Why is the writer surprised? 10% of the German Army and some 20-30% in the Ottoman Army were dying behind the lines! Professional gendarmes were conscripted in the fighting army. Provisory gendarmes sometimes failed!

14. Dr. G. Pasdermajian, *Why Armenia Should Be Free*, Boston, Dec. 1918, Hairenik Pub. Co. p.31

15*. Nicole & Hugh Pope, *Turkey Unveiled*, The Overlook Press, N.Y., pg. 43

Distortion and exaggeration! How can 800,000 people die when only 650,000-700,000 were displaced? (See Note #10)

16*. Efraim & Inari Karsh, *Empires of the Sand*, Harvard Univ.Press pg. 276

So, atrocities and deaths continued after the 1918 Mudros Treaty, under the responsibility of the victors France and Britain!

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17*. Akaby Nassibian, *Britain & the Armenian Question 1915-23* Croom Helm, London, pg. 243

Clear evidence that Britain, after their 1918 victory, did not express any interest in the Armenians!

18*. Ibid, pg. 244

Now clergy as well, were shuffling responsibilities for the dramas they had directly invoked!

19*. Ibid, pg. 245

Losers are always and easily abandoned! Hold only the Turks, responsible for all calamities!

20*. Ibid, pg. 246

Flattered, buttered-up, praised, the intelligent, hard working, fierce fighting Armenian was now labeled lazy and inefficient!

21*. Ibid, pg. 247

Proof that Armenia and Britain could not even handle much smaller groups of emigrants!

22*. Margaret Macmillan, *Paris 1919*, Random House – New York, pg. 366

Istanbul under Allied occupation after the Armistice, was even worse than what it was during war!

23*. A.L. Macfie, *The End of the Ottoman Empire 1908-23*, Longman Ltd., pg. 183

Self-explanatory!... There were many living Armenians who were returning, active in butchering...

24*. Ibid, pg. 24

This indicates regular army service for Moslems (who did not pay poll-tax). Most soldiers were continuously in war from 1909 through 1923 - some 15 years. Only one out of 10 Turkish soldiers would return home alive!

25*. Ibid, pg. 132

An objective evaluation confirming Armenian treachery...Most columns arrived at their destinations...Those by rail suffered no losses. Refer to Note #59 of Chapter 13, about the Special Organization. Allegations their connection with deportations is totally unproven. Turkish records show about 65,000 died during relocations (some 10%) for various causes.

26*. Akaby Nassibian, *Britain & the Armenian Question 1915-23* Croom Helm, London, pg. 157

Self-explanatory for Armenians' involvement in the war and their effective supports to Britain, France ... (after Russia)

27. Margaret Macmillan, *Paris 1919*, Random House – New York, pg. 372

28*. Leslie A Davis, *The Slaughterhouse Province*, A.D.Caratzas, New York, pg. 117

Consul Davis was a bigoted prejudiced Christian... Above note #10, contradicts his assumptions...

29. *National Geographic*, November, 1919 pg. 414

It is not hard to guess that natural deaths from starvation, epidemics, as well as those during these marches back and forth on foot have been added to the 1,500,000 genocide victims!

30. Salahi Sonyel, *The Great War and the Great Tragedy of Anatolia*, T.T.K., pg. 112

31. Ibid, pg. 113

32*. Guenter Lewy, *The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey*, U. of Utah Press, pg. 180

Don't all these facts prove that there was no intent of any extermination – any time?

33*. Salahi Sonyel, *The Great War and the Great Tragedy of Anatolia*, T.T.K., pg. 117

Don't these official telegrams sound strange for intent to exterminate?

34*. Ibid, pg. 118

So many exceptions and instructions, leaves not too many for the group of people to be relocated!

35*. Ibid, pg. 119

The intent is clear; how well it could be implemented with an utter lack of manpower-funds-provisions is the question!

36. Ibid, pg. 139

37. Ibid, pg. 114

38*. Ibid, pg. 121

Important information regarding numbers of deported and budgetary support when fighting on three fronts, some without boots.

39. Ibid, pg. 127

40. Ibid, pg. 141

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41*. Dr. G. Pasdermajian, *Why Armenia Should Be Free*, Boston, Dec. 1918, Hairenik Publis. Co. p.31
Very clear evidence that Dashnaks were used by Russians, they were not permitted to go back and new places were resettled by Cossacks!

42*. Ibid, pg.32-33 this proves that belongings of Armenians were saved safe by Turks, until Russians came and looted them!

43. Ibid, pg.38

44*. Guenther Lewy, *The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey*, U. of Utah Press, pg. 205

Mr. Lewy too, writes history on assumptions; he skips over Consul Davis this time. See note #4...

45. Ibid, pg. 62

46*. Ibid, pg. 88

Special Organization scenario is a contribution of Mr. Dadrian to the puzzle, without any document.
(Note #24)

47. Ibid, pg. 90

48. Ibid, pg. 91

49. Erich Feigl, *A Myth of Terror*, Edition Zeitgeschichte Freilassing, Salzburg, Austria pg. 110

50. Guenther Lewy, *The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey*, U. of Utah Press, pg.119-20

51*. Ibid, pg. 121

Excerpts presented in this study are self-explanatory in regards to facts...

52. Ibid, pg. 122

53. Ibid, pg. 152

54*. Ibid, pg.153 -155

Since a band of 25 km on either side of the railway, was a German-controlled zone -possibly trespassing oil areas- new settlements had to be located out of this land strip. Local administrations were already short of money and personnel and never had any such experience before -amidst the panic of war on all sides-. Of course, some badly failed, some did not. If the Sarikamish tragedy of the third Army is remembered, all this seems "normal"!

55. Ibid, pg. 160

56. Ibid, pg. 165

57. Ibid, pg. 166

58. Hew Starchan, *The First World War*, Penguin, 2004, pg. 115

59. Guenther Lewy, *The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey*, U. of Utah Press, pg. 159

60*. Ibid, pg. 163

The comments make sense. Self-explanatory of "no intent of any massacres"!

61*. Ibid, pg. 164

Can these comments possibly fit into any genocide-annihilation pattern?

62*. Ibid, pg. 197-198

Allegations about Cemal Pasha's intention to break away from CUP and contact Russia and Britain through Dashnak officials, is not mentioned by other historians, or documented beyond rumors!...

It is quite a paradox, hard to believe!

63*. Ibid, pg. 172

Protestant missionaries were so much trusted, it seems they served also as "trust and saving banks"!

64. Ibid, pg. 177

65. Ibid, pg. 176

66*. Ibid, pg. 177

Why doesn't any one mention those who returned? What a strange way of genocide!

67. Ibid, pg. 184

68. Ibid, pg. 185

69. Ibid, pg. 186-187

70*. Ibid, pg. 209

People overlook the reality that between 1914 Christmas and first week of January, 1915, an army of 80,000 died of hunger and cold without fighting, because of no food, clothing, boots! Did Turks kill Turks by genocide?

71. Ibid, pg. 210

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72*. Ibid, pg. 212-213

Blockade of all ports by Britain and France was aimed to starve the enemy (Turks)! Can they be held responsible?

73*. Ibid, pg. 214

Another slight distortion!... Jobs and food were created of course for minimal wages, which was better than nothing!

74*. Ibid, pg. 207

Is it not strange that the Catholic & Gregorian Patriarchs were speaking to Talat in 1917, the man who had ordered the annihilation of 1,500,000 of Armenians (who did not exist) in 1915? Does this incident hint of genocide?

75. Ibid, pg. 208

76. Ibid, pg. 229

77. Ibid, pg. 230

78. Ibid, pg. 231

79. Ibid, pg. 233

80. Ibid, pg. 214

81*. Ibid, pg. 215

Survivors in Dar-el-Zor, after one year, reported by Consul to be; 300,000 > 30,000 > 60,000> 40,000 > 180,000 arrived!

Which figure are we to take seriously? Even Consuls exaggerate, or don't know how to count!

82*. Ibid, pg. 216

I cannot find any "intent" of annihilation... Can you?

83. Ibid, pg. 218

84*. Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy & the Near East*, Univ.of Minn. Press, 1991, pg.260

Compare Admiral Bristol's realistic evaluation vs. Barton's dedication to Armenians, under all conditions!

85. Ibid, pg. 261

86*. Erich Feigl, *A Myth of Terror*, Edition Zeitgeschichte Freilassing, Salzburg, Austria pg. 76-77

Further information about the Van Revolt and other attacks, are explained separately in Chapter 9 and others.

87*. Ibid, p 116

Stalin had not forgotten; when Russian soldiers left Anatolian front after the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution and were returning home passing through Tblisi, not only were their munitions confiscated, but they were killed by Armenians alongside the railway tracks in their thousands. Later he was to exile them to Siberia and the Altai region (homeland of Turks)...

POPULATION (CONTROVERSY OR MATH. AVERAGE)

Chapter 15: POPULATION: CONTROVERSY or MATHEMATICAL AVERAGE?

Below are various estimates, made for "Christian Armenians living within Ottoman Empire borders:"

a.	Kirkor Zohrab (estimate of the Patriarchate)	2,560,000*
b.	Armenian historian K.J. Basmachian	2,380,000*
c.	By Armenian delegation given at the Paris Conference in 1919	2,250,000*
d.	30.12.1918 Given by Venizelos at the Paris Confer.(pre-World War I, 1914)	2,100,000
	Living in 1918 Difference 840,000 dead or immigrated	1,260,000*
e.	Letter by Bogos Nubar to French Ministry 11.12.1918 declaring – Relocated	700.000*
f.	Alive in Caucasus-Persia-Syria-Iraq Difference 310.000 dead or immigrated	390.000
g.	1895 - Francis de Presence	1,260,000
h.	1900 - Tournbize	1,300,000
i.	1905 - Ottoman state census	1,294,851
j.	1912 - British Blue Book (Annual Register)	1,056,000
k.	1913 - L. D. Contenson	1,056,000
l.	1.3.1914 Report of "French-Armenian committee for land distribution"	1,280,000
	[East .Anatolia only] =542.421	
m.	Armenian Patriarch Ormanian	1,579,000
n.	Lepsius, J.	1,600,000
o.	1915 - Oct., pg.329 National Geographic (All area including Russia, Persia)	2,000,000
p.	Grabill, pg.51, All over the Empire in 1914 1.800.000 to	2,000,000
q.	New York Times, Oct. 22, 1915	1,200,000
r.	Zurcher, pg.119 - 120 "Turkey"	1,500,000
s.	Encyclopedia Britannica – 1914	1,500,000
t.	1918 - July, pg.61, National Geographic (Total Empire population. 18,000,000)	2,000,000
u.	Katchaznuni, H. - living in 1920 (after emigration and losses) nearly	1,000,000
v.	Armenian historian Lalaian – detailed, living in Armenia only-- in 1918	885,000
w.	Armenians living in Armenia only, in 1920 (Lalaian)	690,500
x.	Deaths in Armenia under the Dashnak-ruled Republic (famine-epidemics) (Lalaian)	195,000
y.	Armenian historian Kevork Aslan	1,800,000
z.	Revue de Paris	1,300,000
	Arnold Toynbee's book "Nationality and the War" 1915, written before he joined Propaganda Division had indicated Armenian population as:	
	City of Tbilisi and area	155,000+
	City of Constanza (Romania) and area	61.000+
	Russian Provinces (Yerevan, Kars, Nakchivan, Shura, Alexadropol)	750.000+
	The Six Turkish provinces	600.000+
	Total according to Toynbee in 1915	1,511,000=

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Note: In Chapter 23, p.96-97, according to the writings of Armenian historian A.A. Lalaian, before Dashnaks came into power in May 25, 1919, Armenians living numbered 1.200.000. After Sovietization, the number in 1920, was 770.000 which implies that 430.000 persons lost their lives. The number of Armenians “within the borders of Armenia” as shown on the same page as 885.000 in 1918 and 690.000 in 1920. Above table quoted the minimal figures on said page.

The “opening code” of the whole genocide puzzle, of course is concerned with the number of people in question. As you will see from below figures, given estimates differ greatly. However, looking to the “reliability and neutrality of the source”, readers will still have to make a guess. The most competent historian in demography is Prof. Justin McCarthy, but since he is labeled “pro-Turk”, we will try to use other ‘general data’ and reach to an estimate by logical ‘average’. *(McCarthy, in his book ISBN 944675-71-9 “Who are the Turks” writes that 40% of the Muslims – Armenians and people in the evacuation areas died of same reasons. Detailed data can be found in ISBN 0-87850-094-4 “Death and Exile”)*

The “genocide balloon” may speak of 1 500 000 or even 2 000 000 people killed. Is that possible? To start with, let us see how many Armenians lived in the Ottoman Empire, how many of them were relocated, how many reached their destinations in 1915, but returned with the Russian or French Armies or immigrated to the Greek Islands, Cyprus, France, the U.S., Egypt, Palestine, Lebanon and Russia in large numbers or returned to Turkey.

(The above figures exclude those in relief camps, or who returned or migrated to other countries or lived undisturbed in other parts of Western Turkey and large cities)

The readers or researchers who do not want to use Justin McCarthy's head-count figures must make a guess or take an average, between a low of 1,000,000 and a high of 2,000,000, and estimate that the total number of Ottoman-Armenians within the “large borders of 1914” should be 1,500,000, with a 10% ± margin...

Readers are reminded that the figures indicated with asterisks were inflated somewhat by the Armenians just before the Paris Conference, ‘to justify that they had a large enough population to fill the huge land area they were expecting from Black Sea down to the Mediterranean.’ One of the reliable sources would be the British Blue Book, based on American missionary reports, as well as their own Consuls spread throughout Ottoman Empire, down to cities with only 20,000 inhabitants. *(Note: Item [I] is also dependable as source and reason of survey)*

It will be a paradox to expect the British to reduce the numbers, for any advantage or arguments in favor of Turks. Statistics show that the Armenian population in the areas they named ‘Turkish-Armenia’ was no more than 20% of all the people living in the area.

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According to Turkish state statistics, out of the total 1,300,000, the number that lived in the six provinces was a mere 628,000. However, according to the Istanbul Armenian Patriarchate's later declaration, the total number was 1,200,000, of which 1,018,000 were said to be living in the subject provinces. The difference here is 390,000. The Armenians claimed they comprised 38% of the population in the area; The Turks claim that it was about 20% and even in two cities (Van, Erzurum) where Armenians were concentrated, they still were a minority!

Discrepancies exist even for population of Istanbul, where census taking should have been easier.

- Edwin Grosvenor, indicates in his explicit book of 1877, Armenians in Istanbul only	165,000
- The memo given to Paris Conference in 1919 shows (Istanbul + Izmir + Syria)	230,000
- 1913 Armenian Patriarchate figure for Armenians in Istanbul	163,670
- Estimate of British Officers on the spot after occupation of Istanbul in 1920	83,000

The second phase of the controversy arises in the number of Armenians living in the six provinces who were relocated to the southern parts of the empire, particularly to the Zor District in Syria. We need to take into consideration the fact that many Armenians employed in key occupations or professions (doctors, pharmacists, important artisans etc.) were excluded from the relocation process. Shortly thereafter in late June 1915, Catholics and Protestant Armenians were too exempted/excluded.

While there were many Armenians fighting in volunteer gangs or brigades against the Turks, there were others fighting alongside the Turks at the Dardanelles, or handling the correspondence in the army encryption and decoding sections, because "only they could speak other languages".

We have to make another estimate regarding the number of Armenians (Turks were simply deported, without any provisions) relocated from the subject six provinces overland to Syria.

Head of the Turkish Historical Society Yusuf Halacoglu, based on archive records, gives the figure 428,758 for those who were relocated. <detailed comparative figures on relocations are given in the next page.> Those who traveled by train from Cilicia region, were never attacked. Few columns from other districts traveling overland on foot or ox-carts were in some cases attacked by Circassian and Kurdish brigands, mostly in retaliation of what Armenians gangs had done to them. The routes were the only available roads, that even military had to use. Some provisory gendarmes (the good ones were in the fighting army) performed well, whilst others were unwilling or unable to risk their lives to protect the columns they were guarding. Many of them were later put on trial and some punished by the Army. Yusuf Halacoglu gives the number of about 60,000 persons

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who died because of hardships, fatigue, starvation, widespread epidemics such as typhus, which is about 15% of the moved people. Full text of the "Regulation" has been quoted in Chapter 14. The relative law, referred in several excerpts, did not even mention the name "Armenian" since it applied to "every one in the war zones". Needless to say that the results of such applications, depended on the "man, money power and capability of each governor".

Bearing in mind that the whole country was suffering epidemics and shortages of food, even the army fighting on three fronts (plus internal against Armenian fifth columns) was short of clothing, boots and provisions. The province governors were conducting such a large-scale movement for the first time, with no additional staff but very little extra allowances. Imaginable dramatic conditions, (*shortage + incapacity + inability*) cannot be classified as an "intended annihilation". Just a few months earlier in January, 80,000 soldiers starved, froze to death on the Russian front, because of the imprudence of the Ottoman administration. Did things improve (!) much in three months?

According to German Army records, their loss of soldiers because of epidemics and shortages was about 10% of the total force, dying in the rear lines. Even their commander in chief General Goltz died of typhus in the Southern front. The situation with the Turkish Army was reported to be much worse, due to lack of sanitary means and personnel, poor clothing and less than one-third of the daily standard food ration. The death rate in the Turkish armies, in the rear lines, was said to be close to 30%.

Now let us see what others said about the number of deported or relocated people:

- a- A British memorandum on "relief needs" dt. Oct. 30th 1918 speaks of deportation of "over 1.000.000"
- b- Cypriot historian Sonyel gives this figure as 800,000 deported.
- c- Raymond Kevorkian speaks of 870,000 deported to Syria.
- d- Boghos Nubar, head of Paris delegation, states in 1918 that the deported number was 700,000 only and that 390.000 were alive (loss of 310.000 from 1915 until 1918)
- e- British Foreign Office, Geographical Section, indicated the total living population in subject provinces (Erzurum, Sivas, Diyarbakir, Harput, Van, Bitlis) as 3,601,075 of which 665,815 were Armenians and 2,687,748 Moslems, the rest Greek, Nestorian and others.

According to these figures, how can the French Parliament and others, plus some ignorant writers or historians speak of 1,500,000 killed in the process of relocation? This is an absurd claim, having nothing to do with historical scholarship or minimal arithmetic. Maybe the above excerpt of Guenter Lewy and the report by Bergfeld helps explain the habit of "blatant exaggeration" succeeds and convinces dupes at all times.

The third and most important issue concerns the Armenians who survived, and safely reached their destinations. Some settled there and started new

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business; some went back after the surrender of the Ottoman Empire in 1918. Some returned with French and British armies from the south, Zor areas.

Again, we have different sources and records:

a - The most important and reliable document is the letter of American Consul J.B. Jackson, one of the most bigoted men from consular pool, dated Feb. 8th, 1916 in which he gives a broken down list of survivors in 10 main cities, reporting to ambassador Morgenthau that a total of 486,000 are alive.

b - Ataturk, in his only book "Nutuk" (The Speech) quotes a cable dated 31.5.1919 he received from the Ministry of War (under occupation), attaching a Note of the British Embassy in which they were asking the status of the Armenians in the Sivas area. (Ataturk) Mustafa Kemal, then the Inspector General sent by the Ottoman Army for the security of the area, replied to this message with his encrypted cable dated 3.06.1919, informing that *"the Armenians living in Sivas and around, as well as the immigrants who came later, are safe, engaged in their own business, and that there has been no incident at all"*. These historical documents imply that by 1919, the Armenian population which was deported or relocated out of this area in 1915, had returned, most of them resettled in their old homes, while there was another lot of migrating Armenians looking for settlement. Logically, those could have been the Armenians who came with the Russian occupation in the area, but stayed after the Russians pulled out in 1917, because Revolution.

Some excerpts in previous chapters give plenty evidence of the Armenian presence and crimes in the area.

c- Another very reliable source is the report of Dr. F. Nansen, head of the "League of Nations Emigrants Committee" who according to Akabian's book (pg.253) was giving the following figures:

* Emigrated from Turkey to Russian Armenia and Caucasus	400,000
* Refugees who fled abroad 400 or 300,000 min.	300,000
* Living in Istanbul, Izmir, Syria (Venizelos report to Paris Confer.)	230,000
* Remaining cities of Anatolia (declared by Venizelos in Paris Conf.)	150,000
Total number- <u>living</u> persons according to Armenian sources-1919	1,080,000

Note: We have various confirmations that 150,000 Armenians went back to Cilicia when occupied by France and their special Battalion D'Orient – (see other chapters) which committed atrocities. However, after the French agreement with Kemalist Turks in 1920, and French evacuation of the "internal war areas" in these provinces, 150,000 Armenians, plus a few Greeks, left with the French Armies causing an economic vacuum. (Grabill pg.260)

d- Katchaznuni, in his manifest of 1923 wrote that nearly 1,000,000 Armenians were alive in 1918 prior to the evacuation of 1917 by Russians after the Revolution and founding of their short lived Republic.

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e - Historian Lalaian in separate excerpts speaks of 885,000 Armenians alive (in those areas only) and that by 1920, they lost 195,000 lives because of starvations and bad management by the Dashnaks.

f - 880,000 reported to the Paris Conference by Venizelos (Boghos Nubar's claim) as living in 1919.

g - Akaby Nassibian gives other breakdowns as follows in her book:
(pg.249, 253, 211, 72)

- According to joint British Arm. Relief committee: Greece – Syria – Palestine – Caucasus 750,000
- Immigrated to Russia from Turkey, 310,000 or 400,000 other sources say 500,000
- Fled to other countries 350,000
- In Egypt waiting acceptance 5,000, plus at Basra waiting transport 14,000 19,000

h - James Barton, (head of American Board of Foreign Missionaries and Relief Organization) reported to the Paris Conference in April, 1919 that 100,000 Armenian refugees in Aleppo and Damascus were waiting to return to their homes. Stanley Kerr, an American Relief Official wrote that 170,000 of these were eventually repatriated.

i - George Montgomery, an American official at the Paris Conference, gave a detailed tabulation of Armenians alive in Turkey in 1919, which amounted to 594,000 + 450,000 in Caucasus + 60,000 in Persia = 1,104,000 Total (Apart from those in other countries or who already immigrated)

j - German missionary J. Lepsius, arrives to a total of 948,500 or rather 1,108,000 survivors in 1921, including those in Caucasus – Armenia, Palestine, Arab lands under British-French mandate and by 1925 more than 30,000 had emigrated to France and about 100,000 to U.S.

k - According to Caleb F. Gates, president of Robert Collage, the Armenian population statistics in January, 1921, as confirmed by the Armenian Patriarchate, was as follows: Armenians in Ottoman provinces, approximately 600,000; Armenians alive: 944,900; = Armenian total losses: 355,000.

Naturally, Armenians (although they received 98% of all relief supplies – *guarded by Turkish soldiers when within borders of the Empire*) were not immune to epidemics and starvations, which swept out some 20% of population in areas where there was no war) and like over 500,000 Moslems who died in inter communal wars, exiles, epidemics, starvations, they too suffered. Death made no selection. It will be very improper to count these deaths as "massacred by Turkish armies" and declare Armenian race "immortal" (much that they claim to be of noble Arian race). Let us not forget that more than half of the people returned to their homes after mid-1915 when deportations stopped and in larger numbers with the

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advance of Allied forces after Ottomans lost the war. Those coming back from Russia, had to go back when Kemalist forces took control over the area and the Republic of Armenia had to surrender in 1920 with the treaty of Gumru. It is not known, how many people took these hard long trips by ox-carts or on foot back and forth, but it is not difficult to guess that some 30% of those traveling or camping, died. We have two reliable Armenian authorities confirming that almost 200,000 died within two years in Caucasus under the rule of the Armenian Republic and these are 'counted as massacred by Turks' as well.

Looking at the people alive before 1914, those who were moved and those who survived until 1920, we can take a guess that at least some 200,000 Turkish-Armenians living in the six provinces, died of various natural causes (maybe some 30,000 – 40,000 killed in bilateral butcheries). The Ottoman State ruling at that time, (fighting wars on three fronts for their existence) may be found "guilty of being unable to provide proper means during the relocation process". But those who make an assessment of, 'massacre or genocide' fail to remember that it was the same government which lost 80,000 of their 90,000 soldiers in less than two weeks on the Russian front, (because of deprivations, lack of management and prudence), and that this disaster was partly caused, by the sudden and unexpected resistance put by the Armenian Volunteer forces fighting for Russians! The Ottomans "*naively thought in August, 1914 Erzurum Congress of Dashnaks*" that Armenians would fight on the side of the Turks, against the gift of "promised autonomy, in the long wanted six provinces". The refusal of that generous offer, was the first breakpoint; the Sarikamish disaster in which the Armenians played an effective part knowing the area was the second breakpoint; and finally the Van Revolt in March-April ending with the occupation of the city by Armenians and delivery to Russians on May 20th, was the third breakpoint; and with the landing of ANZAC forces in late - April in the Dardanelles, attack in the South Suez front, and Russian advance, plus the fifth-column activities of some 25,000 – 40,000 volunteer units, the Ottomans had "every justification" to push out "all people" from the war zones, and had no time to distinguish between the guilty and the innocent. This is "my evaluation".

According to Richard Hovannisian, "Armenia on the Road of Independence", Berkley Univ. Press, pp.14-15,

"By the end of 1916, nearly three hundred thousand Ottoman Armenians had sought safety in Transcaucasia, where nearly half were destined to die from famine and disease". Even if half of the refugees died, by 1917, with addition of new refugees, the population of Armenia would be around 340 000 which accords with other reports referred above."

At Paris conference, the Research Commission headed by Robert Lansing (Wilson's State Secretary) on March 29, 1919 presented their, formal report in which total losses were reported to be 200.000 only. The loses in transit were

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indicated to be only 8.200 in killing and about 54.000 inclusive of other reasons from departure until final destination. This is even less than Halacoğlu's 60.000.

Chapter 16: PROPAGANDA FABRICATIONS (BLUE BOOK, MORGENTHAU'S STORY, PRESS...)

A Turkish proverb states:

"A crazy man can throw a stone in a well, and 40 wise men can not get it out".

Now, when several stones are hidden in several wells, the proverb loses its meaning!

Since Morgenthau played a crucial role, in what has become told and written, let the reader judge him as either as a neutral straight forward ambassador-diplomat serving his country reporting truthfully on the country he was posted to, or *as a skilful acrobat not to better the relations, but serve as a fiddler of espionage, slandering, playing tunes, to please masters (White House, British Foreign Office, American Board of Missionaries, Church and Relief Organizations, Zionism etc.)* based on notes written by his personal secretaries who, of course were Armenian. The subjects are interlocked with different leads, but the special duty given by *President Wilson and State Secretary Lansing* was to defame the Turks, and contribute to the creation of an anti-Turkish antagonism, using the victimization of Armenians and other Christians, and *to influence the U.S. Congress and Senate, to take Part in WWI*. (A century later the Congress and Senate are under similar influences).

"Telling a lie is an act with a sharp focus. It is designed to insert a particular falsehood at a specific point in a set or system of beliefs, in order to avoid the consequences of having that point occupied by the truth. This requires a degree of craftsmanship, in which the teller of the lie submits to objective constraints imposed by what he takes to be the truth."

Harry G. Frankfurt, On Bullshit, Princeton Univ. Press, Princeton and Oxford, 2005 p.51

To help the reader place pieces of different information sources in their respective frames, I will try to subdivide these into four main groups or facades as below.

Face # 1:

Fabricated > diverted > inverted > doctored > tailored etc. missionary reports, were 'addressed to the American Board', but were also sent to Britain in diplomatic bags, for use in propaganda books and other sensational headlines in the U.S., British, Canadian, Australian and other press organs, to attract sympathy for the 'Christian Armenian' under yoke; to be 'helped, saved, given independence etc. and relieved from destruction by Turks and Germans'.

Face # 2:

Large contribution by reports, visits by some Missionaries to Britain, to feed the British Propaganda books authored by Arnold Toynbee, and Lord Bryce. BLUE BOOK soon became the pearl of such material. Morgenthau later provided copies

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of such reports to the German missionary Lepsius, during his stay of one month only in Istanbul, who passed these notes to his friend Franz Werfel, who wrote another damning novel '40 Days of Musa Dagh', the scenario of another anti-Turkish propaganda film, a century later.

Face # 3:

After returning home in July 1917 (after USA entered WWI), Morgenthau prepared (by his secretary plus his advisor whom he brought with him to U.S., and who were of course Armenians) another propaganda book, actually compiled by the Nobel-prize winner Burton J. Hendrick and reviewed by Secretary Lansing, to add more spice for damning Turks. The book Ambassador Morgenthau's Story was printed in 1918; it was a hit and had, maybe more than 40 reprints, and is still used as a textbook throughout U.S., as if a valid and true source.

Face # 4:

The involvement of Zionism in the conflict, its implementation by Britain, shared idealism and cooperation between Christian Missionaries and a Jewish 'money potent' ambassador, (in the service of a U.S. President, who was the son of a Presbyterian pastor, trying to serve Christianity and Democracy by entering WWI). When they finally entered the war in 1917 (for which, the reports of Morgenthau, propaganda books of the British Foreign Office, plus clergy groups and churches, had a direct effect) he said that it was 'a crusade to make world safe for democracy'! The result was: millions of Americans died for 'democracy and Christianity' while France and Britain shared the war spoils.

"Meanwhile, when the British Ambassador at Washington, Sir Cecil Spring Rice, informed Foreign Secretary Sir Edward Grey in February, 1916 about the formal protest made by the U.S. Government to the Ottoman Government against the continuation of the 'atrocities', Lancelot Oliphant of the Foreign Office commented: 'I suppose we are already making use of the Armenian question for propaganda in the U.S.'! 'Mr. Hurst is even now writing up the Armenian question, and his article will certainly teach the U.S.', rejoined another official.

... All this time the British Intelligence and Information Services, some political and military advisers, and Armenophile and Turcophobe enthusiasts such as Lord Bryce, Arnold Toynbee, Aneurin Williams and others, were urging the British Government to publicize the Armenian massacres. Internally, it was hoped that this would arouse, among the British public, more interest in 'the little Allies of the Entente' - the Armenians, and hatred towards the Turks; whilst, externally, it would divert the international attention from the atrocious persecution of the Jews by Britain's close ally Russia, which had intensified during the war, and also, it would stimulate the neutral countries with pro-Entente tendencies, such as the U.S., Greece, and the Hashemite Arabs, to join the fray on the side of the Allies." #1

"The 'Blue Book' on the so-called 'Armenian massacres' turned out to be one of the most successful war-time propaganda exercises of the British Government which used it in

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inculcating hatred towards, and denigrating, its enemies, the Turks, before world opinion, in rewarding its Armenian allies with sympathy, flattery and false promises, and false effecting the major coup of finally winning over the wavering pro-Entente neutrals - the Hashemite Arabs, the U.S., and Greece." #2

"... In Europe – Russians committed barbarities against the Jews there, and the advancing German armies had tried to exploit them. Jewish-American journalists invited to the German occupied Russian territories, had sent 'lurid' dispatches to American newspapers, and the British Government in London had been seriously perturbed. Thus, in February, 1916 The New York American had advised all Americans to demand that Christian England and Christian France restrain the savagery' of their barbarous allies'. Toynbee believed that the British Government was worried lest the American Jewry might retaliate against the Allies by throwing its weight against Britain in the debate then going on in the U.S. Therefore, the Turco-Armenian incidents in Turkey had provided the British Government, according to Toynbee, with 'counter-propaganda' material against the Central Powers. Both Henry Herbert Asquith and Stanley Baldwin, in their joint memorial presented in 1924 to the then Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald, stated in no uncertain terms that Bryce's 'Blue Book' was '...widely used for Allied propaganda in 1916-17, and had an important influence upon American opinion and the ultimate decision of President Woodrow Wilson to enter the war'... Thus, the 'Blue Book', as a 'masterpiece' of British wartime propaganda, had a devastating effect. Its wicked influence is still extant as the book is being abused by Armenian activists in perpetuating their hatred towards the Turks, and by certain pseudo-scholars. Its success lay in the fact that it was based on 'atrocities' stories. British propaganda was geared towards such stories, real, exaggerated, or even fabricated; because dis-informers could flog them to journalists and correspondents, who would then flash them under banner headlines in their journals. Arthur Ponsonby explains that 'the injection of the poison of hatred into men's minds by means of falsehood is a greater evil in wartime than the actual loss of life. The defilement of the human soul is worse than the destruction of the human body'... Perhaps the most notorious 'atrocity story' of the entire war was the case of the so-called 'corpse-conversion factory', where Germans were accused of boiling down bodies to make soap. The story was a complete fabrication; it was finally exposed in 1925 when it was discussed in the House of Commons" #3

Toynbee, in his letter dated June 23rd, 1916 sent from Wellington House to Professor Margouliouth, just few weeks before the printing of the Blue Book, was expressing his deep concern on correctness, in below lines:

"Dear Professor Margouliouth,

I am enclosing the proofs of an introduction I have written to a fairly large collection of documents relating to the treatment of Armenians in Turkey during 1915. I wonder if you could spare the time to glance at it and pillory and glaring mis-statements of fact or wrong points of view. My knowledge on the greater part of the ground is very shaky and

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secondhand. I hesitated to trouble you with this request, but the documents are going to be published as a Government Blue Book, so it is important to make sure that the introduction should come up to a decent level of historical correctness. Hoping you will forgive this importunity, I am yours, - Arnold Toynbee. (#54)

"Barton's chief effect in working with Bryce was a book edited by the Britisher and informally put together by the ACASR and a young scholar specializing in the history of the Ottoman Empire, Arnold J. Toynbee. Considerably over half the documents in the book, a 684-page volume, had come to the American and Presbyterian boards from Armenian refugees and other witnesses of the deportation. The purpose of this work, The Treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, 1915-16, was to attract favor for relief and for Armenian interests. The American Board secretary in 1916 ordered 3,000 copies from Toynbee for influential personages, President Wilson and his adviser Colonel Edward M. House, were among those who received the book. The New York Times on Oct. 8th, 1916, included three pages of extracts from The Treatment. Lobbying for the ACASR, Barton obtained much support from the U.S. Government. Beginning in 1915, Peet at the Bosphorus used diplomatic pouch to avoid censorship. By mid-1916 local ACASR committees had been formed in 38 cities, in 16 states, with each spreading information and raising money. To awaken the country's consciousness Barton and his associates persuaded the Congress to pass a resolution of compassion for Armenians and Syrians. Barton also recommended that the President of U.S. appoint a special day in October 1916 for relief collections. The ACASR chairman appealed to Wilson: 'Tens of thousands have miserably perished and still the assassin's hand is not withdrawn'. The President complied. Many state and local figures issued similar statements. The American Board head made ACASR propaganda a major factor in expanding the relief movement; public relations, was this executive's forte." #4

"Barton in 1915 recruited a professor of church history at New York's Union Theological Seminary, William Walker Rockwell, to prepare several pieces on the Armenians. Titles of the three booklets were The Pitiful Plight of the Assyrian Christians in Persia and Kurdistan, The Deportation of the Armenians (an eyewitness account) and Ravished Armenia: the story of Aurora Mardigonian willing concubine to a Turkish officer and went through imprisonment, escape, recapture, and rape. Eventually ACASR had rescued Aurora...These pieces were not good enough for the American Board publicist in Boston. Impatient with their dispassionate quality and with Rockwell's slowness, Barton delegated pamphleteering to men who used such titles as *Atrocities – Talat Bey Boasted that He Would Make the Armenians Pray for Massacre and He Has*. Enlarging on the idea of the terrible Turk which Americans had accepted since the 1890s, the ACASR aroused hostility against Turks as brutally inhuman, degenerate agents of German Huns' it glorified Armenians as responsible Christian victimized by Moslems. These astigmatic views portrayed religion as almost the exclusive problem in Asia Minor and ignored ethnic, economic, and political factors. Notions built up in this campaign would later militate against

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the understanding of Near East realities needed by the people and government of the U.S. to fulfill the missionaries' post-war desires." #5

"Of the two British protagonists who championed the cause of Anglo-Armenian disinformation, Viscount James Bryce was a Turcophobe Liberal who had been inciting the Armenian militants to rebellion since the publication of his book entitled Transcaucasia and Ararat, in 1877, in which he remarked: 'Why... do the Armenians not rise in rebellion against these outrages (Turco - Armenian incidents), as their forefathers did against the Seleucids or the Parthians?' He was easily taken in by the skilful and deceitful Armenian propagandists. For example, when an incident took place in August 1889 at Blaidar, in the Bisheri sub-district of eastern Anatolia, in which seven Armenians were murdered and 50 houses were burnt down, Bryce put the blame on Moslem tribesmen. In fact, the British Consular Agent, Thomas Boyadjian, who was himself an Armenian, had reported that the incident was caused by a long-standing antagonism between the two Armenian chiefs of the village, one of whom had become Roman Catholic and decided to have the family of the other exterminated.

... According to recent revelations by American scholar Heath Lowry, Bryce was also in touch with the U.S. Ambassador at Istanbul, Henry Morgenthau, with whom he had become acquainted in the course of a 1914 visit to Palestine. He wrote to Morgenthau, asking him: 'If any reports come to your Embassy from the American missionaries scattered through Asiatic Turkey, which would cast light on the situation, possible you would allow me to see them occasionally. Morgenthau did provide Bryce with the reports of missionaries and with consular and travel reports. For example, the reports of American Consul J.B. Jackson from Aleppo were published anonymously in the 'Blue Book'. Morgenthau admits this in an article he wrote to the Red Cross magazine (March, 1919, pg. 8): 'Much of the material which I collected has already been published in the excellent volume of documentary material collected by Viscount Bryce'." #6*

"As for Arnold Toynbee, he has been 'described by Gordon Martel as a propagandist'. As early as June 1912, Toynbee wrote to his mother that he was anxious to see the Turks driven out of Europe, not because they were 'brutal oppressors, but because they were stupid and lazy'. He proposed to replace them with a regime that would be vigorous and brutal. The decision of the Ottoman Empire to join forces with the Central Powers would make a stiffer job of the war, he believed, 'but it will be a simplification in the end; we shan't leave any bits of Turkey lying about, when we clear up the mess afterwards'." #7

"From February, 1916 onwards Toynbee, on instructions from Bryce, began to collect information against Turkey from various countries and individuals as well as from Armenian committees. These items of information were sent to him without much detail on their sources. In fact, Toynbee wrote to Lord Bryce on May 11, 1916 as follows:

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Mr. Gowers from our office discussed with Montgomery from the Foreign Office how to publish the Armenian documents. They (the Foreign Office) claim that if you were to send these documents with an introductory note to Sir Edward Grey and state that they have been prepared under your supervision, that they are trustworthy, then your letter would be published by the Foreign Office as an official document, and the documents would constitute an appendix to your letter. The problem of publication would thus be solved. While giving the book an official character, it would free the Foreign Secretary from the obligation to take upon himself the probing of the accuracy of every matter mentioned in these documents.

Thus the 'Blue Book' was prepared by Toynbee, a member of the Masterman propaganda bureau - by collecting together various 'documents without having thoroughly checked their accuracy, and gathered mainly from Armenian sources, or from people sympathetic to the Armenians, i.e. from second- or third-hand sources, mostly with the help of Henry Morgenthau, and was issued as an official publication in order to give it more authenticity and credibility.

The work was completed in a short time, and definitely in less than a year. How authentic and reliable a work of 'historical scholarship' it is, scholars themselves must judge. Toynbee himself, at first, considered it as 'the biggest asset of His Majesty's Government to solve the Turkish problem in a radical manner and to have it accepted by the public'; but he must have had some qualms about it as his later work, *The Western Question in Greece and Turkey* testifies. According to Gordon Martel, it was not that Toynbee particularly enjoyed his work as a 'propagandist'; in fact, he found it rather distasteful - 'no job for a gentleman' - and was relieved when he moved on to proper intelligence work in 1917.

Much later Tonybee disclosed that the British Government had published the 'Blue Book' for a special purpose, of which he was unaware at the time, and he believed tat Bryce were also unaware." #8*

To be more precise, let us see what Toynbee wrote about the Blue Book in 1966:

Dear Mrs. Ekmekjiyan,

I have had your letter of March 1st. It is true that the British Government's motive in asking Lord Bryce to compile the Blue Book was propaganda. But Lord Bryce's motive in undertaking it, and mine in working on it for him, was to make the truth known, and the evidence was good: the witnesses were all American missionaries with no political axe to grind. So the Blue Book, together with Lepsius's book, does give a true account. In 1915 the Russians were invading North-eastern Turkey, and it was reasonable for the Turkish Government to fear that the Armenian minority there might be a 'fifth-column'. It would have been legitimate to deport them, as the U.S. Government deported the Japanese-Americans from the Pacific Coast in World War II. But the deportations of the Armenians in 1915 were used -by the Turkish Government, not by the people- as an opportunity for treating the deportees in ways that were so inhuman that they were bound to cause the wholesale mortality, as they did. I hope this answers your questions. A. Toynbee

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(Personal comment: Toynbee overlooks the reality that it was the same DEPRIVED government, who sent a whole army of over 90,000 soldiers on a winter campaign, without food, winter clothing or proper boots, and that 80,000 of them starved and froze to death in January, 1915! To expect the same government, now fighting on three fronts plus internal revolts, to be able to treat "Christian Armenians" with "special care" few months later, when things got worse, would be very unrealistic!)

Another letter dated May 1, 1916 sent to U.S. Foreign offices, reads:

"My Dear Toynbee,

I very much regret that we were unable to fill the blanks in the documents that our committee published in the galley form for the press under date of Oct. 4, 1915. Most of these documents are not here; in fact, many of them are not accessible to us. I doubt if the names of many of the places would be especially significant. In Mrs. Christie's notes, the names have not been furnished us. "# 9

"Lord Crewe, for the government, was happy to give all the information about the Armenian atrocities which the British Council in Batumi had been transmitting. These were 'terrible facts' and of course in no way authorized the percepts of Islam." #10

"Two days later two missionaries - Robert College's Caleb Gates and William W. Peet, local treasurer of the American Board - called on Morgenthau and discussed the Armenians. Morgenthau, Gates, and Peet then worked to change the Ottoman solution of the Armenian dilemma.

Liaison between Morgenthau and the missionaries was not new. When in November, 1913 he first arrived in the Empire, he had expected the Protestants to be sectarian and narrow. He discovered other wise. 'I found that... Christian missionaries in Turkey,' he wrote in retrospect, 'were carrying forward a magnificent work of social service, education, philanthropy, sanitation, medical healing, and moral uplift.' During his early months in the Near East he increasingly believed that his duty was to encourage the missionaries whom he felt 'exemplified the American spirit at its best.' He thought they were brave, intelligent, unselfish. They liked Morgenthau. Gates related in his memoirs: 'were most fortunate in our ambassador. Mr. Morgenthau was... tireless in his efforts to protect American interests... We became very good friends, and we used to ride [horseback] together several times a week; educators at the Syrian Protestant College said in 1915: 'We regard it as most fortunate that Mr. Morgenthau visited Syria last year. He has proved himself a staunch and able friend.'

A gregarious, self-confident Democrat, Morgenthau had boundless enthusiasm for public causes. Born in Manheim, Germany, he had emigrated as a child to the U.S. Graduating from Columbia College; he went into law and then business and became rich. In the presidential race of 1912, he supported Woodrow Wilson and was financial chairman for the campaign. His reward was appointment to Constantinople.

Gates, a mission veteran, had come from the Midwest. After studying at Beloit College and the Chicago Theological Seminary, he had gone to the Turkish Empire for the

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American Board in 1881 and labored at Mardin. From 1894 to 1902 he was president of Euphrates College in Harput, a school with an Armenian clientele. At one commencement exercise during the period from 1894 to 1896, the students of Euphrates College interrupted the reading of a mild Armenophile statement which Gates had sanctioned, shouting: 'Long Live Armenia'." #11

"(A play in Barton's game) While Paris deliberated about Syria, the American Committee for Relief in the Near East was achieving considerable financial success in its effort to erect a new Near East. Its campaign to raise \$30,000,000 had fallen short. But it distributed goods, worth \$9,000,000 in the first half of 1919 and dispensed much of \$10,000,000 in grain and other commodities, Hoover's American Relief Administration had allocated.

Its propaganda increased in sophistication and intensity. The monthly News Bulletin received editorial help from Talcott Williams of Columbia University's journalism faculty. The ACRNE sent a team to Turkey to prepare a movie version of Ravished Armenia, the story of Aurora Mordigonian. After conducting previews for prominent figures, the relief group showed the movie at theaters in 50 cities. Announcements portrayed a scantily clad Aurora with hands behind her back, dragged by a stallion. Scenes in the movie included flogging of girls who refused to enter Turkish harems, the nailing of 12 Armenian maidens to crosses. As to ACRNE rallies, former President Taft declared in Pittsburgh that the Armenians had made Near East valleys bloom like a rose. Morgenthau (chairman of the ACRNE finance committee) stated elsewhere that unless U.S. aided Armenians, the 'race will die'. A newspaper article with the headline, 'War's End No Relief from the Outrage to Armenians and Syrians in Persia', mentioned such phrases as fanatical Moslems, 500 women forced to accept Islam, and 'absolutely destitute Christians in most abject misery'. A full-page ACRNE advertisement in The New York Times, reprinted from Literary Digest, presented two pictures: the first was 4 000 000 Armenian and Syrian Christians living in lands made luminous by the footprints of Jesus, the second was Christ-led Americans rescuing needy Near Easterners'. "#12*

"Morgenthau, Gates and Peet – men of nearly the same age and similar sympathy for Armenians – knew that much of the missionary structure in the Empire would fall if the Turks continued to eliminate the minority people. They decided that Washington should be notified of the persecutions. By summer Morgenthau had begun sending regular messages to secretary of State, Robert Lansing, who endorsed remonstrance with the Ottomans and with the German ambassador. At Gates' suggestion, Morgenthau worked out a plan for moving Armenians to California. The Young Turks, though quite cold to this notion, were willing to consider it. When the American ambassador approached the State Dept., it was unenthusiastic.

Morgenthau's pleas had little effect upon the Turks. In one talk with the Minister of the Navy, Cemal Pasha, the latter asked Morgenthau if Armenians were Americans. Realizing Cemal was stating that the domestic situation was none of his business, the

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ambassador replied that he was a friend of the Armenians, particularly since an old hand in the U.S. embassy, Arshag K. Schimavonian, was one. Cemal in his memoirs declared that constant intervention by the West in the Empire had caused Turks, Kurds and Armenians mistreat one another.

...Talat declared that Young Turks were firm about finishing a job three quarters done, and justified their acts by several charges against the Armenians: the minority people had enriched themselves at the expense of Turks, had sought independence, and had helped the Russians

Enver warned Morgenthau against American preference for minorities. This Young Turk felt that if Armenians allied with the enemy, as in the Van district, his government would have to squash them. Ottoman leaders in general ridiculed the ambassador, a Jew, for seeking to protect Christians. 'I represent the U.S.,' Morgenthau replied, 'and 97% of the people of my country are Christians and only 3% are Jews. In this office I am 97% Christian.'..." #13*

"The missionary line of communication from their stations in Anatolia ran first through missionary offices and the U.S. legation in Istanbul. Terrell referred to the *News Notes*, which were sent from 'every college in the interior' and multiplied on copying machines. These are often filled with details of Turkish outrages, which are obtained of course from the Armenians and when not intercepted by the Turks, reach the American press to excite and often mislead public opinion. The mail was unreliable and the system was an embarrassment. The missionaries provided not only U.S. minister but also the British Embassy with a constant flow of information about the events taking place in the east. Sir Philip Currie, the British ambassador, acknowledged in 1895 that but for the American missionaries 'his government would not have known the enormities practiced'. Other beneficiaries of missionary correspondence included evangelical alliances abroad, the press and those powerful figures who made the Armenian cause their own particularly the 'great English apostles' (Gladstone, the Archbishop of York and the Duke of Argyll). Every missionary statement highlighting atrocities or criticizing the Ottoman Government was also undoubted benefit to Armenians propaganda organizations such as Garabet Hagopian's Patriotic Association in London, the Friends of Armenia and Lord Bryce's Anglo-Armenian Association of which Sir Charles Eliot wrote: 'Their object was to ameliorate the conditions of Armenia, and to secure the introduction of reforms promised by treaty'... 'They invoked public opinion, the rights of Armenia, religious equality'...

Of the connections between the missionaries and influential British public figures! Terrell wrote on July 30th, 1896:

'President Washburn of Robert College, a distinguished American educator, took the place last year of the regular Queen's Messenger and conveyed confidential dispatches from the British Ambassador to Lord Salisbury, the British Embassy paying the expenses.'

"#14 *

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"It is unlikely that any other ambassador in the Ottoman Empire was as dependent as the U. S. ambassador on the reports and translations of his dragomans (who were without exception Armenian origin) and the equally pro-Armenian American missionaries...Although the U.S. and the Ottoman Empire were never at war with one another, the image of the 'Terrible Turk' was especially strong in American public opinion. This was one of the affect of the twisted reports that reached Washington from Constantinople." #15

"... Ambassador Morgenthau reported to Washington on May 25 that nobody put the Armenian guerillas 'at less than 10 000 and 25 000 is probably closer to the truth.'...The Armenian insurrection, writes the Turkish historian Yusuf Hikmet Bayur, 'was a fact, and it caught the Turkish Government in a dangerously volatile situation'. The well-armed Armenian partisan forces operating in Anatolia, insists another Turkish historian, Selim Deringil, 'were more than self-defense' units." #16*

'THE BRITISH BLUE BOOK 'THE TREATMENT OF ARMENIANS IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE'

...Most of the documentary material had come from American sources: the U.S. Dept. of State and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM). At the time of publication in 1916, many of the persons reporting on the Armenian atrocities were still residing in Turkey, so their names and many of their places of residence were withheld. A confidential key to the names and places was published separately.

Turkish authors have dismissed the Bryce-Toynbee volume as wartime propaganda. Gürün calls the Blue Book a massacres 'Story,' typical of British efforts to spread 'rumors of Armenian massacres' and consisting of documents of unproven accuracy 'collected from Armenian sources or from people sympathetic to Armenians from second- or third-hand.' Enver Ziya Karal refers to the British work as 'nothing more than one-sided propaganda.' As such Sarafian, however, believes that the Blue Book possesses 'a serious documentary quality because of its explicit presentation of data and careful analysis.'...It is known that the British Government commissioned the compilation of Turkish atrocities against the Armenians for propaganda purposes, especially with regard to American public opinion. In October 1915, the Foreign Office asked G. Buchanan in Petrograd to inquire as to whether there existed 'any photographs of Armenian atrocities or Armenian refugees,' since 'good use might be made of them in America.' As Toynbee recalled many years later, the Russian armies had committed barbarities against their Jewish population, which had been exploited by the Germans. The British Government, worried that the influential American Jewish community might turn against the Allied cause and strengthen the anti-British camp in the U.S., decided that 'some counter-action must be taken quickly'; fortunately, suitable ammunition had become available. ...'At a time of a desperate military need, writes Akaby Nassibian, the propagation of information about the Armenian deportations and massacres became an 'aspect of British policy and a means, in the hands of the sophisticated Foreign Office for diminishing American sympathies for the Central powers.' The British Blue Book,

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observes Sarafian, 'is an excellent example of the use of American reports for anti-Turkish propaganda.'

...In a private letter written in 1966, Toynbee acknowledged that 'the British Governments motive in asking Lord Bryce to compile the Blue Book was propaganda. But Lord Bryce's motive in undertaking it, and mine in working on it for him, was to make the truth known.' ..." #17

"First, the deportations in fact did not proceed in the same way everywhere. Secondly, while nobody denies that the deportations were ordered by the central government in Constantinople, the Blue Book contains no evidence proving the responsibility of that government for the massacres that did occur. The collection of materials assembled by Bryce and Toynbee thus is important, but it is hardly an 'exemplary academic exercise' and 'a solid milestone in the historiography of the Armenian Genocide,' as Sarafian has argued.

The State Dept., in turn, shared reports on the Armenian situation with the Rev. James L. Barton, the chairman of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, who published accounts of the deportations and massacres in order to raise funds for the surviving victims. The reports of the American diplomats on the events of 1915-16 are available at the National Archives at College Park, Maryland, and have also been published in a carefully prepared edition by Ara Sarafian. ..." #18

"In 1990, the pro-Turkish-American historian Heath Lowry published a critical appraisal of Morgenthau's memoir. Lowry drew attention to Morgenthau's declared desire to help win a victory for the war policy of the U.S. Government. In a letter to President Wilson, written on Nov. 26th, 1917, Morgenthau had expressed his discouragement at the amount of opposition and indifference to the war and proposed authoring a book that would help bring about a change in this situation: ...

Lowry argues that Morgenthau's propagandistic purpose to foster public support for the war effort explains the exaggerations and distortions of the book. Lowry compared Ambassador Morgenthau Story to the sources on which it is based (Morgenthau's Constantinople diary, his dispatches to Washington, as well as letters to his Family) and found numerous discrepancies of same meetings and discussions narrated in the book." #19*

"I checked some of these alleged differences and found them to be real. The memoir is characterized by a pronounced anti-German outlook, which, as also noticed by Ralph Cook, does not appear in his diplomatic reports. Indeed, as Morgenthau notes in his diary, in early 1916 on his way back to the U.S. he was told by Undersecretary Arthur Zimmermann in Berlin that 'I was the only American ambassador who was not antagonistic to the German Government.'...

The published memoir portrays Talat Pasha as the principal villain of the story, calling him 'bloodthirsty and ferocious,' when in fact Morgenthau had good relations with the

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Ottoman minister of the interior. On Nov. 14th, 1914, Morgenthau wrote secretary of state Robert Lansing that he had been able 'to maintain the most cordial and almost intimate relations with Talat and Enver, the Ministers of the Interior and of War,' and the diary reveals that these good relations continued all through his tenure as ambassador...The book records long conversations put into quotation marks, which include purported statements made by Turkish or German officials; however, with few exceptions, no such verbatim comments appear in the sources utilized by Morgenthau. The use of this literary device, designed to make the words put into the mouths of the various players more believable, apparently was the brainchild of the journalist Burton J. Hendrick, who ghost-wrote the book and received a share of the royalties. Morgenthau, who knew neither Turkish nor French, also relied heavily on the assistance of his Armenian secretary, Hagop S. Hagopian, who followed him to the U.S. and lived with him while the book was under preparation. Another key figure in the writing of the book was Morgenthau's interpreter in Constantinople, Arshag K.Schimavonian. The memoir, Lowry concludes, was less a personal memoir than 'a memoir by committee as it were,' a work that bears 'only a cursory relationship to what was actually experienced by Henry Morgenthau during his tenure in Turkey.' ...Some American consular officials were considered to be too close to the Armenians by their superiors. The Charge d'Affaires of the American embassy, Philip Hoffman, on Sept. 15th, 1916, communicated to the secretary of state in Washington his impression that Jesse Jackson in Aleppo, because of his 'long and constant association with the seemingly hopeless Armenian situation, may at times unconsciously over-accentuate certain phases of that situation' " #20*

"Barton soon got him (*Morgenthau*) to speak in Massachusetts and to meet privately with the trustees of the American Board. In Boston, the ambassador made nearly ecstatic remarks about the missionaries, and spoke of his abhorrence of the Turks. Ostensibly, he had come back for a vacation. But he had no intention of returning to the Empire. He desired to assist President Wilson's re-election. Together with Crane, he decided on a Jewish attorney, Abram I. Elkus, as his successor at the Porte. Wilson approved. The Board secretary wanted to make sure that Elkus was 'indoctrinated... to defend American institutions to the last'. Through Morgenthau and Dodge he arranged a long talk with Elkus. Barton sent many documents on the Protestant establishment in the Near East to the ambassador-designate. Just before Elkus' departure for Constantinople in August, 1916, Barton sponsored a banquet at which representatives of the religious groups in Turkey were present. Satisfied he wrote to Morgenthau: 'I was very pleased with him and with his outlook to the work'. In relations with Peet and Gates during his short-lived eight-month tenure at the embassy, Elkus lived up to Barton's evaluation. Toiling at Constantinople partly out of faithfulness to the religionists, Elkus described his schedule: 'I begin in the morning early and usually finish at 10 o'clock at night or late; and it usually lasts seven days in the week.' Barton also cultivated the prestigious Britisher, James Bryce, who had known many American Protestants in the Ottoman Empire for decades.

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At the Bosphorus, Morgenthau, Gates and Peet continued as an Armenophile triumvirate. The three men could transfer funds from the U.S. but they did not have approval of the Porte to distribute relief goods. Gates worked on Talat, and the diplomat on Enver. Both Ottomans hesitated because they felt that large outside help would stimulate rebellion. The Young Turks angrily spurned attempts by the Americans to end the death marches or to plead a special dispensation for Protestant Armenians. Only four of some 40 board members of the ACASR board were either Jews or Catholics." #22*

"Throughout 1915-16, Bryce had been receiving 'first hand' reports from the American missionaries in Turkey about the deportations and massacres of the Ottoman-Armenians... The fundamental fact is that these documents were issued as a Blue Book by the Foreign Office and the editor -Bryce- was probably the most trusted Briton in the U.S." #23

"Henry Morgenthau combined the best views of Bristol, Gates and Barton. Using invitation to help the International Red Cross as an excuse to get to France, the finance chairman of the ACRNE on the first day of arrival, in March, 1919, had conversations with Wilson, House and Hoover. He prepared a memorandum for Wilson: 'The Future Government of Asia Minor', Morgenthau memorandum advocated that one nation, the U.S. or else Britain, supervise each of the three mandates Constantinople, Turkish Anatolia and Armenia...The Morgenthau Memorandum was a useful, even revolutionary document. It included much from the overlapping views about Turkey held by people in or related closely to the Protestant lobby. Coming out of the new diplomacy, it stressed public opinion in the Empire, which had preference for British or American mandates. Realistically, it ignored the cries about one mandate for the whole country. It therefore bypassed some Americans' ethereal yearning over Syria, recognizing that a United States mandate over the Arabs was not a viable option. The paper rejected a totally independent Armenia. It took into account the prediction that such an entity with its mixed population would not easily escape hostilities with Turks. (The ACIA felt that the Morgenthau Memorandum's failure to approve unqualified freedom for Armenia was immoral). It was most importantly an unorthodox policy proposal, capitalizing Wilson's prescription of a mandate system for Turkey, overriding the secret treaties, disregarding the Cobb-Lippmann and other explanations of Point 12, admitting a long-term U.S. embroilment in the Old World ...But the Morgenthau Memorandum had important weaknesses. It came late in the Peace Conference. Further, the American public had little or no conditioning to the idea of a U.S. mandate, an idea which probably required the experience in mission-relief-government coordination developed by Barton during the years since 1915, and the American Board secretary was nearly inaccessible to Paris, having left a command post there for scouting in Asia Minor." #24*

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"...Some initiatives in the chain of decisions leading up to the deportations appear to have come from top members of the CUP central committee, others from the ranks of the military. None of the available evidence refers to a program of physical annihilation. ... Magenta, who entertained Talat for dinner that evening, was told by the minister that the government was prepared to crush all possible attempts of revolution. They had arrested a large number of Armenians, and 'they intended to put them among Turks in the interior' where they can do on harm." #26 *

"On April 24th, Minister of the Interior Talat also sent telegrams to the governors of provinces and districts where Armenian rebellious activities were underway, in which he ordered them to close down all Armenian revolutionary organizations and to arrest their leaders:.. All those arrested were to be turned over to the military courts. The order was not to be implemented 'in such a manner as will cause mutual killings on the part of the Moslem and Armenian elements of the population'." #27

"It is obvious that Morgenthau was a key source for Lepsius' work. Given the fact that Lepsius spent only a month in the Ottoman capital during the war, and that the number of German missionaries in the interior of Anatolia was relatively small, it is not surprising that much of his material on the relocations should have been derived from American Protestant missionary sources. When Lepsius returned to Germany, he devoted himself to a campaign against the Ottoman Government. His various talks were not well received even by some newspaper executives. The charge that Lepsius was exaggerating the miseries of the Armenians was promptly repeated by a spokesman of the Foreign Office in Berlin, in a press conference. The official German view was that the moral responsibility for the Armenian troubles had to be borne by all three Entente Powers...The Turkish viewpoint is that Lepsius did not set foot in Anatolia; he did not talk to a single Armenian there. All the information he gathered consisted of what he had learned from the Patriarchate, and to some extent, from the reports which Ambassador Morgenthau had showed him, reports which were mostly based on hearsay." #28 *

Before we elaborate on the reliability of Morgenthau's views, let us examine some other examples of the echoes of British propaganda in Australia. The following excerpts have been taken from the thesis of Mr. Vahe G. Kateb, dated May 9, 2003, submitted to the University of Wollongong for a Master of Arts degree in Journalism. The writer has conducted extensive research through Australian papers and has come up with interesting charts of article titles and dates, some of which are given below to show the extent of the British propaganda, which was in need of new ANZAC recruits. Considering the distance and months needed for letters to travel back and forth, the fabrication of all news from one center becomes undeniable!

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<u>Yr. 1915</u>	<u>Abrev. Paper Name</u>	<u>TITLE OF ARTICLE:</u>	<u>Short notes of observation- counter comments</u>
Jan. 15 th	THE MERCURY	Progress of the Turks – Massacre of Christians	<i>Ottomans just lost 80,000 men on Russian front in retreat</i>
May 12 th	THE MERCURY	Reported Massacre of Australians	When, how? They just landed ashore in late April 1915?
May 12 th	THE AGE	Turk Horrors – Fearful Butchery “ Christians ”	ANZAC Gallipoli Landing April 25 – <i>can defense be butchery?</i>
May 12 th	THE ARGUS	Christians butchered	Massacres in Armenia Armenians& Russians advanced, declared Republic. In VAN!
May 12 th	BRISBANE CO	Turkish horrors – War on the Christian	Why did Christian travel some 6000 miles to fight whom?
June 11 th	THE MERCURY	Letters of Soldiers! Turks disregard war rules!	How, why? Did they wear feathers defending home country?
June 11 th	SYDNEY Morn. H.	Soldier letter – Turks are savages!	How, why? Did they wear feathers defending home country?
June 17 th	THE AGE	Gross Turkish Cruelty	How, why? Later ANZAC letters praised Turkish gentlemen
June 21 st	THE AGE	Turkish Cruelties	Turks = barbarous = cruel? Do they have any other name?
June 25 th	THE AGE	Turks kill Our Wounded	During War? What did Brits do to Boers or U.S. in Okinawa?
June 26 th	THE AGE	Turks Cut Bugler’s Tong Out!	Oh boy! How, where, why would they do such a “surgery”?
July 30 th	SYDNEY MORN.	Asiatic Turkey – Massacre of Christian	Turks fought Wars vs ANZAC-Russia-Armenia to survive
July 30 th	THE ARGUS	Murderous Turks – Christians Massacred	Did you hear of any non-murderous Turk or murderess Christ?
August, 7 th	BRISBANE CO	Enver Bey and massacres of Christians	Maybe Enver massacred 80,000 Turks too by freezing them
Sept. 23 rd	The REGISTER	Armenian Massacre Extirpating Christianity	Why Turks ‘forgot to do this’ over 600 years they ruled?
Sept. 24 th	THE ARGUS	Turks & Armenians – War against Christians	Didn’t the ANZACS attack first as savior Crusaders ?

I think that so many examples of Christian bigotry, demagoguery, crude fabrications were all aimed to give credence to Britain’s Holy War, and force the U.S. to join this crusade to save Christianity! Never mind the biblical rules about lying etc... The end justified the means this time using name of God...Can you see much difference today or have such disasters caused by fanaticism, taught mankind any **lessons of intelligence and compassion**?

However, in 1994 (June 9th) the following letter was penned by Australia's former ambassador to Ankara, Mr. P. F. Peters, as a response to an anti-Turkish letter published in the daily The Australian. Should we believe the old papers or the Ambassador’s letter?

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"Mr. George Karagiannakis's letter (2/6), making all sorts of incredible allegations against Turkey in regard to its domestic and foreign policies, should not be allowed to go unanswered...It is not possible in the space of a few lines to answer all of his allegations. However, in fairness to the truth, the following points must be made:

The 'facts beyond credible dispute' to which he alludes, are in fact based largely on fictions to justify unrealistic ambitions or failures in the past to achieve totally unrealistic goals...While it is true and sad that many Armenians lost their lives in their own bid for territory, what is not recognized is that the Armenians themselves inflicted as much damage as others in the hostilities of that time, goaded on by some Western powers for their own selfish and geopolitical objectives.

The Turks had no deliberate policy of genocide at any stage, only the removal of Armenians from the front line with Russia, where they were collaborating with the Ottoman Empire's enemies and were thus a threat to its security."

Now, let us read and learn more about the ethics of Morgenthau, the missionaries and other actors:

Ambassadors are normally expected to provide factual, honest and unbiased reporting about the countries where they serve. Ambassador Henry Morgenthau stayed in Istanbul from Nov. 27, 1913 to February, 1916 for a total of 26 months. He was of Jewish faith, an active Zionist and was offered this position in return for his large donation in the campaign of Woodrow W. Wilson. His book Ambassador Morgenthau's Story was first printed in 1918 in New York by Doubleday & Co. and is still referred to as a reliable source of information in U.S. Here are some of the phrases he used to describe Turks.

We start with a study of reputed historian Heath Lowry, with excerpts from his extensive studies about The Story Behind Ambassador Morgenthau's Story - The Isis Press - 1990

"*The Turk* is 'psychologically primitive'(pg. 236), 'bully and coward who can be brave as a lion when things are going his way, but cringing, abject, and nerveless when reverses are overwhelming him' (pg. 275). They are 'like most primitive peoples, wear their emotions on the surface' (pg. 195), and 'basic fact underlying the Turkish mentality is its utter contempt for other races (pg.276), they are 'inarticulate, ignorant and poverty-ridden slaves' (pg. 13), 'barbarous' (pg. 147), 'brutal' (pg. 149), 'ragged and unkempt' (pg. 276), 'parasites' (pg. 280), 'they do not hate, they do not love, they have no lasting animosities or affections, They only fear.'(pg. 99)!

Above, courtesy of Holdwater – Other compliments (!) from British Statesmen as below:

At the age of 86, Mr. Gladstone emerged from retirement at Liverpool to make a last speech against the 'unspeakable Turk', whose empire deserved to be 'rubbed off the map'

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as a 'disgrace to civilization' and a 'curse to mankind'. pg. 562 - *Lord Kinross – "The Ottoman Centuries"*

"Lloyd George went further, 'he did not know what the Turks contributed either to culture, to art, or to any aspect of human progresses. They were a 'human cancer, a creeping agony in the flesh of the lands which they misgoverned, and rotting every fiber of life'. The hour had struck on the great clock of destiny for settling accounts with the Turk. Lloyd George was glad that the Turk was to be called to a final account for his long record of infamy against humanity in this gigantic battle' (pg. 53) 'Nobody was bound by a speech' (pg.116)." *Akaby Nassibian – Britain and the Armenian Question 1915-22*

Let us continue with some paragraphs from Heath Lowry's book, about the authenticity of Morgenthau's book:

"(pg. 4) In short, Morgenthau's goal of contributing to America's war effort by authoring a book which would, in his words 'appeal to the mass of Americans in small towns and country districts as no other aspect of the war could' had been attained in a manner which must have exceeded even his wildest expectations. Indeed, no sooner had *World's Work* begun its installments of the book's opening chapters in May, 1918, than Morgenthau received an offer from Hollywood for the films rights of his 'story'.

(pg. 5) President Wilson expressed his disapproval in no uncertain terms. 'I must frankly say that I hope you will not consent to this... *Personally I believe that we have gone quite far enough in that direction*'.

(pg. 6) In other words, as envisaged by Morgenthau, his 'story' was intended as wartime propaganda, i.e., as a contribution to the Entente war effort.

(pg. 8) For not only did Ambassador Morgenthau need the approval of President Woodrow Wilson to proceed with the plan for the book which bears his name, more importantly he needed the skilled hand of Burton J. Hendrick, to actually write the work in question. In fact, it appears that the actual concept of the book originated in the mind of Hendrick, who first suggested it to Morgenthau in April, 1916. It is through the examination of several thousand letters and documents in the above-mentioned collections that eventually the rather murky origins of the work in questions emerge. From internal evidence, in particular Morgenthau's comments about dictating to his secretary, a Turkish-Armenian named Hagop S. Andonian, it appears that on a regular basis Morgenthau related his day's experiences to Andonian, who in turn typed them up for posterity.

(pg. 9) In addition to his 'Diary', and based primarily upon it, Morgenthau was in the habit of writing a lengthy 'round robin' type weekly letter to various members of his family back home in the U.S.! These letters were likewise prepared by his personal secretary,

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Hagop S. Andonian, and indeed often, as Morgenthau tells us in a letter of May 11, 1915, actually written by him:

'I have really found it impossible to sit down and dictate a letter quietly. So, I have instructed Andonian to take my diary and copy it with some elaborations of his own. Of course this relieves me of all responsibility for any errors.'

(pg. 10) First and foremost, in an acknowledgement made by Morgenthau in the 'Preface' to both the Book's American and British editions, where he wrote: 'My thanks are due to my friend, Mr. Burton J. Hendrick, for the invaluable assistance he has rendered in the preparation of this book.' For in point of fact, Ambassador Morgenthau's Story emerged from the pen of Burton J. Hendrick, with the editorial assistance of a large number of individuals, including Morgenthau himself.

(pg. 11-13) From a reference in a Morgenthau's family letter of July 15, 1914, it appears that Andonian was a student at the American run Robert College around the turn of the century. A surviving photograph of the Embassy staff taken during Morgenthau's tenure, shows him to have been in his early thirties at that time. While nothing specific has apparently survived to shed light on the question of why he returned to the U.S. with the Morgenthau's, a 'Diary' entry for Feb. 8, 1916 clearly establishes that he left Turkey with the Ambassador. Among the surviving Morgenthau correspondence is a copy of a letter addressed by the Ambassador on Jan. 9, 1918 to the Honorable Breckenridge Long, 3rd Assistant Secretary of State, requesting that official's assistance in obtaining a deferment from military service for his secretary, Mr. Hagop S. Andonian. This letter includes the following paragraph:

'You probably know that with the approval of the President, I have undertaken to write a book. Mr. Andonian is assisting me in the preparation of that work and owing to his intimate knowledge of the east and his unusual experience, his services to me are really indispensable'.

This passage establishes three facts of interest: a) One reason for Andonian's being in the U.S. was to assist Morgenthau with the book: b) the actual work on the book had begun by the beginning of Jan. 9th, 1918, and, c) by 1918 Andonian was eligible for military service in the U.S.

(pg. 14) Another key figure who had significant input in the preparation of the book was Arshag K. Schimavonian. Yet another Turkish-Armenian who, in 1918 was in the employ of the State Dept. in Washington, D.C. as a 'special adviser' and who had worked as Morgenthau's interpreter in Istanbul and accompanied him in all meetings with Turkish officials.

(pg. 18) An enclosure of August, 29th, 1918 of comments on Morgenthau's manuscript prepared by the State Dept., appears to have been written by Schimavonian as

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well, thus raising the possibility that he was (as might logically be expected) the official in the department assigned to comment on the draft of Morgenthau's book. Sept. 3rd, 1918 Morgenthau to Schimavonian letter clearly establishes that it was Schimavonian who was commenting on Morgenthau's manuscript. When Morgenthau writes:

'I am sending by this mail our Art. No 7, the first half of the Armenian story... I do hope that in your good-natured and accommodating way, you will work over time and I will promise you that I shall not write more books that have to get approval of the State Dept.'

(pg. 19) Yet another participant in the project was the U.S. Secretary of State, Robert Lansing who (at the President's behest) read and commented upon every chapter of the work in progress. The nature of Lansing's role will be discussed below; however, a number of letters, dating from the gestation period of the book fully illustrated that it was not insignificant. A Lansing to Morgenthau letter of April 2, 1918 in which the Secretary states: 'I am returning herewith the first installment of proof of your book which I have read with particular interest... I have made various marginal notes suggesting certain alterations or omissions in the text before publication and I trust that you will agree with these suggestions'... (Other letters followed)

(pg. 20) When one recollects the fact that prior to beginning of this project, Morgenthau received the written blessings of the President of the U.S., Woodrow Wilson, and, that as the work progressed, each chapter received the personal stamp of approval of the U.S. Secretary of State Robert Lansing, it is clear that Morgenthau's book maybe said to bear the imprimatur of the U.S. Government. This said, what literary merit the work has and all its reviewers found it very readable indeed, is purely the result of Hendrick. While Hendrick was never accorded his due in terms of open recognition of his role in 'ghosting' the story, he was well paid for his efforts, as a surviving letter from Morgenthau to him dated July 5, 1918 attests. In lieu of a normal written contract, which does not appear to have existed between the two men, Morgenthau wrote the following to Hendrick:

(pg. 21) 'I desire to put in writing that I intend to transfer to you a share of the income of the book, "Ambassador Morgenthau's Story", about to be published by Doubleday, Page and Company. The definite arrangement is to be *made when your work on the book is completed*, but if anything should happen to me in the meantime, I hereby direct my Executors to arrange that you are to receive two-fifths of any profits that are coming to me from Doubleday, Page and Co, until you have received \$10,000, and that the first \$5,000 coming to me are to be paid to you on account'. Mr. Burton J. Hendrik's share is 40 cents and Henry Morgenthau's share is 60 cents for every dollar income.

(pg. 22) Hendrick who within 10 years of publication of the Morgenthau book was to receive three Pulitzer Prizes, one for the book he co-authored with Admiral William S. Sims: *The Victory at Sea* (recipient of the Pulitzer Prize in History in 1920) and two in Biography of

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his 1922 work, the *Life and Letters of Walter H. Page* and in 1928 for his second Page volume entitled *The Training of an American....*

(P. 23) Ironically, at least one reviewer of *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story*, a 'W.K.K.' writing in Dec. 5th, 1918 issue of the *Detroit Michigan News*, instinctively sensed that Morgenthau must have had a journalistic collaborator when he wrote:

'... Henry Morgenthau, our Ambassador to Turkey in the first year of the war, is either born journalist or else he had journalistic help in the preparation of his volume entitled "*Ambassador Morgenthau's Story*" is a pure journalese...'

What we are faced with is less the memoirs of one individual, Ambassador Henry Morgenthau, than a memoir by committee as it were. Morgenthau's Istanbul notes (consisting of his 'Diary' and family 'Letters') are reworked initially by Morgenthau and Andonian, together with Hendrick; edited for content by Schimavonian (on behalf of the State Dept.), then 'fine tuned' by the Secretary of State Robert Lansing (on behalf of the Executive) and finally written down as *Morgenthau's Story* by Burton J. Hendrick.

(P. 25) The key questions with which the remainder of this study is concerned are these: how much of *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story* which doesn't originate from the 'Diary' or 'Letters' comes from the fertile journalistic imagination of Burton J. Hendrick, and how much of it was invented by Morgenthau in support of his aim of writing a sensational book damning the Turks and Germans and thereby stirring up support for the war among his fellow Americans? In the same vein, what was the nature of the input from the U.S. Secretary of State Robert Lansing? That is, did he confine himself to censoring potentially embarrassing diplomatic disclosures on the part of Morgenthau, or did he take an active role in attempting to blacken the reputations of Turks and Germans alike in keeping his Presidential employer's and the author's stated aims? Were Morgenthau's views of the disputes between Turks and Armenians shaped by his Armenian eyes and ears, namely Arshag K. Schimavonian and Hagop S. Andonian?

(P. 26) For the benefit of those unfamiliar with Morgenthau's book, it may be necessary to set forth its basic themes, which are four in number, in summary form: 1) German imperialistic motives led the naïve Young Turk Government into the war. 2) The Young Turk leadership, in particular Talat Bey and Enver Pasha, decided to use the cover of the war to once and for all 'Turkify' the Ottoman Empire! To aid this objective, they conceived and perpetrated a plot to exterminate the Ottoman-Armenian population, whom they falsely accused of aiding and abetting their Russian enemy in wartime. 3) Henry Morgenthau was a lone voice tirelessly attempting to dissuade the evil Talat and Enver from their nefarious scheme of destroying the Armenians; and, 4) Morgenthau's efforts failed the sole reason that the one man who could have persuaded the Turks to alter their action, the German Ambassador Baron Wangenheim, sat idly by and refused to speak on behalf of the helpless Armenians. Morgenthau's themes are given creditability by virtue of the fact that

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throughout his 'Story', literally from beginning to end, his troika villains, Wangenheim, Talat and Enver, repeatedly condemn themselves with their own voices of his charges, i.e. over and over Morgenthau provides us first-person accounts, complete quotation marks, of comments allegedly made by these individuals which buttress his contentions as to their roles. Indeed, the only crime that they did not openly confess to, if Morgenthau's account is accepted, was that of 'genocide', and that only, because the terms had not been yet coined!

(P. 27) At the outset, one fact is indisputable: None of the statements given in quotation marks throughout the book, and purporting comments made by one or another Turkish or German official, are based on written records. There simply are no such statements recorded in any of the sources used in writing *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story*. Stated differently, the use of such quoted statements is simply a literary convention adopted by Hendrick in telling Morgenthau's 'Story'. Their purpose can only have been to make words put into the mouths of the various players more believable. While this does not *de facto* establish that they were false, it does mean that we should subject them to far greater scrutiny than they have hitherto received.

(P.30) In describing 'Talat, the leading man in this band of usurpers' Morgenthau states: 'I can personally testify that he cared nothing for Mohammedanism for, like most of the leaders of his party, he scoffed at all religions. <*I hate all priests, rabbis and hodjas*> he once told me'.

In point of fact, there is not a single reference in any of Morgenthau's contemporary Constantinople papers to support this statement. To the contrary, the sole reference to Talat's religious attitudes is found in a 'Diary' entry for July 10th, 1914, where, in describing a small supper party he gave on the previous evening for Talat, Grand Rabbi Nahoum and his wife, and Schimavonian, Morgenthau recorded:

'Talat told me the other evening that he was the most religious in cabinet' and that Djavit had none and Cemal little'.

(P. 31) Even were it not known that Talat Bey was indeed the most religious of the Young Turk leadership, Morgenthau's own 'Diary' and 'Letters' contain literally dozens of references to the close relationship which existed between Talat and the Grand Rabbi Haim Nahoum, leader of the Ottoman Jewish communities which make the quote attributed to him in which he allegedly stated to Morgenthau his "hate (of) all Priests, Rabbis, and Hodjas", extremely unlikely. Why then did Morgenthau choose to portray Talat Bey as an atheist, when his own 'Diary' gives the lie to his contention? The obvious answer is that he felt it would be useful in generating the desired disgust and revulsion on the part of his intended audience to portray the villain of the piece as a godless atheist rather than a supporter of religion, even if it were Islam.

(P. 32) In late spring and early summer 1914, Morgenthau writes:

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'By this time I knew Talat well: I saw him really every day, and he used to discuss practically every phase of international relations with me. I objected to his treatment of the Greeks; I told him that it would make the worst possible impression abroad and that it affected American interests'.

Contrary to Morgenthau's claim of almost daily intimacy with Talat Bey, a thorough analysis of his 'Diary' entries for the period between Jan. 1st, 1914 and July 2nd, 1914, establishes that Morgenthau and Talat met a total of only 20 occasions, of which only eight were actual substantive meetings, the remainder being social events where they happened to be guests at the same dinner parties. Throughout the period in question, Morgenthau saw Talat for substantive purposes an average of only once every three weeks. Indeed, during the height of the expulsions (Mid- May – June 1914) Talat and Morgenthau did not meet at all. Morgenthau's 'Diary' records meetings only on May 4th and again on July 2, 1914.

(Reminder: Talat spoke only some French, hence all conversations were interpreted by Schimavonian for the ambassador)

(P. 39) In reality the Minister of Interior, and *de facto* head of government of a state to which Morgenthau was accredited as Ambassador of a foreign country, received him in a crisis situation at home, and spent some time resolving the issue of foreigners who were citizens of belligerent nations wishing to leave the country without exit visas, via a series of phone calls. This act of gracious kindness is twisted into a parody of fact in which Talat is depicted as an emotionally unstable, petulant schoolboy who can only be controlled by the firm-speaking Henry Morgenthau. While Burton Hendrick could be excused if he had misunderstood the laconic entries in the 'Diary', it appears that all the fictional detail in this section of the book had been added in 1918 by Morgenthau himself.

(P. 50) A close reading of his comments as recorded in Morgenthau's 'Diary' suggest that his comparison of their plans for the Armenians with the American treatment of the Negroes may have been, despite Morgenthau's suggestion, well spoken. It is in fact 'segregation' which he is referring to, as is clear from the final statement attributed to Talat on this matter. To wit, he said: 'they would take care of the Armenians at Zor and elsewhere but they did not want them in Anatolia'. Why does Morgenthau not challenge Talat on this statement? Because it is not out of keeping with what he is hearing at that time from others, including Zenop Bezjian, the 'vekil' (representative) of the Armenian Protestants in the Ottoman Empire. A month after the above mentioned conversation with Talat, Morgenthau receives a visit from Bezjian, which he records in his diary 'Diary' in the following terms:

'Zenop Bezjian, Vekil of Armenian Protestants, called. Schimavonian introduced him. He was his schoolmate. He told me a great deal about the conditions in the interior. I was surprised to hear him report that Armenians at Zor were fairly well satisfied: that they have already settled down to business and are earning their livings; those were the first ones that were sent away and seem to have gotten there without being massacred. He gave me a list

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where the various camps are and he thinks that over 500 000 have been displaced. He was most solicitous that they should be helped before winter set in'.

(P. 51) All comments in *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story*, notwithstanding as late as September, 1915, Morgenthau had not firmly concluded that the Armenians were the subject of an attempted 'extermination' by the Young Turk leadership.

(P. 54) Given the consistency with which Morgenthau has misquoted, modified statements of, and simply fabricated most of the remarks he has attributed to Talat, it seems only fitting that his description of his final meeting prior to his departure from Istanbul with the Turkish leaders should also be noteworthy primarily for its lack of veracity. He begins his account by saying: 'I had my farewell interview with Enver and Talat on Jan. 13th'.

(P. 55) Even in this short sentence manages to incorporate two falsehoods: (a) he did not hold a farewell interview with Talat and Enver at all, but met each man separately and (b) his separate meetings with Talat and Enver actually occurred on Jan. 29th, 1916.

'But we hope you are coming back soon' he (Talat) added, *in the polite (and insincere) manner of the oriental*'.

The reminder to the reader that Talat was not even sincere in his leave-taking appears at first glance to be typical Morgenthau-Hendrick invective. However, an examination of other surviving documents relating to the book, establishes that in this instance the slander's author was none other than the Honorable Robert Lansing, the U.S. Secretary of State. Indeed, just prior to the book's publication, Morgenthau wrote Lansing asking permission to acknowledge the 'trouble taken by Secretary of State Robert Lansing in reading the manuscript and the many valuable and wise suggestions he has made.'

(P. 56) 'Lansing's contribution was to pencil in the phrase: "*with the usual insincere oriental politeness*'.

(P. 57) '*I asked Talat whether I should call on the Sultan to say good-bye and he said that I certainly should and that he would arrange it*'.

Anyone reading this passage realizes that, contrary to what Lansing implied, there was a frank and open friendship linking the American Ambassador and the Ottoman Minister of the Interior. Why does Morgenthau allow the inclusion of so much slanderous material regarding Talat Bey two years later after the fact? The answer is simple and relates to the fact that Morgenthau was writing a piece of wartime propaganda with expressly stated purpose of mobilizing support for President Wilson's war effort. He consciously downplayed the close relationships he enjoyed with the Young Turk leadership throughout his sojourn in Constantinople and sacrificed truth for the greater good of helping to generate anti-Turkish sentiment, which would transform into pro-war sentiment.

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(P. 59) The best that can be said in defense of Morgenthau's rewriting of history is that between his departure from Turkey at the beginning of February, 1916 and two years later when the book was written in 1918, he must have radically altered his opinion about the cause and effect of events on which he had reported.

(P. 60) ...he convinced himself he was serving the greater good by making crude stereotypes of three individuals (Talat, Enver and Wangenheim) whose friendship and confidence he had shared throughout his tenure in Constantinople. Therefore he portrayed them as an evil incarnate, in his desire to 'personalize' the evil of the war. Did one comprehend the enormity of the injustice perpetrated by Morgenthau's book? This is the question which must occur to anyone who systematically compares the written records compiled by Morgenthau in the course of his 26 month sojourn in Turkey (a record which shows him to have been a fairly active participant in a very complex game of International politics), with crude half-truths and outright falsehoods which typify his book from cover to cover. A single letter, fortuitously preserved among the Morgenthau papers in the Roosevelt Library, addressed to the Ambassador by George A. Schreiner, proves that at least one of his contemporaries took strong exception to his efforts..

Dated Dec. 11, 1918, the Schreiner letter, written by a distinguished foreign correspondent who had served in Turkey from February through the end of 1915, literally gives voice to all queries we must have after this examination.

We recognize Schreiner's name from references to him in *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story*, in the 'Diary' entries for 1915, and from mention in the weekly family Letters' as well. (Note: Other news reports distributed through Reuters, give plenty of evidence that the Associated Press correspondent Schreiner, was on the Eastern war front in mid 1915 and he could see what was going on, better than others)

(P. 61) There can in fact be no question that Morgenthau and Schreiner saw quite a bit of one another in 1915 as the 'Diary' records the two men met on no less than 30 occasions between the dates of Feb. 9th and May 31st. In his book, Morgenthau refers to Schreiner as 'the well-known American correspondent of the Associated Press', while in the 'Diary' entry for Feb. 9th, 1915 he adds the information that Schreiner was a 'special traveling correspondent of the Associated Press of America whose stories were carried in 937 daily papers.'

Schreiner, whose letter to Morgenthau was occasioned by a chance meeting in the State Dept. in December, 1918, as well as by the fact that he had recently read *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story*. Addressed him in the following terms:

(P.62) ' ... I am writing this letter under the impression that the peace of the world will not gain by such extravagant efforts as yours. Before there can be understanding among peoples each must have the right perspective of things, and that perspective consists of knowing the true proportions of right and wrong..

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Since I knew Baron Wangenheim probably better than you did, I do hope that the future historians will pay little attention to what you said of the man. But it has ever been easy to slander the dead. You know as well as I do that the German ambassador was not at all the figure you and your collaborators have fashioned. Nor did you possess in Constantinople that omniscience and omnipotence you have arrogated onto yourself in the book. In the interest of truth, I will also affirm that you saw little of the cruelty you fasten upon the Turks. Besides that, you have killed more Armenians than ever lived in the districts of the uprising.

The fate of those people was sad enough without having to be exaggerated as you have done. I have probably seen more of the Armenian affair than all the Armenian attaches of the American embassy together.

... To be perfectly frank with you, I cannot applaud your efforts to make the Turk the worst being on earth, and the German worse, if that be possible. You know as well as I do, that Baron Wangenheim all but broke relations with the Turks on one occasion, when to his pleas for the Armenians he was returned a very sharp answer by Talat Bey, then minister of the interior. Has it ever occurred to you that all governments reserve to themselves the right to put down rebellion? It seems to me that even Great Britain assumed that stand towards the Fathers of the Republic.

That the effort of the Turk went beyond all reasonable limits is most unfortunate, but have you ever considered for a moment that in the East they do not view things with the eyes of those of the Occident? I wonder what your erstwhile friends in Constantinople think of that effort. Enver especially fares poorly, and this after you had made so much of him. Is it not a fact that Enver Pasha was as enlightened a young leader as could be found?

(P. 63) Of course, he was rather inexperienced, as you know, somewhat impulsive and given to being confidential, often in the case of untrustworthy characters. Apart from that he was in no respect what you picture him. Of course, if we are to take it for granted that we of the West are saints, and then no Turk is any good. You will agree with me, no doubt, that the Turks count among the few gentlemen still in existence. 'I do not want you to look upon this as a declaration of war. My purpose in mentioning these matters is to let you know that there is at least one human being not afraid to break a lance with an ex-ambassador of the U.S.! Ultimately, truth will prevail. I have placed my limited services at her command... Of diplomatic events on the Bosphorus more will be heard as soon as I can get my notes and documents now in Europe. I do not rely on memory in such cases, as my book may have shown to you already. Being a newspaperman, instead of a diplomat I must be careful in what I say'.

Almost 72 years were to pass before Schreiner's claim that 'ultimately truth will prevail' was to even begin to tarnish the self image of 'omniscience and omnipotence' which Morgenthau attributed to himself in his 'Story' and, before Morgenthau's efforts 'to make the Turk the worst being on earth', were to be queried. Ironically, it was Morgenthau's penchant for keeping old letters that accounts for the fortuitous survival of the Schreiner letter!

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(P. 64) Likewise, Schreiner understood and rejected Morgenthau's efforts to blacken the reputation of the deceased German Ambassador Wangenheim, as well as those of Talat Bey and Enver Pasha and the Turks in general.

Further Schreiner rejects Morgenthau's treatment of the Armenian persecutions and charges him with having 'killed more Armenians than ever lived in the districts of the uprisings'. In so doing, Schreiner makes the interesting point 'that I have probably seen more of the Armenian affair than all the Armenian attaches of the American embassy together. That he had indeed been an eyewitness to the events in Anatolia, is shown by an examination on Schreiner's book on his experiences in Turkey, From Berlin to Baghdad: Behind the Scenes in the Near East, in which he details meeting the first convoy of Armenian deportees (those who had revolted in Zeytun) on the road near Adana on April 26th, 1915.

(P. 65) Upon his return to Constantinople he wrote up these experiences and presented them to Morgenthau, thereby providing the Ambassador the first eyewitness account of the deportations he received. Indeed the original of this document, dated and signed by Schreiner on May 24, 1915, is still preserved in the Morgenthau papers.

Schreiner did indeed write a book attacking Wilson's habit of sending untrained individuals as Ambassadors to European capitals in wartime, and, as might be expected, Morgenthau is one of his case studies of this practice. However, *The Craft Sinister*, as his book was titled, adds little detail to the charges contained in the letter. This despite a comment on the 'Preface', which leads the reader to think otherwise:

'It is hoped that the future historian will not give too much heed to the drivel one finds in the books of diplomatist- authors. I at least have found these books remarkably unreliable on the part played by the author. It would seem that these literary productions are on par with the 'blue books' published by governments for the edifications and their own amusement of the public, as in some cases I will show'.

(P. 69) In 1990, 72 years after the initial appearance, *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story* is still in print. In the same year it has been repeatedly cited on the floors of the U.S. Congress, by a host of well meaning senators, as proof of the fact that the Young Turk Government planned and carried out a 'genocide' against its Armenian minority.

(P. 70) Currently, a number of 'Genocide and Holocaust Studies Curricula Guides' which are in use in high schools in the U.S. expose students to passages from the book furnishing examples of the twisted minds that can plan and perpetrate genocide, etc. etc. In short, far from having found the well-earned rest it deserves, *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story* remains today a lynch pin in the body of literature which has and continues to present the Turks as some of the unrepentant genocidal villains of history.

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(P. 71) Indeed, there are three names generally associated with spreading the Armenian saga while war continued. They are Lord Bryce, whose 1916 compilation of documents entitled: *The Treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire* sounded the first alert. The German Protestant Pastor Johannes Lepsius, whose 1917-1918 *Le Rapport Secret du Dr. Johannes Lepsius sur les Massacres D'Armenie*, spread word to the rest of Europe, and *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story*, which appeared simultaneously in Europe and the U.S. in 1918. What is less known is the relationship between these three works, and, in particular, the role played by Henry Morgenthau in each of them...

On July 31st, 1915, Morgenthau's 'Diary' contains the following account of the first meeting between the American Envoy and the German Pastor Lepsius: *'At three p.m. Dr. J. Lepsius from Postdam, called. He told us a great deal about the Armenian matters and was anxious to know what we knew... Lepsius seems to be really in earnest to do something. He suggests going to Geneva from here and appeal to the International Red Cross, heads of the neutral nations, and Pope join the universal protest'*.

(P. 72) The family 'Letters' which discusses this meeting repeats the above and adds the following: 'I arranged an interview between Tsamados, the Greek Charge d'Affaires and Lepsius, as the Professor wanted to know how the Greeks were treated'. So impressed was Morgenthau by this meeting that on the very same day he sent a cipher telegram to the State Dept. requesting permission to provide all the information the Embassy had on file to Lepsius. In his words:

'The Doctor (Lepsius) proposed to submit matter to International Red Cross for common action to try to induce Germany to demand a cessation of these horrors. He earnestly request access to information Embassy had on file. Will give him if Department has no objection'.

Though the request for access to information originated with Lepsius, the tone of Morgenthau's cipher makes it absolutely clear that he concurred with it. As a follow-up to their 21 July meeting, Morgenthau invited Lepsius to dinner on the evening of August 3, 1915. Morgenthau's 'Diary' entry for that day records the following on their discussion:

'We had a long and full discussion about Armenian affairs. Lepsius told us about his past activities in the matter... Lepsius thinks little can be done at present to stop the deportations but that he will go to Switzerland, Geneva, to stir up International Red Cross. I told him that this will be the economic destruction of Turkey and that the Germans would find empty husk when they obtained possession. I sent for Schimavonian and he came and participated in the discussion after supper'

(P.74) ... Morgenthau was a key source for the Lepsius work. Given the fact that Lepsius spent only a month in the Ottoman capital during the war and that the number of German missionaries in the interior of Anatolia was relatively small, it is not surprising that much of this material on the deportations should have been derived from American Protestant missionary sources. The fact that Morgenthau's 'discretion' consisted of giving

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Lepsius open access to his Embassy's files and copies of their contents, suggests that he may well have been stretching the intent of Lansing's instructions to their limit. Less than a month after receiving Lansing's cipher, Morgenthau received a letter from Lord James Bryce, with whom he had become acquainted in the course of a 1914 trip to Palestine. Bryce, who had already lent his name to Wellington House's propaganda usage of atrocity stories, in the case of the 'Report of the Committee on Alleged German Outrages', or the 'Bruce Report', as it was commonly known, after commenting on the reports of 'shocking massacres committed on the Armenians', comes to the real purpose of his letter. He asks:

'If any reports come to your Embassy from the American missionaries scattered through Asiatic Turkey which would cast light on the situation, possibly you would allow me to see them occasionally. Your own consular reports would of course be sent to your own Government only''

(P.76) When one realizes that this material which forms the backbone of what was one of the most effective pieces of wartime propaganda directed against the Turks was supplied to British intelligence by a Neutral U.S. Ambassador where it was published as part of the British efforts to stir up the American public opinion against Turks...

(P.77) What is not mentioned is the fact that many of the atrocity stories published by Toynbee in 1915 work, were supplied by none other than Henry Morgenthau. Leaving aside the all important question of the value of the material supplied by Morgenthau, one fact is indisputable, namely, his key role in the genesis of all the wartime atrocity books relating to the Turkish treatment of Armenians. Through his role as a conduit for material flowing to the German Lepsius and England's Lord Bryce and Arnold Toynbee, Henry Morgenthau was a major factor in the shaping of American public opinion vis-à-vis Turks and Armenians long before he ever approached President Wilson late in 1917 with the project which ultimately became Ambassador Morgenthau's Story.

(P.78) One cannot help but wonder how many young Armenians who turned to the terrorist assassinations of Turkish officials (and bystanders) in the 1970's and early 1980's were influenced by reading Ambassador Morgenthau's Story? How many of them came to view innocent individuals not even born at the time of World War I as fair game for terrorist attack simply because they were ethnic descendants of Talat Bey, who (according to Morgenthau) bragged that he had 'accomplished more toward solving the Armenian problem in three months than Abdulhamid accomplished in 30 years'. The duty of scholars is to find, nourish and preserve truth. It should not be to help perpetuate hate by disseminating fantasy as fact and outright lies as truth. Henry Morgenthau, Sr. has been dead for 44 years. It is long past the time that his book should likewise be laid to rest. His legacy rightfully lies in the 'Diary', his family 'Letters' and his cabled dispatches and written reports in the form of letters submitted to the U.S. State Dept. during his 26-month stay in Turkey. They, and they alone, are the real Ambassador Morgenthau's Story.

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(P.80) What can be said of scholars working on the Armenian 'genocide', who, in publication after publication, over the past decades quote the outright lies and half-truths which permeate Morgenthau's 'Story' without ever questioning even the most blatant of inconsistencies? This is, despite the fact that, their bibliographies indicate that they have utilized the Morgenthau Papers in the Library of Congress collections wherein the 'Diary' is preserved. "

Another objective of the British Government was to establish a new land for the 'Zionist' movement in the Ottoman Empire. These activities were conjunct to the Armenian uprisings, but in the Southern flank. Although the British were the planners and activists of this movement, U.S.A. and Ambassador Morgenthau (a Jew), supported it in full." # 29

***<Until the Lord have given rest unto your brethren, as well as unto you, and until they also possess the land which the Lord your God hath given them beyond Jordan, and then shall ye return every man unto his possession, which I have given you>**

(Word of GOD to Moses)

"EXODUS" Leon Uris – Doubleday & Co., NY, 1958 Preface

"During its formative years, then, David Lloyd George had represented the Zionist movement as it sought to define itself. It was no more than one of his many clients -and not a major one at that- yet, as a result of his professional representation of it, no other British political leader was in a better position than he to understand its character and its goals. As he contemplated the conquest of Palestine in 1917 and 1918, nobody had a clearer idea than he of what to do with it once it was his." #30

"Lloyd George felt much the same need to reformulate war goals that Wilson did, but arrived at different conclusions. Wilson proclaimed that the enormity of the war required peace without annexations. Lloyd George took the other view: the enormity of the war required indemnities and annexations on an enormous scale." #31

"Like Woodrow Wilson, whose concern in the Middle East was for American Protestant schools and missions, Lloyd George wanted his country to carry out what be regarded as the Lord's work in the region. But, unlike the President, the Prime Minister planned to aggrandize his country's empire by doing so.

Lloyd George had followed his own intellectual path to the conclusion that Britain should sponsor Jewish nationalism in the post-war Middle East. A number of his colleagues within the British Government arrived at the same conclusion in 1917, though by different paths -- many roads led to Zion. The odd thing was that, just as they had supported the Emir Hussein because of mistaken notions about Arabs and Moslems, they were now about to support Zionism because mistaken notions about Jews." #32

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"C. P. Scott, editor of the liberal Manchester Guardian, was converted to Zionism in 1914 by Chaim Weizmann, a Russian Jewish chemist who had settled in Manchester. Scott, who was considered Lloyd George's closest political confidant, took up the cause with all the force of his idealistic nature. The military correspondent of the Guardian, Herbert Sidebotham, saw a complementary aspect of the matter: a military advantage to Britain. In the issue of Nov. 26, 1915, he wrote that 'the whole future of the British Empire as a Sea Empire' depended upon Palestine becoming a buffer state inhabited 'by an intensely patriotic race.'

The conversion of the Manchester Guardian was brought about in the context of the World War I, but Lloyd George had come to Zionism -or rather, it had come to him- more than a decade before. In 1903, he had been retained as the British attorney for the Zionist movement and for its founder, Dr Theodore Herzl, in connection with an issue that caused an agonizing split in Zionist ranks: whether a Jewish state necessarily had to be located in Palestine. As one who represented Herzl at the moment of decision, he was in a position to understand the movement's dilemmas." #33

"When William Ormsby-Gore joined Amery and Sykes as one of the three assistant secretaries of the War Cabinet, he brought with him a more concrete interest in the immediate prospects of the Zionist idea. Ormsby-Gore, a Member of Parliament and secretary to Lord Milner, had gone out to the Middle East to work with the Arab Bureau. Under his personal command was Aaron Aaronsohn, leader of a highly effective, intelligence-gathering group operation working behind Ottoman lines in Jewish Palestine to provide information about Turkish troop movements. Like Jabotinsky, Aaronsohn was attacked by fellow Jews for identifying Zionist interests with those of the Allies—and thus endangering the Palestinian Jewish community, which Cemal Pasha was tempted to treat, as his colleagues had treated the Armenians. Aaronsohn's information about Turkish defenses and military dispositions proved to be of great value to the British military command in Egypt however, and was appreciated by Ormsby-Gore." #34

"The Prime Minister was unaware of the complex of motives behind the position taken by Lloyd George, who told the Cabinet that it would be an outrage to let the Christian Holy Places in Palestine fall into the hands of 'Agnostic Atheistic France.' Asquith found it odd that Samuel and Lloyd George should advocate a British protectorate for Palestine for such different reasons: 'Isn't it singular that the same conclusion should be capable of being come to, by such different roads?' It was a prescient remark for, in the years to come, British officials traveling along many different roads happened to arrive at the same conclusion: a distinctive characteristic of Britain's evolving Palestine policy was that there was no single reason for it." #35

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"Inferior status, persecutions, frequent massacres, and repeated expulsions from one country after another further reinforced their sense of separate identity and special destiny. In the end—according to their religious teachings—God would bring them back to Zion, and in the course of their Passover ceremony each year they would repeat the ritual prayer, 'Next year in Jerusalem!' "#36

"By the beginning of the 20th century, Herzl's negotiations with the Ottoman Empire had convinced him that the Sultan would not agree to the Zionist proposals—at least for the time being. So he looked elsewhere. In 1902 Herzl held an important meeting with Joseph Chamberlain, the powerful Colonial Secretary in the Salisbury and Balfour Cabinets and the father of modern British imperialism. Chamberlain, too, believed in a national solution to the Jewish problem, and listened sympathetically to Herzl's fall-back proposal that a Jewish political community should initially be established across the frontier from Palestine, in the hope that Palestine would eventually become available, somehow or other." #37

"Prime Minister, Arthur James Balfour, who had also thought deeply about the Jewish question and had concluded that it required a national solution, supported Chamberlain's proposal. Herzl agreed and Lloyd George accordingly drafted a Charter for the Jewish Settlement, and submitted it formally to the British Government for approval. In the summer of 1903 the Foreign Office replied in a guarded but affirmative way that if studies and talks over the course of the next year were successful, His Majesty's Government would consider favorably proposals for the creation of a Jewish colony..." #38

"An army officer whom Amery had known in South Africa, Lieutenant-Colonel John Henry Patterson, had commanded a Jewish corps in the Gallipoli campaign, and asked Amery to help get permission from the War Office to create a regiment of non-British Jews to fight under British command. This regiment would then be sent to fight in Palestine if and when Britain invaded the Ottoman Empire from Egypt and the Sinai. Patterson was an Irish Protestant, a student of the Bible, a professional army officer and amateur lion hunter, known for his best-selling book *The Man-eaters of Tsavo* and for his buccaneering spirit. The idea of a Jewish regiment had come from Vladimir Jabotinsky, a fiery Russian Jewish journalist who believed that Englishmen resented the presence in Britain of a large immigrant population of capable Russian Jews who were not yet British subjects and who did not undertake military service." #39

"Unlike his colleagues he (*Palmerston*) was keenly aware that there were centuries-old tendencies in British Nonconformist and Evangelical thought toward taking the lead in restoring the Jews to Zion. Indeed they formed the background of his own Nonconformist faith. He was only the latest in a long line of Christian Zionists in Britain that stretched back to the Puritans and the era in which the Mayflower set sail for the New World. Promised lands were still much thought about in those days, whether in the U.S. or in Palestine...The idea recurred: in the mid-19th century, the social re former Anthony Cooper, who became

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Earl of Shaftesbury, inspired a powerful evangelical movement within the Church of England that aimed at bringing the Jews back to Palestine, converting them to Christianity, and hastening the 2nd Coming. Shaftesbury also inspired Palmerston, the Foreign Secretary and his relation by marriage, to extend British consular protection to Jews in Palestine: 'Palmerston had already been chosen by God to be an instrument of good to His ancient people,' Shaftesbury noted in his diary." #40

"...As usual, Palmerston upheld the Ottoman cause. One of his purposes in advocating a Jewish Palestine was to strengthen the Ottoman regime, by providing it with Jewish support. Another was to provide Britain with a client in the Middle East, and therefore an excuse for intervention in Ottoman affairs. The Russians, as defenders of the Orthodox faith, and the French, as champions of the important and strategically located Maronite (Roman Catholic) community in Lebanon, claimed to represent significant Middle Eastern interests and communities. For the want of Protestants in the area, Britain had to adopt some other protégé in order to be able to make a similar claim.

Palmerston's notion of restoring the Promised Land to the Jewish people also proved to be shrewd domestic politics. It struck a responsive chord in British public opinion that harked back to Puritan enthusiasm. According to the leading authority on Palmerston's diplomacy, his policy 'became connected with a mystical idea, never altogether lost in the 19th century, that Britain was to be the chosen instrument of God to bring back the Jews to the Holy Land.' This somehow coexisted, at least in Britain's upper classes, with pervasive anti-Semitism.

In 1914 the entry of the Ottoman Empire into the war appeared to have brought about the political circumstances in which the Zionist dream at last could be realized. 'What is to prevent the Jews having Palestine and restoring a real Judaea?' asked H. G. Wells in an open newspaper letter penned the moment that Turkey came into the war. A similar thought occurred soon afterward to Sir Herbert Samuel, Postmaster General in Asquith's Cabinet, one of the leaders of the Liberal Party, and the first person of the Jewish faith to sit in a British Cabinet. In January, 1915 he sent a memorandum to Prime Minister Asquith proposing that Palestine should become a British protectorate -because it was of strategic importance to the British Empire- and urging the advantages of encouraging large-scale Jewish settlement there. The Prime Minister had just been reading Tancred -a novel by Benjamin Disraeli, the 19th century British leader (baptized a Christian, but born of a Jewish family), who advocated a Jewish return to Palestine- and Asquith confided that Samuel's memorandum 'reads almost like a new edition of Tancred brought up to date' ". #41

"They constructed towns as well; in 1909, on barren sand dunes by the sea, they began to build what is now Tel Aviv. They were encouraged and supported from abroad by the relatively small group of Jews, whose program called for a return to Zion; the Zionist movement.

At the end of 1914, just after the Ottoman Empire entered the World War I, Cemal Pasha, who became Turkey's ruler of Syria and Palestine, took violent action against the

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Jewish settlers. Influenced by a bitterly anti-Zionist Ottoman official named Beha-ed-din, Cemal moved to destroy the Zionist settlements and ordered the expulsion of all foreign Jews -which is to say, most of Jewish Palestine. The expulsions had already begun before the German Government- fearful of alienating Jewish opinion in neutral countries—induced Talat and Enver to intervene. The American ambassador, Henry Morgenthau, acted together with von Wangenheim in the matter.

Though the American and German Governments were able to influence the Porte, the Porte was not always able to control the actions of Cemal, who frequently played a lone hand and looked upon the Palestinian Jewish community as potentially seditious. To some extent this proved to be a self -fulfilling prophecy. While most Palestinian Jews chose to avoid involvement in the world war, David Ben-Gurion and Itzhak Ben Zvi, former law students at the University of Constantinople who were leaders of the Labor Zionist movement, offered to organize a Palestinian Jewish Army in 1914 to defend Ottoman Palestine. But, instead of accepting their offer, Cemal deported them and other Zionist leaders in 1915. Ben-Gurion and Ben Zvi went to the U.S., where they continued to campaign for the creation of a pro-Ottoman Jewish Army. But in early-1918 they rallied to a Jewish Army formation that was to fight in Palestine on the British side against the Ottoman Empire. Nothing the wartime Ottoman Government had done had given them cause to remain pro-Turk...Yet despite Cemal's capricious and often cruel measures, most Jewish settlers in Palestine did nothing to subvert the Ottoman Empire; and only a tiny minority albeit a highly effective one— worked against it. Of that tiny minority, led by an agricultural scientist named Aaron Aaronsohn, more will be said later." #42

"As human -beings, no two men could have been less alike than the austere American President and the charming but morally lax British Prime Minister. As politicians, though, they were similar: loners who had won power through the fluke of a party split. Each carried on a personal foreign policy, bypassing the State Dept. and the Foreign Office. Both Wilson and Lloyd George had been reluctant to let their countries enter the war and, after opting for war, had found it difficult to keep their pacifist and anti-war supporters in line. Both men were of the political left; but there the similarities came to an end, for while Wilson was moving in an ever more progressive and idealistic direction, Lloyd George was doing just the opposite." #43

"Of the meeting, The Times wrote that 'its outstanding features were the Old Testament spirit which pervaded it and the feeling that, in the somewhat incongruous setting of a London theatre, the approaching fulfillment of ancient prophecy was being celebrated with faith and fervor.' It was appropriate that it should be so. Biblical prophecy was the first and most enduring of the many motives that led Britons to want to restore the Jews to Zion." #44

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"As a Boer, steeped in the Bible, Smuts strongly supported the Zionist idea when it was raised in the Cabinet. As he later pointed out, the 'people of South Africa and especially the older Dutch population has been brought up almost entirely on Jewish tradition.'" #45

"The following month, after discussions with the Foreign Office, the Zionists presented Balfour with the following proposal for the official statement: 'His Majesty's Government accepts the principle that Palestine should be reconstituted as the national home of the Jewish people.' Three and a half months later, on Oct. 31st, having discussed the matter twice and having ascertained the views of U.S. President Woodrow Wilson and of 10 representative Jewish leaders, both Zionist and anti-Zionist, the War Cabinet approved the text of the official statement and authorized Balfour to publish it. Issued two days later in the form of a letter from Balfour to Lord Rothschild, the government's statement, or the Balfour Declaration, as it came to be known, stated that 'His Majesty's Government views with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use its best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.' At the post-war peace conference, convened in Paris in January 1919, the Zionists sought to turn this formal British pledge into an international commitment to their national venture. To this end they asked the conference to recognize 'the historic title of the Jewish people to Palestine and the right of the Jews to reconstitute in Palestine their National Home,' to vest the country's 'sovereign possession' in the League of Nations, and to appoint Britain as 'Mandatory of the League,' tasked with creating 'such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment there of the Jewish National Home and ultimately render possible the creation of an autonomous Commonwealth, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.'" #46

"The northern boundary of the Jewish national home was to start at a point on the Mediterranean south of Sidon and to follow the watersheds of the foothills of the Lebanon Mountains past Mount Hermon to the vicinity of the Hijaz Railway. In the east, the frontier was to run close to and west of the Hijaz Railway terminating in the Gulf of Aqaba, while in the south it was to be agreed upon with the Egyptian Government; in the west, Palestine was to be bounded by the Mediterranean.'

