

### MAP OF ARMENIA

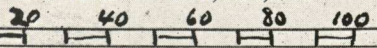
++++ WILSON ARMENIA  
Defined by Pres. Wilson

~~~~~ Pre-war boundary between Turkish  
and Russian Armenia.

Armenian Republic declared independ-  
ence May 28, 1928.

..... Soviet Republic of Armenia.

SCALE = 1:3,000,000



STATUTE MILES

ARMENIA  
AND  
THE ARMENIAN QUESTION

SIMON VRATZIAN

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## FOREWORD

No future peace can permanently be maintained unless the downfall of present day dictatorships is followed by the establishment of those factors which make peace enduring, foremost among which is the principle of the rights of national freedom and of self-determination.

This is the reason why the Atlantic Charter—the official expression of our war aims—gives first place to the national questions.

“They desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned.

“They respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.”

The Armenians are one of those peoples whose fatherland has been forcibly seized; consequently, they are a people who have been forcibly deprived of “sovereign rights and self-government.” After the present war of liberation, together with all other countries which have been deprived of their freedom, Armenia, too, expects the restoration of her bounda-

ries, her lost freedom and her sovereign right to take her place in the family of nations.

What the Armenian people want is nothing more nor less than what the Honorable Sumner Welles formulated in his Decoration Day speech of May 30, 1942:

"If this war is in fact a war for the liberation of peoples, it must assure the sovereign equality of peoples throughout the world as well as in the world of the Americas. Our victory must bring in its train the liberation of all peoples. Discriminations between peoples because of their race, creed, or color must be abolished. The age of imperialism is ended. The right of a people to their freedom must be recognized as the civilized world long since recognized the right of an individual to his personal freedom. The principles of the Atlantic Charter must be guaranteed to the world as a whole—in all oceans and in all continents."

This is a solemn promise which the great liberty-loving American Commonwealth gives to the world. This is also a source of hope and inspiration to all peoples who have been deprived of their freedom and who have been made a victim of injustice, as have been the Armenian people.

It is the aim of this booklet to show to the world to what injustices and what wrongs the Armenian people have been subjected, what a gallant fight they have waged and what heroic sacrifices they have made for their freedom, what promises they have received and what rights they have won which still remain unfulfilled, and what are their hopes and expectations from the present war and the coming peace. Its object is to remind those who shall determine the world's fate that the Armenian Question still remains unsolved, and that Armenia anxiously awaits the justice which is due her.

In presenting the picture of the Armenian Question from its beginnings to the present, we have endeavored to be objective, basing our contentions on facts and documentary evidence. The subject is extensive, and, naturally, could not be covered in detail within this limited space, but we believe that the essential points of the question have been presented quite thoroughly. Additional details, if wanted, may be obtained by consulting the bibliography found at the end of this work. If, within these limits, the desired aim has been attained, the author shall feel content.

I also feel it my duty to express my warm thanks to my young friends, James G. Mandalian and H. James Tashjian, the former for his translation into English of the present work from the Armenian original, and the latter for assisting Mr. Mandalian in checking up the translation and in the reading of the proofs.

SIMON VRATZIAN

June 1, 1943  
Boston, Mass.

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## *Armenia And The Armenian Question*





## CHAPTER I ARMENIA AND THE ARMENIANS

Armenia is one of the oldest historic lands of the Near East, situated among the Black, Caspian and Mediterranean seas, having for its center the biblical Mount Ararat.

The boundaries of Armenia are: Minor Caucasus and Pontus in the north, the Taurus range in the south, the present day Turco-Iranian boundary in the east, and the Euphrates River on the west. The political boundaries of Armenia have changed more than once as result of historical events.