Far more expansive than the Sykes-Picot scheme, this Zionist vision was not very different from local perceptions of Palestine's boundaries, and far more restrictive than the views held by some British officials. Recall, for example, that Muhammad Faruqi, who was instrumental in extracting McMahon's fateful promises to Hussein, considered the Hijaz Railway Palestine's eastern frontier, while the 1915 de Bunsen Committee went much further and defined Palestine as the much larger area stretching from the Mediterranean to Mesopotamia and comprising today's states of Israel and Jordan. As for Balfour, his

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perception of Palestine's eastern frontier was almost identical to that of the Zionists. 'Palestine should extend into the lands lying east of the Jordan,' he wrote in a special memorandum on August, 11th, 1919. 'It should not, however, be allowed to include the Hedjaz Railway, which is too distinctly bound up with exclusively Arab interests.' As far as the country's northern frontier was concerned, he deemed it 'eminently desirable' that Palestine 'should obtain the command of the water-power which naturally belongs to it, whether by extending its borders to the north, or by treaty with the mandatory of Syria, to whom the southward flowing waters could not in any event be of much value.' The delineation of these frontiers, in Balfour's opinion, should be determined not by considerations of Egyptian defense, as suggested by the military, but rather by the need 'to make a Zionist policy possible by giving the fullest scope to economic development in Palestine.' Indeed, Lloyd George's vision of Palestine 'from Dan to Beersheba,' which constituted the British position during the post-war peace negotiations, was highly reminiscent of the Zionist demands as far as the country's northern and eastern frontiers were concerned, though far more restrictive with respect to the southern border (that is, the exclusion of the Negev from Palestine's territory)...Although this biblical definition was adopted by the Supreme Powers Conference, which reconvened in London on Feb. 12th, 1920, with the salient absence of the U.S., its precise meaning was to constitute an Anglo-French bone of contention." #47

"The fraudulent de Caix Note, accepted as authentic by the U.S. Peace Commission, led the Americans next day to decide that the Ottoman Empire was the great loot of the war and that the International Commission would be senseless. Other voices helping in this capitulation to the old diplomacy were those of the U.S. Zionists. The Zionists had seen that polling Arabs in Palestine was not the best way to create sentiment for a Jewish homeland and had been importuning Wilson and House with their anxieties. Lybyer and Crane thereupon planned a private trip to Constantinople, and King made reservations to return to Oberlin...

For years, the American Zionist movement had been growing, but its competition with missionary diplomacy had not become clear until the Peace Conference. Some U.S. ministers and consuls to Turkey in the late-19th century had taken an active interest in Jewish immigration to Palestine. Many American Protestants, like Presbyterian clergyman William Blackstone, had supported Zionism. Blackstone in 1891 led a group of prominent personages to petition the U.S. State Dept. for a Jewish home in Palestine. During the early months of World War I, the Wilson administration cooperated with Zionists to help prevent the deportation of 100,000 Ottoman Jews. Throughout the war, the U.S. Government aided American Jewish relief enterprise in Palestine like it aided the ACRNE. At the same time, public opinion favoring a homeland became quite strong. In 1916, the Presbyterian General Assembly passed a resolution, sponsored by Blackstone, which endorsed Jewish homeland. Wilson's daily Bible reading aided assumption that since Jews and Armenians were people of the Bible they were certain to be reborn politically after the war. In 1919 pro-Arab missionaries like Bliss did not feel the same as Wilson and Blackstone about Zionism.

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These missionaries sensed the strife inherent between Arab nationalism and Zionism: they were not as much anti-Zionist as pro-Arab... Felix Frankfurter, a spokesman for American Zionists at Paris, sought to counter what seemed to him the anti-Zionist Protestant diplomacy. He wrote Wilson that the appointment of the international Commission had brought the 'deepest disquietude' to world Jewry. The President's reply to Frankfurter neglected the threat of the inquiry to a Jewish homeland: 'I never dreamed that it was necessary to give you any renewed assurance of my adhesion to the Balfour Declaration, and so far I have found no one who is seriously opposing the purpose which it embodies.'

Bliss plan for an investigation was not laid to rest by Zionist or French disquietude. An expert with the British peace delegation, Arnold Toynbee, on Saturday, April 19th, stimulated Lybyer's imagination. Toynbee informed him that Lloyd George had selected Henry McMahon (former high commissioner in Egypt), the scholar David Hogarth, and Toynbee himself for the British section of the International Commission. Concurrently, bases for a Franco-Arab understanding in Paris was cracking." #48

"The British capitalism starting from the process initiated by Berlin Conference intensified the imperialist pressure The Armenian people. For that the British diplomacy carefully masked its activities maintained via its consulates and intelligence networks by covering them up by the Berlin Treaty and Cyprus Convention and exploiting the Armenian nationalists' tendency towards Western Europe. The Protestant missionaries became Britain's ideological accomplices serving as the spies of the British diplomacy." # 49

"However, one corollary – the importance of supposed biblical covenants with God in shaping self-perceived national identities as a New Israel – must be raised here. The relevance is that such peoples tend to be zealous, driven by history – risky leadership for a great power." #50

"The Massachusetts Bay Colony, in turn, was built by English Puritan emigrants, and the 19th century Mormons in Utah represented still another Zion-bound migration" #51

"Utah was colonized as New Zion, and July 23rd, the date of Mormon entry into the Promised Land, became their principal holiday and their occasion for celebrating their own exodus and triumph." #52

"Before the war, citizens of both sides had proclaimed America to be God's vehicle for the redemption of mankind, glorifying the tale of biblical Israel and the post independence US strikingly similar." #53

"Ministers also argued that if defensive war by Israel had been justifiable in the Bible, it must be justifiable again." #54

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"As I type these words into my computer in 2006, we have a conservative Bible-believing President in the White House, a conservative Senate, a conservative House of Representatives, and seven out of nine Justices on the U.S. Supreme Court appointed by conservative administrations (with additional High Court appointments imminent). FOX News, MSNBC and CNN are admittedly conservative in their news coverage or shifting soon to conservative coverage. The radio airwaves are absolutely dominated by insufferable, loud-mouthed, hypocritical right-wing talk show hosts whose methods of debate are to obnoxiously shout down the opposition and to cloak themselves in the mantle of religion, patriotism on the cheap and holier-than-thou snobbery. Yet these same conservatives sincerely perceive themselves as a meek and unfairly persecuted minority who never get to express their humble opinions, since everything is supposedly under the control of liberals and atheists.

...The news media are afraid to offend their audience and therefore abandon any pretense of objectivity when covering religion. The Christian conservative community will not tolerate any expression of opinion but their own." # 55

"If you agree with them on politics and religion, then you're a patriotic American bound for Heaven. If you disagree with them on politics or religion, then you're an unpatriotic criminal destined for Hell." #56

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Chapter 16: References and Footnotes:

1*. Salahi Sonyel, *The Great War and the Great Tragedy of Anatolia*, T.T.K., pg.142

Thus what Russians were doing to Jews, was inverted and became theme of tales “what Turks were doing to Armenians”.

2. Ibid, pg. 144

3. Ibid, pg. 148

4. Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy & the Near East*, U.of Minn. Press, 1991, pg.75

5. Ibid, pg. 76

6*. Salahi Sonyel, *The Great War & the Great Tragedy of Anatolia*, T.T.K., pg. 145

Strong cooperation between Lord Bryce and Morgenthau, was crucial. Bryce apparently rewarded some of the Missions...

7. Ibid, pg. 146

8*. Ibid, pg. 147

In the light of details given, can the Blue Book considered as a dependable document?

9*. <http://tallarmeniantale.com/toynbee-documents.htm>

<http://armenians-1915.blogspot.com/2005/07/48-toynbee-and-his-blue-books.html>

Nassibian, confirms her doubts, about the reliability of the Blue Book!

10. Akaby Nassibian, *Britain & the Armenian Question 1915-23* Croom Helm, London, pg. 82

11. Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy & the Near East*, U.of Minn. Press,1991, pg.65,

12*. Ibid, pg. 164

Extensive propaganda, not minding truths, is apparent. Accepted, unquestioned slogan was and still is HELP VICTIMS! GIVE for fellow CHRISTIANS only, AS MUCH AS YOU CAN... Donate, help don't ask... for God (only) knows! (More examples in Chapter 30)

13*. Ibid, pg. 67 – 68

Although Morgenthau's triumvirate is apparent, Grabill's praise of Morgenthau falls short after reading Lowry and Schreiner!

14*. Jeremy Salt, *Imperial Evangelism & the Ottoman-Armenians 1878-96*, Frank Cass & Co. Ltd. U.K. pg.114

Statements bear further proof of the large espionage web and propaganda machinations!

15. Erich Feigl, *A Myth of Terror*, Edition Zeitgeschichte Freilassing, Salzburg, Austria pg. 56

16*. Guenter Lewy, *The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey*, U. of Utah Press, pg.92

Young Turkish but Armenophile historian... yet he had limits of distortions!

17. Ibid, pg. 137 - 138

18. Ibid, pg. 139

19*. Ibid, pg. 140

Lewy calls Lawry pro-Turk, just because he was pro-truth by disclosing the treacheries and distortions of Morgenthau!

20*. Ibid, pg. 141-142

Heath Lowry's above excerpts are clear, valid and self-evident.

21*. Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy & the Near East*, U.of Minn.Press, 1991, pg.74

After reading information, can we say that these Diplomats and Missionaries were objective and neutral?

22*. Ibid, pg.72

France protected Catholics, Russia Orthodox, Britain and U.S.A. , Protestants. Money was collected, and distributed always.

23. Akaby Nassibian, *Britain & the Armenian Question 1915-23* Croom Helm, London, pg.78

24* Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy & the Near East*, U.of Minnesota Press, 1991, pg.176

What an irony! Victorious Allies at Paris Conference, did not promise even a quarter of the Autonomy Enver did in return of Armenians siding with Turkey in war against Russia... Armenia was no longer needed and therefore, she was dumped!

PROPAGANDA FABRICATIONS

25*. Ibid, pg. 176

Can you believe that all these people were missionaries, following the teachings of the Bible, not to lie and love they neighbor?

26*. Guenter Lewy, *The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey*, U. of Utah Press, pg.150

Another irony: Lewy quotes Morgenthau's tales instead of Lowry's and Schreiner's findings and writings. Grabill's note of Morgenthau's statements and contradicts other accusations about Talat!

27. Ibid, pg. 151

28*. Salahi Sonyel, *The Great War and the Great Tragedy of Anatolia*, T.T.K., pg.156

Eventually, no documents at all could be produced to confirm any of Lepsius' scenarios, which turned into another wonderful Novel by Franz Werfel, "40 Days of Musa Dagh"

29. Heath W. Lowry, *The Story Behind Ambassador Morgenthau's Story*, Isis Press, 1990

30. David Fromkin, *A Peace to End All Peace*, Henry Holt and Co. NY, pg. 274

31. Ibid, pg. 263

32. Ibid, pg. 274-275

33. Ibid, pg. 270-271

34. Ibid, pg. 278

35. Ibid, pg. 270

36. Ibid, pg. 271

37. Ibid, pg. 273

38. Ibid, pg. 274

39. Ibid, pg. 277

40. Ibid, pg. 268

41. Ibid, pg. 269

42. Ibid, pg. 210-211

43. Ibid, pg. 263

44. Ibid, pg. 298

45. Ibid, pg. 283

46. Efraim & Inari Karsh, *Empires of the Sand*, (Harvard U. Press pg. 254

47. Ibid, pg. 255

48. Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy & the Near East*, U. of Minn. Press, 1991, pg.177-8

49. (M. Perincek) G. M. Arutyunyan, *Reaktsionnaya Politika Aglyyskoy*, Moskovski Gosudarstvenny Universitet 1954, p.2,8,14

50. Kevin Phillips, *American Theocracy*, Viking – Penguin, pg. 125

51. Ibid, pg. viii

52. Ibid, pg. 129-130

53. Ibid, pg. 143

54. Ibid, pg. 144

55. David Mills, *Atheist Universe*, Ulysses Press, Canada 2006, p.19

56. Ibid. p.20

Chapter 17: PROVEN FORGERY to DISTORT HISTORY

In order to keep history, pure, untouched by forgeries or distortions, those making or writing history, must ethically stick to the available true sources. Otherwise, in Machiavelli's principles "*the end justifies all means*" becomes a bitter reality and "much that we speak of ethics and lecture people in holy books, *not to lie*" become paradoxes. Humans can be easily misguided by believing in what they are told, or see. It is not easy or pleasant for a person, to discover one day, that what he heard, read and lectured, or watched in an illusionist show as if a miracle, is nothing but a fabricated lie, so thoroughly propagated and **brainwashed**, that even some Parliaments or "scholars" or other circles will insist that "this is the only truth" and implement laws in order to avoid questioning and discovery of truths that beg to differ.

Since this book does not include much visual material, readers may view almost all of the forgeries in the book by Turkkaya Ataov entitled Ermeni Belge Duzmeciligi (Armenian Document Fabrications) Ileri Yayinlari, Istanbul. The book is in Turkish, but the pictures are self-explanatory; it covers almost everything that has been uncovered so far. This study will comprise only a section of referred forgeries, selected at random.

"The most irreducibly bad thing about lies is that they contrive to interfere with, and to impair, our natural effort to apprehend the real state of affairs. They are designed to prevent us from being in touch with what is really going on. In telling his lie, the liar tries to mislead us into believing that the facts are other than they actually are. He tries to impose his will on us. He aims at inducing us to accept his fabrication as an accurate account of how the world truly is."

Harry G. Frankfurt, *On Truth*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, p.76-77

1-The latest and most outstanding and undeniable forgery, is a large poster, with large capital letters:

"FACE OF DENIAL – DOES NOT LIE". It relates to a Conference at UCLA on April 14th, 2005, at Moore Hall at 5.30 pm. Speakers were: Dr. Vahram Shemmasian, Ardashes Kassakhian, and Dr. Levon Marashlian.

<Organized by Armenian Genocide Commemoration Committee of Alpha Epsilon Omega>
The website address is: <http://www.genocideevents.com/cities/losangeles.html>.

The photo depicts the founder of the Turkish Republic, Ataturk, sitting on a chair outside a house with the corpse of a young girl with her innards exposed to the elements. This poster was brought to the attention of T. Ataov during his stay in New York by a colleague and U.S. citizen, Yuksel Oktay. Ataov searched for the original of the photo, showing Ataturk as a "sadist", posing with a corpse in front of him. Soon the original was found; it was a photograph of Ataturk for his wife Latife Hanim as a souvenir, posing with some "cute dog puppies" at his feet. Two photos

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were printed in the July 1st, 2006 issue of Hürriyet as a “forgery scandal”. No dissenting comments were ever heard. What UCLA's ethical committee did was to erase the handwritten note and doctor a photo of Armin Wengler in place of the puppies. This degree of base charlatanism and slandering must have suited the present status of UCLA, an institution of higher learning dominated by Armenophile scholars, and where Prof. Stanford Shaw's home was bombed some 30 years ago. Hence, “does not lie” statement was a tall lie altogether!

2- Another image used on several occasions and publications is one of a pile of skulls, with the implication that these are skulls of Armenian victims. One of the many uses of this picture is a pamphlet used to introduce a conference of the German (Greek) scholar Tessa Hoffman, entitled Der Völkermord und den Armenien vor Gericht (*The Armenian Genocide on Trial*). Next to the heap of skulls is a picture of Talat Pasha, who was assassinated in Berlin by the Dashnaks, shortly after he took refuge in Germany.

This ‘impressive picture’ turns out not to be a photo, but a painting by Russian Vassily Vereschagin (1842-1904) entitled The Apotheosis of the Franco-Prussia War of 1871, and was probably painted after 1878. This discovery too was made by Ataov back in 1971 (being reputed also as an art critic) when visiting the Russian Painting Gallery. Scholars who utilize such hoax material to impress their audiences are of a lower grade of thieves, since they lurk behind their scholarly identity!

3- Another old and reputed file of fabricated documentation is that of ‘The Andonian Papers’. Since the falsehood of these documents is admitted by most historians, we will not elaborate on their blatant gross mistakes, starting with the quality-origin of the paper, wrong dates and totally unknown cipher codes, fake signatures of persons who were not even there and wrong dates on documents, because the Ottomans were using the Moslem calendar, which differs the present calendar by 13 days. These papers have since been totally lost.

4- Some fabricated or otherwise distorted stories were covered in the previous chapter as well.

5- It is no secret that most of the U.S. Congress members believe in the propaganda material supplied by the Armenian lobby at all times about Hitler and the Armenians. Please note the excerpts in the final part of this chapter.

“The Forgeries of Aram Andonian:

A letter forged by Aram Andonian dated Feb. 18, 1331 (March 2, 1916). The letter opens with a “Bismillah” (blessing), which would never have been written by a Moslem. The forger, Andonian, made his most fatal mistake with the date, however. He was obviously not highly versed in the art of converting calendars from the Gregorian to the Rumi used by the

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Ottomans. The latter has a 16-year, 13-day difference. The date on the letter was off by a full year. Instead of 1330 (1915), he wrote 1331(1916). The contents of the letter are supposed to be evidence of the long-term advance planning of the resettlement operation of 1915." #1

"Franz Werfel knew that he had been conned by forgeries:

Abraham Sou Sever was a Sephardic Jew, born in Izmir, Turkey before World War I. He later emigrated to the U.S. and currently lives in California. He has filed a written Deposition and Testimonial in which he tells the truth about the Armenians' 'genocide' claims and their propaganda methods from his own personal life experiences and knowledge. Particularly significant is his testimony on Franz Werfel. Mr. Sever's notarized deposition has been transmitted to research institutions in the U.S. as part of a written and oral history collection on the Armenian claims for a genocide. Here is what Mr. Sever has to say about Franz Werfel and the events which took place on Musa Dagh:

'Moussa Dagh (Mount Moussa), if the truth be known, is the best evidence of the Armenian duplicity and rebellion. 50,000 Armenians, all armed, ascended the summit of that mountain after provisioning it to stand siege. Daily sallies from that summit of armed bands attacked the rear of the Ottoman armies, and disappeared into the mountain. When the Ottomans finally discovered the fortification the Armenians had prepared, they could not assault and invade it. It stood siege *for* 40 days, which is a good indication of the preparations the Armenians had made surreptitiously under the very nose of the Ottoman Government. Nor, was it ever explained that the rebellion of the Armenians had been fostered, organized, financed, and supplied with arms and munitions by the Russians.

Leaders of the Armenian revolutionary organization DASHNAGTZOUTIUN have since admitted to have been seduced by Russia with promises of independence and a New Armenia. They have admitted that they were financed and armed by Russia. They have admitted that bands of Armenian revolutionaries had been organized to sabotage and interfere with the Ottoman armies defending their homeland, even before the Ottoman Government had entered the war against Russia. The thousands who occupied the summit of Musa Dagh for 40 days, escaped by descending the mountain by a secret exit fronting on the Mediterranean, while the Ottoman armies were besieging the front of that mountain. The Armenians had communicated by flambeau signals with the French and British naval ships patrolling the Mediterranean. Those (thousands) who escaped were taken aboard the ships of the British and French and transported to Alexandria in Egypt. The Armenians found it to their interest to invent that these thousands had perished — keeping their rescue by the British and French a secret. Only a small contingent of Armenians who had remained fighting the Ottomans finally surrendered.

My dear departed friend, Franz Werfel, who wrote that book, 40 days at Moussa Dagh, never was in that place. Werfel told me that he felt ashamed and contrite for having written the book and for the many falsehoods and fabrications, the Armenians had foisted on him. But he dared not confess publicly for fear of death by the Dashnag terrorists.

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Christian missionaries had found the Armenians willing and easy converts from their ancestral Orthodox Christianity to the Protestant and Catholic brands. Sympathetic to their converts, they helped spread the false stories of massacre throughout the Western World. Modern day Armenians heard the false stories from their elders who were never there themselves, but had heard them from the Dashnag revolutionaries who had made deals with the Czar and the Bolsheviks. The Republic they established died abhorring because of the intrigues and subtle dealings typical of the Dashnag fanatics. The false claims of genocide and holocaust have gained for them great sympathy throughout the Western World. They cannot tolerate disproof and refutation. They try to stifle and prevent disproof by threats." #2

"The charge made by the Armenians in their papers that our relief organization 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 by any races in this part of the country?" #3

"They point out that the official records of the Ottoman Government do not, as far as is known, contain any documents which demonstrate government involvement in the killings. The Armenian side has tried to demonstrate this involvement but some of the documents it has produced (the so-called Andonian papers) have been shown to be forgeries. Many of the British and American publications on this issue from the time of World War I which purport to prove government involvement also bear a heavy stamp of wartime propaganda." #4

"As for the so-called 'Andonian documents', these have been proved to be forgeries, so typical of militant Armenian machinations, which are reflected in many 'documents' forged by them and preserved in Western archives. These 'documents' are supposed to include secret instructions, which were said to have been sent by the Ottoman Interior minister Mehmet Talat, on Sept. 15th, 1915 (?), ordering the 'extermination' of the Armenian people." #5*

"Despite this assessment made in 1921, today, more than 70 years later, Armenian circles are still insisting on the 'authenticity' of these 'documents'. Meanwhile, all of the Andonian 'documents' have disappeared. It is not possible to locate a single one of them. Is it possible that the Armenian circle purposely destroyed them in order to avoid the possible revelation one day of the spuriousness of these 'documents'? Given the fact that Andonian himself acknowledge that his book was a work of propaganda, such a question does not seem to be beyond consideration." #6

Atrocity Propaganda, 1914-19:

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"James Morgan Read's 'Atrocity Propaganda, 1914-1919' (Yale Univ. Press, 1941, reprinted 1976) is an enlightening work. On pg. 187, the author observed:

'Lying is an act of conscious deception. Much of British atrocity propaganda was unconscious deception built upon erroneous reports and impressions.'

Yet, when it came to the Armenian chapter, excerpted on this page, Read mainly preferred to read the British misinformation, and other propagandistic sources, as on-the-level. Why was this? Justin McCarthy provides a clue, in his excellent report on British propaganda:

'...Not long after the war the Wellington House campaign against the Germans was studied, described, and often censured by scholars. In fact Bryce and Toynbee together had written a very similar but shorter book about so-called German Atrocities in Belgium. That book contained the same sort of thing seen in the Armenian Blue Book: 'X, Y, and Z' and unknown and fraudulent sources. After the war, the Belgians investigated and found that the book was almost completely lies. The Belgians had wanted it to be true, but they reported their findings accurately. Yet no one has looked into the propaganda directed against the Turks. After all these years, no one has decried this propaganda. If one reads the basic books on the British Propaganda Ministry, and there are quite a few books on the subject, they never discuss the campaign against the Turks, only the Germans. I believe the reason that no one has researched the topic and uncovered the lies told of the Turks is that no one cared. They were just Turks.' In other words, the reason boils down to one word: prejudice.

(Here is one example, examining Lord Bryce's dishonesty, where the case is based on charges against Germans, and the Turks are once again a non-entity.)

James Morgan Read, while at least making some attempt at fairness toward the end of his report, is obviously another of these prejudiced people. The fact that the New Jersey man was a Quaker, and the son of a Methodist Minister, most likely did not help. (He also served as Associate Professor of History at the University of Louisville back in the 1930s; unfortunately, well before Prof. Justin McCarthy joined this university's faculty, deprived of potential guidance regarding what is required of a true historian.) " #7

"...These vital considerations were kept in mind by the Allies, who posed as the champions of liberation and independence of subject peoples, based on the Wilsonian principle of self-determination, which they never really cherished. When the Armenian relocations began, an excellent opportunity arose for the Entente Powers to use the resulting incidents for disinformation purposes against the Ottoman Empire. This war-time disinformation of the Entente Powers was enshrined in three books: the first one edited by Lord James Bryce, and written by Arnold Toynbee, was entitled Treatment of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire (Blue Book, London, 1916); the second book was written by Henry Morgenthau, under the title of Ambassador Morgenthau's Story (New York, 1918); and the third book was written by Johannes Lepsius, and entitled Le Rapport Secret du Dr. Johannes Lepsius sur les Massacres d'Armenie, (Paris, 1918). It will be interesting to trace

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the developments that led to the compilation and publication of these three 'masterpieces' of war-time propaganda." #8

"... But the British were eager to exploit the Turco-Armenian incidents for propaganda purposes, and in fact, the British Ambassador at Washington, Cecil Spring-Rice, had already begun to spread the news of the 'Armenian massacres' through the press. The British even began to hunt for photographs of 'Armenian atrocities', or Armenian refugees, which might be made good use of in America. Failing to procure such photographs, they approached Lord Bryce, who promised to do what he could in the matter. But Lord Bryce, too, could not find any photographs despite the help of his Armenian friends." #9

"The Armenian Massacres provided useful and effective propaganda for the Allied Powers, as the German and Austrian ambassadors had feared. Perhaps the massacres also affected Allied thinking about the terms of a future post-war settlement, for they reinforced the argument that the Ottoman Empire could not be left in control of non-Moslem populations, and possibly not even of non-Turkish speaking populations...It was evident to neutral opinion that Talat and Enver were happy to have rid themselves of the Armenians. Their public position was that they had foiled an attempt of subversion. Certainly they had succeeded in eliminating unrest; Armenia became as quiet as death itself...The Liberal statesman, historian, and jurist, James Bryce a pro-Armenian who headed a commission to investigate the 1915-16 Armenian Massacres during the war, issued a report that was damning to the CUP Government. Turkish spokesmen still claim that the Bryce report was a one-sided and distorted work of wartime propaganda, and cite the admission of Arnold Toynbee one of Bryce's assistants, that the report was intended to further Britain's propaganda and policy objectives. In this it succeeded." #10

"During 1914-18 Britain was likewise guided by considerations of national interest. In the greatest war of her history, she sought to use all her resources, both material and moral, to defeat her enemies. So, she extensively made use of the Armenian holocausts of 1915 to discredit her enemies, Turkey directly and Germany indirectly. She publicized the massacres as part of her policy of winning the sympathy of the U.S. of America and of the other neutral countries away from Central Powers and of keeping the loyalty of her Moslem subjects. Thus Britain was guided by her considerations of national interest. However, the war radically changed the focus of her interests in Armenia. She lost her interest in Armenian territory. In order to satisfy her allies, she even agreed to, and approved of, the partition of historic Armenia. On the other hand, the war brought a dramatic growth of sympathy with the Armenian people. After the war, however, national interests would no longer warrant concern for Armenia." #11

"While there in Paris, Barton was active for Boghos' cause: 'We have spent much time with the Peace Comm.,' he wrote. 'I think we will be able to do a good thing for

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Armenia'. The Supreme Council should put a single mandate, preferably by the U.S., over the entire country...Barton's intimates in the American Board also advertised a U.S. role in the Near East. A Missionary Herald editorial in March, 1919, said that Turkey, because of Protestant education and humanitarianism there, should fall to America." #12

"It will be seen that co-operation between administration and the Armenophiles culminated in the publication by the Foreign Office in 1916 of a Blue Book; it was edited by Bryce and Arnold Toynbee. Arnold Toynbee published in addition, Armenian Atrocities; The Murder of a Nation and The Murderous Tyranny of the Turks. ...By the end of 1916, the broad lines of the secret Sykes-Picot Agreement, by which Britain, France and Russia had agreed on their territorial rewards for their war effort in the east, had leaked out. The dream of autonomy for a *united* Armenia under Russian and Allied Protection, (mainly conceived after Turkey's abrogation of the Reform Scheme) was fast evaporating... The Sykes-Picot Agreement had made clear that northern Armenia would be Russian and southern Armenia and Cilicia, French. Still no part of it would remain under Turkish rule." #13

"The Committee, however, was soon disappointed. In Russia, under the influence of revolutionary ideas, the Russian armies were fast being dissolved. Turkey, making use of this golden opportunity, began concentrating its armies on the Caucasian front. The condition of the Eastern Armenians now looked critical. The secret Sykes-Picot Agreement made between Britain, France and Russia had covered Greater and Lesser Armenia. But the new Bolshevik Government denounced the agreements and disclaimed annexations. In the Caucasus, issues gradually became confused and prospects bleak with the advance of Turkish troops. Early in 1918, there was great uncertainty about conditions in Armenia. ...However, in the southeast of the Ottoman Empire, in Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine, the Turkish armies were being heavily defeated. Learning that the Turkish Government had applied to president Wilson to obtain an Armistice, British Armenia Committee asked him by cable that no conditions should be agreed to which did not entail the complete and final ending of the Turkish rule and suzerainty over Armenia." #14

"Helping downtrodden and afflicted communities was a tradition among Quakers. The Church of England and the other religious denominations were equally concerned for the same philanthropic reasons and also probably because Armenia was the first state in the world to have adopted Christianity as its national religion." #15

"...Although no trace of Armenian settlement has been found on the fortress hills, either in Van or in Cavustepe, there are numerous Urartian inscription stones which have either been adorned with crosses or turned into Armenian gravestones. Such monuments have been found in the village at the foot of Cavustepe, which lies on the same spot as the ancient Urartian village.

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Unfortunately, for all concerned, the extreme nationalism of the Armenian leaders prevented their people from continuing to live together with the other peoples and tribes of eastern Anatolia. ... #16

"A giant spider, cast in concrete --monument to a distortion of history, Montebello, California. Falsehood turned to stone. It is a monument to a cruel myth-- the myth of the 'Terrible Turk'. Hecatombs of innocent people have already been sacrificed on this altar of ultra-nationalistic sentiment. The reason for spreading the message of the Terrible Turk and the war of liberation is the same now as it was in the 19th century: the establishment of an Armenian national state in Anatolia, a place where the Armenians have never in history been in the majority. Like every fanatical cult, the Armenian version of the myth of terror has its own scriptures. These consist of the *Documents officiels concernant les Massacres Armeniens* published by Aram Andonian in 1920, and Franz Werfel's *40 Days of Musa Dagh*, a novel based entirely on the Andonian documents. The '*Documents officiels*' are supposed to prove that the Ottoman Government issued a general order to exterminate the Armenians, but it has been firmly established that these 'documents' were forged from beginning to end. Not even the ringleaders of the Armenian anti-Turkish campaign dispute this today. The liturgy of the Armenian terrorists is limited to the constant, litany-like repetition of false casualty figures - a difference of a million or two one way or the other has never seemed to matter much - and the offering of human sacrifices. Those selected for these sacrifices include not only Turkish diplomats, but also historians who fight against the distortion of history and wealthy Armenians who refuse to pay their tribute to the terrorists. But the terror also strikes people who have nothing whatsoever to do with the conflict. They just happen to get caught at the scene of execution of an Armenian terrorist group." #17

"Werfel's novel is based on his personal knowledge, which he acquired from Armenian contacts--undoubtedly in good faith. When he realized that he had been taken in by forgeries, fear of Armenian reprisals kept him from acknowledging the truth. " (See above # 2) #18

"... By all accounts, the most important reason for the establishment of the military tribunals was massive pressure by the victorious Allies, who insisted on retribution for the Armenian massacres. As early as May 24th, 1915, the Allied governments had warned the Sublime Porte that they would 'hold personally responsible (for) these crimes all members of the Ottoman Government and those of their agents who are implicated in such massacres.' When the Turkish cabinet made the formal decision on Dec. 14th to set up the courts-martial, writes Taner Akcam, author of the most detailed study of the trials, 'the political pressure of the British played a decisive role.' Dadrian also speaks of the Allies' eagerness for punitive justice... The wartime plans of the Allies had provided for the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire. According to the so-called Constantinople agreement of March 18th, Russia was to annex Constantinople and parts of eastern Thrace as well as adjoining area in Asiatic Turkey. The Sykes-Picot agreement of May 16th, 1915, negotiated between Mark

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Sykes and Georges Picot for Britain and France and ratified by the Russians, divided large areas of Asiatic Turkey among France, Russia and Britain." #19*

"Large-scale arrests of leading Ittihadists (*Union and Progress Party members*) began in January, 1919. A list of suspects had been compiled by the Greek-Armenian section of the British high commissioner, which drew on the assistance of the Armenian Patriarchate; others arrested were nationalists opposed to the Armistice or political enemies of the Liberal Union party now in power, which sought to settle old accounts. The charges included subversion of the Turkish constitution as well as massacres of Greeks and Armenians and wartime profiteering. The main trial judged key cabinet ministers and high CUP functionaries. Several other courts took up crimes in provincial cities where massacres had taken place. Due to inadequate documentation, the total number of courts is not known. Taner Akcam arrives at a count of 28, but there may have been more. An attempt of the Turkish Government in February 1919 to have representatives of four neutral governments (Denmark, Spain, Sweden and Holland) participate in the investigation of the massacres was foiled by British and French opposition. All of the proceedings took place in Constantinople." #20

"... The Turks had plenty of warning that a naval attack up the narrows might be a possibility, and with German help had done much to improve their defenses. 'My first impression', the American ambassador, Henry Morgenthau, recorded of a tour of the defenses, 'was that I was in Germany. The officers were practically all Germans and everywhere Germans were building buttresses with sacks of sand and in other ways strengthening the emplacements.' ...The landings on the Gallipoli Peninsula on April 25th, 1915 were therefore not seen as the cue for the navy to hand over the attack to the army. The army relied on ship-based artillery support, but the navy confronted considerable technical difficulties in providing it. The maps it was using were inaccurate; the ground itself steep and intersected; and observation of fire inadequate." #21*

"The following day he brought it in an envelope, and in the presence of the same people, returned it to Yusuf Kemal. The report consisted of eight typed pages; seven of the pages related to the incidents, while the eighth page included the conclusion on the events. When Yusuf Kemal opened the envelope, he discovered that the eighth page, which carried the signature of the British Vice-Consul Doughty Wylie, was missing. In his conclusion, the Vice-Consul had declared rather naively that he never believed in an Armenian insurrection, which aimed at the establishment of a separate kingdom with foreign assistance. If the Armenians had such aspirations, they could have withdrawn en masse to the mountains where they could easily have defended themselves, and would never have left defenseless thousands of unarmed farmers in the fields, most of whom were their brethren or relatives. Apparently he did not know, or pretended that he did not know, about the methods which Armenian terrorists used in the 1890s in order to attract the attention of the Powers." #22

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"When Yusuf Kemal discovered that the eighth page of the report was missing, he asked Babikian what had happened to it. 'Did you not give it to me like that?' the latter exclaimed. He then admitted the existence of pg. 8, and explained that, whilst dining at the Tokatlian restaurant, he was also perusing the report: he must have dropped it there." #23

"In 1896 (in England) there had been organized the International Association of the Friends of Armenia, with which was incorporated the Information (Armenia) Bureau. Its objects were (i) to furnish information upon the subject of Armenia by means of a Central Depot for the publication and diffusion of literature, (ii) to supply the means of inter-communication between the various societies engaged in Armenian relief." #24

"In May, 1918, the formation of an Armenian Bureau of Information was reported and pro-Armenian Britons welcomed its 'importance and value'..." #25

"The British Armenia Committee was what its name expressed: a select Committee of Britons rather Englishmen interested in and devoted to the cause of Armenia." #26

"G.P. Gooch, the historian, was a member of the British Armenia Committee, and the *Contemporary Review* which he edited apparently welcomed articles referring to Armenia. Thus in 1921-2 alone this journal published articles by Bryce, Arnold Toynbee, Aneurin Williams and Harold Buxton." #27

"Between June 1st, 1920 and Nov.23rd, 1920, the British Armenia Committee also had an active 'Propaganda Sub Committee'. It met once a week. According to its minutes, Noel Buxton, was in the Chair, and C. Leonard Leese, Arnold Toynbee, the reverend J. H. Harris were the other members of the committee. The Sub-Committee drafted a National Memorial which was prepared by Toynbee and finally approved by Dr. J.H. Rose, the Cambridge historian. Toynbee had earlier urged that steps should be taken to 'pin down' the government to the statement made by Lord Curzon as a minimum demand for Armenia." #28

"British Government also made use of the Armenian massacres at home to stimulate the war effort against the enemy... Telegrams from Etchmiadzin reported from 350 to 400 deaths were daily taking place owing to destitution, starvation and epidemics. The Russian Government had contributed important sums and latterly funds had been flowing in from the United Kingdom and the U.S.... Orders for the deportations of the Armenians to the interior had come from Constantinople, but I 'knew that deportations meant massacres'. The Armenian Bishops of both Trabzon and Erzurum were murdered at Gumush-Khana. All able bodied men were taken out of town in batches of 15 or 20, lined up on the ditches prepared beforehand, shot and thrown into the ditches. The women and children on their way to

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Mosul were attacked by 'Shotas'. The military escorts had strict orders not to interfere with the 'Shotas'." #29

"It might be noted that Toynbee was at this time working in the Intelligence Bureau of the Department of Information on Turkish affairs." #30

"But Britain 'intended to stick' to both Mesopotamia and Palestine, as a member of been the seat of the Armenian Catholicos for a long time.) It was thus a full five years before the War Cabinet indicated 'British statesmen' therefore, had to devise war aims which would show that British policy was not completely based on imperialist greed... British leaders forcefully stressed Turkish misrule and Armenian suffering. ... the duty of taking away from under Turkish rule people who were not Turks. Lloyd George, the Prime Minister, could be more emotive and rhetorical: an 'idealist wind' was blowing from Russia. He had to compete in idealism both with Russians and with President Wilson." #31

"Lloyd George then went on to dismiss that the view that all territory occupied by military power, to whichever side it belonged, should be restored to its original owner. Britain should say, 'in the interest of international morality'...

Thus bringing in the liberation of Armenia, a desolated country where Britain had no territorial interests whatsoever, and tying it in with the liberation of strategically important, oil-rich and fertile Mesopotamia, where Britain did have distinct ambitions of her own, the British leaders could confuse the issues, silence those critics who were accusing them of waging an imperialistic war, and could even give notions of idealism and humanity to their war aims." #32

"The Sun gave the statement by the Turkish Government which laid the blame on revolutionary uprisings among the Armenians and asserted that the disturbances were incited by the British, French and Russian Governments." #33

"... the missionaries only wanted to develop the best qualities in the Armenians and 'if Christians of this empire would but learn to be good subjects and good men they would vastly greater gain than by insubordination'. Even in the dispatches of their own diplomatic representatives the words meddling and indiscretion are frequently found, and thus it can be imagined with what suspicion they were regarded by the Ottoman authorities...As we have seen, the missionaries had a long history of involvement in the affairs of Ottoman Christians. If we take the Congress of Berlin as the starting point of the Armenian question as a European diplomatic concern in the 19th century, they were also there at the start, trying to influence delegates in favor of the Armenians. Following a letter which Cyrus Hamlin wrote to the Boston Daily Advertiser in 1894, the Ottoman minister in Washington, Mavroyeni (himself a Greek Christian) sent a long letter of complaint to the State Department. He wrote: 'I am surprised to read in this letter that the missionaries of the American Board have

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been, and they are, 'the truest friends the Armenians ever had'. But I am greatly surprised to see Revd. Hamlin affirms that the Imperial Government is an oppressor, and that the missionaries 'have stood more than a half century between oppressors and the oppressed'...But the Revd. Hamlin goes further, for he affirms that 'the right of revolution is not to be questioned'. It is true, however, that he adds 'but when circumstances make success impossible, attempts and plots for it become criminal'. So then, according to the Revd, Hamlin, it is not because any revolutionary movement whatsoever is criminal – far from that, it is solely because the Armenians are not in fact ready for it. It is therefore, in the interests of the Armenians themselves that this strange apostle of the Gospel recommends them to abandon their subversive plans and it is for the same reason he asserts that the American missionaries are sincere advocates of pacific measures.' In his letter to the Advertiser, Hamlin went even further, giving the name and address of the leading Hunchak in the U.S. 'for those desiring to get further information' and suggesting that the U.S. should perhaps station an ironclad or two in Turkish waters 'to enforce due regard for the American passport'. In the State Department, his remarks were described as 'the mischief a garrulous old man can do when he lets his pen run away with his judgment. 'As we have seen, Hamlin later had a change of heart and condemned the Hunchacks and the Russian gold and 'Russian craft' which he saw standing behind them." #34

"Peripatetic Barton had the capability not only to mastermind philanthropy but to compose memoranda and other documents indefatigably. At Paris under Boghos Nubar's pleadings, he had given attention to Armenia. Boghos insisted with good intuition, but without success, that he needed Barton's guidance in France. The American Board secretary was the principal person to the mission-relief strategy – and the only way he could avoid squandering much of his effect on politics was to remain in Paris." #35

"The exposure of wartime 'atrocities stories' after the war notably by Arthur Ponsonby's Falsehood in Wartime, served to further undermine the respectability of the wartime experiment. James Morgan Read observes: 'Lying is an act of conscious deception. Much of British atrocity propaganda was unconscious deception built upon erroneous reports and impressions', and it was the British Government itself, which, between 1914 and 1918, had demonstrated the world the enormous power of propaganda.

As for the authenticity and validity of the 'Blue Book' as a work of 'historical scholarship', one only needs to peruse other works published after the Great War, exploding many of the myths of British wartime propaganda; works such: as Sir Campbell Stuart's Secrets of Grewe House (1920); Harold Lasswell's Propaganda Technique in the World War (1927); Arthur Ponsonby's Falsehood in Wartime (1928); J.D. Squires' British Propaganda at Home and in the U.S. from 1914-17 (1935), George Bryntz's Allied Propaganda and the Collapse of the German Empire in 1918 (1938); Lucy Masterman's C.F.G.Masterman (1939), H.C. Peterson's Propaganda for War: the Campaign Against American Neutrality, 1914-17 (1939); Morgan Reid's Atrocity Propaganda, 1914-19 (1941); Cate Harte's Keep

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the Home Fires Burning (1977), and Michael L. Sanders and Philip M Taylor's British Propaganda during World War I, 1914-18 (1982)." #36

"During the trial in Berlin of the Armenian assassin Soghomon Tehlirian, who had murdered Talat Pasha in Berlin on March 15th, 1921, none of the Andonian 'documents' was allowed to be entered into the court proceedings as evidence, hence they were not used. The 1981 publication of the Dashnakists' book Justicier du Genocide (pg. 213) also admits that the Berlin court did not accept the 'documents' as evidence: 'These telegrams had been given to the court by the defense. However, despite the request of the defense lawyer, it was decided not to accept them in court... This occurred after the judge explained to the accused the meaning of an observation made by the jury'... Despite this assessment made in 1921, today, more than 70 years later, Armenian circles are still insisting on the 'authenticity' of these 'documents'..." #37

"In the field of propaganda no one could surpass the Ottoman Christians, including mainly the Armenians, who used their positions as translators/interpreters in the embassies and consulates of the Powers to convince those Powers of their stories, and to sway their relief workers, missionaries and ecclesiastical leaders, about the genuineness of their case. Many a time a gullible Western journalist was trapped by their vociferations, and spread their tales. Moreover, European diplomats and travelers within the Ottoman dominions were lured by these people who had the same religion, and who usually knew foreign languages and through them, the tales were more widely spread!...According to the Rev. Dr. Cyrus Hamlin, the first president of the American Robert College in Istanbul (now the Bogazici University), a propaganda bureau was set up in London in the 1870s which had, for its object, the foreign dissemination of all news prejudicial to the Turks. Hamlin stated that the onslaught of this 'one-sided and unreliable information' about any people would, after a period of years, stir up a hostility and hatred that could not be easily..." #38

"Barton and Montgomery prepared a booklet, The U.S. Government and Help to Armenia, which traced Western obligations to Armenians. In June 1921, the Near East Relief distributed the booklet to every Congressman and hundreds of leaders and organizations in every state. The State Department soon responded to this propaganda by forwarding to Boston a Bristol dispatch which recommended missionaries; forbearance both in Turkey and in Armenia and abstention from an anti-Turkish campaign." #39

"An unorthodox view had arisen, and Barton saw Bristol and Gates had helped bring it into being. The public debate of late 1922 loosened the grip of Armenianism upon Americans. It also helped threaten the monopoly of opinion about Asia Minor held so long by missionary and Armenian groups. The debate came at the same time that President Harding decided the U.S. would send observers to a conference at Lausanne, which the Allies were calling to negotiate a peace with the Kemalists." #40

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"Mark Bristol shared much of Gate's outlook. The admiral wrote that the Greek landing at Smyrna and other factors pointed to the absolute need of combining all of the Ottoman Empire under one mandate. Turks were leaning toward America as a mentor. After trips into Asia Minor, Bristol stated that Greece's possession of Smyrna had antagonized Turks tremendously and would make an Ottoman treaty difficult. Seeking to point out from the Greek abuse of Turks in Smyrna that ethnic peoples in the Near East were alike, Bristol claimed that if someone would put all races 'in a bag and shake them up you could not predict which one would come out first as being the best one'. The admiral disapproved of excessive pro-Greek and pro-Armenian propaganda in the U.S. He believed it encouraged an American idea about the Empire which would create a new Balkan mess." #41

"The reliability of the Armenians accounts that reached the diplomatic corps was further weakened by their need to be translated by interpreters, who almost always were Armenians. The American consul in Beirut, Mr. Hollis, who served there from 1911 to 1917, complained in a report rendered after he had left Turkey, about the inordinate and inappropriate influence of the Armenian dragoman at the American embassy in Constantinople, Mr. Schmavonian. Hollis felt that he 'did not always have the American point of view.' This situation was not unique. Armenian functionaries in Constantinople, the American official wrote, 'no matter for what Government they worked had a reputation throughout the Near East of being extremely slippery and much given to intrigue.' Their loyalty to the government they served was not to be taken for granted, he noted, and this opinion was shared by his German colleague in Beirut... As the war ended eyewitness reports of the terrible fate of the Turkish-Armenian community received wide publicity throughout the Western world, but much of this reporting lacked accuracy of detail or historical context. American high commissioner Mark Bristol noted on March 30th, 1920, that Armenian propaganda flooding Europe and America 'with a one-sided report of crimes, outrages and massacres, which are inaccurate, exaggerated and distorted with claims and statistics that are deceptive and misleading.' Any information favorable to the Turkish side was being suppressed or distorted. The validity of Bristol's views has been attacked by the accusation that he was a bigot and anti-Semite, but he was hardly the only one to make such observations at that time. The British author Marmaduke Pickthall, for example, noted the same anti-Turkish bias and spoke of Armenians' displaying a 'pose of lamblike innocence before the sentimental peoples of the West'..." #42

"One group of works deals with the armed struggle of the Dashnaks and Hunchaks. These books tell of audacious and heroic assaults waged by Armenian guerrillas against their Turkish oppressors while at the same time, paradoxically, stressing the strictly defensive aims of the Armenian fighters. The Armenian military commander General Andranik is given the title 'the Armenian Garibaldi,' and the books include pictures of heavily armed and ferocious-looking 'fedayees'. Many of these books throw an interesting light on the mode of operation of the Armenian revolutionary movement... Many of these books tell

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of identical Turkish atrocities occurring in different places, such as riveting red-hot iron horseshoes to the feet of Armenian victims and making them parade through the towns. Some of these works also contain gruesome photos depicting scenes of mass executions or mounds of skulls and bones." #43*

"Human memory has been compared to a re-writable compact disk that is continually being rewritten. It is influenced by information gained from reading or hearing the stories of others. Not surprisingly, therefore, such recollections involve discrepancies, obvious afterthoughts, and contradictions. Some survivors describe their Turkish neighbors as helpful; others condemn the entire Turkish people. Some gendarmes accompanying the deportees are depicted as good-natured; in other accounts all of the guards, because they are Turks, are bloodthirsty fiends..." #44*

"At time when Andonian was taking the documents to Europe, the British were searching archives all over the world for evidence that could be used against the Ottoman officials they had arrested, taken to Malta, and planned to try for the massacre of the Armenians. Among the materials that came into their hands in Constantinople were the Naim memoirs. Several telegrams from the Naim-Andonian book were included in a dispatch sent to London in March, 1921. They also appear in the dossiers of the Malta detainees. Yet the British Government never made use of these telegrams. As in the case of the '10 Commandments' discussed in Chapter 5, the law officers of the Crown apparently regarded the Naim-Andonian book as another of the many forgeries that were flooding Constantinople at the time. The admission made by Andonian (in order to protect his own reputation) that the book was written for propaganda purposes and was then further embellished by zealous editors seriously undermines the value of the work. When all is said and done, we are left wondering what credence to give to any of the documents, knowing that they were purchased and publicized as part of a propaganda effort ..." #45

"The originals of these documents and depositions are lost. The findings of the Nuremberg tribunals that judged the Nazi war criminals after 'World War II have become an invaluable historical source because they were based on thousands of original Nazi documents that every one can consult in the archives of the Federal Republic of Germany. By contrast, not a single original Turkish Government document used by the Turkish tribunals has been preserved. The reports of German and Austrian diplomats contain plenty of valuable information on the deportations and killings, but little solid evidence on who is to be held responsible for the massacres that took place. In other words, Dadrian's attempt to authenticate the Naim-Andonian documents through the method of content verification stands or falls with the reliability of the sources he has invoked for this purpose. As the reader will learn later in this chapter, these sources do not provide conclusive evidence regarding the responsibility for the massacres, and the attempt to use them to prove the genuineness of the Naim-Andonian material must therefore be regarded as a failure.

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'Dadrian and his supporters,' writes a critic, 'are trying to prove what is a good' case in regards to the general theme of massacres with bad evidence about a premeditated genocide.' ...Austrian historian Wolfdieter Bihl has called the Naim Andonian material 'controversial' and notes that Artem Ohandjanian, the Armenian author of several well-researched books on the massacres, does not rely on them. (It should be noted here that Dadrian himself, in two books on the Armenian genocide published in 1995 and 1999 respectively, similarly does not refer to the Naim - Andonian documents and does not even list Andonian's work in the bibliography of these books.)... Other Middle East specialists have been more forthright. In a review article published in 1989, Michael Gunter called the works of Mevlanzade Rifat and Andonian 'notorious forgeries'. The Dutch historian Eric Zürcher argued that the Andonian materials 'have been shown to be forgeries.'"**#46**

The Forgery Beyond Hitler's ...

"A casual perusal of the pages of the Congressional Record (CR), of both the House and the Senate, on or about April 24th, 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 World War I. In 1984, a total of 66 such statements, 57 by members of the House and nine by Senators, were read into the Congressional Record. Of these 66 tributes in support of Armenian Martyrs' Day remembrances, exactly one-third - 22- 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 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 London Times on Saturday Nov. 24, 1945. Said article, entitled 'Nazi Germany's Road To War,' cites the quote and bases its attribution to Hitler on an address by him to his commanders-in-chief six years earlier on August, 22nd, 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 Nov. 23rd, 1945 session of the Nuremberg Tribunal."

'Only thus shall we gain the living space (lebensraum) which we need. Who, after all, speaks today of the annihilation of the Armenians?'

The L-3 document, original and translation can be seen at www.cwporter.com/gl3.htm. The certificate dated, 25 June 1948 signed by Paul A. Joosten, General Secretary of the International Military Tribunal states that submitted L-3, USA-28 Photostat document submitted as evidence has ***been withdrawn, in accordance with Rule 10 of the Tribunal but held in the National Archives.*** What more evidence is needed to prove that the Tribunal has not accepted (this forged or unreliable) document for consideration?

Mr. Carlos Porter, who found these documents made the following important warning:

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<(NOTE: This translation attempts to retain the style and punctuation of the original, **which is not correct in German**: full space before colons and commas, no full space before following word **The document contains not one single sharp S (§) a standard letter in the German alphabet. C. Porter**)>

(Note by SSA: When you view this document in German, typed by some uneducated person with bad German vocabulary. inconsistent expressions full of crude bullies, you wonder how such a foolish forgery received any credence at all; said that was typed for Hitler in a typewriter which did not even have a German keyboard, with such terrible punctuation and composition! One wonders how such an idiotic document could go all the way up to enter the doors of the US Congress! This very much reminds the famous Naim - Andonian documents, with unknown writer, telegrams on wrong paper, wrong date, wrong number, fake signatures without similarity, expressions never used in official correspondence, etc. etc.)

Before we go in the in Heath Lowry's 1985-detailed study, let us note following "newer" excerpts:

A- David Irving, "Nuremberg: The Last Battle" – 1996, p.100: <the prefixed letter on the Nuremberg documents signified a document from London, like the now-famous forgery 003-L, the report on Hitler's speech to his generals on August 22, 1939, which the anti-Nazi opposition had fed to the Associated Press journalist Louis Lochner in Berlin.>

B- David I. Hoggan. "The Forced War" – 1989, p.472: <One version of these conferences (Aug.22, 1939) was presented by Louis P. Lochner of the American Associated Press to British diplomats at Berlin as a valid records of the conference, and it consciously or unconsciously influenced the thinking of British diplomats at the time. Otherwise, it would have been dismissed as too ridiculous to receive serious consideration. The crass propaganda in the material would have been immediately discarded had people been permitted to think normally about important issues. Unfortunately, a furious and uninterrupted war propaganda campaign had been carried on in the West for more than five months, and nearly everyone, regardless of his mental caliber, had been seriously affected. Why would anyone believes that Marshal Goering danced on the table and shrieked like a savage before a group of austere German Generals? ... etc. etc...>

(Note by SSA – It is a waste of time that we are devoting attention to this idiocy, to serve dupes only!)

C – Heath W. Lowry: "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, 22nd, 1939, meeting taken down by Admiral Hermann Boehm, Chief of the High Seas Fleet, who was in attendance; and an unsigned memorandum in two parts which provides a detailed account of Hitler's August, 22nd, 1939, remarks at Obersalzberg.

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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. In addition, a third eyewitness account of the Obersalzberg meetings is found in the detailed diary kept by General Halder. ...served 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."

"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 U.S.-30/1014-PS) contains any reference to Armenians."

"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...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: ..."

"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 World War I. The Armenian success in this regard is clearly reflected in the April 24th, 1984 Congressional Record... In short, contrary to Richard Hovannisian and a host of other Armenian spokesmen, the Nuremberg transcripts through their preservation of U.S.-29 (798-PS), U.S.-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."

"Why and how has such a spurious quotation of 45 years ago become so important that it has been cited by no fewer than 22 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 35 Turkish diplomats, 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 1,500,000 Armenians during World War I. 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 World War I.

1. Under the tutelage of an Armenian - American Congressman, Charles Pashayan, Jr. (R-Calif.), 66 elected U.S. Representatives made speeches on or about April 24th, 1984

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(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 22 members of the U.S. Congress (three Senators and four Congressmen), who used the alleged Hitler quote in the Course of their April 24th, 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.'

In a similar vein, Congressman Glenn Anderson, in his April 24th, 1984, remarks, discussed the inclusion of the Armenians in the planned Holocaust Memorial in the following terms: 'To ward 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 '

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 Sept. 10th, 1984, the U.S. House of Representatives unanimously passed a resolution (House Joint Resolution 247) designating April 24th as a National Day of Remembrance of Man's inhumanity to Man, and requesting the President of the U.S. to issue a proclamation calling upon the American people to observe such a day of remembrance for all the victims of genocide, 'especially the 1,500,000 people of Armenian ancestry, who were victims of the genocide perpetrated in Turkey between 1915 - 23.' *

"... and by specifically naming only Turkey as the 'perpetrator' of a 'genocide,' does nothing less than brand one of the U.S.' 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 the years 1915 - 23; rather, the governing power in the region was the multinational state known as the Ottoman Empire...In addition to his own utilization of the quote Coehlo 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 Adolph Hitler before he began

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his reign of terror during World War II, 'Who still talks nowadays of the extermination of the Armenians?' "

At the time of this writing, the U.S. Senate is considering the adoption of their half of this joint resolution... The first is the obvious danger inherent in partisan ethnic politics as currently practiced in the U.S. 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 40 years ago in that nation's history, as they spend lecturing Republic of Turkey for actions alleged to have occurred 70 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." # 47*

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Chapter 17: References and Footnotes

1. Erich Feigl, *A Myth of Terror*, Edition Zeitgeschichte Freilassing, Salzburg, Austria, pg. 85
 2. Ibid, pg. 87 - 88
 3. Letter: March 28th, 1921 by Admiral Mare L. Bristol, U.S. High Commissioner to D.D. Barton, Secretary of Foreign Dept. of Board of Commissioner
 4. Erik J. Zürcher, *'Turkey' A Modern History*, Tauris Publishers, London, pg. 119-121
 5. Salahi Sonyel, *The Great War and the Great Tragedy of Anatolia*, T.T.K., pg. 177
 6. Ibid, pg. 178
 7. e-mail: <http://armenians-1915.blogspot.com/2006/07/848-atrocity-propaganda-1914-1919.htm>
 8. Salahi Sonyel, *The Great War and the Great Tragedy of Anatolia*, T.T.K., pg. 137
 9. Ibid, pg. 138
 10. David Fromkin, *A Peace to End All Peace*, Henry Holt and Co. NY, pg. 213
 11. Akaby Nassibian, *Britain and the Armenian Question 1915-23* Croom Helm, London, pg.119
 12. Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy & the Near East*, U. of Minn. Press, 1991, pg. 171
 13. Akaby Nassibian, *Britain and the Armenian Question 1915-23* Croom Helm, London, pg. 54-55
 14. Ibid, pg. 56
 15. Ibid, pg. 59
 16. Erich Feigl, *A Myth of Terror*, Edition Zeitgeschichte Freilassing, Salzburg, Austria pg. 120
 17. Ibid, pg. 15
 18. Ibid, pg. 83
 - 19*. Guenter Lewy, *The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey*, U. of Utah Press, pg. 74
- Allies landed in Dardanelles on Apr. 25th, Van City was conquered by Armenians on May 20th, whilst in full war Allies made a declaration, even before the Relocation Decree was first announced, on May 27th, 1915!**
20. Ibid, pg.75
 - 21*. Hew Starchan, *The First World War*, Penguin, 2004, pg. 119
- There is no other evidence (nor reason) for Morgenthau's visit to the Gallipoli defenses! This may be another bragging!**
22. Salahi Sonyel, *The Great War and the Great Tragedy of Anatolia*, T.T.K., pg. 67
 23. Ibid, pg. 68
 24. Akaby Nassibian, *Britain and the Armenian Question 1915-23* Croom Helm, London, pg. 45
 25. Ibid, pg. 46
 26. Ibid, pg. 47
 27. Ibid, pg. 48
 28. Ibid, pg. 49
 29. Ibid, pg. 83
 30. Ibid, pg. 84
 31. Ibid, pg. 87
 32. Ibid, pg. 88
 33. Ibid, pg. 89
 34. Jeremy Salt, *Imperialism Evangelism and the Ottoman-Armenians 1878-96*, Frank Cass & Co. Ltd. U.K.,pg.112-113
 - 35*. Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy & the Near East*, U. of Minn. Press, 1991, pg.171
- Barton's political egos, plus his culpability in the fabrication of documents surfaced!**
36. Salahi Sonyel, *The Great War and the Great Tragedy of Anatolia*, T.T.K., pg. 149
 37. Ibid, pg. 178
 38. Ibid, pg. 187
 39. Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy & the Near East*, U. of Minn. Press, 1991, pg. 259
 40. Ibid, pg. 267
 41. Ibid, pg. 174
 42. Guenter Lewy, *The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey*, U. of Utah Press, pg.146
 - 43*. Ibid, pg. 147
- I would much like to see, how it is possible for any horse shoe man to nail any horse shoe (cold) on human feet! Photographs of Moslem victim were often used, as if they were Armenian victims!**

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44*. Ibid, pg. 148

Turks were depicted as “ogres”; In 1950s when Kenya was fighting for independence, the leader Jomo Kenyatta was advertised a “Mau-Mau cannibal” by British propaganda and even I believed, until I learned the truth later when I was in Kenya!

45 Guenter Lewy, *The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey*, U. of Utah Press, pg.69-70

More important was acceptance by the U.S. immigration office and grants of many entries.

46. Ibid, pg. 72

47. Heath W. Lowry, *The U.S. Congress and Adolf Hitler on the Armenians*, *Political Communication and Persuasion*, Vol.3, No. 2,

1985 Crane, Russak & Company Inc. <http://www.tetedeturc.com/home/spip.php?article565>

*What this clever forgery achieved, was to change the 'Nazi Armenians', into “Russian-Armenians victimized by the Nazis”, (shortly DP – *Displaced Persons*) and provide special acceptance quotas as immigrants, into U.S. This document is said, to have obtained 25,000 immigrant entries into USA for Armenians ‘found in Germany’.

*Even seven Jewish senators or congressional representatives, swallowed the fabricated “bait” and defended actually Nazi Armenians, thinking they were sheltering Russian Armenians victimized by Turks! The paradox was that between 1941-43 Turkish Consulates in France, saved close to 20.000 Jews, issuing them Turkish I.D. papers, who were sent by several special trains to Turkey, thereafter sent to their final destinations!

Chapter 18: ABOUT CHARITY and RELIEF ORGANIZATIONS

Benevolence is an instinctive virtue for most humans, in their wish to help needy ones at times of despair. Outwardly, such charity donations or care taking activities are meant for all humans with global campaigns, seen after earthquakes and other natural disasters. All religions invite their believers to show pity and help humans, but with some priority to their co-religionists. Reading about some of the past events has revealed excellent examples of idealistic persons, sacrificing even their lives, to save other lives. While the very large majority of people may even give away their own food to save others who are dying of starvation, there were always some wise guys trying to become rich amidst all the confusion and uncertainty of who gave what, or who took what and where they spent it! As you will note from the following excerpts, while God-fearing generous persons donated even their wedding rings, there were a few opportunists, including even some Turkish Army officers who stole the scarce provisions of their own army. Psychologically speaking aiding the poor and destitute gives a sense of immense happiness and ease of mind for having done the right thing whereas many donors expect that they will be surely reimbursed in the afterlife, which is the divinity-coated carrot used by all clergy members.

The Christian communities of the U.S. and Britain are so powerful and well organized that this invisible money collection, donation, circulation and collateral pilferage has successfully sustained itself. More details of the strengthened organization are available in Chapter 24.

“(Armenians) ‘In education, enterprise, industry and love of home they surpass all the other races. This ancient and proud spirited race, conscious of its own innate superiority, ambitious to educate its children, Christian in religion, and eager for progress, cherished the hope of an independent Armenia reestablished upon the ruins of its ancient kingdom. We can hardly conceive of any power’s favoring the perpetuation of Turkey in any form after this ghastly exhibit (massacres) of Moslem incapacity to rule alien peoples or even Moslems’. In addition to money, people gave jewelry, heirlooms and wedding gifts. The Rockefeller Foundation in 1915 - 16 gave over \$300,000, and the proceeds of the Harvard Yale football game of 1916 went to ACASR. Dodge facilitated relief in the Near East by persuading the richest charitable group in the U.S., the American Red Cross, to assist. The Christian Herald and the Literary Digest helped solicit. By the time U.S. declared war on Germany, the ACASR had rose over \$2,000,000 and had the second largest income of any American philanthropic institution. In the Ottoman Empire, the Young Turks until 1916 did not permit relief goods to enter. Probably German missionaries to Turkey indirectly pressed the Porte through their government to allow food and clothing in the Empire.” #1*

Considering the death of 80 000 soldiers in January, 1915 during the Sarikamish Campaign, because of cold, poor or no winter clothing and lack of food other than a five-day bread ration, the Young Turks hesitated to let such Christian

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benefits to be distributed to an ethnic group only. The Young Turks were also well aware of the heavy antagonism and propaganda against the “unspeakable terrible Turk,” despite the care they gave to American schools by assigning security guards and leaving the buildings untouched when nearly all “roofed” buildings were used for wounded soldiers or the flood of refugees.

(*Leslie Davis wrote*) “The fact that I was giving out relief soon became known to every one and frequently the Turkish policemen themselves brought Armenians there for me to help... Surviving Armenians in all the villages left and came to Harput and Mamouretul Aziz to live in order to get help. Many came from the Palu region also, as the headquarters of the Turkish Army of the Caucasus was established there in early 1916 and the entire civil population, Turkish as well Armenian, were sent away. This increase in the number of destitute Armenians who were dependent upon charity added greatly to our problems.” #2*

“Some Armenian women who were married to Turks, or were living with them as their mistresses, came with other people on Tuesdays to seek aid... Occasionally, the Turks even escorted them and waited on the street...” #3*

“From Oct. 1st to Dec. 31st, 1899, it (*Friends of Armenia*) had been able to collect, through the sales of work, over £172 from Manchester, £60 from Paisley and £217 from Liverpool. By the summer of 1908, the Friends of Armenia had forwarded over £60,000 to the distressed districts of Armenia, since they had begun work in 1897. By March, 1915, the Friends of Armenia had forwarded £98,000 to the distressed districts.” #4*

“Early in 1918, in response to an urgent appeal for clothing from the Armenian General Benevolent Union in Cairo, the Guild dispatched to that city seven bales of garments, kindly shipped by M. Bakirgian of Manchester.” #5*

“The aim of the fund was to attempt to stem in some degree the torrent misery caused by the war among the Armenian population of Turkey and Persia and to provide medical supplies for the Armenian volunteers fighting on behalf of Russia.” #6*

“The Churches in Britain closely co-operated with the Fund and the many clergymen took a very active part in organizing collections.” #7*

“Early in 1916, the American Committee for Relief reported that the Russians were harboring no fewer than 310 000 refugees and that destitution and disease was rampant... Those who had missed slaughter in 1915 had fled. When in 1916 the Russian armies had advanced deep into eastern Turkey, capturing Erzurum in February, and Muş in August, the refugees had started to return to their homelands... But the defection of Russia from war and the subsequent re-conquest of Turkish Armenia and even parts of Russian Armenia by Turkey in 1918, resulted afresh in the flight of thousands. The Armistice naturally brought

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high expectations. Many of the refugees returned to the Kars district in the northeast, and to Cilicia in the south. However, the violent attacks of the resurgent Kemalists in 1920-21 and the abandonment of Armenians by the Allied powers cruelly dashed the hopes of resettlement, resulting, yet once again, the panicky exodus of numberless people." #8*

"The British Funds grouped under the heading of the British Relief Mission, were in 1922 feeding and clothing 9 000 refugees at Gamarlu in the Araxes valley, besides maintaining orphanage work in Yerevan and distributing food and clothing whenever the need was most urgent. The American Near East Relief Committee, however, was the largest relief agency at work in the Caucasus. It maintained over 20 000 orphans in its own institution and gave rations to 50 000 destitute starving persons. A year later, in 1923, the situation in Armenia was much improved owing to large quantities of flour imported into the country from Russia. The Russian State Bank was selling this 'very cheaply'! In 1923, the Joint Council of British Armenian Societies... addressed an appeal to Lord Curzon, reminded him that in Greece and the Islands, in Syria and Palestine, in Caucasian Armenia and elsewhere, there were scattered 750 000 Armenian refugees pressed for 'a solution'." #9*

"The first two shiploads of refugees had arrived in Batumi where they were refusing to land as there were no food supplies for them on shore. The British Government had now granted £35,000 – the first offer had been £5,000- on condition that 'guarantees were given' by the Armenian Government that the first two boats would be cleared and the third and last boat, which would shortly be on its way, would be cleared immediately on arrival. The situation was made worse by the attitude of the Georgian Government, which was proving most troublesome and unsympathetic to the famine-stricken Armenia. The report about the famine conditions in the Caucasus, submitted 1922 to Nansen, specified the work done by relief agencies." #10*

"In the Greek Islands thousands of Armenian refugees had taken shelter. But after the sacking of Smyrna and the consecutive flight of the native population onto the Greek mainland, there was no room for Armenians any more. The Greek delegate at the League of Nations Council Meeting in Geneva asked for immediate evacuation of the Armenian refugees from Greece, and offered up to £60,000 for transportation assistance." #11*

"According to Nansen, who acted as President of the Armenian commission appointed by the International Labor Office, over 400 000 Armenian refugees had emigrated to Russian Armenia and the Caucasus from Turkey. The total number of Armenian refugees who had fled abroad, he estimated at 'between 300 000 to 400 000'. They were scattered in countries including Greece, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia. The Americans, in their turn, had been most generous. By early 1921, they had contributed no

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less than \$50,000,000 through the Near East Relief. During 14 years of its existence, 1915-29, it had raised and expended \$85,000,000. " #12*

"... I do believe the French should guarantee the safety of the Armenians in Cilicia, and should evacuate from 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 freely circulated in the U.S. that the Turks massacred thousands of Armenians in the Caucasus. Such reports are repeated so many times it makes by blood boil. The Near East Relief has received 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 U.S., 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 Alexandropole, and reports from such men in Yarrow, I have reports from my own Intelligence Officer and know that the Armenian reports are not true. Is there something that you and Near East Relief Committee can do to stop the circulation of such false reports? ...

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... I certainly was surprised to hear from your letter, that there was a movement on foot to loan money to Armenia... We have already loaned Armenia over \$50,000,000 and that money is lost. I recommended against this loan at the time. Another loan would be simply putting good money after bad... 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... 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 their selfish interest to do so, and I do not see what selfish interests would be involved by our loaning money to Armenia. As regards, the U.S. guaranteeing the protection of that boundary from within, I cannot imagine the U.S. ever consenting doing this... Another example of this withdrawal of French troops from Cilicia. You see that in the end European Powers are going to do little or nothing for the Armenians... I believe in starting a campaign and placing the Armenian and Greek situation before our people in the U.S. squarely and fairly, telling both sides of the story. The Greek propaganda in the U.S. 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 in 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 in investigation as was ever made. This report is in the State Department. The

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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 do not believe there is a single representative of a European country in Constantinople that does not deprecate the occupation of Asia minor by the Greeks... I am absolutely certain that any assumption of responsibility for a part of the Ottoman Empire, like an independent Armenia, is bound to get us involved in European affairs 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 Armenian 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 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..." #13*

"Both France and Italy had promised to send one battalion each to Batumi. But, France sent, late in the day, an Algerian, instead of promised white battalion. Italy absolutely declined to implement her promise. The presence of the Entente powers in the Caucasus became, therefore, nominal from the end of June 1920. The sudden unannounced departure of William Haskell, the Allied High Commissioner for Relief, from the Caucasus further added to the sense of abandonment in Armenia. Haskell had been diverting 'all' the available flour earmarked for Armenia to the government of Azerbaijan 'in return for cash payment'." #14*

"Lastly, the American Relief Committee, who was preparing to send out ample funds for the refugees, would not traverse the country unless they could have protection. Lord Bryce considered the Armistice, whose provisions were made with 'little consideration and no foresight' as a 'capital error'. Under the threat of the use of force the War Cabinet compelled in early November, the surrender of Alexandretta on the Mediterranean and of Mosul in Mesopotamia even after the Armistice of Mudros was signed." #15*

After the 1918 Mudros Armistice, the Ottomans were totally beaten and the Sultan became a puppet. Yet, missionaries held Moslems (Kemalists) responsible for trying to protect their homeland against aggressors and obtain the right to ask for the occupation of Ottoman lands, 'simply to aid Christian-Armenians'... During such relief operations, transportation and warehousing processes, were guarded by famine stricken Turkish soldiers!

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"While nationalists left Constantinople to join the army, waves of refugees and orphans, Turkish, Kurdish and Armenian, poured into the city. There were so many that they took over military schools, palaces and mosques. A special American-funded charity called Near East Relief, fed over 160,000 people a day in Constantinople. Some horrors, however, were spared the city. In 1919, many died in Cairo and Alexandria during anti-British risings; the Greek occupation of Izmir began with a massacre of Turks; French forces bombarded Damascus in 1920. Constantinople, however, was miraculously free of bloodshed, except in March 1920. Turkish memoirs reveal more injured pride than physical suffering: Turks complained of Greeks' and Armenians' 'intolerable smiles' and 'generally obnoxious' behavior on ferries and trams. They were accused of such crimes as traveling first-class on second-class tickets, or being given seats on trams by Armenian conductors while Moslems were ejected." #16*

"Meanwhile at the beginning of the Peace Conference, Barton had considered with Colonel House the relation of the ACRNE to the Eastern Question. Seeking a quick commitment by the Supreme Council on the Ottoman Empire, the American Board secretary told House that efficient relief and resettlement of Armenian refugees depended on the Council's conclusion about Turkey. The Barton Relief Commission left in early-February, 1919 for Constantinople. Dodge's business associate, Arthur James, remained in Paris as a liaison; James arranged for the passage of what was eventually several hundred relief workers from France to Turkey. In the Ottoman Empire the Commission received red-carpet treatment. British authorities furnished storage and ordered their troops to guard relief supplies; the French and Italians helped. Americans aided the most... Hoover sent a man to Asia Minor to coordinate the American Relief Administration with ACRNE, especially controlling wheat speculators. Hoover allowed Relief Administration grain to go through the ACRNE, particularly for Caucasus. His agency was soon was delivering cereal at the rate of 5,000 tons a month. This relief helped make known the American Board – it prompted Georgians to ask for missionaries in their nation. The first of three ships provided by the U.S. Navy, the '*Mercurius*', docked in Constantinople on Feb. 12th, with over \$1,000,000 worth of goods; including 2,000 tons of flour, 2,500 cases of canned foods, 500 cases of condensed milk, 18 trucks, 20 ambulances, 500 sewing machines, 200 oil stoves, 1,750,000 yards of cloth, 50,000 blankets, 800 hospital cots, 26 tents, 78 X-ray machines and 200 tons of coal." #17*

"On board the *Leviathan* which left New York Feb. 16th, were 240 mission and relief personnel, including 30 physicians and 60 nurses. Missionary Charles Riggs was in the *Leviathan* party. Landing in Constantinople in early-March, 1919, Riggs immediately became local treasurer of the Barton Relief Commission; fellow passenger George White of Anatolia College became director of personnel. The Barton led expedition got every assistance from Mark L. Bristol, a rear admiral who was agent of the American Peace Commission and the U.S. Navy at the Porte. Bristol met daily with the Barton Relief

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Commission centered in the American Consulate. The admiral put destroyers at its disposal and was 'spokesman wherever necessary in dealing with the Turkish Government, as well as with the officials of European Governments residing in Constantinople.' A solid-jeweled career officer!... He shared with a State Department commissioner U.S. representation in Turkey. In August 1919, he would take over the State Department function. He had close ties with missionary educators in Constantinople, visiting often their homes, residing weekends at Woman's College." #18*

"Also in February, 1916 the Russian ambassador in London communicated a memorandum enquiring on behalf of Sazonov if the British Government would be disposed to contribute a half share in joint subsidy of 1,000,000 francs for the relief of Turkish-Armenians evacuated by the Turkish Government in the region of Aleppo-Mosul railway and farther towards Baghdad. The sum might be put at the disposal of the Armenian Patriarch and the Armenian Catholicos through the U.S. or it might be distributed among Armenians by American agents..." #19*

"A more senior official added: *I should be disinclined to make any donation for the benefit of Armenians in Turkey without publicly stating that we were doing it...* Statements and reports passed on to American journalists and its Blue Book describing the Turkish cruelties were certainly more useful to the Foreign Office *vis-à-vis* the view of British national interests than a secret contribution to Armenian relief. The Treasury had, once before, in August - September 1915, refused to contribute towards Armenian relief. Asquith and Grey had not insisted. ... Even £20,000 - 30,000 would do much... but no payments came from the Treasury... But, that these events were used by the British Foreign Office to arouse antipathy against the Central Powers, there is no doubt." #20*

"Near East Relief and the American Board soon discovered that Armenianism no longer was going to move the U.S. Government into Turkish peacemaking. A lull came in mission-relief lobbying when Barton, whom an Armenian leader described as the intercessor between Western and Eastern Christians and 'father' of the Armenians, surveyed the Far East for the American Board. Near East Relief's educational director, Ernest Riggs, who returned from Anatolia in late-summer 1921 after expulsion by Kemalists for pro-Armenian policies, partly filled Barton's place. At the London Conference of spring 1921, which Barton attended, Italy had agreed with the Kemalists to withdraw from Adalia in return for economic concessions. The Greeks tried to check the Allies' move away from Sevres by marching east into central Anatolia to capture Ankara. Just short of the Kemalist capital, the Greek advance halted. Mustafa Kemal and his troops then made ready for countering the Greeks while skirmishing against French in Cilicia. At the end of the summer the Greeks lost 15,000 men in a desperate battle along the Sakarya River, and retired to the Baghdad railway. Weakened in Cilicia because of this Kemalist victory. France in October, promised the

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Turkish nationalists, to evacuate the area which the London Conference had set an Armenian national home." #21*

"... Everywhere is covered with unburned, rotten human waste, corpses etc. Besides that, 10 000 people have left their filth, and have contaminated the whole area, and it is not possible not to choke.' Typhus, dysentery, and cholera were rampant, and corpses were lying everywhere...

... A large sum of money, was promised, would be sent from the funds for immigrants; and 'if it is not sufficient, another appropriation should be requested.' But of course, like so many other promises of good treatment made by the bureaucrats in Constantinople, this order remained largely a dead letter. As Consul Rössler put it succinctly in a dispatch to Berlin on July 31st, 'the government organizationally is not up to the task of carrying out the deportations...Typhus, dysentery, and even cholera spread from the sick deportees to the general population, to the workers on the railroad, and to the troops. A German unit near Islahia at one time counted 25% of its total strength struck down by disease, and many died. The entire route from Bozanti to Aleppo became infected, thus threatening this essential military supply line, and by November, an epidemic of typhus had broken out in Aleppo itself... " #22*

"By early-November, 1915, 150 - 200 Moslem inhabitants of Aleppo were dying of typhus every day.' ... Aleppo was at the junction of several important routes taken by the deportation convoys. Armenians from towns such as Brusa and Konia along the Baghdad railway were coming to Aleppo from the northwest on the still unfinished railroad. Armenians from various places in Cilicia were using branches of that same railroad. From the northeast, through Urfa, a road converged on Aleppo from Diyarbakır. That was the route taken by the deportees from Erzurum and Harput. Most of these exiles usually spent a few days in Aleppo or in transit camps located around the city. From Aleppo the exiles were shipped by rail eastward to Ras-ul-Ain and south to Hama, Homs, and Damascus and several locations in Palestine. Others were sent on foot toward Der-el-Zor in eastern Syria. American, German, and Austrian consular officials as well as foreign residents have given us descriptions of the deportees as they arrived in Aleppo and of conditions in the encampments in and around the city. A steady stream of deportees was pouring into Aleppo, reported the American consul Jesse B. Jackson to Ambassador Morgenthau on June 5th, 1915. 'Several expeditions have arrived here and have been taken care of locally by the sympathizing Armenian population of this city. A few days rest in the churches and schools, where they fill all rooms, balconies and even cover the roofs.' Then they were forced to continue. By late-September, more than 30 000 had arrived by rail and at least 100 000 on foot." #23*

"By the end of October, after the outbreak of typhus had reached epidemic proportions, 200 of the exiles in Aleppo were dying every day. The situation was similar in

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the several camps around the city. The distribution of food was irregular and clearly insufficient. Jackson visited each of these sites once or twice a week and distributed food and money. At Karlukh, a small village just north of Aleppo, the authorities had provided a few tents; but the great majority of the exiles were exposed to the burning sun and later in the season to rain and snow. In their weakened condition, 'hundreds (were) dying from disease and exposure.' " #24*

"Several thousand deportees managed to go into hiding, sheltered by the Armenian inhabitants of Aleppo, and their number grew steadily as more Armenians escaped and made their way to the city from the places of resettlement. The police conducted periodic sweeps of the city, and those caught without a residency permit were arrested and sent away. Vice-Consul Hoffmann reported on August 29, 1916, that some 800 such non-local Armenians had been deported so far. The illegals in Aleppo were aided by a network of support organized by the Rev. Hovhannes Eskijian, a young Armenian Protestant minister! Women, girls, and boys under the age of 14 were placed as servants in Christian, Jewish, and even Moslem homes. For others jobs were found in an army hospital. Under the guidance of another Protestant minister, the Rev. Aaron Shiradjian, several houses were rented to set up orphanages. Some of the orphans sheltered there had been abandoned by their parents, who hoped to save them in this way. The contributions of wealthy Armenians in Aleppo and of American and Swiss charities helped defray the cost of the orphanages. However, as conditions worsened, the government relented somewhat, and tolerated a de facto aid program. A key figure in channeling funds to the relief effort was the Constantinople-based treasurer of the American missions in Turkey, William W. Peet, who had good relations with the German embassy and therefore was able to send the relief workers money through the German consulate in Aleppo." #25*

"With the help of Kress von Kressenstein, Cemal Pasha's chief of staff, the Turkish commander was prevailed upon in December, 1915 to allow an aid program for orphans. The orphanage run by Sister Rohner eventually had 850 children; because it was regarded as a quasi-official institution, the local authorities for a time provided food and clothing. After the Rev. Eskijian died of typhus in March, 1916, Sister Rohner took over some of the institutions set up by him and by June, 1916 cared for 1 400 orphans. The adroit missionary, helped by local Armenians, also was able to find jobs for about 10 000 Armenian men and women in several large factories newly set up to manufacture cloth, uniforms, and bedding for the Turkish Army...Using the mail, friendly business people, and local bankers, Jackson was able to send funds to many in need. According to Rössler, the Turkish authorities knew and approved of this aid program. In Aleppo itself Armenian churches used American money to support about 9 000 exiles on the relief list. After Turkey severed diplomatic relations with the U.S. in April 1917, American relief funds were sent to a Swiss businessman in Aleppo, Emil Zollinger, a dedicated philanthropist. German money, too, became available in support of the Armenians. Starting in October 1915, Ambassador

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Metternich repeatedly sent money to Rössler. Consul Hoffmann in Alexandretta used official funds 'in several cases of special misfortune,' and the foreign ministry authorized the embassy to reimburse him." #26*

"Sister Rohner's work suffered a serious setback in February, 1917 when the authorities began to remove children from her care and take them to government orphanages in the Lebanon and other locations in Anatolia in order raise them as patriotic Moslems. For a short time she was able to continue to provide much-needed help for the many thousands of needy Armenians in Aleppo, where her relief payments benefited 20 000 exiles. She suffered a nervous breakdown a month later, however, and eventually returned to Germany. An Armenian reference work calls him 'part of the unholy triumvirate that were responsible for the wholesale massacre of the Armenians.' His assassination on July 25, 1922, is called an 'execution.' Kazarian includes Cemal Pasha among the 160 Turks he considers most responsible for the atrocities against the Armenians. In contrast, a survivor whose family was allowed to stay in Aleppo refers to Djernal Pasha as 'a great man' who was 'responsible for the saving of half-a-million Armenians in the part of Turkey subject to his control.' As already mentioned, Dadrian thinks that Cemal Pasha dissented from the genocidal agenda of the CUP top leadership and 'tried to resist and discourage the attendant massacres'...Cemal stated that he had nothing to do with the decision to deport the Armenians: 'I am equally innocent of ordering any massacres; I have even prevented them' " #27*

"...and caused all possible help to be given to all emigrants at the time of the deportations. The record, for the most part, bears out Cemal Pasha's claims. As early as March 29th, 1915, Cemal Pasha had threatened trial by court-martial for anyone who attacked Armenians (see Chapter 7). On July 8, Rössler reported that Cemal 'has recently again given strict orders aiming at the prevention of massacres of Armenians, and he has proposed to the government that it issue the same orders for the area under the jurisdiction of the third Army (in eastern and central Anatolia).' That these orders were not just empty words is proven by the hanging, directed by Cemal, of several officers responsible for massacres. The testimony of persons on the spot also confirms Cemal's efforts to provide relief for the deportees. Rössler reported on July 27th, 1915, that Cemal Pasha had ordered an increase in the amount of money made available for food. The German consul in Damascus, Dr. Julius Loytved Hardegg, noted in a message of May 30, 1916, that for about six weeks a system of support for the Armenians, set up by Cemal Pasha, had been functioning in his city. Kress von Kressenstein observed that some of these measures were sabotaged by lower echelons; food supposed to be distributed to the Armenians was stolen and sold by corrupt officials. Nonetheless, the German officer was firm in his conviction that Cemal Pasha and his staff were sincere in their endeavors to moderate the hardships experienced by the exiles" #28*

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"During the winter of 1915 – 16, Syria and Lebanon experienced a severe shortage of food as well as an epidemic of typhus, and the situation of the deportees took a turn for the worse. A survivor who had been sent to Amman (today's Jordan) reports that typhus killed most members of his family and 'wiped out hundreds of lives daily.' A gendarme told a German officer that the Armenian exiles at Petra (Jordan) had food for one day and then suffered hunger for the next 20 days. The officer was so moved by what he had seen that he left the Armenians two sacks of barley. In March 1916 Cemal Pasha organized an aid program for the Armenians that was headed by Hussein Kasim Bey, the former governor of Saloniki and Aleppo. Loytved Hardegg, the German consul in Damascus, reported on May 30th that Kasim Bey had provided bread, had established a delousing and bathing facility together with a hospital, and had found work for many of the exiles. About 700 widows and orphans had been sent to Hama, where they were given work in a knitting factory. Unfortunately, Hardegg wrote, Kasim Bey threatened to resign his office because he was not given enough funds to help the approximately 60 000 Armenians in Syria and Palestine and local authorities not only did not support his measures but opposed them. Kasim Bey also was greatly upset about the deportations to Mesopotamia, which he regarded as an attempt to exterminate the Armenians. Hardegg suggested that the Swiss charity program send money to the Turkish official, who was an honorable man and in whom he had complete confidence. There is no information on whether Kasim Bey made good on his threat to resign the directorship of the aid program, but we do know that the anti-Armenian attitude of the local authorities continued. During the course of the year 1916, both the German and the Austrian consul wrote of increasing pressure on the Armenians to convert, which was especially strong in the villages. In the towns, where many of the exiles had been able to practice their crafts and therefore were relatively better off, they were being threatened with expulsion to the villages. The poor among the deportees were told that they would lose their subsistence allowance unless they converted to Islam. Austrian consul Ranzi noted that large numbers of Armenians were yielding to these threats. The terrible fate that had overtaken them had broken their spirit and had weakened their strength to resist" #29*

"All in all and despite many difficulties, as a recent author has noted, the Armenians deported to southern Syria 'survived in surprising numbers.' It is now estimated that 20 000 out of 132 000 died, a sadly large number but a far better ratio than among the deportees to the eastern part of the province. The overall number of deaths is discussed separately " #30*

"Practically all of the known massacres were carried out in eastern and central areas of Anatolia inhabited by Kurds or in places of resettlement populated by Circassians such as Ras-ul-Ain and around Der-el-Zor. There were no massacres in Cilicia or in Syria south of Aleppo or in Palestine. Most of the references to the killers by contemporary witnesses involve Kurds, Circassians, brigands ..." #31*

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"Barton soon was dominant Board administrator. In the position of foreign secretary, he gave priority to educational missions, becoming perhaps the outstanding American promoter of colleges abroad. He eventually assisted the start of development of 20 interdenominational Christian schools of higher learning in Spain, Greece, Bulgaria, Turkey, India, Ceylon, China, and Japan, helping them secure over \$30,000,000. In a constant dialogue with the U.S. Government, Barton sought to guard Protestant institutions in Turkey and elsewhere. With Barton as ACASR head, missionaries felt that not all would be lost. After months of dismay, the Protestant to Turkey began to hope again. During the winter of ACASR's birth in 1915-16, Morgenthau left for home. When he reached New York City the executive committee of the ACASR met him on docks." #32*

"...Missionaries soon helped organize relief for thousands of Armenian orphans and widows. A clergyman from a missionary family, Frederick D. Greene, became secretary of the National Armenian Relief Committee. Missionary son Edwin M. Bliss (also assistant editor of The Independent), with assistance from Cyrus Hamlin, wrote a book on the history of the Armenian question and on the killings. Bliss described the relief movement in the U.S.: 'Armenian Sundays were observed by many churches; collections were taken in churches, Sunday schools, colleges, societies and mass meetings; journals opened their columns for relief subscriptions; individuals collected funds privately; Armenians throughout the country contributed from their slender resources; and the money was forwarded promptly to the field.' Red Cross and American Board personnel administered aid at mission stations, and the colleges throughout Asia Minor and eventually established orphanages and homes for widows which taught carpentry, tin-smithing, baking, lace-making and silk culture." #33*

"After 1881, the American Red Cross had taken an increasingly important place in complementing the religionists. The government role throughout had been minor, since Congress had appropriated relief funds only once and Washington infrequently had provided naval transport for gifts...Missionaries had developed philanthropy for the Near East in response to the killings from 1894 to 1896, as discussed; the National Armenian Relief Committee cooperated with the American Red Cross to lead in assisting the Armenians. Peet had directed the distribution in Turkey of around \$1,500,000 in relief, which probably saved about 200 000 orphans...

Early in World War I came benevolence for Arabs. When in 1914 the Ottoman authorities in Syria requisitioned food and animals, famine followed, bringing death to many people. The head of the Columbia University School of Journalism, Talcott Williams and Stanley White, Syrian Secretary of the Presbyterian Board, in early 1915 established the Syrian-Palestine Relief Fund. (Born of missionaries in Turkey, Williams later became an outspoken supporter of the Protestants' political aims). The Fund fared well; one of its sections alone reported in July 1915 that \$155,000 had gone to the U.S. consul in Beirut

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Concurrently, the general secretary of the Presbyterian Board, Robert E. Speer, started a project similar to the Syrian-Palestine Relief Fund. Speer heard of poor conditions among followers of the Presbyterian missions at Urmia in Persia, issuing out of the Turkish-Russian conflict. He obtained some Red Cross help. In March 1915, he decided that this means was insufficient and began the Persian War Relief Fund. Appealing to all Protestant denominations, Speer by July had raised several thousand dollars. During the summer, income began to taper off, so he turned to the Rockefeller Foundation. Out of this tradition of fund-raising for the Near East arose Peet's scheme of August 1915. By then thousands had escaped Asia Minor, huddling in the Cucassus, Syria, and Mesopotamia where Americans could possibly aid them. An important call which arrived in the U.S. after the Peet Letter was a confidential cable of September, three from Morgenthau to the State Department... 'Enver Pasha has promised', the ambassador related, 'the departure of such Armenians to the U.S. whose immigration I vouch as bona fide. The destruction of the Armenian race in the Turkish Empire is progressing rapidly'... " #34*

"Thus, Crane, whose son had become Secretary of State's Lansing's personal secretary in May 1915, had several handles on machinery which could help the Armenians. Arriving in Washington on Sept. 21, Crane and Barton received permission to consult confidential dispatches from the Near East. These messages confirmed their worst suspicions and showed more trouble than the few previously published pieces about the Armenian problem. Ambassador Morgenthau soon learned that the Dodge Relief Committee was preparing to send between \$50,000 - \$100,000 to the Ottoman Empire and Persia. The Dodge Relief Committee advised him to dismiss the idea of mass emigration of Armenians because of insurmountable opposition in the U.S. The U.S. consul in Aleppo currently reported over 150,000 refugees in the area, with hundreds dying daily. The consul recommended \$150,000 a month to meet the needs of that locality alone... The Dodge Relief Committee proceeded to reinforce in the American mind the image of the unspeakable Turk. From data at the State Department, Barton and Crane prepared press dispatches and sent them to leading journalists throughout the U.S. During the last two weeks of September, 1915 headlines which made all Turks look like ogres appeared under nearly every dateline in The New York Times and in other newspapers and periodicals: 'Mission Board told of Turkish Horrors, 10,000 Christians Drowned in Trabzon, Woman Seized in Harems and Tales of Armenian Horrors Confirmed.' " #35*

"At the Bosphorus, Morgenthau, Gates, and Peet continued as an Armenophile triumvirate. The three men could transfer funds from the U.S. But they did not have approval of the Porte to distribute relief goods. Gates worked on Talat, and the diplomat on Enver. Both Ottomans hesitated because they felt that large outside help would stimulate rebellion. The Young Turks angrily spurned attempts by the Americans to end death marches or to plead a special dispensation for Protestant Armenians. Talat said the government would not again allow the minority to pull in grasping foreign hands.

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Since the killing of Armenians was not to cease, and relief appeared a long term proposition, the Syrian-Palestine Relief Fund, the Persian War Relief Fund, and the Dodge Relief Committee elected to join. The new agency, the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief (ACASR), appeared on Nov. 20, 1915. In 1918 and 1919 this movement changed its name twice, first to the American Committee for Relief in the Near East (ACARNE) and then, more simply, to Near East Relief. The ACASR board numbered about 40, representing nearly every American Protestant group in the Near East and including D. Stuart Dodge (Cleveland Dodge's uncle and board president of the Syrian Protestant College), Presbyterian Board Secretary Stanley White, Arthur Curtiss James (business associate of Cleveland Dodge and board member of the Syrian Protestant College), and Student Volunteer leader John R. Mott. Only four ACASR board members were either Jews or Catholics...Leadership of the ACASR continued with three men from the former Dodge Relief Committee: Dodge, Crane as treasurer, Barton as chairman (of the three, the chairman was in some ways the most important). Barton spent his boyhood in a Quaker farm home in Vermont (many American Board missionaries came from rural New England). In 1881, he received his college diploma from Cyrus Hamlin, who currently was president of Middlebury. To pay debts, Barton traveled for a year as a covered buggy salesman in Illinois. Then he graduated from Hartford Theological Seminary, received ordination as a Congregational clergyman, and departed in 1885 under the American Board for Harput in the Armenian vilayets..." #36*

"Barton helped influence the State Department to move the belligerents, including Turkey, to allow the collier through the naval blockade. American missionaries, diplomats, and consuls distributed aid; mission properties became relief centers. The following individuals served on the relief committee in Constantinople: Elkus, Lewis Heck (embassy official), Gates, Peet, Luther R. Fowle (Peet's assistant), and Elizabeth Huntington (Dodge's daughter and staff member at Robert College). Groups existed also in Beirut and Tbilisi. In Persia, U.S. Minister J.L. Caldwell, headed a committee of American residents there...The relief goods went almost entirely to non-Turks. Moslems received about two% relief; Armenian and Arab Christians obtained most of the rest. Constantinople was allotted 35%. Tbilisi 30%, Beirut 13% and Tehran in Persia 2%. Nestorian and Armenian displaced persons in Persia, wards of the Presbyterians, received most of Tehran's share. Favoritism for Christian minorities did not promote goodwill with Moslems, many of whom also were destitute and pitiable... Barton did not forget the American Board and other Protestant institutions as he pushed the ACASR. He tried by a letter in April, 1916 to 'instill a little more ginger' in Secretary of State Lansing, to get security for Americans and the \$40,000,000 invested over the years by different evangelistic, educational, and medical mission groups in the Ottoman Empire. This gesture was like those in autumn 1914 when both Protestant and commercial interests in Turkey had requested warships to deter the Porte from acting against Americans and minorities (soon the *North Carolina* and the *Tennessee* were in the eastern Mediterranean). At that time, the Committee of Union and Progress formally sought

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to quiet U.S. fears with Enver going so far as to enroll his brother and two sons in special classes at Robert College." #37*

"With the help of Bristol, J.H.T. Main of the Barton Relief Commission in late-February, 1919 led a contingent across the Black Sea to the Caucasus. Walter George Smith later joined Main. The pioneer party took over '5,000 tons of flour-1,000 cases of milk – one hospital unit; 5,000 pairs of shoes...50 sewing machines...' #38*

This information was fuel for Barton's Armenianism. It heated his conscience; he thought it wrong that no Western armies were occupying Anatolia in 1919 to provide security for Armenian survivors to find their broken houses to start afresh. He therefore left his group at Aleppo to go to Cairo for a few days, where in early-April he sought to persuade General Allenby to send British regiments into Asia Minor. Allenby did not fulfill Barton's burning desire. Without protection of Allied soldiers, the mission executive and his colleagues in April and May nevertheless moved..." #39*

"Meanwhile Near East Relief continued its philanthropy. It transferred work out of such Kemalist areas as Kars (annexed from Yerevan Republic in December, 1910) and Harput to Soviet Armenia and Syria. The relief group in early 1922 dismissed 25 000 children from orphanages because of limited funds. Despite cutbacks, Near East Relief innovated a Braille program for children (probably the first of its kind in the Caucasus), an agricultural school for orphans which used over 17,000 of acres provided by the Soviet Armenian Government, a maternity ward for refugee mothers in Beirut." #40*

"Moreover, the British were not only in constant touch with various Armenian organizations 'for relief work for the Armenians', but were also members of some of them. In a minute dated Nov. 15th, 1915 Harold Nicholson of the Foreign Office observed: < I venture to suggest that our enemies are certain to seize upon anything which may be said, as evidence to show that HMG and their Allies have been in correspondence with Armenian insurgents, and are therefore indirectly responsible for the treatment which military considerations have forced the Turks to adopt. It would be better therefore if the persons interested could be informed in confidence of what has actually passed in Armenian relief – between various Armenian elements.> In fact, a number of Armeno-British propaganda organizations were established in Britain between the 1890s and 1920s, as confirmed by Akaby Nassibian. " #41*

To round up the near end of the relief issue, let us note a few lines from a long letter written by Admiral Bristol on board the *USS St. Louis* a day before arriving in Istanbul from Rhodes.

"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

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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...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 Dashnak 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...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 races 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 U.S. to help them. However, so long as we proceed along the present line I do not believe we will succeed because I do not 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 \$50,000,000. 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. It was a sentimental loan based on faith in a people, and they have gone back on us...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 had changed your policy, but that is neither

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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 organization 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."

(*Quick note: Unfortunately, Admiral Bristol's noble intention to lend a hand to all suffering parties, was rarely given serious thought among American humanitarians. 'Edward Fox, the American District Commander at Kars, in a telegram, dated Oct. 31st, 1920, to Admiral Bristol, the U.S. High Commissioner in Istanbul, wrote that the Americans were continuing their work of looking after the Armenian children as before, that the Turkish soldiers were well-disciplined and that there had not been any massacres. Such missionary and philanthropic establishments protected only the children of Armenians, and never the thousands of Turkish children, who had become orphans mainly on account of Armenian massacres of their parents and families.' Here is the source.)

The reply of Dr. Barton, head of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in Istanbul, dated May 6, 1921 to Admiral Bristol. (*Some lines only*):

"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, Pasdermajian. 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 Dodge, 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... When I was in London a little over a month ago, several of the leaders like Lord Bryce expressed their conviction that if the U.S. would

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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 establish 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 Antep 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 U.S. 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... (Armenians) are a peculiar people. They have a great faculty of making themselves disliked wherever they go...I probably have suffered as much from the lack of appreciation on the part of Armenians as anyone. For 25 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 a few - have remained absolutely loyal and appreciative. But they are a peculiar people... 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 an 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 a loan, I think the same was true in England. I was not, of course, referring to any Armenia in Turkey outlined by the President..."

The following notes of a U.S. citizen researcher added:

"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..."

"The pride of race brings about many singularities and prompts the Armenians to prey on missionaries, Jesuits, consuls and European traveler with rapacity and ingratitude. The poor Armenians will demand assistance in a loud tone, yet will seldom give thanks for a donation. Abuse of Consular officers and missionaries is only a part of the stock-in-trade of the extra-Armenian press." - Mark Sykes, 'The Caliph's Last Heritage' (London, 1915)"

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"Loyalty is a foreign concept to Armenians... recorded as early as the days of ancient Rome. Ara Baliozian has written: '... Our past is filled with countless instances of betrayal and treachery...' Edward Tashji, who is half-Armenian, comments: 'This last quotation, like no other statement is an inescapable and irrefutable commentary of the Armenians, not only of Ottoman Turkey, but to this very day in the U.S.' "

"Armenians even attacked their greatest friend, President Woodrow Wilson, for not going to bat all the way for them...All the Armenians do is taking. Look at the \$50,000,000 America lent them on good faith (which Admiral Bristol somewhat bitterly reports on, above), and they just turned their backs on their responsibilities. (This was in addition to the 50,000,000 they received from charitable organizations.) A people with honor would have repaid their debts... and that should have been the first order of business, once Armenia regained her freedom after the fall of the Soviet Union. Instead of giving, their lobby in the U.S. has been at work to take more money from American taxpayers... more than a billion bucks, to date. Peter Balakian speaks of a 'double killing'... As a Turkish-American, I now introduce the concept of a double enraging. I am mad at the Armenians for their lies and slanders against Turkey... but I am also mad as an American for the way Armenians have totally used my country, with the help of condescending American politicians, such as (R) James E. Rogan." #42

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Chapter 18: - References and Footnotes:

1*. Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy & the Near East*, U. of Minn. Press, 1991, pg.77

An excellent example of how bigotry turns logic into exaggeration and biased comments; praising Christianity whilst defaming Moslems, for incapacity to rule! Yet, the Ottoman Empire lasted more than 600 years, and collapsed because they were very liberal to all their subjects regardless of religion. The huge sums of money collected signify the solidarity and bigotry of Protestants, spending large amounts, just to convert Orthodox and Catholic (Armenians) into Protestant. After so many calamities brought by differences in interpretation of a religion, only about 5% of local Armenians still keep their Protestant or Catholic faith. In other paragraphs, Armenians who converted to Moslem faith (without pressure, but to prevent relocation) are looked down upon! Yet, the commentators cannot answer, if "any Armenian who had not become Protestant was ever accepted in U.S., or any who were not Catholic admitted to France! The record of French treatment of the Alsations or U.S. treatment of the Japanese ethnic citizens cannot be compared with the Ottoman goodwill even during war! Armenians were de facto belligerents, the others were not; but were isolated as a precaution only!

2*. Leslie A Davis, *The Slaughterhouse Province*, A.D.Caratzas, New York, pg. 104

The U.S. Commercial consul, who admitted that he never had any business transaction in his area, indirectly confirms that Turks as well have been deported and we know that they were not supplied food or tents, because the State did not have it! Deportations started in June 1915 and we learn that in 1916 many of the "all who were massacred" came back and in need of charity of the Consulate".

3*. Ibid, pg. 105

We hear from the Consul that Turks escorted Armenian women, whether some of them were mistress, or wife or under their care is unknown, but the Consul has his prejudice, they should be mistresses; he did not like both Armenians as a race nor Turks!

4*. Akaby Nassibian, *Britain & the Armenian Question 1915-23* Croom Helm, London, pg.61

Money collections had started very early and largely increased in time. Even in Moscow 1,500,000 rubles were collected for aid. What is not known is how much of that went to needy persons, or to arms and ammunition, or the pockets of the ringleaders.

5*. Ibid, pg.62

Chances are that these were actually uniforms for the volunteers training in Egypt.

6*. Ibid, pg. 63

We get a confirmation that some of the fund was to provide medical or other needs of Armenian volunteers. Hence, the very identity of this aid, if for charity or military logistics, becomes questionable

7*. Ibid, pg.64

Didn't the active clergymen know that they were helping Armenians to fight Turks?

8*. Ibid, pg. 65

We have a confirmation that at least 310 000 Armenians fled the 1915 massacre (!) and were destitute this time in Russian Armenia and that some came back to Kars and Cilicia. How that can be possible after the killing of 1 500 000 in 1915, is one palaver-puzzle. Kemalist Turks fighting for their country are classified as insurgents, guilty of not surrendering!

9*. Ibid, pg. 249

There is no indication of what happened to about half of the population of the area who were Muslims. Turks were to be held responsible for all types of deaths, in whatever jurisdiction in the area, be it Russian, Allied, Armenian etc...We note that in 1923 there was 1 million refugees living, and three quarters of them, were in the indicated areas!.

10*. Ibid, pg. 248

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Both Britain and Armenia are trying to rid themselves of the Armenian refugees, who were counted as killed...

11*. Ibid, pg. 251

Continued slandering... Who sacked and burned Smyrna? (Greeks and Armenians!) When the Greeks lost the war, their best friends were no longer needed! They too had to get rid of the thousands, counted as killed in 1915!

12*. Ibid, pg. 253

Nansen's comments are the most reliable, since he was in charge of aiding all refugees, which is elaborated in chapter 15, about population! However, we learn that at least 300 000 to 400 000 had fled abroad! Counting all these living the charges that 1,5 million people were massacred in 1915 by Turks, sounds like a childish, if not a stupid exaggeration!

13*. Marc L. Bristol, U.S. High Commissioner, letter dated. March 28th, 1921 to D. D. Barton

This, the most important, knowledgeable and enlightening letter of the highest U.S. Representative in Turkey, unfortunately is not ever revealed or known even by U.S. Congress members... Bristol was defending the interests of U.S.; he was not biased like Barton, who eventually showed his expectations to become one of the top figures of the New Armenia, and not just a father!

14*. Akaby Nassibian, *Britain & the Armenian Question 1915-23* Croom Helm, London, pg.195

Armenians still court France and Britain, who had used Armenian aspirations, only as long as it served their own interests had.

15*. Ibid, pg. 137

American Relief Committee members were protected by the starving soldiers of the Ottoman Empire under occupation in their ragged uniforms. In other words, Turks were guarding the relief food for Armenians they had killed (?) in 1915.

16*. Philip Mansel, *Constantinople*, St. Martin's Press, NY, pg. 397

We learn that at least 160 000 Armenians were receiving food assistance from Relief funds in Istanbul. We note that all schools, mosques etc were used for refugees.. We note however, that Churches or Missionary Schools were not used, despite the dire need. It is not known for what humane reasons French bombarded Damascus, all civilians! Regarding 'ferries and tram' and behaviors, one must note that these were French Companies, and the personnel in charge was largely Jewish, Greek, or Armenian. Turks were considered to be incompetent...

17*. Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy & the Near East*, Univ. of Minn.Press, 1991, pg.165

Istanbul was occupied; the Ottomans had lost the war. Sultan's government was only a puppet ready to do anything for the pleasure or mercy of the Victors, and the red carpet was only a small part of it. The available few Turkish soldiers always guarded the relief supplies. It is only after the occupation of Istanbul, that the British made some shows or gestures.

18*. Ibid, pg. 166

Despite all the support given by Admiral Bristol to Barton and American Schools, he also maintained balanced relations with Turks, being a neutral soldier with righteous character, and not bigoted. He was not liked by Barton!

19*. Akaby Nassibian, *Britain & the Armenian Question 1915-23* Croom Helm, London pg. 79

Seems money laundering under humane slogans and propaganda were well executed in the past...Note, 1915 Reno Evening Gazette in chapter 30.

20*. Ibid, pg. 80

British needed not to make any treasury donations, they had already achieved everything they wanted through the Blue Book, they had plenty Gold to pay Arabs to revolt, but nothing to give for people dying on the streets! Charity ?

21*. Joseph.L Grabill *Protestant Diplomacy & the Near East*, U.of Minn. Press, 1991,pg.259

Missionaries deserve all credit for their fifth-column activities, which is not one of the commandments or requirements of being good Christians. The order to Christianize was interpreted,

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by all means whatever it takes and costs! Barton, was to be deprecated later, despite his stubborn extensive efforts for Armenian's Protestant Christianity!

22*. Guenter Lewy, *The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey*, Univ. of Utah Press, pg.190

Note that during the war, even Germans donated and helped in relief, but none had enough money or means to fight epidemics, wiping out soldiers before they had a chance to fight. Surely, a government in debt and need of everything, fighting on three fronts was incapable of such a mass relocation. But, can inability, incapacity be tagged as genocide?

23*. Ibid, pg. 191

When considered logically, it makes no sense that the Ottoman Turks would take so much trouble to transport the refugees by train, feed and shelter them within their available means, or were they doing all this to kill them slowly?

24. Ibid, pg. 193

Did Germans, French or Americans permit foreign consuls to visit their camps, distribute food or money? Or were all these parts of a well planned detailed scheme or planned genocide?

25*. Ibid, pg. 194

I am somewhat confused with the abnormality of this genocide: only 800 caught without residence permit and sent to camps; most others find jobs and shelters. Armenian priest or Mr. Peet from U.S. Embassy, can travel, see, aid the deportees, distribute money...unmolested! Even Germans are contributing to relief... Is it not all, this very strange?

26*. Ibid, pg. 195

Even after diplomatic relations with U.S. were cut because of the war, U.S. relief activities were continuing in 1917!

27*. Ibid, pg. 196

Government of an Empire losing the war, is still opening orphanages for Armenian children which they should have annihilated as part of the GENOCIDE? Regarding the assassination of Cemal Pasha, who was so helpful to unfortunate Armenians, should come as no surprise because Dashnaks like to kill and revenge. It makes little difference for Dashnaks if they praise one today, and kill the next day!

28*. Ibid, pg. 197

Cemal Pasha's efforts to feed the unfortunate refugees, when Turkish armies went hungry, were rewarded with bullets!

29*. Ibid, pg. 219

This information makes no sense regarding any genocide intent! About conversion to Islam to be exempt from the menace of relocation, author overlooks the fact that conversion to Protestant was a requisition to benefit more from U.S. relief! Writer speaks of Kasim bey with prejudice, as if he is sure and can prove that he spoke of extermination! Logically, it does not match!

30*. Ibid, pg. 220

The death ratio given as only 15% during the long journey of relocation is extremely low, contradicting estimates.

31*. Ibid, pg. 221

We have some evidence that it was not Turkish soldiers or brigands who attacked the columns, but unidentified brigands, insufficient numbers of gendarmes, as well as incompetence led to their not fulfilling their duty to protect the columns.

32*. Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy & the Near East*, Univ. of Minn. Press, 1991, pg.72

Barton's bigotry and treachery in the name of divinity goes against the Biblical commandments. He had a huge financial leverage and machinations. Morgenthau worked more as ACASR's, rather than U.S.A.'s ambassador.

33*. Ibid, pg. 42

These paragraphs speak for themselves, as regards why some Armenian leaders must keep the fire burning... continued donations/collections for this myth of extraordinary diversion by rich people,

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makes some members of the Diaspora richer and keeps so many persons happy giving few crumbs to those in Armenia.

34*. Ibid, pg. 69

Washington had in the past and still does, use taxpayers money for special aids to Armenia, because (Chapter 30) the Armenian lobby is active and alert, and has the financial ability to pay, when the return is granted and much profitable. Morgenthau here favors Enver, but later in his Morgenthau's Story book, uses many expressions to degrade him... Was he a diplomat or hypocrite?

35*. Ibid, pg. 71

The relief figures and living population certainly contradicts all these genocide fanfare. These reliable figures of living Armenians are being analyzed in Chapter 15, proving that the '1,500,000 killed,' is an impossible palaver. W. Wilson, State Secretary Lansing were all devoted Christian Armenophiles and had set their machinations of slandering Turks, while providing funds for relief and other needs of volunteers. Those who read the 'drowning palaver' would not know that such a thing (maybe except one or two minor incident) could not have happened, because the sail boats in those days were very few and each could not possibly take more than 50-70 persons. There was never any reports of bodies found floating in the sea by Allied Navy which had blockaded all ports. There are no sharks either in the Black Sea! When and how, 10 000 Armenians that even did not exist in Trabzon area <G. Lewy gives total six to 10 000 Armenians living in Trabzon before relocation, - pg.178, ISBN 10-0-87480-849-9 > so easily killed without a trace? Regarding the 'harem' palaver, the writers did not even know that only the Sultan had a harem. Although under the Moslem religion people could marry up to four wives, very few had the ability to do so when everyone was in need of bread to survive, and fewer people to support!

36*. Ibid, pg. 72

Barton, <a Missionary of Christ>, seems to be more active and capable than Lawrence of Arabia, <an officer>! Truly, seeing the backstage from given information, the purity and nobility of divinity, is heavily stained by the conspiracies to convert a Gregorian Christian into a Protestant Christian, falls into the bin of the sinners... Isn't the savior the sinner?

37*. Ibid, pg. 78

The favoritism for suffering Christians only, is another proof of the teaching "love thy neighbor"... Barton is even proud of giving nothing to Moslems, forgetting that they guarded the storage and distribution centers... CUP leaders had relied on the neutrality and mediation of U.S., which turned to hostility supported by battleships to teach Bible.

38*. Ibid, pg. 165

People would voluntarily convert to Protestant to benefit from such aids, huge for that time...