Cluttered with towering mountains, bottomless canyons and spacious plains, Armenia has been a sort of gigantic fortress, which during the centuries, served as a bridge between the west and the east. Numerous nations have rolled over Armenia, both as conquerors and as traders. The Armenian plateau which dominates the Mediterranean and Black sea basins, as well as the steppes of Iran, has been one of the oldest and most active highways of commerce between the eastern countries and Europe. Armenia has also attracted much attention for her natural resources. Her fertile soil produces grains, cotton, tobacco, rice, grapes, and various kinds of fruits and cereals. Armenia has been famous for her horses, sheep, and cattle. Her dairying is highly developed. Armenia is rich in copper, salt, marble, lead, and even oil which has not as yet been developed.

Alfred C. Bedford, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Standard Company, in the Manchester Guardian's Commercial Supplement, July 6, 1920, wrote as follows:

"Next to the Mesopotamian oil fields it was the other vast Turkish oil region situated in the Armenian Vilayets of Erzerum, Van and Bitlis, which, naturally, attracted the keenest attention.

"Running parallel to the Mesopotamian oil region, which geographically is a continuation of the Southern Persian oil zone, the Armenian oil fields are a prolongation of the Northern Persian oil strata, which extends also to Baku. Like the latter, they cover a stretch of territory of about 220 miles, and the number of places found where oil is trickling to the surface is about the same in both regions.

"The Armenian oil fields are the last known virgin oil fields of importance near to Europe which remain undisposed of.

"Their proximity, though only theoretical until it is converted into reality by adequate transport, is a dominant factor in the question, and accounts much for its intrinsic importance.

"Another factor that seemingly is thoroughly appreciated by the interests concerned is the likelihood of the Armenian oil becoming a dangerous competitor of the Mesopotamian oil, should the two regions be controlled by antagonistic oil groups. For, while the main outlet for the oil produced in the Vilayet of Erzerum would be some Black Sea port, the oil in the Vilayets of Bitlis and Van, of which the latter is expected to become the principal center of production, would have over the Mesopotamian oil the advantage of a shorter distance to the Mediterranean."

Armenia's mountain streams and lakes are a repository of inexhaustible electric power which today

has been harnessed by the Republic of Armenia as the chief source of power in the country's industry. Armenia's electric power is the least costly in the entire Soviet Union. The latter fact accounts why the Soviet's largest synthetic rubber factory is established in Armenia.

Armenia has been inhabited by the Armenians since time immemorial. A member of the Indo-European group, the Armenians have been one of the oldest and foremost peoples of the Near East. The Armenian language belongs to the same family of languages which are spoken by the peoples of Europe. Armenia has a rich past and a highly developed culture, attested by the numerous historical monuments which have lasted to this day. The ruins of countless cities, fortresses, churches, monasteries, bridges, and waterways testify to the high degree of civilization the Armenian people had attained since centuries. The Armenian genius is especially reflected in architecture, which, at the time, influenced European building, and whose monuments are a source of universal admiration to this day.

In point of character and culture the Armenians are at once eastern and western. Although effected throughout centuries by the influence of both neighboring and remote civilizations, the Armenian has succeeded in evolving a unique individuality in all the branches of his national life and culture, having thus welded a distinct national character. The Armenians were the first people who officially accepted Christianity (301 A.D.) as their state religion, an institution which, as distinct and independent from all others, has lasted to this day as the oldest church in Christendom.

Henry Morgenthau, ex-United States Ambassador to Turkey, in his "Ambassador Morgenthau's Story,"

pages 281-289, gives the following characterization of the Armenian people:

"The Armenians of the present day are the direct descendants of the people who inhabited the country three thousand years ago. Their origin is so ancient that it is lost in fable and mystery. What is definitely known about the Armenians is that for ages they have constituted the most civilized and most industrious race in the eastern section of the Ottoman Empire. From their mountains they have spread over the Sultan's dominions, and form a considerable element in the population of all the large cities. Everywhere they are known for their industry, their intelligence, and their decent and orderly lives. They are so superior to the Turks intellectually and morally that much of the business and industry has passed into their hands. With the Greeks, the Armenians constitute the economic strength of the empire. This people became Christian in the fourth century and established the Armenian Church as their state religion. This is said to be the oldest Christian Church in existence.

"In face of persecutions which have had no parallel elsewhere these people have clung to their early Christian faith with the utmost tenacity. For fifteen hundred years they have lived there in Armenia, a little island of Christians surrounded by backward peoples of hostile religion and hostile race. Their long existence has been one unending martyrdom. The territory which they inhabit forms the connecting link between Europe and Asia, and all the Asiatic invasions—Saracens, Tartars, Mongols, Kurds, and Turks—have passed over their peaceful country. For centuries they have thus been the Belgium of the East. Through all this period the Armenians have regarded themselves not as Asiatic, but as Europeans. They speak

an Indo-European language, their racial origin is believed by scholars to be Aryan, and the fact that their religion is the religion of Europe has always made them turn their eyes westward. And out of that Western Country, they have always hoped, would come the deliverance that would rescue them from their murderous masters."

The history of Armenia is a long chain of rise and fall, of victories and of defeats, of national triumphs and of sufferings, all the way from the extensive empire of Tigranes the Great to the terrible massacres under Ghengiz Khans, Timurlanes, Abdul Hamids, and the Ittihad Turks. Accustomed to periods of independence lasting centuries, the Armenians have also known the oppressive yoke of the foreign ruler. Many times overrun by imperialist nations, subjugated, oppressed and despoiled, the Armenians have, however, risen again, rebuilt their country, and have zealously kept alive the fire of liberty.

As result of the invasions of imperialists, hundreds of thousands of Armenians were compelled to leave the fatherland and seek refuge in other lands such as Byzantium, Persia, the Balkans, Crimea, Poland, Hungary, Russia, India, America, Syria, Egypt, France, and other countries, where they settled as communities or colonies. Some of these colonies, as those in Byzantium, Poland, Hungary, Egypt, Rumania, and Russia, played an important role in the economic and political life of these countries. The Armenians gave to Byzantium many famous emperors, generals and statesmen, while, at a certain period, the history of the Byzantine Empire was actually a history of the Armenians. There was a time when Crimea was so Armenianized that it was called Armenia Maritima, as shown by the map.

In these colonies the Armenians kept a living

bond with the fatherland by preserving their national character, the mother tongue and their religion through their numerous cultural centers, such as the monasteries of Jerusalem, Venice and Vienna, with their famous schools, libraries, presses, and publications which to this day are an important factor in the life of the Armenians. They also founded many schools, libraries, theaters, presses, newspapers, periodicals, and other types of cultural institutions. Taking along with him his civilization and an initiative spirit, the Armenian forged for himself an honorable position wherever he migrated, contributed to the culture, the economy, the commerce, the trades and the arts of the harboring country, and gave her many noted public leaders.

The most outstanding characteristic of the Armenian people has been their boundless love, devotion and faith in the fatherland and in their national culture, having rallied themselves, after each loss of independence, around the national church whose supreme head is the Catholicos of all Armenians, at the monastery of Etchmiadzin near Yerevan, a shrine analogous to the Catholics' Vatican. They have shown the same loyalty and devotion to the sheltering countries which they have adopted as their new fatherland.

The last time the Armenians lost their independence was in 1375 when their king, Levon V, was defeated by the Mamelukes and was taken to Egypt as captive. For several centuries after this event, Armenia was the arena of Mongul and Turcoman invasions and Turco-Persian wars, until, in the 17th century, it was partitioned between Turkey and Persia, a status which continued until the beginning of the 19th century. As result of the Russo-Persian war of 1828 and the Russo-Turkish war of 1829, a part of

Armenia lying to the north of the Araxes River came under Russian rule, and with the Russian annexation of the Kars and Ardahan regions following the Russo-Turkish war of 1878, Armenia was finally partitioned into what was known as Turkish-Armenia and Russian-Armenia.

Under the comparatively tolerable Russian rule, the Russian Armenians fast rebuilt their country, multiplied in numbers, and even succeeded in establishing an enviable position for themselves, culturally and economically. The Armenians of Turkish Armenia shared, however, a far more grim fate, resulting, eventually, in the creation of the Armenian Question which has long disturbed the conscience of mankind, busied international diplomacy, and which to this day remains unsolved.