39 * Ibid, pg. 166

Barton wanted to start a new war against Kemalists... Luckily Britain and U.S. was more realistic than this reckless missionary was.

40*. Ibid, pg. 167

Examples that the works of the relief organizations were never hindered by the devastated, but still proud Turks!

41*. Salahi Sonyel, The Great War and the Great Tragedy of Anatolia, T.T.K., pg. 140

Another strong evidence of the real intent of the British military and political aims, by getting involved in relief operations, but gathering information about Turks, supporting the rebels, etc!... Therefore, it was not humane as advertised!

42. e-mail: <http://www.tallarmeniantale.com/bristol-barton.htm>

Chapter 19: FAMINE AND EPIDEMICS

More often than not, parties entering a war miscalculate its duration, weather conditions and logistical supply of provisions, such as food, fodder, fuel and other requirements deemed necessary to maintain a healthy, battle-ready fighting force. Great advances in the medical field were made in the late-20th century. Miscalculations on food and medical supplies caused the loss of battles and millions of deaths due to plain negligence or ignorance. This chapter contains a few abstracts to familiarize the reader with similar conditions.

It is no secret that most war casualties did not occur on the front lines but in the rear kitchens or hospital wards! Surely, epidemics of typhus, dysentery, pestilence killed many more than bullets. And on top of all, there were severe shortages of food, when soldiers could no longer sustain themselves and fell due to hunger. This was a frequent experience for those who fought and returned. Rough estimates disclose that during the long 10-year period stretching from the Balkan Wars of 1912-13 to the end of the War of Liberation in 1922, only 1 out of 10 Turkish soldiers who went to war was lucky enough to return home. The other nine died with one-half or one-third in combat, with the rest of the casualties occurring behind lines. This calamity was valid for all, but seemingly more applicable to Ottoman armies. The following comments aim to give a general outlook. One major play on numbers of the Genocide backers is to claim that all deaths were planned, and hence they qualify for a "genocide heading". Of course, the claimants can find no logical answer to other historical notes, whereby Armenians would admit that so many died because of the numerous marches back and forth, famine and other conditions where Moslems have died for the very same reasons in larger numbers! (Historian Justin McCarthy gives a figure as high as 40% for deaths of those in the war zones because of constantly shifting migrations). Moslems don't count, we're interested in Christian Armenians only, and regardless when, where, how they died, we "take an estimate of 1,500,000 in 1915" and never mind if this is physically possible or not... We do not have to prove anything... let the "Denialists" prove their innocence... and even that is not necessary because what is "already known" needs "no further proof"! These "absurd comments" may not have any academic value, but it may be another pipedream in the genocide fanfare. With this type of false logic, Turks should hold the British responsible for blockading all ports during the war, which was one of the great reasons of the famine suffered in most places!

It may be useful to know that Cyrus Hamlin, the most reputable missionary who came to Istanbul in early 1839 to set up a seminary for Christian students as part of the American Board functions, soon discovered that his students needed clothing, money and business to become a self-sustaining community. Hamlin first learned the Armenian language (not Turkish) and later got the students involved in making stovepipes, and other jobs (rattraps) etc. During the Crimean War, he started to make leavened bread, which Turks did not know or were not used to eating. The "leavened bread" was baked in Bebek on the European side of the Bosphorus, and

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then, rowed some eight miles to the British Army camp in Uskudar on the Asian side. Hamlin's bread became so popular that he had to import a steam engine for his flourmill and open a new bakery on the Asian side to ensure a steady supply to the army camps and later to hospitals as well, where he saw all soldier uniforms were burned because of the vermin issue. He got a contract washing old uniforms, set up a line laundry service with boiler tanks, hand washers, and was the first person "who could disinfect clothes and blankets which borne typhus lice. Hamlin's highly intelligent projects (constructing Hamlin Hall in stone which has withstood numerous earthquakes that have struck over the past 100 years) and providing jobs usually for needy Armenians, exceeded the functions of the American Board, which was not involved in the establishment of Robert College. Another important character was a British nurse who found that there were heavy losses, simply because there was no one to take care of the hospital wards during the night. She started to conduct night watches and rounds with her hand lamp and her care as a night angel greatly reduced the death rate of the infirmed. Her name, Florence Nightingale, was given to a modern hospital, which is very well known in Turkey. Hamlin's major contribution towards Western-style education in Turkey is highly reputed and appreciated! Today, Bogazici University is an extension of Robert College. However, very few Turks know that Hamlin was such an ardent Armenophile, that he requested the U.S. Navy to come and shell Turkey to teach her a lesson and protect Armenians. Mainly members of the Armenian community, to which he dedicated his entire life and even translated the Protestant Bible into the Armenian language, attended his funeral in Boston.

"In May 1828, a Russian contingent crossed the Pruth River and began advancing southward while another force moved along the eastern coast of the Black Sea, defeating the Ottoman Forces in Kars in July, 1828. The Ottomans fought with unexpected tenacity, *despite worsening plague and food shortage* resulting from an Allied blockade, - Of the 100,000 Russian troops that began the campaign, a mere 14,000 reached Adrianople. The rest were dying of various diseases- particularly dysentery and pestilence- at such a frightful rate that they could neither advance or retreat." #1*

"In Sept.1854, 50 000 British and French troops augmented by a 7 000-strong Ottoman force landed on the Crimean Peninsula and advanced to siege Sevastopol. Suffering on both sides was tremendous, with more lives lost to raging epidemics and biting snowstorms than to actual fighting." #2*

"From its part Russia continued to press the Ottomans from the Caucasus. Advancing from Circassia, Russian forces managed to seize Beyazid and threaten the key Ottoman fortress Kars. The Ottoman garrison was able to hold out for six months, but eventually surrendered in late-November, 1855 having been starved of food and ammunition. But at this point, "*General Winter*" interceded and brought the Ottoman-Russian fighting to a close." #3*

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Enver Pasha's foolhardy Sarikamish winter attack taught him who "General WINTER" was, but only after some 80 000 young men died of cold and hunger without fighting. The lucky ones who fell prisoner to the Russians were given some bread and hot tea and managed to stay alive. A Turkish general who was also a POW, mentions in his memoirs that a Russian peasant woman took pity on a Turkish prisoner, barefoot on ice, and that she gave him her own shoes to wear! ...Only this episode is enough to prove that the destiny of those who perished was not intentional by any means but this did not prevent "what was bound to happen from happening"!

"Typhus was very bad that winter, especially among the soldiers. As many as 75-80 of them died on same days." #4

"During the first two years of the war, more than 8,000 Jerusalem Jews (1/5) died of starvation and epidemics." #5*

"Cemal's frustration over the abysmal failure of the campaign against the Suez Canal, for which, himself was responsible. Gone was the warm praise for the Arabs and their language – the language of holy Qoran; in its place were beatings, arrests, torture, deportations and executions, in accordance with Cemal's new conviction that 'the Syrians and the Arabs only respect he who beats them'. Gone were the lavish bribes, showered on notables, propagandists, and journalists; in their place were widespread requisitions and taxation on personal property, lands, livestock and crops. By 1916, the entire Levant was ravaged by famine and epidemics because of the Entente's naval blockade. Hundreds of thousands succumbed to their suffering; others narrowly survived. Having failed to convince Ibn Saud to lead their revolt and become king of the future Arab empire, the societies turned their sights to Sharif Hussain of Mecca, The imperialist vision of a few dozen political activists, voiced by a local potentate who represented little more than himself, would form the basis of shaping of the post-Ottoman Middle East. It would also become a source of anti-Western grievances by Arab political elites and intellectuals for generations to come." #6*

"Food was the most emotive aspect of the problem. Austria-Hungary was predominantly agricultural without being agriculturally self-sufficient. The direct effects of the blockade were not great, but the war shut off the empire's two principal sources of supplementary food, Russia and Romania (which although still neutral in 1914 imposed an embargo). By 1917 Austria's own output of wheat had fallen to 47% of its 1913 total, of rye to 43% and of oats to 29%. Hungary's production also fell, in large part for the same reasons — the loss of labor, fertilizers and horses — although not to the same extent; it was also hit by the conquest of Galicia. It therefore had less to market. In 1912 Hungary had supplied 85% of Austria's wheat and cattle, but in 1914 Hungary closed its frontier with Austria and ceased to regard its food as a common resource, preferring to sell its surplus to

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Germany and to the army. By 1917, Austrian imports of cereals and flour from Hungary were 2.5% of their 1913 total...Lack of animal fodder led to meat shortages, and by 1917, the most obvious manifestations of the food problem were two or three meatless days a week in big cities. The shortages were not as severe as in Germany, and in some respects Hungary was taking the blame for Austrian mal-administration ... " #7*

"The high death toll certainly does not prove in and of itself the guilt of the Young Turk regime; nor can we infer from it that the deaths were part of a genocidal plan to destroy the Turkish-Armenian community. Large numbers of Turkish civilians died as a result of severe shortages of food and epidemics; large numbers of Turkish soldiers, especially the wounded in battle, perished for lack of adequate medical care and as a result of neglect and incompetence on the part of their own officers; and large numbers of British prisoners of war lost their lives as a consequence of inattention and the kind of gross mismanagement rampant in the Ottoman regime (see the discussion below). Yet these results surely do not prove that the Ottoman Government—ultimately responsible for all of these conditions—sought and intentionally caused the death of its own civilian population, of its own soldiers, and of its prisoners of war. The Turkish wartime government may deserve to be severely rebuked for its corruption and bungling misrule as well as for indifference to the suffering of its population during World War I. The Young Turk regime may be subject to special moral censure or condemnation because of its treatment of its Christian minorities. Yet not all this proves that this regime intended to annihilate the Armenian community. A large death roll, no matter how reprehensible, is not proof of a premeditated plan of extermination.

Most authors supporting the Armenian cause completely ignore the severe shortages of food that eventually were to afflict most classes of the Turkish population and led to widespread famines. The mobilization of large numbers of peasants in 1914 as well as the reckless requisitioning of their horses, oxen, and carriages had made it impossible to bring in the harvest; eventually left many fields untilled, and was one of the reasons for the growing food shortage. The American consul in Smyrna, George Horton, reported on Nov. 14, 1914, that there was much misery to be seen and that "people are actually beginning to starve." The domestic situation in the spring of 1915, American ambassador Henry Morgenthau noted, "was deplorable: all over Turkey thousands of the populace was daily dying of starvation." In the late spring and summer of 1915 Palestine, Lebanon, and Syria were devastated by a plague of locusts that destroyed everything in its wake and led to famine conditions. On Oct. 18, 1915, Enver told Morgenthau that the possibility of shortages of flour existed even in Constantinople and that 'therefore it is not certain if they can furnish bread to the Armenians all through the winter.' By the fall of 1916, the provincial governor told a German physician, 60,000 had died of hunger in the Lebanon alone; entire villages had become desolate and abandoned. According to the Austrian military attach the death toll in the Lebanon during the winter of 1915-16 was 150 000. Syria and Lebanon had always imported large amounts of food from Egypt. When allied war ships blockaded the

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coast, all trade with the outside came to a halt and the consequences for the food supply were severe." #8*

"The Baghdad Railway Route:

The railroad had only one track, however, so the trains made up of overcrowded cattle cars filled with deportees had to compete with the transport of troops and war supplies. This meant frequent delays and prolonged stays at various points along the railway, where the exiles had to wait in the open for the next available transport. Huge camps thus developed that were devoid of adequate sanitary facilities and in which large numbers died from exhaustion, lack of sufficient food, and epidemic diseases such as typhus. Also, two unfinished tunnels on the Baghdad railway north of Aleppo meant that some of the route had to be done on foot, and these forced marches of several days took a further toll in lives..." #9*

"The electricity was cut off from time to time; the water supply frequently gave out for weeks together, and the food supply of the city, which was extremely low, did not immediately increase. Many of the steamers on the Bosphorus were cut off and the tramways were entirely stopped. All these things happened during the short days of late autumn and early winter. Students of the college who lived at a distance were obliged to rise at four or five o'clock in the morning and walk long distances to their classes. Some of them would walk five or six miles in the morning and the evening. The lack of food and the stoppage of water in the city brought on epidemics, so that in some cases all the members of poor families died." #10*

"A report by another doctor, Wilfred M. Post of the American hospital in Konia, painted a very similar picture. Many of the people encamped in the fields were 'lying out in the open with no protection from the scorching sun by day and from the dew and dampness at night. This state of affairs produces a vast number of cases of malaria and dysentery, and also of heat prostration, and one cannot walk a few paces through the camp without seeing sick lying everywhere, especially children.' At night, the deportees were no longer molested as much as earlier, but Dr. Post explained, this was probably chiefly because 'a vast assemblage of sickly and half-starved people is naturally comparatively safe from molestation.' A friendly and decent governor allowed the missionaries to distribute food and money, but of course, their ability to help this vast mass of exiles was limited. 'Friendless and desolate bands of Armenians wandered up and down the streets carrying what remained of their rugs, lace, jewelry and other possessions endeavoring to sell them for bread and for transportation on the railroad in order to avoid the whip and club of the gendarmes if they had to go afoot.' From Bozanti an uncompleted tunnel necessitated a track of 47 miles on foot; only a few could still afford carriages or carts. Geddes described the pitiful sights he witnessed when traveling the same route in October, 1915: ..." #11*

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"All were famished and wretched; a large number were sick, and I counted five corpses in half-an-hour... The Government sends some bread to them from time to time, but with no regularity... The valley was strewn with graves, and many of them had been tom open by dogs and the bodies eaten... Consul Nathan attributed the terrible sanitary conditions in these camps in part to overcrowding but largely also to 'the imperfect burials of corpses of victims of starvation and disease. The feeding problem is completely neglected and will become worse in the future as even the regular population is beginning to suffer because of a scarcity of wheat.' Paula Schafer visited the camps at about the same time. The half-starved exiles, she related in a report to the German embassy in Constantinople, hurled themselves on the bread that she distributed; several times, she was almost tom from her horse. A serious epidemic of typhus had broken out, and every third tent held a person with the disease. 'Unburied women and children were lying in the ditches. The Turkish officials in Osmania were very helpful and I was able to achieve much; some abuses were obviated. I was given carriages to collect the dying and bring them into town.'" #12*

"Luckily for the British War Office, the first local German commander, Field Marshal Colmar von der Goltz, a crack strategist who beat them at Ctesiphon and Kut, died of typhus in 1916...Realizing the future stakes, British and French diplomats made a secret treaty in 1916, the Sykes-Picot Agreement mentioned earlier, for a post-war split of oil Mesopotamia; the Mosul region to be under France; the rest under Britain! However, deciding that they needed Mosul too, British troops kept fighting after the November, 1918 Armistice, captured the city in December, and installed them selves. Other satisfactions were provided for the French, notably accepting that they might occupy portions of defeated Germany." #13*

"Many thousands of Armenians also succumbed to famine and disease. Deaths among the 200 to 300 thousands who fled to the comparative safety of Russia rose to may be 50%, thanks to cholera, dysentery and typhus. Ottoman Empire, a backward state unable to supply and its own army in the field, was in no state to organize large-scale deportations. Armenians were put into camps without proper accommodation and adequate food. Syria, whither they were bound, was normally agriculturally self—sufficient, but in 1915 the harvest was poor; insufficient to feed even the Ottoman troops in the area. The situation worsened in the ensuing years of the war, the product of the allied blockade, mal-administration, and speculation. By the end of 1918 mortality in the coastal towns of Lebanon may have risen to 500 000. Moreover, in 1915 eastern Anatolia was not the only area of the Ottoman..." #14*

"In addition, the relocations and resettlements of the Armenians took place at a time when the Ottoman Empire was suffering from acute shortages of food, fuel, medicine, and other supplies, as well as from large-scale plague and famine. Some of them lost their lives because of the rebellions of many Armenians, during fights in revolts, etc. But more than

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one million Turks and other Moslems lost their lives as a direct or indirect result of Armenian action, and another one million were carried away by the same war conditions." #15*

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Chapter 19: References and Footnotes

1*. Efraim & Inari Karsh, *Empires of the Sand*, Harvard Univ. Press, pg. 24

Lice made no selection of nationality... All armies were alike in their hardships and sufferings!

2*. Ibid, pg. 78

Reputations of Cyrus Hamlin and Florence Nightingale were known because of the Crimean War, which threw Ottomans in further debt to Britain and forced the Ottomans to give Cyprus to Britain as a guarantee. Complications of which continue today!

3*. Ibid, pg. 79

General Winter's greatest victory was against Enver's 3rd Army! 'Surprise Attack' was stopped by 'Surprise Blizzard' in less than ten days.

4. Leslie E. Davis, *The Slaughterhouse Province* – Aristide D. Caratzas, New York, pg. 46

5*. Efraim & Inari Karsh, *Empires of the Sand*, Harvard U.Press, pg. 166

Can these deaths be considered as Genocide?

6*. Ibid, pg. 184

Although Cemal was very lenient and protective of Armenian orphans and had hanged a few who had done grievances during the relocations, he was to be assassinated by Dashnak terrorists anyway!

7*. Hew Starchan, *The First World War*, Penguin, 2004, pg. 278

Even in farm rich European countries, there was severe famine, maybe not as bad as Turks were with blockaded ports!

8* Guenter Lewy, *The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey*, U.of Utah Pr. pg.54-55

Mr. Lewy implies that Ottomans were more protective of Moslems compared to Armenians... Leslie Davis writes of Moslem refugees without any food or shelter. If there was not enough bread even in Istanbul, how well the deportee columns could have been supplied... We know that the 3rd Army's winter attack was started with only five-days dry bread in their food bag and most without coats or "charik footwear" or blankets...

9*. Ibid, pg. 187

Self-explanatory observations of prevailing conditions, where Armenians should have been deprived from using the railways at all if their destruction was really intended!

10*. John Freely, *A History of Robert College*, Y.K.Y. 2000, pg. 228

If those were the conditions prevailing in the capital city, was there any logical reason to expect things being better further away?

11*. Guenter Lewy, *The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey*, U. of Utah Press, pg. 188

Mr. Lewy too, wants to add some juice to the drama, by speaking of the whip and club... Sir, no other eye-witness spoke of these; maybe pricking with the butt of the rifle, yes... But similarities with whipping of slaves, sounds populist but not scholarly. Sorry, even respected scholars jump into presumptions and scenarios trying to prove their neutrality! Plus there is written order of the 3rd Army Commander, "not to offend or humiliate deported columns, and to protect their possessions! The statement is pure imagination! Was this from a photo or an artist drawing of a book cover?

12*. Ibid, pg. 189

Note that relief and food-money distribution was not prohibited at all times. Not a cent of relief money was given to Moslems... Surprisingly there is no slander that Turks took the money or good!

13*. Kevin Phillips, *American Theocracy*, Viking – Penguin, pg. 71

Apparently, the lice were allied with Allies and took care even of the highest German commander!

14*. Hew Starchan, *The First World War*, Penguin, 2004, pg. 114

The desperate Armenian refugees came with the Russian armies into Eastern Anatolia, and then left when the Russian armies went back in 1917. Later they partly came back after the Mudros Armistice; the new tiny Armenia's first act was to attack and occupy Oltu. Later they pulled back again because of Kemalist Armies... Those emigrants were not exempt from all these calamities moving back and forth, about three times in 6-7 years. The inevitable deaths due to all these sufferings are again added to the "genocide bill of 1,500,000s in 1915!" regardless of time and location.

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15*. Salahi Sonyel, *The Great War and the Great Tragedy of Anatolia*, T.T.K. pg. 76

No historian, other than Justin McCarthy (for his expertness in demographic movements), seriously refer to the huge Moslem casualties starting with the Balkan Wars continuing up to 1923. Turkish deaths do not count... Justin McCarthy is labeled by the Diaspora as pro -Turkish, when he is simply pro-truth. This research, therefore, excludes the solid evidences provided by Justin McCarthy, (as well as many other reputed neutral historians). This book is an effort to prove the known roundness of the world," with passages from those who declare that it is flat!

NOTE: Below see an example of Army's nutrition – ration list of 1st Division of 43rd Battalion, reputed for heroism at Gallipoli fights.

Notice: Effective July 21, 1917, the weight of One loaf of Bread, is reduced to ½ Kgs (1.1 lbs)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Morning serve</u>	<u>Lunch</u>	<u>Dinner serve</u>	<u>Bread</u>
June 15	Compote of raisins	None	Wheat soup-buttered	One
June 26	None	None	Compote of raisins	One
July 18	Compote of raisin	None	None	Half
Aug. 8	Half bread	None	No sugar Raisins Comp	Half

Reminders:

- a- Food & aids from USA-Britain was freely distributed in 1917 by Relief organizations
- b- Kitchens for emigrants was supplied with 'available rations of the Ottomans' only!
- c- If that be the army rations, the rest is self-explanatory!

THE ARMENIAN REPUBLIC (short LIVED or SIGHTED?)

Chapter 20: THE ARMENIAN REPUBLIC (Short-Lived or Short-Sighted!)

Let us recall that the Dashnaks had turned down the offer of autonomy put to them by the CUP Government in August 1914, in their craze to fight and win wars, relying on Allied forces, to which they contributed. The foundation of the 1st Armenian Republic in 1918 was realized with the approval and amicable relations of the Sultan who had become a puppet. A delegation of the New Armenian Republic even came to Istanbul and was received by the Sultan with reciprocal compliments. The British and Russians needed the Armenians for their own purposes to counter the so-called expansionist Pan-Turanism ambitions of the Turks. So-called when, in fact, we know from the Dardanelles and Sarikamish Battles that they were not able even to provide boots, uniforms and coats for their troops! Let us read and learn from the historians:

"Lord Curzon, however, believed that Britain required an independent Armenia and was therefore opposed to allowing any other Power, including the U.S., to get involved. He argued that '...we want to set up an Armenian State as a buffer zone... against the Pan-Turanism ambitions of the Turks, which may overflow the Caucasian regions and carry great peril to the countries of the Middle East and East... We want to constitute something like an effective barrier against the aggression... of any foreign Powers'. Curzon, in the best of aristocratic tradition, chose the Armenians, whose long history, Christianity and good breeding made them perfectly suited to the task. By supporting Armenian nationalism, the British would develop a client capable of imposing order on the regions as a whole. These calculations were essentially intuitive. Like the Jews in Palestine, with whom..." #1

"Curzon compared the Armenians. They were to be a 'hostage population', permanently struggling to secure their homeland against hostile Moslem neighbors." #2

"The little Yerevan republic, which centers around Ararat, contains within present limits less than 1,500 square miles -only one half of which is capable of high productivity- 200 miles of railroad and about one million people. It has been the center refuge for Turkish Armenians even the massacre of 1915, and between 200 000 and 300 000 of them are camped within its borders. As for the city itself, its former population of 40 000 has been doubled with the influx (*of immigrants*)."

 #3

"Brest-Litovsk: The Ottomans Recover Eastern Anatolia :

On Nov 15, 1917, the Bolsheviks had declared that all peoples living inside Russia had equal rights and could therefore split with Russia and form autonomous government. The proclamation of a 'Republic of Armenia' based on the Russian declaration, came soon thereafter. The following years would reveal, however, to what extent one could take the promises of the communists at face value. On Nov. 26th, after Estonia and Finland declared

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their independence, the Russians asked for a truce. The negotiations between the Imperial Ottoman Government and the Soviets began *before* the first round of talks in Brest-Litovsk. They were held in the hotly contested city of Erzurum, which the Armenians had earmarked for a long time as the future capital of a Greater Armenia. The choice of this city for the negotiations between Russians and Turks was enough to make it clear that these Armenian plans were out of the question.

A Russian-Ottoman agreement was signed on Dec. 18, 1918. Its contents merely confirmed the status quo ante: both armies would maintain their positions until a clarification of the new borders could be worked out. That was a good introduction to the peace negotiation in Brest-Litovsk, where an Ottoman delegation was also present, participating on the side of the Central Powers. This delegation was at first led by the Imperial Ottoman foreign minister, Nesimi Bey, and then by the grand vizier, Talat Pasha...On Jan. 13th, 1918, *Pravda* printed a 'Decree No.13', signed by Lenin and Stalin, which spoke of the formation of a provisional Armenian Government under the supervision of the 'Commissioner for Caucasian Affairs, Chomian'. The gist of the decree was that the Russians would set about arming the Armenians before pulling out of the old Ottoman cities of Ardahan, Kars, and Batumi. (This pullout had been provided for in the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk.) The final laying down of the borders was to be left to 'the states of the region.'.. The most important points of the Soviet-Ottoman agreement (annex to the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk) provide for:

1.) Russian withdrawal from eastern Anatolia;
5.) Disarmament of the 'Armenian irregular units'; and -most important of all for the Ottomans- in Article III, the restoration of the pre-1878 borders. That was the year of the unfortunate Russian-Turkish war which also became the prelude to the Armenian tragedy. On Feb.10th, 1918, a 'United Socialist Republic of Transcaucasia' (*later referred the SEYM assembly*) was formed, based on the Soviet declaration of November 1917. It included the Georgians, Azeris, Daghestanians and Armenians. A provision government was formed under the leadership of a Georgian Menshevik by the name of Y. Ketetchgoni. The important consequence of the Treaty of Brest- Litovsk and the subsequent Soviet-led reorganization in eastern Anatolia was that Ottoman troops retook possession of the historical regions" #4

"Unfortunately, the days of the 'interregnum' (between the withdrawal of the Russian troops and the arrival of the Ottoman Army) were used by Armenian terrorists as a last chance to 'get even' with the Islamic population. Entire districts were wiped out. The terrorists apparently thought there was still something to 'salvage' for the cause of 'Greater Armenia'...The terrorists in Erzurum and Erzincan were the worst: '... it seems probable that the Armenians, seeking to avenge the genocide, were killing Turks without compunction. ...'writes Christopher Walker on this subject. The Armenian national convention in Gumru-Alexandropol (today called Leninakan) was also held in April and was heavily influenced by

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these dramatic events. The convention rejected the terms of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk and resolved at the same time to 'carry on the war single-handedly'...Only when their military position became untenable did the Armenians bow to the necessity of the hour. It was then that the 'Seim' (Assembly) of the Transcaucasian Republic decided to negotiate with the Ottomans in Trabzon and recognize the decisions of Brest-Litovsk. That was no longer enough for the Ottomans; however...The parties finally came together at the conference of Batumi, on May 11, 1918, where Halil Pasha insisted that Akhaltsikhe, Akhalkalak, and Gumru be surrendered. The hostilities threatened to break out anew as Armenian units pillaged Moslem villages in the vicinity of Karakilisa. On May 26th, amidst general turmoil and mutual dissatisfaction, the United Transcaucasian Republic disbanded. On the same day, Georgia declared its total independence. Azerbaijan followed suit. Late in the night, between May 28th - 29th, 1918, the Armenian National Council declared Armenia an independent republic." #5

"The delegates of the three nations of the Caucasus reached Constantinople on June 19. They were 32 in number. Among them were also the representatives of the Republic of Ararat, Mr. A. Khatisssoff, the minister of foreign affairs, and Mr. A. Aharonian, the president of the Armenian National Council. In that congress, which convened in presence of the delegates of the German and Austrian governments, the Turks signed peace treaties with each of the newly formed Caucasian Republics. " #6

"The spokesmen for the Armenians were Messrs. Aharonian and Hadissian. They were received by Sultan Mehmed VI, Vahdeddin after the Friday prayer (*Selamlik*) on Sept. 6, 1918.

On Sept. 9, Mr. Aharonian sent the following telegram to Prime Minister Kachaznuni in Armenia:

'On Sept. 6th, after we were in the *Selamlik* we had an audience. We presented our congratulations on his accession to the throne. We submitted our best wishes for the development of the Empire and its well-being. We stated that the Armenian nation would never forget that it was the Ottoman Government which first conceived the idea of founding an independent Armenia, and recognized it, that the Armenian Government would do everything possible to protect friendly relations between the two countries and to strengthen them. His Majesty thanked us. He stated that he was very happy at seeing the envoys of independent and free Armenia, that he wished not only her development, but that she be strong in order to retain her independence. His Majesty is entirely convinced that friendly relations will always exist between the two neighboring countries, Turkey and Armenia, in order that both of them may develop. He concluded his remarks by stating that he was very happy to see that Armenia had the strength to found an independent state which was able to send envoys to Istanbul, and repeated his best wishes for our country'...Aharonian continued his report, saying: 'Talat Pasha has traveled to Berlin to discuss the problems that arise from the situation in the Caucasus.' That situation was confusing enough because

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Germany also wanted to gain a foothold in that geopolitically sensitive area and was wrestling bitterly with the Ottomans for influence. In the meantime, however, World War I took a dramatic turn...The forces of the Central Powers, who were being pushed far beyond their limits, grew weary. On Oct. 8, 1918, Talat Pasha's cabinet resigned so that the Ottoman Empire could better fulfill President Wilson's general conditions for peace (even though Constantinople was *not* at war with the U.S.). On Oct. 30, 1918, the Ottomans and the Allied representatives signed an armistice agreement aboard the *HMS Agamemnon* in the harbor of Mudros, on the island of Lemnos, almost within sight of the Dardanelles." #7*

However, this short exchange of reciprocal affection was nothing more than hypocrisy. Following excerpt is translated from 'Armenian SSR State Archive (GIA Arm.SSR) cited F.200, d.132, y.338 by N.Z. Efendiyeva' (source Mehmet Perincek):

"Following the collapse of the Tsarist Russia, the Dashnaks stuck to the instructions of Western Imperialist powers and served the interests of states such as Britain, France and USA in the region. Kacaznuni, the PM of the Dashnak Government held a meeting with General F. Wocker, the commander of the British Occupying Forces on February 7th, 1919 to express his absolute certainty that their situation would improve once the Allies gained victory and advanced in Caucasus. The transcription of the mentioned meeting is kept in the archives of Armenian Interior Ministry."

"On May 15th, 1919, more than half a year after the Armistice of Mudros, a mighty Greek expedition corps landed in Izmir, with the approval of the Allies. Their objective was to 'finally' realize the *megali idea*, the 'grand idea of a Great Greek Empire'. Who was to defend Anatolia against this new, unexpected enemy? ...On May 19th, 1919, Mustafa Kemal Pasha, disembarked in Samsun. He was determined to organize and lead the national resistance. On Sept. 11, 1919, a congress was held in Sivas. The delegates made it their objective to maintain the integrity of 'the parts of the Ottoman Empire within the borders as they stood at the conclusion of the Armistice of Mudros, Oct. 30th, 1918:'" #8*

"Large parts of Anatolia were already under foreign occupation. In order to defend it, the army was quickly reorganized to fight a war on three fronts, forced upon them by the occupational forces. In the West, the Greeks had invaded and were already approaching the gates of Ankara. The Armenians, who were allied with the French, were advancing in the South and had already brought large parts of Cilicia under their control. In the East, the Armenians, seeing that the Ottoman Empire had been defeated and expecting its imminent collapse, had already begun realizing their Greater Armenian dream".#9*

"Between 1917 and 1918, the collapse of the Russian Czardom robbed the Western powers of their great Eastern ally, thus giving the Central Powers a little breathing space. Armenian irregulars continued fighting on the eastern Anatolian and Egyptian-Arabian fronts

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and attacking the Turks, Austrians, and Germans with rhetoric. During this period, the Armenians became a factor to be reckoned with in the battle against the Ottoman Empire, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Germany, who were all putting up a tough defense." #10*

"On Oct. 20th, 1921, an agreement was signed between the Turkish Government and M. Franklin-Bouillon, representing France. It called the unconditional withdrawal of the French troops. The overwhelming majority of the Armenian population, which had just moved back to Cilicia in 1918, joined the French in their withdrawal. This happened in spite of the fact that the Armenians in the South of Turkey were a valuable part of the Turkish community and would have been just as welcome as the Armenians were everywhere else in Anatolia. All the facts indicate that the emigration en masse of the Armenians from Cilicia was planned and programmed with a single goal in mind! Someone wanted to prove to the 'dumb, incompetent Turks' that things 'simply would not work' without the Armenian element. Trade especially international trade - would surely fall apart permanently.

But what happened was just the opposite. The tremendously capable Armenians settled by the hundreds of thousands in all the nations that were founded out of the old Ottoman Empire. (They had not been moved *out* in 1915; they had just been moved *around*!) None of these other nations, however, could possibly stand comparison with the progress made in Turkey. Only Turkey has managed to build the road to a safe, peaceful present, with a virtually certain option on an even better, peaceful future. The other states, Syria and Lebanon in particular, have meanwhile sunk into a sea of blood and terror (of which no small part is contributed by Armenian terrorists).

Speaking of Lebanon: The French Supreme Commander in Cilicia, General Dufieux, was a notorious Turk-hater. Right up to the last moment, he avoided making contact with even a single Turk. He left Adana on Nov. 24, 1921. Just before his departure, he visited the French war cemetery, and as he laid down the obligatory wreath, he said sadly: 'To the French soldiers who sacrificed their blood in vain.' He could almost have been saying those words vicariously for all the French people who wish to remember the victims of terror in Lebanon and the victims of the Lebanese disaster. The incomprehensible waves of terrorism from Lebanon have in the meantime reached France and Paris, claiming countless innocent victims. They are in fact *all* exclusively victims of a French policy that held that France could win power and influence in the Ottoman Empire (and thus in Syria and Lebanon as well) by tolerating and even supporting Armenian terrorism...Meanwhile, countless Armenian bombs have gone off in Paris, killing many innocent French citizens. For the most part, these bombs came from Lebanon, a country which was once propped up artificially by France in order to gain influence in the Ottoman Empire." #11*

"The Armenian terrorists and their Shiite accomplices regard this slaughter of the French people of today, who had absolutely nothing to do with the tragedy of Lebanon, as their 'legitimate' contribution to a belated campaign of vengeance. The *Turks* of today, however, had even less to do with the events for which they must 'pay'. They are much less

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guilty than the French for the present situation in the Middle East. The French did, after all, at one time help the Russians and the British and the American missionaries drive the unfortunate Armenians into the inferno of rebellion and civil war. On Wednesday, Dec. 1st, 1921, Turkish troops advanced to the coast, and the solemn transfer of authority from the French to the Turks took place in Adana. This meant that the unfortunate civil war on the southern front, which had flared up again so cruelly after the French intervention, was finally over. There was still the Turkish western front, however. Since the beginning of their invasion on May 15, 1919, the Greeks had managed to capture half of western Anatolia and were now preparing for the conquest of Ankara.

The Peace of Gumru (Alexandropol; Today Leninakan) of Dec. 2nd, 1920:

The severe fighting between the troops of Kazim Karabekir and the Republic of Armenia brought heavy losses. The fighting first ended with the truce of Nov. 6th, which the Armenians had requested after the Turks had taken Kars and advanced to Gumru... After some tough preliminary negotiations and renewed Armenian attacks, the most modernly equipped Armenian Army was defeated near Shahtahti on Nov. 15th. The Armenians now appealed once again for a truce. The peace negotiations of Gumru began ten days later. On Dec. 2, 1920, these negotiations produced a peace treaty between Turkey and the Republic of Armenia, which is still valid and binding today. Shortly thereafter, on March 16, 1921, the Turks signed the Treaty of Moscow, since Armenia was, as it had almost always been in its history, not a sovereign state itself, but rather under Russian sovereignty. Armenia had already made an agreement on Oct. 11, 1920 with the Soviet-Russian representative Legrand, saying that 'Armenia accepts the mediation of Russia in solving its territorial problems.' In other words, Armenia had signed away its sovereignty in foreign policy matters to Moscow). The Treaty of Alexandropol-Gumru establishes the borders between Turkey and its Armenian neighbor quite clearly, including of course the border northeast of Mount Ararat. Ararat is the highest peak in Turkey. Nevertheless, the Soviet Republic of Armenia still includes Ararat in its coat of arms. This is nearly as absurd as it would be for the British to include Kilimanjaro in their coat of arms, simply because they once held sovereignty there. "#12"

"The End of the Armenian-Greek Invasion and the Peace Treaty of Lausanne (1923) :

When the devastating Armenian uprisings in eastern Anatolia (especially in Van) forced the Ottoman Government to order the relocation of the Anatolian Armenians to the safe southern provinces, the Armenian populations of Istanbul and Izmir were explicitly excluded, because there did not appear to be any danger in those areas. They (Turkish troops) may have been barefoot and miserably equipped, but they were victorious nonetheless. France realized quickly that the tide was turning and hurried to establish good relations with Ankara. Foreign Minister Henri Franklin Bouillon rushed to Anatolia, thus making it clear that its future negotiating was in Ankara — not in Istanbul where a powerless

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Ottoman Government was still feigning sovereignty. France thus accepted the new Turkish 'National Pact' and at the same time made it clear that they considered the dictate of Sevres null and void. This was the *same* France that had once been the most stubborn and brazen of all the powers in goading the Armenians on to terrorism and war. But back then, the goal had been to weaken the Ottoman Empire. The French quickly changed their tune when it became apparent that they could not get the better of the Turks in this fashion. The 'cause of the Armenians' fell into oblivion overnight, just like the 'Great Greek Empire', which also self-destructed by overstretching its opportunities. ...On Sept. 2, 1922, Turkish troops liberated Eskişehir. A week later, they were in Manisa, which the Greeks burned before their departure. They did the same a short while later to Izmir. The Turks were to be left with nothing but 'scorched earth'." #13*

"Armenia and the one from the Armenian Diaspora were outbidding each other in the same way. As mentioned above, their 'common memorandum' claimed not only the 'six provinces' of Van, Bitlis, Diyarbakır, Harput, Sivas, and Erzurum (in which the Armenians had never in history had a majority), it also laid claim to Trabzon, Karabagh (where virtually no Armenians had ever lived), Sanseğir, and large parts of Georgia, as well as Cilicia. At the same time, the reputation of the Armenians as a nation of peace-loving victims who had been defenselessly and helplessly murdered (or rather *exterminated*) by the bloodthirsty Ottomans was shaken! The reason: the young, autonomous Armenian Republic could not think of anything better to do than start a whole series of wars of conquest.... The president of the 'Armenian National Delegation' sums up, in a letter to French Foreign Minister Stephen Pichon, why the Ottomans, who were fighting on five fronts at the same time and were also confronted with internal Armenian rebellions, had to defend themselves by moving the Armenian population out of the endangered areas:

Monsieur le Ministre,

I have the honor, in the name of the Armenian National Delegation, of submitting to Your Excellency the following declaration, at the same time reminding him:

That the Armenians have been, since the beginning of the war, de facto belligerents, as you yourself have acknowledged, since they have fought alongside the Allies on all fronts, enduring heavy sacrifices and great suffering for the sake of their unshakable attachment to the cause of the Entente:

In France, through their volunteers, who started joining the Foreign Legion in the first days and covered themselves with glory under the French flag;

In Palestine and Syria, where the Armenian volunteers, recruited by the National Delegation at the request of the government of the Republic itself, made up more than half of the French contingent and played a large role in the victory of General Allenby, as he himself and his French chiefs have officially declared;

In the Caucasus, where, without mentioning the 150,000 Armenians in the Imperial Russian Army, more than 40,000 of their volunteers contributed to the liberation of a portion of the Armenian provinces, and where, under the command of their leaders, Antranik and

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Nazerbekoff, they, alone among the peoples of the Caucasus, offered resistance to the Turkish armies, from the beginning of the Bolshevik withdrawal right up to the signing of an armistice.'

(The letter bears the date on which it was received in the French Foreign Office - Dec. 3rd, 1918).

Other than the above letter, another open letter to the editor of the The Times of London, which was printed on January 30, 1919 and signed by Boghos Nubar from Paris on Jan.27th, is a much more detailed account of the services rendered by the Armenians. Due to shortage of space, only below sections are excerpted from the article titled "THE RIGHTS OF ARMENIA:

** The name of Armenia is not on the list of the nations admitted to the (Paris) Peace Conference.*

** But I must emphasize the fact happily known to few, that ever since the beginning of the war the Armenians fought by the side of the Allies on all fronts.*

** For Armenians have been belligerents de facto, as they indignantly refused to side with Turkey!*

** Our volunteers fought in the French "Legion Estrangers" and covered themselves with glory. In the Legion d'Orient they numbered over (???) and they made up more than half of 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 volunteers under Andranik, Nazarbekoff and others fought for four years for the cause of the Entente... Thus, they helped the British forces in Mesopotamia by hindering the Germano-Turks from sending their troops elsewhere.*

** In virtue of all these considerations, the Armenian National Delegation asked that the Armenian nation should be recognized as belligerent.*

** 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 victory of the Allies over their common enemies has secured them a right of independence...*

Signed: Boghos Nubar"

"In this manner, Boghos Nubar explained that the Armenians had waged constant war with the Ottoman Empire from Nov. 1st, 1914 right up to the signing of the Armistice of Mudros on Oct. 30th, 1918 and had thus been, in his eyes, 'de facto belligerents'. " #14*

"The Georgians became the young Armenian Republic's first victim. The origins of the Georgian-Armenian conflict go all the way back to the beginning of the Armenian immigration during the period of 500 - 300 BC. Wars and feuds between Georgians and Armenians had broken out again and again...For certain regions along the Lori, the ruling

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Dashnaks had at least a small excuse — there were indeed a few Armenians north of Tbilisi. But just like everywhere else where Moslems had once ruled, the Armenians here were a minority among majorities. No legitimate claims could grow out of such a situation. The Armenian Army under General Dro did not, however, even restrict itself to 'incorporating' Armenian farms and villages. It pushed its way directly into areas in which there were no longer any Armenians at all. Armenian units advanced right into the precincts of Tbilisi. It was not until this critical stage of the war that the Georgians finally managed to rouse themselves to determined resistance and repel the Armenian invasion. " #15

As confirmed in the aforementioned excerpts and archived letters, the Armenians' last major revolt began in Van immediately after the Sarikamish Battle. Van was lost in mid April. The Armenian Patriarch disregarded Enver's last minute warnings, and declared a State in the city. The Ottomans saw what was coming and it came...

They simply buffered the magnified effects of the 5th-Column actions and reduced the damages already inflicted on them by the minimum 150 000 regular soldiers in the Russian Armies, plus some 40 000 volunteers under command of revolutionary generals of their own. These volunteer units, as explained in the manifest of Katchaznuni, went on a plundering, looting, killing spree, wiping out the Moslem populations in order for the Armenians to become a majority in the area.

"The next victim of the aggression of the young Armenian Republic was its neighbor to the east, Azerbaijan. The British pulled their troops out of the Caucasus region in August, 1919, but not without leaving their Armenian protégés with large quantities of the most modern weapons. The only place in the Caucasus where Allied forces were still located was Batumi. From this base, the British were still participating heavily on the side of the Armenians...The withdrawal of Allied forces from the Caucasus led immediately to open hostilities between Armenia and Azerbaijan. The lands claimed by the Armenians included not only Turkish territory and areas settled by Moslems (Turks, Kurds, Circassians), but also pieces of Azeri land, mainly residential areas and pasturelands of the Tatars. Nakhichevan and the mountains and valleys of Karabagh soon became the sites of determined Tatar resistance to the Armenian occupation. The uprisings of the Moslem population soon struck the district of Yerevan itself. (We must not forget that the Moslems were originally in the majority throughout the region, including of course the area of the later 'Republic of Armenia'.)" #16

"The worst display of Armenian ferocity came in Zangezur, where 40 Moslem villages were razed to the ground and the population was wiped out in the course of a 'punitive expedition'. The bloody, cruel fighting lasted until the end of the winter of 1920 and drastically weakened Armenia as well as Azerbaijan. The dawning of the Bolshevik Era in the Caucasus was now approaching, and the countries of the region had had little chance to

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enjoy their short-lived independence — which had only been made possible by the Ottomans.

Azerbaijan, greatly weakened by the war with Armenia, fell to the Soviets in April 1920. With Soviet help and arbitration, Zangezur and Karabagh became Azeri thus ensuring the survival of the local Moslem populations. Then came the Armenian campaign against the Turks. Shortly before the Armistice of Mudros on Oct. 30th, 1918, the Republic of Armenia had been created under Ottoman protectorate. As soon as the Armistice was signed, the Armenians began pushing their way back into eastern Anatolia.

The remarkable interregnum which (chronologically as well as geographically) encompassed the Caucasus and eastern Anatolia, appeared to deal all the trumps to the Armenians. The local Islamic units, some of which were under Tatar command, had very limited financial and material means. They could not withstand the combined strength of the British and Armenian forces.

In April 1919, the Armenians made it as far as Kars with British help. While Oltu and Ardahan came under British administration (at least outwardly), the new colonial masters left Kars entirely to the Armenians. At the same time, the Armenians occupied Islamic Nakhichevan. It was then, in April 1919, that the young Armenian Republic found itself at the preliminary height of its power. The final objective could only be to use Kars as a bridgehead for the occupation of Trabzon in the North (thus obtaining access to the Black Sea) and then to try to join up with the French-Armenian invasion troops moving north from Adana. This would result in a 'Greater Armenia' stretching from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean (as was loudly demanded at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919). The war of aggression, which 'Christian' Armenia waged against Christian Georgia in 1920, had territorial expansion as its aim. We can only hope that it was the last time an army will set out under the sign of the *cross* to subjugate a Christian neighbor" #17*

"On June 27th, 1920, Armenian troops attacked Tuzla, not far from Oltu. When they were beaten and had to retreat they launched an artillery attack on Oltu (June 30th, 1920)...On July 8, they advanced to Dügün Tepe, and a few days later, they were in Çambar. Immediately thereafter, they set their sights on the border regions of Nakhichevan and Kagizman and advanced as far as Kulpğ...After a careful and conscientious period of preparation, Kazim Karabekir launched a counter-offensive in September 1920. The Turks had only very old-fashioned second-hand weapons and no air force whatsoever. The Armenians possessed a small squadron. On Sept. 29, the Turks retook Sarikamish, and on Oct. 1, they reached Kaghizman, just 80 km. southeast of the key fortress of Kars. The assault on Kars began on Oct. 27, and three days later the fortress, complete with a tremendous booty, was in Turkish hands. Among the prisoners taken were a cabinet minister, 3 generals, 6 colonels, and 12 provincial governors... The captured Armenian minister of war, Aratov, finally realized that the drive to the Black Sea and the Mediterranean was now nothing more than a dream. A few days later, the Turks reached Gumru-Alexandropol, and on Nov. 6, the Armenians asked for a truce. Unfortunately, the fighting

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flared up again a short time later, but then in the night of Dec. 2, 1920, there was finally peace: the Treaty of Gumru was signed. Three months later, the Treaty of Gumru (Alexandropol; today's Leninakan) was signed once again in Moscow. By this time, the Soviet Russians were already the only ones who had any say in the matter. The countries named in the 'Treaty of Moscow', Armenia and Georgia, were neither invited nor even asked for their opinion. They were once again Russian subjects. It is also interesting to note that the Treaty of Gumru was signed not only in Moscow, but also in Kars on Sept. 22nd, 1921, after approval by the Grand National Assembly. "#18"

"...The Turks emerged victorious from the peace negotiations at Lausanne. They had demonstrated their ability to defend their national borders those they had had forced upon them - with skill and determination. The whole issue of 'nationality' and 'ethnic group' had actually been forced upon the Ottomans. The Ottoman dynasty, like all indigenous monarchies, was not familiar with the discriminatory label known as 'nationality'. A dynasty only cares about loyalty within a commonwealth. The ethnic group or tribe to whom one belongs plays no role whatsoever. Although Turkey had now been forced, against its will, in the direction of becoming a modern 'nation state', the Turkish delegates in Lausanne refused to let their newly won 'national integrity' be jeopardized by additional nationalisms. Consequently, the word 'Armenian' is not even hinted at in the Treaty of Lausanne. When Lord Curzon finally brought up the subject of the Armenians (apparently, because he felt it was his obligation - they certainly did not interest him anymore, having served their purpose as useful pawns for the Allies), Ismet Inonu cut him short:

...The Greek Prime Minister Venizelos also thought he had to touch upon the Armenian issue in his speech. This was the same man who was responsible for all the bloodshed caused by the Greek invasion of Anatolia and the subsequent debacle of that war of aggression. (He bore responsibility for the entire refugee tragedy!) Ismet İnönü broke him off:

'...Without any doubt, M. Venizelos pretends not to see that the occupation of Asia Minor has been a source of new miseries for the Armenians. This poor community was forced to enlist and to join the ranks of the Greek Army... The Armenians were sent to the front and were forced to shoot at the Turks. After the defeat, much pillaging occurred. Moreover, the Greek authorities engaged in propaganda to attribute these offenses to the Armenians. Later, when the Greeks left Asia, they dragged the Armenians along. It is necessary to accept that the last government in the world which can have the audacity to pity the Armenians in front of everybody is the Greek Government which has directly created these misfortunes for the Armenians.'...When Lord Curzon began blathering about 'three million Armenians who once lived in Asia Minor', İnönü answered him by saying that in the entire course of world history there had never been a population of three million Armenians in Anatolia. (1 500 000 was the actual figure before the outbreak of World War I.) İnönü remarked bitterly that the Armenians own revolutionary committees had recently forced the Armenians of Cilicia to leave their homeland and follow the retreating French

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forces to Syria. The ulterior motive behind such forced emigration was the belief that the Turkish economy would completely collapse without the Armenian infrastructure and the Armenians' experience in international trade. This belief was quickly refuted by reality." #19

Regarding the 'Democratic Republic of Armenia' today, the following brief details are quoted from Wikipedia. Capital: Yerevan. Population around 3 million (most likely 2 500 000 or even less, due to continued emigration to find jobs outside) Government: Parliamentary democracy. Independence from the Russian Empire: May 28, 1918.

It is apparent that the present tiny republic is ruled by Dashnak organizations headquartered outside of Armenia through an extensive network of lobbies whose primary occupation is to block U.S, French, etc., channels any actions favoring Turkey and Azerbaijan, as well as to cooperate with Greek and even PKK terrorist organizations in order to force Turkey "to accept Genocide accusations" without any verdict or scholarly debate, simply through the pressure of various parliaments where the Diaspora have the means to manipulate for their purposes. Below are self-explanatory articles written by Armenians about the status quo.

e-mail: http://www.jamestown.org/publications_details.php?search=1&volume_id=4&issue_id=235&article_id=2672

"THE RE-LEGALIZATION OF ARMENIA'S DASHNAK PARTY ON THE CARDS

By Emil Danielyan

The Armenian authorities are poised to reinstate one of the country's oldest political parties, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF) or *Dashnaktsutiun*. The party was suspended three years ago by President Levon Ter-Petrosian, who accused it of harboring a secret terrorist cell. Now, however, the Armenian Government needs the support that only the Dashnaks can provide. For most observers, the question is not 'whether' but 'when' the Dashnaks will resume legal activity in Armenia.

Background :

The ARF was founded in 1890 with the aim of creating two autonomous Armenian entities within the Russian and Ottoman Empires. Over time, that aim evolved into the establishment of an independent state in what is considered to be historic Armenia. The Dashnaks became increasingly engaged in guerrilla warfare in the eastern Ottoman provinces and in terrorist protest against some of the oppressive policies of czarist rule in the Caucasus.

The Dashnaks were the founders of the short-lived independent Armenian Republic in 1918. Following the fall of the republic under Bolshevik pressure in 1921, the Dashnaks went into exile where they remained until the Communist rule came to an end in Soviet Armenia in 1990. The ARF returned to the homeland as the strongest diaspora party and with the aura of a century-long fighter for the national cause. This heroic image was reinforced during the war with Azerbaijan over Nagorno-Karabakh in which the Dashnak party played an active military and financial role. This is one of the main sources of the

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party's present popularity. Today, the Dashnak party is the strongest and best-organized force in the Diaspora.

The party's activities in Armenia were suspended by President Ter-Petrosian in Dec. 1994. The Armenia president accused the ARF of sheltering a secret terrorist cell, 'Dro,' whose members allegedly engaged in terrorism, sabotage and narcotics-smuggling with the aim of destabilizing the situation in the country and pave the way for the ARF to come to power. A dozen ARF members were arrested in connection with the Dro case and put on trial, charged with drug trafficking and murder. Although a yearlong investigation by a Yerevan court found no connection between the party and the alleged terrorist group, the government closed a number of Dashnak-funded newspapers, raided their offices and seized their equipment. In January 1995, the Armenian Supreme Court formally suspended the party's activities. The court ignored Ter-Petrosian's charges of terrorism, however, and instead suspended the party on the grounds that it had violated a ban against foreign nationals belonging to Armenian political parties.

Furthermore, Armenian foreign minister Aleksandr Arzumanyan and other diplomats have publicly praised and thanked the Dashnaks for their pro-Armenian lobbying efforts in the international arena. These statements were unprecedented for a government that had previously described the ARF as a terrorist organization and demanded that other countries ban the party's Diaspora branches.

The Armenian Government is extending the olive branch to the Dashnaks because it needs their support in the ongoing conflict with Azerbaijan over Nagorno-Karabakh. In recent months, Yerevan has come under increasing pressure from the international community to make concessions to resolve the conflict. Ter-Petrosian needs the international support only the Dashnak party, as the strongest and best-organized force in diaspora, can supply. The ARF controls one of two key Armenian-American lobbying groups that have, between them, succeeded in persuading the U.S. Congress to impose and maintain a ban on U.S. Government aid to Azerbaijan because of Baku's blockade of Armenia and Karabakh. Congress' latest pro-Armenian measure (undertaken to the dismay of the Clinton administration) was a decision to render economic aid worth \$12,500,000 to Karabakh, bypassing Baku. The Dashnaks, with their strong diaspora presence, played a key role in securing the decision. The party also tries, albeit with less success, to influence attitudes toward the Karabakh issue of France and Russia, countries with large Armenian communities, which act, together with the U.S., as co-chairs of the OSCE's Minsk Group, dedicated to resolving the Karabakh conflict.

The Armenian Prime Minister Robert Kocharyan and Foreign Minister Arzumanyan paid previously unimaginable visits to ARF headquarters in Athens, apparently with the aim of discussing closer cooperation between the Dashnaks and the Ter-Petrosian government. Arzumanyan even acknowledged that the Dashnaks' lobbying of the U.S. Congress had been coordinated with his ministry.

The opposition candidate, Vazgen Manukian of the opposition National Democratic Union (NDU), was narrowly beaten by Ter-Petrosian who won just over 50% of the vote.

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OSCE election monitors questioned the official vote tally, however, saying that serious violations of election regulations gave cause for 'lack of confidence in the integrity of the overall election process.' The Dashnaks along with the rest of the opposition refused to recognize Ter-Petrosian's re-election and found themselves embroiled in a standoff with the authorities.

Despite all these circumstances, several serious obstacles to the reinstatement of the ARF remain. The ARF is at odds over policy with the Ter-Petrosian-led Armenian Pan-National Movement (APM), which argues that 'normal' relations with Armenia's neighbors, Turkey included, offer the best guarantee of national independence. By contrast, the Dashnaks emphasize '*Hai Dat*' (literally, 'the Armenian Cause,' or Armenian irredentism). This involves the recognition of the 1915 genocide of over 1 000 000 Armenians in Ottoman Turkey and the return of territories in what is now eastern Turkey that were supposed, under the Treaty of Sevres of 1920, to have become part of Armenia. The ARF views Russia and, to a lesser extent, Iran as countries interested in the realization of *Hai Dat*.

The ARF and the APM also disagree over economic policy, with the APM favoring a free market economy and the Dashnaks supporting 'Scandinavian-style' socialism. As for the Karabakh conflict, the ARF has been more intransigent than the APM, ruling out any settlement that would restore Azeri sovereignty over the enclave. Nor has the conflict between the ARF and the Armenian leadership followed a pattern of a 'civilized' political struggle. Many observers saw Ter-Petrosian's decree suspending the ARF as a landmark in Armenia's retreat from democracy. Political expedience rather than observance of the rule of law appears to have been behind the ban. The fact that the ARF was registered with the Ministry of Justice in 1991 without problems but was outlawed six months before the July 1995 parliamentary elections adds weight to this view...

The party's structure remains unique in that the ARF consists of a dozen decentralized territorial organizations spread all over the world. Each territorial organization (in North America, France, Lebanon, and so on) has its own central committee. The central committees have traditionally enjoyed considerable latitude even though their activities are supervised and coordinated by a bureau (currently based in Athens). In recent years, the role of the bureau has tended to increase, and the principle of collective leadership remains in force.

But the move did not satisfy the authorities in Yerevan, who have continued to demand a complete separation between Dashnak structures in the diaspora and in Armenia. Indeed, the party did not cease to be a single organization, and this is being interpreted as a breach of the prohibition on foreign membership of Armenian political parties. However, Dashnak leaders both in Armenia and abroad have been very reluctant to see their more than 100-year-old party split up. The Armenian territorial organization, which convened for a closed-door conference in early-November, reportedly rebuffed the idea of separation. This may complicate the party's reinstatement.

Another obstacle is the ongoing trial of 31 Dashnak party members and supporters accused of plotting the violent overthrow of the government. The 31 men, among them

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popular Dashnak leader Vahan Hovannisian, were arrested in July 1995. The trial, condemned as politically motivated by the opposition and human rights groups, has been going on for almost two years and is expected to end shortly. The original charge of coup-plotting has been dropped but state prosecutors have nonetheless continued to demand that the key defendant, Hovannisian, be sentenced to seven years in prison. Relations between the authorities and the ARF are unlikely to normalize unless Hovannisian is set free. Very few believe in the independence of Armenia's judiciary and most are convinced that the trial of the 31 is politically motivated and will be resolved only if Ter-Petrosian personally makes a 'political' decision.

Kocharian and Sargisian are believed to disapprove of Ter-Petrosian's calls for concessions to Azerbaijan. If the inner-government discord is exacerbated, the more intransigent government figures could find allies among the Dashnaks. The ARF might thereby gain an opportunity to reassert itself on Armenia's political scene. In the meantime, the Dashnak Party, still operating in semi-legal conditions, awaits the 'political' decision on its fate -a decision that could have a profound impact on Armenia's internal politics." (*Emil Danielyan is a freelance journalist in Yerevan, Armenia.*)

1. Relations between Turkey and Armenia

In 2001 there was no improvement in the relations between Turkey and Armenia, which have been steadily deteriorating since Robert Kocharian assumed the Presidency in 1998. The policy Turkey follows in relation to Armenia is based on the principles of respect for territorial integrity, the inviolability of borders and good neighborly relations. On the other hand, Turkey demands that Armenia withdraws from territories of Azerbaijan that it has occupied and that a solution to the conflict is found within the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan. Finally, Turkey believes that the efforts of Armenia directed at gaining international recognition for the alleged genocide are not in line with good neighborliness and that this is an impediment to the normalization of relations. Turkey argues that history should only be judged by historians.

As recently declared by Foreign Minister Oskanyan on Jan. 8th, 2002, Armenia insists on the establishment of diplomatic relations with Turkey and the opening of borders without any preconditions. In the same statement, Oskanyan also said that international recognition of the Armenian genocide remained on the agenda of the country's foreign policy...As a result, while Armenia wishes to open the borders and establish diplomatic relations with Turkey it at the same time avoids confirming the territorial integrity and inviolability of the borders of Turkey. Simultaneously Armenia accuses Turkey of genocide and continues to occupy Karabagh and Azeri territory. This policy which can be summarized as taking everything but giving nothing in return constitutes the main reason for the deadlock in Turkish-Armenian relations.

2. The Turkish-Armenian Reconciliation Commission:

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It was announced that an unofficial 'Turkish-Armenian Reconciliation Commission' composed of six Turks and four Armenians had been established on 9 July 2001.

The main duties of the Commission were stated as: Developing the understanding and good-will between Turks and Armenians, promoting an improvement in the relations between Turkey and Armenia, supporting contacts, dialogue and cooperation between civil society organizations, developing proposals to be presented to the governments, promoting unofficial cooperation in the fields of tourism, culture, education environment and other fields as well as in confidence building measures.

What is of interest is that 'genocide' was not directly nor indirectly mentioned as one of the matters that the commission will be dealing with. In the same manner there is also no mention of the Karabagh conflict. It is clear that the parties have chosen to leave aside the topics that are difficult to agree upon and adopted a policy aimed at cooperation in other fields.

The Dashnaks reacted very negatively to the Commission and criticized it harshly. Foremost amongst these criticisms was the belief that the Commission could lead to the prevention of the recognition of 'genocide'. For the Dashnaks establishing dialogue with Turkey depended on the preconditions of Turkey accepting the existence of the genocide, changing its 'biased attitude' on the Karabagh conflict and the lifting of the embargo imposed on Armenia. This campaign, which the Dashnaks directed at the Commission, was effective. As a result the majority parties in the Armenian Parliament adopted a decision denouncing the Commission. This criticism had an effect on the Armenian members of the Commission and they started requesting that the Commission directly or indirectly take up the genocide and particularly that the matter is mentioned in the statements issued following meetings. After the resulting discussions, the Armenian members decided that the Turkish-Armenian Reconciliation Commission would not proceed and ended this initiative.

It is difficult to say that the Turkish-Armenian dialogue has been ended completely. Under the circumstances there seems to be no other way to settle the problems other than through dialogue. On the other hand, it is fair to say that Armenia truly is in need of normalizing its relations with Turkey. Therefore, if there can be no contacts between officials, establishing contacts between civil organizations would undoubtedly be of value. Even a revitalization of the Turkish-Armenian Reconciliation Commission under a different setup could be considered.

As a result of the more balanced attitude the U.S. developed towards the Karabagh conflict following the Sept. 11 attacks, legislation prohibiting the delivery of aid to Azerbaijan was temporarily suspended. It is commonly accepted today that Armenia was the victor of the hostilities that had erupted due to the Karabagh conflict in the early 90's because Russia had supplied the Armenian side with all forms of assistance, including weapons deliveries worth over \$1 billion. As a result of these services the Russian Federation was given military bases in Armenia. Russia has also placed numerous troops in the country with the pretext of securing the borders. Its special relationship with Armenia allows the Russian Federation to continue exercising influence on the Southern Caucasus. It must be for this reason that

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President Aliyev has recently been pursuing friendly relations with the Russian Federation. As a price for this, he has had to agree to rent the Gabala radar installation to the Russians for 10 years.

The greatest single disaster in the history of the Armenians came with the outbreak of World War I (1914–18). In 1915 the Young Turk government resolved to deport the whole Armenian population of about 1 750 000 to Syria and Mesopotamia. It regarded the Turkish Armenians -despite pledges of loyalty by many- as a dangerous foreign element bent on conspiring with the pro-Christian czarist enemy to upset the Ottoman campaign in the east. In what would later be known as the first genocide of the 20th century, hundreds of thousands of Armenians were driven from their homes, massacred, or marched until they died. US Govt. Site: http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PDACF873.pdf " #20*

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Chapter 20: References and Footnotes:

1. Salahi Sonyel, *The Great War and the Great Tragedy of Anatolia*, T.T.K., pg. 158
 2. Ibid, pg.159
 3. *National Geographic*, November, 1919, pg. 408
 4. Erich Feigl, *A Myth of Terror*, Edition Zeitgeschichte Freilassing, Salzburg, Austria pg. 94
 5. Ibid, pg. 96
 6. Dr. G. Pasdermadjian, *Why Armenia Should Be Free*, Boston, 1918, Hairenik Pub. Co. p.37-38
 - 7*. Erich Feigl, *A Myth of Terror*, Edition Zeitgeschichte Freilassing, Salzburg, Austria pg. 97
- Hypocrisy again! Weren't 1,500,000 annihilated three years ago in 1915? How, such amicable relations were to be possible between Ottoman Sultan and Armenian delegates! Had they forgotten about the genocide? The new Armenian Republic was a "protectorate" of the Ottoman Empire!
- 8*. Ibid, pg. 99
- Hypocrisy of the Victors! ...Mudros Armistice of 1918 openly violated... The strong, is always right!
- 9*. Ibid, pg. 100
- The "Great Armenia" dream, in 1918... when all the population was (?) already annihilated in 1915?
- 10*. Ibid, pg. 101
- From where did all these Armenian armies come fighting on all fronts! Or , were they reincarnated?
- 11*. Ibid, pg. 110 – 111
- Armenian refugees, can be in hundreds of thousands in 1918; with occupying forces! Presently, France has surrendered to serve all Armenian claims against Turkey (because of internal leverage).
- 12*. Ibid, pg. 112
- So many times, beaten, double-crossed, adhering no verbal or written promises...ever learning to act logically!
- 13*. Ibid, pg. 114
- Armenians are still faithful to France and Britain and forget how they were deserted and abandoned, in World War II!
- 14*. Ibid, pg. 102
- Can anyone still speak of Armenian loyalty and innocence? Or their extermination in 1915?
15. Ibid, pg. 104
 16. Ibid, pg. 105
 - 17*. Ibid, pg. 106
- Can anyone logically explain, how, if the total population of 1 500 000 was already annihilated in 1915, from where did these Armenian armies come to occupy such a large area? Republic was Ottoman's Protectorate... until they opened war on Turks, their benefactors again!
- 18*. Ibid, pg. 108 – 109
- And now in 2007, Armenia again refutes agreed borders, adjoins the Karabagh area they occupied by force with Russian assistance giving them bases...Armenia depends on the Western (Christian) States to support all their ventures, the same way as U.S. supports Israel versus Palestine... Armenia manages to get financial and political help from two opposing large countries in the region, Russia and U.S.A. together.
19. Ibid, pg. 115 – 116
20. The Jamestown Foundation by Emil Danielyan e-mail:
http://www.jamestown.org/publications_details.php?search=1&volume_id=4&issue_id=235&article_id=2672
Readers can take guess about the objectivity of the U.S. Government study and its author.
All deported of 1 750 000 population? Please refer to Chapters 14 and 15, before trusting this official U.S. government report! Written by an Armenian, or another Armenophile, with usual antagonism!

**Chapter 21: DASHNAK'S PARADOXICAL DEDICATION TO:
CZARIST RUSSIA, BRITAIN & FRANCE, SOVIET RUSSIA, NAZI GERMANY,
SOVIET RUSSIA AND USA**

One may feel seasick by reading so much about the flip-flop, opportunist, extortive and terrorist policies of the Dashnaks, who were always gambling on the side of the "probable victor". They had a nasty habit of changing 180° immediately whenever deemed necessary. However, these extreme transitions from negative to positive were always mastered smoothly without arising any suspicion regarding their previous stance and actions. Just the idea of the 'victim' and the 'need of financial support' provided them with the tool for a properly greased propaganda machine which conveys the leaders as profitable and respectable, while making the community safe for obeying the church, party and other social apparatus. In other chapters, there are abundant examples of services Dashnaks had rendered to the victors, as well as instances of how they were humiliated and insulted by foreign politicians, whom they relied upon for so much. In this chapter, we will highlight some of the events after the Czarist Russians lost the war. In other chapters, both Katchaznuni and Lalaian enlighten the period when the Dashnaks were changing allies as often as they changed their shirts. In Chapter 23, ref. #16, Lalaian writes that on May 26, 1918 when they broke away from SEYM, *'they were backed by German occupiers'*. Moreover, in Chapter 17 about forgeries, we reveal the deception behind the quote supposed attributed to Hitler, that of, *"Who, after all, speaks today of the annihilation of the Armenians?"* This section contains a few excerpts showing the unbelievably 'instant flip-flops' of the Dashnaks and how, every time, they got away with it, as they stepped into the front lines of the victors.

"On January 22nd -25th, 1918, the Southern Caucasus Commissariat, under the direct command of N. Jordaniya, organized an attack on the Russian soldiers at Semkir Village. The Russians were returning from the Turkish Front to Soviet Russia via Tbilisi. The revolutionist army of 500 000 was machine-gunned and shelled by artillery. They commandeered the arms of the Russian soldiers on the road from Tbilisi to Kirovobad whereas several thousands of dead and wounded soldiers remained on the railway tracks. Stalin referred to this event in March 1918 as follows: 'Let us talk about the Revolutionist soldiers returning from the Turkish Front after commencement of the peace talks. These soldiers had to pass through the anti-Soviet center located at Tbilisi. They could have become a serious threat to the South Caucasus Commissariat, which was in the hands of Bolsheviks.' This was a visible danger. When confronted with this danger, the 'socialist' jingle-bells rang. The anti-revolutionist character of the coalition surfaced. Commissariat and 'national' federations (Turkish, Georgian, and Armenian) took the arms of the soldiers returning from the front, shot them and re-armed wild 'national' flocks.' (Pravda No.56, 1918)" #1

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In the above paragraph, Stalin speaks of the treason committed by the Armenians against Soviet Russians, (when czarist soldiers left the Caucassian Front open to the Turks) and were returning home, most likely to join the Soviet-Bolshevik Red Army, which was fighting against czarist (Dennikin, etc.) forces. According to other sources, it was the Turks within the SEYM federation (*Georgia-Armenia-Azerbaijan*) who had to intervene and stop the killing of Russian soldiers by Armenians, and saving them. But Stalin did not forget it, eventually exiling many Armenians to Siberia.

After the sovietization of Armenia, the habitual warmongering Dashnaks sided with the Germans and Japanese. This is what Lalaian wrote about them:

"All groups were under the protection of the *enemies of peace*. Hitler was using them as German troublemakers; they served Japanese militants and got arms from them. Polish officers and others used them as well." #2

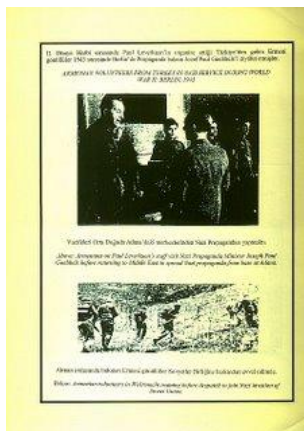
According to several sources, the number of Armenian volunteers fighting in 'special units' of Hitler's armies started off at around 8 000, but expanded rapidly with added prisoners to several battalions numbering over 20 000. Much that some Jewish scholars or U.S. politicians of Jewish ethnicity, nowadays are siding with the *genocide fanfare*, regrettably they are so ignorant or brainwashed, that they even do not know that several (Dashnakist Armenian arm banded) Nazi units were instrumental in 'picking up Jews' in occupied countries such as France, Poland and hence contributed to send Jewish convoys to death camps. The *paradoxical reality* was that while Dashnakist Armenians who had volunteered in the Nazi army, were sending Jews to death, the Turkish diplomats in countries under occupation were risking their own lives to *save Jewish race humans, by giving them Turkish I.D. papers*. An outstanding salvage operation was concluded in France under occupation and some 19 000 Jews, were saved and sent with special trains to Turkey. The Washington Post, June 17th, 1943, news goes unnoticed by US Politicians or Scholars of Jewish ethnicity. The Armenians saved themselves from execution by their claim that they are of *ARIAN RACE*, whilst the *JEWISH RACE* deserved to be wiped off completely, as the Armenian papers of WWII were strongly advertising. Turkish Consulates in cities such as Marseilles, Rhodes, Constanza, Varna and countries where they were kept open, were active in similar salvations of Jews by Turkey.

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"Photo #1: Title: ARMENIAN VOLUNTEERS IN NAZI WEHRMARCHT SWEAR LOYALTY TO THE FUHRER

(Showing German soldiers with three new soldiers in front of German flag, with right hands up in the Nazi salute) Photo taken August 5, 1944 by German War Correspondent, Strohmeyer.



Title: ARMENIAN VOLUNTEERS FROM TURKEY IN NAZI SERVICE DURING WORLD WAR II: BERLIN 1943

Above: Armenians on Paul Leverkuen's staff visit Nazi Propaganda Minister Joseph Paul Goebbels before returning to Middle East to spread Nazi propaganda from base in Adana. (Photo: four soldiers facing Goebbels and Gen. Leverkuen) Below: Title: Armenian volunteers in Wehrmacht training before dispatch to join Nazi invasion of Soviet Union. (Photo shows some soldiers in a barbed wire battlefield in running status)

(Below excerpts added to bring additional information about the whereabouts of photos)

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Cooperation between the Armenians and the Nazis:

During World War II, while the Turkish Government was giving asylum to many Jews from Hitler's tyranny, anti-Semitism engulfed the Armenian circles in the Nazi-occupied territories. A publication of the Armenian Information Service in New York, entitled 'Dashnak collaboration with the Nazi regime' purports to show that Armenian sympathies with racism had reached dangerous proportions. The following quotation from the August 19th – 21st, 1936 issues of Armenian daily Hairenik, exposes much more than prejudice and bigotry.

<Jews being the most fanatical nationalists and race-worshippers... are compelled to create an atmosphere... of internationalism and world citizenship in order to preserve their race... As the British, use battleships to occupy lands... Jews use internationalism or communism as a weapon... Sometimes it is difficult to eradicate these poisonous elements when they have struck deep root like a chronic disease. And when it becomes necessary for a people to eradicate them... these attempts are regarded revolutionary. During a surgical operation, the flow of blood is a natural thing... Under such conditions, dictatorships seem to have a role of saviors...>

In May 1935, the Armenians of Bucharest attacked the Jews of that city, while the Greeks of Salonika attacked the Jews in the August of the same year. During World War II, Armenian volunteers, under the wings of Hitler's Germany, were used in rounding up Jews and other 'undesirables' destined for the Nazi concentration camps. The Armenians also published a German-language magazine, with fascist and anti-Semitic tendencies supporting Nazi doctrines directed to the extermination of 'inferior' races. This is confirmed by one of the champions of Armenians, Christopher J. Walker, who admits that Armenians collaborated with Nazis. According to him, members of the Dashnak Party, when living in the occupied areas, including a number of prominent persons, entertained pro-Axis sympathies. A report in an American magazine went so far as to claim that the Nazis had picked Dashnakstutian to do the fifth-column work, promising the party autonomous state for its cooperation. Walker goes on to state that relations between the Nazis and the Dashnakists living in the occupied areas were close and active. On Dec. 30 1941, an Armenian battalion was created by decision of the Army Command (Wehrmacht), known as the 'Armenian 812th Battalion'. It was commanded by Dro, a former Armenian guerilla leader, and was made up of a small number of committed recruits, and a larger number of Armenians from the prisoners of war, taken by the Nazis in their sweep eastwards. Early on, the total number of recruits was 8,000; this number later grew up to 20,000. The 812th Battalion was operational in the Crimea and North Caucasus.

A year later, on Dec.15th, 1942, an 'Armenian National Council' was granted official recognition by Alfred Rosenberg, the German Minister of the occupied areas. The Council's president was Prof. Ardashes Abeghian, its vice-president Abraham Giulkhandanian, and it numbered among its members Mzdeh and Vahan Papazian. From that date until the end of 1944 it published a weekly journal, *Armenien*, edited by Viken Shant (son of Levon), who also broadcast on Radio Berlin. The whole idea was to prove to the Germans that the

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Armenians were 'Aryans', in order to save their skins, claims Walker. With the aid of Dr. Paul Rohrbach they seem to have achieved this as the Nazis did not persecute the Armenians in the occupied lands." #3

"A First Hand Report on Conditions in Europe

By JOHN ROY CARLSON

(Arthur Derounian)

ARMENIAN AFFAIRS, A Journal on Armenian Studies, Winter, 1949-50 Vol.1, No.1



Three cheers for John Roy Carlson - the rare Armenian patriot (he believed in the "genocide," used terms like "Turkish yoke," and Christian code such as "Smyrna" and "Constantinople") who attempted to send a "red alert" to his fellow Armenians as to the mass infiltration of the fanatical, slimy Dashnaks, threatening to act as the one voice for the Armenian people. He tried to give the warning, but it was to no avail. The Dashnak mentality prevails today among the Diaspora, at least among those who speak publicly.

Isn't that always the way? Where fanaticism and money lead, the masses follow. For example, American Moslems at this point do not want much to do with the fanatical Wahhabis... but it is their big, Saudi-oil money that is serving as great influence, behind the scenes. Similarly, the concept of Abraham Lincoln's Republican "conservatism" has not much to do with the fanatical, obscenely wealthy religious right that has taken over the Republican Party in recent years... doing a great job of brainwashing the American populace through their huge network of media outlets.

Carlson says it flat out: 'the ARF assumed the leadership by its more fanatic appeal, and its policy of liquidating by terror all opposition.' Today, it is these immoral, '*the end justifies the means*' fanatics with no concern for truth or honor that rule. Even Armenian professors have adopted this mentality; the instant someone steps out of line from the standard propaganda-speak — even a little, as Vincent Lima or Ara Sarafian mildly blurted

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— the fanatics are quick to jump down their throats, making reputation-harming allegations (to the implied extent of being Turkish tools, in the aforementioned examples).

Carlson used the correct word in his article: INSIDIOUS. He describes the above technique, as used for financial extortion: *'Another effected practice was the intimidation of prominent men in order to obtain financial support. Those who refused were 'put on the spot.' In fact, it was very similar to the underground methods of modern racketeering, except that its goal was noble.'* These terror tactics, including the time-honored fanatical Armenian smear campaign, are straight out of the gangster's rulebook.

This highly informative article should open the eyes of many. Carlson - famed for going undercover to expose fascist organizations in the U.S. (such was the title of one of his books, Undercover) - spells it all out. The Dashnak collaboration with the Nazis, and the 'racial superiority' theories that caused so many Armenians (along with the reason of pure hatred, what too many have been systematically taught since childhood) to blindly engage themselves in mass murder during World War I, following bloody leaders such as 'General Dro.' Note Carlson's 'Footnote 1' regarding the inspiration for the Armenian Youth Federation, or the AYF. We also learn of the establishing forces behind what is today known as ANCA, the truth-challenged and financially powerful Armenian-American organization.

This conditioning of Dashnak hatred that is prevalent on the minds of too many brainwashed Armenians is the reality today, among the Armenian Diaspora. The 'reasonable' Armenians dare not speak as loudly as Carlson did; silence is compliance, and that is why Armenians are among the most monolithically acting people in the world today. "

"The Armenian Displaced Persons:

A First Hand Report on Conditions in Europe

By JOHN ROY CARLSON

DISSEMBARKING MONTHLY at New York and other piers are hundreds of 'Armenian DPs' mainly from Germany. They are arriving under the sponsorship of ANCHA (Armenian National Committee to Aid Homeless Armenians) which is representing itself as a purely humanitarian, non-political organization. But is this entirely true? Is ANCHA non-political? Is ANCHA a 'national committee' made up of representative Armenians --or is it politically sectarian? I charge that ANCHA is now supported by members, as well as the leadership of a political group of international ill repute, which has had a political axe to grind from 1890 to the present day. I visited the major Armenian DP camp in Germany during a trip in 1949. Although an investigation was far from my intention, what I saw so startled me that I spent several days making inquiries, and photographing the evidence... As a citizen it is my purpose to urge officials of the International Relief Organization (IRO), and our immigration and DP officials to make sure that these DPs come in the best interests of America, as worthy of citizenship. It is my purpose to insure our country against the entry of propaganda agents, or recruits to a political group whose misdeeds are a matter of record. Through the expert publicity gained for it by a restaurateur, the work of ANCHA has been so well daubed with the paint of un-adulterated humanitarianism that in order to evaluate its work, it is imperative to go into the background of the sponsors. With this in view I'm

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compelled to present the reader first with a documented history of events which led to the founding of ANCHA in 1947. He is then in a position to determine for himself the merits of the enterprise as a whole.

By way of preface, it might be stated that there are Americans and Americans. The good and the questionable. Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt is an American; so are Cardinal Spellman, Bishop Oxnham and Father Coughlin. Carl Sandburg, William Foster, Westbrook Pegler are Americans. Al Capone, Henry Wallace, Harry Truman, Gerald L. K. Smith, Lepke Buchalter of Murder, Inc.- all these are (or were, in the case of Al and Lepke) native-born Americans.

By the same token, there are Armenians and Armenians. There are Rouben Mamoulian and Hovsep Pushman. But there are also two Armenians of murderous persuasion who are condemned to life in prison.

Unfortunately, some timid souls are horrified at the exposure of Armenian prototypes of the Smiths, Capones, Buchalters. This attitude is based on the premise that our faults should remain unpublicized to "outsiders." Why? Are we not at least as human as our native-born American brethren are who themselves claim no monopoly on virtues? Are we Armenians 'superior' to all other ethnic groups? Are we a race apart, free of weakness? Denying that self-analysis is a virtue, the timid souls would even deny that our frailties are common to humanity everywhere.

By censuring unrepresentative Smiths, Capones and Buchalters, do we mean to besmirch the good name of all Smiths, all Italians, all Jews? Obviously not. And by censuring the political acts of unrepresentative Armenians abroad and unrepresentative Armenians here, no aspersion whatever is cast on the overwhelming majority of respectable Armenians everywhere. Nonetheless, we expect to be roundly denounced as anti-Armenian: first, by the milquetoasts, then by the guilty-minded partisans.

Samuel P. Orth, the sociologist, observed: "The Armenians especially are eager to become American citizens!" The record shows that we have an astonishingly small crime record. Our native-born generation is making phenomenal progress in the arts, medicine, science, business. Of these accomplishments, we are justly proud. Nonetheless, the questionable Armenians are hard at work. We believe their political chicaneries should be exposed. The cause of justice is best served by truth and the cause of truth by the merciless exposure of those who, under the guise of patriotism, seek to pervert both truth and patriotism.

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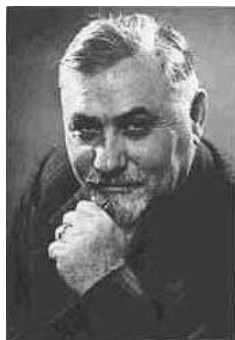


Photo, taken in March 1949 [by John Roy Carlson], shows two Armenian DPs hoisting the red-blue-orange flag of the defunct Dashnak Government, over Funkerkaserne, Stuttgart, Germany, where the majority of the Armenian DPs were located.

There was once a man named Hitler who made lavish promises to labor and capital. After he had assumed power, he betrayed both. Then he made lavish promises of independence to minorities of the Ukraine, Carpatho-Russia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, as well as the anti-British. Hitler subsidized Arabs like the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem who either had a grievance against Britain, or had been kicked out of Soviet Union territory and wanted to get back at any price. Former director of the Office of War Information in Europe, Wallace Carroll, observes in an article in *Life* (Dec. 19th, 1949): 'Hitler had authorized the creation of units from the lesser Soviet minorities — an Armenian legion, a Georgian legion....' And so, as the *Wehrmacht* marched eastward, it was followed by Fifth Column Ukrainians, White Russians, Arabs and other elements bent on regaining will-o-the-wisp independence under Hitler. As Nazi legions conquered Odessa and the Crimea, and edged their way along the shores of the Black Sea toward the Caucasus — where nestled the Republic of Soviet Armenia — 'pro-Independence Armenians' appeared in Europe. Formally they were known as the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, popularly called Dashnak... These European Dashnaks, with headquarters in Berlin, appealed to, and bargained with Hitler's emissaries for an 'independent' Armenian state. That they had to bootlick Nazi masters goes without saying. That, as potential officials of a puppet Nazi state, they would have assumed the infamous roles of the Paveliches, Antonescus, Laval, Tiso or Vidkun Quislings was also a foregone conclusion. Once committed to it, there was no alternative to the price for 'independence' except subservience to Hitler.

By 1940, Dr. Alfred Rosenberg had been appointed Minister of Eastern Occupied Areas. He was in constant touch with the Dashnak hierarchy in Germany, which by that time had formed the Armenian National Council. It was 'Armenian' only in the sense that Dashnak Armenians belonged to it. Far from being 'national,' it spoke only for certain Quisling minded Dashnaks of Europe, not for the overwhelming majority of Armenians the world over who were pro Ally, and fought valiantly for the Allied cause.

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Master of international intrigue; Dro 'The Butcher' Kanayan

The Nazi-like Dashnak Council (not to be confused with the Armenian National Council of America) was comprised of *Prof. Ardashes Abeghian*, president; Abraham Gulhandanian, vice president; *Harootiun Baghdasarian*, secretary; members-at-large (meaning Dashnaks outside Germany) were: Der Tovmassian, Vahan Papazian, David Davidkhanian, Garegin Nejdeh, and a master of international intrigue known as *General Dro Kanayan*. The following are significant excerpts from the document — comprising 12 points — signed between Nazi Germany and the European Dashnak Council, with the above mentioned Dashnaks serving as its officers. It was made public on Feb. 15th, 1943:

1. *The Armenian National Council was organized in Berlin under the patronage of the Ministry of the Eastern Occupied Areas on Dec. 15th, 1942. Thus, the Armenian National Council undertakes to become an agent between Germany and the Armenians...*
3. *In order to carry out these objectives and programs freely, to achieve and to establish them firmly, the Armenian National Council considers the political protection of the German Reich over Armenia the most secure guarantee...*
7. *The Armenian National Council is convinced that the efforts of its people should be crowned with success because Armenia, through the powerful help of the German Reich, will become a self-governing country and as such, will be built up...*
8. *The Armenian National Council will do everything to facilitate the work of its patron government, including the national wealth of the land, taking into consideration the economic reconstruction of Armenia and the interest of the two peoples...*
9. *Under the protection of the German Reich, Armenia, so far as she is able, will strive to strengthen the German influence in the Near East. In this connection, the Armenian National Council finds it imperative to evaluate the bitter disappointments and terrible misery which Russia and England have wrought on the Armenians in the course of history...*
11. *Realizing the historic, political, economic and cultural intimate ties between Great Germany and her protectorate, Armenia, the Armenian National Council will consider it its high duty to strengthen these mentioned ties and to render them unbreakable. For this*

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purpose are already called, and hereafter will be called, those auxiliary Armenian forces, which are now active and fighting with the Germans for final victory and liberation.

12. The Armenian National Council is an agent in the present period of transition. Its jurisdiction and activity cease the moment when, under the leadership of Germany and the help of the Armenian National Council, a new government is created in Armenia.

An avowed task of the Council was to select -with Nazi approval, of course- Russian-Armenian soldiers from the prisoners-of-war camps. Many of these later joined special units of the *Wehrmacht* composed of similar anti-Soviet minority troops. Whether there is any connection between their release and their joining Nazi units is a matter of speculation. Some were identifiable by an armband composed of the Dashnak colors: red-blue-orange. For example, Dashnak recruits from France bore the mark *Légion Arménienne*.

In the meanwhile, efforts of European Dashnaks for the "independent" state played deeper into Nazi hands. Dashnak henchmen appeared in every occupied country to collaborate with the Nazis. Here are a few specific instances. Nejdeh -who was once sponsored by Boston Dashnaks to organize a racist youth group in the U.S. called *Tzeghagron* (which meant to make religion of one's race)- had organized an espionage network based in Nazi-occupied countries. Dashnak youth group was later changed to Armenian Youth Federation, or the *AYF*, as it is currently known."

It was not only the 812th battalion; here is another interesting research on the same topic.

"It is worthwhile to note that the Armenians were never merciful with their Moslem and Jewish neighbors throughout the history. The Nazi Armenian collaborators had basically two organs, the Armenian National Council (*Armenisches Nationalausschuss*), a solely political body and the Armenian Liaison Staff (*Armenisches Verbindungsstab*), a military-political body. By the end of the war, an Armenian National Committee (*Armenisches Nationalkomitee*) was in the forming. The 'Congressional Record' made public in Nov.1, 1945, the agreement that the Armenian National Council, an official mouthpiece for the ex-Soviet Armenian Government, had signed with Nazi Germany and that had first appeared (in the U.S.) in the *Armenian Mirror Spectator*, in Sept.1, 1945[Document 1]. Furthermore, in fall 1942, the Armenian infantry battalions 808 and 809 were formed, to be followed by battalions 810, 812 and 813 in spring 1943. In the second half of 1943 infantry battalions 814, 815 and 816 were created. These battalions together with other indigenous Caucasian units were attached to the infantry division (ID) 162...Also attached to ID 162 were the field battalions II/9, I/125 and I/198 which were formed between May, 1942 and May, 1943. Altogether 12 Armenian battalions served the Nazi army, if battalion II/73, which was not employed at any time, is to be included.[1] Most battalions were commanded by Nazi Armenian officers. Armenians wore German uniforms with an armband in the Dashnak colors red-blue-orange and the inscription 'Armenien'. In fact, shortly after the occupation of Warsaw and Paris, the German *Abwehr* (Secret Service) assumed ties with Nazi Armenians

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[See: Patrick von zur Muhlen (Muehlen), 'Zwischen Hakenkreuz und Sowjetstern', Droste Verlag Duesseldorf 1971, pg. 84]. General Dro (Drastamat Kanajan), the chief architect of the Armenian extermination of the entire Moslem population of Russian Armenia between 1914-1918, began his working relationship with Hitler around that time. Extensive collaboration started after the German attack on the Soviet Union on June 22nd, 1941. More important was Garegin Nezhdeh, the founder of the Nazi Armenian organization 'Tzeghagrone' which was responsible for the genocide of the Moslem and Jewish people in 1914. He suggested that Germany should help him infiltrate Soviet Armenia together with 22 000 Nazi Armenians. He would then organize a widespread uprising of Armenians in the Caucasus for the extermination of the Moslem and Jewish people, similar to the Armenian extermination of the entire Moslem population of Russian Armenia. It is also interesting to note that Nazi Nezhdeh is still considered a hero by the Armenian people. I am still curious as to Armenians' feelings towards Hitler, though. [1] Joachim Hoffmann, Dies Ostlegionen 1941-43, Turkotataren, Kaukasier und Wolgafinnern im deutschen Heer, (Verlag Rombach Freiburg 1976), pg. 172."

There was also news in "**THE NEW YORK TIMES**" of July 24, 1941 which read as follows:

"By Ray Brock – Armenians in Iran inflamed by Nazis' German agents operating in Tehran are attempting to foment disorders and inflame the Armenian population to sabotage and revolt against the present Iranian government, promising money now and territory later for 'Greater Armenia' after the war, according to disclosures by high diplomatic sources here today. Armenian irredentists are receiving promises of an independent Armenia composed of Azerbaijan and bits of former Armenia in Iran. Germans who provide the funds for the propaganda and for Armenian terrorists... Creation of disorders and frontier incidents, such as the one that occurred five days ago on Syrian-Turkish border."

Right in those days when *Armenien* arm banded German soldiers were busy in rounding up Jews, the following article appeared in "**WASHINGTON POST**", June 17, 1943:

"TURKEY RECALLS ENVOY TO VICHY; TIES STRAINED

STRONG NAZI CURBS ON AMBASSADOR'S ACTIVITIES BLAMED

By Frank Brutto – Associated Press Staff Writer. Bern, Switzerland, June 17 :

Turkey has recalled Behic Erkin, its Ambassador to France, in protest against strong German restrictions on his embassy in Vichy, a Turkish diplomatic source said today.

Relations between Vichy and Ankara were reported very strained, with Turks especially angered at the Petain-Laval regime due to German interference. The German secret police were said to have instituted a close watch recently on the Turkish embassy at Vichy, forbidding its use of code messages. The embassy was allowed to continue the use of

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diplomatic pouch, but, according to this diplomatic source, the pouch was opened at the border and examined".

The truth behind this newsbreak was as follows: Mr. Behic Erkin, one of the best friends of Ataturk, who had served in the Ottoman Army as a major, when Ataturk was a captain in Tripoli, later served as the liaison officer of logistic supplies during WWI and hence was in close contact and frequent confrontations with German high ranking officers in command of the Ottoman army. Although his being too much independent was not liked by the Germans, nevertheless his seriousness was so much admired that he was given the German Iron Cross of third degree first, which was followed by another Iron Cross medal of the first degree in 1918, signed by German Commander in Chief Liman von Sanders. First-degree Iron Cross medals were very few and never given to those who were not German. After occupation of Istanbul by the Allied Forces, Col. Erkin was in charge of smuggling of 'armistice stored arms', to the Nationalist Forces in Anatolia, and soon he joined the Nationalistic Army, where he was put in charge of all Railways and logistic transport. After WWI and foundation of the new Republic, he served in the National Assembly, later as minister of Public Works, Transportation, and was well known for his seriousness and independence. After the death of Ataturk he was appointed as ambassador to France by Inonu, where he started on August 31, 1939, just before outbreak of WWII. There was a large Jewish community in France who had originally moved from the Balkan countries during WWI and also in 1930s due to the world recession from Turkey. About 3500 of them kept their Turkish citizenship, others neglected and became French citizens. When the Nazi campaign against Jews started, and the puppet Petain-Laval government had to serve Hitler's Jewish policies, Mr. Erkin protected all Jews who had kept their Turkish citizenship. This was a hard struggle with two small consulates in Marseilles and Paris, but the Nazis did not want to impair their relations with 'neutral Turkey' and through tiring diplomatic efforts, all 'Turkish citizens' (since there is no racist separatism in the Turkish rule and laws - those Jews) were saved from going to death camps. Later, other Jews who were once Turkish or was related with Turkey in one way or another flooded Turkish Consulates, which started to give them ID papers with Turkish insignia of crescent and star. The tiny Turkish delegation in France, which had close but delicate relations with the puppet French government was so much of 'nagging nuisance' to protect 'all Turkish citizens', that after a struggle of over three years that he was in service, he could save close to 20 000 Jews sending them with special trains to Turkey. Ambassador Erkin was almost untouchable, because he knew German mentality too well, he was courageous in the name of humanity and he had two very strong joker cards in his pocket. One was the 'Legion d'Honneur' medal given by French Marshal Petain, and the other was his First Degree Iron Cross given by Marshal Liman von Sanders. The true episode, (which was not revealed until the Ambassador's grandson Emir Kivircik got some documents and researched for some eight years in various archives) was brought into light, by a documentary book printed by GOA- Istanbul in 2007. This book 'Buyukelci' (Ambassador) makes 'Schindler's List' incomparable. (The English

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translation of the book should be ready in bookstores by now). The Germans and French could only get rid of Ambassador Erkin, after they let go all Jews who were given 'some Turkish identity papers' to Turkey by railcars sent from Turkey, in several batches after which they politely asked the Turkish Government to call back their Ambassador. Washington Post, of course could not speak of the true cause, since it would have hampered this WWII exodus of Jews via Turkey to several other countries. For more information on this episode, please click on <http://jews-for-allah.org/history-of-love-turkey-and-the-holocaust.htm>.

The Dashnaks had saved their scalps from the Nazis, but their party again lost the war, and it was time to change the springboard once again. They put on the innocent sheep mantle of victims and it had to be done fast without letting the Nuremberg War Crimes Tribunal, which opened on Nov. 10th, 1945, hear about the "812th Armenian Wehrmacht Battalion". Another 'Andonian type' documentation was needed. In The Times dated Nov. 24th, 1945, an article by an anonymous author appeared, claiming that Hitler had made a reference to Armenians in his speech prior to the occupation of Poland. (This, of course was another forgery, but Armenians played the victim role, and submitted this article to the Nuremberg Court, which refused to take it into consideration, much like the Malta trials). However, this smart trickery of Armenian victimization, opened up new quotas of Armenians to go to U.S. and become U.S. citizens, to join the Dashnak force of Turk haters... Nevertheless, 'nothing is free for Dashnak service' and they soon implemented their 'care taking tax', collecting funds from Armenians, not knowing where they are funneled. I am inclined to believe that it is 'this' *sweet, steady income* which does not seriously affect the Diaspora budgets, which fuels and keeps the 'fires of hatred' burning, while at the same time, incomes 'flow in'. It seems like the old Ottoman poll tax is changed by the Dashnaks, 'as pay and shut-up' tax. (*For other examples, see also Chapter 30*)

"American Dashnaks have consistently followed a course of opportunism and double-dealing:

Although Keshishian is at times quiet-spoken, the violence of his language is predictable. In Jerusalem, for example, he had said to me: 'I can have you hanged for bringing a book like this to Palestine' (a copy of Undercover). At the U.N., in October, 1949, after he had heard of a speech I had made commending Zionism, Keshishian first warned, then pleaded with me to say or write nothing detrimental to the Arab cause. Then he said, as a matter of fact: 'You'll never be able to return to any of the Arab countries. If you and I were there now I'd have you killed. Life is cheap in the Middle East. We do things manfully there. It's not like here where you Americans live only for material comforts. I'd have you killed, I swear to it as God is my witness.'

'You sound like an Arab terrorist agent,' I said to him, laughingly. 'Remember, this is America.'

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Dashnaks rest their chief claims to 'patriotism' on their anti-Soviet attitude. That many of these claims are a sham is proved by the evidence of their own writings. They help support our thesis that their "anti-Soviet" attitude is largely opportunism. Here are specific instances of our contention...American Dashnak policy, theretofore anti-Communist, underwent a change when the tide turned after the Soviets' firm stand at Stalingrad. Both the English and Armenian editors of Hairenik began to reprint articles from the leftist Armenian journal Lraper, which both had previously denounced as 'Communist.' They reprinted from Sovetakan Hayastan, official organ of Soviet Armenia. When the Soviet Embassy Information Bulletin in Washington published Soviet Armenia and the Patriotic War, the panegyric appeared promptly in the lead position on the front page of the March 29, 1944 issue of Hairenik Weekly. 'These are happy days for the Soviet people,' it chortled. 'The families of Red Army men also share in the warm solicitude of the Armenian people.'...While on the one hand American Dashnak denounce Soviet Armenia, when the opportunistic spirit moves them, their readers in both languages, get a diet extolling certain aspects of Soviet Armenia. A case in point is an article on Yerevan, capital of Soviet Armenia. It's reprinted from Sovetakan Hayastan in the Winter, 1948, issue of a Dashnak quarterly published in Boston. The logic of denouncing a political system, and praising it at the same time, escapes us.

When in 1944 Nazis began to face disaster, American Dashnaks zealously began to court the Armenian Left. Boston Dashnaks made open, unashamed overtures of peace to Lraper and others. Hairenik ran an editorial which completely repudiated its former attitude of anti-Sovietism, and urged all anti-Dashnak factions in the U.S. to please forget the past and effect a merger in a common cause. Surrendering its policy of an 'independent Armenia' the American Dashnaks' new party line sought to identify itself with the ambitions of Soviet Russia — namely the wresting of the provinces of Kars and Ardahan from Turkish hands and their incorporation within Soviet Armenia. The appeal appeared first in a Hairenik editorial. It received added circulation in translated form in the Hairenik Weekly of May 19th, 1944:

The attitude of the Federation toward the Soviet Government in relation to the practical Armenian national policy was no different from theirs. Like them, the Federation looks to the Soviet Government... and is willing to make all possible sacrifices for the realization of that national aim. Like it, the Federation also admits that Soviet Armenia is the rightful political trustee of the Armenian cause.

That line, kept up for many months. An American Dashnak Armenian National Committee set up shop, published elaborate memoranda, sent delegations to the San Francisco Conference and agitated energetically for the merger of the strategic Turkish provinces with the Soviet Union.

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There was a time when Dashnaks — who now denounce the repatriation of poverty stricken Armenians to Soviet Armenia — actually urged financial support of the scheme. They told their readers that it meant the 'reunion of the Armenians.' Those who went were 'devoted to the reconstruction of the Fatherland.' On Oct. 15, 1941, Hairenik urged its befuddled readers to 'do [their] utmost... to crown with brilliant success this undertaking'— namely help in collecting \$1,000,000 to support repatriation. Thus the presumably 'anti-Soviet' Hairenik pleaded with the zeal of a convert:

'Numbers make for strength. As the number of our people increases in our Fatherland, so will increase our political influence. A sparsely populated weak Armenia will never be taken into account. On the contrary, a densely populated, prosperous Armenia represents a great potential, which merits the respect of both friend and foe. Repatriation or the reunion of Armenians means the strengthening of Armenia...

Every Armenian who participates in repatriation should know that he is sending a soldier for the defense of Armenia, or sends there an intellectual, or the deft hands of an artisan. Enthuse by this knowledge. We must give at least this year as much as we gave last year. We should not indulge in various small considerations in the matter of serving the Fatherland.' "

To those who have followed the devious history of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, opportunistic changes in policy, are no surprise! The ARF started in 1890 as 'Socialist-Revolutionist' with the worthy aim of liberating Armenia from the Turkish yoke and establishing its independence. Other Armenian groups — Ramgavar and Hunchag — were devoted to the same ideal. Of the three factions, the ARF assumed the leadership by its more fanatic appeal, and its policy of liquidating all opposition by terror. But with its failure to govern the independent state of Armenia (1918-20) toward which all three groups had sacrificed their manpower, and its eventual ouster by the ushering in of the Bolshevik regime, the Dashnak cause has degenerated into cold-blooded opportunism.

The Bolshevik character of the Dashnak Republic was undeniable.

In a proclamation of May 29th, 1919, the Dashnak Bureau in Yerevan declared: '*Dashnaktzoutune*, after realizing its political ideal, the establishment of a Democratic republic, and being true to its fundamental doctrine, socialism, will steer our ship consistently and with determination, through the channel of social reforms, to that haven of social justice, towards which the workers of all the nations are bound.'

I have the eyewitness testimony of an Armenian American in a highly responsible position in New York who said to me: 'In the public halls during that period, [1918-20], many banners were inscribed in Armenian: '*Proletariats of the world, unite!*'

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H. Kachaznoui, another former prime minister (they changed often), in his book Dashnaktzoutune Has Nothing More to Do (Vienna, 1923, pg. 31-32),*(next chapter)* 'Bolshevik system' of the Dashnak Government in the following lucid terms:

'In Armenia there was no Parliament; it was an empty form without content. The problems of state were being discussed and solved behind closed doors, in the rooms of the Dashnak faction, and then declared from the rostrum of the parliament. In reality, there was not even a parliamentary faction, because this latter was under the very strict supervision of the Dashnak Bureau, and was obliged to carry out its orders.

There was not a government either. This also was ruled by the Bureau; it was a kind of executive body for the Bureau in the state. This was the Bolshevistic system. *But what the Bolsheviks are doing openly and consistently, we were attempting to veil under democratic forms.* The U.S. sent Gen. Harbord to investigate the 'policies of the Armenian Government.'

The commission reported: 'The policy is unfortunately affected by *Dashnaktzoutune* methods, which are always liable to precipitate trouble.'

When Dashnaks anywhere parade themselves as the spokesmen for all 'Armenians', they resort to nothing short of willful, deliberate misrepresentation.

Our quarrel is not with the idea of an 'independent Armenia.' All Armenians, except those on the Left, would welcome a truly independent and sovereign state — *if it were feasible, if full protection were guaranteed from the bloody Turks, if it could be managed properly, which it wasn't under Dashnak auspices.* Our quarrel is with manifestations of Dashnak leadership then and now, the gamut of collaboration with Nazis, the duplicity, terror, treachery and opportunism it has manifested in its period of frustration, since 1920. Historically, the Dashnak ouster was the result of a combination of popular will and the promise of the Bolsheviks for "bread and peace." To a refugee population already massacred and decimated by the Turkish policy of genocide, and further persecuted by Kemal Ataturk's fiendish army, Bolshevik promises were like manna from heaven. Ultimately, the bedraggled Armenians revolted against Dashnak mismanagement and centralized bureaucracy. Dashnaks then became anything and everything to anyone — not excluding Nazi Rosenberg — who would restore their power...Dashnaks in America are now shunned by the overwhelming majority of respectable Armenian Americans. As a result Dashnaks have to set up their own fraternal, social, sport, literary, religious and other bodies. While some sympathy exists toward innocent Dashnak followers, contempt is the order for its leadership both here and abroad. On the other hand, persons like Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling, the Jew-baiting, raucous propagandist, has praised them as 'patriotic.'

Shunned by Armenians who know them, many American Dashnaks have now resorted to promoting themselves before any non-Armenian who will take them at their word. They parade as 'leaders' of Armenian communities everywhere, magnifying their importance completely out of proportion to truth. With highly commendable zeal, which

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might be used to benefit the whole Armenian-American community instead of serving a narrow, partisan cause, they represent themselves as the custodians of the 'Armenian question,' 'Armenian interests,' etc. American, English and Arab officials are warned that the Armenian Revolutionary Federation speaks for, and represents only itself. Its politics are its own. They do not reflect those of the overwhelming majority of the Armenian community in this country or elsewhere. When Dashnaks anywhere parade themselves as spokesmen for all 'Armenians' they resort to nothing short of willful, deliberate misrepresentation. Noteworthy is a letter written on March 26, 1935, by Thomas E. Dewey, now Governor of New York but then a special assistant to the U. S. Attorney General's office, to Herbert Lehman who was governor of New York:

'For many years a very small group of fanatic zealots among the Armenian people have perpetrated murders and assaults upon the duly constituted authorities, in a campaign of terrorism... for the purpose of imposing the will of the few, upon the many. I believe it is correct to say that this group, the Dashnaks, does not constitute more than 5% of the Armenian population'.



Photo (taken in March, 1949 [by John Roy Carlson]) shows headquarters of the *Homenetmen* at Funkerkaserne. The unmistakable Dashnak character is indicated by three Dashnak flags, in addition to a photo (top left) of General Nazarbekoff, a Dashnak favorite. On the right is the photo of an unidentified military figure. The photograph in the middle is also unidentified. On the mantelpiece is a bust of Avedis Aharonian, first president of the now defunct Dashnak Government (1918-20), and a writer on Dashnak revolutionary themes. Just above (MISSING TEXT)... the Armenian Revolutionary Federation.

Prof. Ardashes Abeghian, president of the Naziesque Council alluded to by Archbishop Hahozian is now living comfortably in Stuttgart, and is hopefully waiting to emigrate from Germany. I visited him at his home, Zuffenhausen, Salzweg, 33. He teaches mathematics at the Armenian DP camp established under IRO auspices at Funkerkaserne in Stuttgart. I saw his daughter working in the Funkerkaserne office and spoke to her. About 1,400 Armenian DPs {note: DP = Displaced Person} were stationed there as of May, 1949. About 40 were in Frankfurt, 25 in Heidelberg, 20 in Berlin. Settlements totalling about 500 were

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strewn about in Milan, Naples, Rome, Bari, Vienna and France. Harootiun Baghdasarian, former secretary of the Council, was living and working in Munich, awaiting emigration with 400 other DPs under IRO care. Other Dashnak leaders are scattered over Europe. It must be emphasized that all these Dashnaks are posing as "stateless." All -with but a few exceptions- have DP status, and are eligible for immigration to the U.S.

I visited Funkerkaserne in March of last year. The political-military character which this IRO camp had assumed is unforgettable. I found its atmosphere pervaded with an aura of conspiracy and stealth, such as I used to encounter in my investigations of undercover activity in the U.S. In contrast to other DP camps, a gang of tough-looking, unshaven, Dashnaks challenged me upon entrance. Accompanied by several guards, I was escorted to the office of Levon Beg Dilijan, commander of the camp. I introduced myself as an Armenian journalist, giving my correct name, and asked to be shown around. Dilijan and others who had surrounded me, first asked if I knew Darbinian, Vratzian or any other Dashnak chief in Boston. When I professed to know them all personally, no further questions were asked. I was taken into the fold.

'We are in close touch with Boston,' Levon Beg said. 'We receive *Hairenik* and read it daily.'

'Do you know George Mardikian?' someone asked. 'He has helped a great deal.' 'I know him,' I said truthfully. 'I've also eaten at his restaurant in San Francisco. Levon Beg and the other took me on a tour around the camp. A large, cold room with rough desks served as a Dashnak school. In the middle of the acre-square yard, I saw two young men hoisting the familiar Dashnak red-blue-orange flag of the defunct Armenian Republic of 1918 (see photographs). Other youths whom we met were members of *Homenetmen*, as Dashnak 'Boy Scouts' are called. *They were more like young soldiers.*

(Note: August, 1919 issue of National Geographic, on pg. 182, shows a group of boyish soldiers training with wooden rifles, the oldest being 12 years old; pg.183 shows two small boy soldiers of the Artemid Army and pg.184 Commander of Van presenting a wooden sword to the captain of the boyish Artemid Army. A century later, CRS No.349, 20 July 2006, in article by Gegham Vardanian in Yerevan, shows photo <Armenian Pupils March to New Step> in military uniforms aged 11-12 yrs in School 99 in Yerevan. Sarkis: "We learn how to crawl round enemies and kill them").

Indoctrinated in Dashnak ideology, they saluted Levon Beg stiffly. I was told they held drills regularly. We visited their headquarters. The room was lined with photographs and busts of Dashnak heroes. Dashnak flags, Dashnak inscriptions, Dashnak insignia were plastered all over (see photograph). It was obvious that no one could survive in that atmosphere without being a Dashnak or thoroughly subservient to them. 'You speak with different accents,' I observed to Levon Beg and his companions. 'Are you all from Russia?' 'Of course not,' he confided. 'Some of us are from Persia and Turkey. But we have all said

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we were from Russia so we could be classified as DPs and come to America. 'But how did you manage that?' I asked incredulously. 'That's our secret,' Levon Beg said laughing.

I browsed around Funkerkaserne. One DP I met said he had left his family in Yerevan, Soviet Armenia. 'I wish there would be a war so I could go back to my wife and child,' he said. 'How did you get to this camp?' I asked another Armenian. 'I am from Rostov,' he answered. 'Men from Zoravar (General) Dro's army told us to come to Germany before the Russians recaptured Rostov. They told us it would be better, so we came.' 'Are you happier here than in Rostov?' I asked. 'I can't say that I am. I am not a political man. I worked in a shoe factory. I worked harder than was good for me. Here I don't work at all. I like this idleness less. But I can't say I was unhappy in Rostov... Oh well, it is now too late. They have promised to send us to America. We shall see...' Speaking to a DP who said he was from Romania, I asked if he were Dashnak. '*Anshousht* (of course),' he answered stiffly. 'We were very strong in Romania. We are now waiting to come to America. What is the status of *Dashnaktzoutiune* in America? Are they the leaders? 'Why are the stores shut?' I asked, pointing to a dozen boarded shops. 'The American Military Police came the other day and closed them down,' Mugurdich Mosigian, chief of the *Homenetmen*, answered. 'Why?' I asked. 'Americans don't usually interfere'. 'Oh, the police said we were doing black marketing,' Mosigian explained laughing!. Whether or not the police were right in this case, the fact is that many DPs are engaged in black market activity as a means of livelihood. The authorities overlook this except in cases of flagrant violations. In Stuttgart, some Dashnaks enjoyed a non-enviable reputation as proficient black marketeers.



Photo (taken in March, 1949 [by John Roy Carlson]) shows DP shops inside Funkerkaserne closed and boarded by American Military Police for alleged black market activity. In front of the shops, at the extreme left, is Mugurdich Mosigian, chief of the *Homenetmen*, the name given to Dashnak 'Boy Scouts,' who is now in the U.S. At the extreme right is Levon Beg Dilijian, 'Mayor' of Funkerkaserne.

After my visit to the Funkerkaserne, I visited Brig.-Gen. Haig Shekerjian at his home in Stuttgart. Shekerjian was an active American Army general. Now on the retired list, he was placed in charge of ANCHA activity in Europe by George Mardikian. ANCHA is an abbreviation for Armenian National Committee to Aid Homeless Armenians. George

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Mardikjan, the restaurateur, is founder and main promoter of ANCHA, which functions under IRO supervision.

As for Brig.-Gen. Shekerjian, he is an elderly man, of handsome blonde appearance, and with his wife lives in a well furnished home, with a servant, private car and chauffeur. He travels around freely. Shekerjian gave me the impression that he had taken the job in order to keep busy in his retirement. He seemed completely naive politically and quite ignorant of the implications of having around such men as Baghdasarian, former secretary of the Armenian National Council of Nazi Berlin. As to its former president, Prof. Abeghian, I found him teaching mathematics in the same room where Mrs. Shekerjian taught English to the DPs. I did not get the impression that he had a deep feeling for his work. In one instance Shekerjian confided:

'It has been difficult to interest other nations in these DPs. They are good workers, but most of them unfortunately make a bad appearance. Those who are eligible to be sent to Australia are first interviewed by a liaison officer of the mission. Some of these Armenians look so rough that they don't leave a favorable impression.'

Brig.-Gen. Shekerjian admitted that affidavits for support had been slow in coming from America in the past two years, but since Dro Ganayan's visit to the States last winter (1949), affidavits had been arriving regularly. He had hopes for the eventual emigration of nearly 2000 DPs from Germany alone. They were no longer referred to as 'Armenians,' Shekerjian pointed out, but as 'Russians'

'This is very helpful for a number of reasons,' he explained. It seems that the designation of these Armenians as Russians overcomes the prejudice, which their reputation has given them. It identifies them all as political refugees from the USSR. The psychological effect was better all around, the General pointed out.

ANCHA was founded in 1947 as the result of a trip Mardikian made to Germany on behalf of the U.S. Army, in the course of which he visited the Armenian DPs. Mardikian contributed heavily to ANCHA. Otherwise, it has been financed almost exclusively by American Dashnak capital. Correspondents in Eastern U.S. are urged to communicate with ANCHA at Dashnak headquarters in Boston. In Boston the Armenian Relief Corps, a Dashnak affiliate, (when speaking in Armenian Dashnaks refer to it as the Armenian Red Cross), has common offices and personnel with ANCHA's... Dashnak journals published in Boston began singing Mardikian's praises long before ANCHA. He has supported the Armenian Revolutionary Federation in the U.S. by speaking at many of its meetings, by contributing financially, and by fronting for it on many occasions. ...I have met Mardikian a number of times. His personal charms, his enthusiasm, his fine sense of hospitality are remarkable traits geared to making friends and disarming enemies. But everyone of us was born with a 'blind spot.' As is so common among successful businessmen, engineers, and in this instance, a restaurateur, the blind spot is the lack of a discerning eye for politics. How else can one, for example, explain the attitude of loyal American Charles Lindbergh's association with the America First Committee? Who but one obsessed with a political blind

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spot would brand a program of social welfare as the diabolical invention of the Kremlin? ...When Dro Ganayan visited the U.S. early in 1949, he was sponsored by American Dashnaks in a series of meetings from coast to coast on behalf of ANCHA.

At these meetings this former follower of the Nazi armies, and a co-signer of the infamous agreement of the Armenian National Council of Berlin, helped raise funds for ANCHA. He urged Dashnak audiences to sign affidavits-for-support for the DPs at Funkerkaserne, and elsewhere in Europe. *Hairenik* reported that on Jan. 23rd, 1949, Ganayan spoke in Detroit, Mich. It boasted that \$1,000 was collected in 20 minutes.

It is a fair inference that Ganayan was coming to the rescue of some of those with whom he collaborated while following the Nazi armies. Is ANCHA, an American organization financed by American capital, ignorant of Ganayan's former role? Is Brig.-Gen. Shekerjian also ignorant? *Is George Mardikian equally ignorant?*

The use of 'direct action' as punishment was advocated in a copy of the American Dashnak by-laws... Dashnaks abroad regularly used terror to silence opposition. To intimidate others, they boasted openly of their deeds. Here are additional facts about the Armenian Revolutionary Federation which Mr. Mardikian should know. We consider it our duty to remind him that on Christmas Sunday, 1933, nine members of the Dashnaks in this country pounced upon Archbishop Leon Tourian as he was celebrating mass in the Armenian Holy Cross Church in New York. While seven cutthroat American Dashnak gangsters distracted the attention of the parishioners, two assassins murdered the Archbishop with a butcher knife at the foot of the holy altar. These two Dashnaks were convicted of 1st degree murder. The seven Dashnak accessories to the conspiracy were convicted of 1st degree manslaughter.

Archbishop Tourian was descendant of a distinguished family of clerics, scholars and statesmen. Linguist and author, he had translated the beautiful Armenian liturgy into English. He had served as Bishop of Bulgaria, Primate of Smyrna, vice-Patriarch of Constantinople and Archbishop in England. He was a close friend of the late Right Rev. William T. Manning, Episcopal Bishop of New York, who recited special prayers for the martyred Prelate at services, held in the Cathedral of St. John the Divine. Revered by the Armenian community, he obeyed the dictum of the Holy See to keep 'partisan and political strife' out of the Church. He foiled American Dashnak efforts to control the historic Armenian Church. For this he was branded a 'Soviet agent.' Then, by a weird twist of Dashnak logic, his murder trial was termed a 'Bolshevik plot.' The ARF press slurred the American judiciary by writing of 'ignorant jurymen.' It wrote contemptuously of 'false witnesses,' while it adulated the nine Dashnak assassins as 'our blameless comrades.'

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The brutal murder, without parallel in church history, followed a series of violent attacks upon the Archbishop in the official organ, *Hairenik*. Previously, at an outing in August, 1933, the Archbishop had been attacked by a truckload of Dashnak hoodlums while he was blessing parishioners of the Worcester (Mass.) Church of Our Savior. After these episodes, *Hairenik* began to print letters threatening the Archbishop's life. Three samples follow. 'Archbishop Tourian will be punished sooner or later. The day of reckoning will come.'... 'He is going to be sorry for it, and very sorry.'... One letter offered a reward: 'I will gladly give \$100 if something is done to teach Tourian a lesson.' When the Archbishop asked for police protection *Hairenik* denounced him for seeking the protection of 'alien [American] lice.' The use of 'direct action' as punishment was advocated in a copy of the American Dashnak by-laws I've examined. Noteworthy is the fact that the original emblem of the Armenian Revolutionary Federatis currently used by Dashnaks here. It may be seen daily in the pages of *Hairenik*, and shows a quill, spade, flag, and dagger. Dashnaks abroad regularly used terror to silence opposition. To intimidate others, they boasted openly of their deeds. I. Jamharian was a wealthy Armenian who refused to contribute. He 'fell under the blows of a dagger... in broad daylight in the courtyard of the Armenian Church, in the presence of a great throng,' wrote M. Varandyan, highly respected Dashnak historian. 'Should we continue terror or not?' party leaders asked in an official booklet, and answered the query with: 'After a few successful operations, thanks to the terroristic disposition of the leading elements, the party eventually adopted Terrorism' Speaking of former revolutionary activity of Dashnaks abroad, *Hairenik*, on Sept. 16th, 1933 -13 weeks before the Archbishop's murder- wrote: 'Another affective practice was the intimidation of prominent men in order to obtain financial support. Those who refused were 'put on the spot.' In fact, it was very similiar to the underground methods of modern racketeering, except that its goal was noble.'

Disrespect by European Dashnaks toward the Church and clergy was common. It was not unusual for armed ARF chiefs to burst into a church by flinging open the doors, and using the altar and chancel as a platform for political meetings. Those Armenians who tried to stop the sacrilege were shot on the spot, and both clergy and community terrorized.

Two of the most virulent anti-Christian letters we have ever read appeared under the headline *Better off without Christianity* in the March 29, 1935 issue of the American Dashnak publication, *Hairenik*. Significant excerpts follow:

1. By accepting Christianity as our national religion we lost more than we gained as a people. The new religion instantly violated us geographically. Surrounded by non-Christian neighbors, the Arab, the Turk, the Kurd, the Tartar, and their hosts, from then on we had to reckon with the unremitting inroads of unsympathetic elements which gradually sapped our vitality and brought about our downfall...There is nothing we as a people should thank

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Christianity for, as far as I am able to see, and plenty we should regret on account of it. The destiny of the Armenian race would have been entirely different, and who knows perhaps much better, had we retained our pagan creed, or accepted any other religion but Christianity. (Signed, Vartoohi Aslanian, New York.)

2. I am of the opinion that the Armenian Cause suffered by the adoption of Christianity as our national religion for the following reasons. Before Christ, Armenia was a powerful state capable of more than holding her own against its neighbors, the Assyrians, the Persians, and the Romans. We possessed national unity, solidarity, and virility. With the introduction of Christianity, all of our pagan, although heroic, literature was destroyed, and our historical moorings completely cut off... Briefly, by being Christians we lost our choicest national literature, much of our virility as a militant race, and good deal more of the good will of our neighbors-all liabilities, and not an asset in the whole lot. (Signed, Antranig Khanbegian, Brooklyn.)

The list of high clergymen persecuted by the Dashnaks is long. We give only a few illustrations. The Rt. Rev. Bishop Roupen Minasian, Prelate in Iraq, was denounced as 'the agent of the Cheka,' and physically attacked in Baghdad. He brought a libel suit against *Housaper*, Dashnak organ in Cairo. *Housaper* was found guilty. It was fined, and made to pay trial expenses. The late-King Faisal of Iraq then received Bishop Minasian in royal audience. His Eminence, the Most Rev. Archbishop Torcom, Patriarch of Jerusalem, while Prelate of Egypt, was denounced with unimaginable violence of language because he refused to let Dashnak chieftains 'plunder the ecclesiastical income of Cairo and Alexandria.'

The Right Rev. Bishop Garabed Mazloumian, Prelate of Armenians in Greece, refused to tolerate Dashnak interference in church affairs. He was accused as 'an agent of the Cheka.' When the Greek Government gave the charge no credence, the aged Prelate was attacked one night and beaten. His beard was shorn off, as an added insult to his office. We are omitting the beatings and murders of anti-Dashnak laymen. Their list is endless.

Why did the Hairenik Weekly publish these astonishing letters? The answer may be found with Rouben Darbinian, who is still Editor-in-Chief of all American Dashnak publications, and with James Mandalian, editor of the publication in 1935, and currently still associated with Dashnak publications here.

The Dashnak record abroad is replete with intrigues, political and religious murders committed all over Turkey, Egypt, Romania, Greece, Bulgaria, Lebanon, Syria, Iran. Added to these is a new factor, one of character assassination, developed mainly since the end of the war. Critics are denounced as 'Communist.' Rarely are accusations made openly, in print. In keeping with the psychology of conspirators, they are in the form of 'secret' reports, circulated surreptitiously. The victim is thus prevented from resorting to honest, legal, counteraction or given the opportunity for a hearing.

Through the use of half-truths and exaggerated accounts of their power and following, American Dashnaks have converted to their point of view certain gullible and

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uninformed Americans. They are experts at the art of smearing by innuendo. Numerous instances have been reported to me of the use of smear tactics against non-Dashnak Armenians seeking to immigrate independently of ANCHA. As I write this, one such tragic case is pending at Ellis Island. Another current case is that of a wealthy Armenian of Egypt who so far has been prevented from making a business trip because of his membership in the *Ramgavar* (Armenian Democratic-Liberal) Party. He has been smeared by Egyptian Dashnaks as a 'Communist.'

Now the question is: Why does Mr. Mardikian, wittingly or otherwise identify himself with such a political group as the American Dashnaks? What does he expect to gain from their association? Is he genuinely misinformed? Is he being used as a tool in the hands of the American Dashnak leadership? If so, why does he permit it? Now that Mr. Mardikian is reminded of these facts, will he continue to act as sponsor of ANCHA, and also as a front for Dashnakism in this country?

Through his public relations counsel, an ill-advised but well-meaning New York lady, I made strenuous attempts to reach Mardikian, to inform him personally with these facts, and ask him the above questions. Mardikian refused to see me, his counsel stating that he was 'very busy running around between Washington, Philadelphia, New York and Boston.' Nonetheless, he took time to see the Rev. L. M. Birkhead, chairman of the Friends of Democracy of New York (in whose excellent bulletins the Dashnak record had been exposed). According to the Rev. Birkhead, Mardikian tried to minimize the role of the American Dashnaks.

As for ANCHA, whose purpose is said to be aiding the immigration of 'homeless Armenians,' we make the query as to how effectively it is fulfilling its task. In the interests of our country, it should aid only those Armenians worthy of future American citizenship. The impression I gathered in my investigations at Funkerkaserne was that young DP's were being trained as Dashnak recruits, and, also, that one must either bow to its political whip or be ostracized.

Hairenik declared in its Oct. 5th, 1949 issue that 617 Armenians had already left Stuttgart for the U.S.; 446 were being examined; 181 affidavits-for-support were on their way, so that by the end of 1949 a total of about 1250 will have gained entry into our country.

Mardikian's high-g geared publicity machinery relies heavily on the tear-jerking technique. One story tells of a white-haired, shabby woman of 70' who tottered off the Army transport and knelt on the wooden deck before a plump and moist-eyed man from San Francisco. Then she kissed his [Mardikian's] hand and touched his clothing. She wept and George Mardikian wept. Whether the incident was real, or the figment of a journalist's imagination, is a matter of speculation. At any rate, after he stopped weeping, Mr. Mardikian is quoted as saying: 'They cry and they call me their savior. I am not that. I am only a very stubborn man.' On Nov. 27th, 1949, I attended an ANCHA meeting in New York, sponsored by American Dashnaks, at which Mardikian was the featured speaker. The audience was

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conspicuously Dashnak. I recognized many of those whom I knew either to be members of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation here, or closely allied to the American Dashnak cause. There was the Armenian lawyer who had defended American Dashnaks, and served as counsel for Fritz Kuhn. Later on, he addressed the meeting. Sitting in the front row was Levon Keshishian. As Mardikian took the rostrum, the audience rose to its feet in loud applause.



Mardikian in front of his restaurant, George Mardikyan's Omar Khayyam. According to Vartkes Yeghian, assassin of Talat Pasha Soghomon Tehlirian worked for 'George Mardikian Enterprises' in later years.

'I promised my wife not to cry in public, but I can't help it,' he said, and, to everyone's astonishment, he began to cry, instantly and without effort. There was no apparent reason. Nothing to stimulate anyone's tear ducts had occurred so far in the meeting. A short while later, he wept again when recalling, he said, his first visit to the DPs in 1947. My notes show that George wept some more as he told how he had tried to elicit support on their behalf. Looking around carefully every few minutes, I saw no one else weeping. To me, at least, these constant emotional reactions in front of 600 sober and unresponsive listeners seemed out of place. Was it a case of hysteria, emotional exhaustion, and emotional instability? Was it lack of self-control, or showmanship! I could not resolve the question at one sitting.

At 6:15 pm., according to my notes, Mardikian's eyes became wet again — when he called DPs from Germany to line up before the stage. This time several females, no others, joined him. As the former DPs lined up, recognized those I had seen at Stuttgart and Frankfurt. Mugurdich Mosigian, chief of Homenetmen, Dashnak 'Boy Scouts,' was among the arrivals. I jotted down Mardikian's more significant remarks. 'This is a purely humanitarian project,' he said. 'There's nothing political about it. Our critics say that these people are General Dro's soldiers, or that they are Dashnaks. Don't let them fool you...' But don't be surprised when, after they have been settled in the U.S., they turn Dashnak of their own accord'. This seemed to be a self-damning admission from one who claimed that only humanitarianism — and no politics — were involved in bringing over the DPs. It bears out our thesis that these DPs are being recruited to the American Dashnak cause. Before taking his seat, Mardikian explained, even as the publicity stories had pointed out, that he was a sick man, a very sick man, who really needed an urgent operation. He was going to let it wait. Mardikian then told his listeners that he carried medicine with him, including sedatives. During the three ours I saw him on the platform Mardikian moved around vigorously. When I saw him, Mardikian was finishing a killing six-week grind which had required his attendance at mass rallies and committee sessions lasting till midnight, in addition to numerous cocktail parties, dinners, radio appearances, interviews, and almost daily trips away from his New York headquarters.

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it was hardly the diet for a man in need of an urgent operation, as the publicity stories would have us believe.



ANCA: Dashnak tool?

Souren Saroyan, Mardikian's personal attorney, spoke in English. Describing himself and his client as 'the moving spirits' behind ANCHA, he said that it had been incorporated in Fresno. It had been launched with a 'gift of \$25,000 from the Armenian Relief Society.' Mr. Saroyan significantly neglected to add that the Society is an American Dashnak group. 'I'll let you in on a secret,' he went on. 'The law allows only 205,000 DPs. There are 250,000 affidavits already in Europe. But if we work fast enough and get our own affidavits in now, we can bring the 1,100 Armenian DPs. I won't tell you how we're going to do it, but I promise you that we can do it if we work fast enough. We have friends in important places.'...Was this lawyer boasting, or telling the truth? I have no way of ascertaining. I'm merely reporting his statements. What mysterious 'pull,' if any, as hinted by him, is wielded by ANCHA among officials in New York, Washington, and Stuttgart. Is such alleged 'pull' being used to the detriment of other deserving DPs for whom affidavits-for-support have already been filed? Saroyan also spoke of 'banquets in Washington.' To whom were these banquets tendered? For what purpose? Are the rights of destitute DPs in Europe — whose representatives here cannot afford 'banquets in Washington' — being fully protected under the Displaced Persons Act of 1948. If anything undercover is going on, we have a right to know. These are reasonable questions.' I'll let you in on another secret,' Mardikian's lawyer confided. 'After we bring the 1,100 DPs, we're going to try to establish a separate Armenian quota, a special quota for the Armenians who must now depend on the meager quotas of foreign governments.'

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|---|--------|
| - AYF (Dashnak Youth Group – originally Racial Patriots) | \$ 100 |
| - Armenian Red Cross (American Dashnak charitable organization) | \$ 100 |
| - Armenian Red Cross, Washington Heights Branch, New York | \$ 100 |
| - St. Illuminator's Church Trustees (Dashnak Church East 27 th Street) | \$ 100 |

This seemed to be a change which would permit the unlimited importation of Dashnaks not covered under the DP status - such, for example, as the pro-Nazi Armenian Dashnaks who lived in Germany during the Nazi regime, or other Dashnak collaborators in Greece, France and elsewhere who, while not homeless, would serve Dashnaktzoutune

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better through American citizenship. General Dro Ganayan could be included in this scheme. Vahan Papazian, his colleague in Beirut, former member-at-large of the Naziesque Council, could be another candidate...My suspicions were confirmed in the Dec. 8th, 1949, issue of Hairenik Weekly which tells of a Mardikian and Saroyan visit to the U.N.. In an interview, Mardikian is quoted as stating that after the completion of ANCHA's work 'they will tackle the problem of Homeless and Stateless Armenians in Eastern Europe and Near East countries.' Speaking of Mardikian as 'a good friend of the Arabs' the Arab-born columnist, Levon Keshishian notes in the same issue: *'The U.N. is setting up a High Commissioner for Refugees and Stateless persons. I am glad to say that the ANCHA boys are taking a keen interest in this... It is no hidden fact that there are thousands of Armenians who are still stateless... They are now living in different parts of the world and are still categorized as 'Stateless' not to mention the thousands of Armenian refugees now in Syria, Lebanon and Egypt from Palestine.'*

After Saroyan and Mardikian had finished speaking at the New York ANCHA meeting, a drive for affidavits-for-support and finances began. I record a few of the contributors in further support of my thesis that ANCHA is subsidized considerably by American Dashnak capital, and best serves the Dashnak cause in this country. The following contributions were announced: *(Note similarity with Chapter 30, Christmas donation tariff and other calls!)*

While the collections were going on, the chairman boasted of new arrivals. 'Up to now we have settled more than 1,200 DPs in the the U.S. Last week 146 Armenians arrived in one boat, think of it! There remain only 1,100 more.'

No charge is made that all ANCHA-sponsored DPs are Dashnaks, or their novitiates. It seems to us that only a thorough investigation can determine that. It should be started immediately. In the interests of America, the investigation should disclose how many of these European Dashnak Party members, or Dashnak-trained recruits are. It should ascertain whether officers of the Naziesque Armenian National Council are among them. If not, are they scheduled to arrive? It should establish whether non-Dashnaks among the DPs were compelled, under duress, to pledge themselves to the Dashnakist cause on their arrival here. It should determine beyond a doubt whether ANCHA-sponsored DPs are arriving as the victims of political persecution, or are recruits to a political cause whose members are still languishing in jail for terrorism, and whose journals, in the past, printed avowed pro-Nazi statements and, within the past year, have sponsored General Dro Ganayan. It should be noted at this point that while our intelligence officers abroad screen these DPs, no safeguard is provided against the indoctrination of Dashnak ideology. It's insidious, and difficult to detect by untrained American officers. Expert non-Dashnak Armenian counsel should be called to aid in the task of investigation. An investigation should reveal whether ANCHA immigrants are 'desirable' or 'undesirable' from an American point of view. Such an investigation should be undertaken irrespective of Brig.-Gen.

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Shekerjian's reputation as an honest, though politically naive, Army officer retired from active service. Investigators should differentiate between George Mardikian's charming manner, generosity as host, and ability as restaurateur, and his imprudent political judgments. Recall, for example, how a political blind spot once tainted the judgment of an even better-known American, Charles A. Lindbergh. Lindbergh's membership in, and sponsorship of meetings of the American First Committee, exalted the Committee much as Mardikian's name exalts the American Dashnaks and Dashnak-supported ANCHA... *The fame of a restaurateur should not be used as a blind for a political cause, nor should it be permitted to serve questionable ends...* At a time when our country is threatened by enemies from without, the quality of immigration should be a matter of the gravest national concern. This is no time for the indiscriminate importation either of proven Communists or, in this instance, of rabid agitators of the ilk of Abeghian, Baghdasarian and similar Dashnaks. Humane intentions, though conceived by men of good repute, should serve as no excuse for the importation of potential troublemakers, and former Nazi or Communist collaborators. Our country was founded upon the integrity of honest immigrants who came dedicated to a new idea. Political charlatans with a lifetime of revolutionary dogma and political chicanery behind them corrupt the national fabric. They are incapable, organically and intellectually, of contributing to the up building of our nation. They should be rejected as unfit for citizenship. The primary object of an investigation should be to determine whether ANCHA-sponsored immigrants in the long run will help our country — or hurt it." #4

"Rumor has it that these celebrations are just a cover for ex-Nazis, who congregate here from as far as Egypt and Argentina. German community leaders dismiss these allegations as cheap slander. Nevertheless, copiously illustrated investigative articles have already been published in a number of newspapers and magazines in Canada and the U.S. Aroused to indignation, some of the townsmen, among them survivors of Buchenwald and Auschwitz, wrote outraged letters to the local paper, demanding *Octoberfest* and related atrocities banned. The mayor however, put an end to that nonsense once and for all when he declared that *Octoberfest* was good for business. Business is our business and anything that's good for business is good." #5

Readers are advised to watch two videos: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D5gdV-06lik> of *NaziArmenian* and <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=93TvR2VF20> *Jewish Genocide of Armenians* on antisemitism!

The Dashnaks, as it may be noted, have demonstrated unbelievable zigzags in their policies and practices, some very hard to understand by logic. One of their very recent paradoxes is their charge on the American Jewish institutions, whilst on the other hand they seek the support of Jewish politicians and important associations such as ADL and others. A very detailed book by Cristopher John Bjerkens, named The Jewish Genocide of Armenian Christians, copyright in 2006 and 2007 can be copied (575 pages)

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from: <http://www.jewishracism.com/JewishGenocide.htm> The book claims that the "Genocidal Young Turks were Zionist Crypto-Jews" that the annihilation of the Christian Armenians were planned by them long ago in Salonica and that the CUP government was their tool. This is a very serious slander against **all Jews**, holding them responsible for what they market as "genocide". Although several references have been given, this are mostly based on theological sources, or readers' letters to newspapers, missing compliance with historical facts, noted and written by several other sources. Even Ambassador Morgenthau, who is the key source behind the Blue Book, Ambassador Morgenthau's Story and The Forty Days of Musa Dagh, is violently attacked for not defending Christian Armenians and using them for his Zionist intentions. The scope of this research does not cover commenting on all the '*nonsense* presented as realities'.

Another link, <http://www.fsumonitor.com/stories/022002Armen.shtml> quotes the following from **UCSJ Union of Councils for Jews in the Former Soviet Union** – News Anti-Semitic Book Printed in Armenia, dt. Feb.20.2002:

<"On Feb.9, 2002 in Yerevan, a book entitled National System by Romen Yepiskoposyan, printed in Armenian and Russian, was presented at the Union of Writers of Armenia, according to Artak Varzhapetyan, head of international relations at the Jewish Community of Armenia. The author of the book identifies Jews and Turks No.1 enemies of Armenians writing that: 'In the contemporary world there are two nations that are carriers of evil of the most concentrated and aggressive type. These are the Jews - the nation destroyer with a mission of destruction and decomposition, and the Turks -the nation- killer with a mission of devastating and crushing.' A section of the book entitled The Greatest Falsification of the 20th Century, denies the Holocaust, claiming that it is a myth created by Zionists to discredit Aryans. The greatest falsification in human history is the myth of Holocaust ...no one was killed in gas chambers. There was no gas chambers"... The president of the Jewish Community of Armenia -Mrs. Rimma Varzhapetyan- was at the presentation and when she introduced that Jews are to blame for the Armenian genocide of 1915 in Turkey and that they are enemies" >

I hope that the above two paragraphs gives an introduction to how Armenians feel about Jews, with whom they are in search of support for their Genocide myth. Readers can click on above link and get detailed knowledge about Jews and their history in Armenia. Jews now living in Armenia is less than 500.

Further reading about how Turks saved over 10.000 Jews from France during WWII, is available in the article of Prof. Stanford J. Shaw, http://jews-for-allah-org/history-of-love/turkey_and_the_holocaust.htm ! As yet, I have not **seen any evidencing document** about the Jew's or the Ottomans' planning to annihilate Christian Armenians, but we do have plenty of undeniable concrete evidence for their services to the Nazi Army, in rounding up Jews and/or service medals, given by the Armenian Government to honor the memory of the *butcher General "Dro" Drastamat Kanayan*, for chopping Turks in 1915-1922 and Jews during WWII.

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For details, please refer to <http://www.panarmenian.net/news/eng/?nid=13496> .

Chapter 21: References and Footnotes

1. A.A. Lalayan's Editorial, Kaynak Yayinlari, pg.70
2. A.A. Lalayan's Editorial, Kaynak Yayinlari, pg. 52
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4. e- mail: <http://www.tallarmeniantale.com/derounian-dashnak-dominat.htm>
5. Ara Baliozian, *The Horrible Silence*, Maral Press, Pasadena, Ca. pg.26-29

**Chapter 22: WAS 'KATCHAZNOUNI' WRONG OR PROPHETIC
WHEN HE SAID: "DASHNAGTZOUTIUN HAS NOTHING TO DO ANYMORE"**

< If people had read enough of history and/or learned from their ancestors, most calamities could have been avoided! ...> (Anonymous)

Unfortunately, there are not too many Armenian dignitaries who could analyze past events in a realistic manner. The Diaspora press and Dashnak brain washing based on the pretext that 'they are always right and victimized by the villains'. For this reason, the famous manifest of the first Prime Minister of the short-lived republic of Armenia, Mr. Hovhannes Katchaznouni is never mentioned, let alone having even surfaced. This manifest which was read in 1923 by Katchaznouni at the Dashnak Convention in Bucharest was first partially translated into English, edited by John Roy Carlson whose real name was Arthur A. Derounian and published in 1955 in New York by an organization called the Armenian Information Center. The original book which was in Armenian, was translated into Russian and published in Tbilisi in 1927. The Russian edition, this time has been translated into English in full and printed.

Due to the length of the book, this chapter only covers the important excerpts, which hopefully will enlighten the reader since this confession is by the most responsible person, the Prime Minister of the State, in which he admits their faults and advise that the party should dissolve itself... The present situation arises from the fact that this advice was not followed and their activities continue, based on the old 'Turkish antagonism.' How much the new Armenian State will succeed with such illicit gambling tried in the past, remains to be seen.

In the footnotes page, a few clarification notes have been added by the writer, but on the whole Katchaznouni had said it all, confessed their past mistakes and made a prophetic forecast for the future, which has become true today... The Diaspora Armenians and those in Armenia still believe that 'in the near future, they will receive large amounts of money as legal or other compensations, as the little Armenia will expand by annexing new territories from Georgia, Turkey, Azerbaijan (other than what they already grabbed in Karabagh)'. In short by effective propagandist brainwashing (books, articles, symposiums, movies, cultural editions, genocide monuments and political pressures) they can have Turkish Republic so squeezed, that it 'will have to give away, surrender and pay heavy compensations'.

<"It was as clear as day to the Armenians that a Germano-Turkish victory could never satisfy their national aspirations. The most that those nations would have done for us would have been to grant nominal rights to the Armenia of their own choice. But it was very plain to see also that we should not have suffered such frightful human losses had we not sided with the Allies. We consciously chose this last alternative, namely: we tied our fate to the allied victory; we exposed our very existence to danger in order to realize the complete fulfillment of our national ambition, that is, to see the re-establishment of the United Historic Independent Armenia.">

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<"And where is today the Czar of Russia, who planned to occupy Armenia without the Armenians, —the representative of that Empire before which the world trembled.">

Dr. G. Pasdermadjian, *Why Armenia Should Be Free*, Boston, Dec. 1918, Hairenik Publishing Company p.44 & 45

In the meantime, little Armenia has isolated herself from the large projects in the region, like the silk railroad from Anatolia to China, or the oil and gas pipelines... Tiny Armenia thinks that any damage it can inflict on Turkey will be added to her profit... In a world of globalization, worn out dogmas based on racism, nationalism and separatism are doomed to dissolve themselves, parallel to the fast enlightenment and share of information via the Internet, TV and other means. Sooner or later, the truth will prevail; delaying its recognition will delay the progress of her own community stuck in the muck of foolish claims of antagonism. Katchaznoui says it all, and he should have known better than most other Dashnak leaders who do not sacrifice their comfort or wealth in pursuing the present ideology which brought nothing but calamities for a very large majority, while a few got rich, first by selling arms, and later by selling victimization and animosity...

Who is Katchaznoui?

"Hovannes Katchaznoui was the first prime-minister of the Armenian state founded in July, 1918. He was in power as the head of government until August, 1919, for 13 months. He was among the founders of the Dashnakzoutiun Party and one of its top leaders. He was the prime authority of Armenia and the Dashnakzoutiun Party.

He was born in 1867 in the Akhaltsikhe (Ahiska) region of Georgia. Having studied architecture, he worked as an architect in Baku. He joined the Dashnak organization there. He became a member of the Armenian National Council in 1917 and was the Dashnak representative in the SEYM (the Caucasian Parliament) until 1918. He was on the Armenian committee, conducting the peace talks with the Turks in Trabzon and Batoum. After the dissolution of the Caucasian State, he became the first prime-minister of the independent Armenian State in 1918. He held this position until August, 1919. He was arrested after Bolsheviks came to power in Armenia in 1920. He left the country after the counter-revolutionary revolt against the Bolshevik rule was suppressed in 1921. Years later, he returned to the Soviet Armenia to work there as an architect until his death in 1938." #1

"Publication of the Report:

Katchaznoui voices a self-criticism of the past in this conference report. This self-criticism is actually a confession. Katchaznoui honestly and sincerely resolves that the Dashnakzoutiun Party is responsible for the past agonies. He concludes, at the end of the report, that the Dashnakzoutiun Party should dissolve itself and leave the political arena. His last words are significant: 'Yes, I propose suicide, the party should commit suicide,' he says.

Katchaznoui publishes his report very urgently, that same year. The title he uses once more emphasizes his proposal of suicide: 'Dashnakzoutiun Has Nothing to do Anymore'...Katchaznoui omitted some three or four pages concerning his proposals about

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the inner organizational issues of the party when he first published this report as a book. However, he included in the book a letter he wrote to a fellow party member who had criticized his report in his letter...The book published in Armenian was translated into Russian four years later and an edition of only 2000 copies was published in Tbilisi in 1927 as a significant warning or lesson. Russian edition included an introduction in Russian...The English edition of the book was published in 1955 entitled The Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Dashnakzoutiun) Has Nothing To Do Anymore by the 'Armenian Information Service' in New York. However, this was an abridged edition...What is interesting but what seems natural when the contents of the book are taken into consideration, is the fact that this historical report by the first Armenian prime minister was banned in Armenia. It is also a fact that all the copies were collected from European libraries." #2

"The first Prime Minister of the Dashnakzoutiun Government makes the following observations:

- It was a mistake to establish the volunteer units.
- They were unconditionally allied with Russia.
- They had not taken into consideration the balance of power which was in Turkey's favor.
- The decision of the deportation of Armenians was a rightful measure taken by Turks
- Turkey had acted with an instinct of self-defense.
- The British occupation once more aroused the hopes of the Dashnaks.
- What they established in Armenia was a Dashnak dictatorship.
- They had acted in pursuit of the imperialist demand, 'From Sea to Sea' and had been provoked
- They massacred the Moslem population.
- The Armenian terrorist acts were directed, at winning over the Western public opinion.
- The fault was not to be found outside the Dashnakzoutiun Party.
- The Dashnakzoutiun Party had nothing else to do but commit suicide." #3

"I would like to give a few examples. The declaration sent by the Armenian National Bureau to Czar Nicholas II at the very beginning of World War I shows how deeply attached the Dashnak leaders feel towards imperialism:

'As the glorious Russian Armies are fighting against Turkey who, with German support has dared to raise its hand against mighty Russia, on the lands in its own hegemony, in the snowy Armenian mountains and the vast Alashkert valley, the Armenians, taking the advice of their forefathers have risen to sacrifice their lives and their assets to Great Russia and the magnificence of its throne!'

'The good news of war with Turkey has aroused enthusiasm among all the Armenian people. The Armenians from all the countries are in haste to take their place in the glorious Russian armies and to serve the achievement of the Russian arms with their blood. We are praying God to be victorious over the enemy. We owe it to our nation to turn into new Russian arms and to fulfill Russia's historical duty in the East. Our hearts are burning with

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this desire.' ...'The Russian flag will freely flutter in the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. Your will, my magnificent lord, bestow freedom to the peoples under Turkish yoke'." #4

"Zaven, the Armenian Bishop in Istanbul had already declared, before the war started, to the reporter of *Mşak*, the organ of the Armenian nationalist-liberals, that the radical solution of the Armenian question would be the unification of all Armenia, including the Eastern Anatolia of Turkey, under Russian sovereignty with which Armenians' fate was historically linked. The Bishop stated that 'the sooner the Russians arrive here, the better for us.' Another Dashnak document which supports the content of this letter in the Czarist Russian archives, is in the personal archives of Borian, a politician and historian. The document which comprises the speech made by the military representative of the Dashnakzoution Party in the All Armenia National Congress convened in Tbilisi in February, 1915 is significant:' " #5

Dashnak publications are full of documents admitting that they created anarchy on the front and behind the lines and fought as the striking force of the Russian armies. *Orizon*, the organ of Dashnakzoutiun reads as follows in its 196th issue from 1912:

'The Turkish state authorities and those in power should know that from now on, neither a Turk nor the Turkish state has any value for an Armenian whatsoever. Let them think of other means to protect their existence.'. Again in the Oct. 31st, 1914 issue of *Orizon*, it is claimed that the victory of the Czarist Russia will also be the victory of Armenians while Armenians are called to actively participate in the war... Another organ of the Dashnaks, *Ayrenik*, on Sept. 24, 1914, states the following, concerning Nikolai Nikolaievich, the Caucasian Governor of Czarist Russia, who has just arrived in Tbilisi: Yesterday, His Excellency the Royal Prince Nikolai Nikolaievich, the deputy of the Czar in Caucasia arrived in Tbilisi. We trust that the Royal Prince will put an end to the existence of the Turkish State forever. With this conviction, we salute the dear 6th Commander-in-Chief of the Russian Army in Caucasia and welcome him'. " #6*

"In the dinner party following the march of the volunteer unit, commanded by Vardan, on April 15th, 1915, in Echmiadzin, the first toast was proposed to glorious Russia and its heroic army. All Armenian Catholicos, after having sung ceremonial prayers, declared the gratitude of the Armenian people to the Russian armies and their readiness to emancipate the Armenian lands from the hegemony of foreigners, together with Russia.

'Similarly, Georg V, (the all Armenian Catholicos), after the occupation of Van, states in the congratulatory telegrams he sent to Vorontsov, the Caucasian Governor of Russia and to P.I. Oganovsky, the Commander of the 4th Caucasian Army that he is praying for new victories of the Russian armies... Hatisian, one of the important leaders of Dashnaksutun, in his memoirs published in the 5th issue of *Ayrenik* in 1933, states that 'with the defeat of the Russian Army, all our hopes pinned on this army were exhausted' and declares his position in World War I. " #7

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" Fighting Against Turkey in the service of the British and French Armies;

'Following the collapse of the Czarist Russia, Dashnaks went under the control of the Western imperialists and fought against Turkey for the regional interests of Britain, France and U.S. ... Katchaznuni, as the Prime-Minister of the Dashnak Government, on February, 1919, in a meeting with General F. Wocker, the commander of the occupational British forces, stated that he was sure the conditions of Armenians would improve with the victories of the Allies and with their movement into Caucasia. The report on this meeting is in the archives of the Interior Ministry of Armenia.

Similarly, another document in the Armenian State Archives relates that the Armenians in Adana were armed by the French occupational forces under the command of General Diffe, and were organized in 'revenge units' and fought in French uniforms... Obeying British and French imperialism resulted in a commitment in Greek invasion. The Foreign Minister of the Dashnak Government states, in the telegram he sent to his representative in Tbilisi: ... 'The situation on the front is very grave. It is essential that you see Luck and Corbeille and have them send telegrams to their governments informing them of how the Turkish troops are advancing, and demand that they take all the necessary precautions (...) See the Greek representative too and demand that he too send a telegram to his government to inform them of the situation and to ask them if it is possible for the Greek forces to start an assault and break the strength of the Turkish forces'." #8

"Armenian Cruelty in Dashnak Reports;

'The Armenian documents are also full of stories of massacre by the Dashnaks under the command of the Czarist Russia and Western Imperialism...In the letter of directive sent by Nikolaev, the commander of the Van military units, to Aram, who became the Governor of Van following the occupation of the city, on June 22nd, 1915, the troops are ordered to attack the Kurdish population in the area and ransack the villages! However, Aram, in his protesting reply states that the directives will not be carried out but as a warning to the Moslems in the areas not yet occupied, the guilty will be punished most gravely...On the other hand, in the urgent report dated Nov. 7th, 1918 sent by Lieutenant Colonel Melik-Shahnazarov, the commander of the Dashnak Bash-Gyarninsk unit, he informs another Armenian division that they have bombed all the villages in the area, captured 30 Turkish villages and that they demand permission for an operation to bomb the remaining 29 villages. This Dashnak unit, which gets the permission from the Headquarters lays waste tens of Azerbaijani villages in the Bash-Gyarninsk region, kills hundreds of people young and old, consisting of men, women and children and ransacks their belongings. The report by the Dashnak Lieutenant Colonel is kept in the Armenian State Archives.' " #9*

"We come across the evidence of another instance of plunder in the 105th issue of 1920 of *Jogovurd*. The writer named G. Muradian recounts from the Azeri villages of the North bank of Lake Gorchy his impressions of the Dashnak policy of plunder, with

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admiration: ...'As a result of the work carried out by our government, the population of these villages have been expelled outside the borders of Armenia. I have seen abandoned villages with only a few cats and dogs that were meowing or barking strangely with surprise at the death silence. The population of these villages has left behind a considerable amount of potatoes, wheat and barley and seeds. The government can collect from these villages, over two million puds of wheat and 500,000 puds of potatoes." #10

"Dashnak Torture on Armenian Peasants:

Dashnak describes also document how Armenian peasants suffered under the unbelievable torture and cruelty of the Armenian Government itself. For example, it was reflected in the documents how the Dashnak Government Commissar, V. Agamian punished people and had them shot without trying them or carrying out an investigation on them, in order to prevent escapes from the army. Agamian gathered the wives, mothers and sisters of the people charged with deserting the army and stripped them naked and forced them to duck-walk in the village square. The Dashnak official then beat the naked women and kept them in water for hours. Agamian, who later ordered the women to be arrested, raped the young girls and women during the night. Agamian stayed in office for a long time without ever been punished. The Dashnak Government called him back, only when they learned from a peasant named M. Azaparetov that the peasants were going to attempt at assassinating Agamian... A one time member of the Dashnak Government, Jagetian, in his article published in Iran, makes the following statements concerning the Dashnak rule which he ...was a part of: ...The government armies, the pseudo-volunteer units (humbas), plundered the villages around the town of Ichevan (Delican) and raped the women. The volunteer execution team put peasants in such a state that the 'humbapeta' (the head of the team), 'Arch-Mard' (the bear-man) surrounded the village with 50 volunteers and pulled it down. Almost 1,000 Armenian peasants were pushed to Azerbaijan territory.'" #11*

"Jagetian says that no official was punished for special treatment of friends and relatives and ads:

'The Armenian Interior Ministry had become the shelter for all the criminals. The Minister Krmonian himself embezzled 50 million rubles from the state treasury one day before he left office.'... Years later, another representative of the Dashnaks, the publisher Chalhushian calls the government police 'plunder troops' and tells how it became impossible to walk unarmed in the centre of the Armenian capital after sunset... In fact, the system of Armenian volunteer units called 'humbapeta' systemized anarchy and plunder in Armenia and the neighboring countries. The following song sung all together is actually a musical confession so far as it reflects the psychology of the volunteer units: '*Come, pull down, pillage, kill and lay your jacket on your shoulder, walk about freely!*' These circumstances gave rise to a situation where everyone who so wished founded a volunteer unit and turned these units into criminal organizations. The directive given out by the 'humbapeta' (head) named Deli-Qazar expresses this situation very well: 'Announcement to the Armenians of

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the Yerevan region and the town of Yerevan: I am going to the front today with the boys. If some people, after I have left, introduce themselves as Deli-Qazar's boys misusing my name as a blackmailer, they will be punished severely by the nation and the military authority.'" #12*

"By 1918, The Dashnak Government had recruited all its citizens below 35 to the army and had reestablished 'volunteer' units for the war to be fought against Turkey. In their publications, they made announcements threatening those who would go against this decision with death and proclaimed that 'those who were wise' would not act against them. The issue dated March 1, 1918 of the Dashnak organ, *Arev* contains such information. In another document kept in the Armenian State Archives, it is stated that special troops have been dispatched to punish the villages of Berd, Verhniy, Karmir, Ahbyur and the Shamshadinsk region...The Dashnak organ, *Martik*, published in Gumru states that two cannons, one machine gun and a team of soldiers will be dispatched to the villages of those who have not participated in the military mobilization and that those who resist will be bombarded. The Dashnak authority had even formed troops named 'Terror Organ', in order to fight the deserters and posted such announcements on the village walls:' To all the deserters and the Armenian people: On the night of March 1st, somebody stealing a horse and two others deserting the regiment betrayed our country and the Armenian people and the three Armenian soldiers were executed by shooting. All the deserters should report to their troops and do their military service before it is too late. Otherwise, they will be punished in the same way. Death to the traitors who will give Turks the opportunity of raiding Shiraq (Sirak). 'Terror Organ'.

Gumru, March 2nd, 1918' *Jogavurd*, one of the organs of the Armenian ruling powers states in its issue of June 29th, 1920 that the Dashnak Government blocked the flow of the river Zhangi (Zangi) and cut their water supplies to punish the resisting peasants in the region. As a result of this punishment many people died and the crops were ruined." #13*

"Armenian Peasants Enthusiastically Greeting Turkish Army;

The Dashnaks acting violently against the Turks and Kurds and massacring them caused antipathy also among the Armenian people. Moreover, some Armenian documents show the warm feelings displayed by Armenian peasants towards the Turkish Army. The report written by an Armenian officer sent from the town of Echmiadzin to the villages of Gumru, in search of the Armenian soldiers who had deserted the army is striking. The commander, on the information he received from the report, reports to the Headquarters, on Oct. 14, 1920, that:

'The Armenians in the Gumru region showed a hostile attitude towards the Dashnak officer and even attempted to turn him in to the Turks a few times. The people in many villages seem averse and hostile towards the military. In the villages of Ilhiab and Kapanak red flags have been put up. My officer has come across a Turkish cavalry guard accompanied by horsemen from the Selchan (Selçan) Armenians. The Turks were

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welcomed with bread and salt. Peasant women cooked dishes in cauldrons. When my officer asked them whom they were cooking the dishes for, they answered: 'Certainly not for you, they are for the Turks.' The reception by the Armenian people themselves, of the Turkish Army, accused of genocide today, in this warm manner, gives an idea about how authentic the accusation is... It is interesting that Dashnaks themselves advocated a pro-Turkish stand when the Soviet rule was established in Armenia, to be able to maintain their existence. Dashnaks, who had displayed hostility towards communism for a long time and had suppressed the progressive people among Armenians, fighting against imperialism now started to defend alliance with Turkey as a way out. This fact too disproves the claims that Turkey practiced genocide on Armenians. In the article published in the Dashnak newspaper, *Arach*, on Oct. 20, 1920, entitled 'The Question of Armistice and Our Direction', it is stated that 'if the Armenian people wish to maintain their existence, they are to adopt an inclination towards Turkey, not Russia'.

This preference is explained also in *Ayrenik*, the organ of the Armenians in the U.S. Here, they even speak about how they caused wars by making too many demands on the Ottoman authorities in both the Abdulhamid and the CUP periods and how the Armenians are responsible for the killings.' "#14*

"The Invaluable Katchaznoui Report and other Armenian Documents;

There have been endless allusions to 'documents' in the discussions concerning the facts of World War I, from the point of view of Turkish-Armenian relations. It is as if everybody is in search of a 'magic document' to prove or disprove the 'Armenian Genocide'. It is quite absurd to attempt at proving or disproving a historical fact such as genocide with one or two documents. However, if the public opinion and the academia are in need of valuable documents, the Katchaznoui Report is matchless in this respect, for the author is the first prime minister of Armenia; not of Turkey. And he encountered the incidents termed as genocide when he was the prime authority in the Dashnaksutiun Party and the Armenian Government...He evaluated the events calmly and conscientiously not during but after the war, after it was over... The person who wrote the report was the leader of one of the parties at war, in fact, of the party which is claimed to have suffered genocide...The Prime-Minister of Armenians, who are claimed to have suffered genocide, evaluates the incidents as events of war and what is more, sincerely admits that they have been manipulated by the imperialists." #15

" 'TO THE READER:

This is a manifesto, which I am preparing to the Convention of foreign branches of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation convened during this month of April 1923.

Deeply convinced that all the questions raised here will be subjected to the most serious consideration of not only the members of the Party but also of every single Armenian, I thought it was my duty to have this manifesto published and thereby make it public property.

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I am having it printed complete and without any alterations except the final three or four pages which contain concrete proposals that are reserved to the governing bodies of the Party. (Signed) HOVHANNES KATCHAZNOUNI Bucharest, July, 1923 ' " #16

"Let me now proceed with my subject.

In order to present my conclusions in proper sequence I feel it is necessary for me to refresh your memory with the various phases of the Armenian Cause - from the Great War to the Lausanne Conference - and the role played by the Dashnaktzoutiun during that period. So that I may not abuse your attention, I shall curtail my speech and present to you a concise yet accurate commentary... Following 1914, what stages did the Armenian question pass through, what development did the events show, how did they come about, what sequence did they follow and where did they lead to and in the meantime, what did our party do and what will it have to do in the future?

1- At the beginning of the Fall of 1914 when Turkey had not yet entered the war but had already been making preparations, Armenian revolutionary bands began to be formed in Transcaucasia with great enthusiasm and, especially, with much uproar. Contrary to the decision taken during their general meeting at Erzurum only a few weeks before, the A.R.F. had active participation in the formation of the bands and their future military action against Turkey...The same characteristic line of action appears, as we see a little later, in the conduct we pursued afterwards generally...It would be useless to argue today whether our bands of volunteers should have entered the field or not. Historical events have their irrefutable logic. In the fall of 1914 Armenian volunteer units organized themselves and fought against the Turks because they could not refrain themselves from organizing and from fighting. This was an inevitable result of a psychology on which the Armenian people had nourished itself during an entire generation: that mentality should have found its expression, and did so." #17*

(A.R.F. = Armenian Revolutionary Federation)

"And it was not the A.R.F. that would stop the movement even if it wished to do so. It was able to utilize the existing conditions, give effect and issue to the accumulated desires, hopes and frenzy, organize the ready forces - it had that much ability and authority. But to go against the current and push forward its own plan - it was unfit, especially unfit for one particular reason: the A.R.F. is a people's mass, strong in instinct but weak in comprehension.

It is also useless, today, to question who is responsible for the wrongs (if the issue of responsibility does ever come up). If it had not been Bishop Mesrop, A. Hatisov, Dr. Zhavriev, S. Arutnirov, Dro and Andranic, there would have been others to do the same things in their place. If the formation of bands was wrong, the root of that error must be sought much further and more deeply. At the present time, it is important to register only the evidence that we did participate in that volunteer movement to the largest extent and we did that contrary to the decision and the will of the General Meeting of the Party.

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2- The winter of 1914 and the spring of 1915 were the periods of greatest enthusiasm and hope for all the Armenians in the Caucasus, including, of course, the Dashnaktzoutiun. We had no doubt that the war would end with the complete victory of the Allies; Turkey would be defeated and dismembered, and its Armenian population would at last be liberated... We had embraced Russia whole-heartedly without any compunction. Without any positive basis of fact, we believed that the Tzarist government would grant us a more-or-less broad self-government in the Caucasus and in the Armenian provinces liberated from Turkey as a reward for our loyalty, efforts and assistance. We had created a dense atmosphere of illusion in our minds. We had implanted our own desires into the minds of others; we had lost our sense of reality and were carried away with our dreams. From mouth to mouth, from ear to ear passed mysterious words purported to have been spoken in the palace of the Viceroy; attention was called to some kind of a letter by Vorontzov-Dashkov to the Catholicos, as an important document in our hands to use in the presentation of our rights and claims -a cleverly composed letter with very indefinite sentences and generalities, which might be interpreted in any manner, according to one's desire!...We overestimated the ability of the Armenian people, its political and military power, and overestimated the extent and importance of the services our people rendered to the Russians. And by overestimating our very modest worth and merit we were naturally exaggerating our hopes and expectations!

3- The deportations and mass exiles and massacres which took place during the Summer and Autumn of 1915 were mortal blows to the Armenian Cause. Half of historical Armenia -the same half where the foundations of our independence would be laid according to the traditions inherited by European diplomacy -that half was denuded of Armenians: the Armenian provinces of Turkey were without Armenians. The Turks knew what they were doing and have no reason to regret today. It was the most decisive method of extirpating the Armenian Question from Turkey.

Again, it would be useless to ask today to what extent the participation of volunteers in the war was a contributory cause of the Armenian calamity. No one can claim that the savage persecutions would not have taken place, if our behavior on this side of the frontier was different, as not one can claim the contrary, that the persecutions would have been the same, even if we had not shown hostility to the Turks!...This is a matter about which it is possible to have many different opinions!... The proof is, however - and this is essential - that the struggle began decades ago against which the Turkish Government brought about the deportation or extermination of the Armenian people in Turkey and the desolation of Turkish Armenia...This was the terrible fact! ...Civilized humanity might very well be shaken with rage in the face of this unspeakable crime. Statesmen might utter menacing words against criminal Turkey. 'Blue', 'yellow', 'orange' books and papers might be published condemning them. Clergymen of all denominations might invoke divine punishment against the criminals in churches. The press of all countries might be filled with horrible descriptions

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and details and the testimony of eyewitnesses... Let them say this or that, but the work was already done and words would not revive the corpses fallen in the Arabian deserts, rebuild the ruined hearths; repopulate the country now become desolate. The Turks knew what they ought to do and did it." #18*

"4- The second half of 1915 and the entire year of 1916 were periods of hopelessness, desperation and mourning for us. The refugees, all those who had survived the holocaust, were filling Russian provinces by tens and hundreds of thousands. They were famished, naked, sick, horrified and desperate floods of humanity, flooding our villages and cities. They had come to a country, which was itself ruined and famished. They piled upon each other, before our own eyes, on our threshold dying of famine and sickness... In addition, we were unable to save those precious lives. Angered and terrified, we sought the culprits and quickly found them the deceitful politics of the Russian Government. With the politically immature mind peculiar to inconsequential men, we fell from one extreme to another. Just as unfounded was our faith in the Russian Government yesterday, our condemnation of them today was equally blind and groundless...It was claimed that the Russians were intentionally slow to act, showed uncertainty and provided the grounds and the means for the Turks to slaughter the local Armenians. It was professed that the reason behind this attitude on the part of the Russians, was to vacate Armenia and later settle the Cossacks there, and that Count Lobanov-Rostovsky's widely known project 'Armenia without Armenians' was in progress!...It was not only people, but our party and many of our citizens with common sense who also shared this idea...We were reluctant to understand that there did not have to be such a project as 'Armenia without Armenians' to explain the Russian stand, and that the Russian plans did not necessarily have to involve such an item as unconditionally taking on the defense of the Turkish Armenians. Such a plan definitely did not exist. We were only projecting our own wishes on the Russian Government and accusing them of disloyalty...Our volunteer units were naturally trying to capture Van and Mush without any waste of time. They headed for these places to save the Armenians. However, Russians did not only consist of Armenians and they had other intentions. Their sluggishness and uncertainty to act which we evaluated as disloyalty is explainable by the customary ineffectiveness of the Russian command (which was witnessed many times on other fronts as well) or other general military conditions unknown to us now...This incident being very much original and interesting, demands to be taken up individually. By an extraordinary mental aberration, we, a political party, were forgetting that our Cause was an incidental and trivial phase for the Russians, so trivial that if necessary, they would trample on our corpses without a moment's hesitation. I am not saying that we did not know the circumstances. Of course we knew and understood and so we started when it was necessary to explain the situation. Deep down in our hearts, however, we did not grasp the full meaning of that word-formula; we forgot what we already knew and we drew such conclusions as though our Cause was the center of gravity of the Great War, its cause and its purpose. When the Russians were advancing, we used to say from the depths of our

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subconscious minds that they were coming to save us; and when they were withdrawing, we said they are retreating so that they allow us to be massacred...In both cases we misinterpreted the consequence with the purpose and intention. We sought proofs of Russian treachery and of course, we found them - exactly as we sought and found proofs of the same Russians- undeniable benevolence six months before. To complain bitterly about our bad luck, and to seek external causes for our misfortune, that is one of the main aspects of our national psychology from which, of course, the Dashnaktzoutiun is not free; One might think we found a spiritual consolation in the conviction that the Russians behaved villainously towards us, (later it would be the turn of the French, the Americans, the British, the Georgians, Bolsheviks -the whole world- to be so blamed)! One might think that, because we were so naive and so lacking in foresight, we placed ourselves in such a position and considered it a great virtue to let anyone who so desired to betray us, massacre us and let others massacre us." #19*

"5 - In February, 1917 the Russian Revolution broke out. New possibilities opened up before us unexpectedly. A democratic order was under way in Russia. Extremely important social issues (such as appropriating the lands into public ownership) were waiting to be solved. We, the socialists and democrats, welcomed this new order with enthusiasm. Also, as a national political party, we concentrated on the issues of taking over the administrative power from the central authority and the autonomy of individual regions and peoples." #20

"Secondly, there were people more or less experienced in state affairs, among the Georgians. These people had acquired some habits and experience due to active participation in the work done in the Duma. Neither we, nor those from the Musavat, however, had been through such a school and were not prepared. Musavat was new and Dashnaktzoutiun was in fact only prepared for underground activity. Doubtlessly, the qualities of the party leaders were also important to a certain extent. The Georgians had bred a few capable people or social leaders; we had nobody to sit next to them and we used to sit behind them in the second or third rows." #21*

"The geographical location of the Georgian people and the fact that they inhabited the same area together, that they suffered fewer losses in the War, and also that they bred no mutual antagonism (serious enough to be a threat to their national existence) against their neighbors, made them luckier in being able to be heard, in comparison to the Armenians and the Azeris! No matter what, the Georgians could be on better terms with Turkey and Azerbaijan, compared to the Armenians. What was more, a Georgian population outside the borders of Georgia, whose lives were under threat did not exist. However, Armenians had kinds living in Azerbaijan and so did Azeris, living in Armenia. The Georgians were living in peace and quiet on their own land; although they did have certain border problems with their neighbors, these arose from imperialist claims and could easily be increased or completely solved, without putting the present or the future of Georgia

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under threat...On the other hand, the relations between Armenians and Turks and Armenians and Tatars were different. Between them, there had been problems going on for centuries and it was impossible to solve them without major conflicts. Turkey, unconditionally defeated on the west, was trying to open up a future for it and consolidate it on the northeast. And here the Armenians interjected between Erzurum and Baku and blocked their way...Insoluble land problems stood between Armenians and Azeris. The problem was not occupying one or two towns but having the national population inhabit an unbroken, continuous geography. This wish was fostered both by the Armenians and the Azeris. Armenia could not survive without Şarur-Nakhichevan and the importance of Nakhichevan for Armenia was different from the significance of Zaqatala, Akhalkalaki and Lori for Georgia. This was why both Armenia and Azerbaijan were unlucky... It was perhaps possible for politically mature peoples to find peaceful solutions. However, neither the Azeris nor we were mature enough; for this reason, the conflict between the two peoples had mutually become a source of antagonism and distrust... The Georgians used the Armenian-Turkish and Armenian-Tatar conflicts cleverly (in other, stronger words, opportunistically), in order to consolidate their privileged situation. Relying on Turks and Tatars and threatening that way, or us with moving the borders in this they complicated matters for us and forced us to accept their conditions. Whenever they needed to ally with us, they started threatening the Azeris. This kind of behavior was politically an absolute blackmail and it provided superiority for the Georgians over their neighbors and established their hegemony over others." #22*

"The Armenian Revolutionary Federation Dashnaktzoutiun had formed close relations with the local Bolsheviks and was assisting them, in case the Tatars would capture Baku. In Tbilisi, on the other hand, they could not close their eyes to the reality of the Georgians and Tatars and so could not put in practice Bolshevik policies. They would not have been able to do so even if they had wanted. Anyway, they had no desire to do so, because the Bolshevik ideology and tactics did not appeal to them...Our Party stood in the anti-Bolshevik camp partly due to certain convictions within the Party and partly because of being under the pressure of outside factors.

10- I have to remind you here of the neutral and reluctant stand our comrades took in Baku. Baku, the industrial city that bore a proletariat of tens of thousands and strong workers' organizations offered very favorable conditions for the development of Bolshevism. That city had been the only region where the Bolsheviks could find a reliable sanctuary and a sound support in the whole Southern Caucasia since the first days of the Revolution. Baku did not refuse, in form, the sovereignty of the Southern Caucasian Commissariat even after the October Revolution. In reality, however, the power was in the hands of two local organs: the Social Organizations Soviet and the Workers' Representatives Soviet." #23*

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"Only two parties, Dashnaktzoutiun and Musavat could demonstrate any strength against the Bolsheviks. However, though these two parties needed to act in alliance if they wanted to accomplish anything in the struggle against Bolshevism, this was unimaginable, for there was no mutual trust. Dashnaktzoutiun was aware that its support for Musavat was required only because of the Bolshevik threat. Musavat had to erase Dashnaktzoutiun from the political scene, after having eliminated the Bolsheviks. No doubt, the Bolsheviks would do the same to Dashnaktzoutiun after having destroyed the Musavat with the help of armed Dashnak troops. For the Armenian community, the Bolshevik dictatorship was more acceptable in comparison to the Musavat dictatorship." #24

"Just as we unintentionally came under the domination of the Georgian Mensheviks in Tbilisi, we were under the influence of the Bolsheviks in Baku. In both cases, the motivating force was the Turkish-Tatar threat. Bolsheviks wiped out Musavat in Baku with our support (March, 1918); we, on the other hand were able to protect Baku against the Turkish-Tatar assault with the help of the Russian elements among the Bolsheviks...Later, again with our initiative, British forces were invited over from Iran. This happened in the last moments when the Bolsheviks were getting ready to escape to Russia and had got on the ships...If the British had been able to settle down firmly in Baku, the outcome of the events would probably have been different. However, the few numbers of the British troops did not promote trust among the people and they got on their ships and went back to Iran...We were left alone; we did nothing else besides following the British to Iran...The Azeri government based in Gāncā so far, entered Baku with the Turkish armed forces and the armed people. The Armenian people were started to be cruelly massacred; just as the Moslem people were massacred (on a smaller scale) in March during the Bolshevik-Musavat conflict...

These incidents were happening outside Armenia, in one of the Tatar regions; nevertheless they were reflected on our political scene and confused the situation and made it more difficult...The Tatars continually provoked the Turks against us and speeded up their assault, in order to be able to enter Baku. With this intention, they were very cunningly speculating about the March incidents and were putting the blame of the incidents entirely on the Armenians. The Georgians were displeased with our association with the Bolsheviks; they had doubts about us, thinking we were seeking for an opportunity to open the doors of Southern Caucasian to the Russian Bolsheviks. Apart from this, they interpreted having the British forces over in Baku when the Germans which they were flirting with, were in Tbilisi as a betrayal of the Georgian-German-Turkish-Tatar policies." #25*

"11- At the end of November, 1917 the Russian Army started to get demoralized and the soldiers started to abandon their troops on the Caucasian front. The front was being destroyed, in an astonishing speed! ...At the end of January, there was no longer an army. Negligible Armenian troops, with some soldiers left over from the army, were charged with defending the Erzurum line." #26

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"The Commissariat which acted in the name of the Provisional Government led by Kerensky lost the ground under their feet after the Government was turned out of office. There was a need to establish a new power, authorized in the eyes of the public and capable of conducting governmental affairs independently and with greater authority. Such a power was established with the Southern Caucasian SEYM and its Government...The SEYM was formed out of the Southern Caucasian members of the All Russia Provisional Assembly (by multiplying this number with three). Thus the Mensheviks (Georgia) had 36, the Musavat (Azerbaijan) 30 and the Dashnaktzoutiun (Armenia) had 27 seats in the SEYM." (*=Short lived Caucasian Federation - Georgia+Armenia+Azerbaijan; later split into three states*) #27

"13- Encouraged by the increasing corruption of the Russian Army, Turkish military troops hastily got organized, got themselves in order and started to capture one after the other, the regions they had lost. In the meantime, the Turkish Command (Vehip Pasha) started to initiate a cease-fire and the continuation of the peace talks...The SEYM took a decision to stop the war and sat down for a settlement with the Turks...The first talks were conducted in Trabzon in March, 1918. The Dashnaktzoutiun fraction was able to add among other SEYM demands the demand for self determination of the Armenians in Turkey within Ottoman borders, as a separate individual point (there were four separate demands)." #28*

"The Georgians were not inclined to get into needless trouble (they did not feel the need to); for the Azeris, on the other hand, the Turkish interests were more important than the future of the Armenians and even the Southern Caucasian Republic. The Armenian members of the delegation were certainly not able to make the Tatars and the Georgians accept their demands. To be just, it must be pointed out that even if our allies at that time (the Georgians and the Tatars), had been able to defend the Armenian demands most sincerely, they would not have been successful. The balance of power was in Turkey's favor and therefore there was no reason why Turkey should give any concessions. This point was clear to us – the Armenian members of the delegation...The issue of borders became a hot subject of discussion...Turks were convinced that the border between Southern Caucasia and Turkey had been determined with the Brest Agreement signed by the Bolsheviks. In the same manner, they stated they had come to Trabzon not to open this agreement to question but to establish friendly relations with their neighbor, the Southern Caucasian Republic. Southern Caucasia on the other hand, did not recognize the Brest Agreement and thought it was the Southern Caucasian peoples who were authorized to decide about land concessions to Turkey. In other words, the Southern Caucasian delegation did not want to accept that the Soviet Government was legally authorized (-on the grounds that this government was not recognized within Russia itself and on the other hand that according to the slogan of self determination voiced during the period of the Great War, the real owners of Southern Caucasia was not the Russian Government, no matter how legitimate it might be, but the peoples of the region themselves-). It was very difficult to defend this stand not

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only because it was new and controversial in international law, but also because the Turkish Army was growing stronger every day and the Southern Caucasian Army was on the verge of breaking down. In international affairs, it is no secret that the powerful party proves to be right! Another reason why it was difficult to defend this attitude was because the delegation was not in unity within itself.

Because the Georgians were primarily concerned with the issues of Batoum and Ajaria, in order to be able to secure all this region, they were inclined to leave Kars and Ardahan to Turks...However, Armenians needed Kars. We were ready to give Ajaria big concessions in order to get Kars in return. The Azeris, on the other hand, as the fourth (or if Dagestan is taken into consideration, the fifth) republic of the Southern Caucasian Federation, wanted a southwestern Moslem Republic to be established in Ajaria. If not, they thought, Ajaria ought to be attached to Turkey. They did not want it to be attached to Georgia...The Azeris defended completely the same view with the Turks concerning Kars and Ardahan. They considered Kars and Ardahan Turkish territory and therefore regarded it quite natural that they should be attached to Turkey...Turks were very closely informed about our inner conflicts and therefore insisted on their views...There was another issue which invoked a big discussion: Turks wanted Southern Caucasia, to be declared independent of Russia and thought that an agreement with us would only then be possible." #29

"The Southern Caucasian delegates insistently stated that Southern Caucasia was physically separated from Russia and was in fact independent. Turks, on the other hand, quite rightly declared that in order for an international agreement to be signed, a de facto situation was not sufficient and that a legal foundation was needed and that to bring this about, certain formalities had to be carried out...These unproductive talks went on for about a month. It was to Turks' advantage that the talks went on for so long (otherwise, they would have ended them any moment). Time was passing, our military force and defense potential was continuously getting weaker whereas those of the Turks were getting stronger. While we were busy with holding meetings and with correspondence in Trabzon, the Turkish Army was advancing without meeting any obstruction. They captured Erzurum at the end of March and Batoum at the beginning of April...Nevertheless, the SEYM would not admit defeat...When it was clear that Turks would not make any compromises on anything that was included in the Brest Agreement, the SEYM withdrew its delegation and the Trabzon talks broke up (this was called 'a break')." #30

"14- Internal discord within the SEYM and inside the government of the Federation which had been going on since the first days was more clearly prominent now...Turkish success encouraged the Azeris; their delegation had a better chance to sit down with the Turks and talk in Trabzon (and they certainly did use it). In the SEYM the Azeris did not hide that they sided with the Turks. Defending and developing the Turkish view, they demanded that Southern Caucasia be speedily separated from Russia, Turkey be given considerable

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concessions and also the war be ended, having come to an agreement with Turkey; for they stated that as Moslem democrats, their religious sentiments prevented them from getting actively involved in a fight with the Turks...The Armenians (Dashnaktzoutiun fraction in the SEYM) did not want to separate from Russia nor did they have positive expectations from Turkey. The Armenians would rather stop Turkish attacks with armed force, because they believed that it was going to be them, rather than anybody else (or perhaps only them) who would suffer losses and they still hoped they were capable of future military victories." #31*

"The Armenian National Assembly met in Alexandropol (Gumru) in April and took up this issue. Despite the presentation made there, by the author of these lines, it was agreed that the Brest Agreement should be refused and the war should be continued. However, this decision could never be put into practice, because we were not in a position to assert our ideas, we could not even determine our own fate...On April 25, Kars fell; and with almost no fighting, for directives were received from Tbilisi to surrender the fortress to the Turks. This treacherous directive had been sent without our knowledge and it aroused great reaction among our people. That day the fate of the Federation looked very critical... However, what was done was done. The Kars fortress which was our most strategic area was now in the hands of the Turks; there was no room for hesitation and neglect. The SEYM accepted the Brest Agreement as the reference and decided to continue the talks which broke up in Trabzon." #32

"The new phase of the talks started in Batoum on the first days of May (where the Turks had quite comfortably settled for some time). This time the Turks had a different approach. The Brest Agreement was no longer satisfactory for them. They were saying that following the Trabzon talks there was more bloodshed and that this had to be compensated. They mainly demanded more land compensations from Armenia. Long and useless talks started again. The Brest Agreement which we did not want to hear about a few months ago in Trabzon, became our sole wish now. However, it was impossible to persuade the Turks. They had gripped our throat tightly and did not want to let go...On May 15th, Turkish troops crossed Arpachay which was the border according to the Brest agreement, and invaded Alexandropol (Gumru) in a few hours and moved towards Karakilise...The situation was unacceptable...Tbilisi which was the capital of Georgia and Southern Caucasia was also under threat. No further advance was made in the talks going on in Batumi...

16- The discord in the SEYM could not be settled with any compromise. An explosion was inevitable. ...Georgians were able to see that we were a useless burden on their shoulders and they could very easily solve their own problems without us. The Azeris, on the other hand, had one wish: Joining the Turks to invade Baku right away. Following the Turkish victory, the Azeris had no longer any need for the Southern Caucasian Federation. They did not need the Georgians and they saw the Armenians as their enemy... The moment of breaking down had come...On May 26, the SEYM abolished itself and

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abandoned its rights, taking into consideration that there were fundamental disagreements concerning war and peace issues... On the same day and in the same building, Georgian National Council bombastically declared the sovereignty of Georgia... One day later Armenia took the same step... Now it was Armenia's turn... Was it right to declare our sovereignty; did we have the means to establish our own state and maintain it... These questions were absurdly unnecessary. We had neither the place nor the time to organize elections. History had brought us to a certain point. We had to gather courage and solve this problem, for we did not want to disappear. We had to own our country, otherwise, we were going to lose it forever. A small hesitation and neglect would create a situation of *res nullius* (nobody's property) and in such a situation, we would become a war booty for our neighbors, the Turks, the Georgians and the Tatars... On May 28th, late at night, the Central National Council declared Armenia a sovereign state and itself the highest sovereign organ of this state... The Council had not received any such authority from the National Board, but nevertheless they did not hesitate in the face of such a formal obstacle and in the following years nobody thought of accusing the Council of transgressing their authority. Everybody was aware that there was no other way." #33

"On May 22nd - 26th the Battle of Serdarabat and on May 25th - 28th, the Battle of Karakilise were fought... The Armenian people had gathered all their strength to defend their existence. No doubt, these fierce battles, the brave resistance that the people (there was no longer an army) showed (especially around Karakilise) significantly raised our standing in the eyes of the Turks and provided the opportunity for a settlement! ... The Armenian delegates who were now acting on behalf of the Armenian Republic and who had been authorized by the National Council returned to Batoum and a treaty was signed on June 4. It was a new phase in the life of the Armenian people; a phase of the revival of a state organization which had been lost long ago!

18- On August 1, The Armenian Parliament began to work in Yerevan and the first government was formed... The parliament had been formed by tripling the present number of the National Council members. Six Moslems, 1 Russian and 1 Yezid member was added to the other members. The majority belonged to the Armenian Revolutionary Federation Dashnaktzoutiun. Because our fraction held 18 votes out of the 47 and because we could not form a bloc with any other fraction, the Parliament had no stable center and a definite political identity... The government was not stable either. The cabinet changed four times during the first 10 months, but the head of the government was always the same person... The first governments that were formed were all coalitions (the Dashnaks, the Cadets and an independent war Minister). The coalition government was not founded on a sound basis; because it did not have a safe majority in the parliament, (the Cadets often took a different course from the Dashnaks). What was more important was that there was no common agreement among the parties forming the government, on the basis of the program. The attitude our party had towards the government was also an obstacle in this context." #34

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“19- Now I would like to take up a mistake which I find very important and explain it below. Armenia was a Democratic Republic. It had the proper organs of a democratic-parliamentarian government: a legislative body composed of the people's representatives and a responsible administration. The Parliament was composed of representatives from the four existing Parties and minorities with the widest true democratic principles. The government received its authority from the legislative body and was responsible to it. This was the form. But the reality was otherwise. In practice, our Party tended to subject to itself, to control, the legislative body and the government. We did not have the courage, nor the ability to declare an open dictatorship, but did not wish to remain within parliamentary limits either and tried to establish in Armenia the 'Ittihad' system -a party dictatorship disguised as a democracy. An intolerable dualism resulted from it- on the surface the Parliament and the government; behind the scenes, invisible, the Party and its organs.” #35*

“Last summer, I prepared a report on this sensitive issue and presented it to the Party Congress, as I was instructed by the related party organ. My report was read at the regional meeting which met in Constantinople... Here I will suffice with a few lines on this issue... In November, a general peace was declared. Germany and its allies lost the war... The German troops left Georgia in haste. Turks also receded back into their old territory... Towards the end of the month, British troops –the troops of our ally- entered Batoum. We started to entertain new hopes. It appeared as if our situation in Southern Caucasia would radically change, for the victorious and those which replaced the German troops in Tbilisi were our allies. We had fought against a common enemy. We certainly would attain the privilege of special friendship of the British, compared to the Georgians who had flirted with the Germans and to the Azeris who had openly went over to the Turkish side... We were once more wrong. The British saw no difference among us. They acted as if either they did not know that we had been their ally or had forgotten this. The generosity they showed towards the Georgians and the Azeris was unexpected and incomprehensible. We certainly did not like this attitude of the British and thought they were disloyal. This was the easiest way of explaining to ourselves an incomprehensible situation. We contented that they were unfaithful and we were relieved. We did not examine the reasons for this unfaithfulness.” #36*

“21- At the beginning of December, a war between Georgia and Turkey broke out but did not last long. When the Turks moved from Alexandropol (Gumru) to Pembek and captured Karakilise, the Georgians took the opportunity and sent troops to the Lori region of Armenia. Nevertheless, even when Turks receded, the Georgians did not want to vacate Lori. On the contrary, they took every opportunity to secure their presence there... They ruthlessly suppressed the resistance of the people of the region. Lori became a matter of dispute and the gravest border question between Armenians and Georgians... Georgia broke us off the rest of the world, in order to be able to apply pressure on us they

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imprisoned us inside our borders. Even the wheat, which was imported into our country in order to feed our immigrants, was obstructed in Georgia and could not properly reach its destination. Georgia invaded Lori and closed the railway. We were surrounded. This was actually a reason to declare war on Georgia. The revolt of some Armenian villages in Lori and the severe measures taken by the Georgian government was a direct reason for declaring war. It was as if the Georgian government was looking for reasons to massacre Armenians...Probably the provocations of the Russian officers serving in our army also played a part. The government in Georgia was trying to diminish the Russian factor (which was quite strong in Tbilisi), curb its influence and nationalize the state apparatus. For this reason they were dismissing the Russian officials and officers and were expelling them from Georgia in big groups." #37*

"A significant number of Russian officers were serving in our army and these officers had connections in Tbilisi (and perhaps also in the volunteer units of the Dennikin Army). It was probably the same people who provoked our military circles in order to create the hostile atmosphere needed to start a military operation...The war lasted only three weeks. On Dec. 31st, the British interfered and a settlement was made. Lori was temporarily declared a neutral zone and a common Armenian-Georgian authority was established there, under the supervision of the British commissar... In this way, the war had concluded favorably for us. We had partially achieved our aim (the railway connection was reestablished with the help of the British). Nevertheless, the war made us think over many issues. We were a very young state with a history of only 4-5 months and this country which was in need of many things had fought a war. We had been fighting with a neighbor with whom we had to have the closest relations for we could only establish connections with the rest of the world over Georgia...We were aware of that and sincerely wished to have friendly relations with the Georgians, but we were not able to accomplish that. The reasons were the attitude the Georgians took towards us and our own weakness, political inadequacy and our inaptitude to use the state apparatus." #38*

"22- Here, I also have to call attention to the continuous fights going on within and outside our national borders. We were officially at war with Azerbaijan, because we were actually fighting with them in Qarabag (Karabagh). There were often clashes in Qazax (Kazak) too. Inside the country, at certain places like Agapapa (Akbaba), Zot (Zod), Zanki-Bazar (Zengibasar), Vedi-Bazar (Vedibasar), Sharur-Nakhichevan, (Şarur-Nahçıvan) Zangezour etc. many bloody battles were fought with the native Moslem inhabitants.

And also there is no doubt that the attitude of Azerbaijan in this matter was hostile. Also it is indisputable that the native Moslem inhabitants had been acting against the Armenian state because they were encouraged by Turkey and Azerbaijan. What is important is that we had not been able to take the precautions either within our country or outside it, to secure our stand. We could not establish an acceptable *modus vivendi* with Azerbaijan. We were not able to establish order by means of administrative methods, in the

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Moslem regions; we were obliged to use arms, send troops, demolish and massacre. We were not successful even in these; so much so that this failure shook the prestige of the central authority. In important points such as Vedibasar and Şarur-Nakhichevan we were not able to establish our authority even with arms; we lost and receded.

23- On May 28, 1919 on the anniversary of our independence, the Parliament declared Armenia 'united': in other words, declared that we included the land which would possibly be saved from Turkish sovereignty into the present Armenian territory. This step was considered by some Turkish Armenians as usurping their rights, because they found it extremely dangerous from the point of view of the Armenian question. They made a great fuss, they protested and the Armenian problem in Turkey was once more brought very heavily against the Armenian question in Russia. The liberal bourgeoisie inside and outside the country called this an irresponsible behavior on the part of Dashnaktzoutiun and started acting furiously towards the party." #39*

"24- The Armenian Parliament opened on August 1st, 1919. The elections took place in accordance with the democratic procedure - general, equal, direct and secret balloting - but it was strange and disheartening that 72 out of 80 members were Dashnaks, with only four members from the other parties. There was no opposition party to act as a check. We Dashnaks seemed to be victorious but did not understand that it was not a Parliament but the caricature of a Parliament...We could not understand that elections proved that our people were not yet ready for an independent political life. We were not aware that our parliamentary victory was not actually a victory but a defeat and that by sending 72 members into the parliament we had lost the ground we trod on, the democratic foundation. We did not understand that as we assumed authority, at the same time we were also assuming all the responsibility.

We lacked the necessary provisions and elements. We could not understand that a strong opposition was needed simply to discipline us and to prevent us from transgressing the present law and order. We also did not understand that by carrying our party meetings into the parliament we were actually bringing the existence of our party to an end...There was no Parliament; it was an empty form without content. The problems of state were being discussed and solved behind closed doors, in the rooms of the Dashnak faction, and then declared from the rostrum of the Parliament...In reality, there was not even a parliamentary faction, because this latter was under the very strict supervision of the Dashnak Bureau, and was obliged to carry out its orders. There was not a government either. This, also, was subject to the Bureau; it was a kind of executive body for the Bureau in the state. This was the Bolshevistic system. But what the Bolsheviks were doing openly and consistently, we were attempting to veil under democratic forms." #40*

"25- On the first days of May, 1920 there were Bolshevik demonstrations and attempts at uprising. These were suppressed without much effort, because they had no basis; Bolshevism was strange to us. There was also no outside support...Nevertheless;

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there was also an interesting situation. A group of young Bolsheviks (even in Yerevan in front of the eyes of the government) was making noisy demonstrations and propaganda among the military troops, occupying the train station in Gumru and capturing an armored train. This proves that the government was irresponsible, weak and ignorant." #41

"26- Following the Bolshevik rebellious efforts of May, 1920, there was a 'coup d'etat' and the A.R.F. Bureau (the so-called 'Bureau Government') replaced the Parliament with its own dictatorial rule. By order of the Bureau the resignation of Prime Minister A. Khadissian was accepted on May 5th, and by order of the Bureau Dr. H. Ohanchanian was ordered to form a new cabinet; the latter presented the already-prepared list of ministers in the same meeting in which he was ordered to form a new cabinet. That was the Bureau itself. Parliament was ordered indefinitely recessed. The Armenian Parliament had given a dictatorial government to the Dashnakzoutuin - to the Bureau.

This was against the decision of the 9th General Meeting of the A.R.F. and had many disadvantages, but it also had the advantage of coming out in the open in its true form and color." #42

"27- The Armenian - Turkish war which broke our back began in the fall of 1920. Would it have been possible to evade it? Probably not! The crushed Turkey of 1918 had recovered during the two years. There came forward patriotic, young officers who formed a new army in Asia Minor. They saw the necessity of attacking in the Northeast, and also in the Southwest against the Greeks which they could not do without first crushing their flank on the Armenian front. One cannot say that the Turks really had such a plan, but it is possible that they did and it was also probable that the war with us was inevitable...Despite these hypotheses there remains an irrefutable fact. That we had not done all that was necessary for us to have done to evade war. We ought to have used peaceful language with the Turks whether we succeeded or not, and we did not do it. We did not do it for the simple reason -no less culpable - that we had no information about the real strength of the Turks and relied on ours. This was the fundamental error. We were not afraid of war because we thought we would win. With the carelessness of inexperienced and ignorant men we did not know what forces Turkey had mustered on our frontiers. When the skirmishes had started the Turks proposed that we meet and confer. We did not do so and defied them.

I should point out that in the autumn of 1920 we were not a *quantitie negligable* in the eyes of Turks. The terrible incidents of the past years were forgotten! Our people were well rested, and our army was well armed with British arms. We had sufficient ammunition. We were holding a very important fortress called Kars in our hands. Finally, there was the Sévres Treaty and it was not simply a piece of paper in those days, it was an important gain against Turks. We were not in a similar position to what we were in May, 1918 in Batoum. We could easily believe we could be heard, because Turks were considered the defeated party...We did not make an attempt!...If we had accepted their offer what would they have proposed to us? They would probably have started from where we had left at Batoum and

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Brest and then they would have given further concessions and receded behind the 1814 border lines. They could possibly have withdrawn further and could have handed over Beyazit and Eleshkirt too...Turks would never have given any further concessions than these in September, 1920 and in return, they were going to demand from the Armenian Government that they give up the rights advanced by the Sévres Treaty...How would the Armenian Government have reacted to this? They would certainly have refused the offer. The government would never have agreed to these conditions; they would have preferred fighting...Not only the Dashnak Bureau-Government but any Armenian Government would have acted in the same way. I am calling attention to this fact. And this quite significantly alleviates the crime committed by our party. The government could never have accepted these conditions; because all the political parties and groups, all our diplomats, all the appointed and voluntary patriots... all would have revolted, rejected the government and accused it of treason. The Sévres Treaty had blinded everyone's eyes...We now see that if we had agreed on a settlement with the Turks directly (in spite of the Sévres Treaty) we might have gained a lot. But we could not see this at that point...All these are possibilities, but they are also the reflections of our thoughts then...War, on the other hand, was a reality...It is also a reality, an unforgivable reality that we did not do anything to avoid war but did just the opposite; we created excuses for it. What is unforgivable is that we had no idea about the military power of Turkey and neither did we know our own army." #43*

"28- The war resulted in our indisputable defeat. Our army was well fed, well armed, and dressed, but it did not fight. The troops were constantly retreating and deserting their positions; they threw away their arms and dispersed in the villages...Our army was demoralized during the period of internal strife, the inane destructions and the pillages that went without punishment. It was demoralized and tired. The system of roving bands, which was especially encouraged by the Bureau government, was destroying the unity of the military organization. The instruction of the army, its military spirit, its organization and discipline, and therefore its power for defense had deteriorated to the last degree, and that was a surprise to the government: the government and the ministers of war did not know their own army... And then the government made a fatal mistake. Intending to increase the number of troops, it called under arms additional men who were past middle age and tired, overburdened with family and financial burdens. They were made to put on the military uniforms in a great hurry; rifles were put into their hands and instantly sent to the front. These were ready-made deserters, which caused additional defections and demoralization in the ranks of the army... When on Nov. 2, 1920 the victorious armies of Karabekir had reached Alexandropol (Gumru), the Bureau-government presented its resignation. It could not stay in power any longer; it was beaten, and because of its defeat, it had been discredited. Historical events have their irrefutable logic. In the Fall of 1914 Armenian volunteer bands organized themselves and have been discredited...Then it became necessary to begin negotiations with the Turks and it became necessary that those who negotiated should be new faces. After a short indecision, the government of Simon Vratzian

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was formed, composed of Dashnaks and social revolutionaries. Dashnak ministers belonged to the 'Left' wing of the Party, while he, the Prime Minister [Vratzian] was known to be a man of the Russian orientation, and the socialist revolutionaries had personal ties in the Armenian Bolshevik circles. There was a remote hope that in the event the Bolsheviks came to power (a fact we were beginning to understand was inescapable) a government with such a composition would be able to find a common language with the new comers... The Turks had already occupied Alexandropol. In the meantime, the Armenian Bolsheviks at the head of the Red troops entered Itchevan and Dilijan. Was there an understanding between the Bolsheviks and the Turks? In our ranks that conviction was widespread. I think, however, that it was wrong; in all events there was no positive proof. It is probable that the Bolshevik agents (or individuals with Bolshevik leanings), were trying to destroy our Army from the inside, but for that it was not necessary to have an agreement with the Turks... The plot of the Bolsheviks was not the reason for our defeat, nor the power of the Turks (which was not important at that time), but our own ineptness! Of course, the Bolsheviks benefited from our defeat and that was very natural, but it was not essential that they should have come to an understanding with the Turks for that purpose...The reason for our defeat was not the treachery of the Bolsheviks or the strength of the Turks but our weakness. The Bolsheviks certainly made use of our defeat, this was only natural! They did not need to arrive at a preliminary understanding with the Turks...It was not difficult to see that the Bolsheviks who had been victorious in Russia and had settled in Azerbaijan, were obliged to enter Georgia and Armenia too. It was only a matter of time. They needed to choose a favorable time so that they would not have to spend too much effort. It was Armenia's turn now and the Bolsheviks did in December what they had not been able to do in May." #44

"The Bolsheviks entered Armenia without meeting any resistance. This was the decision of our Party. There were two reasons for acting this way; first, we could not resist it even if we wanted to, -we were defeated; second, we hoped that the Soviet authorities, backed by Russia, would be able to introduce some order in the state - a thing which we, all alone, had failed to do, and it was very plain already that we would not be able to do!... It was our desire to let the Bolsheviks rule the country without any obstruction, to remain loyal to the new government, to cooperate with their useful work. This decision was not unanimous. There was irreconcilables who did not expect anything good from the Bolsheviks; they demanded opposition and fighting, even though the defeat was inevitable. Small was their number; when the proposal was refused those most in opposition left the country and fled." #45

"There was also another minority, opposed to the first one: this one wanted to approach the Bolsheviks as a party matter and form a political block with them. These were segregated and came to be known as Leftist Dashnaks, and made declarations in Bolshevik spirit. They did not succeed. The Bolsheviks with reason distrusted them, and discarded them...If the Bolsheviks had applied sufficient political tactics in the first phases (which they

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later did), they would have guaranteed their presence in Armenia, for there were no opposing forces in the country. However, the Bolsheviks did not understand this and started looking for counter-revolutionaries in absurd places and provoked the people against them...The February revolt is solely their own doing; it was the result of their pressures, their autocratic behavior and their endless confiscations which used up the last remains of the economy, and deprived the people who had nothing to eat, of their last morsels!" #46

"33- At the end of the revolt, the Bolsheviks were pushed out of central Armenia towards the peripheral regions (Sharur and Qazax regions). An 'Armenian Salvation Committee' was immediately founded, came to power and led the struggle...The civil war lasted for 1,5 months...The revolt was a spontaneous and casual action. It broke out at an unexpected moment, flared and soon died down. I am not trying to say that if the insurgents had fought well, the Soviet Government could have been brought down; no, defeat was inevitable (especially after the fall of Georgia). We could have slain all the Bolsheviks in Armenia (it would not have been difficult if the revolt had been more organized), but behind them was Russia with its Red Army. The Armenian peasants or the Dashnaktzoutiun Party was not going to resist that. However, what I would like to point out is that the revolt was destined to be defeated, because it cherished no faith in victory." #47

"34- When the Bolsheviks reached Kanakir and occupied Yerevan we left Yerevan for Dereleğez through Bash-Garni... A large mass of people who did not know where and why they were going, were also on the move, along with the insurgents and the party members... The inevitable defeat was brought about. In the following two or three months, what happened in Dereleğez and Zengezour was no longer a fight but death throes... After the fall of Yerevan, it was time to sovietize the mountainous part of Armenia. Our presence there might even have speeded up the flow of events... We had thought that by moving into the mountainous Armenia, we would add to the strength of the native people and increase their capacity to resist. We had not taken into consideration that a defeated militia who were on retreat could increase the demoralization and helplessness of frightened masses of people. The native people did not favor and welcome us. We would rather, not be seen by them. On top of everything, we had to share their last bits of food. We had, unintentionally invited confusion to their lives. A firm contradiction arose between the native and outside Armenian authorities... The military forces were dissolving day by day. Some of the soldiers who had accompanied us and who did not like the way they were treated by the native people, were now thinking about going back home. The groups who consisted of the Turkish Armenians (both armed and unarmed ones) were trying to reach Aras (Araxe) and then pass to Iran. The native people now saw that the army was breaking up and there was disorganization. They started to doubt their own strength...At the end of the summer, Zangezour which was the last headquarters of the Democratic Republic, was wiped out. Armenia was completely sovietized." #48

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"In the meanwhile, what had been our diplomatic activity with the outer world during our liberty as an independent nation -Constantinople, Europe and America - and what were the results? In the Spring of 1919, the Paris Delegation of our Republic presented a Memorandum of our demands to the Peace Conference in Paris jointly with the National Delegation of the Armenians in Turkey. According to that Memorandum the frontiers of the Armenian State would include:

The Caucasian Republic with enlarged territory (the entire district of Yerevan, the districts of Kars without the northern part of Ardahan, the southern section of the Tbilisi territory, the south-western part of Kantzag);

A. The seven provinces of Turkish Armenia (Van, Bitlis, Diyarbakır, Harput, Sivas, Erzurum and Trabzon, excluding only the southern section of Diyarbakır and the western section of Sivas);

B. The four sanjaks of Cilicia (Marash, Sis, Cebel-Bereket and Adana with Alexandretta).

A vast state was being organized and demanded - a great Armenia from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean, from the mountains of Karabagh to the Arabian Desert. Where did that imperial, amazing demand emanate from? Neither the government of Armenia nor the Dashnaktzoutiun had envisaged such a childish and foolish plan. On the contrary, our delegation had carried with it from Yerevan very moderate demands, commensurate with our very modest ability.

How did it happen that our Delegation signed the 'From Sea to Sea' demand? It was told that, if they did not demand those fascinating frontiers, the Turkish-Armenians (through their National Delegation) would sever their Cause from that of the 'Republic of Ararat' and will apply to the Powers accordingly. Our Delegation was also told that America would not accept a mandate over a small Armenia but would accept one over a 'From Sea to Sea' Armenia. Because it would have been dangerous to proceed with the defense of our Cause with two separate bodies, each with a contradictory demand, and because the American mandate was what we wanted, our delegates signed the Memorandum and presented it to the Powers... The Paris Memorandum of course thrilled us. A kind of mentality was created according to which the drawing of frontiers on paper actually gave us those territories. To doubt it was a treachery. Of course there followed the rude awakening - the Treaty of Sévres the refusal of the Senate of the U.S. to accept the mandate; even the frontiers drawn by President Wilson did not satisfy us. We thought he could have demanded a larger territory... There were the usual complaints that the powers were unfair, did not appreciate us and did not compensate us according to what we deserved...However, these narrow borders were an inaccessible and alluring 'blue bird' for us... Turks accepted neither the Wilson solution, nor our objections, nor the Sévres Treaty. Instead of vacating Armenian lands, they were heavily arming and consolidating their positions. The allies on the other hand, showed no intention of forcing the rebel Ankara to submit. It was the reverse; they

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had started to flirt with them. It was as if they did not see that we were unsatisfied and they were busy straightening their own affairs... (I often use the words 'we' and 'our' and do not clarify these pronouns. In many cases, I do not put any distinction between the party and the masses of people. Here is another instance of the same psychology, the same narrow scope, the same political shortsightedness)... The agony of the Armenian Cause began in 1922. At the London Conference was heard for the first time the word 'Home'. The Treaty of Sévres was entirely forgotten! There was no question of an independent Armenian State. Only a doubtful 'Home', in someone else's home! This was the blow dealt us in March. Things got worse at Lausanne toward the end of the year. No 'Home' was demanded for us! The Turks politely refused everything. The Great Allies, in a desperate gesture, confessed and bewailed that they had done everything possible to help the Armenians but could not do anything. Then, here came comrade Chicherin and offered in the name of Soviet Russia to locate the Armenians of Turkey in Crimea, on the shores of Volga, in Siberia. Thus, the 'State' was reduced to a 'Home', and the 'Home' was converted into colonies in Siberia. The mountain did not even give birth to a mouse... This was the past." #49*

"We have always miscalculated and have always encountered with unpredictable situations because we have been unable to foresee them. And it is evident, to me at least, that it was on account of our ineptness, individually, that prevented us from conducting affairs of state properly. We had been unable to distinguish the State from the Party and have introduced party mentality, into matters of state. We have not been statesmen.

Let no one take offense from these words, which are not spoken with any malice but are a mere self - estimation. Is it not true that I myself have been among the incompetents on the front line, your collaborator, equally responsible in our defeat? I mentioned 'responsibility'... I have had no courage so far to add that we were, most of the time not aware of the responsibility we had taken upon us; and we were not always sufficiently honest in connection with our duties. I do not have the courage, because I have worries about whether I can be sufficiently just. Yet, some people know about it and some day, perhaps some person who is more just than I am will come up talk about it more justly...What is the present? ...We have a small Republic today between the River Aras (Araxes) and Lake Sevan, nominally free, but in reality one of the fringe countries of the re-established sovereign Russian Empire. There is no Turkish-Armenia, neither State nor Home, not even an international political Question any more, killed and buried at Lausanne. Generally speaking, the Armenians in the Dispersion are not a political element for Armenia today...I can say more: There are no longer any Armenians in the Turkish Armenia and it is out of the question that one day they will come back. Turks have firmly closed the doors, and a force which will make them open the doors is nowhere to be seen... Nearly one million Armenians are living outside the borders of the Republic; in Georgia, Azerbaijan, Northern Caucasia, Iran, Syria, Constantinopolis, Balkans and even in all the countries of the world... Only a very small number of Armenians in the Dispersion, were able to find themselves a sanctuary in Armenia! Leaving out the temporary difficulties, the too-narrow

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borders of the Republic do not permit massive migration (the issue here is the possibility of migration of the peasants in Armenian provinces to Armenia). On the other hand, the social identity of the Armenians living outside Southern Caucasia (the petty bourgeoisie who have not had the chance to make a living in their plundered agricultural country which is dependent on commercial centers), is no less a problem... The Armenians in the Dispersion are not considered to be one of the elements which are the founders of the Armenian State! And the longer this process takes, the more alienated they will feel... The Armenians in the colonies will perhaps be of some value for some time as an element of the *nation* (and this situation is associated with how we maintain our national ties and raise our national consciousness). Yet, only the part of the Armenian nation which remained in Armenia and the big pieces living in the neighboring republics of Georgia and Azerbaijan, are only meaningful in connection with being a state founding element... The Armenian state must depend on them and must consolidate on this basis... The Armenians in the colonies, at best, can be considered a kind of reserve and assisting force (on a very modest scale) for an unknown future! ...The immediate subject of solicitude for the Armenian political mind must be the existing Republic, Armenians who live in and around it! I underscore this sentence vigorously and call it to your special attention, for that will be the starting point of our future action... What should the attitude of our Party be, towards this Republic, its regime and Government?

This Republic is not independent; it is a part of Southern Caucasian Federation or even of Russia. Armenia is actually an autonomous state under the supervision and control of Moscow... Can this satisfy our Party? Is this our political ideal? It certainly is not." #50*

"However, I want to add now, that the present fate of Armenia cannot be the ideal Dashnaktzoutiun has cherished. We were the frantic advocates of the idea of federation (we still are) and we know that Armenia, small as it is, cannot survive in any other way. However, we are for a federation where the states are federated with their own volition and with equal rights. The present Russian Federation has not been structured on these grounds. The Armenian Republic is a Soviet Republic. The Soviet system theoretically envisages a class dictatorship. However, what is seen in Armenia now is the dictatorship of the Communist Party... Can this type of authority satisfy us? ...It certainly cannot... It is true that we have made an unsuccessful attempt at founding our own dictatorship, but dictatorship (whether of party or class) is not a religion for us. We, who were poisoned with political power and inexperienced about governing a country, could not resist the attraction, but we stumbled. However, we eventually became aware of our mistake and started looking for ways out; if we had been late, we would have fallen, for not only the 'religion' but also the structure of our party was not also suitable for a dictatorship. Armenia does not possess any class or stratum, party or group, which can establish a dictatorship relying only on its own force. Only an outside power can establish a dictatorship in our country. It is as if our country has been created for democracy; what we are deficient in is only political wisdom and the habits of governing a state." #51

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"I am using this negative statement unconditionally, but as an old and incorrigible communist I know from my own world outlook that not only simple communistic principles but even a socialist order is not suitable for the present day Armenia... Armenia is not mature enough for socialism and does not possess the minimum reasons, which would call for an attempt in this direction. All the attempts made in this direction are doomed to fail and especially is a crime committed against Armenian laborers... However, the Soviet authority wishes to accept neither civil liberties nor political equality... This authority is a party dictatorship (let us call it a class dictatorship). It is certainly possible to deplore it, to complain or get angry about it but it will change nothing and the reality will stay the same: we have no place as the of any use to us... It is possible for us to talk and write about any issue we want in the colonies. What we need is only some paper, a printing-house and some money, and nothing more. However, what can the public opinion in the Armenian colonies in Romania, or in Egypt accepting that such a public opinion can be opposition in Armenia? ...I am talking about Armenia itself, (because I do not think an opposition outside Armenia will be created) will mean for the Soviet Armenia!... We certainly are worthy people as simple citizens, but which party or government abandons its political line or cooperates with its adversaries, in order to attract a few hundred people to its side?" #52

"Whatever the circumstances, whether we are right or wrong, or whether we have too much brains or too little, the Bolsheviks are not looking for ways to cooperate with us and they do not accept this... There have been attempts in this direction and have received negative answers. A new attempt will be not only absurd but also degrading.

It will be absurd because there are borders, which the party cannot pass over, as regards its political honor... The remaining possibilities are either secret, clandestine, conspirator or more general revolutionary activities, for the governments of both the Czar and the Sultan have pursued us. Are not we capable of doing in the Soviet Armenia what we did in the Turkish Armenia, for tens of years...? We certainly are... We might establish a base in the Iranian Karadağ and send people and arms to the other side of Aras (Araxe), (just as we did in Salmas once). We might establish the necessary secret relations and establish armed 'humb's in the Sünik and Derelegez mountains just as we did in the Sasun Mountains and the Çatak stream. We might provoke the peasants in some regions difficult to access, to rise and then we might expel the communists there or destroy them. Later we might create great commotion even in Yerevan and occupy a state building at least for a few hours just as we occupied the Ottoman Bank or we might explode any building. We could plan assassinations and execute them just as we killed the officials of the Czar and the Sultan and kill a few Bolsheviks; in the same way, just as we did to Sultan Abdulhamid, we could plant a bomb under Myasnikov's or Lukashin's feet... We could do all these, I think we could.

However, there is this question: Why? What are our aims and hopes? When we created a great hubbub in Turkey, we thought we would attract the attention of the great

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powers to the Armenian cause and would force them to mediate for us, but now we know what such mediation is worth and do not need to repeat such endeavors. If Europe has not been able to help us in Turkey, Russia will never be able to do it, nor will they wish to do it. As a method of controlling separate individuals, terror might have been of some use on the Kurdish troublemakers or the officials of the Czar. However, we have to admit that the Bolsheviks are of a different fiber. If there is to be terror on both sides, the Bolsheviks will not be short of it, on the contrary, they will leave us behind in that respect...When we use terror on one single person, they will use it on masses...Are we capable of turning the tendencies among the people into a civil war? This is very disputable, but possible. If we take a very serious decision and we persistently strive for it and do not prove very particular about the means, we may succeed... But why?

When the Bolsheviks are strongly in power in Russia and when in our back, there is Turkey in alliance with the Bolsheviks, is it possible to expel the Bolsheviks from Armenia? I think not even one such naïve person who might believe this can be found among our ranks. If there is a civil war, it is going to result in our defeat. Bolshevism is not an Armenian regime and the place where it is going to be buried will not be (does it have to be buried?) Armenia. Armenian Bolshevism is an extension and only a small part of Russian Bolshevism. As the Red Banner swings in Russia, it will inevitably swing in Yerevan too. We would have thought otherwise in 1918 but we have no right to do so now...However, Bolshevism has resolute adversaries in Russia and other places, at least in neighboring places like Georgia and Azerbaijan, if not anywhere else. Is it not natural that we should come together with the other disconcerted people and try to destroy this communist dictatorship? Yes, it might be natural. However, the problem is that we should not do it... The Armenian people have already been so much harmed, exhausted and weakened that nobody has the right to put them under new tests and demand new sacrifices from them. What has been done must be considered sufficient. Let us wait for the anti-Bolshevik Russia to deal with the Bolsheviks themselves. We will not be involved in it! Armenian people have deserved to rest for a while and heal their severe wounds. If some people do not want to grant us this right and some people do not like this stand that we take, let them be." #53*

"In the present conditions, the Bolsheviks are necessary for Armenia; there is no other power to replace them; this is the reality... Since the first days of our State, we have very well known that a country like Armenia which is so small, poor, plundered and broken apart from the rest of the world cannot be really independent and self-governing. We have realized that we needed a support or some outside force, so that we would be able to maintain our own existence by relying on it, at least in the first phases, until we organized and gathered our forces. We sought for such a support first in distant America, and later in Europe. The results are obvious. Two or three years ago, we might have had some hope, but today there is no hope and insisting on it would be an unforgivable naïveté. What the distant and uncertain future will bring us is not yet known. Nevertheless, the visible future is very clear at present: Today there is two actual forces and we have to take them into

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consideration: Russia and Turkey. The circumstances have developed that way and our country is a satellite state of Russia and is capable of protecting itself more than sufficiently from the attacks of Turkey. If Russian authority is lifted, Turkish-Tatar authority will substitute it. Either Russia or Turkey; either the Bolsheviks or the Turkish nationalists; we have no other choice!" #54

"I am asking the same question in another way, this time about the past... Was the arrival of the Bolsheviks a calamity for our country? This is an unexpected question coming from a Dashnak. The Bolsheviks are necessary in Armenia under the present political conditions, and there is not other force that could take their place! This is the truth. Let us not be carried by narrow political ideas... I do not like to repeat that the Soviet regime is not at all suitable for Armenian reality, I think this view is indisputable!... On the other hand, I know the Bolshevik activities in Armenia quite well and I remember them; I mean the two and a half months when I was in Armenia between December, 1921 - February, 1922. I know and I remember how many people suffered; it was the Dashnaks who suffered primarily! I myself and many of you were immensely persecuted and pursued!... I would like to add that we should never forget these grave issues and be cautious when we are taking a decision; for as the injured party, we are inclined to see only the negative aspects and exaggerate everything... I have already stated above: all our hopes were in vain. We could get neither political nor material aid from Russia (I am again talking about the first phase). For example, the Bolsheviks did not defend Armenia against Turkey and approved the Gumru Treaty we had signed under the threat of vanishing. This is the reality... We had exhausted all our resources, had come to an impasse as Government and as Party in the fall of 1920. Had the Bolsheviks delayed their arrival, we ourselves, would have asked them to come because we were so weakened and powerless and there was no other force in the country to replace us... Look at the consequences of their coming: ... We governed our country for two and a half years; it is nearly two and a half years the Bolsheviks have governed it. We had wars with Georgia, Azerbaijan and Turkey. The Bolsheviks have had none. We had continual internal fights - Agapapa (Akbaba), Zot (Zod), Zanki-Bazar (Zengibasar), Vedi-Bazar (Vedibasar), the valleys of Milli (Milin), Sharour (Şerur) Nakhichevan (Nahcivan), Zangezour (Zengezur). The Bolsheviks have had no internal fights, except those in connection with the 'Februarian' revolt. We had kept the entire country under arms, in constant fighting, we had kept all working hands on the battlefields at all time when there was the greatest demand for construction work. The Bolsheviks have freed the people from that calamity, from that heavy burden... In our time the people were decimated or exhausted from famine. We destroyed bread-producing lands like Sharour and Veti (Vedi), cattle lands like Agapapa (Akbaba), wantonly and without benefit to us. We gave to the armies of Kazim Karabekir (along with much other wealth) the harvest of 1920 - the only abundant one since the famine years. Today, I hear Armenia is not hungry any more, is not clamoring for bread, one might say, and I believe it because the people had time to sow and to reap. " #55*

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"The Bolsheviks brought much kerosene from Baku and saved the country from the slavery of darkness. Of course, these things are not very important you might say, but is it not a fact that we could not achieve even that little? The Bolsheviks were necessary for Armenia then and they are necessary for Armenia today.

European cities are full of emigrant malcontents of all kinds who publish newspapers, write books, call protest meetings, threaten, cure the Bolsheviks... I know of no other 'work' that is more futile and miserable than what is being done! Is it with these thundering words that they will blow off Soviet heads? That is not a fight nor a struggle but an exposition of a despicable stupidity. The fighters against the Bolsheviks must fight from within so that the blow may tell; but to hide behind the frontiers and show one's fist from a safe distance - it is a gesture which, at all events, is not worthy of Dashnakzoutiune." #56

"Leaving aside how competent we are, as a party, in such commercial and industrial issues or in charity work of providing assistance and protection to the needy, and how desired our mediation might be in respect to achieving a definite solution, I have this question to ask: can a political party include such work in its program? I think not. These are not among the issues a party should deal with. This would not be the political program of a party, but a repudiation of it... If Dashnakzoutiun resorts to such ways, if it prefers this direction, it must declare that it has lost its own *raison d'être*... We must leave trade to traders, industry to industrialists and aid to aid organizations. Dashnakzoutiun should deal with other work (if there be such work)... Yes, if there be... As a political party, we cannot cooperate with the Bolsheviks within the country, in connection with the state work they are doing; similarly, we cannot be in the position of the official opposition no matter how much we wish it... We should not be carrying out any clandestine work; we should not destroy the Soviet state power even if it were possible." #57*

"While we feel no urge or wish to fight within the country, fighting only orally from without and carrying on an anti-Bolshevik propaganda from abroad in the colonies is an inane and indecent thing!... Helping the economic development of a country from abroad, establishing commercial and industrial companies, on the other hand, are not what a political party should do!... What are we to do then? It is here that I shall say the very grave word, which, I know will embarrass you, but which must be said at last, and said simply, without concealment or attenuation: THE ARMENIAN REVOLUTIONARY FEDERATION HAS NOTHING TO DO ANYMORE!.

Our Party had done everything it could do and is exhausted. New conditions of existence present new demands and we are unfit to respond. We must therefore leave the field to others abler than ourselves!

Is it necessary to repeat again the new conditions? Here they are:

Turkish Armenia does not exist anymore; *half the Armenian people have been massacred, others are dispersed in the four corners of the world*, the other half is

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homeless and bleeding, in need of long rest and recuperation; the Armenian Republic is united with Communist Russia as an autonomous state; to separate our State from Russia we cannot, even if we wish - and we must not wish it, even if we were able to do so; the Party is beaten and has lost its authority, has been expelled from the country, cannot return home, while in the colonies it has no work.

This is the situation today...The Party cannot say 'I shall therefore create work for me' no matter what kind of work. That 'therefore' is a mistake of logic. The sentence must be reversed to: 'because I have no work to do I must cease to exist. Work is not for the existence of the Party, but it is the Party that must exist to do the work, and where there is no work for the Party, there can be no Party...When I said the Dashnaktzoutun has nothing to do anymore, I did not express myself correctly. It has one more final thing to do, a supreme duty to the Armenian Cause and toward its own past. It must, and by its own decision, with full cognizance, decisively end its existence. Yes, I suggest suicide!" #58*

"The Party is not an aim and anyone who forgets this basic reality, should be considered a traitor and a dangerous and harmful person. The Armenian people is not a raw material for the Dashnaktzoutun. If we are to act consciously or unconsciously - like a person who is suffering from party fanaticism, we would be committing a capital crime." #59*

"One year ago, although I wrote in Chakatamarta about how harmful the death of ARF Dashnaktzoutun would be to the Armenian question, at the same time, I also stated in the same place, that the actual borders of Dashnaktzoutun have greatly gone beyond our Party organizations; our Party is only one aspect of the Armenian cause, in struggle. The name, Dashnaktzoutun may very well be lost, forgotten but the proud spirit which gave birth to Dashnaktzoutun, the spirit of freedom will never die and this is the real Dashnaktzoutun. The Party, that is to say, the present organization might dissolve but the mission and the work will survive... It will never die but even gain a new joy of life... And for this reason alone- in order that it may be guaranteed and that it may develop further in future- I suggest that the Party commit suicide... There is one thing that we must understand: The Armenian Bolsheviks who will succeed us have to take up our work and they have taken it up. They have to do it whether or not they are aware of it and whether or not they want to do it. They are, just like us, a tool in the hands of the great master, *history*. We have done our job, completed a phase, and now the remainder is up to them.

We have to be thankful to the Bolsheviks. They established the same work on surer grounds (if not saved it), by overthrowing us. At that critical moment when we were overpowered by our own work, they took our place." #60

"We very often hear that following one single political line will not be sufficient in order to solve our problem; for caution requires that one tendency should be accompanied by another parallel tendency. The Armenian Bolsheviks are following the Russian line; let them follow it, but other possibilities should also be kept in mind. For example, today, the Russian

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Bolsheviks are in the same front with the Turks, but tomorrow this artificial bloc may fall to pieces and we may have to find a common language with the Turks and the Europeans situated in their back. Consequently, we may have to maintain relations with the Turks of tomorrow. Although there is nothing left for Dashnaktzoutiun to do, it must maintain its existence and its present anti-Bolshevik position at least for this purpose... I object to neither this possibility nor the existence of a second possibility... However, I insist on one point: This role is not suitable for ARF Dashnaktzoutiun. . Dashnaks is a more unacceptable participator of talks with Turks than with the Bolsheviks. If one day the need arises to hold talks with the Turks, other people who have a different understanding, a different psychology and especially, a different past or no past must come to the scene. At this point, Dashnaktzoutiun cannot be helpful but on the contrary, might constitute an obstacle." #61*

"It is claimed that the Bolshevik regime and authority are not eternal. That is to say, Bolshevism may fall from power more or less unexpectedly, in the short or long run. Consequently, a reserve force, another organization is needed to substitute Bolshevism and to take hold of the leadership so that the country may not fall into anarchy.