## CHAPTER II THE ARMENIAN QUESTION

After the loss of their independence, the Armenians never ceased to dream of freedom, and, in the course of centuries, they made numerous attempts to retrieve it either through the aid of the Christian powers of Europe or through their own efforts.

The effort to enlist Christian Europe's intervention was inaugurated during the latter part of the 17th century when a delegation, headed by the Armenian Catholicos, James IV, left for Europe to intercede with the powers for the restoration of the Armenian kingdom. After the death of the Catholicos, his work was continued by a member of his delegation named Israel Ori, who made similar appeals and received pledges of support from European kings and from the Russian Emperor, Peter the Great. The latter went as far as to organize an invasion of Caucasus; but driven by the turn of events, he withdrew his army from before the gates of Derbend in 1723, concluded a treaty of peace with the Persians and the Turks, and advised the Armenians to immigrate and to settle in the newly-conquered steppes of Russia. In the beginning of the 18th century, the Armenians themselves, under the leadership of a Melik of Karabagh, named David Beg, took up arms, and, after fierce battles, succeeded in establishing an independent state within the regions of Karabagh and Zangezour; but this, too, was of short duration (1722-1730).

Armenian struggles for emancipation, under the circumstances, were doomed. The only Christian people in a sea of Islam, having for their co-religionists and brothers only the Georgians, with whom they had maintained friendly relations over centuries, the Armenians were compelled to continue a slave life under Islam rule.

The condition of the Armenians took a sudden turn during the first half of the nineteenth century as the great powers were at sharp variance, on the question of the Ottoman Empire, leading to the beginning of the emancipatory struggle of the Balkan peoples. The treaty of Adrianople in 1829 and the treaty of Paris in 1856 made the protection of the Christian peoples of Turkey an international issue, as result of which the Sultan's policy toward his Christian subjects became even more insufferable. This anti-Christian policy was applied especially within the interior of Asia Minor where European vigilance could not penetrate.

In time, the condition of Christians in Turkey became positively insupportable. Christians were not equals with the Moslems before the law; their testimony against a Moslem was not admissible in courts of law; they were not permitted to carry arms for self defense, though Moslems were armed from head to foot. Barred from the army, they were subject to a special oppressive tax designed to purchase their release from service. In addition to these, the Christians paid a number of special taxes from which the Moslems were exempt. The state law did not defend the Christian's life, his honor nor his property. The Christian was outside the pale of the law in Turkey. He was a "rayah," an outcast.

"The rayahs," wrote Moltke, "are taxed here throughout more than the Moslems, and the true

ground for complaint lies above all not in that the taxes are high, but that they are arbitrary." And indeed this arbitrary system for the Christians was a source of many exploitations and injustices.

The condition of the Armenians became especially insufferable in the latter half of the nineteenth century as result of the Balkan revolt and the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78. The government intensified its enmity to the Armenians despite the latter's manifest strict loyalty and whole-hearted participation in the defense effort. In a number of regions Armenian homes were looted and the people were massacred by Turkish mobs. The famous market place of the city of Van was given to the flames. The government openly goaded the fanatical Islam mob and the Kurdish tribes against the Armenians with a view to reducing their numbers and converting them to only a minority where they had been majorities in Armenia.

Under the circumstances, the Armenians were compelled to appeal for their protection to the Russian army which was now at the gates of Constantinople. In the ensuing Treaty of San Stefano which was signed on March 3, 1878, article 16, which pertained to the Armenians, provided:

"As the evacuation by the Russian troops of the territory which they occupy in Armenia, and which is to be restored to Turkey, might give rise to conflicts and complications detrimental to the maintenance of good relations between the two countries, the Sublime Porte engages to carry into effect, without further delay, the improvements and reforms demanded by local requirements in the provinces inhabited by the Armenians, and to guarantee their security against the Kurds and Circassians."

The Treaty of San Stefano was not, however, ratified as result of disagreements arising between the

powers which were interested in Turkey, principally Britain and Russia. Thus the final settlement of the Turkish war was, at the demand of the British government, relegated to the Congress of Berlin which convened on June 13, 1878. Meanwhile, England signed a secret treaty with Turkey whereby the latter ceded to her the Island of Cyprus in return for her support against Russia, and the Sultan promised "to introduce necessary reforms for the protection of the Christian and other subjects of the Ports."