Dashnaktzoutiun should at least be kept for those days... At this point, I would like to argue: Even if such a situation arises, I declare and I insist that the new authority will not be established by Dashnaktzoutiun... When the present conditions show a considerable change the Soviet authority which does not suit the Armenian reality and is alien to it, will leave its place to other political and social groups; it will consider its own role accomplished and completed. However, the force that will substitute the Bolsheviks is not Dashnaktzoutiun... New conditions will bring new demands... Political (especially revolutionary) parties are not constantly renewed, trying to confirm to the demands of the day; they arise in certain periods and perform certain duties using certain means. A party cannot get rid of its past, no matter how much it desires to. The past will always hover over the present and will surround it: Memories, habits, relations, sympathies and antipathies will come to the surface and will insert a kind of anarchy into the daily work! New wine is never stored in old barrels, because the barrel will break down and the wine will flow away... ARF Dashnaktzoutiun was useful for Armenia and the Armenian cause in the past. In the future, it will be of no use. Another Dashnaktzoutiun, perhaps a Dashnaktzoutiun of the Armenian Republic will occupy its place... There is nothing left for Dashnaktzoutiun to do... Neither today, nor tomorrow, nor in the future! It must end its existence with its own hands. It must do this for the sake of its own past, to save its own name and honor... Let us look around: Are we actually living the present? Is this actually a party activity and party life? Is it not clearly seen that we have already entered a phase of corruption and the reasons for this corruption is not coincidental and external but internal and organizational... The new generation, the youth is not with us (like they were 20-25 years ago). No new forces full of enthusiasm and faith are joining our ranks, in order to substitute the weary and the ones who have lost their faith and courage. On the contrary, they are running away from us, corrupting the party; or only the ones who are useless, indifferent, unenergetic and unenthusiastic and who have no ability to work,

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remain; only the ones who bear the coldness of death in their hearts and who carry a slight irony on their lips remain with us...We do not want to see the reality and continue our old habit of bringing monotonous explanations to events. We say: The bad and the self-interested; the hired and the nerveless go away; the good and the sincere; the ones who are psychologically and mentally sane remain with us, as usual. Is this an explanation then? Is this not similar to the absurd explanations made by the Bolsheviks that the Dashnaktzoutiun is composed of only the hired people of the bourgeoisie, of bandits, robbers and all types of adventurers?... This is not an explanation; these are the words of either a naïve child or of an incorrigible demagogue... And since the Dashnaktzoutiun has nothing else to do anymore - neither at the present time nor in the future, it must end its existence. Our Party has lost its 'raison d'être', its reason for existence. This is the bitter truth. Shall we have the courage to confess the truth and arrive at the proper conclusion? ...And the only conclusion is that we must end our existence.

With comradely salutations... " 62*

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Chapter 22: References and Footnotes:

Reference: Hovhannes Katchaznouni, Bucarest 1923, *Dashnagtzoutiun has Nothing to do Anymore*
Translated by Lale Akalin, Kaynak Yayinlari, Istanbul,

1. pg. 8

2. pg. 9

3. pg. 13

4. pg. 16

5. pg. 17

6*. pg. 17 – 18

Russian declared was on Nov. 2, 1914. Armenians were ready in Sept.-Oct. 1914.

7. pg. 19

8. pg. 20

9* pg. 21

Note that attacks were made, after the Mudros Ceasefire on Oct.30, 1918, when Ottoman armies were dissolving! (After SEYM) The new Armenian Republic was an Ottoman protectorate. They had sent a delegation of goodwill to Istanbul in late June, which was well received by the Sultan in September.

Dashnaks never played fair!

10. pg. 23

11*. pg. 25

Diaspora publications wrote only of plundering by Turks! Now we can learn the truth!

12*. pg. 25

Dashnak ringleaders are reputed for blackmailing, extortion and all types of financial embezzlement!

13*. pg. 27

Excellent example of how far Dashnaks would go to punish their own people!

14*. pg. 27 – 29

Important revelations... Dashnaks and the present Armenian leaders should read and learn the truth!

15. pg. 29 – 30

16. pg. 33

17*. pg. 35 – 37

The Autonomy offered to ARF at Erzurum is implied. But they voted for war, plunder, revenge!

18*. pg. 38 – 39

Prime minister ridicules Church prayers, vague testimonies, propaganda books in several colors!

19*. pg. 39 – 41

Speaker confesses, Van, Mus attacks, admits that some of deportees went to Armenian provinces in Russia, (that they were not killed by genocide) their agony, desperations, was no better than the ones sent to Syria!

20. pg. 42

21*. pg. 43 – 44

Confession of Dashnaks' underground activities!

22*. pg. 44 – 45

Speaker blames Armenian antagonism and blackmail of neighbors! (Sorry, true even today)

23*. pg. 47 – 48

Speaker confesses their mistake in not siding with Bolsheviks (when Bolsheviks fought the Czarist Dennikin armies)!

24. pg. 48

25*. pg. 49 – 50

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In Lalayan's chapter, please note that Armenians opened fire on the Russian soldiers going back home after the revolution when passing through Tibilis. Their ardent supporters, now, had become enemies for fleeing from the front.

26. pg. 50

27. pg. 50 - 51

28*. pg. 51

Confirmation of want of Armenian State under Ottoman protection!

29. pg. 51 - 53

30. pg. 54

31*. pg. 54 – 56

Armenian miscalculations and craze for war and victory by using “volunteer bands, against a regular army”!

32. pg. 56

33. pg. 57 - 58

34. pg. 58 - 59

35*. pg. 60

Loud and clear confession that Armenian state was a Dashnak dictatorship! (Is it different today?)

36*. pg. 61

Dashnaks do not remember this change of British attitude and past humiliations. They are too embedded in Genocide fanfare or illusion, and think that it is the way to seek revenge for their own past mistakes!

37*. pg. 62

Some Czarist Russian officers were employed in the Armenian army, remnants of Dennikin's White Army!

38*. pg. 63 – 64

Confessions... for those who want to learn and avoid repetition of mistakes...

39*. pg. 64

Confessions...destruction and massacre of Moslem villages!

40*. pg. 65 – 66

Confessions...Dashnak dictatorship under democratic camouflage! Seems to effectively work even today!

41. pg. 66

42. pg. 66 - 67

43*. pg. 67 - 68

Truthful but very late confessions...Present Armenian State follows the same dangerous routes, which brought nothing but huge losses at all times... Still insist on the wrong way!

44. pg. 69 - 71

45. pg. 71

46. pg. 72

47. pg. 73

48. pg. 73 - 75

49*. pg. 73 – 77

Prime Minister finally realized that all these years Armenians ‘have been used’...

50*. pg. 77 – 79

Important revelation by Prime Minister, who says that in 1923 nearly 1 million were living “outside the Republic”. How many were alive “inside the Republic”? Maybe 300,000 to 500,000? Can this be interpreted, that only about 200,000-300,000 perished, not 1,500,000 as claimed?

51. pg. 80 – 81

52. pg. 82 - 83

53*. pg. 84 – 86

Speaker confesses their expertise in terrorist actions to win independency from Soviets, but advises against!

54. pg. 86 - 87

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55*. pg. 88 - 90

Speaker admits that one of the reasons of famine, was the fact that they had destroyed the farms and grazing lands of their own people and that it was Soviet Russia, that saved them from hunger!

56. pg. 91

57*. pg. 91 – 92

Speaker complains about Party's involvement in commercial, and industrial issues and charity works! It is this fuel of income that keeps the Genocide show alive... Without it, many would lose sweet incomes!

58*. pg. 92 – 93

Speaker admits complete failure of Dashnaks and suggests suicide! PM says that half of the people is dead, and the other half dispersed in four corner of the world!

59*. pg. 96

Sorry, but the Dashnaks are back in the old business with large unity in fanaticism. Turkish antagonism is carried on with much success, despite over 42 assassinations in the past four decades.

60. pg. 95 - 96

61*. pg. 97

An unbelievable prophecy about the dissolving of the Soviet Russia and need to keep good relations with Turkey; and Dashnaks are the only obstacle!

62*. pg. 98 – 99

Speaker said it at that time in 1923... that Dashnaksuthiun is composed of only, the hired people of bourgeoisie, of bandits, robbers and all types of adventurers. (But they are very much in existence and the business of selling victimization stories with genocide fanfare, and they make their livings on it, while <lies circle the world and truth cannot find any shoes to put on and catch up>)

FEW CHRONOLOGICAL NOTES:

* Nov.2, 1914 : Russia declares war on the Ottomans (Armenian Volunteers already rebelled in Oct-Nov.1914)

* Dec.25 to Jan 6,1915: SARIKAMISH disaster Olttomans lose 80.000 soldiers due to cold, delayed by Armenian volunteers

* Apr.24, 1915 : Ottomans have 235 Dashnak Ringleaders arrested, next day ANZACS, BRITAIN, FRANCE land Dardanelle

* May 15, 1915 : Armenians conquer VAN city and province, handle key to Russian Army Commander

* May 27, 1915 : Decree for Relocation of all people in the war zones: 2-10 days notice, personal ox carts, etc.

permitted

* June-July 1915: Mass deportations in progress, Western cities, important persons, state employees excluded

* End July, 1915: Protestants and Catholics to be excluded from deportations, those gone can return

* Spring 1916 : Some 1600 persons court-martialed due wrongs done, 67 hanged, most others severely punished by CUP

* 1915-1916 : Russians advance with Armenian volunteers conquer several East Anatolia cities, Erzurum, Trabzon, Bitlis

* Nov. 1917 : Due to Russian Revolution, Russian armies start deserting front lines, returning home

* Jan. 1918 : Russian armies gone, Turkish front taken over by Armenian Volunteers only. Russians going home attacked. Armenian units in full control start butchering Erzurum-Erzincan, places they control

* Feb.10,1918 : Armenia-Georgia-Azerbaijan-Daghestan form of a joint Caucasus Federation SEYM which splits on 26.5.'18

* 28 May 1918 : New Armenian Republic under Ottoman Protectorate founded

* July 1918 : Former delegate at SEYM, Hov. Katchaznuni made Prime Minister (remains on duty until August 1919)

* Sept.6, 1918 : New Republic sends 2 men delegation received by Sultan Mehmet VI, reciprocal compliments, best wishes

* Oct.8 , 1918 : Bulgaria surrenders, Western front collapse, Talat Pasha CUP government resign, CUP heads refuge

* Oct.30, 1918 : CUP members run outside, new Government signs MUDROS treaty with Britain, surrenders (France is out)

* Feb.7, 1919 : Katchaznuni meets British General Wocker, start occupying Nakchievan, Kars, surroundings

* May 15,1919 : Greeks land in Izmir, start marching inland without resistance

* May 19,1919 : Mustafa Kemal (Ataturk) lands in Samsun, starting the new Nationalist Resistance Front

* Spring 1919 : Two Separate delegations sent to Paris Conference makes claims for land from Black sea to Mediterranean!

* Aug.10,1920 : Ottomans sign Sévres Peace Treaty, Nationalists refuse it.(Armenians already attack take Oltu 30.06.1920). New Nationalist Turkish Army (Gen. K. Karabekir) counter attacks, occupy all lands up to Tbilisi

* Nov.2, 1920 : Armenia surrenders signs Gumru/Alexandropol Treaty, drawing present borders. Armenia soon becomes a Soviet State, Treaty is reconfirmed with following Moscow and Kars Agreements, with amnesty to Armenians! Armenia remains one of the Soviet States until the Soviets breaks up in 1990s.

Charter 23: EXCERPTS FROM A. A. LALAIAN'S EDITORIAL

A.A. Lalaian was a Soviet historian of Armenian origin and his editorials relating to the "Dashnak" period of Armenian Republic were printed in the Russian magazine Revolutsionniy Vostok (Revolutionist East) No. 2-3 of 1936, translated into English as Anti-Revolutionist Dashnaksutyun and Imperialist War 1914-18. The magazine was edited by the National and Colonial Studies Organization.

His second article was entitled The Counter-Revolutionary Role of the Dashnaksutyun Party and was printed in the Istoriceskie Zapiski (Historical Notes) magazine. The original documents are of course in Russian.

"Dashnak editorials and editors do not expose themselves as enemies of peace, but deliriously want war." These lines belong to the American communist periodical Banvor. (Kysaber, Cairo, Nov. 11th, 1935)" #1

Below excerpts have been quoted from the recent English translation of:

THE COUNTER – REVOLUTIONARY ROLE OF THE DASHNAGZOUTIUN PARTY
A .A. Lalaian, Kaynak Yayinlari, ISBN: 978-975-343-483-6

p.11 - "The writer V. Parsamian, in his pamphlet titled 'Echmiadzhin and the Dashnagzoutiun' shows how the Armenian Church led by the Catholicos supported the nationalist and adventurous policies of the Dashnagzoutiun. Echmiadzhin played an active role in recruiting volunteers, and organizing them in armed units during the First World War and always backed up the Dashnagzoutiun Party to achieve its adventurous aims! ...In the article concerning Dro, a Dashnak commander, published in Nor Nosk, the organ of Armenian internationalists, it was stated that Dro was promoted to the rank of general for 'having cleansed' Armenia of the Turkish population. The people in charge of massacring Turks were rewarded this way."

p.12-13 - "Hochikoglian, talking about the massacres conducted against Turks, studies the system of volunteer troops and comments on the type of soldier created by this system: 'The psychology of flattery and groveling, arbitrariness, plunder, living on others' expense and killing innocent and helpless people was deep rooted in the soldiers.' Not only Muslims, but, as Lalaian documented, Armenians also got their share of the Dashnagzoutiun regime. The Armenian Communist Party, in the report submitted to the Comintern First Congress, describes the Dashnagzoutiun Government: 'Today, Armenia is ruled by Bogos Nubar Pasha and Enfiants, the tobacco manufacturer and notorious servant of the British, with the help of the British Command and the whip in the hands of the same British Generals. No doubt, the glimmering British golden coins blind people. Nevertheless, the British Imperialists never hesitate to grab the last morsel from the mouths of Armenian laborers and they abandon the Armenian people to hunger and disease. This

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has been proved by the latest news and even the Armenian nationalists' own sources. Tens of thousands of Armenians have been dying of hunger and diseases. Children in Armenia steal bones from dogs' mouths. Corpses are left in the streets to rot; no one picks them up nor buries them. But 'the humanistic British', 'our glorious allies' pretend not to hear and not to see anything. "

p.15 - "As Turkey was defending its motherland against the terrorist and contriving Dashnagzoutiun, the responsibility of the pains suffered falls on the imperialist powers and the Dashnagzoutiun... The number of Armenians sacrificed in mutual massacres 'as a result of the short sighted and adventurous policies of the Dashnagzoutiun' is stated to be as 300-500 thousand. That Orhan Pamuk's claim as to the destruction of one and a half million Armenians was a false accusation is thus proved by Armenian sources as well."

p.19 - "The British say that there is one thing the House of Commons cannot do: to turn a woman into a man and a man into a woman. They can achieve everything else. For our part, we will say this: The Parliaments of Western countries do not have the right or the ability to turn a false accusation of genocide into a fact. This falsification was a tool of psychological war until recently. However, it is no longer effective. We have entered an era when this manufactured accusation will hit back its manufacturers. Those who stand on shaky grounds will fail."

p.25 - "Here we will not discuss Dasnagzoutiun's claim of 'liberating' Armenian people. The people of Transcaucasia know the story of this liberation very well and they can never forget it. They never need any proof to show that the Dashnagzoutiun is counter revolutionary. The Dashnagzoutiun is equivalent to counter-revolution and Chernosoten reaction; to massacres where brother is pitted against brother; to plunder and murder; to the inquisition of the Middle Ages and to the suppression of the laborers; to continuous wars, hunger, infectious diseases and the complete destruction of the economy."

p.28-29 - "Zavriev, the person in charge of the international relations of the Dashnagzoutiun Party, in the notes he sent to the Russian ambassadors in London and Paris in 1915, said: 'From the first days of the war, the Russian Armenians have been expecting Turkey to be carried into this war. It gave them the hope that, at the end of the war, the Armenian question would have to be taken up again and would be definitely solved. Armenians (!) could not stay unresponsive to these developments, for this reason they participated in the events with great enthusiasm.

...The Dashnagzoutiun Party carefully hid the imperialist character of the war and the true reason why they joined the war and brought forward the slogans 'Saving the brethren in Turkey', 'The independence of Turkish Armenia'. The Dashnag gang used their publications to deceive the masses. They provoked ethnic conflicts between the Armenian and Turkish laborers with all their might and called on Armenians to destroy Turks."

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p.33 - "...The protection' of the Turkish Armenians, on the other hand, was only a façade behind which the Tsarist regime prepared and put into effect its own imperialist projects, with the help of the Dashnagzoutiun and other counter-revolutionary Armenian organizations... Talking about the Tsar's plans on Armenia, Lobonov Rostovsky, a minister of the Tsarist government had emphasized openly that 'the Tsarist regime needed an Armenia without Armenians'. This plan intended to occupy the Turkish Armenia and found here Cossack settlements and units, even at the price of massacring Armenians."

p.34-35 - "Foreign Minister Sazanov, in the letter he sent to Goremikin, the head of government, on August 30, 1914, wrote: 'At any event, it is very important from the general political view point that Turkey, not a move by us, be the instigator of a war that is to commence between us and Turkey. For this reason, it is an undesirable, even a dangerous matter to provoke an uprising among Armenians without a full analysis of the political situation. 'However, under the circumstances of coming to an agreement with Turks, we need to give Armenians concrete assurances; if this agreement is realized now, no concessions will be given under any circumstances whatsoever, on the Armenian issue. However, it will be desirable to establish close relations with both Armenians and Kurds, in order to benefit from them, should the relations with Turkey break. Therefore, it will be very appropriate to make preparations to transfer speedily arms and equipment across the border and to distribute them to the people there, should a disagreement arise or become inevitable.' "

p.41 - "Vorontsov-Dashkov sent the following telegram to the Foreign Ministry on February 20, 1915, in connection with the organization of the Armenians in Zeytun against Turkey: 'A committee of the Zeytun Armenians, who state they have almost 15 000 Armenians in their hands, ready to attack the Turkish transportation lines, has just visited the Caucasian Army headquarters. However, they have no weapons and bullets. According to the information obtained from the Turkish Army situated in Erzurum, due to the location of Zeytun, it would be very convenient to transport the necessary weapons and ammunition to Iskenderun from where..."

p.47 - "The nature of the volunteer movement was maximum 'heroism' displayed by the Dashnag units led by hmbapets (Andranik Pasha, Amazasp etc) in the mass massacres of Turkish women, children, old people and the sick. The Turkish villages occupied by the Dashnag units were 'wiped out' of living people and fell to ruin. A Dashnag 'hero' from Varaam (New Beyazit) tells about the heroic deeds he performed in 1920:

'I exterminated the Turkish population in Bashar-Gechar (an Armenian town) without making any exceptions' comments the Dashnag bandit proudly. 'One sometimes feels the bullets shouldn't be wasted. So, the most effective way against these dogs is to collect the people who have survived the clashes and dump them in deep holes and crush them under heavy

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rocks pressed from above?' The bandit says: 'I did so too: I collected all the women, men and children and extinguished their lives in the deep holes I dumped them into, crushing them with rocks!' "

p.50 - "...Taking into consideration how keen the Dashnag remnants are on alcoholic drinks, gambling etc, it is obvious how badly they would need money.

Protection of the 'immigrants'... This is one of the main sources of the Dashangzoutiun budget and perhaps the most important one. Actually, the Dashangzoutiun Party has systematically been collecting donation for its 'sacrifices'. Agaronian has recently collected quite a big sum, 15 million German Marks in America. This sum has certainly not contributed in the least to the improvement of the miserable conditions of the immigrants. Agaronian not only did not distribute the money to the hungry masses but also was not fair in sharing the booty with his colleagues. It becomes clearer now, why the Dashangzoutiun ideologues have been trying to nourish the 'immigrant' type and how they have increased the number of immigrants by including even the 'dead souls' and why they have started campaigns of slander towards the SU, which is the only country which has solved the immigrant question. The second outcome of the reactionary 'volunteer' movement is the massacre of a laboring population of almost one million people and hundred thousands of Armenians turning into classless immigrants cast outside the society."

p.51-52-53 - "As we stated above, from the August of 1914 to the end of 1915, the Dashangzoutiun had organized 10 000 volunteers and had used them against Turkey. However, was this military activity enough for them? Certainly not! In 1918 the Dashangzoutiun proclaimed its decision to recruit all Armenian men under 35 to the army. The Dashangzoutiun press was announcing calls to every 'conscientious' individual to volunteer for the army and to go to the front, whether or not they had completed their military service and was threatening the 'traitors' who did not oblige, with death penalty. The Armenian Division Commander, Nazarbekhov addressed the Armenian people:

O, Armenian people! If you want to save your families, those who can use weapons should join us!... Come with your weapons, your bullets, your provisions for five days... 'Donate bread, potatoes and any kind of food to the army'. The 'indomitable' Dashnag Army which called for the conquest of Eastern Anatolia, had to submit to its 'enemy' the cities, Erzurum, Kars, Leninakan- Alexandropol etc. in a period of four or five months, in 1918. As a result, of the Dashangzoutiun policies, half of the Armenian population was destroyed, and the remaining people were left aside in misery. All the Dashangzoutiun dreams of seven provinces and Cilicia, the 'United Great Armenia', the indemnity 'to be paid to Armenia as the victorious allied country' had all fallen to pieces. In fact, let alone the seven Eastern Anatolian provinces and Cilicia, Armenia had to forgo a wide part of its land (the land of Russian Armenia) in 1918-1920 and half of its population."

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P.54-55 - "The British reactionaries know very well what the Dashnags undertook in the First World War. That is why the British are now trying to gather together the remnants of the Dashnagzoutiun, combine them with the reactionary Kurdish groups and assign white Russian immigrant monarchists to lead them and to arm them in the name of 'free Armenia and Kurdistan to push them against the country of the Soviets. It seems that the bodies of hundred thousands of workers and peasants they destroyed together with the Tsarist regime and imperialism and the blood that was shed have not satisfied them. It seems that the fact that they caused the Armenian economy to collapse and that they definitely lost all their credibility in the eyes of the broad masses in the 30-month period that they were in power, has not been sufficient for them."

p.78 - "...prepared for the revolution fighters; the order for the arrest of comrade Shaumian, the Soviet Russian representative... All these filthy and bloody actions, won the esteem of the Menshevik-Dashnag Musavatist Sejm. The Sejm continued the policies of the Transcaucasian Commissariat. On April 22, 1918, the Sejm declared the 'independence' of Transcaucasia and broke the country away from Soviet Russia. It opposed the policies of Soviet Russia, especially the Brest-Litovsk Agreement. The Sejm, under the pressure of the Dashnagzoutiun (in the persons of its representatives on the so-called Peace Commission, Hatisian and Tigarian) started the war with Turkey and abandoned Kars, Batoum and the other Transcaucasian cities to Turkey, leaving Tbilisi under direct threat. The Sejm fought with the Transcaucasian Bolsheviks and shot revolutionary workers peasants to death. It gave utmost support to the suppression of the glorious Baku commune. '...counter-revolutionary -in the truest sense of the word- bourgeois-nationalist policies were put into force into the Sejm.' The Dashnagzoutiun, which fought side by side with the Mensheviks and the Musavat was a full accomplice of all this L counter-revolutionary bloody activities. The Dashnagzoutiun voted for Transcaucasia to separate from Russia. The Dashnags sent a delegation to Batoum to conduct talks with Turkey against Soviet Russia, but could not prevent the war with Turkey. The Dashnags invited the British-German and American imperialists to suppress the revolutionary movement in Caucasia. The Dashnags actively participated in the destruction of the Baku Commune. They shamelessly qualified the Sejm as a 'socialist government', 'the centre of socialist ideas and creations and the socialist international'."

p.80 - "The Transcaucasian Sejm could not live long. The inner discord prepared for the end. In the meeting on May 26, 1918, the Menshevik representatives read the following declaration:

'As we bring to your attention the fact that no agreement exists on matters of war and peace among the national Governments (the Mensheviks, the Dashnags and the Musavat), it is not possible to act on behalf of a United Transcaucasian Government. For this reason, the Sejm announces that it has dissolved itself.'

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After this hasty dissolution of the Sejm with the help of the imperialist powers, 'independent' states appeared after one another in Transcaucasia. The Dashnagzoutiun, which was backed by the German militarists proposed a draft resolution concerning the foundation of an 'independent' Armenian Republic, on May 28, 1918 in the so-called Armenian 'national' Council. The 'national' Council considered itself the sole authority in the 'Armenian towns' and assigned Hovhannes Katchaznoui to form the government in Armenia. Katchaznoui formed the Dashnag cabinet. The Interior Minister became the bandit Aram Pasha, the Minister of International Affairs was Hatisian, the executioner of the Armenian people; for the post of the Minister of War, adventurous Ahverdov was appointed. The so-called parliament of the 'independent' republic was also formed. In the middle of June 1918, the Dashnag Government was transferred from Tbilisi to Yerevan.

(The journal Communist reads: 34 Communist, issue 2, 1918. 35 Arev, issue 111, 1918)

p.82 - " The essence of this tendency of the Baku Dashnags and their organ, Arev was very clearly depicted on the pages of the journal, Communist: 'After the Soviets had assumed power in Baku and when the Armenian workers saw that Soviet Russia was their true friend and protector, they turned their backs on the Dashnag counter revolutionaries. For this reason, the Baku Dashnags had to resort to horrible lies...and they promised to struggle for Soviet power and against German-Turkish imperialism.' "

p.83 - "From the first days of the Commune, the Dashnag leaders started secret talks with Turkey, in order to fight against Bolshevism and to come to power themselves. Apart from this, in the spring of 1918, the Dashnags contacted the British Headquarters in Iran and tried to sense British inclinations, in case they should submit Baku to British imperialism (the secret talks of the Dashnagzoutiun with the British agent Major L. Bicherahov and others). In this way, the counter-revolutionary Dashnagzoutiun started, anti-Soviet activities among the commune troops, hiding behind the screen of 'pro-Soviet' tendency. The counter Dashnagzoutiun helped the Turkish Government to transfer their troops over Transcaucasia to fight against red Baku. On June 30, 1918, when the Turkish armies were advancing towards red Baku and when a terrible fight had started, the Dashnag agents insisted that the troops surrender to the enemy. Avetisian, the Dashnag agent who was in command of the Baku army ordered the troops to surrender and let the Turks enter Baku without even feeling the need to fight. The commanders of the Baku Soviet troops, Dashnag Amasasan, Kazarian etc. cooperated with Avetisian. S. Shaumian, A. Mikoian and the other members of the People's Commissariat Soviet (SNK), on the other hand, acted in accordance with Stalin's orders and resisted the compromising counter-revolutionary group, with all their might and..."

p.84 - "A. Gulghandanian and Colonel Kazarian, the representatives of the Armenian 'National Council demanded that the flag of surrender be hoisted. After the military commander, Mikoian refused to hoist the white flag, the field commander, Avetisian

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dissolved the parliament by force of arms. The hmbapet Amazasi, commanding the Baku Soviet troops on the Shamhan front, opened the front and let the enemy through. Amazasi, instead of fighting against the Turkish troops, ordered his soldiers -Armenians- to loot the belongings of Turkish civilians. In the meanwhile, the enemy was advancing towards red Baku, meeting almost no obstruction. On the ranks of the Turkish troops who attacked the Baku Commune were Dashnagzoutiun representatives and members of the Tbilisi Armenian 'National Council; Arzumanian, Arutunian etc."

p.87-88 - "In the spring of 1919, with the help of the Dashnagzoutiun, the British invaders were able to send a great amount of ammunition from Kars to Denikin who was fighting against the Bolsheviks. Miller, the senior commander of the British troops in the Near East, in the spring of 1919, at a meeting with Hatisian, the Prime-minister of the Dashnagzoutiun Government declared his pleasure at the said event and expressed his hope that the War Minister of the Dashnag Government would 'in the future, provide the opportunity to divide the provisions in Kars equally justly', in other Words, would continue providing logistic support to General Denikin. Denikin continued his close relations with the Dashnag Government through his own representative He saw the 'indefatigable' Dashnag army as his own and directed his own officers to this army. The Dashnags too were serving in the Denikin army fighting against Soviet Russia. After the Red Army defeated Denikin, the counter-revolutionary Dashnag Government had talks with Baron Wrangel, fighting against the Soviet forces in Southern Russia. In October 1920, the Dashnag Government bought nearly one million bullets from Wrangel, who promised another one million bullets to the Dashnag Government to help them succeed in their fight against the Bolsheviks"

p.89 - "Government and to assume power. The adventurous policies of the Dashnagzoutiun Government which gave rise to the complete breakdown of the forces of production in the country and the destruction of the half of the population during the period of 2,5 years of government, helped this. The continuous wars between peoples, clashes which pitted brother against brother and massacres, the cruelty of those in power, the slavery of the Middle Ages, plundering of the laboring masses, famine, infectious diseases, cruelty, the execution of the revolutionaries... Yes, this was the situation. These were the factors which prepared for the armed uprising of the worker-peasant masses and the overthrow of the bourgeois-landlord government.

...After overthrowing the Dashnag government, the rebels declared that the state power passed to the soviets in many cities of Armenia. The Dashnagzoutiun mobilized its forces and with the support of the SRs and the other counter-revolutionary groups crushed the glorious May uprising all over Armenia, shedding the blood of Armenian workers and peasants. Many self-sacrificing heroes were killed in these clashes. "

p.90 - "Musaelian, Garipjanian Saruhanian, Hukasian and others... Yes all these people who fought against the Dashnag counter-revolutionaries and were killed in the hands of the arch-

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enemies of the people will always live in the memory of the Armenian labouring people! The Dashnagzoutiun during the 2.5 years it stayed in power, Started an armed struggle against the Azerbaijanis living on Armenian soil, killing them whether they be civilians or soldiers and demolishing their towns and villages. In 1918 and 1919, the Dashnagzoutiun Government bombed the disarmed Azerbaijani and Kurdish villages, on the pretext that 'they did not comply with government's orders!' (Some Armenian villages also got their share of this bombardment) Having crushed the glorious May Uprising of the workers and peasants, The Dashnagzoutiun bombarded the Azerbaijani and Kurdish villages and murdered the civilians with the slogan 'Muslims are our enemies!'

p.91 - "Armenian Division Commander on November 1918, informed him that all the villages in the area had been bombarded, 30 Turkish villages had been occupied and an operation was being planned in order to occupy the remaining 29 villages and asked permission for the operation. When the Dashnag murderers got approval from the headquarters, they demolished tens of Azeri villages in the Bash-Garni region, murdered the women, children; the people young and old and ransacked their belongings. A Dashnag civil servant wrote, in his letter dated June 21, 1920, sent to A. Ohanjanian, the Dashnag Prime-Minister: 'Zanki-Basar was occupied by our troops. This region is so rich that it can pay our debts many times over. There has been an unconceivable plunder here. All the wheat, barley, rice, all the samovars, the carpets, all the money and gold have been collected. The Ministry of Finance could only send its officials here yesterday. A wealth of gigantic proportions is sliding away from our hands.' "

p.92 - "A person named G. Muradian recounts the savage Dashnag activities of plunder of the Azerbaijani villages of the North bank of Lake Gorchy, with admiration: 'As a result of the work carried out by our government (the Dashnag Government) ... the population of these villages Tohluja, Akhbulaq Ardanjsh etc.) have been expelled outside the borders of Armenia. I have seen the abandoned villages. Only a few cats and dogs were left. They were meowing or barking strangely with surprise at the deadly silence. The populations of these villages have left behind a considerable amount of potatoes, wheat and barley and seeds. The government can collect from these villages, over two million puds of wheat and half a million pud of potatoes.' "

p.93-94-95 - "The barbaric behavior of the Dashnags towards the Azeri population in Armenia is very 'eloquently' (!) reflected in the following words of a Dashnag 'hero': 'I exterminated the Tatar (=Turkish) population in Bashar-Gechar (a town in Armenia - A.L.) without making any exceptions. One sometimes feels the bullets shouldn't be wasted. So, the most effective way against these dogs is to collect the people who have survived the clashes and dump them in deep holes and crush them under heavy rocks pressed from above, not to let them inhabit this world any longer.' 'So I did accordingly. The bandit adds: 'I collected all the women, men and children and extinguished their lives in the deep holes I dumped them into, crushing them with rocks.' The Dashnag government inflicted similar

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punishments to 'rebel' Armenian villages too. (The village of Pashakent and others). The Dashnag Government, cruelly eradicating those who 'resisted' and leaving the others to starve, was destroying the Armenian laborers in the cruelest way possible. The archive documents of the Dashnag Government reveal that the Dashnag regional commissars could very well match the inquisition judges of the Middle Ages. For example, the regional commissar, V. Agamian arrested the people in his region (old Karanuk, now Martuni) without any trial, seized their property and shot them. Agamian, on the pretext of struggling against the army deserters gathered the wives, mothers and sisters of the people charged with hiding the deserters in their homes, stripped them naked, and took them to a little pool of water prepared before and forced them to duck-walk there. This sadistic man then beat the naked women in the water and kept them there for hours. He later ordered the women to be arrested, and at night sent for them and raped the young girls and women, After insulting them, he turned them over to his guards. Agamian continued his cruelty in his region until the peasants could no longer stand it. The poor and better off peasants came together and decided to kill this wild animal. However, the Dashnag Government learned about the situation from its agent M. Azarapetov and called him back. The counter Dashnag Government blocked the flow of one arm of the river Zangi in 1920, in order to punish the 'incorrigible' peasants. As a result, many villages from Lake Gorchy to Zanki-Bazar and the vicinity of the river turned into a desert. Many people died and the crops were ruined. These terrible conditions created by the dictatorship of the Dashnagzoutiun had produced very grave conditions in the country. People all over the country were suffering from famine and were wiped out. The Dashnagzoutiun trying to distract Armenians by calling on them to seize the property of the Azeris, pushed them on the Azeris. The Dashnagzoutiun was suggesting plunder to the laboring classes, as 'a way out!' The Dashnag Government also provoked the masses against Georgians, hiding behind a discourse of 'national struggle' and poisoning them with chauvinism. The war instigated by the Dashnags and Mensheviks was supposed to solve the controversy concerning the regions such as Akhalkalaki, Borchalj etc. Using the same method, the Dashnagzoutiun pushed Armenians on Azerbaijan, ruled by the Musavat, in order to solve the questions of Qarabag, Nakhichevan etc. The Dashnag Government, under the banner of national struggle, intended to occupy all Eastern Anatolia and so started to get prepared for an attack. Stalin had said, 'As a popular banner, the national flag is only hoisted to deceive the masses; for, it is suitable for covering the counter-revolutionary plans of the national bourgeoisie'."

p.96-97 - "The bourgeois-nationalist policy of the Dashnag Government resulted in the destruction of almost a half of the Armenian population; the other half was almost on the point of destruction too. Before the Dashnags came to power, 1 200 000 people had been living on the present Armenian territory. Just before the Sovietization of Armenia began, in 1920, the population of the country had decreased to 770 000. The transformation the national combination of the population between 1918-1920 is also very significant. During the sovereignty of the Dashnagzoutiun dictatorship of 2.5 years, the Armenian population

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decreased by 35%, the Turks by 77%, the Kurds by 98% and the Yezids by 40%. The Population of Armenia within the Present Borders Between 1918-1920 Dashnagzoutiun Dictatorship. (Percentage of decrease-thousand):

Nations	1918	1920	% LOSS
Armenians	885	690,5	22
Turks	260	60	77
Kurds	25	0,5	98
Yezids	8	5	40
Russians	15	14	7
Other nations	7	4	43
TOTAL	1200	774	35.5

p.98 - "However, the Dashnags were increasing their pressure on the revolutionaries and Continued fighting with Turkey 'to obtain the acceptance of our (Dashnag's - L.A.) indisputable rights by force'. These words of the official bandit of the Dashnag Government, A. Oganjanian were in vain. The 'indefatigable' army of the Dashnag Government abandoned Armenia's Alexandropol, Karakilise and other cities to Turkey with almost no fighting. The Turkish Army moved towards Yerevan, the capital of Armenia, to attack and with this step meant that the existence of the whole of Armenia was in question. The Dashnag Government seemed to believe that it could do nothing against the attacking enemy. On the days Alexandropol fell, British imperialism which the Dashnag Government 'had pinned its hopes on', through Stocks, their military representative informed T.Bekzedian, the Dashnag ambassador in Tbilisi, that Britain would not be able to help the Dashnag Government; and that the Dashnagzoutiun would have to find the support it needed from their enemy, the Turks."

p.99 - "On October 17, 1920, the Dashnag Government sent its agent, Hatisian to Tbilisi, to have talks with Kazim Bey, the representative of the Ankara Government. After counselling with British Stocks, the French Colonel Nonakurin and the Italian Colonel Gobay etc., Hatisian started 'work'. A Dashnag newspaper wrote the following on the subject: 'If the Armenian people want to stay alive and to consolidate the vital existence of its state, it must incline towards Turkey, not Russia.'... According to the agreement signed in Alexandropol on December 2, 1920, between the Dashnag Government (which was non-existent in the country) and the Turkish delegation, the Dashnagzoutiun gave up the Sevres Agreement and its claims on Turkey, on the acceptance that there were no regions inhabited by Armenians. According to the Dashnagzoutiun-Turkey agreement, Armenia only had the right to keep a force of 1 500 gendarmes, 8 cannons, 20 machineguns. The Turkish Government promised to extend military 'aid' to Armenia upon need."

p.100-101 - "In his memoirs, Veys Veysov, the team head of the Basar Gechar Cattle Farm says:

EXCERPTS FROM A.A. LALAIAN'S EDITORIAL

'One winter day, the Dashnags drove us away from the village under a shower of bullets. This 'activity' was by General Silikov and Tevasov. The Turkish villages in our district had all been destroyed and only small-blackened hillocks had been left behind. The Dashnags had conducted monstrous acts which can be rarely found on earth! They had killed so many people! Only I had been left alive out of a family of 8. In the mountains, which we are wandering about now, many bodies were lying. The rocks and rivers of these mountains had frightened the people those days! When the darkness fell, with our usual fear, we used to wait for the raids of the Dashnag robbers and murderers.

...The peoples living in Armenia have been renewed. The population has increased by almost 55% during the Soviet rule. While it was 774 000 in 1920, it became 1 200 000 in 1936."

Chapter 24: THE SUCCESS OF ARMENIAN LOBBIES AND DIASPORA ORGANIZATIONS

(Work. Paper #13, August, 2002 – By Heather S. Gregg, Dr. degree researcher at Harvard Univ.)

“Divided They Conquer: The Success of Armenian Lobbies in the U.S.”

E-Mail: http://web.mit.edu/cls/www/migration/pubs/rwp/13_divided.pdf

Most people who hear so much and frequently about the “Genocide fanfare,” buzzing continuously and sometimes stinging to remind their existence, may think that they can have some mental peace of mind if they would say “O.K. let it be your way, now let us return to contemporary life”! Well, once you step and get your foot caught, you will soon start realizing the depth of this “swamp of hatred”. This chapter attempts to reveal the excellent organization of this “money-honey hive” or “milking industry”, whose capital is “*charity for victims and keeping the Armenian identity*”, on top of the citizenship of the naturalized country. Where does all the work and honey-money go? Why, it is kept in a myriad of institutes, associations etc.? If you do not accept your role, you are no one in the community, church or elsewhere related to Armenianism.

The whole dependence, livelihood, risks of integration or assimilations, all cultural, folkloric, communal, religious, educational, social and similar activities are bred from one fountain of “*marrow deep hatred*” against “barbarian, devilish, sinful, vile, criminal” and similarly *disqualified base* people who accept to be named “Turks”. Anything in favor of Turks must be defied and their vile exposed at all times! If there is nothing new, just warm up the kettle of old stale “Genocide stew and eye-watering grand-ma stories”, which all lack minimal valid documentation or historical confirmation. After a while, because the ‘blamed party is never asked or even permitted to express an opinion’, the propagandist-false accusations and slanders become a “**reality that need not to be verified**”. In the present and past, such verdicts on “Genocide”, are being collected (like stamps), from several Parliaments or Congresses **as if they replace** International Tribunals. The system is simple; find some one of Armenian ethnicity or sympathy, help or donate for his election campaign, support those few people work quietly from within, passing a Bill, usually when the congress majority is absent. Most of the other members, ‘do not care to learn about the real truths’, because Christians ‘always speak the truth’ and those ‘Turks are Moslems, famous for their harems, butcheries and fights against Christianity’! Many even do not participate the meeting or simply ignore to ‘search’ for the truth. Other Chapters contain more than enough examples and references for such, unparalleled bigotry.

“No Englishman worthy of name would condemn a prisoner on the evidence of the prosecution alone, without first hearing the evidence for the defense”.

C. F. Dixon-Johnson, British author, 1916 The Armenians

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“It is... time that Americans ceased to be deceived by (Armenian) propaganda on behalf of policies which are ...nauseating...”

John Dewey, Columbia Univ. November, 1924, The Turkish Tragedy

Portraying Armenians always as “victims of Christianity” and in need of all sorts of humane aids, has worked successfully and efficiently, for more than a century, thanks to the extensive involvement of Churches and their Biblical duty to “Christianize” pagans. As noted in other parts of this book, a large portion of the philanthropic collections, were used for other purposes, such as buying arms, uniforms, even covering entertainment expenses of leaders and their personal allowances or shares of pillage, when thousands may be perishing at the very same time because of lack of food, shelter, care, etc.

The following excerpts, explain the size of this huge mechanism, the way it is kept working and lubricated by new large donations, and/or regular monthly voluntary or obligatory contributions! The Dashnaks have quite a strong reputation for “extortion and/or punishing those who don’t obey”. (Be it even their own high clergy members, in New York, or Akhtamar Church or other places.)

Interested readers may please read the full paper at the above website for better clarification. pg. Iv

Abstract

“This case study of Armenian lobby groups in the U.S. argues that the amount of aid and support for Armenia and Armenian issues is best explained by the intense lobbying efforts of Armenian-Americans in the U.S. The lobbying success of this small U.S. minority is largely the result of two factors: an intense inter-community rivalry between two factions within the Armenian-American population, which has led to the *hyper mobilization* of this ethnic group’s resources, and the formation of key alliances in Washington including members of Congress and other lobby groups and organizations.”

To confirm the above introduction with a much alive example, let us read just a few sentences, from The Armenian Weekly, Vol.73, No.7, Feb.17th, 2007:

“The work which the Armenian Revolutionary Federation pursues in the political arena, our Hai Tahd, is an assertion of rights as a nation, is a statement to all Armenians, not only survive, but claim justice as citizens of this world... It has been possible to lead, because this nation trusts the Armenian Revolutionary Federation to pursue these goals. It is this trust, which you have in the Dashnaktsoutiune which enabled us to establish ourselves in a center in Washington last year with the purchase of our new ANCA building. It is this trust, which brings a Senator like Menendez or Biden to work with us, and not only for our financial support only, but also for the grassroots and shared ideals we represent...”

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And so we have worked hard to support our friends in the American political system, supporting people like Congressmen Schiff, Pallone and Knollenberg in their election campaigns. We have also worked with Sen. Menendez to put a hold on the nomination of Mr. Hoagland as U.S. Ambassador to Armenia, because we, as our friends, believe in truth and in a cause that is just... We are making every effort now to realize the Genocide Resolution in Congress with our friends on both sides of the isle. The Genocide Resolution is not only a condemnation of Turkey's crime committed over 90 years ago, (for which there was never any tribunal or debate or hearing both sides or studying any evidences other than rumors), but is also a condemnation of its reluctance to come to terms with its past (guilty of not confessing, a non existing, uncommitted crime), a condemnation of the kind of oppression and limits on speech (?) that foster hatred and racism!

(This sentence alone is typical of inversion of realities accusing Turks of hatred and racism, when it is self-explanatory and gives no rights to speak or defend, to Turks! A bombastic palaver, ending with request of money!)

p.1 Divided They Conquer: The Success of Armenian Ethnic Lobbies in the U.S.
Heather S. Gregg – August, 2002

I. Introduction

"Within the last decade, Armenians lobby groups in the U.S. have achieved considerable success in gaining political and material support from Congress. Such achievements include roughly \$90 million in annual aid for the state of Armenia, maintenance of Sect. 907 of the Freedom of Support Act, which blocks aid to Armenia's rival Azerbaijan, the stalling of an arms deal with Turkey, and increased support for official U.S. Government recognition of the Armenian genocide of 1915-22... The degree of Congressional support to the republic of Armenia and Armenian issues is surprising. Armenians number only around 1 000 000 in the U.S. and, although concentrated in states such as Massachusetts and California, their voting impact is moderate relative to other ethnic groups. Furthermore, U.S. national interests towards Caucasus do not suggest that Armenia is the most important state to target in that region. Azerbaijan, the country with which Armenia has an active land and border dispute, holds oil and natural gas reserves in addition to a passage for transport of these fuels to Turkey, a littoral state. Turkey, a historic and contemporary foe of the Armenians, is a regionally important NATO member and U.S. ally. In addition, Armenia has received considerable U.S. aid despite waves of undemocratic practices such as banning political parties media censorship, and the occupation of 10% of Azerbaijan not including the Armenian exclave of Nagorno-Karabakh. It, therefore, is hard to argue that Washington supports Armenia as a reward for its democratic and human rights"

p. 2-3 "...This paper argues that the amount of aid and support for Armenian issues is best explained by the intense lobbying efforts of Armenian-Americans in the U.S. The lobbying success of this small ethnic minority is largely the result of two factors. First, an inter-community rivalry within the Armenian-American population represented by two lobby groups in Washington, the Armenian National Committee of America (ANCA) and the

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Armenian Assembly of America (the Assembly), has led to *hyper mobilization* of this ethnic group's resources. Their different approaches to lobbying have mobilized more Armenians than one organization alone, and have doubled outreach projects and resources on Armenian issues, magnifying the Armenian presence in the U.S. Secondly, the Armenians have formed key alliances in Washington, including members of Congress, other lobby groups and organizations, and the bipartisan Congressional Caucus on Armenian Issues in the House of Representatives, which has rallied behind Armenian policy objectives. Together, hyper-mobilization and alliance building have allowed the Armenians considerable success in achieving specific policy objectives... The first camp on ethnic lobbies, headed by Samuel Huntington and Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., argues that the rise of U.S. ethnic groups in the foreign policy arena stems from diversity within America's population and is a threat to the national interest. Huntington asserts, that the Cold War united the American people under the threat from a common enemy, the Soviet Union... Tony Smith offers a more nuanced yet equally as cautionary argument about ethnic lobbies in the U.S. Smith, like Huntington and Schlesinger Jr., posits that ethnic lobbies affect U.S. foreign policy decision-making considerably and that their impact on the national interest may be more negative than positive. However, Smith looks not only at the ethnic composition of the U.S. but also the structure of its political system as an explanation for how ethnic lobbies gain influence in Washington..."

p. 5 "The Armenian-American diaspora suffers from a politically motivated schism that has torn through virtually every aspect of the community's life. This split, although present from the earliest days of the community in the US, has gone through waves of heightened animosity and relative calm. The result of the schism has been the construction of parallel organizations- churches, schools, newspapers, charities, social clubs and lobby groups -that remain divided to this day... The early Armenian-American community organized itself around political parties, which in turn shaped religious and social organizations. Four political parties were particularly important within the Armenian-American diaspora. The first party, formed in Geneva in 1887, was the Hunchakian Revolutionary Party. Initially this movement argued for independence of Armenia from Ottoman rule. The second movement, the *Dashnakutiun*, or Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF), was founded in Tbilisi in 1890. This group initially called for reforms within the Ottoman system, not full independence. In 1910, the ARF became a political party and headed the government of the Republic of Armenia from May 1918 until Armenia's fall to the Red Army on Dec. 2, 1920. The third movement was the Ramgavar Party, or the Armenian Democratic Liberal Party (ADL), which was formed in Egypt in 1921."

p. 6-7 "These divergent political movements had an impact on religious organizations in the Armenian-American diaspora. The Protestant Armenians opposed revolution and banned pro-revolutionary rallies in their meetinghouses, largely held by Apostolic (Orthodox) Armenians. This ideological division led to the founding of the first Armenian Apostolic

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Church in Worcester in 1891 and the founding of an 'Armenian Academy' aimed at organizing pro-revolutionaries in the community. These opposing perspectives existed not only between denominations but within the Armenian Apostolic Church as well. Tensions within the Apostolic Church culminated with the assassination of Archbishop Tourian on Dec. 24, 1933, as he was conducting Mass in New York. Although never determined to be an ARF plot, two ARF members were convicted of murder and seven others tried as accomplices to the crime. The assassination split the Church in two, prompting the pro-ARF camp to establish its own apostolic church, the Armenian National Apostolic Church of America. In 1957, this church was placed under the jurisdiction of the Holy See of Cilicia, in Lebanon. Twelve of the 15 existing apostolic churches remained under the authority of the Holy See of Etchmiadzin, in Soviet occupied Armenia...The schism within the Armenian-American community played itself out not only in the churches but also in charities and social clubs. Prior to World War I and the Armenian Genocide, hundreds of Armenian charities existed in the U.S. Of particular importance was the creation of the Armenian General Benevolent Union (AGBU) in 1906 by the wealthy Egyptian-Armenian Bohos Nubar Pasha. The aims of AGBU, which remain the same today, are education, vocational training, medical access, agricultural development, and aid to the orphaned and needy. Armenian historian Robert Mirak argues that the AGBU, although intended to be non-partisan, was created by the anti-ARF community, and has remained largely partisan. The creation of the AGBU prompted the ARF in 1910 to found the Armenian Red Cross, which later became the Armenian Relief Society (ARS). Current-day ARS headquarters, in Watertown, Massachusetts, are in the same building as other ARF organizations. In addition to bipartisan charities, social clubs were also divided along pro- and anti-ARF lines. The Armenian Youth Federation (AYF) was founded just weeks after the assassination of Archbishop Tourian and remains an important wing of the ARF. The anti-ARF community sponsors its own youth movements."

p.8 "...own ethnic lobbies in Washington, early political activism on Armenian issues was largely instigated and orchestrated by non-Armenians. In particular, churches in the U.S. and Great Britain launched campaigns after World War I to raise money for the 'starving Armenians.' American and British missionaries to the region were also instrumental in raising awareness of Armenia and Armenian issues. In addition, women's organizations such as the WCTU in Britain and the U.S. took up the Armenian cause, sponsoring rallies and fundraisers, writing to politicians, and even traveling to areas where Armenian refugees were amassed to provide aid! After the Genocide, Armenians in the U.S. joined forces with other groups to thwart the restoration of economic and diplomatic ties between the U.S. and the new Republic of Turkey. The American Committee Opposed to the Lausanne Treaty, a pro-Armenian body of Congress members, clergy, charity organizations, and Armenian-Americans, organized to block ratification of normalized relations with Turkey. The Committee succeeded in preventing the treaty's ratification in the Senate. In 1927, the State Department negotiated the restoration of ties between the two countries through an

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'exchange of notes' between diplomats. Despite rigorous opposition from members of the Committee, Turkey and America exchanged ambassadors in May 1927, thus reestablishing diplomatic ties. The Senate approved these actions *post facto* in 1928."

p.9 "...Armenian-Americans and other pro-Armenian groups fought to classify Armenians as refugees, which allowed them special entry into the U.S. After World War II, the American National Committee for Homeless Armenians (ANCHA) took similar measures, calling on the Displaced Persons Act.⁴⁸ ANCHA succeeded in aiding 25 000 Armenians' immigration to the US, despite the quota system. (Note: Also refer to Chapter 17, ref.#3, and Chapter 21). Another important phase of political activism within the Armenian Diaspora was the terrorist movement of the 1970s and early-1980s. The goal of Armenian terrorist acts was to agitate for Turkish and international recognition of the Armenian Genocide. Two main groups associated with the ARF, the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA) and the Armenian Revolutionary Army (ARA), assassinated Turkish officials to avenge those who died in the Genocide and to push for greater recognition of the Genocide. Terrorist activities later expanded to include acts like the murder of nine and injuring of 74 at Ankara's airport in 1982 and the bombing of Orly Airport in Paris in 1983, which killed six and injured 48. These acts, while gaining publicity for the Armenian cause, divided the Armenian Diaspora over their methods and morality. Terrorism lost its effectiveness as a political tool as the Armenian community and those within the ranks of the ARF became more divided over the costs and benefits of these acts...In addition to these methods of political activism, the Armenians formed lobby groups aimed at influencing foreign policy in Washington. The ARF cites the American Committee for the Independence of Armenia (ACIA), formed in 1918, as their first lobby group. Their current lobby organization, the Armenian National Committee of America (ANCA), evolved from the ACIA. In 1972, influential members in the anti-ARF community in the U.S. founded the Armenian Assembly of America (the Assembly) with the hope of forming 'a new Armenian organization in which leaders from various...' "

p. 10 "ANCA and the Assembly are very different organizations in their histories and goals. ANCA traces its origins back to the American Committee for the Independence of Armenia (ACIA), the organization that lobbied on behalf of the ARF-governed Republic of Armenia, beginning in 1918. As noted earlier, the *Hunchags*, the Progressive League, and those aligned with Nubar Pasha (the AGBU and, later, the *Ramgavars*) contested the ARF-run Armenian Government. This contestation led to two delegations of Armenians at the post-World War I conferences of Versailles and Sèvres, and two delegations at the post-World War II conference in San Francisco. In the US, however, there was only one organized lobby group for Armenian issues, the ARF-backed ACIA and its successor ANCA. The presence of only one Armenian lobby group held until 1972."

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p.11 "Although the Assembly named as one of its primary goals to create 'an organization for all Armenian-Americans,' the founding of the Armenian Assembly of America is another chapter in the rivalry between pro- and anti-ARF groups in the U.S. The key founding members were contributors to the AGBU, the largest remaining anti-ARF organization. Mugar, the creator of the Star Market chain in Massachusetts, was a prominent New England philanthropist who had donated large sums of money to Boston-area Universities and the AGBU. Richard Hovannisian, a prominent scholar of Armenian history and founding member of the Assembly, was also an active member of the AGBU... From this imperative, ANCA delineates three main goals: 'to foster public awareness in support of a free, united and independent Armenia; to influence and guide U.S. policy on matters of interest to the Armenian-American community; and to represent the collective Armenian-American viewpoint on matters of public policy, while serving as liaison between the community and their elected officials.'"

p.12 "Another key difference between the two lobby groups is the way in which they are structured. Both organizations place their national headquarters in Washington, DC, and both organizations have offices in Yerevan, the capital of Armenia, and Stepanakert, the capital of Nagorno Karabakh. ANCA's structure is dispersed; it has numerous offices and Chapters throughout the U.S. There are Western and Eastern regional offices, in Glendale, California and Watertown, Massachusetts, respectively. The Eastern Regional Office coordinates 31 local offices west of the Mississippi. The Western Regional office coordinates 12 offices, mostly in California. In addition, there are ANCA offices in other countries including France, Italy, and Britain and a representative for the EU...The ANCA is convinced that a well-educated, motivated grassroots [sic] is the most valuable and powerful weapon we have. Each ANCA is composed of community members. Each ANCA is structured to meet the needs of its local community...ANCA boasts of 'over 45 Chapters in 25 states across the U.S.—each working to ensure that the Armenian American community's collective voice is heard on the federal, state and local level.' Primarily, the Assembly attracts and targets prominent Armenian-American professionals and businesspeople that support the lobby group financially."

p.13 "Lastly, ANCA and the Assembly have formed separate alliances with other organizations and interest groups. ANCA names coalition building as essential to its effectiveness. An ANCA representative says: 'The ANCA has longstanding ties to the Greek, [Greek] Cypriot, Kurdish, and Lebanese communities. We also work with various labor and human rights organizations.' These alliances have been particularly useful for ANCA's bid to block military and economic aid to Turkey based on human rights violations of Armenians, Kurds, and Greek Cypriots. This will be further discussed below...The Assembly boasts a strong and unique tie with the U.N., with which it claims to have "the highest non- governmental organization status of any Armenian organization. In 1997, the Assembly's NGO Training and Resource Center (NGOC) launched a new initiative with

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U.N.HCR to 'build the capacity of NGO's dealing with refugee problems...through a combination of training, technical assistance, assessments, and grants.' In 1999, the Assembly was given special consultative status at the U.N. Economic and Social Council. In addition, the Assembly claims a unique relationship with the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum and works closely with its staff to raise awareness on issues of genocide."

p.14-15 "...and Armenian Weekly newspapers, also available online. The ARF publishes the bilingual daily Azbarez, founded in 1908, and boasts a circulation of over 500,000, in addition to website readers. The ARF also publishes the daily Yerik in Armenia...Another means of outreach are U.S. research institutes devoted to Armenian issues. The Zoryan Institute for Contemporary Armenian Research and Documentation, Inc. was founded in 1982 in Cambridge, Massachusetts. It was conjoined with the Zoryan Institute of Canada in 1984. The Institute names as its goals the 'documentation, study, and dissemination of material related to the life of the Armenian people in the recent past and present, and within the context of larger world affairs.' Specifically, it focuses on three areas of study: the Genocide, the Diaspora, and Armenia. With the Univ. of Toronto, the Institute co-publishes Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies, a quarterly journal. It also holds seminars on Armenian issues, collects data and archival material, and makes its resources open to 'scholars, writers, journalists, film-makers, government agencies, and other responsible organizations by special arrangement.' The Institute is funded by private donations from 'well-educated professionals' and 'business owners'... The Assembly founded the Armenian National Institute (ANI) in 1997 with the goal of raising public awareness on the Armenian Genocide and seeking legal retribution for victims of the Genocide. To this end it holds conferences and forums on the Genocide. ANI is currently collaborating with the Facing History and Ourselves Foundation on a project aimed at developing school curricula on the Genocide. In addition, ANI is working on The Encyclopedia of Genocide, in collaboration with Holocaust scholars. ANI claims a special relationship with the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, with which it is working to develop the Armenian Holocaust Museum and Memorial in Washington, DC...Mobilizing Armenian-American youth is another important feature of both lobby groups. ANCA and the ARF support the Armenian Youth Federation (AYF), which was founded in 1933. The AYF names its primary goal as '*hayabahbanoum*' or 'keeping Armenians Armenian' and 'instilling in them pride in their heritage.' The AYF achieves these ends through education on Armenian history and issues, annual Olympics between different regions and Chapters of the organization, language courses, political activism, and cultural functions. In addition, they have a summer camp, Camp Haiastan, which hosts hundreds of young Armenian-Americans each year. They also offer college scholarships for its members. In addition, ANCA supports an internship program within its major offices for college-aged Armenian-Americans... In addition, the AGBU offers several programs that target youth and young professionals. They run 24 primary, secondary, and preparatory schools in addition to international 'Saturday schools' that teach Armenian history, culture, and language, including six in the U.S. They offer scholarships

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internationally and a special graduate student loan program in the U.S. The AGBU have a Young Professional's Club, established in Los Angeles in 1995, aimed at creating an international network of young Armenian professionals and linking that network with young professionals in Armenia. In addition, they also hold a biennial international athletics event and a have summer camp, Camp Nubar, in New York and several other camps internationally. See chart {A} for a summary of Armenian-American resources “.

p. 17 Chart { A } : Armenian-American Lobby Groups and Their Resources

	<i>A N C A</i>	<i>The Assembly (AAA)</i>
History	Lobbying Arm of ARF	Largely from the AGBU
Charities	ARS	AGBU
Primary Goal	“Unified, Free and Independent Armenia”	Democracy, economic development, Prosperity
Targets of mobilization elites, added	Grass-roots	Initially money generating grass-roots (ARAMAC) in 1990s
Alliances	Kurds, Greeks, Greek Cypriots, Unions	US Holocaust Memorial Museum, UN
Youth Programs	(with ARF) AYF, 1933 Summer camp Internships Scholarships Olympics	(with AGBU) Schools Summer camp Young Professionals' Club Internships Scholarships International Athletics
Research 1997	Zoryan Institute, 1982	Armenian National Institute
Publications action alerts	Website, position papers, action alerts Transcaucus: A Chronology Hairenik Armenian Weekly Azbarez (ARF) Yerik	Website, position papers AGBU Magazine Ararat Quarterly
Congressional groups	Bipartisan Caucus Democratic Council Republican Council Key Congressional Members	Bipartisan Caucus Democratic Council Republican Council Key Congressional members

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p. 18 "Despite their differences in histories, goals, structure, and approaches to mobilization, the lobbying efforts of ANCA and the Assembly are united in Washington by two important factors: a bipartisan Congressional Caucus on Armenian Issues, and similar policy objectives. The bipartisan Armenian Caucus, which has grown to 95 members in the 107th Congress, was initiated in January, 1995 by Democrat Frank Pallone of New Jersey and Republican Edward Porter of Illinois, now succeeded by Republican Joe Knollenberg of Michigan. The Caucus works within the House of Representatives to encourage initiatives for Armenia and Armenian issues. There is a tight correlation between members of the Caucus and votes to support issues pertaining to Armenia, particularly the maintenance of Sect. 907 of the 1992 Freedom Support Act, which blocks aid to Armenia's rival Azerbaijan. This will be discussed further below.

In addition to the Armenian Caucus in the Congress, there is the Armenian-American Democratic Leadership Council, which posts links to both ANCA and the Assembly on its website, and the Armenian-American Republican Council, founded in 1997 in Los Angeles. Moreover, there have been a few key advocates of Armenian issues on Capital Hill, most notably former Senator Robert Dole, who was chair of the Senate Finance Committee and served as Senate majority leader. Dole, whose life was saved in World War II by an Armenian doctor, rallied the Armenian cause for decades. He consistently called for U.S. official recognition of the Genocide, proposing resolutions in the Senate from 1982 until his retirement in 1996! In May, 2001, Dole was presented with the ANCA Lifetime Achievement Award for his dedication to the Armenian cause...These unifying lobbying bodies are further strengthened by the current policy objectives of ANCA and the Assembly, which are nearly identical. Their policy demands can be broken down into six objectives. First, both lobbies are working towards the U.S. Government's recognition of the Armenian Genocide of 1915-22. Secondly, both groups want U.S. Government recognition of Nagorno-Karabakh's independence and U.S. aid to the exclave. Thirdly, the lobbies have fought vigorously for the maintenance of Sect. 907 of the Freedom Support Act, which prevents the U.S. from extending aid to Azerbaijan. Fourthly, both groups lobby for continued U.S. aid to Armenia. Two additional items, blockading arms sales to Turkey and challenging the Baku-Ceyhan Pipeline, appear to be more rigorously pursued by ANCA than by the Assembly."

p.19 "US Recognition of the Armenian Genocide

Both ANCA and the Assembly name U.S. recognition of the Genocide as one of their primary policy objectives. ANCA is much more vocal on demands for territory and reparations from Turkey than is the Assembly, however. Since 1982, both lobby groups have fought for the passage of legislation that would officially recognize the Armenian Genocide of 1915-22 and honor its victims with a Day of Remembrance on April 24th. Each year the Resolution has been thwarted, usually with the claim that recognizing the Genocide will strain relations with Turkey and threaten strategic security interests of the U.S. Although both lobby groups are rigorously campaigning for U.S. recognition of the Genocide, each group employs different strategies and tactics for pressuring the resolution's

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passage...ANCA, in keeping with its grassroots approach to mobilization, employs a 'bottom up' strategy towards attaining U.S. recognition of the Armenian Genocide. In addition to lobbying for its official recognition on Capitol Hill, ANCA also lobbies at the state and city level for recognition and the Day of Remembrance. Currently 30 states recognize the Genocide. In addition, several cities, such as Boston, recognize the Genocide and hold April 24th as a Day of Remembrance. ANCA also employs the tactic of gaining other countries' recognition of the Genocide to pressure the U.S. to follow suit. ANCA Chapters around the globe claim success in pressuring the governments of France, Italy, the EU, the European parliament, Great Britain, Greece, Belgium, Lebanon, Russia, the U.N., Cyprus, Canada, and Argentina to recognize the Genocide. Moreover, the ANC of the EU is trying to tie Turkey's full inclusion in the EU to their recognition of the Genocide. ANCA is also openly critical of the state of Israel for its alliance with Turkey and what it sees as lack of support for recognition of the Armenian Genocide."

p. 20 "... conference in Washington entitled 'The American Response to the Armenian Genocide,' which included scholars and members of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum. ANI is also working on legal action that will require insurance companies to pay surviving members of genocide victims, similar to Jewish legal demands for Holocaust restitution..."

... On Feb.28th, after Armenians in Karabakh voted to separate from Azerbaijan, racial rioting in the Azeri city of Sumgait killed between 35 and 350 people, mostly Armenians. This unleashed further violence between Armenians and Azeris in the region, prompting the flow of at least 600,000 refugees between the two republics. The conflict escalated into all-out war after the two republics declared their independence in 1991. Armenian fighters succeeded in defending Nagorno-Karabakh and seizing an additional 10% of Azerbaijan, including the 'Lachin Corridor' which connects Karabakh to Armenia. In 1994, Azeri and Karabakh officers agreed to a Russian-sponsored ceasefire. Currently the conflict remains unresolved, with Armenia occupying Azeri land, Azerbaijan, and Turkey imposing a blockade on landlocked Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh. The most recent attempts to negotiate a solution were the Key West talks in April, 2001."

p.21 "Both ANCA and the Assembly are lobbying for the U.S. to recognize the independence of Nagorno-Karabakh and for increased aid to the exclave. ANCA, however, appears much more invested in the struggle for Karabakh than is the Assembly. ANCA is actively pushing for recognition of Karabakh's right to self-determination and claims success in gaining its recognition from the states of Massachusetts and Rhode Island. Sharistan Ardhdaldjian, an ANCA chairperson, states:... 'In addition to lobbying for Karabakh's recognition, the ARF is highly invested in the government of Karabakh'. Karabakh was an ARF stronghold in the early 1990s after the first elections in Armenia failed to bring the ARF back to power. Moreover, Armenians in the diaspora, reportedly aligned with the ARF, actually returned to the region to fight for Karabakh's liberation from Azeri control and reunification with Armenia. It is also reported that Armenians in California and France helped fund arms transfers to Karabakh. ANCA's and ARF's efforts to attain independence

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for Karabakh, therefore, are considerable, including both official lobbying channels and unofficial support of men and materiel.

p. 22 "The maintenance of Sect. 907 of the Freedom Support Act is the strongest evidence of Armenian lobbying success. The Freedom Support Act was passed in 1992 to provide U.S. financial and technical assistance to former Soviet states. Sect. 907 was passed as an addendum of the Freedom Support Act; it specifically prohibits Azerbaijan from receiving U.S. aid as long as Azeri hostilities towards Armenians continue and the Azeri blockade against Armenia persists. Sect. 907 has remained in place, despite rigorous campaigning from opposition lobbies, most notably 14 oil companies, the Turkish Caucus, and pro-Israel lobbies. These groups promote abolition of Sect. 907 and the full implementation of the Silk Road Strategy Act, which calls for support to Azerbaijan and neighboring central Asian states, particularly to develop their economies in order to balance against Iran, China, and the threat of Islamic fundamentalism. In 1999, Sect. 907 barely survived a vote in the Senate. In October 2001, in light of 9/11, the Senate passed a bill with near unanimity that 'allows the President to waive the restriction of assistance for Azerbaijan if the President determines that it is in the national security interest of the U.S. to do so.' In particular, it is argued that countering the spread of militant Islam supersedes all other regional concerns. The Foreign Aid Bill for FY 2003 gave the President the ability to waive Sect. 907 indefinitely if he so chose. In late-January, 2002, President Bush exercised this option and, despite intense Armenian resistance, opened the door to potential American aid for Azerbaijan."

p.23 "The Assembly also rigorously backs Sect. 907 stating: 'Sect. 907 places reasonable restrictions on U.S. assistance to the Government of Azerbaijan while it continues to blockade Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh...Despite various attempts to further weaken Sect. 907, the Assembly and our allies in Congress were able to maintain Sect. 907 in its current form.'... Both ANCA and the Assembly claim credit for securing a minimum of \$90 million to Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh annually, earning Armenia the nick- name the 'Israel of the Caucuses.' In 1999, Congress attempted to reduce Armenian aid to \$75 million. Through the efforts of the Caucus, the \$90 million minimum was maintained."

p.24-25 " In fact, the FY 2003 Foreign Aid Bill kept the \$90 million in economic aid while adding, for the first time, military aid totaling more than \$4 million...The Assembly also claims success for the level and maintenance of aid to Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh. In addition to the \$90 million annually, the Assembly takes credit for securing an additional \$15 million as a 'start-up fund' for a Synchrotron Light Source Particle Accelerator (SESAME). The AGBU has also received a federal grant of \$9 million to go toward the endowment of the American University .of Armenia in Yerevan.

Block Arms Deals to Turkey and Caspian Pipeline Project

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There are two principal policy objectives for which ANCA appears to be lobbying: Blocking arms deals to Turkey and withholding U.S. taxpayer funding for the Baku-Ceyhan Pipeline, which bypasses Armenia. As a NATO ally, Turkey is the recipient of considerable military aid from the U.S... ANCA, together with Kurdish and Greek lobby groups, have called for the suspension of U.S. military and economic aid to Turkey under the Humanitarian Aid Corridor Act, designed to block aid to any country that obstructs U.S. aid to a third country. Turkey, together with Azerbaijan, is cited as imposing a blockade on Armenia that prevents humanitarian assistance from reaching people in these areas. ANCA further calls for withholding military aid to Turkey under the Code of Conduct legislation, which restricts arms sales based on human rights abuses. Specifically, ANCA names Turkey's denial of the Armenian Genocide, their treatment of Kurds, the blockade on Armenia and Nagorno - Karabakh, their occupation of Northern Cyprus, and their treatment of Christians within their borders as grounds for prohibiting arms sales. More recently, ANCA has launched a campaign aimed at thwarting U.S. aid to build a pipeline that would transport oil from the Caspian Sea through Azerbaijan to the port of Ceyhan in Turkey. The Baku-Ceyhan Pipeline has been a U.S. prospect since the early 1990s, but the aims of the second Bush administration to develop new sources of energy have renewed interest in the project. ANCA opposes the pipeline because it bypasses Armenian territory, thus denying the state revenue from transport fees. Four congressional members of the Armenian Caucus introduced House Resolution 162 in June 2001. It calls for: not subsidizing any pipeline that would prevent integration of Armenia into the region; a feasibility study of cost and efficiency of routes including a trans-Armenian route; and an evaluation of the pipeline's cost efficiency. See Chart B for a summary of Armenian-American policy objectives...In sum, despite their differences, ANCA and the Assembly present a unified front in Washington. Armenian lobbying efforts are strengthened by two factors. First, the groups have important congressional allies, most notably the bipartisan House Armenian Caucus, Democratic and Republican Armenian groups, and key members of Congress sympathetic to Armenian issues. Secondly, the presence of allies is strengthened by the Armenian lobbies' unified policy objectives: recognition of the genocide, independence and aid for Nagorno-Karabakh, maintenance of Sect. 907, and aid to Armenia. However, despite unity in objectives, the methods for attaining these policy goals do differ between ANCA and the Assembly. The result is varying means concentrated on similar ends, arguably increasing the exposure and effectiveness of Armenian lobbying on Capitol Hill."

p.26 "The success of this small ethnic minority in achieving its policy goals suggests the following about U.S. ethnic lobbies in general. Firstly, the size of an ethnic group does not necessarily determine its ability to influence the foreign policy process in the U.S. Armenians are few relative to other ethnic groups and yet have achieved remarkable lobbying success. This further suggests, in response to Smith's first hypothesis, that electoral politics are not the most important factor for determining an ethnic group's influence in Washington! The Armenian- American population is small in number and concentrated in a few locations, such as southern California, Massachusetts, parts of New

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York and New Jersey, and with small constituencies in Florida and Illinois. Therefore, concentrations of Armenians have only a slight impact on a few congressional elections.

Secondly, in response to Smith's second hypothesis that ethnic lobbies gain influence through campaign finance, the Armenian case demonstrates that an ethnic lobby group need not have vast sums of money to assert influence in Washington. The oil lobbies vastly outspend the Armenians in PAC contributions, and yet the Armenian lobbies have continued to keep legislation in place that prevents federal funds from aiding oil exploration and production in Azerbaijan. Armenian lobbies, therefore, exert their influence by means other than campaign finance.

Thirdly, Armenian lobby success does appear to be dependent on its high degree of organization, its clearly stated policy demands, and its alliance building within Congress, such as the Armenian House Caucus, and its networking with other lobbies and organizations. In addition, the Armenian's ability to *hyper-mobilize* support both among its constituents and within Washington, aided by internal competition between a divided community, has contributed to its lobbying efforts. Together with its external allies, the Armenians have secured considerable lobbying success in Washington.

Fourthly, U.S. attention to Armenia does not appear to be dependent on that country's democratic practices. U.S. aid to Armenia began with the earthquake of 1988 and has continued through the 1990s! The Armenian Government has a spotty record for democratic practices. They have supported an armed uprising in Nagorno-Karabakh that has resulted in the occupation of 10% of Azerbaijan in addition to the Armenian exclave. Furthermore, the government has been plagued with corruption problems, it has banned and jailed key members of the ARF from 1994-1998, and has censored the media. These are not the workings of a liberal democracy."

p.27-28 "If Armenia is being rewarded for its *potential* as a liberal democracy then this logic could apply to any number of new states, including Azerbaijan. Therefore, it is difficult to argue that Armenia is being supported because of its democratic practices in the region!

Lastly, overall, the Armenian case does suggest that ethnic lobby groups can sway U.S. foreign policy goals. U.S. interests in the Caucasuses do not demand favoring Armenia over its neighbors, yet pro-Armenian voices in Congress have succeeded in pushing through considerable aid to the country and legislation punishing to its enemies. The maintenance of Sect. 907 of the Freedom Support Act, which clearly favors Armenia over Azerbaijan, is the strongest evidence of Armenian influence on U.S. foreign policy legislation. The high level of U.S. foreign aid to Armenia, which has only three million citizens, is also strong evidence in support of Armenian lobbies and their congressional allies' impact on U.S. foreign policy"

At the time this book is being proofread, the Armenian lobby launched a major assault against Turkey and had the following House Resolution 106 brought on the agenda of the U.S. Congress. It may either be approved by the Congress, which may paralyze the close relations between Turkey and U.S., or else be

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withdrawn at the last minute by the House Speaker, on request of the President. Owing to its historical importance and reflection of the strength of the Armenian Lobby, HS 106, is repeated hereunder, together with respective replies, some already contained in the text of this research and others already responded to in a few well-known websites.

(1) The Armenian Genocide was conceived and carried out by the Ottoman Empire from 1915-23, resulting in the deportation of nearly 2 000 000 Armenian men, women, and children, of which 1 500 000 were killed, 500 000 survivors were expelled from their homes and which succeeded to eliminate the over 2.500-year presence of Armenians in their historic homeland.

(1) Reply: Vahakn Dadrian (the "foremost authority on the Armenian in the Genocide") himself has written that what is referred to as a genocide had "all but run its course" by 1916. Defeated in 1918, the Ottoman Empire came to end as an entity not long after. Therefore, a practically non-existent government could not have "carried out" genocide until 1923. The consensus of contemporary western opinion (e.g., the 1911 Encyclopedia Britannica) settled on 1 500 000 as the total pre-war Ottoman-Armenian population. Even Dadrian and Prime Minister Katchaznuni and historian Lalaian, say that nearly One million people were living in the area (after the immigration to other places) and that 195 000 died of starvation and epidemics in the new republic of Armenia between 1918-1920. At the end of 1918, the Armenian leader Boghos Nubar spoke of the resettlement of 600 000-700 000 Armenians, not "nearly 2 000 000." The total maximum half-million (not "1 500 000") mostly died (not "killed") of famine and disease. Armenian Prime Minister said that, only between 1918-1920 because of same factors, there were 2.7 million other Ottoman fatalities. Not a single Armenian was permanently "expelled"; all the Armenians who were resettled were allowed to return at the end of 1918 and 644 900 Armenians (nearly half the original population) remained in what was left of the Ottoman Empire in 1921, according to the Armenian Patriarch. Those who left on their own accord to lands outside Ottoman control (e.g. Iran {50 000}, Greece {120 000} and Transcaucasia {500 000, according to Hovannisian}) were free to return, as stipulated by the Gumru and Lausanne Treaties. (Further exact details furnished in Chapter 15 of this book)

(2) On May 24, 1915, the Allied Powers, England, France and Russia, jointly issued a statement explicitly charging for the first time ever another government of committing 'a crime against humanity'.

(2) Reply: The May 24th, 1915 statement of the "Allied Powers, England, France, and Russia" rings hollow considering that they had secret treaties to divide the Ottoman Empire between themselves, and were overlooking Russia's own 'crime against humanity' against Jews. The British treated their own non-rebellious German-British men with greater relative severity (given that the British were not bankrupt and resource-challenged, like the Ottoman Sick Man, and were not threatened with extinction), truly "deporting" them (that is, banishing outside national borders) and imprisoning the rest in what amounted to concentration

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camp. Subject countries were in war with the Ottoman Empire for some time, with landed forces at Dardanelles. Armenian fifth column activities had started in Oct-Nov 1914 before war was even declared. Details show in; <http://armenian.tales.googlepages.com/Pasternadjian-1918.pdf>

(3) This joint statement stated 'the Allied Governments announce publicly to the Sublime Porte that they will hold personally responsible for these crimes all members of the Ottoman Government, as well as those of their agents who are implicated in such massacres'.

(3) Reply: The Allies made good on their threat to hold the Ottomans "personally responsible" by conducting the Malta Tribunal (1919-21), and holding up to 144 Ottomans prisoner. No evidence could be found to implicate anyone, and all the accused were set free, thus making a trial unnecessary. Allies landed in Dardanelles, three days after the statement.

4) The post-World War I Turkish Government indicted the top leaders involved in the 'organization and execution' of the Armenian Genocide and in the 'massacre and destruction of the Armenians'.

(4) Reply: The "post-World War I Turkish Government" was a puppet of the Allies. Their sincere request from five neutral countries to send two representatives for the investigation committee they were setting, was not activated on advice of Britain, who later declared, the findings of these kangaroo courts to be a travesty of justice, and dismissed them in favor of their own Malta Tribunal which could not even start, owing to nonexistence of any supporting documentation. The 'defeated Sublime Porte' asked five neutral countries, Sweden, Denmark, Spain, Switzerland and Spain to provide two judges for the special tribunal they wanted to set to investigate allegations. None of these countries accepted the request!

(5) In a series of courts-martial, officials of the Young Turk Regime were tried and convicted, as charged, for organizing and executing massacres against the Armenian people.

(5) Reply: Officials found guilty by the Ottoman - staged courts, were tried without due process by a corrupt administration eager for retribution. As Dadrian tells us, they were pressured to pass guilty verdicts in order to secure more favorable peace terms. Young Turk regime had court-martialed themselves in 1916, some 1400 persons owing to their misconduct, executed some 67 of them, and released some 600 found not guilty and severely punished the balance on diverse sentences.

(6) The chief organizers of the Armenian Genocide, Minister of War Enver, Minister of the Interior Talat, and Minister of the Navy Cemal, were all condemned to death for their crimes, however, the verdicts of the courts were not enforced.

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(6) Reply: Enver, Talat and Cemal were indeed found guilty by this "illegal court". But in the absence of factual evidence, even a "genocide" champion of the period, Johannes Lepsius, vouched for Cemal's protection of the Armenians; thus, putting in doubt the worth of these verdicts. Not a single document could be found, to support the invalid verdict. Subject five neutral countries refused to eyewitness these kangaroo courts.

(7) The Armenian Genocide and these domestic judicial failures are documented with overwhelming evidence in the national archives of Austria, France, Germany, Great Britain, Russia, the U.S., the Vatican and many other countries, and this vast body of evidence attests to the same facts, the same events, and the same consequences.

(7) Reply: There is no "overwhelming evidence" in the archives of the countries mentioned; but an overwhelming amount of hearsay and even some forgeries. The British examined the best of Armenian-related documents in the U. S. State Department, and rejected them all as "personal opinions." There are several U.S. Officers' reports to the contrary. Documents provided herein, plus the newspaper headlines in Chapter belies everything directly by U.S. Press!

(8) The U.S. National Archives and Record Administration holds extensive and thorough documentation on the Armenian Genocide, especially in its holdings under Record Group 59 of the U.S. State Dept., files 867.00 and 867.40, which are open and widely available to the public and interested institutions.

(8) Reply: When perused, the "thorough documentation on the Armenian Genocide" in the U.S. National Archives almost all derives from Armenian testimony. An Associated Press correspondent had warned in 1895: "(Atrocity claims) must be established independently of Armenian testimony, or their value may be seriously questioned." Armenians told missionaries, and missionaries told everyone else. Hearsay is never a substitute for fact. If the records that are being referred to in here (in detestably "smokescreen" fashion) truly amounted to concrete evidence, not even one of the countless Armenian genocide websites would have failed to reproduce them. The bulk of these records document one-sided suffering, and suffering is not genocide. The Turkish side can provide authentic reports, pictures and Russian documentation for their higher losses and sufferings. Were all these newspapers lying?

(9) The Honorable Henry Morgenthau, U.S. Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire from 1913-16, organized and led protests by officials of many countries, among them the allies of the Ottoman Empire, against the Armenian Genocide.

(9) Reply: Morgenthau's private diaries and letters prove his lack of good faith, as they contradict the claims made in his 1918 book, which was ghostwritten for propaganda purposes. During 1915, he was on friendly terms with Ottoman officials, in contrast to his later "efforts to make the Turks the worst being on earth" (as his critic, George Schreiner worded it, in a Dec. 11th, 1918 letter which can be found in the Roosevelt Library Doc. 105)!

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Morgenthau was aware of the Armenians' treason in his governmental communications, (e.g., March 18th, May 25th, 1915) information he later suppressed in order to present Armenians as innocent. Morgenthau was ordered by Wilson to provide "humane and moral reasons", to convince general public that it was U.S.A.'s obligation to take part in WWI.

(10) Ambassador Morgenthau explicitly described to the U.S. State Dept. the policy of the Government of the Ottoman Empire as 'a campaign of race extermination, ' and was instructed on July 16th, 1915, by U.S. Secretary of State Robert Lansing that the 'Department approves your procedure... to stop Armenian persecution'.

(10) Reply: Morgenthau was heavily under the influence of Armenian assistants for his information; he never ventured outside the capital's environs in 1915 to see what was happening (as opposed to newspaperman Schreiner, a genuine eyewitness who knew there was no "genocide"). Secretary of State Robert Lansing later wrote (Nov. 21st, 1916, to Wilson) that the Armenians' "disloyalty" essentially made their relocation (i.e., "persecution") "justifiable." Newspaper excerpts in Chapter 28, by no means confirm the allegation. Schreiner was may be the only eyewitness reporter in the battlefields and his news reports were sent to London, distributed over the world.

(11) Senate Concurrent Resolution 12 of Feb. 9th, 1916, resolved that 'the president of the U.S. be respectfully asked to designate a day on which the citizens of this country may give expression to their sympathy by contributing funds now being raised for the relief of the Armenians', who at the time were enduring 'starvation, disease, and untold suffering'.

(11) Reply: Congress was not concerned by the 'starvation, disease, and untold suffering' of all Ottomans, but only of the politically powerful Armenians. Note, by the way, that the prominent reasons given for the Armenians' hardships in early 1916, when the resettlement "genocide" had "all but run its course": makes no mention of massacres. Although U.S. had not declared war with the Ottomans, she was allied with Britain, was giving logistic aid to Britain and Greece, and had sent two warships to the area. Ambassador Morgenthau left Turkey in January 1916 the U.S. Congress took action thereafter. USA was allied with the Allies, but had not declared war on Turkey, mainly to safeguard the investments made by the missionaries. Turks permitted relief to come and distributed only to Christians and protected the warehouses and transport caravans, when themselves were famished. Overseas relief food, was not even given to camp kitchens, who were trying to find food to feed the destitute crowds.

(12) President Woodrow Wilson concurred and also encouraged the formation of the organization known as Near East Relief, chartered by an Act of Congress, which contributed some \$116,000,000 from 1915 to 1930 to aid Armenian Genocide survivors, including 132,000 orphans who became foster children of the American people.

(12) Reply: The most successful charity drive in American history resulted from massive Armenian propaganda, assisted by influential folks from all walks of society (such

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as the Chairman of the National Motion Picture Committee). Colonel William Haskell of the American Red Cross thought with greater humanity: "America should feed the half million Turks whose hinterland was willfully demolished by the retreating Greeks, instead of aiding the Greeks and Armenians who are sitting around waiting for America to give them their next meal. The stories of Turk atrocities circulated among American churches are a mass of lies. I believe that the Greeks and not the Turks are barbarians." (Few Americans knew or cared about the worse crimes of the Armenians in the east.) Relief money was spent also on uniforms and arms of the Armenians. Harbor blockades were lifted only for relief supplies, 98% distributed to Christians only!

(13) Senate Resolution 359, dated May 11th, 1920, stated in part, 'the testimony adduced at the hearings conducted by the sub-committee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations have clearly established the truth of the reported massacres and other atrocities from which the Armenian people have suffered'.

(13) Reply: U.S. politicians, then and now, relied strictly on deceptive Armenian propaganda without bothering to scratch the surface. An exception was Senator James A. Reed, who declared, "The Armenian is not guiltless of blood himself," pointing out the wholesale massacres committed by the Armenians, and criticizing General Harbord's report as "a picture of the Armenians by the friend of the Armenians." (Congressional Record, 1920). A glance through the headlines of papers proves that they did not even look in the papers or other documents that would not suit them!

(14) The resolution followed the April 13th, 1920, report to the Senate of the American Military Mission to Armenia led by General James Harbord, that stated 'mutilation, violation, torture, and death have left their haunting memories in 100 beautiful Armenian valleys, and the traveler in that region is seldom free from the evidence of this most colossal crime of all the ages'.

(14) Reply: Yet even this great Armenian friend, General Harbord, included in his report: "In the territory untouched by war from which Armenians were deported the ruined villages are undoubtedly due to Turkish devilry, but where Armenians advanced and retired with the Russians their retaliatory cruelties unquestionably rivaled the Turks in their inhumanity." (Refer to Chapter 9, footnote # 26)

(15) As displayed in the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, Adolf Hitler, on ordering his military commanders to attack Poland without provocation in 1939, dismissed objections by saying 'who, after all, speaks today of the annihilation of the Armenians?' and thus set the stage for the Holocaust.

(15) Reply: Even an Armenian scholar, Dr. Robert John, summed up this Hitler quote as a "forgery." There were four versions of this Hitler speech, and the unsigned and undated one containing this statement was rejected by the Nuremberg authorities, "embellished" as it might have been (noted historian William Shirer), and containing other dubious references

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such as the obese Georing's jumping on a table and dancing wildly. The Holocaust Memorial Museum compromised its credibility by exhibiting this falsehood, a bone thrown to the Armenians, perhaps in appreciation of the big money donated by the Armenians (such as the \$1,000,000 promised by Seth Moomjian). This is an unproven hearsay only! The documentation and references in Chapter 21 of this book reconfirm this forgery!

(16) Raphael Lemkin, who coined the term 'genocide' in 1944, and who was the earliest proponent of the U.N. Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide, invoked the Armenian case as a definitive example of genocide in the 20th century

(16) Reply: Raphael Lemkin knew of the Armenians from what he had read in the biased western press and the hearsay of missionaries and Armenians. Lemkin's prejudiced "personal opinion" is no substitute for historical fact. Did he ask opposite comments and documentation? Some of these evidences are surfacing only lately, when searched for!

(17) The first resolution on genocide adopted by the U.N. at Lemkin's urging, the Dec. 11th, 1946, U.N. General Assembly Resolution 96(1) and the U.N. Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide itself recognized the Armenian Genocide as the type of crime the U.N. intended to prevent and punish by codifying existing standards.

(17) Reply: The U.N. has never "recognized the Armenian Genocide as the type of crime" defined in its genocide convention. A 1985 subcommittee vigorously debated the issue, after having been made aware of the facts, and refused to recognize it. (See "23" below.).

(18) In 1948, the U.N. War Crimes Commission invoked the Armenian Genocide 'precisely... one of the types of acts which the modern term 'crimes against humanity' is intended to cover' as a precedent for the Nuremberg-tribunals...

(19) The Commission stated that 'the provisions of Art. 230 of the Peace Treaty of Sevres were obviously intended to cover, in conformity with the Allied note of 1915..., offenses, which had been committed on Turkish territory against persons of Turkish citizenship, though of Armenian or Greek race. This article constitutes therefore a precedent for Art. 6c and 5c of the Nuremberg and Tokyo Charters, and offers an example of one of the categories of 'crimes against humanity' as understood by these enactments'.

(18 & 19) Reply: If this commission came up with such conclusions, its participants were irresponsible in limiting their reading to Armenian propaganda in exclusivity. If their intention was to provide an example of crimes against humanity, they totally ignored the systematic extermination campaign perpetrated by Armenians against fellow Ottomans. These points have been raised in this dishonest resolution as a deceptive subterfuge. The purpose of the stillborn Sevres Treaty was to end Turkey's independence: its provisions must be evaluated accordingly. None ratified Sevres Treaty. Had U.N. made any investigation, reports and news of neutral reporters, could have told a lot!

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(20) House Joint Resolution 148, adopted on April 8th, 1975, resolved: that April 24th, 1975, is hereby designated as 'National Day of Remembrance of Man's Inhumanity to Man', and the President of the U.S. is authorized and requested to issue a proclamation calling upon the people of the U.S. to observe such day as a day of remembrance for all the victims of genocide, especially those of Armenian ancestry...'

(20) Reply: In order to label people as victims of genocide, one must first "prove genocide had taken place". The simple fact is that there is no evidence demonstrating a systematic, government-sponsored extermination plan against Armenians; the actual evidence demonstrates the Ottoman Government attempted to safeguard Armenian lives and property during their relocation, but that its power and resources were insufficient to curtail random violent acts committed by renegade forces. Prejudiced and ignorant politicians in 1975, once again limited their attention to propaganda, failed to consider the universality of man's inhumanity to man; where the victims were Moslem, they did not count. According to chronological course of the events, the Ottomans had counted on Armenian support in return of their gift of Autonomy, which was turned down and Armenians (as clearly written in the headlines) sided with enemies and were "de facto" enemies and traitors, fighting on the front, and behind the Ottoman lines. Book of one of their leaders Armen Garo, is full of explanations and several photos showing the heroic traitors!

(21) President Ronald Reagan in proclamation No. 4838, dated April 22nd, 1981, stated in part 'like the genocide of the Armenians before it, and the genocide of the Cambodians, which followed it -and like too many other persecutions of too many other people- the lessons of the Holocaust must never be forgotten'.

(21) Reply: The Armenians are a powerful and influential political force in the U.S., and are obsessed with their "genocide"; extremists among them sadly do not refrain from using falsehoods and other tactics where the end is meant to justify the means. Politicians, including presidents, sometimes forget their responsibility to serve all of the people, and the truth. The fact that Reagan offered his "personal opinion" that there was a genocide against Armenians is meaningless, lacking the historical "proof to support" such a claim.

(22) House Joint Resolution 247, adopted on Sept. 10th, 1984, resolved: 'that April 24th, 1985, is hereby designated as 'National Day of Remembrance of Man's Inhumanity to Man', and the President of the U.S. is authorized and requested to issue a proclamation calling upon the people of the U.S. to observe such day as a day of remembrance for all the victims of genocide, especially the one and one-half million people of Armenian ancestry...'

(22) Reply: It was a request the President refused. Hopefully, he was made aware that it would be impossible to kill "one and one-half million people" when there were 1,500,000 people to begin with, and even the worst Armenian propagandists of current times agree 1 million survived. At the end of 1918, the Armenian Patriarch broke down his inflated pre-war population figure of 2.1 million as such: 1 260 000 survivors and 840 000 dead. The Armenians had initially settled on 600 000 - 800 000 dead at the post-war Peace

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Conference. Even Armenian propagandists did not go as far as what the writers of this resolution would have us believe. Comparative sources are given in Chapter 15.

(23) *In August, 1985, after extensive study and deliberation, the U.N. Sub-Commission on 'Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities' voted 14 - 1 to accept a report entitled 'Study of the Question of the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide,' which stated 'the Nazi aberration has unfortunately not been the only case of genocide in the 20th century. Among other examples which can be cited as qualifying are the Ottoman massacre of Armenians in 1915-16'.*

(23) Reply: The claim of acceptance is false. The 14 - 1 vote pertained to Resolution 1985/9 and not the "Study of Genocide" Report - also known as the Whitaker Report, named after the *rappporteur* who prepared it. The Sub-Commission refused to receive the report, deleting the word "receives" from the draft resolution, merely taking "note" of the study. It refused to praise the report by deleting words such as "the quality of," and refused to transmit it to the Commission on Human Rights. In order to clear the record in response to Armenian propaganda claims, U.N. spokesman Farhan Haq stated on Oct. 5th, 2000: "(The) U.N. has not approved or endorsed a report labeling the Armenian experience as Genocide." It is regrettable that such fictitious commentary can be worded in any H.S.!

(24) *This report also explained that 'at least 1,000,000, and possibly well over half of the Armenian population, are reliably estimated to have been killed or death marched by independent authorities and eye-witnesses. This is corroborated by reports in U.S., German and British archives and of contemporary diplomats in the Ottoman Empire, including those of its ally Germany. '*

(24) Reply: As even Cyrus Hamlin, a missionary prejudiced against the Turks, wrote in 1893, regarding the tactics of the Armenian terrorists who drove a wedge between Armenians and Turks: "Falsehood is, of course, justifiable where murder and arson are." Even today, the Dashnak terrorist party wields considerable influence both in the Armenian diaspora and in the republic of Armenia. The frequent use of falsehood in this resolution is symptomatic of its influence. Total misrepresentation of the Whitaker report (which was, after all, prepared by only one biased individual, as well as the reliance on the personal opinions of biased and or ignorant diplomats, who derived their information solely from missionaries and Armenians is an example. Once again, one million people could not have possibly died if there were one million survivors from a pre-war population of 1 500 000, and most of the fatalities were due to famine and disease, not to killings. Nearly the entirety of those "death-marched" reached their destinations alive. U.S. Consul Jesse Jackson, a prejudiced observer, vouched for nearly 500 000 Armenian immigrants in 1916 "when the genocide had all but run its course. Armenian historians Nassibian, Lalaian, official records of Nansen, Katchaznuni contradicts fictitious conclusions!"

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(25) *The U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, an independent Federal agency, unanimously resolved on April 30, 1981, that the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum would include the Armenian Genocide in the Museum and has since done so.*

(25) Reply: Relying on propaganda and not on fact, damages the integrity of the Holocaust Memorial Council; some of the persons involved may labor under the misapprehension that any effort to detract from the Armenian version would cast disbelief upon the Holocaust. Crafty Armenians tried to advance their cause by hanging on to the coattails of the Jewish Holocaust, and wealthy Armenians generously supported, and continue to support, Holocaust centers.

(26) *Reviewing an aberrant 1982 expression (later retracted) by the U.S. State Dept. asserting that the facts of the Armenian Genocide may be ambiguous, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia in 1993, after a review of documents pertaining to the policy record of the U.S., noted that the assertion on ambiguity in the U.S. record about the Armenian Genocide 'contradicted longstanding U.S. policy and was eventually retracted'.*

(26) Reply: Once again a demonstration of the immense political power of Armenian-Americans! Were it not this "aberrant 1982 expression", served as a contradiction, the Armenian genocide would have long ago been recognized through the countless resolutions introduced over the years. While Armenians have no monopoly on historical suffering, it is most telling that it is the Armenian genocide bill, that has kept recurring with jarring frequency. This is the kind of power and intimidation the Armenian community utilizes on a regular basis, as in 2002 when pressured Feds commanded the U.S. Justice Department to drop Armenia from the watch-list of potential terrorist nations, freeing male Armenian nationals from the INS fingerprinting and registration process. Would any judicial authority support in any way such distortions, if they had a chance to go through the information provided in this study?

(27) *On June 5th, 1996, the House of Representatives adopted an amendment to House Bill 3540 (the Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act, 1997) to reduce aid to Turkey by \$3,000,000 (an estimate of its payment of lobbying fees in the U.S.) until the Turkish Government acknowledged the Armenian Genocide and took steps to honor the memory of its victims.*

(27) Reply: This dishonest resolution is making barely any effort to focus on historical facts (with good reason; to do so would cast doubt on the Armenians' genocide invention), and attempts to make its case by citing the "personal opinions" of those swayed by propaganda, prejudice and ignorance. Today, the Congressional Caucus on Armenian Issues makes up more than one-third of the entire House, a significant number when it comes to Armenians getting their way. Congressional representatives Pallone and Knollenberg serve as Co-Chairmen of this Armenian Caucus, and Schiff and Radanovich feel beholden to the large numbers of Armenians residing in their state of California. Incidentally, "aid" to Turkey generally comes in the form of monies that need to be paid

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back, and "not free and clear cash, as given to Armenia", the "second greatest recipient of U.S. aid after Israel, per capita". The undemocratic Armenian republic offers nothing of value to the U.S., but they do spend millions in pushing their propaganda and in influencing U.S. Congressmen... befitting their reputation as "professional beggars," in the estimation of Col. Haskell (see pg 212 of Akaby Nassibian's 1984 London publication of "Britain and the Armenian Question"). The Armenians sought revenge by engaging in their familiar smear tactics, charging Haskell with stealing from the relief efforts... without offering proof, of course. The editorial by "Reno Evening Gazette", Oct.14, 1915 can be read in last chapter of this book. It explained the people who are duped by impossible news, fabrications by "professional beggars who bled their own countrymen for years, for raising money to support their own selves". Further leads are given in Chapter 30 of this book. This is a legal robbery and money laundering, going out of US Taxpayers Treasury as aid to Armenia every year, a portion of which comes back to support the campaign of this happy "merry go around" money-benefit-support "stock exchange" lobbies!

(28) President William Jefferson Clinton, on April 24th, 1998, stated: 'This year, as in the past, we join with Armenian -Americans throughout the nation in commemorating one of the saddest Chapters in the history of this century, the deportations and massacres of 1,500,000 Armenians in the Ottoman Empire in the years 1915-23.'

(29) President George W. Bush, on April 24th, 2004, stated: 'On this day, we pause in remembrance of one of the most horrible tragedies of the 20th century, the annihilation of as many as 1,500,000 Armenians through forced exile and murder at the end of the Ottoman Empire.'

(28 & 29) Reply: Further examples of Armenian political clout. Both presidents appear to have slowly become aware "that the facts of the Armenian Genocide may be ambiguous," but it would take courage to desist from throwing a "genocide bone" to the obsessed and powerful Armenian community. Politicians would leave themselves open to the underhanded smear tactics of the extremists in this community. Some go farther; a Californian truck driver, Norayr Avetisyan, was accused of threatening the life of President George W. Bush for alleged anti-Armenianism.

Terror <http://armenians-1915.blogspot.com/2007/08/1859-video-nbc-special-armenian.html>
convict Murad Topalian could freely enter White House several times and is seen in video sitting as prominent businessman at table with president Clinton.

(30) Despite the international recognition and affirmation of the Armenian Genocide, the failure of the domestic and international authorities to punish those responsible for the Armenian Genocide is a reason why similar genocides have recurred and may recur in the future, and that a just resolution will help prevent future genocides.

(30) Reply: Aside from the meaninglessness of an "international recognition" based entirely on propaganda, prejudice, money and intimidation tactics, what is forgotten is that nations cannot be held responsible for genocides. This is particularly true of democratic

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successor nation states of erstwhile empires. Only individuals may be accused of genocide, and all of the accused individuals were freed from their Maltese internment in late 1921, after the British failed to find any judicial evidence to convict them of massacres. Furthermore, the "human rights" argument presented here is another smokescreen tactic; none of those who have perpetrated genocides after the promulgation of the 1948 U.N. Convention such as the Hutus of Rwanda, or the Pol Pot regime in Cambodia looked back upon the Armenian episode to inspire them along their way.

IMPORTANT: Writers and supporters of HS 106 are cordially asked to personally look into the book *Why Armenia Should be Free*, Hairenik, Boston 1918, written by Dr. G. Pasternadjan, better known as Armen Garo, one of the most reputed leaders. Full page photographs in the subject book; carry below titles or under explanations:

- * A seventy-year old Armenian priest, leading the volunteers to the battlefield. (Armed cavalymen)
- * Armenians of Van defending themselves against the Turkish and Kurdish raids. (Volunteers in trenches)
- * Armenian volunteers of the Caucasus taking the oath of allegiance administered by the church dignitaries before leaving for the battlefield, in October 1914. (Civilian and armed men crowd with priests)
- * KERI, VARTAN, HAMAZASP Commanders of Armenian Volunteers, Keri of 4th battalion, Hamazasp 3rd battalion, Vartan regiment of Ararat
(3 seated men posing for picture)
- * ANDRANIK, The Commander of the first battalion of Armenian Volunteers (One standing uniformed man)
- * Turkish cannons captured by the Armenians of Van in April, 1915
(Several armed men posing with cannons)
- * DRO The commander of the second battalion of Armenian volunteers
(Commander on white horse)
- * The civilian Armenians of Urfa who defended themselves against the Turks and the Kurds in July, 1915 (Group of civilian and uniformed armed men posing)
(Note: They were not be relocated yet, by July, 1915 !)
- * KHETCHO The commander of the cavalry corps of the Armenian volunteers, who was killed in July 1915, near Bitlis. (One man in uniform)
- * The mounted troops of the second battalion of Armenian volunteers of the Caucasus, Nov. 1914
- * KHETCHO – DRO – ARMEN GARO The staff of the second battalion of Armenian volunteers in the Caucasus in November, 1914. (Several armed cavalymen) (Note: WWI started in Nov.1914, proof that Armenians were already armed and in revolt. The relocation law, was enforced about 5-6 months later at end of May 1915)

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- * MOURAT – Who led volunteers at Erzingan after the Russian collapse and died heroically in the fighting at Baku. (One standing man posing with his rifle)
- * Armenians valiantly defending Baku against the Tartars. (Taken from ‘Asia’) (Men firing rifles)
- * Young Armenian students in France who took part in the immortal defense of Verdun in 1916.
- * Armenian volunteers who fought on the Palestine front in September and October 1918 under the command of Gen. Allenby. (Soldiers posing for the photo with arms)

Summary:

Dishonest and racist resolutions contravene human rights in inciting hatred against people unjustly accused of committing this worst crime against humanity. Such unjust exercises by the U.S. Congress, thought to be just, true, compassionate and neutral in the eyes of the whole World who think of the U.S. as the heaven on earth and Americans to be the most honest and decent people, shatters the hopes of the humankind, watching how seriously the “human rights” camouflage is used to abuse the rights of the “decent but powerless people”, who cannot pay, to make their voice heard or rights admitted! In the eyes of many simple persons, such announcements can only increase the distrust of the World, in the U.S. democracy and the values which is supposed to represent, but in reality are abused, for minor personal benefits or preferences.

Diaspora’s extensive operations, are too many and diversified. Below, please note, one of their many lectures, proving the strength of different Diaspora Organizations:

<Harout Sassounian, publisher of The California Courier will address these and related matters in an upcoming lecture/seminar organized by the ARPA Institute.

“ARPA INSTITUTE : Presents:Lecture/Seminar By Harut Sassounian
“Genocide Recognition, Turkey-Armenia Relations and the Role of the Diaspora”
Thursday, Jan. 25th, 2007 @ 7:30PM - Merdinian Auditorium
13330 Riverside Dr., Sherman Oaks, CA 91423
Directions: On 101 FWY Exit Woodman, Go North 1 block, Turn Right on Riverside Dr.

Abstract: Mr. Sassounian's lecture will cover several topics, followed by an exchange of views with the audience:

- Genocide recognition, is it really necessary?
- Should Armenians support or oppose the application of Turkey for EU Membership?
- Turkey-Armenia relations
- Diaspora-Armenia relations

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- How best to organize the Diaspora?
- The firing of U.S. Ambassador to Armenia John Evans
- The hold on the nomination of Ambassador-designate Richard Hoagland
- UAF's assistance to Armenia and Lebanon
- Lincy Foundation's infrastructure projects in Armenia and Artsakh

Harut Sassounian, the publisher of The California Courier, is the President of the United Armenian Fund, which has shipped \$460,000,000 worth of humanitarian assistance to Armenia since 1989. He is also the Vice-Chairman of the Lincy Foundation, which has funded \$230 million worth of infrastructure projects in Armenia and Artsakh. He worked for Procter and Gamble in Geneva, Switzerland, as an international marketing executive from 1978-82. He served 10 years as a NGO delegate on human rights at the U.N. in Geneva, playing a key role in the U.N. recognition of the Armenian Genocide in 1985. He has an MA in International Affairs from Columbia U. and an MBA from Pepperdine U. His book, The Armenian Genocide: The World Speaks Out, 1915-2005, Documents and Declarations, published in 2005, was re-published in Arabic in Lebanon in 2006. He has been awarded the "Anania Shiragatsi" Medal of Honor by the President of Armenia and has received numerous other awards for his leadership and community activities.

For more Information Please call Dr. Hagop Panossian at 1-818- 586-9660 >"

(NOTE: The following chapter relative to the judicial status of this Genocide Fanfare, which is totally based on diversions and presumptions, regrettably demonstrate that the confidence the World has in Washington for justice and compassion, is substituted by grudge, hate, covet, revenge, harm, slander, intolerance, hypocrisy, prejudice and alike shameful deeds or intentions and that erosion, if not corrosion, of ethical values, has escalated all the way up to the Capitol Hill and the White House)

Chapter 25: SHAM-E-FULL JUSTICE AND TRIAL EVASIONS:

The global judiciary system has demonstrated constant paralysis for over a century for any judicial investigation or sincere effort to bring justice on any dispute involving Armenians. In the past it was the intervention and protection of Western Powers over the Empire, while most of the time, the criminals could go to foreign countries, unpunished and treated like heroes. Needless to say, the prejudice, that Christians can never do wrong, but that Moslems always do wrong, has lately gone to such unbelievable extremes that parliaments in France and other countries could come up with severely punitive laws 'to question or investigate doubt' and in their shameful cowardice they introduce lynch-mob justice of a nation, without a shred of evidence, or any international court verdict, let alone a debate by professionals on the dispute! This style of irresponsible ravage or rape of the concept of true justice, is no different from removing the 'king-pin' of universal understanding and the respect of law. (Even Molière could not have written such a comedy of the French Politicians, ridiculing all fundamental liberties, persons such as Voltaire had taught the world). In another paradoxical court case held in Switzerland in early-March, 2007, a reputed Turkish scholar and party leader Prof. Dogu Perincek was sentenced to prison and fines because he openly expressed his opinion by saying under the Western Civilizations' judicial understanding, *then, one wonders, what can happen to Mr. Masud Akhtar Shaikh*, (Retd. Colonel) if he had said: "Genocide is an International Lie"? If "expression of opinion becomes a 'crime'" then, Mr. Shaikh, (Colonel and researcher, fluent in Turkish, and who also studied the Turkish archives besides reading many other books and editorials on the subject) for having published in Islamabad-Pakistan in early - 2007, a new book titled: Lies, Lies and More Lies! (**) Would this book, be prohibited by the Swiss or Christians for its contents, similar to Iran's banning Salman Rushdie's *The Satanic Verses*? Doesn't this explain the sham or shame, or the correctness of the book name: *Lies, Lies and More Lies*?

Throughout the nearly 150-year history of various Armenian atrocities and revolts, there is not a single case where Armenian authorities charged any Armenian with any wrongdoing. Yet, the reader shall encounter the savagery committed by their gang leaders, praised with posters of heroism in other chapters. On the other side, the "criminal Ottoman Government" court-martialed 1,673 persons in early -1916 for their various shortcomings and failures during the execution of the Relocation Law; out of these, 67 were hanged, 524 of them were imprisoned, another 68 sentenced to labor camps and monetary fines. Only some 300 were found not guilty. Again, according to records of the Patriarchate, 644 000 Armenians returned to their villages after the surrender of the Ottoman Empire in 1918. (*Note: These figures, like in census taking, were often inflated, to prove that they should be allocated more land when drawing new borders*). The Turkish **Army General Staff Head office** have released all related archival documents (originals in the old Arabic script), together with Turkish Latin alphabet texts and English translations of the summary of the document. All these documents are easily

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available for the study of concerned parties. This research, aims to argue the subject directly, with none or pro- Turkish documentation, as noted and evaluated by Western writers, neutral or openly antagonist to Turkey.

First, in consideration of the pressure of the six Christian states, the Ottomans had to frequently pardon, all top criminal acts and those of open revolt. For example, THE NEW YORK TIMES, Feb.14, 1896 Had put the following headline:

"TURKISH AMNESTY TO ZEITOUN – Armenians are Pardoned and a Christian Governor promised"

Disregarding the "ongoing ravage of global judiciary system", let us see a few of the numerous evasions:

Over and above all else, the principle of: "***Nullum crimen, nulla poena sine praevia lege poenali***" authored in 1813 as part of the Bavarian Code, is the *pillar of the European legal system*. This maxim states: "***there can be no crime committed, and no punishment meted out without a violation of penal law, as existing at that time***". It simply says that laws cannot be applied retroactively. It does not speak of Biblical rights, or *that those who crucified Jesus can now, be penalized!* The term "genocide" and dictionary explanation of the word was coined as recently as 1948!... It is enough to quote only a few of the articles of Resolution 260 (III) of U.N. General Assembly on Dec.9th, 1948.

None of the acts listed in Art. 3, complies with the Civil war, revolution, or conspiracy to commit genocide, simply by an imperative and a militarily necessary act of "internal relocation" under lawful conditions. Those who neglected or abused their duties, have been at least put on trial and penalized as stated above.

Art. 6 reads: "*Persons charged with genocide or any acts enumerated in Art. 3 shall be tried by a competent tribunal of the state in the territory of which the act was committed or by such international penal tribunal as may have jurisdiction with respect to those Contracting Parties which shall have accepted its jurisdiction*".

As indicated above, the CUP-Ottoman Government put those on trial they could apprehend and charged them with a myriad of abuses. This in itself is sufficient evidence that the state never planned any extermination of any sort. In the final chapter of this book, you will be reading a series of historical incidents and facts, which will lead you to logically conclude that there was no cause, no time, no means for such crimes and these fabrications which were propagated throughout the world by effective propaganda, and the grace of Turkey's indifference, as well as the lack of response at the right time, facilitated present situation.

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Art. 9 reads: *“Disputes between Contracting Parties relating to the interpretation, application or fulfillment of the present Convention, including those relating to the responsibility of a State for genocide or any other acts enumerated in Art. 3, shall be submitted to the International Court of Justice at the request of any of the parties to the dispute...”*

1- The first court-martials were administered by the CUP Government in 1915-16, penalizing those who were found guilty. These legal actions prove that the CUP did not administer any contradictory orders, other than what was assured in the relative law, which was lenient and reasonable. Biased scholars do not refer to this part of history. (Note below document ref. #3)

2- The second group of trials was carried out by the order of the British Commander Admiral Calthrope who was in charge of occupied Istanbul and had ordered the puppet Ottoman Government to penalize those involved in alleged massacres. Summoned in haste, these “fake courts”, which were based on indictments of the Armenian patriarchate, were handled shamefully; there was no evidence presented, no witnesses present, no documents, no defense, not even records of the sessions. Consequently, some completely innocent persons were put on a ‘lynch mob’ trial, whereas some were hanged in haste to appease the victorious nations, which had occupied strategic parts of the empire. Biased scholars liked to refer to these kangaroo courts and say “allegations of genocide were admitted even by the Ottomans”, not saying that they were under occupation and everyone worried for his own skin. As quoted in previous excerpts, in February 1919, the “beaten Ottoman Government” had asked for two judicial representatives from five neutral countries, to participate in the investigative board they were organizing, but none of the countries (Sweden, Switzerland, Denmark, Holland and Spain) complied. Spain had consulted Britain, who said that they were doing the investigation alone and that there was no need for other representatives.