The Armenians of Turkey also made their appeal to the Congress of Berlin. The Armenian National Assembly of Constantinople, presided over by Patriarch Nerses Varjabedian, sent a special delegation, headed by former Patriarch Mgrdich Archbishop Khrimian, to Berlin in order to inform the Congress of Armenian aspirations. The Armenians demanded autonomy for the six Armenian vilayets of Turkey, on the Lebanese model of 1860, under European control. But, in Berlin, the Armenian question served only as an apple of contention among the powers competing for supremacy in Turkey, with the result that not only the plan of Armenian reforms was ignored, but the 16th article of the San Stefano Treaty was reversed in such a way as to enable the Sultan in the future to avoid his promised reforms and to continue his policy of annihilation of the Armenians.

On July 13, 1878, the Congress of Berlin signed a new treaty replacing the Treaty of San Stefano and relegating article 16 of that treaty to article 61 which read:

"The Sublime Porte engages to realize without further delay, the ameliorations and reforms demanded by local requirements in the provinces inhabited by the Armenians and to guarantee their security against the Kurds and Circassians. She will periodi-

cally render account of the measures taken with this intent to the Powers who will supervise them."

This action of the Congress of Berlin was a bitter disappointment for the Armenians. Patriarch Nerses, through his delegates, lodged a formal protest before the representatives of the participant powers of the Berlin Congress which, among other things, said:

"The Armenian delegation will return to the East carrying with it the lesson that without struggle and without insurrection nothing can be obtained. Nevertheless the delegation will never cease addressing petitions until Europe has satisfied its just claims."

Article 61 was considered by the Armenians as a distinct achievement, as seen in the following words of Patriarch Nerses in his report before the Armenian National Assembly: "If there is anything regrettable about it, it is simply this—that it postpones the solution of the Armenian Question, but it does not put an end to our hopes."

With the Treaty of Berlin, the Armenian Question became an international issue and a springboard for future advancements. The Sultan was now committed to introduce reforms in the Armenian vilayets of the Empire, while the great powers undertook its supervision. The Armenian Question, meanwhile, became an apple of contention among the great powers which were competing around the Ottoman Empire.

### CHAPTER III

## REFORMS AND MASSACRES

As in the case of all former commitments, so the promises of the Treaty of Berlin were never carried out by the Sultan, and, with the interventions of European powers, there opened before the Armenian people a period of persecution and suffering which became intensified as time went on.

With the emancipation of Bulgaria, there was now left only one Christian people under the Ottoman rule without its freedom—the Armenians. Fearing that like Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria, the territory of Armenia would also be lost, Sultan Abdul Hamid now resorted to the grim policy of annihilating the Armenians. Consequently, special severe laws and administrative measures were set in motion one after another with a view to draining Armenia of Armenians by a methodical process of decimation, thus to put an end to the Armenian Question within the borders of the Ottoman Empire. The Armenian National Assembly was adjourned, and the Patriarch was shorn of his prerogatives. Then followed the arbitrary closing up of all important Armenian educational, cultural and charitable institutions. A severe censorship was decreed against the Armenian press. Armenian travel from state to state and to the capital was first placed under strict surveillance and was absolutely forbidden soon after. In the Armenian vilayets of the empire were formed Kurdish Hamidieh bands who were li-

censed by the government to raid and loot the Armenians. Then followed an orgy of local raids, pillages and massacres. In places, the Armenians were forcibly ejected from their villages and their homes and lands were given over to Moslem newcomers from the Caucasus and the Balkans. Factually, the Armenians were outside of the pale of the law. It was an infernal situation for the Armenians whose cries of suffering and of martyrdom found broad echoes in the European press.

Immediately after the Congress of Berlin, the British Government entered into negotiations, endeavoring to persuade the Sultan to introduce elementary reforms in Asiatic Turkey; but these produced no tangible results. England's conservative government was reluctant to resort to forcible measures against "our old ally, Turkey," while on the other hand, it was impossible to hope that the Sultan would allay his policy toward the Armenians without pressure. The only result of these negotiations was that the English consuls in Turkey collected ponderous data concerning Armenian sufferings, which they communicated to London and which were published later in the British **Blue Books** and the press.

In April, 1880, Gladstone's "Armenophile government" succeeded Beaconsfield's "Turcophile government," and immediately took up the Armenian question; but again the results were no different. On September 7, 1880, at the behest of the British Government, the ambassadors of the signatory powers of the Treaty of Berlin at Constantinople presented to the Sublime Porte a collective note in which they urged: "It is absolutely necessary to carry out, without loss of time, the reforms intended to secure the life and property of the Armenians; to take immediate measures against the incursions of the Kurds."

This joint demand also deserved no better fate than its many predecessors. Through various objections and political trickery, the Sultan refused to carry out the demanded reforms; and the Powers, unable to agree upon the measures to be taken, gave the matter up for the time being.

On the other hand, Armenian oppressions continued uninterruptedly. The bloody massacre of Sasoun in July, 1894, drew general indignation in Europe against Abdul Hamid, the "Red Beast," as Gladstone called him. Under the ensuing pressure of public opinion, in May, 1895, the ambassadors of Great Britain, France and Russia presented to the Turkish Government a new plan for Armenian reforms.

The Sultan's reply to the "May Reforms" was a general order to massacre the Armenians of the empire, from Constantinople to the remotest village. In the ensuing organized raids, 300,000 Armenians were slaughtered at the hands of the Moslem mob, together with the participation of regular armed troops. The civilized world was ostensibly shocked at the Red Sultan's atrocities; still European Diplomacy, which demanded the reforms, did nothing beyond complacently watching and penning some paper notes.

This state of affairs continued until the proclamation of the Ottoman Constitution in 1908 when, for a moment, hopes of Armenian freedom revived anew; but it soon became apparent that the policy of New Turkey toward her Christian peoples in no way differed from that of Abdul Hamid, and as Armenian sufferings and protests became insistent, once again European diplomacy took up the Armenian Question. After lengthy negotiations, on January 26, 1914, a new plan of Armenian reforms was signed between Russian and Turkish representatives, which divided



the six Armenian vilayets, added by the state of Trebizond, into two regions each under European general inspectors, appointed with the consent of the Turkish Government. These Inspectors would have jurisdiction over the two regions' administration, justice, education, land questions, policing and garrisoning. They were authorized to introduce internal reforms, and to watch over the internal peace and the unmolested development of the people of the two regions. In other words, Armenia would have the same administrative system which had been instituted in Lebanon.

All these plans were doomed, however, even from the beginning. With the outbreak of the first world war, the Turkish Government, taking advantage of the occasion, suspended the question of Armenian reforms, taking instead even more dire measures against the Armenians.

## CHAPTER IV THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT AND POLITICAL PARTIES

The incessant oppressions and massacres on the one hand, and the false promises, the impotence and indifference of European diplomacy on the other, finally drove the Armenians to revolution. The Armenian people, after repeated disappointments and sufferings, became convinced that, what had been impossible to obtain through peaceful means, either through the willingness of the Ottoman government or through the cooperation of European powers, must be achieved by their own power. We have already seen in what mood the Armenian Delegation left the Congress of Berlin. . . . "Without struggle and without insurrection nothing can be obtained." Upon his return from the Congress, the head of the Armenian Delegation, Mgrdich Archbishop Khrimian, rang out his message in his sermon at the Armenian Cathedral of Constantinople, that without arms there would be no salvation for the Armenian people. The example of the Balkan states was still fresh. Greece, Serbia, Rumania and Bulgaria had insured the aid of the civilized world and had achieved their freedom only after they had resorted to bloody revolutionary struggles.

The first Armenian revolutionary organization, called **Defenders of the Fatherland**, was born in 1880 in Garin (Erzerum), as result of a voluntary popular movement. These were common artisans, business-

men and peasants whose aim was to organize the self-defense of the Armenian people and to pursue the solution of the Armenian Question through the introduction of reforms in Armenia. This organization had a brief life of two years. In 1882, seventy-six of its members were arrested by the Turkish Government and one year later were brought to trial. This was the first Armenian political trial in Turkey and greatly stirred the Armenians. The trial ended in the sentence of the ringleaders of the organization to five to fifteen years' imprisonment.