3- A third group of trials was referred to, as the ‘Malta Trials, which never got underway. This was, due to the fact that the British Government could not uncover any documentary evidence in the Turkish archives which were under their administration. As a result, the 144 detainees on Malta, which were held captive for nearly two years, were released without any charges leveled against them. Apparently, none of the “Blue Book” or “Ambassador Morgenthau’s Story” stories had **any legal basis**.

In essence, the excerpts quoted below are knotholes into this segment of history. Biased scholars would never mention that any Armenian has been ever tried or punished for any of the many atrocities they committed, whereas their assassins, have been praised, protected, and even rewarded as heroes or martyrs.

“Telegram

From Imperial German Consulate - Aleppo To the German Embassy, Constantinople

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Sent from Marash, April 1st, 1915 - Received in Pera, April 1st, 1915

Cemal Pasha gave the order on Wednesday that no one is to interfere in religious affairs. Any Moslem who attacks an Armenian will be court-martialed. Rössler "#1
(Note: Armenians, even assassinated Djemal Pasha who was like a father to many Armenian orphans.)

Much that has been said and written without any serious evidence, about CUP's scheme to massacre and on the whole tried his best to ease the relocation problems in his command area) let us read below clip:

"THE NEW YORK TIMES, Nov.22, 1915 read: REBEL TURK FOR ARMENIANS – Djemal Pasha Orders Two of their Oppressors Hanged: Berlin – Nov.21: Telegrams from Damascus state that Djemal Pasha, commander of the Turkish forces in Syria, has ordered that the chiefs of two Turkish bands be hanged for ill treatment of Armenians."

"Talat Pasha himself acknowledged the occurrence of crimes against deportees. In his posthumous memoirs, the wartime Ottoman minister of the interior spoke of abuses and atrocities:

I admit that the deportation was not carried out lawfully everywhere. In some places, unlawful acts were committed. The already existing hatred among Armenians and Moslems, intensified by the barbarous activities of the former, had created many tragic consequences. Some of the officers abused their authority, and in many places people took, preventive measures into their own hands and innocent people were molested. I confess it. I confess, also, that the duty of the government, was to prevent these abuses and atrocities, or at least to hunt down and severely punish the perpetrators ... As Ambassador Morgenthau reported to Washington on May 2nd, 1915, Talat had told him, that 'instructions had been sent by the Porte to provincial authorities to protect all innocent people from molestation and that any official who disobeyed these orders would be punished.' On August 28th, Talat repeated this warning: 'In cases where emigrants will be the object of an attack whether in the camps or during their journey, stop the assailants immediately and refer the case to 'the court-martial with particulars.' Those who accepted bribes or abused women were to be dismissed, court-martialed, and severely punished.' A similar order addressed to the governors of the provinces, issued on August 29th, stressed that the aim of the Armenian relocations was to prevent activities against the government; the 'decision is not intended to destroy innocent people.' The order provided for the prosecution of all those 'who attack the convoys, and those who engage in robberies, and who commit rape, succumbing to bestial feelings.' The provinces and districts were to be held responsible for any such incidents...On Dec. 18th, after his return from Anatolia, Talat told Ambassador Paul von Wolff-Metternich that he had taken comprehensive measures to ensure that offenses committed against Armenian property and life would be punished severely. More than 20 persons found guilty of such offenses had been executed." #2*

(Note: For the 'Trial Comedy of the Talat Pasha murder', please refer to Ch.29, Media Scanner article #35 by General von Schellendorf)

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The following official document, by simple logic, should be sufficient to prove that the Ottomans “never had an intention of any annihilation”, because such a strict discipline sounds very absurd, if the persons were to be killed shortly!

“Orders and instructions were issued not to give way to insults and humiliation of Armenians being transferred to inner regions and for strict protection of their properties and goods. The same orders are reiterated 17/18 July 1331 (30/31 July 1915) Signed 3rd Army Commander – Mahmud Kamil” #3 (Translated from Turkish)

“...to the annual meeting of the CUP in late-September of that year, Talat is reported to have admitted the same excesses and mentioned the formation of commissions of inspection.’ And in a speech at the last congress of the CUP on Nov. 1st, 1918, he again acknowledged ‘incidents’, though he argued that these had been exaggerated by the Armenian and Greek press. ‘Many officials used more force and violence than was deemed necessary. In many areas, some innocent people unjustly fell victim. I admit this...’

As regards Cemal Pasha, commander of the Turkish 4th Army in Syria and Palestine and another top CUP leader, there is reliable evidence that he took steps to prevent violence against the Armenians and actually punished transgressors. The German consul in Aleppo, Walter Rössler, reported on April 1st, 1915, that a decree issued by Cemal Pasha on March 29th had forbidden private individuals to interfere with governmental affairs. Every Moslem who attacked an Armenian would face a court-martial. Later that year, Cemal Pasha proved that he meant to enforce this order. Two Turkish officers, Cerkez Ahmed and Galatali Halil, were implicated in atrocities against Armenian deportees in the province of Diyarbakır and were held responsible for the murder of two Armenian members of parliament, Krikor Zohrab and Seringulian Vartkes. At the request of Cemal, they were arrested the moment they came into his territorial jurisdiction, tried by a court-martial in Damascus, and sentenced to be hanged. There are other examples of Cemal Pasha’s efforts to punish those responsible for atrocities against the Armenians. After the transit camp at Solaria (north of Aleppo) had been the scene of repeated attacks by Kurds and women and children had been killed, Cemal ordered severe measures against the culprits; several Kurds were apprehended and later hanged. On Feb. 15, 1916, the Austrian consul in Damascus, Karl Ranzi, reported that due to the intervention of Cemal Pasha, an officer of the gendarmerie was executed for serious offenses against the honor and property of Armenian refugees there. Even Dadrian, who does not generally praise CUP leaders, concedes that Cemal Pasha was one of the few leading Ittihadists who ‘refused to embrace the secret genocidal agenda of the party’s top leadership and whenever they could tried to resist and discourage the attendant massacres.’ The other person credited by Dadrian with such a role is the commander of the Turkish 3rd Army, General Vehib Pasha, who in February, 1916, said to have court-martialed and hanged the commander of a gendarmerie unit and his accomplice responsible for the massacre of 2 000 Armenians in a labor battalion. Relying on an archival source, Turkish historian Kamuran Gürün writes that 1 397

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individuals were tried by military courts for offenses against Armenians and that some received the death penalty." #4*

"According to Glocker, the Armenian members of parliament Krikor Zohrab and Vartkes Seringulian met their end in this way. Cerkez Ahmed and Galatali Halil were later arrested on orders issued by Cernal Pasha, tried for the murder of the two deputies and other atrocities against Armenians, and hanged... During a search for arms on August 19, an Armenian deserter opened fire on police officers, killing two of them. The American vice-consul in Aleppo, Samuel Edelman, happened to be in Urfa on that day and later described the following events. The killing of the policemen 'was the spark that inflamed the Kurdish population to fury and arming themselves with any available weapon at hand including cudgels and iron pikes, the Armenian quarter was stampeded. All who fell into their hands were mercilessly slaughtered; this was followed by the looting of Armenian shops.' The total number of slain, Edelman reported, was not known, but 250 was a conservative estimate. 'Despite their intense hatred of the Armenians, the police did their duty well, but their numbers were totally insufficient in handling the mob.' ..." #5*

"He (Glocker) observed in his memories: But as those helpless people were Moslems, no German or American missionary wrote a report about them, or felt, in his conscience, the need to describe their tragedy and misery. More than 1 500 000 Moslems were barbarously massacred. Why aren't the Armenians held responsible for these atrocities? Is it because the value of Moslems, according to the views of the authors of the Armenian question... is equal to that of flies?" #6*

"At the CUP Congress held on Nov. 1st, 1918 Mehmet Talât Pasha, without denying that incidents did occur, stated categorically as follows:

'The Sublime Porte has never acted in all these incidents according to a pre-conceived decision. The responsibility for these incidents lies with those elements who indulged in unbearable activities. Of course, not all the Armenians are responsible for these activities. Nevertheless, during a war which would decide the life and existence of the state, it was necessary not to allow movements which violated the freedom of movement of its armies, and of provoking rebellions in the rear, which endangered the salvation of the country and the security of the army. The relocations were deemed absolutely necessary because of war conditions. These have been carried out in orderly fashion everywhere and to the extent necessitated by prevailing circumstances. In many places however, accumulated hostility exploded, leading to collateral damage. Many officials acted violently and cruelly. In many places, some innocent people were victimized. I do admit this. As a result, many officials (1 397 of them) were tried and sentenced; some of them were executed' ". #7*

"... It appears that British officials in Constantinople in early-1919 regarded the 10 Commandments as genuine and hoped that they would help bring to justice those

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responsible for the Armenian massacres. Yet, a year later, when the legal officers of the Crown were seeking to build a legal case against the Turkish officials whom the British had arrested and taken to Malta, they made no use of the 10 Commandments and complained that no substantiating evidence was available that would stand up in a British court of law. By that time, the British authorities in Constantinople also had begun to realize that not every alleged secret document floating around was genuine. A good number of foreign secret service organizations are operating in the Turkish capital, a British officer reported in February, 1920, 'and all are naturally anxious to obtain original documents or photographs of the same'." #8*

"...The legal procedures of Ottoman military courts, including those operating in 1919-20 suffered from serious shortcomings when compared to Western standards of due process of law. American courts-martial, for example, granted the accused or their counsels, the right to question and cross-examine witnesses concerning the alleged offense. This right is embodied in Art. 32 of the Uniform Code of Military Justice, enacted by Congress in 1950, which provides that the accused be able 'to cross-examine witnesses' and to obtain evidence in their own behalf. Even the much-criticized rules of procedure for the military tribunals proposed by the administration of George W. Bush in 2002 to try terrorists grant the accused the right to present evidence in their defense and to cross-examine witnesses. By contrast, the Ottoman penal code did not acknowledge the right of cross-examination, and the role of the judge was far more important than in the Anglo-American tradition. He weighed the probative value of all evidence submitted during the preparatory phase and during the trial, and he questioned the accused. At the trials held in 1919-20 the presiding officer questioning the defendants, often acted more like a prosecutor than like an impartial judge". # 9*

"Throughout the trials, no witnesses were heard; the verdict of the court rested entirely on documents and testimony mentioned or during the trial proceedings but never subjected to cross examination. Commenting on the Yozgat trial that had just started, American high commissioner Heck noted with disapproval on Feb. 7, 1919, that the defendants would be tried by 'anonymous court material.' " #10*

"Contemporary Turkish authors dismiss the proceedings of the military tribunals of 1919-20 as tools of the Allies. The victorious Allies at the time, however, anxious for retributive Justice, considered the conduct of the trials to be dilatory and half-hearted. The trials, British high commissioner Calthorpe wrote to London on August 1, were 'proving to be a farce and injurious to our own prestige and to that of the Turkish Government'. In the view of Commissioner John de Robeck, the trials were such a dead failure that their 'findings cannot be held of any account at all.' Hence when the British considered conducting their own trials of alleged Turkish war criminals held at Malta they declined to use any of the exculpatory evidence developed by the Turkish tribunals..." #11*

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"According to Erik Zürcher, the S.O. (*Special Organization*) was in effect a secret service directly responsible to Enver and paid out of secret War Ministry funds. It was sometimes quite successful in its counterespionage, as for instance in Syria. But, he concludes, its 'offensive' operations were an almost total failure." #12*

"Dyer, at the time a senior lecturer at the Royal Military Academy at Sandhurst and one of the few persons to have done research in the Ottoman military archives, responded that in his understanding the S.O. had been employed 'mainly in furthering the Holy War among the Moslem peoples on and beyond the Ottoman borders'. It was certainly not primarily involved in the Armenian events of 1915-16. With regard to such an involvement, Dyer noted that he had seen 'little evidence apart from gossip like that quoted by Mr. Walker'. " #13*

"By August, 1920, the number of prisoners held on Malta had risen to 118, but the legal machinery for their prosecution was moving very slowly. The Commission of Responsibilities and Sanctions of the Paris peace conference had proposed that a trial of Turkish war criminals, be held *by an International or Allied Tribunal*. The charges were to include the mistreatment of British prisoners of war as well as the deportations and massacres of the Armenians. However, the Allies soon began to disagree on the importance of establishing such a court. The French and Italians hoped to secure a foothold in Anatolia and therefore did not want to antagonize the increasingly powerful Kemalists, who were strongly opposed to having Turkish nationals prosecuted by a foreign court for war crimes... One of the factors slowing up the prosecution of the Turkish captives was the difficulty of obtaining relevant evidence with regard to the Armenian massacres ...Hence the British, for the most part, were limited to information from the Armenian patriarchate and items of such dubious value as Andonian's Memoirs of Naim Bey. Other sources were the Istanbul newspapers and the published proceedings of the Turkish military tribunals. An undated minute on the Work of the Armenian-Greek Sect. in the office of the British high commissioner noted that 'almost all our information is derived from the 'Bureau d'information Armenienne' (of the Armenian patriarchate) or from Armenians from the provinces who themselves come to the High Commission with their complaints.' ...In a minute dated Nov. 8th, 1920, Harry Lamb, the officer at the British high commissioner's office responsible for making arrest recommendations, expressed his frustration over the unsatisfactory pace of the proceedings and the weakness of the available evidence. Not one of the Malta prisoners, he wrote, 'was arrested on any evidence in the legal sense.' No real dossiers existed. 'It is safe to say that very few 'dossiers' as they now stand would not be marked 'no case' by a practiced lawyer. The information available amounted to a prima facie case, but no more than that. In an implicit rejection of the authenticity of the Talat Pasha telegrams contained in the Andonian Naim book, Lamb noted the need for 'Turkish official information, e.g. orders or instructions issued by the Central Government or the Provincial

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Administrations etc.'... The Turkish historian Bilal Simsir has argued that because the Turkish capital was under Allied occupation all Ottoman State archives were easily accessible to the British authorities in Istanbul.' Yet nothing incriminatory turned up. The same argument was made more recently, by the Turkish ambassador in Washington. The British appointed an Armenian, Haig Kazarian, to conduct a thorough examination of documentary evidence in the Ottoman archives, yet he was unable to discover evidence of complicity in massacres. 'Proof could not be found because the acts complained of had not been committed.' "#14*

"'Up to the present,' Rumbold concluded, 'the Armenian Patriarchate has been the principal channel through which information has been obtained.'

An examination of the voluminous file listing the 'accusations' against individual Malta detainees reveals the weakness of the legal case against them. For example, a note in the chart of Abbas Halim Pasha, minister of public works in 1915, stated: 'No specific accusation has been made'..Several dossiers include documents from the Andonian-Naim book. ...Practically all of 'the information in the dossiers had come from Armenian sources, who, under the trauma of the deportations and massacres, were inclined to accept almost any allegation of Turkish guilt. Even the processing of the information in the Armenian-Greek section of the office of the high commissioner was in Armenian hands. Until he was no longer needed in November 1920, the head clerk and keeper of records in the section was an Armenian named A. Fenerdjian. " #15

"... In their search for evidence, the British turned to the U.S. On March 31, 1921, British Ambassador A. Geddes in Washington was asked to contact the State Dept. and find out whether the U.S. Government was in possession of any information that might be of value. ...On July 13th, after an embassy staff member had personally examined 'a selection of reports from U.S. Consuls on the subject of the atrocities committed during the recent war' and had checked the files for any mention of 45 Malta detainees accused of outrages against Armenians and other Christians, the ambassador sent a follow-up report, which again was negative: ... I regret to inform your Lordship that there was nothing therein which could be used as evidence against the Turks who are being detained for trial at Malta. The reports seen, while furnishing full account of the atrocities committed, made mention, however, of only two names of the Turkish officials in questions -those of Sabit Bey and Suleiman Faik Pasha- and in these cases were confined to personal opinions of these officials on the part of the writer, no concrete facts being given which could constitute satisfactory incriminating evidence... American officials, the ambassador wrote, had expressed the wish that no information supplied 'by them be employed in a court of law'. However, he added, this stipulation was really irrelevant, for 'the reports in the possession of the State Dept. do not appear in any case to contain evidence against these Turks which would be useful even for the purpose of corroborating information already in the posses of His Majesty's Government.' "#16*

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"'It is a good thing that we should arrest people from time to time.' noted W. S. Edmonds in a foreign office minute of May 3rd, 1920, 'for it will keep alive the wholesome effect of the occupation'. The Kemalists retaliated by seizing several British officers, including Lt. Col. Alfred Rawlinson, the brother of Lord Henry Rawlinson, commander-in-chief in India, and 25 other British soldiers and nationals. From this point on the Britons in Turkish custody came to drive British policy on the matter of the Malta detainees... Lord Rawlinson as the Foreign Office to save his brother,... and the War Office as well as the governor of Malta supported this plea. There was fear the British prisoners would not survive another harsh winter in captivity. The idea of holding a trial of Turks responsible for massacres of Armenians now all but abandoned. On Sept. 6th, 16 detainees escaped from Malta, thus further weakening British bargaining power." #17*

"Nonetheless, it is a fact that the British were unable to find legal evidence against those alleged to have been involved in the Armenian massacres, and this outcome is not insignificant. Practically all of the relevant information available to them came from the Armenian patriarchate, hardly a disinterested party, and the British certainly were acting judiciously when they dismissed allegations such as those contained in the Naim-Andonian book of no use in establishing the guilt or innocence of their prisoners." #18

"At the British Foreign Office this document was registered on Jan. 16th, 1920, by W. S. Edmonds, Consular Officer of the Eastern Department, as follows: 'There is not enough evidence here to bring home the charge of massacre any closer'. D. G. Osborne, a clerk of the Eastern Department, added the following: 'On the contrary, the last paragraph of the order of the Minister of the Interior specifically warns against measures likely to lead to massacres' ". #19*

"As for Armenians claims about 'genocide', the documents used in this book mostly from non-Turkish sources, make it abundantly clear that such claims are invalid, as they are not based on facts. It should be mentioned here that, at the end of World War I when Turkey was occupied by the Entente Powers, the Ottoman Government, through its Foreign Minister, handed five telegrams to the British High Commissioner in Istanbul, in February, 1919, for transmission to the Ottoman representatives in Denmark, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Spain, and Sweden, asking them to invite the governments to which they were accredited to appoint two members each to sit on a commission of inquiry it had set up in order to find those responsible for the relocation of Moslem and non-Moslem Ottoman citizens, if any, and for any other war crimes! The Entente Powers, however, mainly Britain, blocked the way of such a commission, as it was not the intention of the British Government to encourage neutrals to take part on such a 'Turkish commission', probably because its findings would have been contrary to the interests of the victorious Powers, who were themselves mainly responsible for the Turco - Armenian conflict, and the tragedy that befell

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Anatolia. Nor could the British find any evidence to try the many Ottoman statesmen and officials they had arrested during their occupation of Turkey at the end of the war, and whom they had deported to, and incarcerated, at Malta. Ultimately they had to release all of them." #20*

"With fine British humor, the prisoners were lined up for a group photograph in the splendid Ottoman cemetery of Malta, as if the British wanted to foreshadow the certain death sentence. Were the men who had been shipped off to Malta not mass murderers, armchair villains, and madmen? Were there not masses of concrete documents and testimony? ...The Ottoman prisoners were held on Malta for more than two years. For more than two years, the winners of the war - especially the British - searched feverishly for evidence. Neither in Paris nor in Istanbul nor in Anatolia could any evidence, be found to support the charge that the Ottomans had planned a mass slaughter of the Armenians. Now it was up to the Americans. In America, there were already powerful Armenian lobbies. In America, certain Protestant circles had been carrying on an anti-Turkish smear campaign for decades. Surely, in America there would be something to unearth, evidence to be found. The answer from Washington read:

'I regret to inform Your Lordship'... His Majesty's Ambassador in Washington had to inform His Lordship that the Americans could not produce any evidence against the prisoners in Malta either. Shortly thereafter, the Ottoman dignitaries were released. On Oct. 25, 1921, after more than two years of imprisonment, the accused Ottomans left the British colony of Malta as free men...Outwardly, the British acted as if nothing had happened. The departure of the former prisoners was not mentioned anywhere. In the local press, there was nothing but a note in the 'Sailed' column announcing that the *HMS Montreal* and *Chrysanthemum* had left the harbor of Valetta bound for Istanbul. The *Chrysanthemum* was the yacht of the Maltese governor, and aboard were the freed Ottoman dignitaries -as the governor has honored guests- on their way home. " #21*

"...when on Jan. 6th, 1923, (*Lausanne Peace Conference*) the subject of the Armenians came up again, Inonu declared: 'It is entirely the Allied that bear the responsibility towards the Armenians. If the Allies who turned the Armenians against Turkey and used them as a political tool.. it is the Allies who delivered the Armenians up to hunger, epidemics, and finally emigration. We are not to blame for this, but rather the powers of the Entente. If the Armenians deserve compensation for everything they have endured, you give it to them!' " #22*

For those who would like to read more documentation on this 'comedy of international justice' struggling to prove the non-existent, impossible genocide, below website excerpts is self-explanatory.

"The Ottoman Empire was defeated at the end of World War I, and the armistice was signed with the British on Oct. 30th, 1918. The Allied forces occupied the capital city of

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Istanbul. The British Rear Admiral Sir Somerset Arthur Gough Calthorpe, the signatory of the armistice for the U.K., was appointed the British High Commissioner of Istanbul. He formed a special staff for this new post headed by the Rear Admiral Richard Webb, the deputy High Commissioner. Also two members of the British Foreign Service, Mr. Hohler and Mr. Andrew Ryan were included on the staff. Mr. Ryan, a Catholic Irishman, had previously served as a 'Dragoman' (official interpreter) at the British Embassy in Istanbul for 15 years (1899 - 1914) before World War I. He was a notorious anti -Turkish intriguer who was described later by Major J. Douglas Henry during his interview with General Rafet Pasha (Nov. 27th -Dec. 5th, 1921) as 'the most hated man in Turkey... an intriguer of a kind who did not scruple to employ traitors and turncoats for his purposes.' "

British Foreign Office Archives: PRO - FO 371/6480

"This time Mr. Ryan was appointed not only as a Chief Dragoman, but he also assumed the position of 2nd Political Officer. In that capacity, his portfolio included a special section of the British High Commission dealing specifically with the Armenian and Greek 'victims of persecution.' The British High Commission immediately confiscated all the official documents, including the Ottoman State archives; an Armenian by the name of Haigazn K. Khazarian was appointed the head of the Archives Department, one of the most sensitive posts to be assigned, especially to an Armenian. Mr. Ryan engaged several Armenian informers to his staff, among them the most notable were:

Mihran Boyadjian, Former Ottoman civil inspector for the provinces of Bitlis and Musul;
Karageuzian, a member of the Bureau d'Information Armenien of Istanbul;
Dr. Armenak Mediatian, from Erzurum province;
Hagop Minas Berberian, from the province of Diyarbakir;
Hanna Hanoum (a woman), from the province of Diyarbakir;
Dr. Armenak Abu Haytaian, from the province of Urfa;
Eghia Bakalian, from the province of Sivas;
Aram Tosbikian, from the province of Kirsehir;
Hagop Terzi, from the province of Kirsehir;
Memduhi Tomasian, from the province of Erzincan;
Aroussiagh Yervant Iskian, wife of an antique dealer from Ankara;
Ardeshir Lepian, from Batumi, Georgia.

The Armenian Patriarchate of Istanbul was in close cooperation with the British High Commission to orchestrate these activities with great zeal. Between Jan.23rd,1919 and April 7th,1919 with the instrumentality of the above informers, four "Black Lists" of Turks accused of alleged "Armenian massacres" were drawn up at the Armenian and the Greek sections of the British High Commission. The lists incriminated 140 former high-ranked Turkish Government officials, including the Grand Vizier (equivalent of the Prime Minister), princes, cabinet members, the Speaker of the House, members of the Parliament, members of the

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Sublime Religious Council, Chief of the General Staff, Army commanders, governors, university professors, journalists, editors, and several prominent members of Turkish society at the time.

As a safety measure, Admiral Caltrop decided to intern all suspects outside the country, and the island of Malta in the Mediterranean was chosen for this purpose. He urgently informed the governor of Malta of the situation and asked him to make arrangements for a detention camp on the island to receive and intern. British Archives: PRO — F. O. 371/4172/ 23004

Telegram No: 212, Jan.30th, 1919

However, at this junction, the French High Commission in Istanbul raised an objection to the British plans. General Franchet d' Espercy, the commander of the French occupation forces in Istanbul, protested the British move as unacceptable for the following reasons:

1. No court of law outside Turkey would be competent, nor would have authority to judge or to gather evidence for a judiciary action about those 'alleged' offenders seized and deported from Turkey for a trial, because, such deportation process would create an impression of arbitrary action of revenge, on the part of the victorious Allies.

2. Such a summary arrest of the high-ranked Turkish officials 'presumed' guilty of alleged offenses is a blatant discrimination against a single category of enemies, i.e. the Moslem Turks, while the German, Austrian and Bulgarian war criminals were released and repatriated to their native countries before their peace treaties were ratified. The French Government shared the opinion of General Franchet d'Espercy and the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Pichon addressed a note on March 5th, 1919 to Lord Derby, the British Ambassador in Paris, .expressing his government's disapproval, for this action.

British Archives: PRO – F.O. 371/4172/26160

Derby to Foreign Office, Telegram No: 454 March 5th, 1919

In view of the resolute determination of the British to smear the Turkish Nation with a horrendous crime, the acting Ottoman Government decided to carry the matter beyond the sphere of authority of the Allies, especially the British. On Feb. 18th, 1919, Reshid Bey, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, appealed to five neutral European countries (Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, The Netherlands and Spain) and invited them to appoint two legal assessors or magistrates to the 'Turkish Commission' already constituted for investigating the 'alleged' abuses in connection with the relocation of the Ottoman subjects of different race and religion.

Mr. Wandel, the Danish envoy in Istanbul, forwarded this official request of the Ottoman Government by telegram to Copenhagen on Feb.28th, 1919. The Chief British Censor in Istanbul was quite upset when he found out about this Turkish initiative without his information, as it could have foiled the willful scheme of the British to falsely incriminate the Turks before the world, and he tried to stop this message, but it was too late. Similar

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notes had also been sent to Dutch, Spanish, Swedish and Swiss legations in Istanbul. Upon this Turkish demarche, the British Foreign Office decided that 'it might be worthwhile to give a 'hint' to the neutral governments concerned.

British Archives: PRO—F. 0.371/4172/29498

Foreign Office Minutes, dated Feb. 25th, 1919

Meanwhile, the Spanish Ambassador in London, Senor Don Alphonso Merry Del Val, addressed a confidential note dated Feb. 28th, 1919, to Sir Ronald Graham in the Foreign Office, advising the British Government of the fact that while his government was examining the matter he wished to know how the Ottoman proposal was being regarded by the British Government.

British Archives: PRO—F.O. 371/ 4172

Private and confidential: Feb. 28, 1919

In an effort to contain the spread of this matter outside the British domain, the Spanish Ambassador was informed by the British Foreign Office on March 4th, 1919, that 'the acceptance of the Turkish invitation might, and probably would, run counter to the arrangements made at the Peace Conference, and could cause serious complications'. This was a stern warning to the Spanish not to get involved in this matter, and to refrain upsetting the sinister British designs.

British Archives: PRO—F.O. 371/ 4172

Letter from Sir Ronald Graham to the Spanish Ambassador dated March 4, 1919.

Mr. Balfour too, the British delegate at the Paris Peace Conference, suggested to Lord Curzon in a note that the Spanish Government should be discouraged from appointing any legal assessor to the so-called 'Turkish Commission.'

British Archives: PRO – F.O. 371/4173/47913

Note from Balfour to Curzon, Number: 323, dated March 25th. 1919

In view of this vehement opposition to the British Government, Spain and the other neutral countries declined the invitation of the Ottoman Government either to take part actively in the process, or to act as independent observers. ...Another initiative that compelled the British to uphold the principles of law and justice in dealing with the Turkish case, was launched by the Indian Moslems. In early 1919, a delegation representing The Moslems of India headed by Muhammad Ali arrived at the Peace Conference to express the sentiments of the 70 000 000 Indian Moslems and 230 000 000 Indians who belonged to other faiths but supporting their Moslem countrymen in their feelings that the Ottoman Turks should not be subjected to a revengeful act by the British. This delegation was first received by Mr. Fisher, representing Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of India, to whom the delegation underscored the possible serious consequences in their country if the conditions of Peace Treaty contemplated for Turkey were in fact carried out. Mr. Lloyd George also received the

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delegation on March 19th, and in the course of the interview Muhammad Ali made the following remarks with regard to the alleged 'Armenian massacres':

The Indian Khilafat delegation must put on record their utter detestation of such [alleged] conduct and their full sympathy for the sufferers, whether they be Christian or Moslem. However, if the Turks are to be punished as a criminal on the assumption that they have been tyrants in the past, and their rule was intolerable, then the delegation claims that the whole question of these massacres must be impartially investigated by an international commission in which the All-India Khilafat Conference should be adequately represented.'

Yet, the British were intensely determined to take revenge from the defeated Ottoman Empire, and wipe it out from the surface of the earth; therefore, this appeal of justice and fairness of the Indian Moslems fell on deaf ears. The so-called "Armenian massacres" were a convenient pretext for their purpose. Thus, the British Government callously pushed aside all the concerns for humanity, justice and morality, and reserved exclusively to itself the right to act as the judge as well as the prosecutor in the trial of the so-called 'Turkish war criminals'. The following telegram was sent by Admiral Richard Webb, to the British Foreign Office in London in that spirit:

'To punish all persons guilty of Armenian atrocities would necessitate wholesale execution of the Turks, and I therefore suggest a retribution both on a national scale by dismembering the late Turkish Empire, as well as individually by the trial of high officials, such as those on my lists, whose fate will serve as an example.'

British Archives: PRO—P.O. 371/ 4174/136069

De Roebeck to Curzon: Telegram No: 1722/ R/ 1315 Sept. 21st, 1919

The new British High Commissioner was aware that the Turkish deportees accused of outrages to Armenians might have been arrested and deported not based on facts, but on a vicious slandering campaign waged by some Armenian informers and conspirators, and he felt that to sustain definite charges before a court of law against the deportees, whose crimes seemed to have had a dubious provenance, would be very difficult. Therefore, he ordered that further arrests be stopped, and made clear to his staff that it was politically inadvisable to deport any more Turkish detainees to Malta.

In December 1919, elections were held throughout the Ottoman Empire for a new Turkish Parliament, and on Jan. 12, 1920, the new Parliament convened in Istanbul. On Jan. 28th, in a secret session the deputies voted to adopt the National Pact (Misaki Milli) drawn out by Mustafa Kemal, and on Feb. 17th, they announced their decision to the public. On March 16, 1920, Britain led an Allied military occupation of Istanbul, they replaced the Ottoman police, declared martial law, and attacked and dissolved the parliament, arresting 30 deputies. Those deputies were put on board the *S/S BENBOW* on March 18th, and sent to Malta as 'politically undesirable persons'. In view of the ongoing arbitrary detentions and then deportations of the high-level Turkish officials, Mustafa Kemal, who formed the Nationalist Government in Ankara, in the heartland of Anatolia, ordered as a reprisal the

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arrest of a number of British officers in Anatolia. About 22 of them were arrested, including Colonel Rawlinson, the younger brother of Lord Rawlinson, a British spy and a relative of Lord Curzon. Despite the French objection to the British action on the basis of the unlawful nature of the deportations new series of arrests continued. In the meantime, the ignominious Peace Treaty of Sevres was dictated and imposed on the puppet government of the Ottoman Sultan on August 10th, 1920. This Treaty was described by Mustafa Kemal as the 'death sentence of the Turkish Nation,' and was never ratified. On the alleged Armenian massacres this Treaty contained the following Article:

Art. 230: The Turkish Government undertakes to hand over to the Allied powers the persons whose surrender may be required by the latter as being responsible for the massacres committed during the continuance of the state of war on territory which formed part of the Turkish Empire on August 1st, 1914 [the date the Ottoman Empire entered the war.] The Allied powers reserve to themselves the right to designate the tribunals which shall try the persons so accused, and the Turkish Government undertakes to recognize such tribunals." (Note of HW: The Ottoman Empire entered the war on Nov. 2nd, 1914)

In small groups transferred between March and November, 1920, the number of 'Turkish detainees in Malta reached the total number of 144.

Around that time, the Allies, especially the British, who were in close cooperation with the Armenians, had an opportunity to look closer into their stories. Serious doubts emerged about the veracity of the Armenian accounts, and when the character of the Armenians and their wild stories were superimposed, the truth seemed to evaporate. Naively giving in to propaganda, and prosecuting innocent people for spurious allegations before a historical tribunal were indeed - different things. Thus, on July 19th, 1920, Winston S. Churchill, the then Secretary of State in the British War Cabinet, submitted to his Cabinet the following secret memorandum expressing his concerns in that matter:

'I circulate to the Cabinet a long list of prominent Turkish politicians, ex-ministers, generals, deputies and others whom we are still keeping as prisoners at Malta. It seems to me that this list should be carefully revised by the Attorney General, and that those men against whom no proceedings are contemplated should be released at the first convenient opportunity.'

PRO - FO. 371/ 5090 and C.P. 1649:

Memorandum by the Secretary of State for War (Cabinet) on position of Turkish prisoners interned at Malta,

Dated: July 19th, 1920.

It had been about two years since the first party of the detainees was sent to Malta, that at last on Feb. 8th, 1921, the British Attorney General sent the following message to the Under Secretary of State:

'The Attorney General is of the opinion that time has come to ask His Majesty's High

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Commissioner in Istanbul to prepare the evidence against those interned Turks whom he recommends for prosecution on charges of cruelty to native Christians.'

The problem was that no such evidence ever existed in the files of the British authorities in London, and Lord Curzon was expecting a full report from H.M. High Commission in Istanbul, which had initiated the arrests and deportations. On March 12th, 1921, Lord Curzon requested Sir H. Rumbold to report back to him as soon as possible with all the evidence against each of the Turkish nationals accused of cruelties to native Christians.

In view of the excessive delay and inaction - 20 months! - on the part of the British Government, the Turkish detainees in Malta formally requested from the Governor and the Commander-in-Chief of Malta Field Marshal Lord Plumer, that they be furnished with the 'summary of evidence' or with the actual charges, so that they would know what offenses they were accused of and be prepared to answer the charges. They further claimed that with this arbitrary and revengeful attitude by keeping them without any ground, the British Government was in violation of the basic principle of justice which considers them innocent until proven guilty beyond a reasonable doubt. Thereupon, on March 16th, 1921, an agreement was signed in London between Bekir Sami Bey, the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Mr. Robert Vansittart, a member of the British Foreign Office, which stipulated the release of all 22 British prisoners of war in Turkey, and the repatriation of 64 Turkish detainees in Malta. Sir H. Rumbold replied to the inquiry of Lord Curzon on the same day, and wrote that the evidence in the case of those Turks whom he had recommended for prosecution will be forwarded by the next mailbag, leaving Istanbul on March 16th.

The much expected 'evidence' or the 'details of charges' against the Turkish detainees in Malta reached the Foreign Office in London on March 22nd as enclosures in Sir Rumbold's dispatch to Lord Curzon. Sir Rumbold wrote that he forwarded 'a précis of information' concerning each detainee. However, he pointed out that none of the Allied, associated and neutral powers had been asked to supply any information, that very few witnesses were available, and that the Armenian Patriarchate had been the principal channel through which [the enclosed]. Information had been obtained. 'Under those circumstances,' he said 'the prosecution will find itself under grave disadvantage.' He further added: 'The American Government in particular is, no doubt, in possession of a large amount of documentary information compiled at the time while the massacres were taking place.'

In short, this abject character, the anti-Turk intriguer laid down by himself a pervert 'principle' that considers each detainee 'a priori' guilty unless they proved their innocence, contrary to the basic principle of law and justice that considers each person innocent until proven guilty. In such a pathetic state were the so-called "dossiers" accusing the Turkish deportees in Malta of the 'Armenian massacres?' Sir Harry Lamb, one of Mr. Ryan's

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colleagues at the British High Commission, and who was appointed Consul General of Izmir, minutes on the dossier of one of the deportees, Veli Necdet Bey, the following:

'None of the deportees was arrested on any evidence in the legal sense. The whole case of the deportees is not satisfactory. No dossier exists in a legal sense. In many cases, we have only statements of differing values by the Armenians. In some cases, including that of Veli Necdet, we have nothing but what is a common report and an extract from a printed pamphlet. It is safe to say that a great majority of the 'dossiers', as they now stand, will be marked 'No Case' by a practical lawyer.

'The present Sect. (i.e. The Armenian and Greek Sect. of H.M. High Commission) seems to have recorded information concerning the 118 deportees, all alleged to have been guilty... (But) none of this information in itself has a strict legal value.' To sum up, there was no evidence at all to prove that such a crime as alleged 'Armenian massacres' was ever committed in Turkey. Therefore, it was impossible to produce any dossier in the legal context against any of the Turkish deportees in Malta.

The officials at the British Foreign Office were disappointed when they received the so-called 'evidence' or 'dossiers' from the H.M. High Commissioner in Istanbul. However, they were not to give up so easily. They addressed for assistance the U.S. State Department, and the H.M. Attorney General's office. On April 1, 1921, the Foreign Office forwarded all available 'evidence' to the Law Officer's Department for information of the Attorney General, and on April 29th, they wrote again to H.M. Procurator General for a swift action on this matter. On May 20, 1921, H.M. Procurator General's department returned the following reply (two years after the first group of detainees were transported to Malta): '...in as much as those persons are charged with political offense, their detention or release involves a question of high policy, and is not dependent on the legal proceedings. The Law Office considers that their treatment is a matter for decision by the Foreign Office, and it does not desire to offer any view upon it.'

PRO - F.O. 371/ 6502/ E. 5845:

Procurator General Department to Foreign Office. May 20th, 1921

Thus, the Law Office of the Crown, and H.M. Attorney General refused to involve themselves with the alleged 'Armenian massacres', and they also carefully avoided to use the word 'massacres,' so wildly used by the Allied wartime propaganda machine. The following communication of the H.M. Procurator expresses their disappointment with the case and records their difficult position in handling the matter:

'There are in hands of Majesty's Government at Malta a number of Turks arrested for alleged complicity in the Armenian massacres. There is considerable difficulty in establishing proofs of guilt. Please ascertain if the U.S. Government is in possession of any evidence that would be of value for the purpose of prosecution.'

British Archives. PRO - F. O. 371/6500/ E.3552, Curzon to Geddes

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Telegram No 176, dated March 31st, 1921.

To reply was forthcoming from Washington for about two months, and in the meantime, as noted earlier, H.M. Attorney General had refused to take any action against the Turkish deportees in Malta. Anxious for a reply, Lord Curzon reminded the British Ambassador in Washington on, May 27, 1921:

'We should be glad to know whether there is any likelihood that evidence will be available.'

British Archives: PRO—F. O. 371/ 6500/ E. 5845 Curzon to Geddes,

Telegram No 314 dated May 27, 1921

A few days later, Sir Auckland Geddes returned a reply, but it was not as promising as had been expected. He wrote:

'I have made several inquiries at the State Department, and today I am informed that while they are in possession of a large number of documents concerning the Armenian relocations, from the description, I am doubtful whether these documents are likely to prove useful as evidence in prosecuting Turks confined in Malta.

Should His Majesty's Government so desire, these documents will be placed at the disposal of His Majesty's Embassy on the understanding that the source of information will not be divulged.' [Intimation that the available documents are flimsy, as such if their sources are revealed it would be embarrassing for the U.S. State Department.]

On July 13, 1921, the British Embassy in Washington replied as follows:

'I have the honor to inform your Lordship that a member of my staff visited the State Department yesterday in regard to the Turks who are at the present being detained in Malta with a view to trial. He was permitted to see a selection of reports from the U.S. consuls on the subject of the atrocities committed on the Armenians during the recent war. These reports, judged by the State Department to be the most useful for the purpose of His Majesty's Government, being chosen from among several hundreds.

I regret to inform your Lordship that there was nothing therein which could be used as evidence against the Turks who are being detained for trial in Malta. The reports seen made mention of only two names of the Turkish officials in question—those of Sabit bey and Suleyman Faik Pasha — and even in these cases the accounts given were confined to the personal opinions of the writers; no concrete facts being given which could constitute satisfactory incriminating evidence.

The State Department expressed the wish that no information supplied by them in this connection should be employed in a court of law. Having regard to this stipulation, and the fact that the reports in the possession of the State Dept. do not appear in any case to contain evidence against these Turks which would be useful even for the purpose of corroborating information already in possession of H. Majesty's Government. I believe nothing is to be hoped from addressing any further inquiries to the State Dept. in this matter.'

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British Archives: PRO - F. O. 371/6504/E.8515 R.C. Craigie, British Charge d'Affairs at Washington, to Lord Curzon,
Telegram No 722 of July 13, 1921 Mr. W. S. Edmonds, a member of the British Foreign Office minuted:...

<WHAT THE BRITISH SAY TODAY>:

"The British Government had condemned the massacres at the time. But in the absence of unequivocal evidence that the Ottoman Administration took a specific decision to eliminate the Armenians under their control at that time, British Governments have not recognized those events as indications of genocide. Nor do we believe it is the business of Governments of today to review events of over 80 years ago, with a view to pronouncing them."

Baroness Ramsay of Cartvale, Foreign Office spokesperson, April 14th, 1999

"The Government, in line with previous British Governments, have judged the evidence not to be sufficiently unequivocal to persuade us that these events should be categorized as genocide as defined by the 1948 U.N. Convention on Genocide, a Convention which was drafted in response to the Holocaust and is not retrospective in application. The interpretation of events in eastern Anatolia in 1915-16 is still the subject of genuine debate among historians."

Baroness Scotland of Asthal, in a written response, Feb. 7, 2001

The British could have easily tried and convicted their Ottoman 'Hitlers' by the end of 1919. The Kangaroo Courts conducted by the puppet Ottoman Government certainly did exactly that.

Why would the British have waited over two years... why would the British, at the end of those two years, still actively seek evidence to convict the Turks by appealing as far away as the shores of America? Don't forget the famous reply by the British embassy:

"I regret to inform your Lordship that there was nothing therein which could be used as evidence against the Turks who are being detained for trial in Malta..."
This reply was sent in **July 1921!** "

Another scandal of justice, this time was exhibited in Germany at the lawsuit of the Armenian criminal Tellerian, who murdered Talat Pasha in Berlin on the street. Armenians put so much pressure on the court that the judge preferred to hear as eyewitnesses those who did not see but heard of the Turkish crimes, and hence the criminal was found "rightful for taking revenge"... The most important eyewitness, General Bronsart von Schellendorf, the ADC to Enver Pasha who knew every detail, was "not called to the court for his testimony"! Please find in Chapter 29, Media Scanner of Old News, as the last document, the very important statement he made to the German newspaper in 1921, which summarizes everything from A to Z without bias. This study could have included a long

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chapter, about the ASALA terrorist attacks and deaths. Below facts are to refresh some memories only: <http://www.tallarmeniantale.com/terrorism-breakdown.htm>

“When the Armenian American Bernard Ohanian was made Editorial Director of *National Geographic*, with a global readership of over 19 million, a propaganda piece entitled “*The Rebirth of Armenia*” (March, 2004) and arranged by a Frank Viviano and Alexandra Avakian, stated that ‘dozens of Turkish diplomats and nationals were murdered, allegedly by Armenian terrorists.’”

<Günay Evinch, “The Armenian Cause Today,” *The Turkish American*, Summer 2005:

Between 1973 and the present, Armenian terrorists have committed 239 acts of terrorism which have killed at least 70 and wounded 524 innocent people. Armenian terrorists have taken 105 hostages, “executing” 12, one of them an American woman. The Armenian terrorist bombing campaign that accounted for at least 160 of the 239 attacks caused [the] vast majority of the deaths and wounding. In addition, the Armenian terrorist bombing campaign caused 160 incidents of property destruction, totaling several hundred million dollars in property damage in the U.S., Europe, Middle East and Australia. Of the 239 terrorist attacks, Armenian-Americans conducted 71, and 30 occurred on American soil. According to the FBI, Armenian terrorism accounted for the second highest number of terrorist incidents in the U.S. between 1980-86. According to the FBI, two Armenian groups are directly responsible for this terrorism: the left-wing “Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia” (ASALA) and the right wing “Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide” (JCAG). 22 captured and incarcerated North American Armenians include:>

Dikran	Berberian	Los Angeles	JCAG
Vartan	Chirinian	Van Nuys	ASALA
Steven John	Dadaian	Los Angeles	JCAG
Hratch	Kozibioukian	Van Nuys	ASALA
Siranouche	Kozibioukian	Van Nuys	ASALA
Suzy	Mahseredjian	San Francisco	ASALA
Monte	Melkonian	Dinuba	ASALA
Krikor	Saliba	Los Angeles	JCAG
Karnig	Sarkissian	Los Angeles	JCAG
Harout	Sassounian	Los Angeles	JCAG
Hampig	Sassounian	Los Angeles	JCAG
Iken	Hovespian	Los Angeles	JCAG
Hovespian	Tcharkhutian	Hollywood	ASALA
Viken	Yacoubian	Los Angeles	JCAG
Gourgen	Yanikian	Los Angeles	
Haig	Balian	Ottawa	ASALA
Haroutium	Kevork	Ottawa	ASALA
Haig	Karkhanian	Ottawa	ASALA
Melkon	Karakhanian	Ottawa	ASALA
Kevork	Marachelian	Ottawa	JCAG
Ohannes	Noubarian	Ottawa	JCAG
Rafi Panos	Titizian	Ottawa	JCAG

(That's just the tip of the iceberg)...

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Those who would like to watch on a four section 1 hour video Show about "Armenian Terrorists at Work in USA", may simply enter;

<http://armenians-1915.blogspot.com/2007/08/1859-video-nbc-special-armenian.html>

or <http://www.youtube.com/watch?V=e6JOu1pXIV> and listen-watch to the very interesting real FBI case, which appeared in the NBC Dateline program, edited by Sam Casalino. Here is a short summary or high lines of this true and very interesting criminal case.

* In the little nowhere town of Bedford, Ohio next to a self-storage facility, there is a school, daycare and gas station;

* The storage facility was leased to a fake named woman back in 1983. Rents were paid in cash; no check records!

* Since the rent was unpaid for 6 months, facility owners call the police who open up the storage room on Sept.13, 1996!

* Inside there are about 100 Lbs of Dynamite sticks, crystallized by age, ready to blow off. There is also an arsenal of 13 firearms, including Uzi hand machine gun, one two trigger special shotgun and a used trench coat.

* Police removes the explosives (enough to blow up a block of buildings) and have them detonated.

* Special FBI agent Peet Elliot, after 4 years of investigation finds the woman who had leased the storage. She was Lucy Topalian, ex- wife of a prominent businessman Murat Topalian, owner of Bob Evans restaurant in Cleveland

* FBI agent taps wire on Lucy who meets her ex-husband; he says that he knew nothing about the contents of the self-storage. He thought they were documents relative to his old time collection campaigns! No case evidence!

* Agent Elliot finds out that Murat Topalian, had claimed that his parents were killed by Turks, and organized large collections of Millions of Dollars. Young boys were sent to Lebanon, where they were trained on terrorism tactics.

* Topalian was questioned by FBI in 1988, related to terror acts, but no evidence was found.

* Agent Peet finds out that the Dynamite was stolen from a Construction Company in Michigan in 1976 by a man paid by Topalian to steal and deliver the dynamite to him. (Still Topalian's connection is not evidenced.)

* Agent Peet finds that Topalian as a prominent businessman and lecturer at State Department ; had visited the White House more than 2 dozen times. His photo shows him seating one chair away from President Clinton.

* Peet finally finds two 20 years' old hairs on the trench coat. DNA test proves that they belong to Topalian.

* Topalian is put on trial, could not be charged with connection to various terrorism acts, but he is charged for keeping explosives dangerous to public. He was found guilty and sentenced to 37 months imprisonment. He was released from prison on parole in 2003.

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Watching this NBC Documentary shows, the high level of Armenian Dignitaries, who have marketed terrorism all over the world including USA. Ex youngsters who carried the terror acts, were later supported, educated and now they are prominent decent people of the community, with deep respect for their old leader Murad Topalian who was caught by the careful work of Peet Elliot, saving a *self-detonation and deaths of hundreds of innocent children in the school and daycare center*. Do you think that 37 months punishment pays for all these past crimes and exposed risk?

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Chapter 25: References and Footnotes:

** Masud Publishers, 183, Street 56, Sector G-9-4 Islamabad, Pakistan, ISBN 978-969-9/04-00-8

1. Erich Feigl, *A Myth of Terror*, Edition Zeitgeschichte Freilassing, Salzburg, Austria pg. 92

2. Guenter Lewy, *The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey*, U. of Utah Press, pg.110

3. Doc.No. 1921/117 Encrypted message received by the Acting Supreme Command from Erzurum – (Archive 5, Cabin 109)

4*. Ibid, pg. 112-113

Given information proves that the Government had no involvement. Did the Nazis convict and hang any SS officers?

5*. Ibid, pg. 200

The hatred injected by Dashnaks to hate and kill Turks, continues unchanged after generations, and generation.

6*. Salahi Sonyel, *The Great War & the Great Tragedy of Anatolia*, T.T.K., pg. 143

The great masses killed by Armenians butchery, is seldom, if ever mentioned by Western scholars, or journalists!

7*. Ibid, pg. 142

More evidence of sincere confession of inability, but try to punish those abusing their authority.

8*. Guenter Lewy, *The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey*, U. of Utah Press, pg.48-49

As yet not even one original document can be found to confirm any order for any annihilation.

9*. Ibid, pg. 79

These kangaroo courts ordered by Victors to surrendered Ottomans, and held in Istanbul only, is another scandal by justice of the victors.

10*. Ibid, pg. 80

Aforementioned comments confirmed.

11*. Ibid, pg. 81

All archives in the hands of British and their Armenian Turkish cooperators... Absolutely nothing was found!

12*. Ibid, pg. 83

The Special Organization's scenario of involvement is undocumented, not logical and impossible...The Special Organization, although connected to Ministry of War, was mostly civilian, whose duty was espionage, counter espionage, causing some Provocations in enemy zones. They were not regular army troops -with rare exceptions-, and had no reason or time to get involved in any such annihilation activities. Yet, since they most likely knew some ring leaders, they may have advised the Governors accordingly.

13*. Ibid, pg. 87 See above explanation, S.O. were not brigands, they were (military) intelligence personnel. Allegations are completely imaginary!

14*. Ibid, pg. 123-4 Self-explanatory, not refutable, loud and clear...

15. Ibid, pg. 125

16*. Ibid, pg.126

This proves that contents of the Blue Book or Morgenthau's Story were war propaganda, based on hearsays and the stories contained therein had no legal value...even for the British who had it commissioned.

17*. Ibid, pg. 127

Nationalists were no puppets, they knew how to rebuff and show their muscle...

18. Ibid, pg. 128

19*. Salahi Sonyel, *The Great War & the Great Tragedy of Anatolia*, T.T.K., pg. 116

Accusers did not submit any document, did not prove any genocide crime! Legally it is a world-wide scandal!

20*. Ibid, pg. 188

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As seen Ottomans asked international surveys and arbitration, but the British prevented any action!

Why?

21*. Erich Feigl, *A Myth of Terror*, Edition Zeitgeschichte Freilassing, Salzburg, Austria pg. 89

Imperials abusing international justice and confidence in their being objective and fair...

22*. Erich Feigl, *A Myth of Terror*, Edition Zeitgeschichte Freilassing, Salzburg, Austria pg. 116

Inonu shut them up for sure!

23*. E-mail: <http://www.tallarmeniantale.com/malta-details.htm>

Thanks to HW for provided information for general use!

Chapter 26: MOMENTS OF EXTINCTION OR EXISTENCE!

“The spread of American influence around the world has meant that American versions of the nature, purpose and content of the Christian faith have also spread widely.”

(Mark A. Noll – “The Old Religion in a New World” 2002)

In this chapter, we will see that when “judgments are left to the mercy of the victors”, Biblical commandments to love thy neighbor or feelings of compassion and co-existence are totally abandoned, when needed most.

The quotes given below shall provide a few examples of what the strong grants the weak and how victors do not trust each other. The next two chapters deal with conflicts experienced in sharing the spoils, interesting remarks, and many other examples. The excerpts have been selected to show how the destinies of millions of people depend on wafer thin chances of existence or extinction, and how ruthless the victors must be. Lloyd George even blasts Ottomans for ‘not having waited quietly’ for their turn to be chopped up and wiped off the map. Regretfully, the present new “Murphy’s law principles” like “a Smith & Wesson beats four Aces” or that the “Golden rule is made by those hoarding the gold” have become an integral part of our today’s lives.

“Czar Nicholas, in the early months of 1853, told the British ambassador G. H. Seymour his fear that the fall of the Ottoman Empire was a foregone conclusion and that Britain and Russia should therefore reach a general understanding about what was to be done ‘when the Bear dies’. ‘We have in our hands a sick man – a very sick man’ Nicholas said.” #1

“For two days the streets ran with blood as gangs of undisciplined ruffians, religious fanatics, and savage irregulars raged through the Armenian quarter of the capital, brandishing murderous cudgels and knives from iron bars. Without interference from the police and soldiery, and indeed with their connivance and help, they bludgeoned to death any Armenian who crossed their path. - On the second day of the massacre, the representatives of the six powers delivered protests to the Porte. These were at first disregarded. - An open telegram was now sent to him by the representatives of all the six powers, publicly demanding an immediate end to the massacre, with the threat that ‘its continuance meant danger to his throne and dynasty’. Mr. Gladstone at age of 86 made a last great speech against the ‘unspeakable Turk’ whose empire deserved to be ‘rubbed off the map’ as a ‘disgrace to civilization’ and a ‘curse to mankind’. He branded the Sultan as ‘Abdul the Great Assassin’. ”#2

“He insisted on Britain’s duty, under the Cyprus Convention to intervene against the Sublime Porte, if necessary alone. Though at first there was a talk of forcing the Dardanelles

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with the British fleet, it soon became evident that no power was prepared to use force on behalf of the Armenians or even to threaten it, beyond Lord Salisbury's admonitory hint to Abdulhamid of the 'ultimate fate of misgoverned countries.' Though Salisbury canvassed Russian support for the Sultan's deposition, she would not pay the price of concessions with regard to the Straits; nor did Russia relish the idea of an independent Armenia filling in Asia minor the role of the new Bulgaria in Europe. Austria-Hungary was too much involved in the Balkans to risk action. France, with her Ottoman investments, preferred the *status quo*. Germany, in the hope of concessions in Asia Minor, retained the role of the Sultan's protector. Ideas for a partition of the Ottoman Empire or for some form of international control of its territory thus came to nothing." #3

"Only in the most desperate moments of the war had the British conceded Russian control over the straits fortunately owing to the revolutions of 1917, Russia would not be collecting its prize. Even the Young Turk revolt just before the Great War did little to arrest their decline. Their empire shrank, in the Balkans and across North Africa. The Ottoman Empire fought astonishingly bravely, given its relative weakness. In Mesopotamia and at Gallipoli, Turkish soldiers humiliated the Allies, who had expected quick victories. But by 1918, Ottoman luck ran out. The collapse of Bulgaria in September opened the road to Constantinople from the west, while British and Indian troops pushed from the south and east. Their empire had gone piecemeal before the war; now it melted like snow. The Arab territories had gone, from Mesopotamia to Palestine, from Syria down to Arabian peninsula. On the eastern end of the Black Sea, subject peoples – Armenians, Georgians, Kurds, Azeris, – struggled to establish new states in the borderlands with Russia 'General attitude among Turks', reported an American diplomat, 'is one of hopelessness, waiting the outcome of the Peace Conference'. In Constantinople, intellectuals founded a 'Wilsonian Principles Society'. The men who had led the empire into war resigned in the first week of Oct. and fled on a German warship, and a caretaker government sent word to the British that it wanted peace. The British Government agreed to open talks promptly at the Aegean island of Mudros, partly to keep French on the sidelines." #4*

"But the most damaging clause was the seventh, which read simply: 'The Allies have the right to occupy any strategic points in the event of a situation arising which threatens the security of the Allies'. Years later Rauf looked back: 'There was a general conviction in our country that England and France were countries faithful not only to their written pacts, but also to their promises, and I had this conviction too. What a shame that we were mistaken in our beliefs and convictions'." #5*

"Mustafa Kemal, known today as 'Ataturk', dashed north to Constantinople and urged every one he could see, from leading politicians to the sultan himself, to establish a strong nationalist government to stand up to the foreigners. He found sympathy in many quarters, but the Sultan, Mehmed VI, preferred to placate the Allies. In November 1918, Mehmed

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dissolved parliament and tried to govern through his own men. Mehmed VI was sane but it was difficult to gauge whether there were many ideas in his bony head. He took over as sultan with deep misgivings... 'I am at a loss' he told a religious leader. 'Pray for me'. Although Constantinople was not officially occupied at first, Allied soldiers and diplomats 'were everywhere' – 'advising, ordering and suggesting'. Allied warships packed the harbor so tightly that they looked a solid mass. 'I am ill' murmured the sultan, 'I can't look out the window. I hate to see them'. Ataturk had a very different thought: 'As they have come, so they shall go'." #6

"Armenian populations were concentrated in greater Armenia, and in lesser Armenia or Cilicia to the South. They were also found in most of the cities of Anatolia and the Ottoman dominions. Ottomans began to see them, the way Curzon did, as the enemy within. William Gladstone emerged from semi-retirement to stigmatize Turks as 'the one great anti-human specimen of humanity, wherever they went a broad line of blood marked the track behind them'" #7

"As I came down the hill I was an American again, but I was filled with resentment for the way the Turks had been misjudged, misinterpreted and unjustly treated, and felt the greatest admiration for what they had accomplished against staggering odds...It wants, above everything else, to keep out intriguing and hypocritical international politics. I have known the Turks since the constitutional revolution, 14 years ago, and before closing, I wish to add a few facts that I believe, in justice, should be recorded. In the first place, condemnation without hearing both sides is unjust and un-American, and yet many American have shown this injustice in regard to the Turks... If an Armenian or Greek is killed, it is always referred as the massacre of a Christian... As a matter of cold, indisputable fact there is more religious freedom in Turkey than in any other country of the world, more than has ever been recorded in history.

We hear a great deal about the deportations 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 Russian defeating Turks, decided to make it certainly by rising up in the rear of the army and cutting 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

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the excuse for hating the whites that 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 of 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 to 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 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 the insurrection if it had had to kill every Negro in the South, and would not have gone to the tedious and laborious defensive of deportation, in spite of our extensive means of transportation" #8

"Lord Bryce appropriately described by Boghos Nubar as the 'prominent doyen' of the 'Friends of Armenia'. #9

"But if reform was to be made 'real in Turkey', it could only be by European Control. ... 'paper reforms' could be guaranteed only by the employment of Europeans with ample executive authority." #10

"A letter sent to the British Armenia Committee was received from one of the Principals of Robert College ... Talat Bey, a man 'deficient in self-control' had become Minister of Interior; ... was the hour of peril for the Armenians." #11

"The Turkish Empire had committed suicide, and dug with its own hand its grave. Lloyd George went further: he did not know what the Turks contributed either to culture, to art, or any aspect of human progress. They were 'a human cancer, creeping agony to flesh of the lands which they misgoverned, and rotting every fiber of life'. The hour had struck on the great clock of destiny for settling accounts with the Turk. Lloyd George was glad that the Turk was to be called to a final account for his long record of infamy against humanity in this gigantic battle." #12

"A British officer in Turkey had strongly advised that the Turk should be induced to 'eat out of our hand' since he was the '*only means*' of arresting the advance of Bolshevism to the south and east. Where else could one find, he asked, human war material which was so 'ready made and cheap'- as the Turkish soldiers who were enduring, required little and had a natural amenity to discipline." #13

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"'We must let the Greeks occupy Smyrna', Lloyd George had proposed and President Wilson and Clemenceau had agreed to use the Greek forces for frustrating Italian designs in Anatolia and also for controlling the Turks. The Greeks would substitute the forces which the Allies were neither able nor willing to send themselves. In return the Allies, and especially the British Prime Minister, wished to support the Greek territorial claims. Lloyd George firmly believed that a friendly Greece dominant in the eastern Mediterranean at the expense of Turkey and flanking the main communications through the Suez Canal with India and Far East, would be an invaluable advantage to the British Empire. Lloyd George's dislike of the Turk was unalloyed; he argued that the Turk was a continual source of trouble in Europe and Asia. Britain and France had kept the 'wretched' Turkish Empire alive again and again. But as soon as the war broke out the Turks had betrayed them shamefully. On March 16th, 1920 strong British forces occupied Constantinople in the hope of crushing national agitation. It was at this stage that Kemal showed his astute abilities in diplomacy. He perceived and exploited in a masterly way the rivalry and the differences of policy between Britain, France and Italy over the Middle East and the greater chasm that separated the Western powers from Soviet Russia. Kemal swiftly reacted to the British occupation of Constantinople by formally disowning the authority of the Turkish Government in Constantinople, and by calling for elections to a Grand National Assembly which proclaimed him head of the government. Soon after, on April 26th, it was Kemal who sent a note to the Soviet Government expressing... 'the desire to enter into regular relations with it and to take part in the struggle against foreign imperialism, which threatens both countries'. Soviet Russia was another power equally determined to undermine the Entente which had tried to strangle her through interventions and economic blockade." #14

"One reason for the U.S. was not assertive about an investigation related to Armenia. For months the assumption among the Allies in Paris had been that the U.S. should take mandates for Armenia and Constantinople. Lloyd George and Clemenceau desired American obligations to Turkey because each leader mistrusted the other country's gaining an edge in the Asia Minor settlement. Both were willing to let the U.S. assume the portions allotted to Russia in the nefarious secret treaties. Lloyd George especially liked the stability the presence of the U.S. could give to the Near East... In all this talk, no one urged a field study in eastern Anatolia. The massacres had depleted the Armenians there so much that nowhere were they a majority of the population. Since it seemed best to resolve the Armenian matter at Paris without an investigation, Wilson and House could see how the French felt about Syria." #15

"The President thereupon wrote (*US Senator*) Dodge: 'You need not doubt my advocacy of the utmost autonomy and protection for the Armenians and I am sure you do not'. Barton's nine-point plan for an integral Armenia under U.S. tutelage, noted above, went to the Peace Commission on Jan. 28. At Supreme Council sessions two days later, Wilson hinted about a U.S. duty in Turkey. Lloyd George, influenced by James Bryce and other

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British Armenophiles, said the duty should be in Armenia. On Feb. 8th, the President wrote his Secretary of War, asking if it was legal to dispatch American soldiers to Armenia and Constantinople. He got an affirmative opinion, with the caution that bring-the-boys-home demands were increasing. Then the New York Federation of Churches cabled Wilson asking British or Armenian supervision for the Armenians in Asia Minor. To Gerard of the ACIA the President soon said that Armenianism struck a stirring chord in his heart. In London and Paris, Barton's comrade Bryce concurrently insisted that the U.S., because of its beneficence to the Near East, should have Armenia. And so it went. Disembarking in Boston after re-crossing the Atlantic, Wilson in a speech of Feb. 24th, orated there: 'Have you thought of the sufferings of Armenia? You poured out your money to help succor the Armenians... Now set your strength so they shall never suffer again. Dodge sympathized with Wilson's view, though he wanted nothing to do with America's appearing to help what he believed were tyrannical Turks.'" #16

"But the idea that Turkey would have to pay the penalty for her unprovoked entry into war was accepted by the Cabinet even before the actual declaration. As already mentioned, Asquith had referred to the 'blight' of Turkish rule and Lloyd George predicted that the day had come when the Turk would be called to account for his long record of infamy against humanity. Such statements from great leaders -all vague and made in general terms- apparently elated the Armenians, a people hitherto without a state and therefore without the experience of statecraft. To serve Armenia is to serve civilization (said Gladstone). Boghos Nubar expressed his conviction that the British Government which was then fighting for 'civilization, for fundamental rights as well as for the principle of nationality', would support the reconstitution of national unity of the Armenian people. They had placed 'all our hopes on the Allied Powers' he wrote to Bryce." #17

"In 1915, when the great resettlement of the Armenians began, the railroad lines from central Anatolia ended in Pozanti, in the middle of the Taurus Mountains. From there, one had to continue by way to Syria. it was not until 1916 that the Germans were able to complete the railroad to Aleppo...From Pozanti on, all travelers had to walk or use wagons. The transportation of military supplies was also accomplished with the simplest of means. (The photo shows troops on their way across the Taurus Mountains to Syria.) ...It would seem that the horrible thing about the history of the Armenians is that the majority of hard working, intelligent, highly educated Armenians have let themselves be manipulated, blackmailed, misled, and oppressed by a handful of fanatics waging an irrational campaign of revenge. This majority silently ignores the acts of terror of the 'task forces' or 'freedom fighters' or what ever else the terrorists choose to call themselves. They fear for their property, their safety, their lives. They give money to the terrorist groups without saying anything, and they act as if nothing has happened when another bomb goes off, killing more innocent, respectable citizens. It was no different before World War I. Today, the myth of the

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genocide has been added. I will have to suffice as a rationalization, even if the truth is totally different." #18

"When the 'peace conference' -which was actually nothing but a dictate-preparation conference- began meeting in Paris in January, 1919, it appeared as if the Armenian extremists' hour had arrived. The Armenians sent *two* delegations to the 'peace conference'. One was led by the professional emigrant Boghos Nubar, who had been working towards the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire for many years. The other was from the Republic of Armenia (the existence of which had only been made possible by the Turks after the Treaty of Baku on May 28th, 1918)...The two delegations immediately began 'auctioning' — outbidding each other in demands for territory and underbidding each other in rational arguments. They were apparently confusing politics with a carpet bazaar, where the important criteria are the pattern, the number of square meters, and the age of the desired item. Their demands became so excessive that even such inveterate carpet-lovers as the Allied rulers lost interest in making a real offer. After all, it did not *have* to be an Armenian carpet. Those of the Turks were much older, more valuable, and more reliable. After the Armenian delegation led by Boghos Nubar started things off by demanding an Armenia in eastern Anatolia, the joint delegation (the group led by Avetis Aharonian from the Republic of Armenia had in the meantime merged with Nubar) worked its way up to territorial claims stretching from the Black Sea, with Trabzon as a harbor, all the way to Cilicia...The Armenian population of this 'Greater Armenia' would not even have accounted for a *fifth* of the total population of the region — and that is based on the figures from 1914! Moreover, even if back then in 1914 *the entire Armenian population of the world had gathered in eastern Anatolia, there still would not have been an Armenian majority in the region.*

But so what? In the 19th century, the various Armenian churches had wrestled over who was the 'most Armenian'. Later, the Dashnaks and Hunchaks both wanted to carry off the palm in the fight to be the best terrorists. "#19"

"On Nov. 15th, the violently anti-Turkish Lloyd George lost the premiership to the 64-year old Andrew

Bonar Law, who had made no bones about conviction that Britain, could no longer act alone 'as the policeman of the world'. Bonar Law's view could well imply Britain's readiness for a rapid settlement. Contrary to all indications, the negotiations turned out to be long and arduous, rife with confrontations between the chide British and Turkish negotiators; Lord Curzon and General Ismet Pasha." #20

"The British Cabinet soon agreed to propose to the Allies that the Kemalists should be invited 'unconditionally' to a Conference; and if necessary Angora might be informed that on a satisfactory settlement being reached, Britain would be prepared to consider favorably the grant to Turkey of financial assistance for rehabilitation'. The French and Italian policy of winning the favors of Turkey continued unabated. Curzon considered his task of negotiating

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a new peace treaty with Turkey very difficult and the prospect of achieving success remote, recalling the 'consistent and treacherous' attitude of the French. There was reason to believe that all the British views, if communicated to the French Government, were passed on to the Turks and General Pelle and the French Foreign Office had practically thrown themselves into the arms of the Turks. These relations were not improved at the Conference of Lausanne, where the Allies met the representatives of Turkey to make peace for the second time. Curzon remarked: Lausanne was a shocking Chapter of 'treachery and ineptitude'. Thus on the one hand the Allies were divided among themselves: on the other they were wooing Turkey, who was enjoying now the advantage of her victory over Greece." #21

"An entry in a diary kept during the Conference has referred to Barrere and Garroni, the French and Italian representatives, who: ...'today Ismet, bawling 'Excellence' at him at every sentence, shouting 'ami et cher college'. This makes Curzon sick with disgust. Allied unity was an illusion. This was not the scene of an alliance of victors imposing or negotiating a peace in unity but perhaps a spectacle nearer prostration. Bonar Law, now Prime Minister, was well aware of the situation. He warned Curzon: ...'there are two things, which seem to me vital. The first is that we should not go to war for the sake of Mosul, and second, that if the French, as we know to be the case, will not join us, we shall not by ourselves fight the Turks to enforce what is left of the Treaty of Sevres'. And to quote Churchill's words, in the Treaty of Lausanne 'history will search in vain for the word *Armenia*'. It seems that neither Armenia, nor Britain and the Allies, nor even Russia had adjusted their aspirations and objectives to the realities of their resources. Kemal Ataturk alone had measured all too exactly the immense strategic strength of his country and knew precisely what actual power he could achieve. Armenia was the greatest loser in 1923, Turkey the beneficiary." #22

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Chapter 27: ALLIES IN PLUNDERING BUT ADVERSARIES IN SHARING!

Although Britain, France, Italy and Russia had agreed back in 1912 how they were going to share the spoils of the “Sick Man of Europe”, the unexpected early start of World War I in 1914, and subsequent Russian Revolution in mid-1917 cancelled all earlier agreements on the division of the spoils.

The non-chronological excerpts given below, which were picked at random, will spotlight the friction and cheating among partners or “allies in victory”. Had the U.S. not participated in World War I on the side of the Allies, its outcome might have been quite different. The “Armenian case and vilification of Turks” were successfully used by Britain and Woodrow Wilson to create an atmosphere of sympathy in the U.S. In this context, all Christian churches and other associations were heavily involved and supported the U.S.’s “saving of Christianity” in Europe and Turkey. The irony is, that after all the melodramatics and millions of deaths in Europe and Middle East, the only gain of the Armenians, in Wilson’s words, has been: *“the security of life and unmolested opportunity of autonomous development”* versus the offer of full autonomy in the six provinces made by the Ottomans in August, 1914 in return of an alliance with the Turks against the Russians. After being exploited, used, abused and pushed into war fronts and behind the Ottoman lines by Russia, Britain and France, the outcome was the ‘above freedom’, and a vague promise of land, with no military power to enforce it. Wilson’s naive idealism, versus all other allies’ lust for plundering and friction is self-explanatory. Apparently, the Armenian cause was never taken seriously other than for the exploitation and use of Armenian soldiers, volunteers or brigands in wars.

“Consequently, whereas the Russians joined was essentially a British campaign to extract for the Armenians from the sultan, they did so with a distinct lack of enthusiasm. Russia’s interests and Russia’s heart were no longer in the Armenian question not that it had ever been what might be called a priority...This rather left Britain out in the cold, but its own interests had hardly stood still since the 1870s. The atmosphere in which Armenian reforms had first been formulated was the fortuitously British and Armenian interests were running along parallel tracks. Britain wanted to block the Russians and the Armenians wanted reforms. The best way of blocking the Russians was by persuading the sultan to grant reforms that would redress the grievances of the Armenians and thus deny the Russian their usual pretext for intervention, the ‘oppression’ of Ottoman Christians. Britain would benefit and (under the rubric of advancing the general cause of humanity) so would the Armenians.” #1

“In the two decades before the Great War, the U.S. became conscious of the Eastern Question, the query about the future place of Turkey in the European balance of power. Missionaries belatedly sensed the need for government support against Ottoman civil disorder. At no time did the Protestants from America agents of the State Department even

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though other Western missionaries in Turkey sometimes used capitulatory rights to advance their nations impanel interests. America delighting that European distresses indirectly had helped its successes, traditionally abstained from the Old World's high politics. The American government had concentrated on conquering its own frontier, dominating the Caribbean, and penetrating the Far East; then in the 1890s it reluctantly began to look at the Eastern Question...Perhaps the first large trouble signs for Protestants had come in the late 1860s when the Porte tightened regulations on mission educational institutions. It regarded them as breeding marshes for nationalism and revolution among minorities. Discomfort for missionaries intensified when in the 1880s Sultan Abdulhamid II harassed their schools, occasionally closing them. Often French and Russian agents against American learning center because these agents told Ottoman officials the centers had a political object. In exasperation, the American Board in 1885 asked the President use the U.S. Navy to help protect missions in the Empire. The Grover Cleveland administration refused. Only joint American-British complaints prevented disruption of schools." #2

"The regions open to imperialist competition were the Turkish Empire, Persia, and the Far East. The decay of Turkey had stimulated the lust of the Great Powers ever since Napoleon and Alexander bargained over Constantinople, Syria, Moldavia, and Wallachia, but mutual jealousies had prevented partition such as was successfully accomplished in Africa. The Russians, French and English all had interests in the Near East, but gradually Germany took the place of England as the Sultan's friend. Asia Minor came to be a field for German capital, and the scheme for a Berlin-Baghdad railway excited German imperialists in the same sort of way as the Cape-to-Cairo excited those of England." #3

"In the diplomatic map of Europe, some elements were fixed throughout the whole period between 1871 -1914, while others varied. The most important fixed element was French hostility to Germany. Bismarck accepted this as inevitable, and dealt with it, on the one hand, by cultivating good relations with Russia, and on the other hand, by encouraging England, France, and Italy in imperialistic ventures which brought them into conflict with each other. After Bismarck's fall, the French, bit by bit, improved their diplomatic situation, first by the Franco-Russian alliance, then by the Entente with England, and finally by the weakening of Germany's and Austria's position in the Balkans as a result of the Balkan wars. Moreover, the financial and industrial resources of the U.S., it was understood, would be more available to France and England than to Germany in the event of a war; the firm of Morgan, especially, could almost be regarded as a partner in the Entente. As the position of France improved, the hope of recovering the lost provinces -especially the iron ore of Lorraine- revived in the minds of French statesmen and industrialists. The hopes of other Powers might have been realized in minor wars, but the recovery of Alsace-Lorraine was only possible in a general European war. The interest and policy of France, therefore, more than of any other Great Power, pointed towards a first-class conflict, as soon as the support of England had been assured by the Entente of 1904." #4

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"Great War sooner or later could only have been avoided by a greater degree of statesmanship everywhere than there was any reason to expect. None of the governments (with the possible exception of France) desired the War, any more than drunken motorists desire an accident. But they all desired various national advantages more than they desired peace. To ask who was to blame is like asking who is to blame for a motoring accident in a country which has no rule of the road. The absence of an international government made each nation the ultimate judge in its own cause, and still renders the occurrence of great wars from time to time almost a certainty. Unlimited sovereignty of each State was favored both by the pride of monarchs and by the Liberal belief in the principle of nationality; yet this anarchic of national self-assertion led logically to the outbreak of war in 1914, and must continue to lead to wars from time to time until some super-national authority is strong enough to command obedience." #5

"... But this change should not mean the handing of Turkey over to be divided up into 'sphere of influence' to satisfy colonial ambitions, no matter how long cherished nor the breaking up of the country into series of petty States, thus repeating the Balkan menace; but it should mean giving land a good reorganized government, backed by the –much hoped-for League of Nations." #6*

"The rivalry of the nations found illustration in this situation. Some of the foreign officials were corrupt, bribery was frequent, and vice increased. The soldiers -tired of the war- gave themselves to the pleasures of the city, and collisions often took place between soldiers of different nations. The administration of public affairs was worse than it was under the Turks, and the spectacle was saddening to us all. We had hoped for better things. Thus the American colleges in Istanbul had survived the war, and now, along with the rest of Turkey, they faced an uncertain future." #7

"Setting up a Near East 'permanent peace' to use Dodge's phrase, was not turning to be simple that waving the 14 Points would get the job done. Instead of missionaries seeing Heaven, they were smelling Hell. Not serenity but confusion was reigning in Paris; peacemakers suffered trauma as old and new orders butted each other. Both the American Peace Commission and the Protestant contingent found that a speedy, united approach to the Near East was ephemeral." #8

"On March 20th, Wilson tentatively approved House's statement. ACRNE finance chairman Morgenthau at this time indicated in his diary the probability of a U.S. mandate over Armenia...Unexpectedly, it was Italy's avarice for Adalia in southwestern Anatolia, not U.S. assent to a separate Armenian mandate of French cupidity for Syria, which first produced a dramatic display of the West's intent toward Turkey. Italian Premier V. Orlando was a 19th century imperialist guided by an excited feeling in his country that the promises of

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Adalia in Anatolia and other spoils to Italy by Britain and France at St. Jean de Maurienne in 1917 and in other secret agreements were sacred. Then Wilson on April 24th, 1919, showed in the Supreme Council and in a press release an indomitable opposition to Italy's violating the 14 Points by seeking to annex the Slavic speaking city of Fiume. Orlando thereupon left Paris and planned retaliation from Rome. Within a week, the Italian Government sent warships to Fiume across the Adriatic Sea and to Antalya. Soon Italians were ashore at points on the Turkish coast and moving inland. An occupation of Smyrna seemed imminent." #9

"That situation changed fundamentally in May, 1919 when President Wilson and Prime Minister Lloyd George decided to play the Greeks off against the Italians in Anatolia. The unintended effect of the decision was to arouse Greek hopes and Turkish fears that Greece had come back to Asia Minor to stay. Moslem Turkish hatred of the two large Christian populations in their midst, -Greeks and Armenians-, had always exerted a powerful force, and did so again even in Turkey's exhausted state. While the Allied statesmen were looking the other way, Ottoman soldiers in the interior of Anatolia regrouped and returned to seize their weapons from the dumps where they were deposited." #10

"On May 2nd, 1919, outraged by reports of Italian ships being sent to Smyrna, President Wilson offered to send in the U.S. Navy, and spoke of the possibility of the U.S. going to war against Italy in order to defeat aggression. By May 5th, as Wilson and others told tales of atrocities they claimed were being committed by the Italians, the Allies were at fever pitch, and determined to reach a decision before the Italian delegation returned on May 7th. Following a suggestion by Lloyd George, they agreed to ask Greece, which was near at hand, to land troops at Izmir supposedly in keep order, but in fact to pre-empt the Italians. The Greeks landed their troops on May 15th." #11

"This was no exaggeration, as was demonstrated when officials of the French Foreign Ministry organized a press campaign against their own Prime Minister in *Le Temps* and *Le Journal des Debats*, alleging that he was giving away too much to the British. But Lloyd George went on pushing for more concessions, and went on breaking what Clemenceau had regarded as firm British commitments to France, 'I won't give way on anything any more', Clemenceau said, 'Lloyd George is a cheat.' " #12*

"...the nation which the Allied (sic) (caused) to fight for them and have now deserted... In the 19th century Britain had strongly resented Russian presence in Armenia as a threat to her position in the Persian Gulf." #13*

"By 1913 the empire was already being parceled out among the major Powers for economic exploitation. Those involved were Russia, France, Britain, Italy, Germany and Austria. The empire was practically forced on to sign a number of bilateral agreements, and

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the Powers then arranged themselves to recognize each other's areas of influence in order to avoid a scramble. So, before the outbreak of the Great War almost every inch of Ottoman territory was divided among these Powers. This scramble was facilitated by Armenian militant and revolutionary activities." #14

"The British position hardened. The Eastern Committee of the War Cabinet, set up in 1918 to work out British policy in the Middle East, returned repeatedly to the need to contain their ally. If France got Palestine and Syria, Britain, according to Curzon, the committee's chairman and moving spirit, would be obliged to keep a large force in Egypt to protect the Suez Canal and the vital route to India. Even before the French realized this, British actions aroused their suspicions. French Catholics had been dismayed when British forces under General Allenby swept the Turks out of Jerusalem just before Christmas, 1917. 'The Protestant peril' was taking over the Holy Land. When Picot rushed to Palestine to try to protect French interests, he found Allenby and his staff uncooperative. In the summer of 1918, as the last great German offensive battered the Western Front and the British prepared another major offensive into Syria, the Quai d'Orsay warned that the French public opinion would not accept that 'France be deprived of benefits which were rightfully hers by those who diverted their troops at the crucial moment.' " #15*

'Hearing of Gates' proposal for a unified Asia Minor, Gerard of the ACIA cabled House, irresponsibly charging Gates with being more interested in converting Moslems than in defending Armenia. Gerard said the U.S. under no conditions would accept a mandate which included horrible Turks. Boghos Nubar soon expressed similar shock to House. The loose confederation of educators, philanthropists, evangelists, Armenians, and Armenophiles which Barton and Dodge had so laboriously put together in 1918 had begun to come apart... In conclaves of government heads, momentum toward splitting Anatolia continued, and tension and complexity increased. Thus, it was not unusual that on May 13th, Wilson demurred when Lloyd George said that the U.S. should take Armenia and Constantinople, but a few minutes later seemed to reverse himself. Using Gates' idea and saying there was real advantage to Turk' belonging within a single mandate for all of Asia Minor, the President announced that the U.S. might assume such a task. By the next day, May 14th, Wilson must have sensed he had neither battalions ready nor support at home to hold out for a unified Anatolia. Also, of course, he had given his blessing for a Greek Army at Smyrna. So the weary man bowed to the imperialists, even to Italian leader Orlando, and endorsed resolutions tentatively assigning mandates for Smyrna to Greece, Adalia to Italy, and central Anatolia and Cilicia to France. Subject to confirmation by the Senate, the U.S. was to have Armenia and Constantinople... Divisions in Paris immediately produced the concrete violence familiar to Asia Minor. Within 24 hours the Greek military, escorted by an Allied squadron, landed in Smyrna. The Greek invaders then ripped fezzes and robes off Turks, and forced them to cheer the Greek premier: 'Long live Venizelos'. According to eyewitness Alexander MacLachlan of International College, Greeks killed over 500 Moslems

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in acts 'absolutely barbaric' and 'equal to the worst that the Turks have ever done'. This was an auspicious way for the West to civilize the Turks. A few days after the Greek intrusion the infuriated Turkish general, Mustafa Kemal, took a self-appointed lead in organizing a Turkish movement in eastern Anatolia to protect Asia Minor from the European protectors. Soon the frail Yerevan Republic on its first birthday (May 28th), proclaimed the annexation of six Turkish-Armenian provinces and increased the anger of Kemalist Turks." #16

"As to the Smyrna hinterland where Greeks began devastating Moslem villages, a Turkish graduate of Robert College told Fisher that he was helping organize Turkish volunteers to resist. ...Meanwhile, in Paris such associates of the missionaries as Washburn, Morgenthau, and Bryce were rushing to help Gates' program. After service with the Barton Relief Commission, Washburn had taken up with Lybyer and others the cause of Gates (who had left for New York where he promoted Asia Minor's unity under an American mandate). Washburn stated: 'Of what use is it to save thousands from starvation and disease if they are subjected to the same dangers again? If the American people could once see the condition of existence in Asia Minor, they would surely be roused to act vigorously and unselfishly for the permanent care of this plagued spot.' James Bryce was trying through Secretary of State Lansing to end the current portioning ideas of the Allies. Bryce particularly did not want the French to detach Armenians in Cilicia from an integral Armenia under an American mandate. On May 21st, Morgenthau sent to Wilson his paper already, discussed, 'The Future Government of Asia Minor', a document supported by many U.S. delegates. The Morgenthau Memorandum insisted that the secret treaties had no place in the Anatolian settlement. Under no circumstances should Greeks and Italians receive any part of that area. 'Only a comprehensive self-contained scheme' such as tripartite protection of the whole of northern Turkey 'can overcome the strong prejudices of the American people against accepting any mandate'. " #17*

"Not mellowed by his 80 years, Clemenceau retorted angrily; the wrinkled French Premier, wearing his black skull cap, suspected an Anglo-American collaboration to lock France out of the Near East. After Clemenceau's outburst, Wilson calmly said he felt that it should be better not to divide Anatolia, yet was uncertain whether the Republicans would permit a U.S. mandate over Asia Minor. 'I will examine the question of mandate, but it seems impossible that America will accept this mandate. But she will take the Armenian mandate for humanitarian reasons. Americans have already sent missionaries, money and relief to Armenia. American opinion is interested in Armenia. (Colonel House had asked Hoover about becoming Armenia's governor). " #18

"There were two reasons why Britain wanted the U.S. to assume these Mandates: it would implicate the U.S. in the Middle Eastern settlement so as to insure that she would support its terms; and it would station the U.S. in the front lines if Soviet Russia were ever to attack Turkey. Wilson and the other Americans in Paris made it clear that it would be difficult

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to persuade Congress to accept the Mandates. Nonetheless the President undertook to try. That proved to be Lloyd George's undoing; long after it had become clear that Wilson was going to fail, the Prime Minister was obliged to wait for an official American response that be a long time coming." #19

"The Supreme Council finally discussed the complicated situation. Lloyd George perceived that the best way to block Italy's unilateral moves, was an overall revision of the status of Western troops in Turkey. On May 5th, he urged U.S. garrisons for Armenia and Constantinople, French garrisons in Syria, and Greek in Smyrna. His last suggestion came partly of his own Phillhellenism and out of Greek Premier E. Venizelos' eloquent misapplication of self-determination to the Greek minority in the Smyrna region. Lloyd George hoped that Athens could become an ally of London and a bulwark against possible Russian expansion. In these discussions Wilson balked. He feared anti-Turkish opinion at home (including that of Senator Dodge) and was unsure of political backing for sending soldiers into Anatolia since his nation had not been a belligerent against the Porte. He was afraid to order the U.S. Army into Turkey, in spite of his Secretary of War's opinion that such a move would be legal. Indeed, the Terrible Turk picture, mostly developed by the ACRNE, was boomerang. The anti-Turk stereotype was returning to strike the missionaries' desires for American protection at Armenia. Wilson went along with Lloyd George's wish to have Greeks land regulars at Smyrna; he did not bring into play his earlier private statements against splitting Anatolia. The tired President had an inadequate touch with his experts. They were vociferously against a region around Smyrna under Athens' control. Wilson apparently was familiar with missionary Mac Lachlan's statement against a Greek occupation, but possibly did not realize that Greece and Turkey had been fratricidal enemies for a century, as Italy and Turkey had not been. To throw Greek liquid on the Italian flame in southwestern Anatolia was to add gasoline rather than water. " #20

"THE NEW MAP OF EUROPE by Ralph. A Graves"

These treaties –those of Versailles with Germany and Hungary, that of St. Germain with Austria, that of Neuilly with Bulgaria, and that of Sevres with Turkey- purport to erect new boundary lines between countries of conflicting economic interests, antagonistic racial distinctions and rival historic traditions.

The independent states are Syria (temporary under French mandate), Mesopotamia (temporary under British mandate), Armenia, whose boundaries President Wilson has been asked to define and the Arab Kingdom of Hedjaz, over which presides the Grand Sharif of Mecca. " #21

"British and Commonwealth troops into Ottoman territory to control the carving up, and the so-called settlement of 1922 fulfilled British ambition. Nevertheless, by 1922 - 23, British policy makers knew that the foundations of these ambitions had collapsed. Many troops had been withdrawn in 1919, and then Britain's economy fell into a deep downturn in

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1920 - 21... As early as 1919, Britain urged the U.S. to take up a peacekeeping role in Constantinople and Armenia, but Congress declined...Slippage at home was visible in the inability of British churches to command their former respect and Sunday attendance. The Church of England lost public confidence through its thoughtless wartime flag-waving, and the largely evangelical nonconformists lost ground because their war support -many had been caught up in the drumbeat of moral imperialism by 1914- mocked their earlier peacetime priorities and pre-occupation with social progress." #22*

"The most dangerous politician to attack the government was his one-time protégé Winston Churchill. 'His tone was rather bitter in speaking of Lloyd George whom he had evidently come to consider as his detested antagonist,' noted a friend of the two men. Churchill had cause to be bitter; Lloyd George had excluded him from the Cabinet. 'He brought Turkey into the War,' the Prime Minister said. 'Such men are too dangerous for high office.'" #23

"Clemenceau, the French Premier, was enraged at Britain's having made unilateral decisions at Mudros, and protested vehemently at a session of the Supreme War Council of the Allies at the Quai d'Orsay on Oct. 30th. But Lloyd George, according to observers, gave back better than he got. Colonel House, Woodrow Wilson's emissary, said of the two prime minister that 'they bandied words like fish-wives, at least Lloyd George did'.

Lloyd George told Clemenceau and the others that except for Great Britain no one had contributed anything more than a handful of black troops to the expedition in Palestine... The British had now some 500.000 men on Turkish soil. The British had captured three or four Turkish Armies and had incurred hundreds of thousands of casualties in the war with Turkey. The others governments had only put in a few nigger policemen to see that we did not steal the Holy Sepulchre! When, however, it came to signing an armistice, all this fuss was made! " #24*

"Now, negotiations were finally held that had a certain real foundation. The concessions made to Czarist Russia in the Sykes-Picot Agreement had served the Czar's interests, not those of the ever-hopeful Armenian extremists (extremist not only in their political methods, but also in their exaggerated expectations)...

Communist-Bolshevist Russia would long remain an unknown entity. (No one could have guessed that its politics would differ in absolutely no way from those of the Czars; the Armenians suspected this least of all!) So after the collapse of the Czardom, everything that had been promised to the Czars in the Sykes-Picot Agreement was now promised to the Armenians. It was thus reasonable to expect them to distinguish themselves a little bit more in the fight against the Ottoman Empire! ...Lloyd George, in his well-known flowery style, described Armenia as a land 'soaked with the blood of innocents'. Little did he know that he was telling the truth but that the blood was mostly that of Moslems, who in fact had many more dead to mourn than the 'Christian' Armenians. Lloyd George was just as much a

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hypocrite as Wilson and Clemenceau. They had all picked out a 'romantic' victim and then dropped her by the wayside as soon as she ceased to be useful." #25

"When Edwin Montagu the British secretary of state for India cried, 'Let us not for Heaven's sake, tell the Moslem what he ought to think, let us recognize what they do think', Balfour replied with chilling detachment, 'I am quite unable to see why Heaven or any other Power should object to our telling the Moslem what he ought to think'." #26*

"The Balfour Declaration, telling the Jews of the world that they could have a homeland in Palestine, was issued by the British Government and subscribed to by the French and later Americans. It was not clear how it meshed with the agreements with the Arabs. Promissory notes given in wartime are not always easy to collect in peace but in June, 1916, when the Arab revolt started, the British had every reason to feel pleased with their diplomacy. The sharif promptly proclaimed himself king of the Arabs, although the British would only recognize him as king of the Hejaz. Four of his sons fought the Turks, but the one who stood out was Faisal. Riding at Faisal's side was his fair-haired, blue eyed British liaison officer, later to become even more famous as Lawrence of Arabia. A distinguished scholar man of action, a soldier and a writer, a passionate lover of both the Arabs and the British Empire, T.E. Lawrence was in Lloyd George's words, 'a most elusive and unassessible personality'. He remains a puzzle, surrounded by legend, some based on reality, some created by himself." #27

"So, it was official British 'policy' to see Cilicia and the 'six provinces' entirely detached from Turkey and formed into an 'independent' republic. Had this 'statement of British policy' been realized, Armenians might have thought that justice at last come their way. This 'policy' however, was actually a statement of sympathy only, perhaps designed to satisfy pro-Armenian public opinion and did not envisage any responsibility. British interests in Armenia were merely sentimental and humanitarian. Thus, Britain had no positive policy at all as regards Armenia. She would refrain from assuming responsibility. She would like to see a large Armenia under the protection of the U.S. -for which there was little hope- or under the protection of France. If the latter, however, she should not be permitted to go to the Caucasus, and should also be cleared out of the rich Ottoman lands in the south, if possible. In the end, British Government neither provided protection for Armenia nor could it induce the U.S. or France to assume a mandate. On Nov. 17th, 1918, a British force from north Persia accompanied by a pro-Entente force of Russian troops, occupied Baku, acting on behalf of the Allies." #28

"They had argued that a French mandate over Armenia and the Caucasus would be the best practical solution, since it was virtually certain that Britain would not accept a mandate over Armenia. Yet there was little hope for U.S. accepting it either.

< General Wilson : Cannot we bribe France in some other way?

Lord Robert Cecil: How?

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General Wilson: I do not know; that is not my part of the business... That is a Foreign Office affair.>

So, according to the military view, France should not have neither the Caucasus, nor Mesopotamia, Palestine, nor even Syria." #29*.

"The French ambassador told Sir J. Tilley on Nov. 9th, 1920 that his government agreed with the point of view of the Foreign Office, namely that... 'no useful discussion was possible while boundaries were still unsettled and Armenia was an unknown quantity'. Tilley concluded in his minute: 'I do not feel that it is a matter we want to hear very much about; and whatever may have been expected of us originally we intend to do as little as we can for Armenia either in men or money'. A Conference of British Ministers was of the view that the admission of Armenia to the League would involve an undertaking, under article 10, to preserve her territorial integrity and existing political independence against external aggression. But it was pointed out that the League would be incapable of fulfilling such an undertaking. The Treaty of Sevres was not yet ratified. Moreover the boundaries of Armenia, just defined by President Wilson, were so extended that the powers could hardly accept, under existing conditions, the responsibility to guarantee them. The admission of Armenia was also discussed at a conference with French and Italian representatives. Opposition was unanimously agreed on; Armenia was refused membership of the League." #30*

"Buxton, now Labor MP for Norfolk North, asked the government to confer with the powers, including Russia at Lausanne, with a view to obtaining an accession of territory to the Armenian republic, in return for a cession of territory to Turkey in northern Mesopotamia. It lay between adhering to oil rights in Mosul or carrying out pledges to Armenians, honor stood first. The government ought to put principle before profit, Buxton insisted. Thus, the Armenian question, while commanding general and sometimes strong humanitarian sympathies, did not become point of keen party political contest and did not arouse controversial passions. It did not have a solid basis of power and support." #31

"Britain and France grudgingly conceded a bigger share of the Turkish territories. Lloyd George said sharply to Sonino, 'You want us to do the work and hand it over to you at the end of the war'. Italians dismissed it as 'empty Hellenic megalomania'. They pointed out to Italy's need for raw materials (the Eregli coal mines) or Heraclium... Italy would protect Christians generally and Italian settlers in particular would civilize the Turks." #32*

"On the morning of May 6th, the Allies casually took the decision that set in train the events that destroyed, among many other things, Smyrna itself. In the Council of Four, Lloyd George pressed for a decision on Smyrna. If they did not, he said, the Italians would get away with grabbing a piece of Asia Minor. Greek troops were available; they could be told to land whenever there was a danger of disturbances or massacres. The Italians, who returned to the Peace Conference the following day, were told that their allies had been obliged to

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take action in their absence to prevent imminent massacres. When Sonino asked why the Great Powers had not sent their own contingents, Clemenceau claimed that it would be difficult to place them under a Greek General." #33

"Wilson was torn between his wish to act within the letter of the law and his distaste for the Italians. In the end he supported the occupation, which was scheduled for May 15th. 'The whole thing', wrote Henry Wilson, the British military expert 'is mad and bad'. The Orthodox bishop stood ready to bless the soldiers. The blue-and-white flag of Greece flew everywhere. Greek soldiers started firing wildly and when Turkish soldiers stumbled out of the barracks to surrender, the Greeks beat them and prodded them along toward the waterfront with bayonets." #34*

"Wilson did not view the mandates as means for territorial strategic aggrandizement: Lloyd George and Clemenceau did, hence their insistence on an immediate distribution of the Ottoman spoils. Besides, it was impossible for H. M. Government to sustain the 1,084,000 British and imperial troops then in the Ottoman Empire while waiting for a settlement that seemed far away. Britain must have relief, and a permanent designation of mandates seemed the best and quickest to achieve this end. This raised immediate problems for Wilson. 'Our people are fed up with Wilson' he (Lloyd George) declared in April, 1919. 'They are tired of playing second fiddle, considering what we have done in the war'. Even when the mortally ill American president was confined to his bed, Lloyd George remained vindictive: 'The only faculty that remained unimpaired to the end – which was delayed for four years, was his abnormal stubbornness'." #35*

"There was of course occasional half-hearted Allied recognition of national aspirations, notably those of Armenians and Jews, but on the whole, the post-war arrangements reflected imperilment rather than a nationalist mindset. President Wilson in May, 1919 teamed up with prime ministers Lloyd George and Clemenceau to give his blessing to the Greek occupation of the western coast of Asia Minor; by way of preventing British domination of Istanbul and the straits, the French resisted Curzon's attempts to sever the city from the future Turkish state, together with its remaining European possessions. Nowhere were the aspirations of the Turkish population itself taken into account. ...Kemal quickly seized the moment. On May 19th, 1919, he landed in the Black Sea port town of Samsun." #36

"One day during the Peace Conference, Arnold Toynbee, an adviser to the British delegation, had to deliver some papers to the prime minister. 'Lloyd George, to my delight, had forgotten my presence and had begun to think loud. Mesopotamia... yes... oil... irrigation... we must have Mesopotamia; Palestine... yes... Holy Land... Zionism... we must have Palestine; Syria... h'm... what is there in Syria? Let the French have that'. Thus the lineaments of the peace settlement in the Middle East were exposed: Britain seizing its

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chance; the need to throw something to the French; a homeland for the Jews; oil; and the calm assumption that the peacemakers could dispose of the former Ottoman territories to suit themselves. At their meeting in London in December, 1918, just before Wilson arrived in Europe, Lloyd George and Clemenceau found time to agree on a division of the Ottoman Empire's vast Arab territories, stretching from Mesopotamia on the borders of the Persian Empire to the Mediterranean. Both men were still buoyed up by their victory over Germany and by the novel but apparently warm friendship between their two nations." #37*

"In London, someone who knew more about the Ottoman Empire than anyone in Paris had been watching all this with alarm and despair. Curzon, who had been left in charge of the Foreign Office in Balfour's absence, sent a stream of memoranda and letters warning that it was dangerous to assume that the Turks were finished and folly to delay a comprehensive settlement. Lloyd George paid him as little attention as he did most professional diplomats. Curzon represented so much that he disliked. In the end, though it was Curzon who brought Lloyd George down." #38

"The dilatory proceedings in Paris in 1919, drove Curzon nearly mad. He had no love for the Ottoman Empire but he warned repeatedly against stirring up Turkish nationalism. He strongly opposed mandates for Italy either in the south Anatolia or anywhere else, as well as the award of Smyrna to Greece, 'who cannot keep order five miles outside the gates of Salonika'." #39

"Inside, in Wilson's study. Lloyd George sketched out an Italian mandate in southern Anatolia in glowing terms: 'where the Turks made a wilderness, the Italian can build roads, railways, irrigate the soil and cultivate it'. The French could take the north Anatolia and the Greeks would have Smyrna and surroundings, as well as Dodecanese islands, and said Lloyd George magnanimously, he would give them Cyprus as well. Clemenceau, who had been sitting silently by, expressed some doubts about the Greeks' ability to run a mandate: 'I covered the entire Peloponnesus without seeing a single road'. Caught up in the spirit of things, Wilson even said that he felt hopeful, that the U.S. would take the mandate for Armenia. Clemenceau said he assumed that the Americans would then take Constantinople as well. When Balfour saw these, he was moved to a rare display of anger: 'I have three all-powerful, all-ignorant men sitting there and portioning continents with only a child to take notes for them.' He sent a strong memorandum to Lloyd George saying how dangerous it would be to partition Turkey. Lloyd George also heard from his military advisers, who were almost unanimously opposed. So were Churchill and Montagu, who rushed over from London to warn yet again that cutting up Turkey meant 'eternal war' with the Moslem world, including that in India." #40*

"From the moment he sent the U.S. to war, on the Entente's side, Wilson took the moral high ground,... he kept his distance from the European partners and their imperialist schemes, choosing to be designated an 'associate' rather than a full-fledged ally; and he

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never declared or waged war on the Ottoman Empire. On Jan. 8th, 1918, in an address to a joint session of Congress, Wilson proclaimed his famous 14 Points, which were to form the basis for the post-war settlement and the conduct of international political generally. Point Twelve, specifically addressing the Future of the Ottoman Empire: *'The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and unmolested opportunity of autonomous development.'* 41*

The unavoidable fate of the Dashnakists, apparently was known well in advance, as written by Armen Garo (Dr. G. Pasternadjian) in his book Why Armenia Should be Free (1918) confessed on page 29 as below:

"From the third month of the war, it became clear to us that the Russian government pursued unswervingly its Lobanoff policy toward the Armenians. What was that policy? In 1896, when the English correspondent interviewed the Russian minister of foreign affairs, Count Lobanoff Rostowsky, and asked him why Russia did not occupy the Armenian vilayets of Turkey in order to save that Christian people from the Turkish massacres, the Russian minister cynically replied: *'We need Armenia, but without the Armenians'*!

"At one point, Gout (French appointee) accused the American missionaries of using ACRNE philanthropy as a bid for U.S. territorial control of part of the Ottoman Empire; Lybyer protested moralistically...the French intended to have Syria regardless. The fraudulent de Caix Note, accepted as authentic by the U.S. Peace Commission, led the Americans next day to decide that the Ottoman Empire was the great loot of the war and that the International Commission would be senseless. Other voices helping in this capitulation to the old diplomacy were those of the U.S. Zionists. The Zionists had seen that polling Arabs in Palestine was not the best way to create sentiment for a Jewish homeland and had been importuning Wilson and House with their anxieties... For years the American Zionist movement had been growing, but its competition with missionary diplomacy had not become clear until the Peace Conference." #42

"Some U.S. ministers and consuls to Turkey in the late 19th century had taken an active interest in Jewish immigration to Palestine. Many American Protestants, like Presbyterian clergyman William Blackstone, had supported Zionism... In 1916, the Presbyterian General Assembly passed a resolution, sponsored by Blackstone, which endorsed Jewish homeland. Wilson's daily Bible reading aided assumption that since Jews and Armenians were people of the Bible they were certain to be reborn politically after the war. In 1919 pro-Arab missionaries like Bliss, did not feel the same as Wilson and Blackstone about Zionism. These missionaries sensed the strife inherent between Arab nationalism and Zionism; they were not as much anti-Zionist as pro-Arab... An expert with the British peace delegation, Arnold Toynbee, on Saturday, April 19th, stimulated Lybyer's imagination. Toynbee informed him that Lloyd George had selected Henry McMahon

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(former high commissioner in Egypt), the scholar David Hogarth, and Toynbee himself for the British section of the International Commission." #43*

"By talking self determination, America had stirred Arab emotions in Beirut, Damascus, Jerusalem and environs. One reason for the U.S. was not assertive about an investigation related to Armenia. For months the assumption among the Allies in Paris had been that the U.S. should take mandates for Armenia and Constantinople. Lloyd George and Clemenceau desired American obligations to Turkey because each leader mistrusted the other country's gaining an edge in the Asia Minor settlement. Both were willing to let the U.S. assume the portions allotted to Russia in the nefarious secret treaties. Lloyd George especially liked the stability the presence of the U.S. could give to the Near East... In all this talk, no one urged a field study in eastern Anatolia. The massacres had depleted the Armenians there so much that nowhere were they a majority of the population. Since it seemed best to resolve the Armenian matter at Paris without an investigation, Wilson and House could see how the French felt about Syria." #44*

"On August 26th, 1922, the Turkish counterattack finally came toward Smyrna. The orders were simple: 'Soldiers, your goal is the Mediterranean'. The Greek forces were shattered and on Sept. 10th, Ataturk rode in triumph into Smyrna. On the quays a great crowd struggled to get onto the ships and safety. In the back streets and alley, the looting and killing had begun. The conquering soldiers and the Turks of Smyrna had many scores to settle. Like their masters in Rome, Paris and London, the representatives of the powers now abandoned the Greeks to their lot. As foreign troops watched from their ships, the city started to burn. The collapse of the Greek Army left the small Allied occupation forces in Constantinople and guarding the straits suddenly exposed. As Ataturk's forces advanced north toward the Sea of Marmara and Constantinople, the British Government decided it must stand firm at Chanak and Ismid on the Asiatic side... It called on the British Empire and its allies, but little beyond excuses and reproaches came back. Of the dominions, only New Zealand rallied to the flag. The Italians hastily assured Ataturk of their neutrality. The French ordered their troops out of Chanak... Curzon rushed over to Paris and had a dreadful scene with Poincare, now French prime minister, in which he talked 'abandonment' and 'desertion'. When Poincare shouted back, Curzon rushed out of the room in tears." #45*

"The Greek adventure in Asia Minor had already brought down Venizelos; now it destroyed his great patron Lloyd George. The Chanak crisis was too much for a shaky coalition government... Curzon discreetly abandoned his old colleagues. When a new Conservative government under Bonar Law took office in November, 1922, Curzon was reappointed foreign secretary. He left almost immediately for Lausanne, where the Turkish peace was now at last to be concluded. A few of those who assembled there had been at the Paris Peace Conference - Curzon himself, Poincare, a subdued Venizelos, who had been invited by the new government to represent Greece, Stamboliski of Bulgaria with his

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glamorous interpreter, the only woman at the conference. There were new faces too., among them Mussolini, in white spats and black shirt, ill at ease at his first major international conference, and Georgi Chicherin, the Soviet commissar of foreign affairs with his thin red beard and 'furtive old-clothes-man slouch'. Turkey was now represented by the nationalists, led by Ismet Inonu, a trusted general of Ataturk. When the Allies had tried to invite the Constantinople government as well, Ataturk simply abolished the sultanate. The Americans, in their new mood of detachment from European affairs, sent only observers: Richard Child, a former journalist and Joseph Grew, later American ambassador to Tokyo at the time of Pearl Harbor. Grew found, to his surprise, that Curzon was really quite charming... Ismet, 'a little dark man, absolutely without magnetism,' who looked more like an *Armenian lace-seller* than a Turkish general', stonewalled, played up his deafness and obstinately reiterated his demands." #46

"He had come with firm instructions from Ataturk: to negotiate an independent Turkey, free of outside interference. As a good soldier, he intended to follow them. 'You remind me', Curzon snapped one day, 'of nothing so much as a music box. You play the same old tune day after day until we are heartily sick of it - sovereignty, sovereignty, sovereignty'... With heavy sarcasm Curzon poked holes in Ismet's arguments. Ismet shrugged and simply ignored him. Curzon, he said 'treated us like schoolboys but we did not mind. He treated the French and the Italians just the same'. After endless haggling and a dramatic walkout by Curzon designed to put pressure on the Turks, a peace was worked out by July 1923... 'Hitherto we have dictated our peace treaties,' Curzon reflected. 'Now we are negotiating one with the enemy who has an army in being while we have none, an unheard position'." #47*

"Some voices urged U.S. mediation between European nations and the Kemalists; Secretary Hughes stated in a speech in Barton's home city that the American Government did not intend to intervene in Turkey. Before the Lausanne Conference opened there was an interesting exchange between the Harding Administration and Barton forces. The American Board secretary had pressed Washington for formal representation at the negotiations. Harding on Oct. 5th, 1922, wrote that the U.S. 'can be represented informally and properly safeguard American interests'. " #48

"The one un-reconciled dispute at Lausanne was over Mosul, in the north of Iraq. The Turkish delegation, arguing along lines that Turkish Governments have used ever since, claimed it on the grounds that its Kurds were really Turks...The issue of Mosul came close to breaking up the conference, both sides eventually agreed to refer it to the League of Nations, which finally awarded it to Iraq in 1925. Ismet returned from Lausanne to a hero's welcome and the treaty is still seen as modern Turkey's greatest diplomatic victory. In the autumn of 1923, the last foreign troops left Constantinople. The Sultan had gone the year before, spirited out of his palace in a military ambulance and carried by British warship to

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Malta. He died in exile in San Remo, impoverished and lonely. His cousin, a gentle artist, became caliph for just over a year until Ataturk abolished the caliphate as well. What was left of the royal family was sent into exile, they gradually dissipated what meager funds they had left. A handful have made their way back to Turkey; one princess runs a hotel. And a prince works in the archives in Topkapi Palace. Curzon died in 1925, worn out by years of overwork. Ataturk died in 1938, of cirrhosis of liver, and Ismet succeeded him as president. In 1993, on the 70th anniversary of the Treaty of Lausanne, Ismet's son and Curzon's grandson laid a wreath together on Ataturk's grave." #49*

"Wilson's end was the saddest. Exhausted by the Peace Conference, he plunged into a wrecking and debilitating fight with the Senate over ratification of Treaty of Versailles and more specifically the League of Nations." #50

"The peacemakers, however, had to deal with reality, not what might have been. They grappled with huge and difficult questions. How can the irrational passions of nationalism or religion be contained before they do more damage? How can we outlaw war? We are still asking those questions!" #51

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Chapter 27: References and Footnotes:

1. Jeremy Salt, *Imperialism, Evangelism and the Ottoman Armenians 1878-96*, Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., pg.137
 2. Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy & the Near East*, U. of Minn. Press, pg. 40-1
 3. Bertrand Russell, *Freedom Vs. Organization*, Unwin Books, London, 1935 pg. 207
 4. Ibid, pg. 215
 5. Ibid, pg. 233
 - 6*. *National Geographic*, July 1918, pg.69
- There is not even a line about deaths or massacres in this 1918 article when the Ottomans were defeated on all fronts.**
7. John Freely, *A History of Robert College*, Y.K.Y. Istanbul, July 2000, pg. 230
 8. Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy & the Near East*, U. of Minn. Press, pg.185
 9. Ibid, pg. 181
 10. David Fromkin, *A Peace to End All Peace*, Henry Holt and Co. NY, pg. 407
 11. Ibid, pg. 392 - 393
 - 12*. Ibid, pg. 396
- Who is "not a cheat"?**
- 13*. Akaby Nassibian, *Britain and the Armenian Question 1915-23* Croom Helm, London, pg.117
- Armenians never understood that neither Russia nor Britain had any intention to keep their verbal promises!**
14. Salahi Sonyel, *The Great War and the Great Tragedy of Anatolia*, T.T.K.
 - 15*. Margaret Macmillan, *Paris 1919*, Random House – New York, pg. 385
- Who cheats again?**
16. Joseph Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy & the Near East*, U of Minn. Press, pg.183
 - 17*. Ibid, pg. 184
- Wilson too could not understand how well U.S.'s idealism was exploited for plundering!**
18. Ibid, pg. 185
 19. David Fromkin, *A Peace to End All Peace*, Henry Holt and Co. NY, pg. 398
 20. Joseph Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy & the Near East*, U. of Minn. Press, 1991, pg.182
 - 21*. *National Geographic*, Feb. 1921, P.158 & 167
- No mention of any deaths or massacres again...in 1921...**
- 22*. Kevin Phillips, *American Theocracy*, Viking – Penguin, pg. 258
- If history was to be taken note of, this experience could have avoided the Iraq War about a century later.**
23. David Fromkin, *A Peace to End All Peace*, Henry Holt and Co. NY, pg. 265
 - 24*. Ibid, pg. 373
- Chance to cheat again!**
25. Erich Feigl, *A Myth of Terror*, Edition Zeitgeschichte Freilassing, Salzburg, Austria pg. 101
 - 26*. Margaret Macmillan, *Paris 1919*, Random House – New York, pg. 380
- Not much has changed nowadays!**
27. Ibid, pg. 388
 28. Akaby Nassibian, *Britain & the Armenian Question 1915-23* Croom Helm, London pg.150
 - 29*. Ibid, pg. 147 **The headline of this Chapter seems to be well deserved by reported conversation.**
 - 30*. Ibid, pg. 214 **But Armenians never learned from these lessons in the past or even today!**
 31. Ibid, pg. 264
 - 32*. Margaret Macmillan, *Paris 1919*, Random House – New York, pg. 428
- About a century later, Turks want to be <civilized voluntarily> by applying to EU but, civilization does not want Turks!**
33. Ibid, pg. 431
 - 34*. Ibid, pg. 432
- Something must be wrong in this explanation, because "Christians never do any wrongs"!...**
- 35*. Efraim & Inari Karsh, *Empires of the Sand*, Harvard U. Press pg. 267

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And this was the British way of thanking to the U.S. for sending armies to Europe, where too many died, and World War I was won for the colonialists.

36. Ibid, pg. 329

37*. Margaret Macmillan, *Paris 1919*, Random House – New York, pg. 381

Sounds like child's play... but this was how the destinies of millions of people were gambled with...

38. Ibid, pg. 438

39. Ibid, pg. 440

40*. Ibid, pg. 435

Childish partitions and disasters are pushed by <Civilized Nations>!

41*. Efraim & Inari Karsh, *Empires of the Sand*, Harvard U. Press pg. 26

Wilson's final offer to Armenia cannot be compared with the Autonomy Turks had offered in August, 1914...

42. Joseph. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy & the Near East*, U. of Minnesota Press, pg.177

43*. Ibid, pg. 178

U.S. ardently defends Sionizm a century later for the reason that they are <People of the Book>! Apparently <The Qoran> is not given any holy credit, and this is one of the reasons of the strife!

44*. Ibid, pg. 179

Armenophile Grabill grumbles again! When, where in Asia Minor, Armenians were ever in the majority?

45*. Margaret Macmillan, *Paris 1919*, Random House – New York, pg. 451

Writer does not say who set Izmir on fire (No victor would set fire on conquered property!) Report of Austrian Fire Chief, Paul Grescovitch, and Missionary MacLachlan, (President of American Boards Izmir Intern. College), plus news report of Mark O. Prentiss, as well as the reports of Mr. Whithall, (barrister-at-law) and also Colonel Rachid Galib, as eyewitness of the Incident, leaves no doubt that this was the work of Armenian and Greek incendiaries, some in Turkish soldier uniforms.

46. Ibid pg. 452

47* Ibid, pg. 453

There is no mention of Armenia or Kurdistan in the Treaty! Forgotten again by big brothers!

48. Joseph Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy & the Near East*, U. of Minnesota Press, pg. 269

49* Margaret Macmillan, *Paris 1919*, Random House – New York, pg. 454

If Britain had left Mosul to the Turks, (which they occupied after the Armistice), possibly most of today's frictions could have been avoided!

50. Ibid, pg. 455

51. Ibid, pg. 494

Chapter 28: INTERESTING REMARKS (About Turks, Armenians & various)

Trying to find out “what really happened in the past” and be objective about knowledge of the past or “HISTORY”, researchers have to evaluate diversified shreds of evidence, acting like detectives. In this section you will read piles of shreds or what has been said, rightly or wrongly, for Armenians, Turks or others. Who knows, maybe some sections may shed additional light on some dark points.

The remarks are roughly in three main groups with comments involving Turks, Armenians and miscellaneous.

Sect.: 1 – About Turks

“As for Arnold Toynbee, he has been described by Gordon Martel as a propagandist’. As early as June, 1912, Toynbee wrote to his mother that he was anxious to see the Turks driven out of Europe, not because they were ‘brutal oppressors, but because they were stupid and lazy’. He proposed to replace them with a regime that would be vigorous and brutal. The decision of the Ottoman Empire to join forces with the Central Powers would make a stiffer job of the war, he believed, ‘but it will be a simplification in the end; we shan’t leave any bits of Turkey lying about, when we clear up the mess afterwards’.” #1*

“Enver had assumed that the war would be short, and that it would be decided in a few fighting campaigns. He had neither a plan for a war of attrition nor an understanding of what such a war might entail. He had no gift for organization, no head for logistics, and no patience for administration. As War Minister he thoughtlessly led his country into chaos. He began by ordering all eligible men throughout the imperial domains to report for induction into the army immediately, bringing with them enough food for three days. When they reported as ordered -which is to say, all at the same time- their numbers dwarfed the conscription offices, which could not deal with so many at once. Having flooded in from the countryside, the draftees ate up their three days’ supply of food and then had nothing to eat. Soon they began to drift away, labeled as deserters, afraid to return either to the conscription offices or to their homes. Bringing in the manpower from the countryside ruined what would have been the bountiful harvest of 1914. It set a terrible pattern: throughout the war, the draft of men and pack animals brought famine in good years as well as bad. During the war years, the supply of draft animals fell, horses to 40% and oxen and buffaloes to 15% of what they had been. The shrinkage in agricultural activity was equally dramatic: cereal acreage was cut in half, and cotton fell to 8% of its prewar production level. Control of the scarce supplies of food and other goods became the key to wealth and power. In the sprawling metropolis of Constantinople, a Chic political boss with gangland connections fought against Enver’s General Director of the Commissariat for effective control of the economy. The transportation system of the empire was also shattered by the war. In the absence of railroads and usable roads in the past goods had been mostly shipped by sea. Now the empire’s 5,000 miles of coastline were under the guns of the Allied navies.” #2 *

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"Bryce did not mince his words. He believed that the Turkish Government 'deserves to die'." #3 *

"... 'barbarous misrule' of Turkish Armenia." #4

"Bryce even believed that the regeneration of Asia Minor 'must devolve on the Armenia'." #5

"Davis left Batumi on May 8th, 1914. He did not arrive in Harput until May 31st." #6*

"Along his entire journey by train from Beirut to Ras-ul-Ain, and then by wagon via Urfa and Diarbakir back to Harput, Davis witnessed crowds of ragtag recruits suffering from hunger and exposure. Ottoman men of means purchased exemption from military service, leaving only the poor and those with previous military experience to report for duty. Once back in Harput, Davis did not leave until ordered out in April, 1917 in spite of his father's death from cancer on Feb. 2nd, 1915." #7*

"Thus the initiative for a Turco-German alliance came from Turkey, not Germany and the fact that the offer was made on July 22nd, 1914 – the day before Austria-Hungary delivered its ultimatum to Serbia- was fortuitous." #8

"Ottoman Empire would soon have four corps ready to take the field. On August 2nd, a deal was struck, but Turkey did not enter the war." #9

"The immediate beneficiary of the Unionists grasp on power was the army. The appointment of Liman von Sanders's mission was part of a wider package of reform. Older officers were forced out in a major purge, and political unity imposed. New equipment was ordered from Germany. German methods were also evident in the adoption of a regional corps organization and a new recruitment law which widened the obligations of military service to embrace all non-Moslems who did not pay taxes; in the past only Moslems had been required to serve. The size of the army was not projected to rise to 1 200 000. But was a long term program; in February, 1914 Enver reckoned it would take five years before the army was fit for war. And he meant a Balkan war, not a world war... The army lacked a common language and was short of 280 guns and 200,000 rifles. It lacked pack animals for its transport. It was mobilized in August, following the alliance with Germany, but the process was still not complete in October. Reservists were sent home again because they could not be fed." #10*

"What worried the British more than the Ottoman Empire's army was its navy. The absurdity of Britain's naval mission in Turkey was that, if it were successful, it would create a

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body to counter the Greeks and the Italians in the Aegean, and the Russians in the Black Sea. The former may not have been allies, but the British rather wished they were, and the latter most certainly were. The British advised the Turks to acquire torpedo boats for coastal defence, but, after the humiliations at the hands of the Italians and Greeks in 1911-12, the Turks wanted super- dreadnoughts. They ordered two from British yards. Legally, the terms of the contract allowed the British to take over the vessels, and they did so on July 29th, 1914. Strategically the decision was the right one; politically the outcome was a gift to Young Turk propaganda, because the purchase of the ships had been funded by a high-profile public subscription." #11

"On Oct. 29th, the Turkish fleet, including the German ships, and commanded by Souchon, attacked the Russian Black Sea ports in obedience to secret orders from Enver. The Ottoman Empire had entered World War I..." #12*

"On Oct. 29th, Ottoman torpedo boats attacked Russian warships in Odessa, while *Goeben* and *Breslau* attacked Sevastopol. On Oct. 30th, Enver, Cemal and Talat convened an extraordinary session of the CUP, which came out in strong support of an immediate entry into the war. The prevailing view within CUP was that the Ottoman Empire's continued adherence to neutrality would be extremely dangerous, since at the end of the war Russia might attempt to occupy the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. On Nov. 4th, Russia declared war on the Ottoman Empire: Britain and France followed suit the next day. On Nov. 11th, the Sultan, in his capacity as caliph, declared holy war against Russia, Britain and France. Enver could rejoice: the Ottoman Empire had joined the Great War." #13*

"True, following the 1908 Young Turk Revolution, Britain declined several invitations to explore an Anglo-Ottoman alliance and Turkey's inclusion within the Entente (the last attempt made in June, 1913). Close scrutiny of the alliance overtures the Ottomans allegedly made prior to World War I – to Russia in May, 1914 and to France two months later – would quickly dispel any notion of rejection. The overture to Russia was made by Talat during a courtesy visit to the Livadia Palace in the Crimea." #14

"Hence; when their attempt to secure formal alliances with the Entente were declined, they had no choice but to throw in their lot with Germany." #15*

"As for the alleged overture to France, there is no evidence whatsoever that it was ever made, and the only mention of its existence is in Cemal Pasha's memoirs." #16

"With German help Turkey and Bulgaria signed a secret alliance treaty on August 6th." #17

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"A British squadron lying outside the Dardanelles since the arrival of the two German cruisers in early-August, had stopped and turned back an Ottoman destroyer venturing out of the straits." #18*

"On Oct. 31st, Giers left Istanbul to be followed a day later by Mallet and Bompard. On Nov. 3rd, on Churchill's instructions, British warships assisted by two French ships, bombarded the outer forts of the Dardanelles. A day later Russia declared war on the Ottoman Empire and Britain and France soon followed suit. The Entente Powers had been drawn into a war against their will." #19

"Greed rather than necessity drove the Ottoman Empire into World War I. Its war aim was to realize the imperialist vision of the powerful Minister of War Enver Pasha, a tangled web of grievances and revanchist hopes geared toward reassertion of the Ottoman imperial glory and unification of the Turkic peoples within an expanded empire." #20*

"High military policy was decided by him and his colleagues: none of the German officers exercised authority over Ottoman forces other than that explicitly delegated to them by Enver; and Liman von Sanders, whom Enver held in low esteem at best, was even informed that any supplies from Germany would be distributed by Enver himself and no one else!" #21

"In an attempt to relieve the Ottoman pressure, on Dec. 27th, the Russian Commander in Chief, Grand Duke Nicholas, made a direct appeal to Kitchener for an immediate action against the Ottomans, 'at their most vulnerable and sensitive point'. The Russian withdrew their request within days having learned Enver's defeat at Sarikamish." #22*

"Hamilton's plan was approved. On April 24th, de Robeck's formidable fleet set to sea and following day landed large forces on the Gallipoli peninsula, only to run unexpectedly tough Ottoman resistance. Allies managed to establish precarious bridgeheads on the peninsula. All attempts to make further advances broke against the uncompromising Ottoman resistance, with the attacking forces suffering heavy losses: on May 12th, the British warships *Goliath*, *Triumph* and *Majestic* were sunk. Suvla drove the nail into the Allies' coffin. In five days of fierce fighting between August 6th - 10th, the Ottomans, under the able leadership of the young and dashing Brigadier Mustafa Kemal, appointed field commander by von Sanders, managed to hold their ground. The Entente sustained 18 000 casualties, another 20 000 sick and wounded had to be evacuated. On Oct. 28th, Hamilton was replaced by General Sir Munro who recommended the evacuation of the peninsula. By early-1916 the Entente forces had been withdrawn from Gallipoli." #23*

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"British casualties in the campaign including 90 000 evacuated sick amounted to 205,000, which with the addition of 47 000 French casualties brought the Allied total to 252,000 or half of the troops sent to Gallipoli, against the officially admitted Ottoman losses of 251,000. Yet despite their heavy casualties, the Ottomans were elated. And while Mustafa Kemal and of course Liman von Sanders were the real heroes of Gallipoli, much of the credit was taken by CUP leadership, first and foremost by Enver. In Mesopotamia, in a battle near Crespion, 20 miles south of Baghdad, on Nov, 22nd -23rd, 1915, the 6th Anglo-Indian Division under Maj.Gen. Townshend, a seasoned officer with distinguished record o service in India and the Sudan, was decimated by a well-entrenched Ottoman force, after sustaining 4 600 casualties, nearly half of the division's effective strength. By the time he had retreated to Kut in Dec. 3rd, there was little left of the 6th Division as a coherent fighting force." #24

"By the time Townshend's forces surrendered to the Ottomans on April 28th, 1916, after 143 days of siege, the Mesopotamian campaign had ground to a complete halt. Townshend's men were marched hundreds of miles to Anatolia, where most of them would perish in Ottoman labor camps. But Enver's imperial dream came not from the battlefields of the Middle East but from the earthquake that convulsed Turkey's northern neighbor; the Russian revolutions of 1917. As early as March, 1917, after the overthrow of the czar and formation of a revolutionary government under Alexander Kerensky, the 500 000 strong Russian Army in Transcaucasia went into rapid disintegration. Seven months later, following the Bolshevik's seizure of power in what came to be known as the October Revolution, Russia left the war on Dec. 15th, 1917, signed an armistice with Germany in the Polish town of Brest-Litovsk. The Ottoman Empire was a direct beneficiary of this agreement, regaining provinces of Kars, Ardahan and Batumi, lost during the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877-78. This was not good enough for Enver." #25

"The Ottomans made demands that went far beyond the territorial limits of Brest-Litvosk. They now included Alexandropol and its environs, the Trans-Georgian Railway and free use of all Transcausian railways as long as the Ottoman Empire was at war with the Entente. When these onerous terms were declined, the Ottomans overran the Armenian city of Alexandropol and began advancing on the oil city of Baku. Shortly afterward on June 4th, 1918 the Treaty of Batumi was concluded between the Ottoman Empire on the one hand, and the Georgians, Armenians, and Azeris on the other. Georgia was permitted to retain the Black Sea port of Batumi, while Armenia was to cede significant parts of it territories to the Ottoman Empire." #26 *

"In the Hijaz, the birthplace of Islam, Hussein-Ibn-Ali of the Hashemitte clan of Quraish, Prophet Muhammed's tribe, was appointed in the spring of 1908 the new sharif of Mecca and its emir, protector of Islam's holiest shrines. Building on this key post, Hussein steadily extended power aided by his three eldest sons, Ali, Abdullah and Faisal." #27

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"As the war broke out and the Ottoman Empire threw in its lot with Germany, each of these potentates chatted his own way. Ibn Rashid and Imam Yahya of Yemen chose to remain with their Ottoman suzerain. Sayyid Talib, in contrast, had no qualms about seeing 'infidel' support against his Moslem ruler, cloaking his personal ambition in flashy nationalistic rhetoric. On Oct. 6th, 1914, Talib called on the British ambassador in Istanbul, Sir Louis Mallet. Talib's stark determination to become the ruler of Basra under British tutelage. On Oct. 22nd, he let the British consul in Muhammaarah know that 'Enver Pasha invited him to Istanbul to discuss important matters' and that he would head there peremptorily unless he received a definite offer from Britain within 48 hours. This was a transparent attempt by a local potentate to blackmail the largest empire on Earth. What was not on offer, however, was recognition of Talib as 'Sheikh or Amir of Basra' under British tutelage; his eventual position would depend on his actual contribution to the British war effort". " #28*

"This uprising against the Ottoman Empire, headed by Sharif Hussein of Mecca and supported by Britain and France, began in June, 1916 and ended two years later with the triumphant entry of Faisal, Hussein's third son, into Damascus under British auspices. Hussein's desert uprising failed to be the 'Great Arab Revolt' for two main reasons. First the sharif represented little more than himself as most Arabic-speaking Ottoman subjects viewed the revolt with total indifference or even hostility. Secondly, Hussein was not a revolutionary in service of national self determination but rather an imperialist aspirant seeking to substitute his own empire for that of the Ottomans." #29

"As late as December, 1916, six months after the outbreak of the sharifian revolt, residents of Mecca, Hussein's hometown, were almost 'pro-Turks' and it would not be before the winter of 1917 that the pendulum would start swinging in the sharif's direction. Many of the leading families dependent on Turkish pensions doubted how long Sharif could go on paying them, now that the Turks had gone; others feared that sharif's military power exhausted in fighting the Turks might soon be insufficient to protect them from tribal raids and forays..." #30

"In the following years, relations between Hussein and the Ottoman authorities deteriorated steadily, with the sharif resisting Istanbul's growing attempts at centralization and the Young Turks seeking his removal." #31

"... only a promise to make him the governor of Basra under British protection, with a fixed allowance of £2,000 a month could prevent his departure. This gamble failed miserably. No less opportunistic, if far more prudent than Talib were the rulers of the Gulf principalities and some prominent Arabian chiefs, such as Ibn Saud and Sharif Hussein. All of them were willing to turn their backs on the Ottoman Empire for the right price; and none

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did so for nationalistic reasons, although Hussein would skillfully sell his imperialist ambitions as all-Arab aspirations, both to contemporary British bureaucrats and to future historians. The rest of Hussein's Arabian neighbors had no such luck... In mid-August, 1914, upon hearing of the outbreak of war in Europe, Sheikh Mubarak offered Britain his loyalty and support and promised to convince Ibn Saud, whose family had sheltered in Kuwait during their lean years, to follow suit. He made good on his promise. 'According to what I hear this war is entirely the fault of the Germans, and they are inciting the Turks: may God abuse them both,' he wrote to Ibn Saud... and God has shown favor to the Arabs and Islam generally by bringing the Glorious English Government into existence, " #32*

"For his part Ibn Saud was promised British protection against Ottoman retaliation, recognition as the independent ruler of Najd and Hasa, and treaty relations with Britain. In return for these tangible gains, the two were asked to launch a joint attack on Basra, together with Sheikh Khazal Muhammarah, who, likewise was promised handsome rewards. Ibn Saud quickly entered into negotiations with Britain over the long covered treaty which was eventually concluded on Dec. 26th, 1915. Ibn Saud was recognized as the 'Independent Ruler' of Najd, Hasa, Qatif and Jubail and the 'absolute chief of their tribes and after him his sons and descendants inheritance; he and his successors were also promised British aid in the event of 'aggression by any Foreign Powers'. For his allegiance, the newly won protégé received a monthly subsidy of £5,000 higher than the £2,000 allowance paid to Muhammad al-Idrisi of Asir to rebel against the pro-Ottoman ruler of Yemen, Imam Yahya but a far cry from the £200,000 monthly subsidy paid to finance Sharif Hussein's revolt." #33

"It is scarcely surprising, then that it was a local strongman, Sharif Hussein of Mecca, rather than a secret society who managed to dupe the British Empire into supporting personal enterprise. It is true that Hussein's association with two secret societies, whose strength was greatly overrated by the British in Egypt, helped to underscore his false pretension to represent the 'Arab Nation', but he would never have been able to stake this fantastic claim in the first place without a local power base, in his unique case, combined limited military muscle with impressive religious credentials." #34

"Before long a joint plan for an Arab revolt was put in place. It envisaged al-Hashemi leading the Arab troops of the 12th Army Corps, together with some tribes of the Syrian desert in a battle to liberate the Levant from Ottoman rule before expanding the revolt on the Arabian peninsula. The idea was to establish a vast Arab empire, from the Mediterranean to the Iranian border, and from Asia minor to the Indian Ocean, headed by a native of Arabia and tied to Britain in a defensive alliance. ... by the summer of 1915 most Arab units in the Levant that were expected to start revolt had been moved to other fronts, together with their officers. Indeed, in the summer of 1915, Cemal Pasha embarked on a reign of terror aimed at eliminating any manifestations of sedition..." #35*

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"The British even had great difficulties persuading Mesopotamian prisoners of war, detained in India, to join the sharif's revolt; most of them remained loyal to their Ottoman sultan-caliph. When in December, 1916 two British ships brought 2,100 soldiers and 90 officers to the Hijaz, only six officers and 27 soldiers agreed to disembark; the rest were shipped to the prisoner camps in Egypt. Indeed disharmony among the revolt's constituent elements was a reflection of the wider attitude of the Arabic speaking communities toward the sharifian venture: 'The Syrian from the height of his education and refinement looks down on the Bedouin in his dirt and sand' as being beyond real consideration, while the Bedouin in turn despises the effeminacy of the Syrian. Egyptians were particularly loathed by the Arabians. On several occasions Hussein and his sons expressed their preference for Sudanese over Egyptian troops and the Egyptians forces sent to Hijaz were given rough and humiliating treatment by the Bedouins; they were denied basic foodstuffs, were occasionally fired at and their military preparations were often obstructed. If anything ... It was the glitter of British gold and the promise of ample booty that rallied Hijaz Bedouins behind the sharif. Not the lofty ideals of freedom or national liberation. Many would disappear once remunerated or forget everything about fighting once they fell upon a caravan. 'In this part of the world, gold is now so plentiful that the British sovereign may almost be said to be the unit of coinage', observed Major Garland a military adviser to the sharifian army; and Lawrence echoed his assertion: 'The Sharif is feeding not only his fighting men, but their families and this is the fattest time the tribes have ever known', he reported in November, 1916. Nothing else would have maintained a nomad force for five months in the field'. Nearly half a century later, he would still be remembered by Bedouins as 'the man with the gold'." #36*

"On June 10th, without informing Lawrence, Faisal sent his conditions for peace to Turkey. Had Enver met the sharif's demands in the spring of 1916, the revolt might have been averted altogether; had Faisal had his way with the Ottoman leadership two years later, the revolt might well have ended at that point. Either way, the Ottomans would have maintained their rule over most of their Arabic speaking subjects in one form or another, though the Hashemites would have risen to dynastic prominence," #37

"As he told Lawrence in the summer of 1917: 'If advisable we will pursue the Turks to Constantinople and Erzurum, so why talk about Beirut, Aleppo and Haifa?'" #38

"Not before the summer 1915 would Hussein feel confident enough to make his move. Enver's catastrophic Trans-Caucasian setback, Cemal's abortive attack on Suez and beginning of Gallipoli, all seem to have allowed..." #39*

"On Jan. 3rd, 1916, Sykes and Picot initialed a draft agreement on the partition of the Ottoman Empire in which Britain and France undertook 'to recognize and protect an

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independent Arab State or a Confederation of Arab States... under the suzerainty of an Arab chief'. " #40*

"Occupying vast territory, from Aleppo to Rawandaz and from Egyptian-Ottoman border to Kuwait, the new state was divided into two spheres of indirect influence in which France and Britain respectively were to have 'priority of right of enterprise and local loans', as well the exclusive right to 'supply advisers or foreign functionaries at the request of the Arab States or Confederation of Arab States'. The area of direct French control, the 'Blue Zone' extended from Cilicia to the Iranian frontier in the east and Acre in the south, including Syrian coastal strip Lebanon and North Galilee. The area of direct British control the 'Red Zone', encompassed southern Mesopotamia including Baghdad, the northeastern Arabian coast, including Kuwait, and the ports of Haifa and Acre in Palestine," #41

"In the end a compromise agreement was reached in exchange of notes between Sazonov and Paleologue on April 26th, 1916 giving Russia a 60,000 square mile band of territory between the Black Sea and the Mosul area, including the provinces of Erzurum, Trabzon, Van and Bitlis in Ottoman Armenia and substantial parts of northern Kurdistan. The following month Britain gave its formal approval to the modified Sykes-Picot Agreement in an exchange of notes between Grey and the French and Russian ambassadors in London. " #42*

"The vast Arab empire envisaged never materialized, its designated territory being divided among present-day states of Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Transjordan and Israel. Turkey emerged from the war a significantly larger country than the truncated state it was intended to be. In brief, the new imperial system devised by the Sykes-Picot Agreement in which the Arabs, rather the Hashemites, would substitute for the Ottomans, as the Middle East's imperial masters, gave way to a wholly different international order based on the newly articulated ideal of the nation-state." #43

"Indeed, for a brief while it appeared as if Lloyd George's fear of France's presence in the Levant outweighed his anti-Turkish sentiments. Shortly after coming to power he held secret talks with Enver Pasha on Turkey's departure from the war, in blatant violation of the September, 1914 Declaration of London, which prohibited the war allies from opting a separate peace. Appealing to Enver's personal greed, Lloyd George offered him and his associates generous financial rewards for leaving the war. He capitalized on his interlocutor's imperialist ambitions, promising to preserve the Ottoman Empire, if in a reduced form that would accommodate British interests, but not those of its war allies, France, Russia and Italy. Within this framework, Arabia would be fully independent; Mesopotamia and Palestine would become *de facto* British protectorates; and Armenia and Syria would enjoy local autonomy within the Ottoman Empire." #44*

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"Beginning Nov. 1st, 1919 British forces were withdrawn from Cilicia, replaced by French forces west of Sykes-Picot." #45

"The Turkish Peace Treaty, signed at Sevres on August 10th, 1920, constituted death sentence for the Ottoman Empire, forcing the surrender of the lion's share of its territory. The Hijaz and Armenia were recognized as 'free and independent' states; Syria and Mesopotamia were 'provisionally recognized as independent States subject to rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone'. Kurdistan was granted local autonomy and given the opportunity to convince the Council of the League of Nations, within one year from the time the Sevres Treaty was to go into effect, that the majority of Kurds wanted independence from Turkey. The 'Sick Man' of Europe had finally breathed his last breath. But the scramble for his territorial bequest, while officially settled, was far from over." #46*

"The position of the Italians in Constantinople was 'idiotic'. General Milne wrote from that city. They were 'frankly' with the Nationalists and acted 'as their spies'. He had evidence that the Italian member of the Turkish War Office Commission attended Nationalist meeting. Neither the Italians nor the French wanted the Treaty of Sevres carried out and they were 'encouraging the Nationalists to resist'. Francois Georges Picot, the French Commissioner Extraordinary for Syria and Armenia, had, on his way to Paris Peace Conference, a special interview with Mustafa Kemal at Sivas in December, 1919. Kemal had strongly protested against the French occupation of Cilicia and against the 'atrocities committed by the French and Armenians'. In reply Picot had stated that in exchange for securing 'economical advantages' in Adana, the French might 'probably' evacuate Cilicia and endeavor to 'remove occupation' by other governments." #47

"Similar reports of secret dealings between the Italians and French on the one hand and the Turks on the other came from various sources. ... It was Italy who first began intriguing following the Greek occupation of Smyrna. She provided Turkey with money and munitions of war. Sir Adam Block, in Constantinople, reported that it was very sad there were 'traitors' in the Allied camp. Perhaps the Turks knew in advance in 1920 that Armenia would receive no effective help whatsoever from the Allies. No wonder that they not only did not hand over any land in Turkish Armenia – as stipulated by the Treaty of Sevres- but also in absolute defiance of the signatory 'Allies' marched into Russian Armenia. The French were the first to demand the revision of the Treaty of Sevres. They concluded the Franklin-Bouillon Agreement on Oct. 20th, 1921. According to an infuriated Curzon a territory of 10,000 square miles in Cilicia and containing the military approaches to Mesopotamia was handed over to the Kemalists. The French had 'stolen a march' on their Allies and had by 'underhand' methods obtained preferential treatment for their interests." #48

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"The signatories were convinced that the claims of Indian Moslems were being used to paralyze action of Britain. It was the Archbishop of Canterbury, however, who, on the eve of the Conference of Lausanne, wrote an exceptionally strong worded letter to Bonar Law, the Prime Minister, claiming to express, together with his own views, those of the Church and of the 'thoughtful' people of the country. He wished, however, to say to the Prime Minister, how widespread among earnest and thoughtful people in England and Scotland would be the sense of 'unutterable shame' were to be announced that Britain was 'ignoring solemn pledges' and leaving great Christian populations to the swords of merciless foe." #49*

"It stated that the question of protecting Christians under Turkish rule had been profoundly modified in that the Turks had 'practically eliminated' the Christian elements in Turkey. According to recent American reports there were now 'practically no Armenians left in Turkish Armenia' nor Greeks on the coast of the Black Sea. So, the elaborate minorities provisions of the Treaty of Sevres would be pointless in any new peace treaty with Turkey. The Archbishop should also realize that the British Government were not free agents in this matter. They were dependent on the support of their Allies. But the practicability of the 'safety zone' in Cilicia depended on the provision of American financial aid and especially the consent of France to remain in this region. In 1920 the French had suffered some reverses in Cilicia at the hands of the Kemalists and in the summer of 1921 they made it clear that they might withdraw. Replying to T.P. O'Connor, Aristide Briand, the Prime Minister, expressed the inability of France to spend financial or military resources on the protection of the Armenians." #50*

"In 1921, when apropos Armenia the Treaty of Sevres had dismally failed, the Labor Party's Advisory Committee on International Questions claimed that the Treaty (of Sevres) and the 'Tripartite' Agreement between Britain, France and Italy had endeavored 'to carve up' the Turkish Empire both territorially and economically' and strongly blamed the Allies for having sacrificed the Armenians to their own interests. The Committee proposed that the Treaty of Sevres should be revised and a new bargain be made with Turkey: an 'independent Armenia' should be recognized, while in return Turkey should receive back Thrace and Smyrna, and should be freed from the humiliating control of the Financial Commission and from occupation of Constantinople. Greece should give up her claim to Turkish territory and receive the Greek territories of Cyprus and the Aegean Islands from Britain and Italy respectively." #51

"By their constant pressure they induced the British political leaders to show that they felt for Armenia. Thus they aroused among the Armenians hopes and expectations which would not be realized, and contributed to the fact that Armenians depended exclusively on accommodation with their neighbors in the Caucasus – the Georgians, the Tatars of

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Azerbaijan, the Russians and even the Turks: peoples with whom they were bound to live together." #52*

"The Armenian people were drawn to Britain from 1878 onwards, for she secured by the Cyprus Convention in that year, the Sultans promise to 'introduce necessary reforms' into the eastern territories of Turkey. In the 1880s and 1890s Britain above any other power pressed for reforms. The Armenian people felt particularly close to her when Gladstone took up their cause during the massacres of 1890s. However, Britain was somewhat unable to help Armenia effectively either before, or after, the war. In the 19th century her interest was centred on the Armenian territories, which her statesmen believed, controlled the strategic head of the Persian Gulf by the way of the Euphrates and Tigris Valleys. Britain remained committed, up to 1914, to the integrity of the Ottoman dominions in Asia. Thus Britain's interest in Armenian territory outweighed her concern about the Armenian people." #53

"It could not give effective help to Armenia and was unable to control the events in the Caucasus, but to the last discouraged her from coming to terms with Turkey or Soviet Russia, the only two states whose power was real. The Armenians –with little experience in the statecraft since the end of the 14th century, and moreover, having been 'terribly stricken' in the loss of their leaders by the holocausts of 1915 – were fatally dragged behind this illusory policy. They not only did not gain control of the Armenian provinces in Turkey, but also lost lands in pre-war Russian territory. However, weakness of policy or illusion would not have prevailed if only Britain had had interests in Armenia. But she did not. Thus Armenia was the only one not liberated, from among the list of Ottoman territories, 'Arabia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine'. Which the British Cabinet had agreed and Lloyd George had announced, would be 'impossible to restore' to Turkey. Britain's interests in the Armenian people were not matched by a corresponding interest in their territory. Before the war Britain was interested in Armenian territory, which, she was determined, should on no account fall under Russian influence. During the war she was interested in Armenian people, but not in their territory, for which she was not prepared to make any sacrifice in money or men. By 1923, having at long last shed its illusions about controlling the Caucasus, the Foreign Office apparently recognized that 'history, geography and economy all point to some sort of connection with Russia'. As to Armenia itself, it seems it realized the hard way, when abandoned by the Entente and Britain, that its 'only chance of existence was to adapt itself to the wishes and policies of the peoples by whom it was surrounded on all sides'." #54

"The Prime Minister himself was specific about a country which did not impinge on the vital British interests: 'with every desire to assist, we really cannot police the whole world', he told the House of Commons. Only a few seconds later, however, he pressed that Britain should not abandon Mosul which was a province with great possibilities: it had 'rich oil deposits'. The British Government would only be too pleased if were responsibility for

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Armenia assumed by other Allied powers. In February, 1919 Italy had agreed to send two divisions of troops to the Caucasus and one battalion to Konia in Anatolia for the supervision of law and order pending peace settlement. Tommaso Tittoni, the Foreign Minister, told Balfour that holding the Caucasus would need about 40 000 men and this was more than Italy could afford." #55

"At one time the prospect had been good. Colonel E. House, President Wilson's influential adviser, had privately told Hankey that he thought the U.S. would accept a mandate, although he could not come out in the open and say so. However, hopes faded. According to Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, the Republican Leader in the Senate, under no circumstances would the U.S. accept any mandate in Turkey or, its late territories." #56

"The War Office suggested that the proposal was not practicable. The War Cabinet was suspicious and they decided to invite the French Government to dispatch their force through the Black Sea ports. (Bonar Law) seizing the opportunity to strike a sound bargain for formally throwing off any British responsibility for Armenia, he wrote to Balfour in Paris:<If you could get Clemenceau to make a public declaration that he would undertake the responsibility of protecting the Armenians, then I think that would be a good thing whether or not he was able in reality to do so>"#57

"(Bonsal had shown Wiseman a copy of the Prime Minister's speech made at the Guildhall in 1916) which with 'malicious purposes' he had kept on his desk for some weeks. As Wiseman seemed to shy away, Bonsal had read aloud: 'Britain is resolved to liberate the Armenians from the Turkish yoke and to restore them to the religious and political freedom they deserve and of which they have been so longed deprived'. Bonsal commented in his diary that as the extreme difficulty of the task became apparent, both France and Britain earmarked the job for 'simple Simon, that is, for Uncle Sam'." #58*

"Addressing President Wilson in late-April, 1920, the Supreme Council expressed their conviction that the only Great power qualified alike by its sympathies and its material resources to undertake the mandate 'on behalf of humanity' was America. The prospect of creating an Armenia which should include Cilicia had for long been abandoned as impracticable. There remained the questions, what portions of the provinces of Erzurum, Trabzon, Van and Bitlis, still in the possession of the Turkish authorities, could be safely added to the existing state of Yerevan, and what means of access to the sea should be provided to the new state. Finally, the Supreme Council called the sympathetic attention of the U.S. Government to the possibility that an American loan of a few million pounds for both provision of the military forces and the constitution of an orderly administration, might be the means of setting at once on her feet. But the rhetoric could not transfer the responsibility onto American shoulders." #59*

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"The government could not go back on the promises made by British statesmen. Nor could they completely disregard the pro-Armenian pressure of the humanitarian groups who pinned down the British political leaders to their own statements and resolutions. 'Armenia – we are doing our best' Curzon wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1919. 'I shall never in any settlement with Turkey lose sight of Armenian interests'. In the end Lloyd George's government decided to solve the dilemma in its own way by sticking to its promises to liberate Armenia. By the Treaty of Sevres of August 10th, 1920, a very substantial part of the ancient territory of the Armenian people -to be delimited by President Wilson- was formally accorded to Armenia. The Treaty was signed by the representatives of the governments of Yerevan and the European powers." #60*

"As regards Turkish Armenia, the (British) General Staff in March pointed out that the extent of the front from the Black Sea to Lake Van, close on 300 miles, was a task 'quite beyond the capacity' of Armenian forces. In addition, Turkey was 'fully armed' and Armenia 'unarmed'. Armenian soldiers lacked 'everything', even uniforms. The Treaty of Sevres was indeed the consummation of the British and Allied pledges for the liberation of Armenia and response to humanitarian public opinion – on paper." #61

"It brought Gallipoli, that stubborn defense of Turkish soil against the allies in which 100 000 died and which created, curiously two resonant justificatory myths of nationhood; for Australians tend to date the crystallization of a national consciousness from the death trap into which the British imbroglio let them, while the Turks fought for their homeland, and were ably let by Mustafa Kemal." #62

"In the last years of the empire, a French firm offered 500 000 francs to turn 150 000 street dogs in Istanbul into gloves. The Sultan <very hard pressed for cash> nobly refused. The dogs were locked up in an old tramp steamer and transported, howling and fighting to a waterless island (Hayirsizada) where they were turned loose." #63*

"In the spring of 1915, local Armenian leaders in Harput, including several professors at the missionaries' Euphrates College, were arrested and many tortured to death. At the end of June because of their alleged seditious activities, all Armenians were ordered by the central government to prepare for 'relocation'. Missionaries, too, became targets. Several were arrested and deported." ...U.S. trade with the Ottoman Empire began in 1792 when an appropriately named ship, 'The Grand Turk', called at the port of Smyrna (Izmir) to buy figs and carpets. By 1800 American merchants were pressing for diplomatic relations, but the Sultan considered the U.S. so insignificant he refused to entertain the idea." #64

"Historically, the Armenian genocide had its roots in the creation of the *millet* (non-Moslem ethnic) system after the Ottoman Turks captured Constantinople... By institutionalizing the status of religious minorities, the Greeks, Armenians and Jews as

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beings whose rights in society were only recognized through a system outside the structural mainstream, were doomed to classification as inferiors. The Greek and Armenian *millets* were headed by archbishops designated by the Sultan to be patriarchs of their communities." #65*

"There was never any commercial work of importance in this consular district even in normal times..." #66*

"Since the beginning of the war even bread is almost unobtainable..." #67*

"...most of them succeeded in getting away safely. In spite of the risks, the opportunity for these Armenians to save them selves in this way was so good that it seemed advisable for as many to try to go to get away." #68*

"Many people, mostly women, have been kept in the Turkish houses, especially in the villages that were partly Turkish and partly Armenian. The purely Armenian villages have been pretty thoroughly cleaned out, but hundreds of women have found shelter with their Turkish neighbors in the villages containing both races." #69

"On the whole, the Americans here have had comparatively little trouble during the past two months and have been able to do some good." #70

"... the World War I had begun. Two days before, with the knowledge of only four members of the Turkish Cabinet a secret alliance aimed against Russia, had been agreed between Turkey and Germany, It was signed on August 2nd. for it failed in his attempt (Talat) to secure any positive guarantees from Britain and France against Russia, the hereditary enemy. In Sofia Kemal argued strongly against Turkey's entry into war on the German side. If Germany won the war she would make a satellite of Turkey; if she lost it Turkey would lose everything, Kemal, unlike Enver, not merely disliked and mistrusted the Germans; he was unsure of their capacity to win." #71

"In an official dispatch to Enver as Minister of War on July 16th, 1914, he had reported from his observations in Sofia that Bulgarians were drawing together with the Austrians, hoping with Austrian aid to achieve their dreams of a great Bulgarian state." #72

"Enver pretend not to have known of the attack of *Goeben* on Odessa and Sepastopol. Talat learned of it only after it had happened. He remarked 'Would that I were dead! Would that the country had not been dead!' But he remained in office. Cemal received the news while playing cards in the *Circle d'Orient*. He showed astonishment, turned pale and swore on the head of his daughter that he knew nothing about the incident. Said Halim the Grand Vizier offered his resignation to the Sultan, who embraced and begged him not to

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deprive of his sole source of comfort and leave him in the mercy of incompetent men. He remained. Only Javid (minister of Finance) together with three minor ministers, resigned, 'It will be our ruin' he said 'even if we win'. Thus began the last phase in the decline and fall of the Ottoman Empire." #73

"The German colonel accompanying him was worried because the photograph in his pocket, of his wife and daughter, had become wet. But Ismet consoled him with the thought that this was an augury of happiness, since they were now baptized in Jordan water." #74*

"Thus the Armistice (of Mudros) was signed on Oct. 30th, 1918 with compliments all round, and accompanying unofficial letter from Admiral Calthorpe, interpreting and amplifying some terms. Calthorpe remarked after signature, 'By signing this Armistice I hope we shall put an end to this bloodshed which has been going on for so many years'. He shook Rauf by the hand and confirmed 'ardent desire' for friendly Anglo-Turkish relations. Kemal, when he received the news of the Armistice and the order to cease fire, was still resisting with his forces in the hills behind Aleppo. 'In the fighting of the last few days' wrote Liman von Sanders, 'the army held high the honor of its arms'. After four long years of disastrous war, Kemal emerged from general carnage as the only Turkish commander without a defeat to his name." #75

"With regard to their mutual territorial interests, Chicherin favored a referendum in the various Turco-Russian areas, and proposed mediation in the settlement of Turco-Armenian and Turco-Persian frontier problems. Agreeing to this in principle, Kemal offered a deal by which he accepted Russian claims to Azerbaijan in return for a free hand to invade Armenia. In conclusion he asked for 'money and arms in order to organize our forces for the common struggle'. These exchanges made it necessary to postpone meanwhile the operations against Armenia for which Kazım Karabekir had been impatiently pressing and which Kemal authorized for the end of June. Kazım grew testy in his isolation, sending countless telegrams which criticized Kemal's conduct of affairs. In fact, as he failed to realize, time was working for Kemal. While he sat fretting in Erzurum at the inaction of his forces, the Supreme Council sat wrangling in Paris as to whether or not to give the city, and most surrounding province, to the Armenians as a 'free independent state'. It became clear, however, that it was unprepared to reinforce the grant by any form of military action. Kemalists and the Bolsheviks were ensuring, on the spot, once and for all, that no independent state of Armenia should ever appear on the map of Asia." #76

"It soon became clear that the Russians were maneuvering to trade aid to Turkey for the cession of Turkish territory to Armenia, which they would later appropriate for themselves. After some weeks of delay the delegation was received by Lenin. He showed a more conciliatory spirit over the opening of supply route for arms and support for the Turkish cause in general. But he made little secret of impending Russian designs on Armenia and

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Georgia. Here, the Turks judged, was the old Czarist policy all over again; but to be exercised by peaceful penetration rather than war. Reporting on the interview to Angora, Bekir Sami expressed his conviction that the Russians might at any time overthrow the Armenian Government, There should thus be no delay in military action from the Anatolian side." #77

"But a few days afterwards Chicherin raised with Bekir Sami the question of frontiers, and insisted on the cession to Armenia of territory in the Turkish provinces of Van and Bitlis. Aid to Turkey, he declared, must depend on the acceptance of this principle. On learning of this, Kemal saw that the moment had come to strike. He firmly rejected Chicherin's proposal and ordered the army of the east to march against Armenia. The objective of Karabekir's offensive was the recovery of those 'Armenian' districts of Turkey, including Kars, Ardahan and Batumi, which had been lost to the Russians in the war of 1877, regained from them by Enver in 1918, but lost once more to the dictation of the Allies at the Armistice. On Sept. 20th his troops advanced and captured Sarikamish. After a pause Kazım continued his advance to Kars, which fell without resistance. The Russian-Armenian commander was in bed at the time, and his ADC did not dare to wake him until the enemy had marched into the city, capturing his headquarters and many thousands of prisoners." #78

"The Russians marched into Georgia which became another Soviet Republic. The Turks occupied Ardahan and Artvin. There was a race for Batumi, which was won by the Red Army. These military gains were now to be sealed in a political form. On March 16th, 1921, the Treaty of Moscow was signed between the Kemalist Government and that of the Soviet Union. Each undertook to refrain from subversive activities in the territories of the other.

It was thus that those two notable realists, Kemal and Stalin, settled between them by negotiation and action, not indeed all their mutual problems, but their mutual frontiers, drawing a line across the map which survives without dispute as the boundary between these hereditary enemies, Turkey and Russia, today." #79

Sect.: 2 – About Armenians:

"THE NEW YORK TIMES," May 23, 1897: Turk and Armenian – From Atlantic Monthly

"It must be admitted that the Armenians are not an easy people to get on with. They are distinguished by an energy, a busy-ness, and a fondness for acquisition that are almost super-occidental. They are selfish, personally unattractive, and strikingly lacking in traits of nobility and self respect. The average Armenian is unquestionably of sharp intelligence as far as the small things go. The saying is that it takes ten Jews to outwit one Greek, and ten Greeks to outwit one Armenian. He is unquestionably extremely irritating to the quietistic, resigned, fatalistic Turk. The two have little in common. The Armenian is clearly a pestilent

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fellow, and the Turk has decided to get rid of him. The Armenian is clearly a pestilent source of unrest. He is a "kicker". What men do with "kickers", in the Occidental scheme of things, is to vote them down. The Turk knows no other way than to stab them down, cut their heads off, or sink them in the Sea of Marmora. He is applying the triune receipt with patient zeal as occasion offers".

." As to the missionary force, she (Miss Willard) believed 'No band of men and women more heroic have lived since the Great Light shone forth out of Jerusalem.' She thought Bliss' 'should nerve the will of every Christian man and woman to defend our Mission and our Missionaries, whose work alone can disinfect the land of the scimitar from its awful taint.' Bliss' choice of words showed more restraint and less passion than Miss Willard's but presented the same stereotypes." #80

"... The attitude of the Armenians was also deplored by British Vice-Consul Captain Dickson, who wrote to Ambassador Lowther on Sept. 30th as follows:

The Armenian in subjection, such as I have seen him, is an unsympathetic, mean, cringing, unscrupulous, lying, thieving curd; given his freedom, he loses none of these bad qualities, but in addition becomes insolent, domineering, despotic. He is endowed with a sort of sneak-thief sharpness, which among ignorant people in these parts passes for intelligence'. " #81

"One of the disappointments in the present terrible situation and one of the saddest commentaries on American missionary work among the Armenians is their lack of religious and moral principles and the general baseness of the race. During all that has happened during the past year I have not heard of a single act of heroism or of self-sacrifice and the noble acts, if any, have been very few. On the contrary mothers have given their daughters to the lowest and vilest Turks to save their own lives; to change their religion is a matter of little importance to most of the people; lying and trickery and inordinate love of money are besetting sins of almost all, even while they stand in the very shadow of death. On the occasion, when the students of the American theological seminary were arrested, nearly every one of them lied about one thing or another to save himself. Absolute truthfulness is almost unknown among the members of this race. Money is sought at any price, even at the risk of their lives, as in the case of the young man (already mentioned in) this dispatch whom I had saved from death and tried to help for several months by keeping him in the Consulate. Every trick and device are resorted to by those who are not in need as well as by those who are to obtain money and often by depriving others of it who are in much greater need. From every point of view the race is one that cannot be admired although it is one to be pitied." #82

"Sir Mark Sykes continued to describe the Armenians as follows:

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To add to this curious fatuousness of conduct, the town Armenians, are at once yielding and aggressive. They will willingly harbor revolutionaries, arrange for their entertainment and the furthering of their ends... Another peculiar point is that, nearly every Armenian is imbued with a patriotism which is fiercely chauvinistic... This pride of race brings about many singularities and prompts the Armenians to prey on missionaries, Jesuits, consuls and European travelers with a rapacity and ingratitude which often cause a suppressed feeling of anger. The poor Armenian will demand assistance in a loud tone, yet he will seldom give thanks for a donation... Abuse of consular officers and missionaries is only a part of the stock-in-trade of the extra-Armenian press." #83

"As K.S. Papazian astutely concluded on pg. 67 of his 1934 book, Patriotism Perverted, the Dashnaks' hands are raised against everybody, its plots and crimes have rocked the conscience of all decent Armenians and have disgraced our people before the civilized world.' "One of the key demands of the terrorists is always that the 'Genocide' of 1915 be cited in the media as the reason for every terrorist action. This wish always granted and incites the terrorists to commit further acts of violence. Here, for example, we see the '1915 killings recalled'... In 1968, the Rev. Vartan Hartunian of Watertown, a suburb of Boston, published the memoirs of his father, the Rev. Abraham H. Hartunian. They describe his experiences in the turmoil of the war and the years that followed. At first, he damns the Turks, but then in the end, before the capture of Izmir by the troops of Kemal Ataturk, he curses the Christian powers and their representatives: Woe unto you, unjust diplomacy! Shameless, ignoble, deceitful, diplomacy! The Greek nation deceived her people and betrayed them to the Turk, to be strangled by his hands! I spit on you, hellish diplomacy! Like madmen, we rushed here and there, saying to each other, that base, murderous, Moslem Turk dealt with us better than these European Christians! If only we had known this before and dealt instead with the Turk!'" #84

"The owner of the service station named 'ANI' is sure that the city of Ani fell to the Turks. Likewise, the owner of the car believes that Ahtamar was taken from the Armenians by the Seljuks. The truth, however, is that all the semi independent Armenian principalities in Anatolia had already fallen to the Byzantines, to the Mamluks, or to the Crusaders decades or even generations before the Turks. The Turks were welcomed everywhere by the Armenians as liberators from Byzantine oppression. And this Turkish-Armenian friendship lasted well into the 19th century." #85

"...The fall of the Cilician Kingdom occurred in the years 1375, a good century and a half before the conquest of Cilicia by the Ottomans. Many Armenians did of course continue to live in Cilicia, although they were always a small minority here, as they were throughout Anatolia. The memory of King Leo was still alive in 1831 when the French forced the establishment of a Catholic Armenian patriarchate. It was probably also still alive in 1915 when they acted as accomplices in the tragedy suffered by the local Ottoman-Armenian

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population during the rebellion of Musa Dagh. They were accomplices to another crime in 1918 when they landed troops in the South and made promises to the Armenian community which they were unable to keep.

A book that appeared in 1896 entitled Turkey Armenian Atrocities (the author was certainly not aware of the ambiguity of the chosen title) shows just how far the American Protestants were willing to go with their propagandistic excesses. The spirit and content of the book are best illustrated by a few lines from the foreword by Francis E. Willard. Armenians are apparently the noblest race in the world since, 'in countenance, figure, and poise they are...'

Robert College, Istanbul (today, Bosphorus Univ.). Founded in 1840 as a school for gifted Armenians, it also proved to be a training ground for Armenian nationalism...The founders of Robert College, in particular Cyrus Hamlin, saw great significance in the location of the new college. It was built right next to Rumeli-Hisar, the fortress from which the Ottomans had conquered half of Europe. The new school buildings were to become a symbol of the 'reconquista'. In his history of the 'American Board', William E. Strong describes the school's founder as the 'terror of the evasive Turk', whereas the Armenians were to be assisted 'in every way possible'. Misunderstood ultra-nationalism now started to run its course. " #86

" It is true that Turkish gendarmes and Kurds often cooperated in arranging for massacres and the looting of Armenian convoys, but the idea that the Kurds were coerced to kill the Armenians is not supported by any evidence. The astute George Hepworth noted that the Kurds 'love a gun, a sword, a dagger, and are exceedingly reckless in the use of these weapons, especially when the victim is unarmed.'...

These lines were written in 1898, but little, if anything, had changed by the time of World War I. Some Kurds, notably the Alevi Kurds in the Dersim Mountains, sheltered Armenians. Nonetheless, it appears that in 1915 - 16 many Kurds were active and willing participants in the massacres of Armenians, primarily because of the desire for booty. There was no need to incite or coerce them... The Turkish gendarmes were known to be ignorant, corrupt, and poorly trained. Their performance had shown some improvement after the Young Turk revolution of 1908, but they were still led by practically uneducated officers. A British police instructor who spent six weeks on an inspection tour in eastern Anatolia in 1913 reported that the gendarmes were paid irregularly and sometimes not at all for months on end. Missionary Henry Riggs wrote that the gendarmes had a reputation for extortion and violence. Decent men would generally not enter this service, 'which is ordinarily recruited from the lowest classes of the population.' The outbreak of war worsened this situation: ..." #87

"Curzon authoritatively cabled Admiral de Robeck in reply to his queries: 'Allied occupation of Trabzon is impracticable and Greek occupation is considered undesirable'. Railway transport had entirely ceased. Besides fighting the Turks, Armenia had to meet riot

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from Moslems within her frontiers. Kurds were fighting in the district of Igdir. Soon an agreement was concluded on the dispatch of, and method of payment for 1,000 tons of fuel oil. But this provision of fuel, it seems, was not made without a sound bargain. Armenia should repatriate her refugees in Mesopotamia. 'If we can assist in supply of fuel necessary for railways' Khatisian agrees to receive in Armenia over 14 000 Armenian refugees now in Basra Admiral de Robeck reported. On Oct. 5th, 1920 Colonel Stokes visited both Yerevan and Kars and saw the Armenian Prime Minister and the Minister of War. He cabled his impression that the Armenian Government and the people were united in their determination to defend their country. The troops were 'well equipped' with the munitions and uniforms received from British in July. General mobilization of men aged up to 35 was in progress and volunteers had 'flocked' to the colors. But the danger which threatened Armenia was 'very serious'. In the meantime the Turkish Nationalists were advancing relentlessly." #88

"Thus, the Treaty of Sevres, promising so much became for Armenia, in Kajaznuni's words 'a kind of blue bird', 'intangible and inaccessible'. Yet Armenia's commitment to the Allies did not give her protection; on the contrary it provoked the suspicion of both Soviet Russia and Turkey and exposed her to reprisals. Both powers saw Armenia as the satellite of Britain, their most dangerous enemy. It would be easy to blame Armenia for her illusions." #89

"An Admiralty Intelligence Summary referring to Turkish demands for 'a large portion of Armenia' and the Bolshevik offer to compel the Turks 'to retire beyond the old Russian frontier' stated: 'Reports from various sources indicate that the Kemalist-Bolshevik Entente is not running smoothly'. 'The evidence in our possession appears to warrant the conclusion' that the Nationalist Turks though still anxious to secure Russian help, had found such assistance 'a double-edged weapon'. The Russians, who feared a junction between the Nationalists and the Azeris, as result of Kazim Karabekir's rapid advance into Armenia in November, 1920, retaliated by Bolshevizing what was left of Armenia." #90

"Arnold Toynbee, however, strongly favored a pro-Russian orientation since Turkey was passing through a period of 'rabid nationalism' Henry Wilson pointed out was not far from truth in this case. Turkish power in Anatolia had been allowed to grow in reality. In Feb. 1921 the Dashnak Government was re-established in Yerevan following an uprising which was provoked by the prevailing harsh economic conditions, incited by Turkish Nationalist and French agents in the Caucasus and led by the Dashnak Party members." #91*

"It was a desperate move based on illusion. The Turks would not openly support anti-Bolshevik rebellion. Shrewdly keen on obtaining good terms from Soviet Russia in Moscow, they would not risk Soviet hostility. Bolsheviks re-entered Yerevan in April, 1921. But the Soviet Russia also had its fair share of illusions. In early-1921 Lenin told Soviet Armenian representatives that although he was prepared to provide Armenia with supplies and money,

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he would not, and could not fight for the inclusion of Kars in Armenia.' 'We are temporarily compelled to sacrifice the interests of the Armenian labor classes to those of the World Revolution. Russia was keen to have Turkish co-operation over the Straits. Kars and Ardahan were left to Turkey and both parties agreed that Nakhichevan should form 'an autonomous territory under the protection of Azerbaijan.'" #92

"Thus Soviet Russia did not claim Armenian territory because of her illusory belief in peasant risings in Turkey and in Turkish goodwill over the Straits. In the meantime, Turkey received substantial moral and material help from Russia against Greece. However, once she had defeated the Greeks, Turkey supported not the Russian but the British proposal over the Straits at the Conference of Lausanne." #93

"Since the population was mixed, the principle of equal rights for all nationalities should be applied. On the other hand in settling proportional claims of these various elements in Armenia that 'the dead and the exiles should be taken into account' and Armenian immigrants from other parts of the world should be given facilities for settling down in their 'ancestral homes'. If France were chosen as the mandatory, this should make her more ready to forego her claims in Syria, in case these claims were not confirmed by the Syrian themselves. Britain was already committed to France's establishment of a direct or indirect district of administration in the south-western half of Armenia, the memorandum maintained. It was urged that a U.S. mandate would suit Britain better, Sir Eyre Crowe pointed out that there was, unfortunately little hope that the Americans would accept it." #95

"Whether or not Trans-Caucasian Armenia opts for inclusion, the new State formed out of the north-eastern territories of the former Ottoman Empire should be called Armenia. That has been a historical name in the past; the Armenians are at present the most progressive and prolific element in the population; there will be an immigration of Armenians from abroad and they are likely to play the leading part in the future. On the other hand, the statement went on, the country could not be handed over to the Armenian element and organized as an Armenian national state, as the Armenians would be found to form a 'a considerably smaller fraction' of the total population." #96

"Other reasons stressed the commercial and material importance of the region. Batumi would become the emporium for the central part of Asia; it was impossible to allow the 'great oil resources' of Baku to fall in the hands of a tiny mountain republic like Daghestan, or into the hands of a 'very doubtful' element like the Turkish Azerbaijan. In 1918, the four Republics of Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia and Daghestan had come into existence when the Russian power had collapsed in the Caucasus. They were now claiming the right of self-determination and clamoring for recognition as independent states. Should Britain recognize them?" #97

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"Are we preserving order in the Caucasus in the ultimate interest of a united, undivided Russia, or of these new, self-created States? This was a dilemma which the British Government could not solve. Both the Caucasian peoples and the Russians alike were 'frankly puzzled' by the attitudes of the British and regarded them with total mistrust." #98

"But the newly-born republics, infected by morbid nationalism, had jumped at each other's throats over territorial disputes, immediately after the withdrawal of the Turkish and German troops. It seems that British mediation in the Caucasus often disregarded Armenian aspirations. The insufficiency of troops may have been one consideration for the British authorities favoring the stronger states contesting disputed territories. Another consideration may have been the well-publicized view that Armenia would expand in the direction of Turkey-in-Asia..." #99

"Armenia was the least important state in the Caucasus in terms of strategic position and natural resources and therefore could not be of much use to British imperial interests. Of all the territorial disputes in the Caucasus the most serious was the Armeno-Azeri conflict over Mountainous Karabagh in the province of Eisavetpol. The Moslem Azeri outnumbered two to one in the province, but the Armenians constituted the absolute majority of the population of Mountainous Karabagh. In the first half of 1918 Mountainous Karabagh was virtually autonomous. Following the declaration of Azerebajani independence in May, 1918 the Azeri government tried to bring the disputed territories of mountainous Karabagh and Zangezur county under its jurisdiction with the help of Ottoman armies." #100

"It seems, however, that for British politicians withdrawal was not a cut and dried formula: in fact a British detachment remained in Batumi until June, 1920. The military authorities, however, having made up their mind that the British line of defense in South Asia should be neither the line Constantinople-Batumi-Baku-Krasnovodsk-Merv, nor the line Constantinople – Batumi – Enzeli – Tehran – Meshed but be the railheads of the systems of Palestine, Mesopotamia and India, that is Palestine-Mousul – Kanikin- Burujird. (Sir Henry Wilson) considered the Foreign Office to be badly organized incompetent and those 'academic fools', who wanted to back the Greek against the Turk, 'dangerous'. In the past, Russia and Imperial Turkey had provided stable governments, and Denikin's Russia would have now been the best security for India and Central Asia against Bolshevism." #101

"When however, Denikin's armies collapsed, it seems that the traditionally pro-Turkish sympathies were completely transferred to the support of Turkey. The Turkish National defence movement which was growing in Turkish Armenia and the hostility of the Tatars towards the Armenian provided the material for a serious configuration. On the southern frontier of the Armenian republic the situation was very disturbed, Milne reported. In the districts of Shardissi and Nakchievan the Tatars were being guided by Turkish

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officers, a breach in the terms of the armistice. The Armenians considered their chance of retaking these districts as nil, owing to 'scarcity of ammunition'. The general opinion was that massacres would ensue in these two districts, General Milne warned." #102

"One would have to look endlessly for some American comment presenting the Turkish point of view. The closest to the Ottoman perspective was a concession that the Turkish peasant was not a bad sort; it was his leaders who were bad. Pages and columns of newspapers and magazines were full of such Social Darwinist tone as the following in The Independent of Oct. 18th, 1915: 'Intellectually and physically they (the Armenians) are vastly superior to the Turks. In education, enterprise, industry and love of home they surpass all the other races. This ancient and proud spirited race, conscious of its own innate superiority, ambitious to educate its children, Christian in religion, and eager for progress, cherished the hope of an independent Armenia re-established upon the ruins of its ancient kingdom. We can hardly conceive of any power's favoring the perpetuation of Turkey in any form after this ghastly exhibit (massacres) of Moslem incapacity to rule alien peoples or even Moslems.'" #103

"Statement of Rev. Melvin A. Wittler, representative of the American Board of Missionaries, Istanbul, June 8th, 1985: Unrealistic dreams...'In that period of tragedy of World War I, there were ideals of nationalism which had arisen from the same line of Western thought that was taught in the foreign schools. There were severe tragedies, sometimes as a result of unrealistic dreams and feelings of nationalism on the part of several different ethnic communities. There was a movement of Christian people from today's Turkey into other parts of the Ottoman Empire. There is no doubt that some of the ideas that were expressed and were activated by some of these communities were ideas which were part of the instruction of some of the foreign schools. But with the rise of the Turkish Republic in 1923 and the establishment of a secular state, our mission has continued to reside in Turkey and to operate, accepting the secular principle fully and attempting to be agents of reconciliation in a part of the world where there still are many different ethnic communities represented.'" #104

"It appears that the religionists neither endorsed intrigue by Armenians, nor preached political revolt. There is 'evidence that Armenian extremists held it against the missionaries that they refrained overtly... supporting the movement for the Armenian independence'.

The missionaries' contribution to violence was insensitivity toward the possible results of their attention to Armenians instead of Turks. Missionaries apparently did not expect that invigoration of the Armeno-Turkish language by a modern Bible translation and maintenance of many schools among Armenians would encourage nationalism. American Board members neglected their indirect livening of the conflict. Instead they cried out against Ottoman injustice, and gave the Turks a terrible reputation in the U.S. The Ottoman ambassador to Washington', Ahmet Rustem, remonstrated against oversimplification of his

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nation's affairs: 'Turkey has been the object of systematic attacks on the part of the press of U.S. She is represented as being a sink of iniquity'. Rustem protested that America had vices, not often magnified as were those of the Turks, and that there virtuous as well as deplorable Turks. Missionaries did not understand that they were expecting the Porte to react benignly as they trained an Armenian minority in literacy and professions – a minority which included people who spoke of independence. The American Protestants did not imagine how they might behaved if for several decades in their homeland a foreign educational system directed by Moslems had devoted itself to, say, Afro-Americans, with the result that the black Islamic minority became more proficient than the majority of white Americans.

What happened at Anatolia and Central Turkey colleges illustrated the Americans' insensitivity. Regarding the troubles of 1894 - 96, George White of Anatolia admitted that the missionaries at Merzifon were 'intensely. Interested spectators and friends' of the Armenian cause. But White believed they were not at all 'actors on the stage'. He thought that his removal of an Armenian revolutionary who had hidden in a school closet was evidence for nonparticipation in the Armenian cause." #105*

Ara Baliozian, a different writer with a satiric touch, in his Autobiographical Novella "The Horrible Silence" (Maral Press, Pasadena" pages 21-22, makes the following ironic remarks:

"Talat, Enver, Cemal and Kemal knew something we didn't know. The masses forget; and those who should remember, end up confusing the victims with their murderers. History is a farce of mistaken identities. Who did what to whom? 'Imagine a fly trying to rape an elephant', an Armenian rug merchant once told me. 'Our revolutionaries were that fly, the Ottoman Empire the elephant. We were punished for our shameless daring. There is justice in this world after all. This rug merchant is rich. He has found his god, which is capital. He has all the answers. God helps those who help themselves. God abandoned the Armenians because they were on the wrong path. They were not satisfied with the privilege amassing vast fortunes by exploiting ignorant Turks. They wanted more. Their greed knew no bounds. They lusted after freedom of speech, ancestral lands, political self-determination, and other ideals and chimeras devoid of all cash value'... 'An Armenian terrorist assassinated a Turkish official today in France,' the voice on the radio states. 'It appears that this incident is a result of events that occurred 65 years ago'... 'A long time indeed to hold a grudge, the voice seems to be implying.' We may be flies, but we have the memory of elephants".

"As we have already seen, those few battalions even, in 1914 and 1915, rendered to the Russians invaluable services, twice saving the right and left wings of the Russian army from an unavoidable catastrophe by their heroic resistance;..."#106

Section 3: Miscellaneous remarks:

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"The last military expression of the concert of Europe which had regulated the Continent since the defeat of Napoleon (except during his nephew's reign) could be seen on the streets of Constantinople in 1912-13. On Nov. 12th, with Ottoman permission, 14 foreign warships carrying 2,700 sailors anchored in the Bosphorus to reassure the Christian population. On Nov. 16th, a delegation from the Armenian Patriarchate asked the embassies for protection. On Nov. 18th, the sailors landed with machine guns. The French took up position in Galata, the British in Pera, Austrians and Germans in Taksim, and Russians along the quays." #107

"The empire's weakness strengthened the great powers; anti-Ottoman bias, which had been growing since the 1890s. Before the war, in the expectation of Ottoman victory, they had issued a declaration against changes in the *status quo* in the Balkans. After Ottoman defeats, they helped Balkan states divide the spoils. Unofficial economic protectorates were marked out, for Britain in Mesopotamia, for France in Syria, for Russia in northern Anatolia, for Germany along the Berlin to Baghdad railway. The British ambassador wrote: 'All powers including ourselves are trying hard to get what they can out of Turkey. They all profess to wish maintenance of Turkish integrity but no one ever thinks of this in practice'. A feeling that the Ottoman Empire was entering its death-agony permeates private letters as well as diplomatic letters. The ousted Grand Vizier Kamil Pasha' rightly known as 'Ingiliz Kemal' called for 'some adequate foreign control... in regard to the administration of Turkey.'" #108

"In August, 1914, the British Government lost further popularity by confiscating for its own use two Ottoman battleships which had been paid for by public subscription in the Ottoman Empire and built in British yards (the confiscation was not early enough, however, to prevent Enver using the ships as bait to lure a reluctant Germany in the August 2nd Alliance)." #109

"The city, which had received so many refugees from different regions, from Spain, Poland and Central Asia, now witnessed the arrival of a procession of 126 boats containing 145 693 Russians (and Russian imperial stud). They came not, as many Russians had once hoped, to hang 'Russia's shield for ever on the gates of Czarigrad', but as refugees traveling in indescribable squalor. Some were so hungry and thirsty that they lowered their wedding rings on cords, down to boatloads of Greek and Armenian shopkeepers, in return for bread and water. They slept in the stables of Dolmabahce palace, or prostitutes' vacated rooms in the port hotels of Galata." #110*

"That last was equally true of Lawrence. To Faisal he held out the vision of the throne in an independent Syria, one that included Lebanon, and played down the other promises the British had made, to the French or to the Jews. He made sure that Faisal's forces got credit for the capture of Damascus, much to the annoyance of the Australians who actually

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did the work. Faisal was appointed the chief administrator to Syria, Lawrence did all this for the Arabs but also for the British. Britain's imperial needs would thus neatly mesh with Arab nationalism – and he would not have to choose between them. The French saw Lawrence as Faisal's 'evil genius'. When Lawrence arrived with Faisal at Marseille in November, 1918, wearing, as a French colonel noted in disgust, 'his strange white oriental dress' they told him he was welcome only as a British officer. Lawrence left France in a fury but returned for the start of the Peace Conference still in Arab dress." #111

"He had taken, it was said, his Croix de Guerre and paraded it on a dog's collar. Clemenceau, hoping to avoid a confrontation with Britain over Syria, agreed to see him. He reminded Lawrence that the French had fought there in the crusades. 'Yes' replied, Lawrence, 'but the Crusaders had been defeated and the Crusaders had failed.' " #112

"In the Treaty of London of 1915, which had brought Italy into the war, they had promised that, if Turkey were divided up, Italy would get a 'just share'. It was awkward that, under the Sykes-Picot Agreement between Britain and France, the French also had a claim to the area around Adana." #113

"Throughout Turkey the news of landings was received with consternation. A delegation of the upper-class women made an unprecedented call on the British commissioner. 'A slice had been cut from our living body' said the spoke woman... Ataturk managed to get himself appointed with sweeping powers for the whole Anatolia, to restore order. Lloyd George later claimed that 'no information had been received as to his activities in Asia Minor in reorganizing the shattered and depleted armies of Turkey. Ataturk and his friends took a terrific gamble, one that might have failed had it not been for the help that the Allies unwillingly gave them in the next months. Every delay in Paris in settling the treaty with the Ottoman Empire saw Allied forces grow weaker and Ataturk's stronger." #114*

"Their country was vanishing, they had little to lose by resistance. 'If we have no weapons to fight with' he promised, 'we shall fight with our teeth and nails'. As reports filtered back to Constantinople, the British pressed the sultan's government to recall their inspector-general. When Ataturk received the order on June 23rd to return to Constantinople, he resigned his commission and called a congress at Erzurum, which issued what became the national pact. Its key provision was that the lands inhabited by Turks, including of course Constantinople, must remain a whole. From June, 1919 onward, the fate of the remainder of the Ottoman Empire depended less and less on what was happening in Paris and more and more on Ataturk's moves. Two different worlds one of the international conferences, lines on maps, peoples moving obediently into this country or that, and the other people shaking off their Ottoman past and awakening as a Turkish nation, were heading towards collision. In Paris, the powers continued on their way, largely unaware of what was stirring to the east. The horse-trading of hypothetical mandates went merrily on." #115

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"On June 17th, three representatives of the Ottoman Turks spoke to a group that included Clemenceau, Lloyd George, Wilson and their foreign ministers. Damat Ferid, the Turkish prime minister an amiable, rich man whose main achievement was to marry the sultan's sister made the Turkey's plea. He threw the blame for Turkey's entry into the war and responsibility for the horrific slaughter of Armenian Christians on his predecessors, and he assured his listeners that his country's fondest hope was to become a useful member of the League of Nations. He begged them to leave the Ottoman Empire intact. The peacemakers agreed that Damat's performance was pathetic. Wilson thought he had 'never seen anything more stupid'. Lloyd George found it 'the best proof of the political incapacity of the Turks'." #116*

"The Turks had never concealed their determination to keep their Armenian provinces and to take back part of the independent Armenia. Tentative communications between Bolsheviks and Turkish nationalists had already started; Ataturk was no communist but the Bolsheviks, after all, were the enemy of his Britain. The Bolsheviks as friendless as Ataturk, responded with enthusiasm, shipping arms and gold down to Anatolia. While the Allies discussed Armenia in San Remo, Bolsheviks took its neighboring republic of Azerbaijan. Communist inspired rebellions broke out in Armenia itself. Kurdistan had even less chance than Armenia of finding a protector. The issue had come up only once at the Paris Conference. When Lloyd George had first produced his list of possible mandates for the Ottoman territories on Jan. 30th, he had forgotten to mention it. When he hastily added Kurdistan to his list, he cheerfully admitted that his geography had been faulty. He had thought that it would be covered by Mesopotamia or Armenia, but his advisers had told him he was wrong. Mark Sykes, who had traveled in Kurdish territory before the war, liked them because they were tough and good fighters. The American expert, who had never been there, did not: 'In some respects the Kurds remind of the North American Indians... Their temper is passionate, resentful, revengeful, intriguing and treacherous. They make good soldiers, but poor leaders. They are avaricious, utterly selfish, shameless beggars and have a great propensity to steal'." #117*

"Unlike other emerging nations, Kurdistan had no powerful patrons in Paris, and Kurds were not yet able to speak effectively for themselves. Busy with their habitual cattle raids, abductions, clan wars and brigandage, with enthusiastic slaughter of Armenians or simply with survival, they had not so far demonstrated much interest even greater autonomy within the Ottoman Empire, where majority lived. The only Kurdish spokesman in Paris in 1919, a rather charming man, had lived there so long that he was nicknamed Beau Sharif. He did his best, drawing up claims for a vast country that would stretch from Armenia (if it came into existence) down to the Mediterranean. Much of that territory was also being claimed by the Armenians and by Persia." #118

INTERESTING REMARKS (TURKS, ARMENIANS & MISCL.)

"In the peace terms drawn up for Turkey, the status of Kurdistan was left up in the air; perhaps autonomy within Turkey. Also undecided were Kurdistan's borders, to be settled by a fact-finding mission. When details of these and other terms filtered out in the spring of 1920 after San Remo Conference, the reaction among the Turks was entirely predictable. 'they were received on all sides', reported Curzon's emissary to Ataturk, 'with derisive shouts of laughter, and the activity of the military preparations was immediately much increased'." #119

"As the situation deteriorated, the Allies, or rather the British, decided on a step that was ultimately to be fatal to their position in Turkey. Venizelos, who feared that his government would fall unless he could show some successes, and whose forces had been chafing Smyrna under repeated nationalist attacks, finally got approval in June, 1920 from Lloyd George to move inland. Curzon agreed completely: 'Venizelos thinks his men will sweep the Turks into the mountains. I doubt it will be so'. The Turkish nationalists melted back into the interior. In Europe, another Greek Army swept aside a weak and disorganized Turkish force in Thrace. By August, 1920, the Greeks were 250 miles into the interior. That same month, the Allies and Damat Ferid, representing the Sultan's government, signed a peace treaty in a showroom at the Sevres porcelain factory on the outskirts of Paris." #120

"Two days later (July 16th), Mark Sykes wrote to Maj.Gen. C.E. Caldwell that the Dashnak society would be prepared to consider the feasibility of the raising of a force of 5,000 – 6,000 men, from among the Armenians in the U.S. for use in the Zeytun district, provided that the Entente Powers would assist in transporting this force to the scene of operations and further covering its landing ...Six days later (on July 22nd), a delegation for the Committee of Armenia National Defense of Cairo, asked Lt.Gen. Sir John Maxwell to help their compatriots in Asia Minor. They stated that a volunteer movement, under the direction of the revolutionary committee, was in progress among the Armenian colonies in the U.S. and elsewhere, and requested permission to concentrate force in Cyprus which could make landings at Mersin and Beylan. By seizing the Cilician Gates and the Beylan Pass, they claimed that they would paralyze Turkish movement in Asia Minor. As there were more Armenians than Turks at Alexandretta, they claimed, and Hacin on the Anti-Taurus was 'entirely Armenian' they contended that, once they had successfully landed an armed force from Cyprus, they would have no difficulty in holding the Taurus, the Anti-Taurus, and the Amanus mountains against the Turks, especially at a time when the latter were fully occupied with the Russians on the Caucasus, and the Anglo-French Gallipoli." #121*

"Meanwhile the well-publicized Musa Dag (Moussa Dag-Djebel Moussa) incident occurred. On Sept. 10th, McMahon informed the Foreign Office about a telegram from the High Commissioner in Cyprus that the French administration the Syrian coast had collected about 6 000 Armenians 'fighting bravely against the Turks' at 'Jebel-Mussa near Antioch (Antakya) Bay'. On request, the administration had supplied them with munitions of war and

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provisions. The High Commissioner added that it was impossible to receive 5 000 old women and children in Cyprus. Politically it was inadvisable to introduce the victims of insurrectionary fights among the mixed Turkish and Christian population of Cyprus. G.T. Clerk of the Foreign office commented on this telegram as follows: 'The position is by no means clear. What are the Armenians, or Zeitunlis, doing fighting near Antioch? How is it proposed to get 5 000 old men, women and children to the coast?' He suggested that the French administration should be consulted." #122*

"On April 25th, 1915, the Allies could have won an easy, bloodless victory by their surprise attack; but 259 days later, when they withdrew in defeat from their last positions on the blood-soaked beaches of the Dardanelles, it emerged that they had lost one of the costliest military engagements in history. 500 000 soldiers had been engaged in battle on each side, and each had suffered 250 000 casualties... It was a decisive battle, in that the Allies could have won it, and, with it, the Middle Eastern war-but did not. It foreshadowed, too, things to come; a supposedly backward Asian army had defeated a modern European one." #123

"At the outset Lloyd George had stated that it would be impossible for his country to support indefinitely its 1 084 000-man army of occupation in the Ottoman Empire. Churchill and the General Staff, it will be recalled, had impressed upon him the need to reach a settlement while he still had the troops to enforce it. By the summer of 1919, some six months later, the British Cabinet was told that the army of occupation was down by more than two-thirds to 320 000 men. As the army melted away, its commanders adhered to a timetable of withdrawal that imposed a series of deadlines upon the Prime Minister at the Peace Conference, as did the continuing drain of British financial resources." #124*

"Within Turkey, the British position continued to disintegrate. The British authorities still relied on the Armistice of Mudros. The brief armistice document dealt almost entirely with naval and military matters, requiring the Turkish authorities to demobilize all their armed forces except those required to maintain internal order. Ottoman troops piled up their weapons and munitions in dumps. British officers supervised the surrender, riding through the country-side in twos and threes. The armistice terms permitted the Ottoman authorities to remain in control of the Turkish-speaking remnant of their empire, subject to the Allies, right to occupy strategic points should a situation arise that threatened their security. In practice, British naval control of the seacoast, coupled with control of the communications and transportation systems, took the place of military occupation of Turkey." #125

"Ismail once again bowed to foreign pressure. On Aug, 30th, 1878 he instructed the Armenian Nubar Pasha to form a cabinet with the participation of European Ministers, Sir Rivers Wilson of Britain (Minister of Finance), and M. de Bligniers of France as the minister of public works." #126*

INTERESTING REMARKS (TURKS, ARMENIANS & MISCL.)

"To Egyptians, Christian Nubar, who had risen to extraordinary political prominence and obtained great personal wealth under Ismail, was a humiliating reminder of their growing subordination to the West. Forgotten was his responsibility for both Egypt's massive debts and the strong foreign presence on its soil." #127*

"As in January, 1882, the Anglo-French action backfired. – Westerners fled Egypt by the thousands." #128

"Particularly influential was the xenophobic Sheikh Abu Al Huda al Sayyadi, an Arab from the province of Aleppo who arrived in Istanbul to establish himself as Abdulhamid's Rasputin." #129

"...and Britain's primary interests in Egypt in particular: continued international financial control deemed essential for Egypt's economic recovery; exclusion of any single power and the security of the Suez Canal." #130

"When in May 1887, after two years of arduous negotiations, an Anglo-Ottoman convention was signed providing for British withdrawal within three years, but giving Britain and Ottoman Empire the right to re-enter Egypt in certain circumstances, Abdulhamid would not ratify it. France and Russia were threatening that ratification would give the right to occupy Ottoman provinces and leave only after the conclusion of a similar convention; France might do so on the Levant, Russia in Armenia." #131

"What had begun as a brief and decisive military action in 1882 had turned into a long occupation that was to have a profound impact on the making of the modern Middle East..." #132

"Turkey has no alternative but defend herself", stated *Deputy Foreign Minister Gabriel Efendi Noradounghian*. #133

"For their part the Young Turks capitalized on great-power concerns to gain another lease on life. As early as Oct. 10th, 1912, two days after the Montenegrin declaration of war, the Porte approached Austria-Hungary with the suggestion that 'if the Powers stop Bulgaria from going to war, the Ottoman Empire would place in the hands of the Powers the execution of the reforms that are necessary'. By Nov. the Bulgarians were knocking at the gates of Istanbul. Ministers will also remain in their departments (instead of moving to Bursa) and we have decided to die at our posts. Yet he reiterated his warning that 'Constantinople is the seat of Caliphate and Moslems number 650 000 against 350 000 non-Moslems: we are thus going straight towards a catastrophe.'" #134

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"Like Abdulhamid, the CUP toyed with the ideal of pan-Islam as a means to arrest fragmentation and restore past glory; but unlike the ill-fated Sultan, they relegated religion to a secondary place, making Turkish nationalism, Turkism, the primary vehicle for their imperial dreams." #135*

"All signs of non-Turkic national expression were regarded as treason, and the nationalist societies as a grave threat to Ottoman unity that had to be eradicated by law or by force. Dissident Albanian and Macedonian national groups were suppressed and Armenians attacked. Zionist activities in Palestine were curbed, the power of Arab chieftains curtailed and the tiny Arab political and cultural societies purged. – On Jan. 23rd, 1913, some 200 CUP members headed by Enver Pasha, the hero of Libyan war, staged a violent *coup d'etat* that came to be known as the 'Raid on the Sublime Porte': the minister of war was shot, the grand vizier and entire cabinet forced to resign. Absolute power would rest in the hands of a radical CUP triumvirate – Enver Pasha, who would become the minister of War; Talat Pasha, the minister of the interior and Cemal Pasha, the minister of the Navy – complemented by Grand Vizier Said Halim, himself a CUP member. The Ottoman Empire had been transformed into a military dictatorship. Its fate unwittingly sealed." #136

"The triumvirate turned to European powers for military support. In France they placed orders for six destroyers and two submarines, as well as French naval expertise. From Britain the Ottomans ordered two formidable warships of the new dreadnought class – *Reshadije* and *Sultan Osman I*, and in the summer of 1912, a British advisory mission was deployed within the Ottoman Navy, headed by Admiral A.H. Limpus a personal friend of Winston Churchill. For the reorganization of their ground forces the Young Turks turned to Germany. Having been profoundly humiliated during the Balkan wars, the Ottoman Empire asked Berlin to reorganize and supervise its shattered forces. The latter complied and a German delegation headed by Lt. Gen. Liman von Sanders, a recently ennobled 58-year old divisional commander, arrived in Istanbul in late-1913. Of the triumvirs who dominated the Ottoman political scene, Enver has been the least studied and appreciated, either because of his relative youthfulness (he was nine years younger than Cemal and seven years younger than Talat), or, most likely because his imperialist inclinations do not fit the conventional historical narrative blaming the European powers for drawing the Ottoman Empire into World War I. Enver's influence on the fateful decision that condemned the Ottoman Empire to destruction has been largely overlooked." #137*

"The man who lead his empire to destruction was born in Istanbul on Nov. 22nd, 1881, to a low-ranking civil servant. Having graduated from the Military Academy, Enver was posted as staff captain to the 3rd Army in Macedonia, in September, 1906 he was promoted to the rank of major, where he spent three years in military operations against Macedonian guerrillas and where he was won over the Young Turks' cause. In June, 1908 he escaped with a group of followers to the Macedonian hills fomenting the Young Turk revolution of

INTERESTING REMARKS (TURKS, ARMENIANS & MISCL.)

July 23rd, 1908. At the age of 26, Enver was already a revered revolutionist hero. On March 24th, Adrianople fell to the Bulgarians". #138

Enver salvaged his reputation by leading the Ottoman counteroffensive in the 2nd Balkan War that turned the tables on Bulgaria and restored Adrianople (Edirne) to Ottoman rule in July, 1913. On Jan. 4th, 1914 he was promoted two ranks to major-general and appointed minister of war in the CUP cabinet of grand vizier Said Halim Pasha, the grandson of Muhammad Ali of Egypt. Two months later Enver married Emine Nadjije Sultan, the niece of the reigning monarch, Mehmed V. The war hero had become related to the sultan-caliph." #139

"Germany was the power on which Enver pinned his hopes for imperial regeneration. Following the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand in Sarajevo on June 28th, 1914, the gathering storm over recoup its European losses, provided that it aligned itself with the right great power." #140*

"The treaty was to be activated in the event of both Russian attack on either Turkey, Germany or Austria-Hungary and an attack by Germany or the Triple Alliance on Russia. Germany would leave its military mission in the Ottoman Army for the duration of the war. In return, the Ottoman Empire would place its Supreme Military Command and the actual command of one-fourth of its army under the German mission. Given that Germany was already in a state of war with Russia on August 2nd, it expected its new ally to abide by its treaty obligations and declare war on Russia." #141

"This was not to be. To Berlin's deep dismay, on August 3rd, Turkey mobilized its forces and proclaimed armed neutrality. Through its treaty with Germany, the Ottoman Empire had effectively transformed itself into a belligerent in the Continental conflict, though this was not recognized for some time because of the secrecy of the agreement. An unexpected event provided an early boost to Enver's machinations; on August 3rd, the British requisitioned the two warships the Ottomans had ordered from them and while this decision had nothing to do with anti-Ottoman sentiments. The requisitioning fell into Enver's lap like a ripe plum. To the Ottomans the vessels were a source of great national pride." #142

"On Oct. 20th, the Ankara government signed a bilateral peace agreement with France (known as the Franklin-Bouillon Agreement) which provided *inter alia* for the French evacuation of Cilicia and the redrawing of the Turco-Syrian border along a line far more favorable to Turkey than that laid down by the Treaty of Sevres. ... with friendly relations and measure of military cooperation with Soviet Russia established in the March, 1921 Treaty, and with Italy ending its occupation of Antalya four months later, the withdrawal of France's 8,000 troops from Cilicia freed the nationalists to concentrate on the Greeks without fear of great-power attack." #143

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"Only Britain, which viewed 'the Latins' and the deal they had struck with nationalist Turkey as nothing short of perfidy, remained behind the Greeks. On Sept. 9th, Turkish forces entered Smyrna, which, except for the Moslem quarter, was burned to the ground under the eyes of the Allied forces. Bursa fell on Sept. 10th and the following day the nationalist forces reached the straits. On Sept. 18th, Kemal triumphantly announced that the Greek Army in Anatolia was destroyed. On Sept. 7th, at the height of the Turkish offensive, Lloyd George still could not bring himself to concede that the Greek Army had suffered a complete *debacle*. We should stand by the European part of the Paris agreement, 'he warned the ministers'. 'In no circumstances could we allow the Gallipoli Peninsula to be held by the Turks.' " #144*

"Even Churchill, who was ready to fight for the straits, had little sympathy for the Greeks, having urged a rapprochement with Kemal as early as the spring of 1921. On Oct. 11th, 1922, an armistice agreement was signed at the Marmara small port town of Mudanya. It undid years of great-power secret negotiations culminating the Treaty of Sevres and brought Turkey back from dead into the family of nations." #145

"Venizelos also exploited the differences among the Allies, when Italy deployed military forces in Anatolia in April, 1920 to seize what it considered to be its just share of the Ottoman spoils, he quickly secured Anglo-American-French blessings for a Greek landing in Smyrna to prevent the city's occupation by Italian forces. On June 3rd, 1919, Kemal telegraphed a number of key military and civil figures, urging them to forestall the government's intended surrender of Turkish districts to, and acceptance of foreign mandate over, the newly established Armenian State. This was too much for the Authorities, and on July 8, Kemal was peremptorily informed of the cancellation of his commission. His immediate response was to resign his post and, as a full-time rebel to press ahead with his plans; between July 23rd - August 7th, 1919 a congress of delegates from the eastern provinces assembled in Erzurum, followed a month later by a more comprehensive gathering at Sivas, with delegates from all over the country." #146

"Kemal went out his way to avoid challenging the sultan's authority directing his ire instead at Grand Vizier Damat Ferid and his ministers. Confronted with mounting public restiveness and with the control of most of Anatolia by Kemal's followers, on Oct. 1st, 1919, the sultan substituted Ali Reza Pasha for Damat Ferid as grand vizier. Reza's sympathy for their cause was quickly translated into concrete gains for the nationalists, most notably the holding of free elections for the Ottoman Parliament in December, 1919, in which they won a handsome victory. On Jan. 28th, 1920, the reassembled Parliament embraced the National Pact, based on Erzurum and Sivas declarations. For its part the government went so far as to restore Kemal's decorations and rank on the pretext that he had not been dismissed from the army but had, rather, resigned." #147

INTERESTING REMARKS (TURKS, ARMENIANS & MISCL.)

"On March 16th, 1920, Istanbul was seized by British and French troops; key ministries and service (for example, mail, telegraphs and telephones, the police) were taken over to ensure the normal continuation of life and maintenance of law and order and scores of political activists and sympathizers were arrested and deported. A week later the buoyant British High Commissioner in Istanbul, Admiral J, de Robeck, reported to Curzon that 'occupation of Constantinople has so far constituted success exceeding expectations'. 'I do not want to exaggerate this success prematurely but without a knockdown it has been a severe blow for the nationalist movement' he wrote. This was a gross miscalculation. Far from ebbing the tide of the nationalist resistance movement, the occupation of Istanbul helped confirm its success. On April 23rd, 1920, 11 days after the sultan had dissolved the Parliament, a Grand National Assembly opened in the small Anatolian town of Ankara (since December, 1919 the base of national movement), with Kemal elected as president. Assuming both legislative and executive powers, the Grand National Assembly was progressively transformed into the country's *de facto capital*. This process gained momentum with the announcement of the Entente's harsh peace terms in May, 1920, and reached its peak three months later following the signing of the Treaty of Sevres, which not signaled the end of the Ottoman Empire but also truncated the Turkish homeland of Anatolia and Rumelia in the most humiliating fashion. Particularly galling to the Turks were the territorial concessions to the Greeks, Armenians, two despised former subject peoples, and to a lesser extent, the Kurds. A tidal wave of revulsion swept the nation, discrediting Damat Ferid Pasha (who had been reinstated as grand vizier on April 5th) and his cabinet leading to the collapse of the antinationalist campaign launched by the sultan following the Allied occupation of Istanbul and rallying the nation behind Kemal and his followers, who were seen heroic patriots struggling to liberate their homeland from the clutches of foreign occupiers." #148

"By the end of May, 1920 the French had been expelled from much Cilicia and forced into provisional armistice agreement with Kemal, to the considerable dismay of their British allies. Even more exasperating for the British was the overt affinity between the Italian forces and the nationalists. Everywhere the Italians were reported as assuring the Turks that they were behind them in resisting the Turkish Peace Treaty. While in Anatolia we were credibly informed that Italian agents were in close touch with the partisans of Mustafa Kemal. On June 23rd, the Greek Army ventured out of its positions in the Smyrna area, and in a brilliant gambit drove the nationalists from the straits and occupied the town of Bursa; a simultaneous offensive in Thrace made impressive gains against tough resistance by regular Turkish forces. On July 26th, King Alexander of Greece made a triumphant entry into the 'liberated' city of Adrianpole." #149*

"'King Hussein's name carries no weight whatever, and there is no question in Syria of accepting him as Caliph'." #150

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"A Kingdom for Faisal: Yet in the eventful summer of 1920, with Faisal's imperial Syrian dream in tatters, all these problems suddenly seemed marginal compared with the desire for consolation prize, however unsatisfactory it might be. Come what May, a kingdom had to be found –or rather founded- for the emir." #151

"For Lawrence, Hashemite rule was the answer to the Mesopotamian predicament, or more accurately to Hashemite sibling rivalry; for Wilson (Acting Civil Commissioner) it was the source of evil. As early as June, 1919 he suggested that since 'the Arab Army is still financed entirely from His Majesty's Treasury, pressure should be brought to bear upon Sharif Faisal to restrict his activities and those of his staff to Syria'; three months later he warned that the 'time has come to tell Faisal to leave Mesopotamia alone, otherwise his subsidy and that of his father will be discontinued'." #152

"To make matters worse, in May, 1919 Abdullah suffered, a crushing defeat at the hands of Khalid Ibn Mansur, the ruler of the key town of Khurma, on the northeastern border of Hijaz, aided by Ibn Saud's Wahabi fighters. Most of Abdullah's 4 000 – 5 000 troops including many of his close associates, were slaughtered in a lightning night attack, with the emir himself escaping by the skin of his teeth. Partial redemption from this ignominy came in March 1920 when the self-styled Iraqi Congress proclaimed Abdullah as the king of Iraq." #153

"The final nail in the coffin of secret wartime agreements on the partition of the Ottoman Empire was driven by none other than the intended target of those very agreements. The empire was to be stripped not only of its vast Arabic-speaking provinces, but also most of the Turkish homeland itself, Istanbul and the straits were to go to Russia, together with most of Turkish Armenia, while the rest of Asia Minor, apart from a tiny Turkish state in eastern and north-central Anatolia, was to be split between France and Italy. This planned division of spoils never occurred, partly because Russia departed from the war following the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution and repudiated the secret wartime agreements, and partly because the peace conference failed to reach a quick decision on the future of the defunct Ottoman Empire owing to Anglo-French-Italian differences and American indecision. But the foremost factor contributing to the failure of these plans was the surge of a new and vibrant brand of Turkish nationalism, ready to disown the Ottoman imperial legacy but never to accept the partition and subjugation of the Turkish homeland." #154

"Kemal found the capital in the throes of defeat and the regime bent on self-preservation. Fearful of following in the footsteps of the unfortunate German and Austro-Hungarian emperors and losing his newly gained throne (which he had ascended in July 1918), Sultan Mehmet Vahidettin, a younger brother of Abdulhamid, went out of his way to buy the Allies' benevolence: he dissolved Parliament in order to prevent anti-Entente

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criticism or the possible resurgence of the CUP; imprisoned members of the Unionist government, together with scores of suspected political activists; initiated court martial proceedings *in absentia* against Enver and Cemal, who had fled the country; and progressively disarmed and demobilized the Turkish Army throughout the country, resigning himself to the idea that Asia Minor would be occupied by foreign powers – Istanbul by a joint Allied administration, the Dardanelles and the Anatolian Railway by Britain, Cilicia and Adana by France, and Antalya by Italy. On Nov. 13th, 1918, an Allied armada made a triumphal entry into the Bosphorus anchoring off the Golden Horn." #155

"The idea that it was impossible to fight even one of these Powers had taken root in the mind of nearly everybody.

This in turn left the Turks no choice but to make a clean break with their Ottoman imperial legacy and 'to create a New Turkish State, the sovereignty and independence of which would be unreservedly recognized by the whole world. The sovereignty would reside with the nation itself, rather than with the person of the sultan-caliph, and would be vested in an elected government: 'To labor for the maintenance of the Ottoman dynasty and its sovereign would have been to inflict the greatest injustice upon the Turkish nation... As for the Caliphate, it could only have been a laughing-stock in the eyes of really civilized and cultured people of the world." #156*

"Finally, a vivid illustration of Turkey's extrication from its imperial past was afforded by its renunciation of all rights and titles over Egypt and Sudan, on the one hand, and by its release from all undertakings and obligations in regard to the Ottoman loans guaranteed on the Egyptian tribute, on the other. Last but not least, the Lausanne Treaty accompanied by a Turco-Greek agreement on the compulsory exchange of populations, This harsh agreement, which led to the exodus of some 1 300 000 Greeks from Anatolia and Thrace, and about 500 000 Turks from Greece, was yet another indication of Kemal's determination to retreat from empire and to forge a new and homogenous Turkish nation, come what May." #157*

"As the last contingent of Allied troops left Istanbul in early-October, 1923, to the ecstatic cheers of the crowd, the Grand National Assembly pressed ahead with the final stage of Turkey's transformation into a nation-state; on Oct. 16th, Ankara was made the new capital and two weeks later a Western style constitution was promulgated, declaring Turkey a republic and entrusting sovereignty to the people and their representative – the Grand National Assembly. Kemal was elected the republic's first president; Ismet, its first prime minister. Only one link remained with the imperial past; the caliph. On March 3rd, 1924, the Grand National Assembly abolished the caliphate, delivering the final blow to what had been at its peak the most powerful empire on Earth, The Ottoman Empire was no more." #158*

"What would actually happen to Armenia if the U.S. was to refuse responsibility? In June, 1920, the U.S. Senate decisively rejected that Armenian mandate. President Wilson,

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however, consented to arbitrate on the boundaries. But by the time the result of his arbitration was made known in November, the Kemalists had already reached Yerevan in Russian Armenia." #159

"Thus the Treaty of Sevres, for which Armenians held thanksgiving services, became a document of provocation for the Nationalist Turks. They not only did not cede any territory from Turkish Armenia, but even crossing the pre-war Russian frontier occupied the greater part of Russian Armenia. The Treaty in the end became Armenia's doom." #160

"Armenia, with the other Caucasian republics, was simply meant to become, on the side of the Entente powers, a pawn in the struggle to contain Bolshevism." #161

"During a secret interview, Enver, the former Turkish War Minister, who had lately been in Russia, told Major Ivon Hedley of the British Military Mission in Berlin that the Bolsheviks 'will not be beaten'. Enver had seen both Denikin's and Soviet Armies, and had 'highest praise' for the Soviet armies." #162*

"After the British withdrawal, therefore, Soviet Russia and reviving Turkey were the only two powers which could fill the vacuum created by the British withdrawal. But somehow, Armenia could not come to an accommodation with either of these states, which alone had a real presence around her. Between Armenia and Turkey there stood the specter of the Treaty of Sevres; and between Armenia and Soviet Russia there hung Armenia's illusory hope of support from the Allies. On their part the British authorities never stopped providing guidance and advice to Armenia, even when they completely lacked any solid basis of actual power and when they could give her no protection whatsoever." #163*

"But it also contributed to Armenia's illusions and her actual – and fatal – isolation. Since October, 1919 Mustafa Kemal had set himself, in defiance of the Ottoman government, in the district of Erzurum, to organize resistance to all forms of foreign interference, and chiefly to the formation of an independent Armenian state within 'Turkish boundaries'...Nationalist Turkey was determined to sabotage the Peace Treaty being imposed by the Entente. The Nationalist movement was 'created' by the Greek landing in Smyrna in 1919. Toynbee wrote after his 'eight month' study trip to Greece and Turkey in 1921." #164

"For Turkey the cooperation with Russia would be a morale-booster. She might hope for munitions from Russia in the same way Greeks were receiving them from the Allies. Moreover if the Soviets supported her, Kemalist Turkey would feel secure on her north-eastern frontier while she fought the Greeks and the Allies to her south and west. At a time when there were still French troops in Cilicia, Greek troops in south Anatolia and British Allied Forces in Constantinople, Kemalist Turkey simply could not afford to have a hostile

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Russia on her north. In August, 1920, a confidential British military intelligence report stated: 'The Angora Nationalists, as a result of the Greek successes, are becoming more ready to treat with the Bolsheviks'. It was certainly Kemal's own brilliant doing that he was not left in diplomatic isolation. Russia was also willing to back Turkey against Greece in order to deter her from purchasing the backing of the Western powers who were Russia's enemies. Above all, by supporting Turkey, Soviet Russia tried to assume the role of champion of Islam – a role left vacant by Britain." #165

"In 1920, both Soviet Russia and Kemalist Turkey probably considered the Caucasian republics, forming a wedge between them and enjoying the patronage of the Supreme Council, as potential centers of hostile foreign influence. ...But this co-operation was not unqualified. As Arnold Toynbee maintained in 1922, Soviet Russia also 'backed' to a limited extent the Armenian Republic of Yerevan... *against both Turkey and Azerbaijan, as barrier between possible Turkish 'pan-Turanism' ambitions and the oil-fields of Baku.*" #166

" ... that Russo-Turkish co-operation was a matter of life and death for Russia. Turkey was prepared to attack the Allies but was afraid that Armenia would strike her in the rear. As to the question of the boundary with Azerbaijan: Zangezur and Nakchievan would be decided after referendum. Armenia would also receive gratis from Soviet Russia about ten locomotives as well as a sum of 2,500,000 gold rubles as an aid. This oral agreement was to be put in writing. But the signing of the treaty was postponed. On May 1st, just after the sovietisation of Azerbaijan, Armenian Communists made an abortive attempt in Alexandropol to take over the country. The Armenian government 'executed 17 ringleaders'. Those who escaped to Baku were trying to defeat Russo-Armenian negotiations in Moscow, according to Terterian, by their reports of persecution in Armenia. This would have assured first, the Soviet's official recognition of the independence of Armenia, second, Nakchievan's becoming a part of Armenia." #167

"A Turkish delegation, headed by Bekir Sami, the Commissar for Foreign Affairs in Kemal's Government, and representing the Turkish National Grand Assembly, was likewise in Moscow at the same time as the Armenian delegation. Zarafian and Terterian considered it desirable that their delegation should have some special interviews with the Turkish delegation with a view to settling their mutual disputes. But Levon Shant vigorously opposed the idea. Thus up to the summer of 1920 it had not been possible for Armenia to come to an understanding either with Soviet Russia or with Turkey: the very states surrounding her, with one or both of which, good relations were imperative. When the Turkish delegation left Moscow, they too had not signed a treaty; most significantly, the main obstacle had been the Soviet insistence on Turkish concessions to Armenia. Thus exaggerated Armenian hopes in far-away Allies, ill-feeling between Dashnaks and the Bolsheviks, the passionate belief of the British officers in the Caucasus that horrors and misery accompanied

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Bolshevism, and their extortations to the Armenian Government to resist concessions to Soviet Russia, all contributed to the failure of an early Armeno-Soviet understanding. Terterian had also pointed out that certain government and party circles in Armenia were misled by Armenia's purchase -in July- of British arms into underrating Kemal's military power. They believed that in a clash the Armenian divisions could easily occupy Erzurum." #168*

"When Armenia rejected as seen above, the ultimatum from Soviet Azerbaijan to withdraw her forces from both Karabagh and Zangezur, the Soviet troops marched and the Armenians suffered a series of military reverses. An agreement, signed in Tbilisi on August 10th, 1920 between A. Kamalian and A. Babalian on behalf of the Republic of Armenia, and B.V. Legrand, the representative of Soviet Russia, provided for 'provisional' occupation by the Soviet Russian troops of Karabagh, Zangezur and Nakchievan – described in the text as 'the regions under dispute'. Ironically the Tbilisi Agreement was signed on August 10th; the very day Aharonian in Paris signed the Treaty of Sevres – the treaty which promised so much to Armenia." #169*

"Eventually both the Cyprus Convention and the Treaty of Berlin failed Armenia." #170

"The action of the British Government led inevitably to the terrible massacres of 1895-97, 1909 and worst of all to the holocausts of 1915." #171

"In the pre-war years, Britain was concerned with the fate of the Armenian people, but she was more concerned in their land –en route to India– which she believed should on no account fall into the hands of a major rival power." #172

"Thus General Dunsterville arrived at Baghdad from India on Jan. 18th, 1918. He was stranded in north-west Persia and his mission 'entirely failed' to reach Tbilisi, its original object. Winter storms, road difficulties, the problem of the supply of food and petrol, the hostility of the Kurds and the Jangalis, Persian neutrality. Apparently for three months the military authorities could not decide whether there should be effective help for Armenia or not." #173

"In 1917, Revolutionary Russia had disclaimed annexations in the Armenian provinces. ... According to Lord Bryce, that France had also dropped her idea of obtaining Cilicia. So, when the U.S. entered the war, the Armenian organizations in France had hoped that she might be induced, by philanthropic motives and interest of her missionaries, to take in hand for a time. Bryce thought that this was very unlikely, but his old friends of the influential American Mission Board in Boston believed the scheme not impossible. Communicating this information to the Foreign Office Bryce added that the problem had

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always been difficult, and was even more so now because of depopulation caused by the massacres." #174*

"Exhausted and defeated on other fronts, Turkey was victorious in the Caucasus and master in the 'six Armenian *provinces*, and Cilicia. Who would undertake the protection of the Armenians were provision made for the detachment of these regions? The problem was further complicated by the fact that the native Armenian population had either been massacred or become refugees in the Caucasus." #175

"The Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916 had allocated large areas in the Ottoman Empire to France. But during 1917 and 1918, almost all the fighting in these areas had been done by the British. It seemed vital to Lloyd George, therefore, that the British themselves should hold the reins of the armistice negotiations and exploit to the full their military success by acting as swiftly as possible. When the collapse of Turkey was imminent, the French reminded Balfour that General Allenby's armies had entered the French sphere of influence as defined in the Sykes-Picot Agreement..." #176

"The British territories were thus set. There was no mention of Armenia at all. British had taken by far the larger part of the burden of the war against Turkey. Clemenceau had retorted by pointing to France's contribution on the Western front as a reason for the negligible amount of French troops in the Near East and had declared that as France was Turkey's principal creditor, the French had the greatest interest there. Accordingly, the French Admiral Gauchet had been authorized to proceed to Mudros if he considered it expedient, possibly with a view to proceeding up the Straits in command of the Allied Squadron." #177*

"Of the 24 terms arranged 'in order of importance' the first three were about the opening of the Dardanelles and secure access to the Black Sea. The fourth concerned the handing over of Allied prisoners and Armenian interned persons. Only the 24th term referred to Armenia." #178

"Moreover, the armistice established Britain as the dominant power in the Near East. It seems that during October, 1918, Lloyd George was obsessed by the prospect that other nations, such as the Italians and especially French, might gain advantages in the Near East, basing their claims on previous agreements... But there had been another 'fearful row' in Paris when Calthorpe had excluded the French from the armistice negotiations at Mudros... In the end, the French smarted, sulked and almost sabotaged the peace with Turkey." #179

"The armistice temporarily brought power and prestige to the British. But it was an ominous event for the Armenians because it failed to provide for the liberation of the Armenian homelands on the other hand, and for the proper disarmament of the troops on

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the other. The Armenian refugees and deportees could not return to their homes, and remained as a crushing burden on the tiny Republic of Yerevan. Recommendations of Foreign Office staff, Robert Cecil, Eyre Crowe, Headlam Morley, Orsmby-Gore, Mark Sykes to Toynbee, to provide protection over the Armenian provinces, were disregarded. The improvisation by Lloyd George that once the Allies were in Constantinople they could do what they liked as regards Armenia, remained merely a statement... In February, 1920, even before the peace, the Kemalists massacred thousands of Armenians in Cilicia and in October, 1920 they tramped on the Treaty of Sevres by invading the Republic of Yerevan... Lord Bryce, likewise expressed concerned about lack of security in these provinces. The Turkish troops, just demobilized, would rob and murder, especially during the prevailing very great scarcity of food." #180*

"Lt. Col A. Rawlinson specially sent to Anatolia to supervise the demobilization, was defiantly informed by Kazim Pasha in Erzurum that the munitions in Turkish possession could not be permitted' to cross the frontier'. Later, in March, 1920, Rawlinson and his men were detained and imprisoned by the Kemalists in Erzurum as retaliation for the occupation by the Allies of Constantinople. They were all but starved to death and were 'hardly able to crawl'. Rawlinson's book reads: 'The Turkish Armistice a Fiasco – Foundation of the Nationalist Party.' " #181*

"Oliver Baldwin, the Prime Minister's son, who served in the Armenian Army at Yerevan in late-1920 - early-1921, maintained that the 1920 Turkish-Armenian War was the continuation of the 1914 War, broken out afresh as a result of Britain's weakness in her dealings with Turkey." #182*

"In the event of victory (as it was later to be specified) Turkey would receive the German concession in Asia and a guarantee of her own frontiers. The Russian proposals were eagerly welcomed by Talat, who went to St. Petersburg in May, 1914, to propose a formal Turco-Russian alliance. In the following month Cemal went to Paris, where he proposed, as more effective, an alliance with all three powers of the Triple Entente. He received the cautious reply –which amounted to a veiled refusal- and this must depend on agreement among them, and that France could not on her own take the initiative. In fact, no agreement materialized. The French rejected outright territorial guarantees required by the Turks at the expense of the Balkan states. The British agreed with them, insisting still on a policy of Turkish neutrality and remaining sanguine in their hope that it would be adopted as being in Turkish self-interest. For the sixth and last time Turkey's plea for an alliance with the Western powers had failed. Talat and Cemal returned to Istanbul empty handed and disconsolate at its failure. Soon they were to be turning with reluctance to the last resort of the triumvirate's militant War Minister, Enver Pasha. This was the hazardous gamble of an alliance with Germany. It was a situation which boded ill for the ultimate fate of both Russian and the Ottoman Empires. For a European war now became virtually certain." #183*

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"In 1916, the Russians returned to the offensive on the Caucasus front, capturing the stronghold of Erzurum, as a base for the invasion of Anatolia, and the port of Trabzon, with its command of the Black Sea supply routes. Their advance was only checked by the outbreak of the Russian Revolution in March, 1917. This saved the Turks from defeat in Asia and granted them a further reprieve. But their armies were becoming depleted by desertions amounting to hundreds of thousands, while their supply sources were near to a state of collapse." #184

"According to another scholar, 'the political approach of the U.S. toward the Middle East up to 1941 could be described as one of indifference, good will and conviction that the area was a British preserve where no major American interests were involved. These judgments are generally accurate in the sense that the U.S. did not view Turkey as a critical nation in the interwar period.'" #185

Re: The IZMIR Fire (Sept.13-15th, 1922)

Often, this last minute sabotage of Greeks and Armenians in İzmir, is slandered and distorted in a totally illogical story that "Turks were crazy enough to burn the city they just conquered"! Since, the whole episode is "Lies, Lies and More Lies" (book by M.A. Shaikh), just a few leads are shortly excerpted to prove how ridiculous this charge can be.

For explicit details, readers may refer to:

<http://armenians-1915.blogspot.com/2006/11/1228-prof-heath-lowry-on-burning-of.html>, answering Prof. Marjorie Housepian and others.

a. "The view of Turk's in Barton's message to Harding and Hughes was inappropriate, as remarked by Pres. MacLahlan of International College. The Turks did not massacre Greeks, as Greeks had done to Turks in May 1919! Turkish army protected International College during the disruption of the occupation; a Turkish cavalryman rescued MacLahlan from irregulars who nearly beat the missionary to death, while trying to loot the agricultural buildings of the college. A three-day Smyrna fire, which Turks made every effort to control, destroyed nearly a square mile in Greek and Armenian areas, made 200.000 people homeless. Included in this loss was the American Board's Collegiate Institute for Girls.

b. "Mr. H.Lamb, the British Consul General at Izmir reported that 'he had reason to believe that Greeks in concert with Armenians had burned Smyrna'. This was confirmed by the Sept.22nd,dispatch of correspondent of the Petit Parisien.

c. "Mr.L.R. Whittall, banister-at-law, who has been in Smyrna for some years said that there was no evidence as to who set fire to the town, but it was the consesus of opinion was that it was Greek and Armenian incendiaries.

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d. From Lord Kinross:...“had been deliberately planned by an Armenian incendiary organization, and that before the arrival of the Turks speeches had been made in churches, calling for the burning of the city as a sacred duty.”

e. From Stanford Shaw: “On September 13, a fire broke out in the Armenian quarter of the city. It spread rapidly through gasoline soaked buildings while the Turkish army's effort to extinguish were stymied by the discovery that all the city's fire hoses had been cut and the fire cisterns emptied. In a single day as many as 25.000 buildings were burnt and half of the city destroyed.” (*History of the Ottoman Empire*, p.363)

f. (Admiral Mark L. Bristol, in US Library of Congress, Naval Records Collection Group # 45) Letter dated Jan.11.1923 received Feb.6,1923 from Near East Relief for Armenian Refugees signed by Mark O. Prentiss, attaching a long report on Izmir Fire, covering his conversation in English with Smyrna Fire Division Chief, (*Austrian Engineer*) Paul Grescovitch and his testimony, confirming that the fire was started by Armenians and Greeks using Turkish soldier uniforms! (Bundles of discarded clothing and rags covered with petroleum was found. Most firemen were Greeks, but that they abandoned their posts before Turkish soldiers came). The report leaves no doubt! Prentiss was sent by Admiral Bristol to assist the refugees as head of the delegation, and arrived in İzmir on Sept.8th, one day before occupation.

g. “The Bridgeport Telegram”, Jan22, 1923: Prentiss Blames Armenians for Firing City of Smyrna

h. “The New York Times”, Sept.27, 1922: French Exonerate Turks – Foreign Office Denies Kemalists Set Fire Smyrna.

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Chapter 28: References and Footnotes:

1*. Akaby Nassibian, *Britain and the Armenian Question 1915-23* Croom Helm, London, pg.146

"Turks were stupid and lazy..." and per note #3, in Bryce words, they "deserve to die"!

2*. David Fromkin, *A Peace to End All Peace*, Henry Holt and Co. NY, pg. 122

This paragraph, is enough to explain the success in the relocation process!

3*. Akaby Nassibian, *Britain and the Armenian Question 1915-23* Croom Helm, London, pg.38

See above Note #1.

4. Ibid, pg. 58

5. Ibid, pg. 44

6*. Leslie A Davis, *The Slaughterhouse Province*, A.D.Caratzas, New York, pg. 14

This should give an idea about the travel time, and the hardships in those years.

7*. Ibid, pg. 15

This paragraph gives an idea of the shortages of the relocated people. But were the Turkish prisoners taken to India, much better off?

8. Hew Starchan, *The First World War*, Penguin, 2004, pg.104

9. Ibid, pg. 105

10*. Ibid, pg. 106

Food shortage already experienced, with the start of the war...

11. Ibid, pg. 107

12. Ibid, pg. 109

13*. Efraim & Inari Karsh, *Empires of the Sand*, Harvard U. Press pg. 117

The Ottomans knew that they were going to be shared anyway, if they had waited in neutrality. See also note #182. They were totally broke and had no other choice left!...

14. Ibid, pg. 119

15*. Ibid, pg. 118

Yes, again they did not have any other choices...

16. Ibid, pg. 121

17. Ibid, pg. 123

18*. Ibid, pg. 133

Britain had already started the war, without even declaring it!

19. Ibid, pg. 137

20*. Ibid, pg. 138

Bombastic conclusion by the biased writer, contradicting above notes #13, 15, 18.

21. Ibid, pg. 139

22*. Ibid, pg. 143

Another confirmation of the "Sarikamish disaster", becoming the breaking point!

23*. Ibid, pg. 144

Biased writer speaks of "uncompromising resistance" as if it was a vice!

24. Ibid, pg. 145

25*. Ibid, pg. 147

Writer's biased comments, speaking of "imperial dreams" are paradoxical to his other remarks.

26*. Ibid, pg. 148

Another example of writer's bias and logic: Why shouldn't the Ottomans use the chance to "regain and revenge"?

27..Ibid, pg. 175

28*. Ibid, pg. 176

Following excerpts quoted only to remind readers of the pressure on the Ottomans from the South as well.

29. Ibid, pg. 185

30. Ibid, pg. 186

31. Ibid, pg. 175 - 176

32*. Ibid, pg. 177

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Typical hypocrisy, involving God's favor!

33. Ibid, pg. 178

34. Ibid, pg. 181

Napoleon was again right. Money, yes money, can surely change Arab's sentiments and deeds quickly!

35. Ibid, pg. 183

Writer's inexplicable bias and Turkish antagonism, speaks for itself!

36. Ibid, pg. 190

I fully endorse the observations in this paragraph, which explain the cause of the conflicts prevailing in 2007

37. Ibid, pg. 197

38. Ibid, pg. 198

39*. Ibid, pg. 205

The relocation process, coincided with the turbulent months full of war action in all three fronts!

40*. Ibid, pg. 224

Did the fresh Sykes-Picot agreement foresee any Armenia? No! Doesn't this prove the true cause of the Allies?

41. Ibid, pg. 225

42*. Ibid, pg. 226

Armenians were thrown away; given promises were altogether forgotten!

43. Ibid, pg. 247

44*. Ibid, pg. 251

The CUP team were no crooks that could be bribed; maybe they were not very clever or prudent, but they were decent for sure...

45. Ibid, pg. 264

46*. Ibid, pg. 269

The Sevres Treaty is a symbol of the Victor's pity and justice!. If terms were to be tolerant and lenient, most likely Mustafa Kemal would have had not so much support in starting a War of Liberation, since all was lost and taken!

47. Akaby Nassibian, *Britain and the Armenian Question 1915-23* Croom Helm, London, pg. 232

48. Ibid, pg. 233

49*. Ibid, pg. 240

Another evidence of the Church involvement in warmongering!

50*. Ibid, pg. 241

The Ottomans were defending the home lands where, they were the absolute majority. If Greeks and Armenians had not revolted and joined the aggressors, or acted like traitors and left with them, nothing would have been changed for the Christians. They lost and ran away!

51. Ibid, pg. 263

52*. Ibid, pg. 265

Armenia's relations with her neighboring States in 2007, does not look to be much different!

53. Ibid, pg. 267

54. Ibid, pg. 271

55. Ibid, pg. 170

56. Ibid, pg. 171

57. Ibid, pg. 174

58*. Ibid, pg. 176

Typical extreme hypocrisy! Not only the Armenians but also the Americans were exploited, in return of their service!

59. Ibid, pg. 177

Again British manipulations! When autonomy for these provinces were offered to Armenia in 1914, Britain had recommended the Armenians to side with Russia, their ally and refuse Ottoman offer of autonomy!

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60. Ibid, pg. 178

The Victors' armies were demobilized; they had no power left to enforce the peace terms they had dictated!

61. Ibid, pg. 179

62. Jason Goodwin, *Lords of the Horizons*, Henry Holt Co, NY, pg. 318

63. Ibid, pg. 325

64. Leslie A Davis, *The Slaughterhouse Province*, A.D.Caratzas, New York, pg. 15

65*. Ibid, pg. 17

Biased remarks. All minorities (Jews-Greeks-Armenians) were promoted to highest Government posts. They ruled the economy totally, acting and serving Colonial powers as their agents.

66*. Ibid, pg. 37

Then Mr. Davis, <what were you doing as a U.S. commercial consul in Harput, with no commercial activity?>

67*. Ibid, pg. 38

But the Ottomans are blamed for being unable to properly feed relocated Armenians only! Were the Turks fed much better?

68*. Ibid, pg. 109

The Armenians who "escaped" or emigrated", were later counted as if "they were killed and dead"...

69. Ibid, pg. 170

70. Ibid, pg. 172

71. Lord Kinross, *Ataturk – The Rebirth of a Nation*, Weidenfeld & Nicholson, London pg. 65

72. Ibid, pg. 66

73. Ibid, pg. 67

74*. Ibid, pg. 120

A very rare and unusual joke by Ismet Inonu, during hardship of the war, indicating his humor and wish to comfort!

75. Ibid, pg. 128 - 129

76. Ibid, pg. 241

77. Ibid, pg. 242

78. Ibid, pg. 243

79. Ibid, pg. 245

80. Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy & the Near East*, U.of Minn. Press, 1991, pg.44

81. Salahi Sonyel, *The Great War and the Great Tragedy of Anatolia*, T.T.K., pg. 36

82. Leslie A Davis, *The Slaughterhouse Province*, A.D.Caratzas, New York, pg. 183

83. Ibid, pg. 168

84. Erich Feigl, *A Myth of Terror*, Edition Zeitgeschichte Freilassing, Salzburg, Austria pg. 19

85. Ibid, pg. 20

86. Ibid, pg. 48

87. Guenther Lewy, *The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey*, U. of Utah Press, pg.224

88. Akaby Nassibian, *Britain and the Armenian Question 1915-23* Croom Helm, London, pg. 211

89. Ibid, pg. 223

90. Ibid, pg. 225

91*. Ibid, pg. 226

What were the French agents doing in Yerevan? The French never cooperated with the Turks, their enemy!

92. Ibid, pg. 227

93. Ibid, pg. 228

94. Ibid, pg. 142

95. Ibid, pg. 144

96. Ibid, pg. 149

97. Ibid, pg. 151

98. Ibid, pg. 153

99. Ibid, pg. 154

100. Ibid, pg. 155

101. Ibid, pg. 161

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102. Ibid, pg. 162

103. Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy & the Near East*, U. of Minn. Press, 1991, pg. 76-77

104. Erich Feigl, *A Myth of Terror*, Edition Zeitgeschichte Freilassing, Salzburg, Austria pg. 51

105*. Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy & the Near East*, U. of Minn. Press, 1991, pg. 47

This paragraph speaks for the revolutionist inspirations and effects of the American Board Organization.

106. Dr. G. Pasdermajian, *Why Armenia Should Be Free*, Boston, Dec. 1918, Hairenik Publishing Company p.28

107. Philip Mansel, *Constantinople*, St. Martin's Press, NY, pg. 366

108. Ibid, pg. 368

109. Ibid, pg. 370

110*. Ibid, pg. 398

This paragraph speaks for the Turkish tolerance to "their enemy", and how well the Greek and Armenian shopkeepers were doing in their trades, despite the deprivation and scarcity of food!

111. Margaret Macmillan, *Paris 1919*, Random House – New York, pg. 389

112. Ibid, pg. 398

113. Ibid, pg. 427

114*. Ibid, pg. 433

Ataturk was sent out of Istanbul since he voiced his disagreement with governments and the Sultan!

115. Ibid, pg. 434

116*. Ibid, pg. 437

History lesson: A State which has no muscle power left, becomes pathetic and stupid!

117*. Ibid, pg. 444

Typical proof of how the Middle East maps were drawn with the naivety of the victors! The gold Russians gave is 'said' to be collected and donated by Muslims in India. Moscow was the only safe channel. Some information relates that only a portion of the gold was given to Turks!

118. Ibid, pg. 445

119. Ibid, pg. 447

120. Ibid, pg. 448

121*. Salahi Sonyel, *The Great War and the Great Tragedy of Anatolia*, T.T.K., pg. 122

What more proof is needed to show the treason and stabbing in the rear by the Armenian revolutionists?

122*. Ibid, pg. 133

Eventually, the loyal or brave Armenian fighters in Zeitun, were evacuated with French ships!

123. David Fromkin, *A Peace to End All Peace*, Henry Holt and Co. NY, pg. 166

124*. Ibid, pg. 404

Is there no similarity with the stand of the U.S. in the Iraq War?

125. Ibid, pg. 405

126*. Efraim & Inari Karsh, *Empires of the Sand*, Harvard U.Press pg. 49

The Ottomans for long had lost Egypt, which had become a base for the British reinforcements and attacks.

127*. Ibid, pg. 50

Boghos Nubar had become rich and famous in Egypt, which he abandoned and left to Britain.

128. Ibid, pg. 56

129. Ibid, pg. 62

130. Ibid, pg. 64

131. Ibid, pg. 67

132. Ibid, pg. 68

133. Ibid, pg. 95

134. Ibid, pg. 96-97

135*. Ibid, pg. 100

Was "Turkism" an "Imperial dream" or just a new dogma for unity in self defense?

136. Ibid, pg. 101

137*. Ibid, pg. 106

INTERESTING REMARKS (TURKS, ARMENIANS & MISCL.)

The Ottomans survived for quite some time, by splitting the interests of the super powers to balance each other, such as:: Navy to Britain, Economy to France, Army and Baghdad Railroad to Germany, etc.

138*. Ibid, pg. 107

Another biased remark. Writer forgets CUP's overtures which were refused by Russia, France, Britain. (See #182)

139. Ibid, pg. 108

140. Ibid, pg. 109

141. Ibid, pg. 111

142. Ibid, pg. 112

143. Ibid, pg. 336

144*. Ibid, pg. 337

Another bias of the author. He implies that Turks burned the city they had just conquered! It is always the retreating armies that ravish the towns they desert. The Fire Brigade commander (Austrian) Paul Grescovitch, American Relief Organization head Mark O. Prentiss, and Izmir American College President MacLahlan, all gave separate written statements that the fire was started by Armenian and Greek arsonists dressed in Turkish soldier's uniforms!

145. Ibid, pg. 338

146. Ibid, pg. 331

147. Ibid, pg. 332

148. Ibid, pg. 333

149. Ibid, pg. 334

150. Ibid, pg. 283

151. Ibid, pg. 289

152. Ibid, pg. 295

153. Ibid, pg. 314

154. Ibid, pg. 326

155. Ibid, pg. 327

156*. Ibid, pg. 328

Year 2007; the Christian World is unable to evaluate the logic and need of secularism. Turkish Republic, is being even criticized for not having enough religious freedom! Wish they read this book, to learn the disasters caused by involvement of Divinity in State administration and affairs, versus the dominance of logic and intelligence.

157* Ibid, pg. 340

Referred exchange of people was imperative, despite the injustices it brought together. For example, Turks of Karaman were deported to Greece, because they were of Orthodox religion, where they are still not welcome and accepted!

158*. Ibid, pg. 341

Year 2007; the Christian World fails to understand the antipathy of Turks for religious dignitary titles, such as the Pope, Patriarch, Mullah, Sheik, Guru, etc, which are all inferior to the title of "Caliph", which the new Turkish Republic abolished.

159. Akaby Nassibian, *Britain and the Armenian Question 1915-23* Croom Helm, London, pg. 188

160. Ibid, pg. 189

161. Ibid, pg. 190

162*. Ibid, pg. 191

One of the rare observations of Enver, which turned out to be correct.

163*. Ibid, pg. 197

Year 2007, Armenia still gambles on territory demands from Georgia, Turkey, Azerbaijan, boasting with demands depending on outside friendly powers (as in the past), permitting themselves to be toyed with, for other purposes as well!

164. Ibid, pg. 198

165. Ibid, pg. 200

166. Ibid, pg. 201

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167. Ibid, pg. 203

168*. Ibid, pg. 204

169*. Ibid, pg. 205

Armenia was so attracted by the “Sevres”, that was losing the bird in hand for much more in the air!...(territory)

170. Ibid, pg. 10

171. Ibid, pg. 11

172. Ibid, pg. 14

173. Ibid, pg. 102

174*. Ibid, pg. 120

Clear involvement of Bryce and the Missionaries in the war and following consequences!

175. Ibid, pg. 124

176. Ibid, pg. 126

177*. Ibid, pg. 127

Britain cheats on her ally France, by signing alone the Mudros Armistice Treaty. (Surrender of the Ottomans)

178. Ibid, pg. 128

179. Ibid, pg. 135

180*. Ibid, pg. 136

Another example of author's nonsense and bias: The Sevres Treaty was not ratified even by the Sultan under occupation; It actually sparked the National War of Liberation. Lord Bryce's bias is seen in every move. It was not the “regular troops” but the deserted brigands, retaliating the previous atrocities of the Armenian gangs and the revolutionists.

181*. Ibid, pg. 138

Wasn't the food scarcity repeated in so many places, so many times?

182*. Ibid, pg. 139

Genocide claimants do not mention that this was war! If 1,500,000 (out of 1,300,000 population) were already killed by Turks, from where did these Armenian armies, revolutionary gangs, brigands and the living refugees come from?

183*. Lord Kinross, *The Ottoman Centuries*, Morrow Quill Paperback, NY 1977, pg. 602

This paragraph contradicts above remarks under notes #13 and 139!

184. Ibid, pg. 608

185. Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy & the Near East*, U. of Minnesota Press, 1991, pg.68,

Chapter 29 - MEDIA SCANNER OF OLD NEWS:

Nearly all press releases about the events within the Ottoman Empire were biased and anti-Turkish for several good reasons. We name a few here:

“Reuters” –

- The London was the center of news distribution all over the world and of course serving the Wellington House Propaganda Center. Turkish newspapers correspondents did not know foreign languages (maybe a few familiar with French). The “dragomans-translators” were mostly Armenian speaking some English, or Greek or Hebrew, acquainted with French. Turkish press was, of course, censored, and could only write what they heard from local sources to please the public and the government. The network of missionaries and consuls throughout Anatolia was the main source of news ‘distorted to please their Embassies or expectations of their governments or general public involved in the defense of Christianity’. Hence, news was frequently re-written in embassies with the help of Armenian translators, who were employed also in Ottoman state organizations due to a need for their services. Such reports could be freely circulated and carried in the “diplomatic bags of the consulates”. The Wellington House under Lord Bryce’s leadership and talented young A. Toynbee’s work, was the center where news was tailored for the press centers in the world, distributed by cable or wireless.

- The students of foreign French, German, Italian schools and Robert College were mostly Christians. Boarding Turkish students were permitted only at military academies. The student body of Robert College was mainly Armenian, Bulgarian, Greek, totaling some 15 nationalities. While there had been only two Turkish graduates from its founding until 1915, this had changed dramatically by 1930, when there were about 400, representing half of the student body. Ottomans had to employ their citizens, mostly Armenians in all-important positions, even in the military cipher rooms. Very few missionaries had learned any Turkish, instead of Armenian, which was their priority. They had to tailor news to serve their purposes, generally blaming Turks-Moslems for every incident. Previous excerpts contain examples of such news distortions and exaggerations, to please each other’s goals.

Chapter 16 contains headlines from a few Australian papers, which can be compared with similar news quoted in American and other papers. It should be understood, that some of the news were based on the “expected Armenian-Christian victories” and were boastful. These quotes should give reliable independent evidence that the Armenians, overall, were not victims, but villains encouraged by the Colonial Powers in search of an independent country, though they constituted less than 20% of the living population. This study does not include a wide variety of books written by Armenian authors about their fights, braveries and victories over the Turks, or posters of their volunteer gangs and their leaders! Under these circumstances, it would be very unrealistic to argue that a

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Government at war from all sides and internally, had the time and means to investigate who is guilty and who is innocent! The facts speak for themselves from various sources. For example, two important articles at the end of below list, give unbiased "reliable" information. The first one is the report in a Dutch newspaper dated May 25, 1920 explaining the bilateral butchery and retaliation between feuding local people. Even biased missionaries or historians confess the murders by Armenians, which loosens the claim that they were "victims" only! Their torturous crimes are undeniable. The second is another important article with the statement of General Bronsart von Schellendorf, who was assigned in Turkey as the ADC to Enver Pasha and knew every move he made. They were side-by-side in the disastrous Sarikamish Battle and barely escaped captivity during the joint Russian - Armenian Volunteers' counter-offensive. Even in Germany, Armenian influence over the judicial system was omnipresent. Prime Minister Talat Pasha who had fled Turkey after the war, was assassinated by an Armenian named Tellerian that he, the most reliable eyewitness, could not be hauled into court to provide testimony!

NOTE. For actual, full screen shots of most of below USA articles (some 60) please enter: <http://armenians-1915.blogspot.com/2007/09/1961-new-series-innocent-armenians.html>
{Thanks to Gokalp}

1 - "The Galveston Daily News August 13th, 1890" *ARMENIAN TROUBLES.*

Constantinople, August 13th. - Further conflict have occurred between the Kurds and Armenians in the Alasbgerd district. It is reported that a band of young Russo-Armenian volunteers, mounted and well armed, have appeared at Erzurum and are recruiting adherents fast. The report has caused a panic among the Turkish authorities. The governor of Erzurum has ordered the expulsion of 50 Armenians suspected of having promoted the recent disturbances. "

2 - "The New York Times Dec.4, 1894" *TURKISH LIGHT ON MASSACRE - Legation at Washington Declares Armenian Reports are False*

3 - "The New York Times, August 23rd, 1895" *"THE SASSOUN MASSACRE* *Proof of the Assertion that Armenian Revolutionists Caused It.* *Testimony of Rev. Cyrus Hamlin* *A protest Against Americans Helping England to Realize Political Aspiration in the East.* *To the Editor of The New York Times* (Note: unreadable letters are left blank or dotted)

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In our previous letter, we affirmed that the Sassoun troubles were brought about by the criminal efforts of Armenian Revolutionary committees, and that no reliance whatever ought to be placed on Armenian testimony and assertions. We now propose to prove these two affirmations, not by Turkish that is to say Mussulman-testimony, but by American and European- namely Christian testimony.

First – The man who, above all, gave the most explicit and true account of the Armenian revolutionary movement is the Rev. Cyrus Hamlin himself. On Dec. 23rd, 1893, or, in other words, only a few months before the revolt in Sassoun, he published in the Congregationalist a truly prophetic statement the perusal of which is absolutely necessary for an impartial understanding of the case. Here is the statement: "An Armenian 'revolutionary' party is causing great evil and suffering to the missionary work and the whole Christian population of certain parts of the Turkish Empire. It is a secret organization, and is managed with a still deceit which is known only in the East'. In a widely distributed pamphlet, the following announcement is made at the close: A very intelligent Armenian gentleman, who speaks fluently and correctly English as well as Armenian, and is eloquent defender of the revolution, assured me that they have the strongest hopes of preparing the way for Russia's entrance into Asia Minor to take possession. In answer to the question as to how, he replied 'These Huntchakist bands, organized all over the empire will watch their opportunities to kill Turks and Kurds, set fire to their villages and then make their escape in to 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 I denounced the scheme as atrocious and internal beyond anything ever known, he calmly replied: 'It appears so to you undoubted, but as Armenians are determined to be true. Europe listened to the Bulgarian hotheads, made Bulgaria free, and will listen to our cry when it goes up in the shi... and blood of millions of women and children. I urged in vain that the scheme would make the very name of Armenians hateful among all civilized people. He replied: We are desperate, we shall do it. But your people do not want Russian protection. They prefer Turkey bad as she is. There are hundreds of miles if coterminous territory into which immigration is easy at all times. It has been so far all the centuries of Moslem rule. If your people preferred the Russian Government there would not now be an Armenian family in Turkey. 'Yes', he replied and for such stupidity they shall have to suffer. "I have had conversations with others who avow the same things, but no one acknowledged that he is a man but of the party. Falsehood is of course justifiable where murder and arson are. In Turkey, the party aims to excite the Turks against Protestant missionaries and against Protestant Armenians. All the troubles at Marsovan originated in their movements. Tactics are cunning, unprincipled and cruel. They terrorize their own people by demanding contributions of money under threats of assassination - a threat which has often been put into execution. I have much of the mildest possible dis... of abominations of this Huntchakist revolutionary party. It is of Russian origin, Russian gold and ... govern it. Let all missionaries, home and foreign denounce it. Let all Protestant Armenians everywhere denounce it. It is ... to enter every Sunday school

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and deceive and pervert the innocent and ignorant into supporters of this craft. We must therefore be careful that befriending Armenians. We do nothing that can be construed... into an approval of this movement which all should abhor. While yet we recognize the probability that some Armenians in this country ignorant of the real ... and cruel designs of the Huntchakists are led by their patriotism to join with them, and while we sympathize with the sufferings of the Armenians at home we must stand aloof from any such desperate attempts which contemplate the destruction of Protestant mission churches schools and Bible work involving all in a common ... that is diligently (?) and carefully sought. Let all home and foreign missionaries beware of any alliance with or countenance of the Huntschakists. We do not really know whether the Rev. Cyrus Hamlin is considered to be a prophet in his own country, but his prophetic faculties as to ... as the last Armenian revolt is concerned are not denied (?) in Turkey. They are simply marvelous – for months before the occurrence of the Sassoun troubles the Rev. Cyrus Hamlin was bold enough to say that the above statement was written by him only “to show the absurdity of the revolutionary plotters”. The reverend gentleman must have a candid and innocent soul. Otherwise, he would not have attempted to prove to fan-minded Americans that the “bloodthirstiness” of the Armenians revolutionary plotters is synonymous to their “absurdity”. We suppose that the Rev. Cyrus Hamlin will also attribute to the “absurdity of revolutionary plotters” the following statement showing his past guilty interference in Turkish affairs. One of these Armenian plotters made sometime ago to the Boston Herald this extraordinary admission which, for the honor of Robert College, if not for his own, the Rev. Cyrus Hamlin ought, if he can contradict. ‘Several years ago’, writes the Armenian ‘I heard him lecture at Amherst, Mass. How proud he was to tell his audience the important part taken by the Bulgarian graduates of Robert College in securing the freedom and independence of their country’. I ask Rev. Cyrus Hamlin if he was not aware of the existence of patriotic societies among his Bulgarian studentst in order to show that the Rev. Cyrus Hamlin’s prophecy holds good, let American readers reflect on the following passage of a letter written by the special correspondent of the Associated Press, who visited Turkey after the Sassoun revolt, and who, although bitterly opposed to the Turkish Government, wrote as follows: ‘It is a fact that certain of the Armenian conspirators arranged to murder the Rev. Edward Riggs and two other American missionaries at Marsovan and fasten the blame upon the Turks. In order that the U.S. might inflict summary punishment upon the Turkish Government, thereby making possible Armenian independence. One will search a long time in the pages of history for a more diabolical plot thanks that. Moreover, the missionaries would have been murdered had not an Armenian friend warned them. Dr. Riggs had unselfishly given his life to the education of Armenia youth in the missionary schools and done more that any Armenian has ever tried to do towards making Armenians worthy of autonomous government. Yet the revolutionary conspirators apparently gave that fact little thought. * * * it is of course, impossible to say that to what extent radical ideas prevail among the revolutionary propagandists, but the plans of some of the leaders are shocking in the extreme... In brief, their plans are to commit atrocities upon Turks, in order that the infuriated Turks shall shock the Christian world by the fiendish outrages of their

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retaliation. When remonstrated in regard these un-Christian plans, the men whoa are responsible for them merely says "it may seem to you cruel and barbarous, but we know what we are doing, and why we are doing it". The financial methods of these men are almost and ingenious as their plans of political agitation. Certain Armenians of a lower grade mental ability are required to furnish so many thousand piastres to the committee, and the means of obtaining the money are plainly mapped out. Here is a case in point(*): ' A wealthy Turk in the service of the Government in Constantinople received a letter one morning, saying that unless he deposited 12,000 piastres in a certain place within 24 hours he would be killed. An investigation led to the discovery of the fact that the letter was written by an Armenian who had been in his employ for as a trusted servant for several years. The servant confessed his guilt, but he asserted in self-defense that revolutionary agitators had compelled him to write the letter under penalty of death. It was a case of choice of wills, and the poor wretch saved his life at the expense of a long-term imprisonment. It is believed that a great deal of money is raised that way, but whether or not this money gets beyond the pockets of the revolutionary agitators, no men pretends to know. There is a theory that this money is used in the purchase of rifles and ammunition, but that is a matter known only to agitators themselves.' The reason why English public opinion is generally in favor of the Armenians is both political and religious. No real esteem for Armenians themselves exists in England. Besides everybody admits in Europe that Armenians are, as a race, much inferior to the Turks. Armenians even in older times, showed no greatness. Their influence in the world has been absolutely null. In science, in art, in literature, in warlike achievements, they have left no trace. But, they are Christians, and this is one reason why English public opinion is in their favor. The political reason lies in the fact that England wishes to harass Turkey for the just opposition of the latter to English scandalous encroachments on Egyptian territory, which, after all, belongs legitimately to the Sultan. It is just as if England had taken possession of one your states and at the same time were fomenting discontent for, and disapprobation of your treatment of the Indian race which Columbus found supreme on this continent. Such being the real state of things, we consider that it is quite time public opinion in the united states to see how erroneous and even anti-American is the policy which consists in helping England in her political aspirations in the Eastern American public opinion ought to remain aloof from European intrigues. It ought especially to learn to estimate correctly the value of Armenian assertions and of the Armenian moral standard. 'If' writes the Associated Press correspondent above quoted 'the detailed facts of the Sassoun massacre are ever established, it must be independently of Armenian testimony, or their value may be seriously questioned. In the first place, every Armenian with whom it has been my lot to come in contact seems to have a very vague idea of the value of truth. In the second place, in his anxiety to make out a case against the Turks, he is willing to publish as a fact any grotesque rumor that he may chance to fall over in the street. In the third place he does not really know what actually took place in the Sassoun mountains but his vanity will not permit him to acknowledge it, and so, to be up with the times and to help along the cause of his people, he embellishes the rumor that he hears and frequently says that he is

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in secret communication with friends in Moosh and Bitlis, who are harboring refugees. The average Armenian cannot be believed on oath.' In this deplorable condition of Armenian honesty we find a true explanation of the following remarkable incident, an account of which was given at the time, as follows, by all the newspapers. The story which has been thrilling the world for some time past of the wife of the Armenian leader Grego, who, rather than suffer dishonor at the hands of her Turkish persecutors, threw herself, with her child in her arms, into an abyss, and was followed by other women until the ravine was filled with corpses, has been exploded, as many persons predicted it would be, at the time it was sprung upon the public. It has been discovered that the horrible narrative is a reproduction, with additions and embellishments to suit the occasion, of an old tale told in poetry by Mrs. Hemans years ago, under the title of 'the Sullote mother'. In the face of all the innumerable Armenian falsehoods of this kind, word has just reached us that Mr. Gladstone, in his Chester speech, asserted that the world is on possession of independent American testimony favorable to the Armenians. No greater error has ever been made. Mr. Gladstone ought to have known better. There is absolutely no American testimony regarding the Sassoun troubles. And the reason is very simple. No Americans were at the Sassoun district at the time of the revolt. The Rev. F. D. Greene, it is true, published a slanderous pamphlet on the "Armenian Crisis in Turkey" in which he printed a few documents supposed to be well authenticated. But as no American-born citizens saw anything of the Sassoun disturbances it follows necessarily that said documents were written either by Armenians or by American missionaries, under the inspiration of Armenians. Therefore, the Rev. F. D. Greene's pamphlet is based upon Armenian falsehoods. This makes it utterly and completely valueless. Mr. Gladstone owes to us to show where and how he was able to find a single genuine American document favoring the Armenian allegations that is to say, the allegations of a people who "cannot be believed on oath". Facts however, have very seldom disturbed Mr. Gladstone's fanaticism. We trust that Americans having no political views on Turkey will see how dangerous it is to encourage, either by word or by moral help Armenians revolutionists, for the simple reason that they are Christians. 'Armenia' wrote some time ago the correspondent mentioned above, 'is preparing for war. The revolutionary party has both money and guns. During the past eight weeks money has poured into the revolutionary treasury in a steady stream from the Armenian colonies in Batoum, Tbilisi, Baku, Yerevan, Etchmiadzin and other places in Russia, and from Rescht, Kazvin, Teheran, Tebriz, Khoi and other cities in Persia. I have not visited the Armenian colonies on the north coast of the Black Sea, nor the large colony on Ispahan in Southern Persia, but I am reliably informed that revolutionary agents have been as busy there as elsewhere. I have myself seen a considerable sum of money raised publicly, and I am told that the wealthy Armenian merchants in the cities I have named have made large private contributions, with promises of more for future use if needed. The money raised publicly has been obtained by means of balls, social entertainments theatrical performances, and lotteries. These functions were ostensibly for the 'benefit of Sassoun refugees'. But it was a very thin disguise. It was thoroughly understood what the money was wanted for, and that the Sassoun refugees

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would not see a penny of it except in the shape of rifles and ammunition...The cries, therefore, in favor of the Sassoun refugees and the famished are either based on Armenian falsehoods or uttered by those who have political aims to further and attain. Could Americans be deceived by such a "very thin disguise"? We doubt.

Constantinople, August 8th

(Notes: <*> See also Chapter 30- conclusion. (Illegible spots are marked ... or **)

4 - "Centralia Enterprise and Tribune - Nov. 12th, 1895"

ARMENIANS IN REVOLT – 26,000 in Zeitut Mountains Defy the Sultan

Constantinople, Oct. 30th - The most alarming news yet received from Armenia was made public here today. It is said that the situation is so grave that in the Zeitout Mountains and in that district there are 20,000 Armenians in revolt against the rule of the Sultan. The Turkish Government, in view of the gravity of this outbreak, has decided to call out the army reserves.

Washington, D.C. - Oct. 30th – U.S. Minister Terrell has cabled to State Dept. in practical confirmation of the press reports of the recent Armenian massacres. He has given formal warning to the Porte, by direction of Secretary Ohrey (?), that Turkey will be held responsible for the safety and security off all American missionaries in that country.

5 - "The Lima Times Democrat - May 16th, 1903"

DISQUIET PREVALENT

Among Turks Over the Invasions by Armed Bands of Armenians

Constantinople, May 16th – The Turkish authorities are disquieted at the recent appearance of bands of Armenian revolutionists, coming from Russia in the districts of Bayazid and Sasun. Armenia and are adopting rigorous measures to guard the frontier. The Armenians cross in small parties in the neighborhood of Bayazid and than thither make their way to Sasun mountains, where they are safe from pursuit. It is alleged here that the Russian authorities of Kars, Asiatic Russia, are aware of the movement of the Armenian revolutionists, but that they do not interfere. It is believed that appearance of these bands indicates a revival activity on the part of the old Armenian committees, who are understood to be anxious to be in a position to take advantage of possible complications arising from the Macedonian situation, in which case the claims of the Armenians will be revived and the same advantages gained by the Macedonians from European intervention will be demanded for Armenia...The Turkish Government has notified the Bulgarian Exarch that Gerasimos, bishop of Strumitza, Macedonia, has been removed, and has invited the Exarch to appoint his successor. The Exarch however refuses to recognize the authority of the Turkish Government to remove the bishop and has advised Gerassimos, who is practically a prisoner in his own house to remain firm. It is alleged that the Bishop Gerassimos is a supporter of the Macedonian movement, but it is also stated that the charges are brought by

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the jealous Greek clergy...The prisons of Macedonia, are overflowing with Bulgarians, the Turkish authorities hoping thereby paralyze the action of the Macedonian committees. It was announced today, that the Turkish troops entered Ipek, Albania, yesterday and not on May 8, as previously announced, after meeting with strong opposition.

6 - "The News, May 2nd, 1904"

FIGHTING IN TURKEY

Troop Lose. 20 Killed and 23 Wounded In Battle With Armenian Rebels.

Constantinople, May 2nd.—According to official advices there has been serious fighting in the Sassun district of Asia Minor between the troops' and Armenian insurgents numbering 2,000. The troops lost 20 killed and 23 wounded. 12 villages in the Talori district have been destroyed, but whether by insurgents or Kurds is not known. There are 10,000 troops in the disturbed area. Private advices say that the Kurds attacked two villages north of Sassun, losing 26 killed. The Sassun district of Asia Minor became notorious in 1894 because of a series of massacres of Armenians by Kurds. In the same year there were massacres of Armenians in the neighboring districts of Bitlis and Mush.

7 - "The Washington Post" - Aug. 10th, 1904"

TURKISH GARRISONS ATTACKED BY ARMENIAN REBELS

Revenge for Massacre - Several Hundred Soldiers Killed in Fighting Around Sassun

Destruction of Five Villages and Massacre of the Male Population Followed by Desperate and Successful Counter Attack....

8 - "The Washington Post" - Sept. 6th, 1904"

ARMENIANS FIGHT TURKS

Insurgents Successfully Resisting Sultan's Troops at Van.

Paris, Sept. 5th - A dispatch to the Temps from Constantinople, by way of Sofia, says that an official report which, has reached one of the foreign consuls there states that Armenian insurgents at Van, Asiatic Turkey, are successfully resisting the Turkish troops, which until yesterday had been unable to reduce or disperse them. The Armenians advanced to within about 400 yards of the French consulate. The population of Van is seeking refuge in the schools and convents. It is expected that Turkey will mobilize the fourth Army Corps and draw troops from Asia Minor in order to suppress the uprising. It was announced from Constantinople on Sept. 2nd that a fierce fight between Armenian Insurgents and Turkish troops had occurred at Van on August 31st and that more than a score were killed. About 150 Armenians raided the town, captured four houses, and barricaded themselves. Troops attacked the houses, and in the fight which followed two

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soldiers and 20 other persons were killed. The authorities set fire to a number of adjoining houses, so that the troops might be better enabled to besiege the insurgents. It was said by the authorities that other Armenian bands were preparing to cross the Persian frontier.

9 - "Daily Kennebec Journal - May 28th, 1914"

Armenian Volunteers are to be Increased to 15.000 - Assoc. Press Correspond.

Tiflis, April 28: (Note: Most likely, the Correspondent who sent this message was George A. Schreiner, whose letter to Ambassador Morgenthau in 1918, was found about his book!)

10 - "Iowa Recorder - June 1, 1914"

Destroy Many Towns

According to a dispatch from the Vali of Bitlis, Asiatic Turkey, 17 villages have been destroyed by Armenian insurgents in the district of Sassun. More than 600 Armenian families have taken refuge at Mush, a town in Bitlis."

11 - "The Washington Post - August 10, 1914"

Slain With Bombs - Turkish Garrisons Attacked by Armenian Rebels. . .

Revenge for Massacre - Several Hundred Soldiers Killed in Fighting Around Sassun

12 - "Fort Wayne Journal - Nov.6, 1914

ARMENIANS JOINING RUSSIAN ARMY

13 - "The New York Times" - Nov.7th, 1914

Armenians Fighting Turks - Besieging Van - Others Operating in Turkish Army's Rear

14 - "Manitoba Free Press - Nov. 7th, 1914"

Campaign Against Turkey

The Armenians are aiding- the Russians in the campaign against Turkey. The Turkish town of Van, 140 miles southeast of Erzerum, Turkish Armenia, is being besieged by the Armenians.

15 - "The New York Times - Nov.10th, 1914"

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Russians Take Erzurum - In pursuit of Kurdish Cavalry – Armenian Students Volunteering in Hundreds

16 - "*The Ogden Standard* - Nov. 12th, 1914"

ARMENIANS HAIL TROOPS WITH JOY

Long Anticipated Date of Deliverance from Turks at Hand – People Prepared for Sacrifice

17 - "*Fort Wayne Journal Gazette* - Nov. 13th 1914"

ARMENIANS ACTIVE IN EUROPEAN WAR

Petrograd (via London) Nov. 13th 2:50 pm: Reports reaching the Russian capital from the Turkish border attach increasing importance to the part the Armenians are playing in the Russian – Turkish war. In several towns occupied by the Russians, the Armenian students have shown themselves ready to join the invading army, and explained that they had prepared themselves for the Russian approach by constant drilling and by gathering arms secretly. All along the line of march, according to these dispatches, the Armenian peasants are receiving Russian troops with enthusiasm and giving them provisions freely.

Armenian newspaper, referring to this crisis in the history of Armenia, published the following:

"The long anticipated day of deliverance for the Turkish-Armenians is at hand, and the Armenians are prepared for any sacrilege made necessary by the performance of their manifest duty".

From this border, country there has come to Petrograd further reports of armed conflicts from the refusal of Armenians to become Turkish conscripts and surrender their arms. It is now rumored that the important city of Van is today besieged by Armenian guerilla bands in great force. In Feituen these bands is said to exceed 20,000 in number and they are reported to have defeated all Turkish troops sent against them."

18 - "*Manitoba Morning Free Press* - Nov. 13th, 1914"

UNEARTHING GUNS AND AMMUNITION

German Buried Big Supplies on Battlefields Outside Warsaw -

Armenians in Revolt - Gathered Arms Secretly

In several towns occupied by the Russians the Armenian students have shown themselves ready to join the invading army and explained that they had prepared themselves ready to join the invading army and explained that they had prepared themselves for the Russian approach by constant drilling and by gathering arms secretly. All along the line of march, according to these dispatches, the Armenian peasants are receiving the Russian troops with enthusiasm and giving them provisions freely.

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19 - "Elyria Evening Telegram" - Nov. 13th, 1914"

ARMENIANS READY TO SIDE WITH RUSSIANS

Want to Get Into War in Order to be Delivered From Turkish Rule, Says Dispatch From Petrograd

Petrograd. Nov. 13, via London – Reports reaching the Russian capital from the Turkish border attach increasing importance to the part the Armenians are playing in the Russian-Turkish war.

In several towns occupied by the Russians the Armenian students have shown themselves ready to join the invading army and explained that they had prepared themselves for the Russian approach by constant drilling and by gathering arms, secretly. All along the line of march, according to these dispatches, the Armenian peasants are receiving the Russian troops with an enthusiasm and giving them provisions freely.

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It is now rumored that the important city of Van is besieged by Armenian guerilla bands in great force. In Feitun the bands are said to exceed 20,000 in number, and they are reported to have defeated all the Turkish troops sent against them, causing the Turks heavy losses.

A dispatch received here from Constantinople says that the Turkish cruiser *Goeben* was penetrated by a shell at her water line during the recent bombardment of the Dardanelles by the allied Anglo-French fleet. The damage inflicted is described as serious.

The *Goeben* is one of the two German cruisers taken over by Turkey after the outbreak of the war."

20 - "The Washington Post" - Nov. 13th, 1914"

ARMENIANS JOIN RUSSIANS AND 20,000 SCATTER TURKS NEAR FEITUN

DEAL BLOW TO TURKS

Russians Scatter a Big Army Occupying Batumi Valley – Are Near Erzurum Fortress

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British Capture Turkish Torpedo Boat and Czar's Troops Damage the Former German Cruiser *Goeben* – Americans Join Russians – 20,000 Defeated

London, Nov. 12th – The Russian Army of Armenia, whose base is on Kars, Transcaucasia, is approaching the Turkish fortress of Erzurum. A dispatch from Petrograd says:

"A graphic account has been received here of the demise of the Russian transport *Truth*, which was scuttled rather than surrendered to the Turkish cruiser *Goeben*. When called upon to surrender, her captain steered the *Truth* for the shore, opened the valves and blew a hole in the bottom of the vessel.

Sailors Sing as Ship Sinks

Lt. Ragowsky perished while attempting to fire off a second round of explosives. Part of the crew got off in boats, while others jumped into the water, to be picked up by Turkish ships.

'The ship's chaplain and a handful of men stayed aboard. As the ship went down, the chaplain was seen on deck giving his blessing to the men, who remained about him cheering and singing the national anthem.'

A Turkish torpedo boat which escaped from the Dardanelles has been captured off Tenedos, an island five miles off the northwest coast of Asia Minor, according to an Athens dispatch.

An Amsterdam dispatch says the Kaiser has ordered that all Mohammedans captured from the allied armies be sent to Constantinople to serve in the Turkish Army

Austrian Officers for Turkey

A telegram from Bucharest, Romania, says that Halil Bey, uncle of Enver Bey, the leader of the Young Turks, has arrived there on a special mission in behalf of Turkey.

Rome – Nov. 12th - Advices from Constantinople say that the Ottoman Army still lacks 700 officers and that the authorities at Berlin were requested to supply them. Berlin replied that it would be impossible to send all Germans but would supplement them with Austrians, who would travel in Constantinople individually as civilians. Petrograd, Nov. 12 – A dispatch received here from Constantinople says that the Turkish cruiser *Goeben* was penetrated by a shell at her waterline during the recent bombardment of the Dardanelles by the allied Anglo-French fleet. The damage inflicted is described as serious.

Russians Take Many Turks

An official communication from the general staff of the Caucasian army under date of Nov. 10, says:

Small skirmishes in the region beyond Tchoruk River in the neighborhood of the province of Batumi has occurred. "We maintained our position at Koprükent. Turkish attempts to envelope many prisoners and large quantities of ammunitions. We have occupied all of the valley of the Alaschkertska.

Armenians Fighting the Turks

"In several towns occupied by the Russians the Armenian students have shown themselves ready to join the invading army. Reports tell of armed conflicts arising from the

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refusal of Armenians to become Turkish conscripts and surrender their arms. It is now rumored that the important city of Van is besieged by Armenian guerilla bands in great force. In Feitun the Armenians are said to exceed 20,000 in number and they are reported to have defeated all the Turkish Troops sent against them causing the Turks heavy losses."

21 - "Newark Advocate - Nov. 17, 1914"

AMERICANS (should be ARMENIANS) are Fighting Turks in Self-Defense

AP Telegram - Petrograd via London, Nov. 7th - A dispatch received here from Tbilisi says: Armenian refugees reaching there report that volunteer bands of Armenians have had several sharp engagements with the Turkish garrison at Van on Lake Van in Armenia, and about 145 miles southeast of Erzurum.

The Sebands of Armenians have come together in the interior of Turkey for self-defense.

22 - "Reno Evening Gazette - Jan 7, 1915"

ARMENIANS FIGHT FOR RUSSIA

London, Jan. 7 - Reuter's Petrograd correspondent transmits a message from Tbilisi stating that a detachment of Armenian volunteers had arrived there from America. The volunteers received an enthusiastic reception".

23 - "Manitoba Morning Free Press - Jan. 8, 1915"

Armenian Volunteers at Tbilisi

London, 7 - Reuter's Petrograd correspondent transmits a message from Tbilisi stating that a detachment of Armenian volunteers had arrived there from America. The volunteers received an enthusiastic reception.

The Armenian volunteers evidently are to serve with the Russian Army in the campaign against Turkey, whose troops were advancing in the direction of Tbilisi until as reported in Petrograd two days ago, they were defeated disastrously. Tbilisi is a Russian city in the trans-Caucasian region. The territory known as Armenia, which is not a political unit, includes part of the trans-Caucassus.

24 - "Indianapolis Star - Jan.8th, 1915"

ARMENIANS JOIN RUSSIANS - Detachment of Volunteers Arrive at Tiflis for Army Service

25 - "The New York Times - Jan.8th, 1915"

FROM AMERICA TO FIGHT - Detachment of Armenians Welcomed at Tiflis

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26 - "Daily Kennebec Journal - May 28th, 1915"

ARMENIAN VOLUNTEERS ARE TO BE INCREASED TO 15,000

(AP Correspondence) Tbilisi, April 23rd - A visit to the general staff of the Armenian volunteers disclosed active preparations to raise their contingents from about 5000 to a full division of about 15,000. Five Armenian detachments are now arriving from Batumi to Tabriz. It is planned to unite all but one in a single body. Volunteering is proceeding briskly having begun even before Turkey entered the war. Armenian subscriptions defray all costs and the management is in the hands of the Armenian National Bureau, in which all elements of the Armenians are represented.

The outbreak of war instantly recalled the general inspectors newly created upon the initiative of Russians, (*Note: General Inspectors' -Westenek & Hoff- interrupted project reconfirmed*) and it is now one of the absorbing questions of the Caucasus whether England and France will not leave the determination of the fate of Armenians to Russia alone.

The Armenians are consoling themselves with the assurance that the Russian Government does not want to arm Turkish Armenia, though they would be very glad if they had even vague promises held out.

But the most striking of the historic Armenian antinomies at this time is that, while making larger preparations to fight the Armenian leaders would much prefer that there should be very little fighting in Turkish Armenia, as every advance of the Russian Armies would be preceded by massacres and the grant of autonomy would find the Armenian people too weak to utilize their new privileges of self government. There are however words of caution against waiting for peace negotiations to drop into their laps the ripe fruits of diplomacy.

In any case, it is considered doubtful whether Turkey would yield more gracefully to diplomacy than to allies. It is feared she would rather repeat in the form of reduction of their numbers, the historic argument that the Armenians are really negligible minority. There is believed to be danger in delay. The diplomatic chess board is more uncertain than the military. Even if everything should go well with the triple entente, it is believed in the end Turkey will have to be coerced by arms and will almost certainly revenge itself on the helpless Christian subjects. "

27 - "The Washington Post - Aug. 22, 1915"

THROW OFF TURK YOKE

Armenians in Vilayet of Van End 600 Years' Oppression - Schoolmaster is Governor - May be annexed to Russia or Be Granted Autonomy After the War

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28 - "The New York Times - October 9th, 1915"

Why We Aid Armenians!

Reventlow says it's because we're bought by Anglo-French Gold.

Special cable to The New York times.

London, Oct. 8 - The Times says this morning:

It is noteworthy that the monstrous article by Count Reventlow which was quoted by Lord Cromer in the House of Lords on Wednesday night is the only reference in recent German newspapers to the Armenian massacres. The article was based upon a report that the American Government had invited Germany to intervene in favor of the Armenians. In addition to the brutal remarks already published Count Reventlow sharply criticized all American action.

After a contemptuous reference to the American Ambassador in Constantinople, he said that England and Russia were using the Armenian question for their own purpose, and proceeded:

"It is probably well known that it has become a popular habit among Americans to take as active a part as possible in questions of this kind, even when the events happen in southeastern Europe and the Monroe Doctrine hardly provides an excuse. Such interference would be specially striking at the present moment, because Turkey is a belligerent power, fighting for her life, and the United States pass and want to pass as neutrals. There can hardly be any doubt that the Anglo-American fraternization in the recent financial transaction in the recent financial transaction is already showing its consequences in this matter."

29 - "Oakland Tribune" - Feb. 21st, 1916

ARMENIANS SLAY TURKS IN REVOLT

Grand Duke's Victory Disrupts Islam

Rome, Feb 21 - It is stated in dispatches received here that the Germans are preparing to leave Constantinople, where their position has become difficult.

The Russian line is reported already from 30 to 60 miles west of Erzurum.

The Turkish debacle in Armenia surpasses all imagination. No units remain intact

30 - "New Oxford Item" - Feb. 24th, 1916"

RUSSIANS WIN VAN DISTRICT

Drive South Menaces Turks' Mesopotamian Army - SLAVS ARE NEAR TRABZON

Turkish Losses In Past Two Weeks' Fighting Said to be Nearly 100,000. - Bitlis Reported Evacuated.

The Russians have occupied the entire Lake Van district, the Turks retiring southward and even evacuating Bitlis, according to a Petrograd dispatch received in Rome and given out by the wireless press. On the other wing, according to the dispatch, the

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Russian advance guards have arrived within a short distance of Trabzon, on the Black sea coast. Earlier dispatches show that the Russians are pressing their advance on both flanks. Driving the Turkish rear guards before them with heavy losses, one of their armies is advancing rapidly toward Diyarbakır, on the Tigris River. Diyarbakır is only 50 miles from the Constantinople-Bagdad railway, the only line of communication for the Turkish Army in Mesopotamia. Turkish losses in the past two weeks' fighting with the Russians are said to be nearly 100,000 men in killed, wounded and prisoners. The Kaiser is reported to have sent an imperative message to Field Marshal von Per Goltz, the chief military adviser of the Turkish Army, that the advance of the Russians must be stopped at any cost. It is reported on excellent authority that a big German force is being massed east of Constantinople for the protection of the Turkish capital. The menace of the Russian invasion of Turkey is more dangerous than at any other time during the course of the war. Approximately 250,000 Russians have poured through the passes of the Caucasian mountains supported by enormous quantities of artillery. Along the Black sea, littoral Russian warships are bombarding Turkish towns. Information received in Rome that the Turkish rout in the Caucasus surpasses all imagination. No unit remains intact and the debris of the army in flight is being massacred by the insurgent population. All able-bodied Armenians who escaped from Turkish conscription have enlisted in the Russian Army. Grand Duke Nicholas, it is reported, now has 50,000 Armenian volunteers under his command.

31 - *"Reno Evening Gazette - August 8th, 1916"*

TURKS ALARMED

By Cable and AP – Constantinople, August 12th -

Further conflicts have occurred between the Turks and Armenians in Alashgerd district. It is reported that a band of young Russo-Armenian volunteers, have appeared at Erzurum and are recruiting adherents first. The report caused a panic among the Turkish authorities.

32 - *"ALGEMEEN HANDELSBLAD AMSTERDAM - Tuesday, May 25th, 1920"*

ARMENIA: THE ARMENIAN-TURKISH QUESTION

(Note: A very important objective report!)

We have received the following interesting letter from one of our staff members in the Balkans, the content of which gives a different view on the Armenian question from the customary one in Western Europe. We have the greatest trust in the objectivity of this staff member. The way in which he relates his story contains the proof that he is deserving of this trust- and we have therefore printed his correspondence unchanged and without comment.

Just as under the reign of Sultan Abdulhamid abhorrent reports of mass slaughtering of the Armenians have been coming in again from Cilicia, as a result of which the nerves of

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the dulled world are once again shocked. In absolutely no way is it my intention to justify slaughter, no matter by whom it is performed, and to try and protect the most heinous of all murders, [that is] murder committed on religious grounds. But there are two sides to every truth and when the Armenian press-propaganda manages to exploit the Armenian bloodbath in Cilicia against the Turks in the sense that she thus is trying to realize the complete destruction of Turkey by the *Entente*, then I am of the opinion that it is in the interest of truth to investigate whether truly only the beastliness of the Turks is to blame for these mass murders.

I believe that I have some right to state this since, during the war, I had the opportunity to see Turkey, in a manner of speaking, in her *negligée* and of all places there where the Armenian and the Turkish tribes fought each other with the bitterest of hatreds.

In the spring of the memorable year 1918, when as a result of the Russian defeat, Turkey started the offensive again and the flag of the Prophet waved victoriously in alien countries, which had not happened since the peace of *Küçük Kaynarca*, I happened to find myself in the Armenian-Russian border region and so witnessed a part of the Turkish advance in the area that was predominantly inhabited by Armenians.

Whosoever knows what waging war is all about will have to admit that there is no better opportunity for getting to know a country and a people than during a war, where all human passions are expressed with violence, where the thin layer of culture and pretense disappears before the higher necessity of waging war. At the time I happened to find myself the only European in the critical surroundings and so I have been perhaps the only European witness of in what manner the events during the Turkish advance in Russian-Armenia occurred and how these two people related to one another.

Before I started my journey I already favored the Armenian side. During my stay in Constantinople, in the years 1916/17 I had already heard plenty of revolting details on the Armenian mass murders in Turkish Armenia and the Europeans, who were more or less well informed about the events in Armenia, therefore attributed blame to the Turks alone and they regarded the Armenians as the innocent sacrifices to [victims of] the Turkish religious hatred and to the bestial pleasures of a barbaric people.

My relationship with the Turks was good enough to also discuss with them this difficult issue that many a European did not even dare to bring up. The position taken up by the Turks was to strengthen me in my convictions that the Armenians were innocent and that the Turks were to blame for everything. For with a quaintly brusque rejection I was answered by every Turk whom I had asked for information with regard to the pros and cons of the Armenian question: "Yes, everything is true what people say about us. We have killed millions of Armenians; it was a horrible bloodbath, but we were within our right and we are only accountable to ourselves for that." I did not succeed in finding out further details, or grounds for these horrible acts. And so I could only arrive at the conclusion ... In the released passions of the war the religious fanaticism towards the Christians was given a free reign wherever there was opportunity. And that happened in the highlands of Armenia, where, cut off from the entire world, the Armenians were entirely in the hands of the Turks.

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In the spring of 1918, I arrived in Trabzon from where, as is known, runs the only passable road to the interior of Upper Armenia.

In 1915, Trabzon itself was witness to an Armenian bloodbath and three years later the Greek- and the Levantine Europeans still managed to relate to me in every detail the indescribable scenes of horror that occurred within the ancient city walls of Trabzon in 1915. How the streets of Trabzon ran red with the blood of Armenians! How the Armenian quarters went up in smoke and flames and that for days and weeks after the bloodbath the bodies of children continued to wash up against the ancient Constantine Dam in the harbor of Platana. I saw ruined stretches [of the city] and people told me that these had once been the Armenian quarters. People showed me Christian Churches. These were the Churches of the Armenians. People raked over dung heaps and bones and decomposed bodies appeared. These are the bodies of Armenians, people told me.

These are such awful realizations that one is never able to forget them and they evoke the same wish with everyone: God preserve every one of us for this barbarity and for the religious hatred of Moslems!

But a Prior of the Franciscan monks, a simple old priest, who undoubtedly stood on the side of the Christians, shook his head, when I started to curse the Turks. *"You are mistaken", he said, "The Turks are not the only ones to blame. Yes, someone who comes from Europe and who wishes to judge Asia with a European understanding will [undoubtedly] condemn the crime of the extermination of this people. But it is not the entire truth that you have seen and heard. You ought to look upon these things through Asian eyes and have understanding for the fact that here two peoples have been going to battle with a hatred and bitterness that are centuries old. One has two mentalities here, the Turkish and the Armenian and both mentalities were saying that one of them had to go down. Everything was arranged against them and they were made to suffer defeat. But are you convinced of it that the Armenians, under the same circumstances, would not have done or in fact did exactly the same! I have my reports from missions, sent forth by my order in Beyazit, Van, Erzurum, Erzincan; from the reports I know that in 1915 when the war with Russia started, it was the Armenians who, behind the Turkish Army, were fanning the revolution and who were depopulating Turkish villages and settlements and razed them to the ground. The subsequent events that happened in Turkey afterwards were only the consequences of this first hostile attitude of the Armenians. I admit that horrible things have happened and that never before so much blood was spilt. But the Armenians were not [exactly] innocent in how this bloodbath came about. And when the Turks went further than they had to, then the blame for that does not solely lie with the Turks, but with the mentality of Asia, where the hatred for a people runs deeper than with the European peoples and where war assumes beastly shapes."*

Just look at Trabzon, for instance. You have seen the burned down Armenian quarters, but did you also see the burned down Turkish quarters? Did you happen to pay attention to the graves of the Turkish population that were still fresh? No! You can see that when the Armenians found themselves in the same position as the Turks, when they

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advanced victoriously under the protection of the Russian Army, the same spectacle occurred as in the year of 1915, but that time it was the Turks who got it in the neck. Wherever the Armenians found a Turk he was mercilessly hacked down, wherever they saw a Turkish Mosque it was plundered and set on fire. Turkish quarters went up in smoke and flames just like the Armenian quarters. You are presently about to travel round the country and you will still be able to follow in the footsteps of war: Bayburt, Erzincan, Erzurum, and Kars. You will still see smoldering heaps of rubble; you will still smell blood and corpses, but it so happens that these were Turkish corpses."

The Franciscan Father only told the truth. For months I traveled all across Armenia and Kurdistan and I found confirmation of what people had been telling me. After the withdrawal of the Russian Army, which followed after the Russian peace, the troops of the so-called Armenian Army, took over the military operations in the occupied Turkish areas. During the Russian occupation the Russians protected the lives and properties of the Turks. What happened after the withdrawal of the Russians is heart rendering. The smallest Turkish settlements were killed down to the last man by the gangs of the Generals Adranik and Murat, and Churches were destroyed down to the very last stone.

Back then, the Armenian expectations were still highly strung. Their plans reached far, encompassed the entire Turkish Empire. And they were hoping that they could settle the score with the old hereditary enemy, down to the last man, the last woman, the last child. I have seen ruins in Erzincan where hundreds of bodies of strangled Turks lay amidst the rubble. I have had light shone down wells that were full of bodies. I have seen with my own eyes that graves were opened in which the bodies of men and women were thrown haphazardly across one another, hundreds of them. Who did this? Those victorious Armenians!

These spectacles accompanied me on the distant and long road through Upper-Armenia, Kurdistan right up into Russian-Armenia. And is it a wonder that the Turks, when they in their turn became the victors, exacted revenge, repaid evil with evil? I have to admit that during the Turkish advance to Russian-Armenia the murdering was continued by the Turks. On the other side of the border of the Sarikamish the Armenian settlements, of which there were many, were depopulated with the aid of fire and iron. The most bitter of racial hatred was raging against the former victors, presently those who were conquered, in a bestial form, a wild country particular to Asia. Our European brains fail to comprehend this unrelenting hatred that sets people against people whipping them into a frenzy in which the worst atrocities are committed. But we should not forget that Upper-Armenia is a country the civilization of which can be compared to the primitive culture of the European peoples. The peoples there do not form nations, but rather hordes. And just like in the primitive situation of peoples a meeting of two hordes meant the annihilation of one them, thus in the mountains around Great Ararat, people's minds are still not directed towards coexistence, but rather towards destruction. In the bare mountains of Upper-Armenia there exists no compromise, only a fight to the death. The victor will live all the conquered can do is die.

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During my stay in Alexandropol (Gümrü) the following happened, which casts a good light on the mentality of the people there. From the direction of the group of mountains, the Alagöz, people one day heard the thunder of canons being fired. The Armenian population, which lived in fear behind the Turkish front line, explained this rumble of canons as that the English were advancing against the Turks. And they were under the conviction that within several hours the Turks would be beaten. Immediately there arose a rebellion behind the Turkish front line, and the weak Turkish posts in the Armenian villages were tortured to death in an ingenious manner. But the English did not come. A detachment of Kafkas-Armenians had tried to break through the thin Turkish front. Hence the reason for the rumbling canons. And when the fight was over only a couple of hours later there followed the revenge. The villages, in which Turkish soldiers had been murdered, were destroyed. Can one then say that the Armenians were not to blame?

In Alexandropol itself, in a purely Armenian city, where, despite the Turkish occupation, the Armenians quietly continued to do their work, I often came in contact with leading Armenian figures. They were continually living under a terrible fear that one day due to an ill-considered act of Armenian gangs the Turks would take revenge and that they would then be among the first to bear this revenge. A number of the Armenian people, the best part, were in favor of a peaceful coexistence with the Turks. For it so happened that they were more or less compelled to live together. And in that case only tolerance could put a stop to the murdering. But the greater number of the people and the gangs, the so-called soldiers, did not wish to know of peace. Their slogan was: "Them or us, one will have to go down."

The men, who preached tolerance and reconciliation, were cursed by the greater part of the Armenian people. People in Armenian circles openly said to me: "At present those Turks are in control. But soon we will be lord and master again and then we will not suffer a single Turk that falls into our hands to live. No agreement is possible between us. We have a score to settle that is centuries old. Our fight is as old as our people. This fight started on the day on which the Turks entered our lands and it will last until the day on which they will be brought down. We do not wish to have reconciliation. Cursed are they who befriend Turks."

Such was the mood in a time in which the Armenians had no hope ever to be freed from the Turks. It looked as if the victorious crescent would be making the whole of Russian-Armenia her own.

With this in mind one can judge what happened when the Turks were forced to withdraw and the Turkish settlements once again fell into the hands of the Armenians.

A comparison is only possible between civilized peoples. With the peoples of the wildest [part of] Asia there only exist hatred and destruction. "The Turks are guilty. They have murdered [people]." However, are the Armenians less guilty, who also murdered as soon as they had the power to do so?

One can only judge Asia with Asian eyes.

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33 - "DEUTSCHE ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG - #342 July 24th, 1921"

(Note: **Important objective reading**)

A Witness for Talat Pasha, from Lt. Gen. a.d. Bronsart von Schellendorf, former Chief of the General Staff of the Turkish Field Troops, recent Commander of the Royal Prussian Infantry Division.

In the process of the Armenian assassin Teilirian, witnesses were called who were unable to make any real statements, or who were able only to relate what they had heard about the situation. Eyewitnesses, who had seen the truth were not called. Why did one not take the statements of German officers, who were assigned at the time and were there to see the results of Armenian atrocities. Our witness accounts could have played such a decisive role in this process.

We were notified to be prepared to testify, yet never called. For this reason, I am following my duty as witness, although it is late because I had to gather all of this material, to help truth find its rightful place.

In order to understand how it was possible to place the blame for the Armenian atrocities, it is necessary to look back. Armenian atrocities are age old. They have happened ever since Armenians and Kurds have lived in close proximity in the borderlands of Russia, Persia, and Turkey. Kurds are nomads and raise animals. The Armenians are acre farmers, artisans, or businessmen. The Kurd has no school experience, does not know money or the worth of money, and knows that being taxed is forbidden through the Koran. The Armenian, as business man, uses the inexperience of the Kurd in a scrupulous manner, and takes advantage of him. The Kurd feels that he has been cheated, takes revenge on him, and the Armenian atrocities are ready. It must be said that differences in religion never have anything to do with this.

The ages old discordance received new nourishment as the Armenians, during the big war, started a dangerous revolt in the eastern border provinces of Turkey for no particular reason, because the reforms that the 'powers' initiated, were putting through, were just beginning to take effect. The Armenians had seats and voices in the new parliament, produced even a Foreign Minister of Armenian descent.

They had the same social and political Rights as the rest of the population of the state. Peace in their lands was kept by a Gendarmerie, trained by the French General Baumann.

The revolt had been prepared way before it took place, as the many bulletins, brochures, weapons, ammunition and explosives found in the areas populated by Armenians made it clear. It was surely instigated and funded by Russia. An Armenian conspiracy against high government works and officers in Istanbul was discovered on time.

Since all the able Moslem men were in the army, it was easy for the Armenians to begin a horrible slaughter of the defenseless Moslem inhabitants in the area. They did not just go against the Turkish Eastern front army from a flank or at its back, but they simply cleaned out the Moslem inhabitants in those areas. They performed gruesome deeds, of

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which I, as an eye witness honestly say that they were much worse than what Turks have been accused of as an Armenian atrocity.

At first, the Army attempted to bring order to the area, but being strapped to the fight against the Russians, they finally left it to the Gendarmerie, which was subordinated to the Ministry of the Interior as all the states were.

The Minister of the Interior was Talat, and he had to make the decisions and give the directives. The Army was in its most vital stage of fighting. The Moslem inhabitants were fleeing from the terror of the Armenians. In this critical situation, the whole ministry came to the difficult decision to name the Armenians dangerous to the state, and to remove them from the border areas to a less inhabited, but fruitful area, to Northern Mesopotamia. The Minister of the Interior gave the task to the Gendarmerie, trained to deal with this assignment.

Talat was no thoughtless murderer, but a far sighted statesman. He saw in the Armenians, who now were under the influence of the Russians and others who had Great-Armenia dreams, but in quieter times, were very useful citizens, hoped that removed from the Russian influence and away from the Kurdish quarreling, they would, with their intelligence and work ethics make their new home luscious and fruitful.

He also saw further on that the Entente press would use the relocation of the Armenians as a hypocritical propaganda of Anti-Christianism, and he would have even for that reason alone avoided any harsh treatment of the Armenians.

Talat was right. The propaganda began and successfully had everyone in other countries believing this stupidity of Anti-Christianism. One should know that in a country that is closely allied with Christian countries, that has Christian officers and soldiers in its own army...has nothing to do with anti-Christians.

Now I come to the deployment of the plan ... the relocation of the Armenians. The Ottoman Empire was stretched over large distances and there was not always sufficient communication between the various provinces. The governors had more or less a lot of freedom to decide on when and where and how things ought to be done. It was not that they disobeyed, but did not always have clear directives and this kind of governing went down the ladder of command, where occasionally unwise decisions were made.

The unusually difficult task to keep thousands of Moslem refugees and in an other area Armenians on their assigned marching ways, to lead, feed, find shelter for them all, was over-whelming to the too few who could not cover the masses, nor most often had no idea of how to do so. Talat did his utmost to help. Even into my hands came requests and demands to the Army to assist whenever possible, to provide food, shelter, doctors and medicine to the civilians under way. Unfortunately, even with all the help that was possible, thousands of Moslems as well as Armenians died.

Here lies the question of whether one could have foreseen these disastrous results of the relocation. Considering that there would not have been any way to stop the Moslem population from fleeing, removing the Armenians was necessary.

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Let us take, for instance, our present situation (1921). If a ministry found, it had the power and the right to order: All Polish activists will be removed from Upper Schlesien and put into prison. Or All violent Communists will be put into boats and dropped off at the Russian coast... Wouldn't there be applause heard throughout the country?

Perhaps the judges of the Teiririan process will ask themselves these questions and see the Armenian situation from a different point of view.

Talat refused to have registered all Greeks living on the Mediterranean coast because only sabotage was done there, not a dangerous uprising, though thoughts of that were near. Talat was a statesman, not a murderer.

Now that the atrocities that were deliberately done to Armenians, were witnessed so often that there is no doubt that they are real. I begin with the Kurds. Of course, this folk, these people, used this seldom, probably never again opportunity to rob and at times even to beat to death the hated Armenians who had on top of everything, done horrible things to other Moslems. The train of Armenians going to their destination went for many days and weeks through Kurdistan. There was no other way to get to Mesopotamia.

About the Gendarmerie that was assigned to accompany the Armenians, different judgments have been made. In some instances, the Gendarmerie defended their charges against Kurdish bands. In other instances they were said to have fled. There were also claims that they worked together with the Kurds, or even alone, robbing and killing Armenians. That they were acting upon higher orders was not brought up. Talat cannot be made responsible for these acts, which took place 2000 km from where he was. And the Gendarmerie had a different training than the Turkish troops...their training was French.

One can also not deny that some Turkish officers took advantage of the Armenians, but where such dealings were discovered, immediate military action was taken. Thus, Vehib Pasha had two of his officers shot according to military law.

Enver Pasha punished the governor of Aleppo, a Turkish general, who enriched his coffers at the cost of Armenians, by taking away his commission and giving him a long jail sentence.

I think that these examples show that one did not want an Armenian disaster. But it was war, and customs and manners degenerated. I remember the gruesome acts the French did to our wounded and prisoners of war. Has the rest of the world heard of these shameful acts?

Besides the murdered Grand Vizier, Enver Pasha also has been attacked before the German court, I hear. Enver loves his fatherland immensely. He is an honorable soldier of great talent and unmatched bravery, whose eye witness I was repeatedly. The newly formed Turkish field army exists due to his genius, and his spirit, that fought for years against heavy might, and today it still fights for the homeland. No German officer is more able to judge him and his friend Talat Pasha than I am, who stood from 1914 to the end of 1917 as Chief of the General Staff of the Turkish Field Army in closest ties to those two men.

Talat Pasha has become an offering, a sacrifice of love for his fatherland.

May Enver Pasha, when his time comes, be able to lift his fatherland to new heights?

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That both of these men, through difficult times, gave me their full trust, I may say, that they gave me their friendship, is a proud memory for me". *(Translated from German by R.S. Ozan)*

Chapter 30: STATUS-QUO AND CONCLUSIVE REMARKS

Below two quotations have become an inspiration for this research or compilation:

“We have been told that the tall tales of the Bible (or Genocide) are ‘revealed truth’. What we need now is to have that ‘revealed truth’ revealed, for as yet it never has been. What follows are but scraps of the required knowledge “

(Preface 7, Lloyd M. Graham, "Deceptions and Myths of the Bible" 1991)

“It seems even more clear to me that higher levels of civilization must depend even more heavily on conscientious respect for the importance of honesty and clarity in determining what the facts are.”

(Harry G. Frankfurt 'On Truth' Alfred A.. Knopf, pg.16),

By now, provided “scraps of knowledge” from different sources and mostly anti-Turkish writers, should have offered a pretty clear picture about this “Genocide Fanfare” or a Tall Lie, presented as the only truth which doesn’t need to be studied, elaborated, documented and scholarly enlightened to reach some joint conclusion. If it can be named GENOCIDE, and legally stands to be untrue, then why is this feud of hatred, continuously being pushed by the strong Armenian diaspora organizations and lobbies to defame Republic of Turkey? Submitted evidence makes it clear if we are to speak of “any genocide” for sure this is not “the Genocide of Armenians” but **“The Genocide of Truth”!** Let us have a short run down of some highlights and evaluate under logic based on existing documents. For example below excerpt gives a good idea about goals and used tactics:

“The Washington Herald” - Aug.25, 1907 - Armenian Race:

{Armenia is just at present in the public eyes here in America in connection with the recent murder of H.S.Tavshanjian, perhaps the most prosperous member of the import colony of Armenian merchants in New York. The assassin is one of his countryman and is pretty generally understood that political dissensions and blackmail were the motives of this crime which is merely one of a long series of an almost identical nature which have been perpetrated in recent years in the United States and in various parts of Europe notably in London, Venice, Paris and Brussels... Before proceeding any further it may be briefly mentioned that most of the political murders that have been perpetrated in America and in other countries by Armenians against their coreligionists have been due to the antagonism existing between the Henthchakiste Secret Society and that known as Arpiarist organization... As in the case of all these secret political societies, the Henthchakiste organization attracted a large number of heelers and adventurers, Armenians of the very worst type who found it more agreeable to draw money as agents from the treasury of the society and to live on the subscriptions patriotically offered by their wealthy industrious and reputable coreligionists to do actual honest work. The Henthchakiste Society proved such a

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goldmine to scoundrels of this class that as was only to be expected another society of similar character was founded not long afterward by another Armenian newspaper man of the name Arpiar on analogous lines... The Henthakists accused Arpiarists of being secretly in league with the Turks and about four years ago an attempt was made to assassinate Arpiar in Venice where he was very dangerously wounded presumably by Henthcakhists... Of late, the more unscrupulous elements of these organizations have received an additional incentive to crime through the withdrawal of the rich respectable Armenian merchants abroad. The latter, having become alive to the fact that all the money which they so generously subscribed toward the relief of the sufferings of their coreligionists in Turkey was being merely utilized to maintain in relative idleness a couple of bands of adventurers and desperadoes who brought both the name and the cause of Armenia into disrepute, declined to continue their contributions and closed their purses. This led the evil element of the Henthcakiste and Arpiarist societies to endeavor to extort by means of blackmail and terrorism, the funds which they had no difficulty in obtaining on the plea on the patriotic charity, and there is no doubt that there will be many more crimes such as assassination of Mr. Tavshanjian, the wealthy New York carpet dealer the other day, unless these societies either purge themselves of the evil element in question or else are broken up by the authorities. Whenever the treasury of these two secret societies ran low, the sympathy of the rich Armenians abroad was excited by stories of massacres and outrages by Turks upon the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire. Sometimes the stories of atrocities were entirely bogus, while in other instances the outrages were deliberately provoked by the members of the society, for "purse strings"... Those of the later who complain of the persecutions of the Turkish government, mostly reside either in the Western Europe or in the United States. The Armenians enjoy many advantages at the hands of the Sultan. Thus whereas able bodied Turk is compelled to serve a certain number of years in the army, his family during that time being deprived of the assistance and the Armenian is freed from military service on the payment of an annual tax amounting to a little over a dollar and which is only exacted during the years...}

Below editorial which appeared in the "Reno Evening Gazette", Oct.14, 1915 under the heading **AMERICA and the ARMENIANS** gave a full picture of not only yesterday complimenting previous article, but speaks of this very day:

<Having imposed a committee of well meaning but admittedly prejudiced American Missionaries, the same agencies that have been engaging in reporting *Armenian outrages which never had been committed* are now trying to mislead Christian charity in America and Switzerland into furnishing funds for the relief of the supposed victims of the unspeakable Turk.

It would not matter, so far as the country at large is concerned, but unfortunately there is danger that a self-sufficient person like President Wilson will accept these stories of atrocities as truth, with no further evidence

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than the statements of Armenians who are directly interested in *raising money for the support of themselves*. Professional beggars who have bled their own countrymen for years are now trying to induce kindly Americans to support them, not caring whether United States would or should not be embroiled with Turkey and through Turkey with Germany. Ambassador Morgenthau appears to have fallen a ready victim to the smooth rascals that, by apocryphal tales of outrages, have procured contributions from their Armenian countrymen abroad and in this country and have lived in luxury on the proceeds for the last 30 years.

The Ambassador seriously notified the state department that the Turks had slaughtered the “majority of the Armenians of Asia Minor”. This “majority” now turns out to be 32.000 known to be hostile to Turkey and therefore, dispossessed of their homes in Erzerum and Zeitun and interned in a district where they could be watched by Turkish troops – not killed, nor even dying. The English have done no more with German residents and even with English subjects of German birth and the Germans have done the same with English residents of the German states.

If this country, therefore, does not want to appear foolish before the whole world, it will refuse to be duped by impossible tales and will let the Armenians severely alone. >

Now, let us try to undo the puzzle, by putting bits of irrefutable facts together:

1. The process of *obligatory relocation* during a ‘war of total extinction or existence’, <despite unintended failures of capacity and means>, will not fit at all, the definition of ‘genocide,’ a term as yet which did not exist.

2. Turkish archives are open and have been catalogued for a long time, but few Armenian scholars, except Ara Sarafian, have spent time there. On the other hand, the Dashnak archives in Boston or Yerevan are kept closed. Offers by Turkey to set up a commission of scholars to study the documents, are totally rejected by Armenia. A few years ago (2003) a joint Committee was set up in Austria, only to exchange documents, but was later torpedoed by Armenia, on the pre-condition that Turkey should “first accept the genocide accusations” before any scholars met. The Turkish PM Erdogan, said in front of the World Press Meeting in Istanbul in early-November, 2006, that Turkey is ready to settle accounts with her history, if a joint committee of scholars arrive to any such conclusion. He added but that Armenian archives are kept closed and asked if Armenia is prepared to settle accounts with her own history. This challenge was made at a meeting attended by some 450 news correspondents, and was not accepted by Foreign Minister Oskanian, as explained in previous chapters. As it can be judged, this issue “needs not to be proven to be true”, since it has become a “political leverage tool” in the hands of those who do not like Turks!

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PM Erdogan in a later visit to USA in November 2007, answering a question at the Press Club, repeated that 'Armenian allegations have no historical or judicial base'. When asked about the reason, he answered that 'some people are benefiting of it' and that this subject, is 'being pushed by the *diaspora*'. PM criticized involvement of the US Congress as a third party on a subject they have no authority or knowledge and added that Turkey will not reopen the borders unless Armenia's occupation of Karabagh and disrespect of borders continues. He added that Armenia could not understand few gestures done, such as opening the air space, permitting direct flights, transit passage of goods and restoration of the Akdamar Church at a cost of \$ 1.5 millions with Treasury money, when many other priorities existed.

3. Historians overlook the fact that when the Caucasian Federation was self-dissolved, the new Armenian Republic was founded on May 25, 1919 as a **protectorate of the Ottoman Empire**. (Previously in January 1919, they had sent two delegations to the Paris Peace Conference, outbidding each other in requesting a very large area, extending from Trabzon, Black Sea all the way to Mersin, Cilicia). The Armenian Parliament opened on August 1st, 1919 and they sent their goodwill envoy to Istanbul which was received by the Sultan in September 1919. A few months later or at the 1st Anniversary year, the Republic, Armenia betrayed their 'protector masters the Ottomans' for a second time and on May 28th, 1920 declared that they annexed the 'six Turkish vilayets'. The Nationalist (Kemalist) Parliament had just opened on April 23, 1920. The Armenians did not spare the moment of friction between the Ottoman and Kemalist authorities and the fact that Greece was occupying Anatolia. Despite this splitting in two fronts, and after severe battles between Kazim Karabekir's poorly equipped Army and the 'superiorly equipped Armenian army' Armenians lost everything and were forced to, accept the heavy terms of the treaty of Gumru, signed on Dec. 2nd, 1920, setting out the present borders. This treaty was ratified by Russia, on behalf of their Soviet province of Armenia with the Treaty of Moscow on March 21st, 1921. According to a later Treaty of Kars on Sept. 26th, 1921, Turkey and the Soviet Governments of Russia, Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan, agreed under Art. 15 that: *"The governments signatory to the agreement -above- are engaged in declaring a general amnesty restricted to the citizens of the other side for all murders and offenses committed in the time of war, Armenians being de facto belligerents since August, 1914"*. In other words, it was "the Armenians' murders" in principle, which were pardoned under this amnesty!

4. According to Art.31 of the Lausanne Treaty of July, 1923, *"all former citizens of the Ottoman Empire, who had acquired a new nationality with the establishment of new independent states could come to Turkey as a Turkish citizen any time within two years"*. Actually, this article was tailored for Armenians who were relocated or had gone to other countries, giving them the opportunity to come back until July 24, 1925 and **repossess** whatever they had left behind, and attain all the rights of citizenship of Republic of Turkey.

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5. In Chapter 25 of this book, there is plenty information, that the Ottomans, before losing the war, had arrested in 1915-16, some 1600 persons because of their wrong involved during the relocation process. Some 67 persons were hung; some hundreds given various imprisonment punishments, while a few hundreds were not found guilty. Hence, if it were to be “any guilt of the Ottoman State or Government”, these would have surfaced during the trials. The Ottoman CUP government’s fair intentions are visible, as much as their inabilities and weakness.

6. Let us bear in mind that the British have kept some 144 Ottoman dignitaries for over two years in Malta, on allegations of crimes against Armenians. However, no evidence could be found in the archives under full control of Armenians (Haig Kazarian) and no other documents could be produced by other states. The makers of the “Blue Book” could not use any of their fabricated tales or U.S. missionaries’ reports, despite “Ambassador Morgenthau’s Story” book, and there was absolutely nothing of “court house value”.

7. Prior or at time of detention of 144 Ottoman dignitaries, the Ottoman Government, which had lost the war, applied in good faith (on Feb. 19th, 1919) to neutral countries (Sweden, Switzerland, Denmark, Holland and Spain) to appoint their representatives for the committee formed to investigate these allegations. None of these countries (now accusing Turkey) complied with this open invitation, for the simple reason that “when they consulted Britain on this subject, they were told to stay out”, because they were conducting their own investigation “their own way”. The fact that *not one Armenian has been ever arrested, trialed or punished* in any way by the Allied Countries, is enough proof of the scope of bias and bigotry. On the other hand, as mentioned in chapter 25, between, Jan, 1973 – Nov. 1986 only, ASALA was involved in over 200 terrorist activities all around the world.

8. Any claims of even a unilateral atrocity by Turks (not to speak of a genocide), cannot be proved by the available records. On the contrary, there is “undeniable proof of treason and internal revolution” at time of war. During World War II, if one German soldier was killed in Paris, some 50 innocents were immediately rounded up on streets and shot on the spot. There are too many examples of severe annihilations and executions by countries, now speaking of ethics or human rights! The readers may refer to

<http://armenian.tales.googlepages.com/Pastermadjian-1918.pdf> to see proof of fifth column activities, which started in Sept. - Oct. 1914, ending in 1920.

(NOTE Russia – Ottoman War started on Nov. 2, 1914. Referred book was printed in 1918 in Boston)

Under the circumstances, any evaluation by logic or minimal judicial procedures or requirements, *all charges for any “claims of genocide, or compensation or other demands”*, prove to be slanders for other hidden aims, exploiting the “blank confidence of Christendom in (Armenian) Christians”! This kind of logic is much “idiotic” that it can go back to the crucifixion of Jesus, or even the exodus of Moses or the butcheries of Christians, when spreading the religion,

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the Crusades, 100 years wars, and so on! As seen above the "Reno Evening Gazette" had warned all!

The first thumb rule in the investigation of "any crime and finding the culprits" is to search for the *CAUSE, TIME, PLACE, CORPSE, TOOLS, BENEFICIARIES and EVIDENCE*. The "Genocide" (or annihilation) slander proves to be a TALL LIE since it lacks any of these main factors. If we make a rundown by logic and chronological order, we cannot conclude "any accusation of intended murder".

a- In Feb.-1914, partial Autonomy project in six provinces, had been put in effect and in May, and June, two special *inspector governors* (Mr. Westenek Dutch and Col. Hoff Norwegian) had arrived. Armenians, Turks and Allies were enforcing it. Details of this reform are available, duly printed.

b- In August 1914, the Dashnak Annual Congress was held in Erzurum, because they were *that friendly with the CUP* managers. (No one would hold such an activity in a *hostile* place)

c- In previous Chapter 8, we have confirmation from four different historians, that CUP had offered full Autonomy in six provinces (revitalizing the "Inspectorates" project which were suspended because of WWI), *provided that the Armenians in Russia would revolt, and Armenians in Turkey would fight for the Ottoman Empire*. This means that CUP depended on Dashnaks, for the forthcoming war with Russia (and hence had no reason to think of any vile). From above referred book of Armen Garo, said offer is confirmed, clarifying that the envoy was headed by Bekir Sami, head of SO. (Note: Some historians fabricate, that it was Bekir Sami and his Special Organization, which was involved in massacres, which contradicts logic).

d- After the offer of autonomy was di-fused by the Dashnak Congress in Tbilisi, the Armenians of Turkey, tried to bet on both sides of the (war), with the coin in air! Armenians in the Turkish Army (and other revolutionary brigades) immediately sided with Russia, and effectively served the Russian advance in Nov.1914, up to Erzurum, where armies had settled for the winter. (See Ch.24 and 29 'News').

e- Enver Pasha planned a surprise counter attack over Russians, timed for Christmas and New Year, despite the warning about the extreme cold and blizzard probabilities in the high mountains of East Anatolia, where there were no roads to move artillery or logistic supplies. (Details were explained in Chapter 10). After this great defeat and loss of 80 000 men out of a 90 000-strong army, Enver returned to Istanbul in late January. He was mentally depressed, he wrote his will, intended to commit suicide, but was halted by his friend Talat. Armenians in Van had risen in revolt (after the Sarikamish defeat, in February and March 1915) and were almost in control of the area in mid-April, supported by Russian artillery. Enver Pasha, gave a last ultimatum to the Dashnaks through Istanbul Armenian Patriarchate (April 20s), which was disregarded, in view of the victories in Van and other fronts

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under the Russian advance and the bombardment of the Dardanelles by Britain and France, to be followed by the Allied landings in Gallipoli on April 25th.

f- The army commanders in East Anatolia were already inconvenienced by the existing civilians in towns and villages, and "ordered for the areas to be freed for military action". On April 24th, the CUP Government arrested some 235 (*some sources give this number as 2345*) ring leaders of the Dashnak organization in Istanbul and gave the *first blow*. Cemal's surprise attack on Suez in February, 1915 failed also, because of a Turkish (Jew) Aaron Aaronsohn who knew the area and had warned the British about the attack; Turks were also unable to use the new pontoons needed to cross the canal. This was a second battle lost, shortly after the Sarikamish catastrophe, having crossed the Sinai desert twice in severe hardships.

g- Matters had suddenly developed from "bad into worse", owing to obligation to fight in three fronts, with continued sabotages. On May 17, Russians entered Van and the Armenian revolutionists gave the key of the city to Russians, who some time later declared the Armenian State of Van (!). In the light of these fast deteriorations, the "solution to get rid of Armenian guerrillas and logistic supplies to Russian Army or Armenian Revolutionist brigades," was argued. The first "easy alternate" was to push the civilians up in front as a buffer between two fires, to be killed anyway by one of the fires. The second and "hard solution" was to evacuate the whole area of all civilians (Turks, Kurds and others included) by showing them a safer place south in Syria, where they can re-settle, start farming and working in a new area, where there was no war and they could inflict no sabotages. A very lenient and humane relocation law was immediately written and declared on May 27th, trying to safeguard the properties and interests of the people being relocated, to return after the war, the Ottomans *believed* they will win! Armenian historians insist that these people were not all revolutionists; most were innocent, children and old people, who died. (*Apparently, they are unaware of the above book of one of their heroes*) Therefore, this was "*a devious plan of extermination*" and hence must be decided as "genocide" (a term or crime not coined at that time). Later in (July 1915), Catholics and Protestants were excluded, like other employees or important persons in service of the Ottoman government, in various departments.

The emigrants was given notice of 2 – 10 days, to carry their belongings on their ox carts or means suitable to the very bad (only) roads, which were used by the Turkish Army or other travelers. Poor ones, was provided with free ox carts. They had permitted to use the railway, where possible. Feeding and caring camps were set up in various places of gathering or transit, but it will sound very unrealistic to say that a State Management who lost 80 000 soldiers out of 90 000 without even fighting, because of lack of clothing, heating and *food, was to perform miraculously*, in this "first and all time large immigration". As seen in other chapters of the book, people were dying because of epidemics, famine and weather conditions in high proportions. The Moslem losses (which no one counts) were

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equal or higher than those of the Armenian columns were; they were very scarcely given any food on road or were offered new places to resettle.

h- While most columns arrived at their destinations, and many refugees returned to resettle after the Mudros armistice (Oct.30,1918) or many went with Russians back to Caucasus, it will be very unrealistic to claim that this relocation process was carried with success and or that it worked like a clock! The Ottomans were not in any better position logistic and military wise, compared to Jan.1915, when they lost 80 000 soldiers starved and frozen to death in the mountains of east Anatolia. Attaching strings of "intended crime and plot of extermination" without any documentation or proof of *intention, time, place, tools and benefit of crime*, is nothing but a slander and exploitation of one of the sad dramas, imposed by WAR and its beneficiaries. Were there no murders, "cut the throat" carnations and butcheries in the struggle of existence or extinction? Of course, there were many and I tried to give several examples, even those when Dashnaks terrorized their own people to reach their goals and eliminate any objections. I have purposely eliminated official Turkish Army records, and correspondence with Russian Army generals, who had confessed that they could not control the Armenian bands. As seen from contents of this book, the Armenian community in Turkey was already the "cream" of the society. They were the traders, the artisans, the profession holders, etc. and held the top services in the State (because they were all educated, those in the cities spoke some French or English)... Some excerpts from Ara Baliozian's ironic book, -in the previous Chapter- speak for the overall truth. They were the richest of all, had their own schools, churches and all existing liberties and benefits. What would have been the benefit of Turks to exterminate the Armenian nation with whom they brotherly lived for some 800 years? Have no grocer, doctor, pharmacist, tailor, artisan, builder, etc. etc. and a paralyzed society? When French armies evacuated Cilicia, some 150 000 people mostly Armenians and some Greeks, left with them trusting that Turks would not be able to manage things when left all by themselves! Well, Turks survived and gradually had to learn all these professions to be self-sufficient. No one can give a logical explanation, as regards "why the Turks, all of the sudden decided to kill their needed allies, the Armenians" – when they had no shoes or clothes to wear or bread to eat?

Now, let us try to find a reasonable explanation to the enigma of "Genocide" and the successful campaign of the Armenian diaspora, to spread this condemnation "without even a trial or scholarly study or a court decision of an authorized tribunal". Let us study what the Armenian diaspora and the present "Dashnakist puppet government" wins, by "keeping the Genocide kettle fuming all over the world!"

A. The "Genocide" tune, acquits the Dashnaks from all previous disasters they caused for their own community, and restores their "leadership" on all Armenians all over the world. Hatred and grudge against Turks is taught at homes, at schools and in churches, as a "condition of Armenianism", on top of everything.

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Even school children 11-12 years old, are dressed in soldier uniforms, and are “taught how to kill” (Turks)!

B. Armenian community is tied together, even stronger than what it was in Armenia at old times. Schools, Churches and other Social Organizations actively attended and checked by the “watching Big Brother”. This way, the society can establish their own social activities (scouts, folklore, theatrical, musical and other communal gatherings etc.). As explained in chapter 24, they have their own organizations in the countries they live, and thus *encourage marriages among the community, follow the rules of the Church and others (Dashnaks) which are told to listen*, and thus avoid the strong possibility of integration and assimilation with the country they live in. Followers of given advices are praised and encouraged; sometimes rewarded. They are educated to carry the responsibility of being Armenian and transfer of the grudge to new generations. The system of ‘giving for good causes’ (without following what happens later), is the fuel that keeps this huge machine working, providing jobs and undisclosed profits from “large contributions, successions, court cases for large indemnities, donations, collections, etc...”

C. As noted in Ch.24, (*Report p.19*) “ANCA” ***demands of territory and reparations!*** Again on (p.14-15) “ANI” ***seeks legal retribution for victims!*** One can not overlook the reality that behind each move of gallantry, there is some **PROFIT**, be it in cash money, or dues, donations, voluntary or obligatory contributions, legal charges, sums paid to lobbies or politicians, etc, etc. If the ‘*genocide show stops*’, all this flow of income and the earnings for large number of people working under “terrorist Dashnak discipline”, for “patriotic reasons outside Armenia but controlling Armenia” will have to be ended! Refer to last paragraph of Chapter 25, remember that Murad Topalian, had “collected Millions of Dollars” by giving conferences (partly to fund the training and paying their terrorists). This unbelievable system successfully works, exploiting sympathies of benevolence or Christianity or “victims badly in need of HELP”, but how much of that “goes to the needy or how much is taken by greedy”, no one knows! The main “patriotic dress” has not changed much. The tactics are updated, modernized, computerized etc. and everything is under finger touch. The assassinations of 1970s and 80s backfired because some non-Turks also died. (*Some details given in Chapter 25 with video*) Although there are various sources or fountains of income for this huge “fanfare orchestra”, much beyond the scope and capacity of this research, just a few that accidentally surfaced in newspaper columns, should give a “pretty good idea” about the jackpot prizes or “treasures to be hunted” by the Diaspora without “any taxation if and when acquired”! Let us remember few highlights such as:

Cha. Ref. Excerpted phrases

9 #76 “lots of money was needed, Aktamar monastery refused to pay, abbot and his Secretary were murdered

9 # 87 “Midnight extortions of money from villagers which just paid” -murder of persons!

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18 #42 (Bristol's letter) "It is a known fact that...flour and provisions given to Armenian
Government for starving, were taken by high officials and sold for their own benefit
21 Roy Carlson [Arthur Derunian] explained: "Methods of modern racketeering" – "We must give
at least this year as much as we gave last year" – "Plunder of ecclesiastical income"
22 "Agaronyan's collection of 15 million Marks in USA, unjust division with comrades"
22 # 12 "Minister Krominian embezzlement of 50 million rubles from state treasury
23 51-53 "... United Great Armenia, the indemnity to be paid as the victorious Allied country"
24 (last par.) ARPA Institute Conference : Financial success of speaker Harut Sassunian"
26 # 18 "They give money to the terrorist group without saying anything"
29 NYTimes 23.8.1895: "They terrorize their own people by demanding contributions of money
under threat of assassination"... "Certain Armenians of lower grade mental ability are required to
furnish so many thousand piasters – servant required to pay 12.000 piasters"... "I have my-self seen a
considerable sum of money raised publicly. Wealthy ones make large donations" "Threats of
assassination often put into execution. But if money gets beyond agitators..." US Consul L. Davis'
Book, p.183: "lying and trickery and inordinate love of money..."-" every trick and device are
resorted to by those who are not in need as well as by those in need"

Not forgetting the remarks in the above "The Washington Herald"-1907, let
us have few newer remarks from book,(ISBN 0-920553-08-7)"Voices of Fear" of Ara
Baliozian:

pg.13-14) These functionaries, guilty of irresponsible conduct, include partisans...;
philanthropists who misdirect power and money...

(pg.25) It is this unholy alliance of God and cash (or rather, Cash and god) that has
made of our community life a cesspool of corruption and mismanagement.

(pg.26) ...and esthetic values to them would be like whispering to the deaf and
winking at the blind After all, it is not ideas, esthetic theories, and philosophical speculation
that made them what they are, but greed. And, that's the basis on they run our communities.
They count on the greed of those they hire. They run our communities the way they run a
commercial enterprise. They hire and fire spiritual and intellectual leaders the way they hire
and fire janitors - except that janitors, whose work is more accessible to them, are often
better treated and paid.

(pg.31-32) A friend of mine, who is an ardent patriot and who loves supporting a wide
spectrum of Armenian organizations regardless of their political orientation, recently sent me
two letters written by one of our *panchoonies* with the following angry comment on the
margin "A bunch of crooks! I won't give them a penny more." The first letter said "Unless we
raise \$500,000 by the end of next month, we regret to say we shall be forced to terminate
our enterprise thus causing irreparable damage to our national cause and prestige..." or
words to that effect. The second letter, written about a month later, said: "We are happy to
announce that the response of the community has been phenomenal. We now have almost,

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but not quite, the target amount communicated to you in our last letter. If you were one of our generous donors, we thank you; if not we hereby urge you to take part in this fund-raising drive on whose successful conclusion so much depends. Please return the enclosed stamped self-envelope with a \$500.00 check. If for some reason you are not in a position to do that, send us at least \$250.00 and encourage friends to make up the difference..." or words to that effect... After reading these two letters I could not help reflecting that when our Levantine *panchoonies* transplant themselves to the world, they choose to assimilate not the best but the worst features of American life: they acquire the shamelessly voracious greed of TV evangelists. Our tragedy is that the role models of our elites are the scum of the earth.

Newspaper, 14.4.2005 (<http://hurarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/goster/haber.aspx?id=311662>) News report that a Turkish Armenian from Kayseri, named Garabed Melkonyan, donated his real estate properties in Cyprus, in 1921 to the Istanbul Armenian Patriarchate, for philanthropic services, such as school, orphanage etc., but since it was war time, management of this property was given to AGBU (Armenian General Benevolent Union) in Cairo. The property of Istanbul Patriarchate was sold by AGBU with the power of attorney they had, for about \$150 million and a tiny fraction of it was donated for building a school in Armenia. Istanbul Patriarchate against AGBU has opened an international court case in Paris, for this typical "pick-pocketing" of inheritance.

1. (<http://armenians-1915.blogspot.com/2006/01/499-armenians-sue-german-banks-to-call.html>) The first part relates to the beneficiaries of New York Life Insurance, purchased by French AXA, as below:

"This week, the heirs of the victims the Armenian Genocide will receive about \$8,000,000 of compensation from New York Life insurance company. According to the press release disseminated by the company, about 2,500 people will get \$7,954,362. This compensation sum will amount to \$10,000,000 as a result of the court investigation instituted since 1999. Besides, about \$3,000,000 were already sent to various Armenian benevolence organizations. According to the geography, the heirs dwelling in Armenia will receive about \$ 3,700,000, the American-Armenians will get \$2,700,000 of compensations, while the French Armenians will get about \$650,000. In general, Armenians dwelling in 25 countries will get the compensations."

<Note: The second portion relates, to the descendants of Armenians who died in 1915 events, against Deutsche Bank and Dresdner Bank for \$20,000,000, which plaintiff claim that it was money deposited by their parents. As you have read in Chapter 12 of this book, there are plenty references about the complete bankruptcy of the Ottomans, and that they borrowed 5,000,000 Turkish Gold Liras, which they needed for mobilization and entering World War I. The German banks did not have any network of branches, and it is not known, which Armenians had savings account, if any in those banks. >

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(Berlin May 7, 07 IRNA): "A group of US-Armenian lawyers are scheduled to meet with German officials on Thursday in Berlin with German officials on a lawsuit which charges Deutsche Bank and Dresdner Bank of recovery of millions in money and assets deposited by Armenians prior to WWI and the Armenian Genocide"

2. According to 27.7.06 news of [Armenia Liberty. org](http://ArmeniaLiberty.org), by Emil Danielyan, the U.S. House of Representatives, backed from funding the Turkish-Georgian-Azeri Rail Link, by-passing Armenia, because of her hostilities to all three neighboring countries. Armenian lobby has at least successfully sabotaged finance chances for her neighbors.

Khachadur Dadayan of Armenian National Academy of Sciences, news Nov. 17, 2006, Yerkir, Armenia, makes an awkward accounting, claiming that an Armenian Stephan Lianosian had a payment guarantee from English banks for £400,000 and with his mathematical genius arrives to the conclusion that Turkey owes Armenia £3,518 billion! The author of the book says that there exist legal grounds and that Turkey and Azerbaijan cannot refuse to pay!

3. (arfshant.org/index.aspx?PAGEACTION=filtered=content&articleId=pasnel-discussion-11-19-06)

On Dec. 3rd, 2006 at 6 pm Armenian Revolutionary Federation Student Association (ARF Shant) hosts a panel discussion as regards the "planning of the spending of the compensations" to be surely received from Turkey, when they admit that "they committed GENOCIDE".

4. Present day innovations, brought novelties to the collection methods. The old "church alms boxes" have been substituted by "electronic-donation" or alms collection. Santa ANCA proudly confesses their "pressurized begging system" and where such funds (partially) are spent, as well as the objectives. This Christmas message should have reached a "few hundred thousands of Armenian American homes". How many homes will donate how much for the all times GENOCIDE Season, is up to the simple estimate of the reader. How much of that will be spent to "buy justice and lobby muscle" is up to the "big brothers", who must keep this show on, so that "money keeps on coming in, from all possible sources". Below is ANCA's message for Christmas and New Year...and the good way to share God's Blessings!

** <Just a few days ago, the Senate returned Dick Hoagland's nomination to the President - marking the refusal of Congress to let an Armenian Genocide denier represent America in Yerevan.*

With all the changes set to take place in Washington this January, we can do even more to secure justice, expand U.S.-Armenia ties, defend Karabagh, and counter Armenia's enemies. So, during this very special time, please take a moment right now to share your blessings. We are currently planning our 2007 agenda - especially the Armenian Genocide Resolution. So I would like to know if

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we can count on your [secure on-line Christmas donation](#) of \$75, \$100, \$250 or even \$1,000 today.

Warmest wishes for a joyous Christmas and a happy New Year.

Ken Hachikian - Chairman

Chairman of the Armenian National Committee of America,

e-mail: <http://www.ancsf.org/pressreleases.htm> >

*Apparently, the New Year campaign had to be renewed, with another strong letter on July 10th, 2007:

< Pavev ,

Enemies of Armenian Genocide Recognition

Lobbyist Bob Livingston

Lobbyist Dick Gephardt

Turkish Foreign Minister Abdullah Gul

US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice

The choice is yours.

When Congress left for its July 4th break, a majority of the House of Representatives - 218 members - had cosponsored the Armenian Genocide Resolution.

This hard-fought milestone, I'm proud to say, was reached by devoted Armenians like you from across the country. As you'd expect, our success so far has raised alarms in Ankara and the State Department - and they are working overtime this week to kill our legislation.

So, with Congress returning to Washington in the next few hours, you're faced with a question - a question only you can answer.

Will you allow Turkey - and its high priced lobbyists like Bob Livingston and Dick Gephardt - to roll back our progress by calling you and me liars for telling the truth about our own history?

Will you let them strip away our supporters and block a Congressional majority from ever being able to cast their votes for the Armenian Genocide Resolution?

Or - with your **secure on-line donation**, will you save our majority, expand our circle of supporters, and ensure a victory on the House floor for this human rights legislation? The choice is in your hands:

To invest in the ANCA or to leave the fight to others and hope for the best.

You know in your heart the choice you want to make. Please invest in justice and a brighter future by sending your **secure on-line donation** right away.

With warmest regards,

Ken Hachikian - Chairman

P.S. You **can** tip the scales of power in favor of justice. Invest in the Armenian Cause by making a **secure on-line donation** right now. You'll be proud you did.>

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* But if you think that these donation calls (New Year 2007, July 10th, 2007 was enough, you are wrong ! Just before the 2008 New Year donation call will shortly come, there still is another call, which came out on Oct. 12th 2007, and below lines are from the latest letter, which will continue forever with new excuses to **make collections!**

-House Foreign Affairs Committee ...voted 27 to 21 to Approve the Armenian Genocide.

-We won this battle despite a **very visible public attack by President Bush!**

-We had power to stay strong because of the **secure on-line donations** sent by you and thousands of devoted and generous people like you!

-We are winning the battle in Congress and in the media – not because we have the most money like Turkey but because we have the truth(?) on our side.

- And just as importantly because we are **blessed with devoted caring**

Armenians like you...- with their secure on-line donations...

- **So right now please send \$100, \$500, \$1.000 or whatever you can afford!**

- Our opponents want to defeat us, but with your help, we will prevail!

With warmest regards

Ken Hachikian – Chairman

P.S. Your **secure on-line donation right now...**

In the light of above documentation and logical evaluation, it is the personal opinion of the writer, that behind all this **GENOCIDE tune and fanfare**, the true masters of this chess-play or orchestra, do not really want any consolation or forgetting one of the many dramas of the history (when more serious ones are taking place today), but they are after **MONEY, MORE MONEY** (to pay or buy out or embezzle) and the Church is in full support today, as it was in the past! Apparently, below Biblical teachings are totally ignored or reverted:

* “The love of money is the root of all kinds of evil for which some have strayed from the faith in their greediness and pierced themselves through with many sorrows”. (Timothy 6/10)

At the time this research was drafted, the misfortunate murder of Hrant Dink, who was the editor of the Turkish–Armenian weekly Agos occurred in downtown Istanbul in January, 2007. This unspeakable crime by a fanatic Turkish teenager provided new fresh impetus for Turk-haters. (Protestant) Hrant Dink was supported by the ANCA and frequently criticized the (Gregorian) Armenian Patriarchate in Turkey, which is highly praised by everyone, Turks of Armenian origin and all others. Mr. Dink was trying to pacify this old tune, stressing the importance of “today in harmony”, rather than the “hatred of the past”. His unexpected and shameful murder by a nationalist fanatic infuriated all Istanbul citizens, as excerpted hereunder:

“The Economist” Jan. 27th – Feb. 2nd, 2007

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Turkey and the Armenians – How to Honor Hrant - Jan 25th, 2007

..." But the public reaction to the murder, and the sight of 100,000 people walking through Istanbul to his funeral, affirmed one of the truths that Mr. Dink upheld. Whatever fiery nationalists of any sort might claim, Turkey has never been a country of angels who can do no serious wrong, nor a nation of demons from which nothing good can come. Any honest look at history's hardest questions must start from there.

The same thought must surely have occurred to some Armenians from other places, which went to Turkey, many for the first time, for this funeral. The fate of their forebears who endured death marches through Anatolia does not tell the whole story of relations between the Turks and the Armenians: the story has noble pages as well as black ones, and Mr. Dink believed that both should be read! He was right."

Unfortunately, the death of Dink and the sorrow demonstrated by such an unequalled crowd of mourners could not convey any positive change, in Diaspora's prejudice. Yet, several politicians exploited this incident to their own best interest!

(Note: A year after this murder, the Turkish Armenian Patriarch Mesrob II, was not let by diaspora, to speak at the U.S. University he was invited by! Same days, Armenian Patriarch Karekin II, prayed in the US Congress!)

"Beware of false prophets, who come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravenous wolves."

(Mathew 7/15)

The objective of this book is not to charge, challenge or defend any nation, race, faith or any factor of any kind of discrimination. I believe that it is not creed, or the color of one's skin, or nobility or passports that are "good or bad". It is human intelligence that is suppressed and channeled (or brainwashed) to serve certain objectives, to unite or separate people. Crime and punishment cannot be hereditary and similarly, laws cannot inspire the virtues of human values. Laws can only regulate, the 'permissible and illegal.' No punishment is ever possible for an act that was not considered a crime or sinful when committed!

However, when interests coerce around a certain cause (usually for benefit of the planners), society can become the tool, villain, victim or defender of such dictum and most of the time, without much freedom or right to speak up. The contents which you have probably read speaks for itself about the 'human deficiencies or bigotry or pity, but in general the wish to assist others, keeping the upper hand.' The examples you have read are too many, in the positive and negative directions. For sure you noted proof of those you thought to be 'great personalities', but in fact proved to be 'little people with great powers.' Millions have died and are still dying because of conflict of interests and those who exploit and 'sell these conflicts for personal gain.'

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The greatest crime is to charge and execute a person for a crime, which has not been trialed or legally proven! How a condemnation can be made by pure gossip and fabrications? This may be the greatest crime and sin of all! Is it hatred and grudge aimed to inspire joy and satisfaction? Or is it mean tools of deceit to "collect money"? Are we scared to use our wisdom? Would we not regret for being indifferent or unknowingly on the wrong side? Where are our human senses of compassion, love, peace and co-existence? Is it really the **bigotry or God, which so often sides with injustice!** And most important of all: **Who benefits from it?**

"It is the clear duty of men of science, and of all who value scientific knowledge, to protest against the new forms of persecution rather than to congratulate themselves complacently upon the decay of the older forms."

"The argument is that we none of us know all truth, that the discovery of new truth is promoted by free discussion and rendered very difficult by suppression, and that, in the long run, human welfare is increased by the discovery of truth and hindered by action based on error. New truth is often inconvenient to some vested interest; the Protestant doctrine that it is not necessary to fast on Fridays was vehemently resisted by Elizabethan fishmongers."

"New truth is often uncomfortable, especially to the holders of power; nevertheless, amid the long record of cruelty and bigotry, it is the most important achievement of our intelligent but wayward species."

(Religion and Science, Bertrand Russell, Oxford Univ. Press, New York 1997 p. 251-252-253)

Another very unfortunate development is the Acceptance of HS106, by U.S. House Foreign Affairs Committee, with ardent speeches against Turkey, without having listened to any opposite views! Another scandal of neutrality and logic was the invitation of the Armenian Patriarch Karakekin II, to offer his blessings in the House and later congratulation after the voting was done! I say "AMEN to such(?)!"

This is not a matter of 'praying to the unknown', but rather a matter of conscience and intelligence, involving sense of self-respect and honor. This research cannot offer any 'miraculous solutions' to such a worldwide hoax or swindle, kept aflame with grudges and hatred. If I could show and share it with you some authentic information that I believe to be true, this more than compensates all the trouble we have gone through in compiling this cornucopia of information!

Another courageous Armenian writer, for whom I developed great respect for his decency and compassion, unknowingly, just shared my above understanding, in his words "The world will be a better place the day we all stop projecting our worst instincts on an alien group and start examining our own conscience. There

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is an old saying: 'When you see a good man, emulate him. When you see a bad man, examine your heart.' "

The crux of the matter, dear readers, is that the 'bad men' always manage to exploit the benevolent sympathies and sacrifices of the 'good men,' and must maintain these kind of inhumane grudges in order to sustain their existence and living in comfort. Besides empty promises and hopes, can you trace anywhere the great benefits of the 'deprived and immigrating poor people of Armenia? There are about 70,000 Armenian citizens, working for a living in a country they were told, that is an "enemy of their race".

The recent inflammation of this old tune has *seriously raised discomfort among the Turkish- Armenian Community, as well as illegal visitors, who may be expelled any moment the Turkish Government wants*. Do you think that the fanfare singers really care for those Armenians in Turkey or in Armenia? Or isn't it that they really duplicate their richness by "cleverly manipulating money," an art they have always been the best at, and decent people like us have to provide honey for them, in hives we work hard to build and protect our families? The "treasure hunt expectations" of the Armenian Community of California is so high that they even had a law passed, whereby the "restitutions to come from Turkey will be exempt of taxation"!

"The Los Angeles Times" of February 1, 1990, wrote that a six year old Californian girl, Edna Petrosyan recited hateful poems on the insistence of her mother and that she was taught to say "It's better that I be a dog or cat, than a Turkish barbarian..."

Here is another example of hate perpetuation, often read in Armenian forums:

Title: STUPID TURK

"All you stupid Turks are nothing but phony, fake and scum of the earth! You think by wearing western outfits and suits make you European? You haven't created anything in your pathetic history. You are nothing but savage Mongols and Seljuks from Central Asia who have no place in E.U. And you will keep suffer in the international arena until you recognize the Armenian Genocide and pay your dues! - Proud Armenian"

I should like to conclude this research with a Turkish saying: "A village in sight needs no guide!"

And if we are still to speak of GENOCIDE, wouldn't it be TRUTH that was and is still being annihilated? Too bad for any US Congress member who may read this study which is my first and last one simply because I **wanted to be decent and fair, and no dupe or fool as prophesied by Reno Evening Gazette in 1915!** Some may truly regret for having thrown away TRUTH, for TRASH!

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NOTE: *I thought for a split moment to add a few excerpts of prominent historians, who have written well ahead of me, what their findings were, which perfectly fit the above, but I preferred to cut it short! In other words, the truth was already known long ago, but since such persons are called “denialists, state agents etc.”, I wonder what number plate they will put on me or on this totally private and personal research to reach the truth, which was there for over a century. I walked in the opposite direction, arriving to the very same TRUTH! I did it all alone, for truth seekers!*

ACKNOWLEDGMENT: I trust, my ‘truth-seeking-trek companions’ I never met, (Ara bey, Lara Kaplan, Seda Goulizar, Murat Urguplu, Mustafa Balkaya and Holdwater) will shortly, PREVAIL! What an irony, that I enjoy even now, “truth loving, unprejudiced, decent Armenians”!

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