A few years later, in 1885, in the city of Van was founded the second Armenian political organization under the name of **Armenakan**. This organization aimed to prepare the Armenian people for the forthcoming revolutionary struggle through cultural and political development, and by organizing the forces of self-defense and militant fight. But the Armenakans also, like their predecessors, neither expanded nor lasted beyond a mere local organization, with this exception that they contributed in a measure to the extension of the revolutionary idea among the Armenians.

A third Armenian political organization, with a more radical plan and a revolutionary mode of activity, the **Hunchagian Party**, came into existence in 1887. It was the aim of this party to free the Armenians of the Russian and Turkish yoke and to found an Armenian independent socialist republic, a political plan which was largely inspired by the ideas of Russian and German social democrats. To achieve this aim, it organized committees in Turkey and in various Armenian communities abroad, formed militant bands and organized popular demonstrations in Constantinople and in the provinces, thus endeavoring to interest and to invite the intervention of the great

powers. But these demonstrations also failed to show any effective results. Europe remained unmoved, while the Sultan continued his policy of massacres.

The Hunchagian Party continued a steady growth among Armenian centers until 1896, when an internal disruption broke it into various antagonistic factions, resulting in the complete loss of its former charm and influence over Armenians. Its principal contribution to the Armenian emancipatory movement was its role in promoting the revolutionary consciousness and organized resistance. Its chief cause of failure was its radical socialism, for which the Armenian setting was not as yet ready.

In addition to the Armenakans and the Hunchagians, there sprung up at this time, in various parts of Armenia, numerous other revolutionary groups which pursued the same end, namely the emancipation of the Armenian people.

The party which was destined to be the true interpreter of Armenian political aspirations and the leader of the emancipatory movement was the **ARMENIAN REVOLUTIONARY FEDERATION — DASHNAKTZOUTUN**, founded in the summer of 1890. It was the aim of the founders of the Federation to amalgamate all existing revolutionary units into one national organization whose chief mission would be the constant prosecution of the solution of the Armenian question through revolutionary and diplomatic activities; hence the name Federation.

In the course of time, the Federation's purpose was realized to a large extent, in spite of the fact that the Hunchagian and Armenakan factions continued for some time to drag an isolated existence. Scores of revolutionary groups and hundreds of individuals rallied around the Federation's banner, and

this organization eventually became the most popular political organization among the Armenians.

While the Federation's political plan in time underwent many changes, the organization steadily expanded its range of activity, and it has remained the strongest political organization among the Armenians ever since.

The Federation's original plan of 1892 was worded as follows: "The future democratic government of free Armenia, serving the interests of the general public, shall of course be established by the vote of all adults, based on the principle of a free and non-discriminative electorate; this principle of free election is later to be extended from the central government to the peasant of the remotest vilayet.

"Provision for strictest measures for security of life and labor.

"Equality of all nationalities and creeds before the law.

"Freedom of speech, press and public assembly.

"The distribution of land, and the guarantee to avail of the possibilities of land for those who have not."

By "Free Armenia" the Federation meant a broad self-rule for Turkish Armenia, with a democratic administration, in which racial discrimination would be barred, and all peoples would enjoy equal rights before the law.

When, in 1903, the Tsarist Government arbitrarily seized the estates of the Armenian churches and schools, closed up all Armenian schools and took general dire measures with a view to hastening the Russification of the Armenians, the Federation also extended its activity into Russian Armenia. It also joined zealously in the Russian revolutionary movement, and, after the promulgation of the Russian

Constitution in October of 1905, which created the Russian National Assembly, the Duma, the overwhelming majority of the Armenians cast their votes for the Federation to represent them in that body.

As result of this development, the Federation's political plan was revised to meet the new conditions. In its Fourth General Congress of 1907, the party's revised plan was formulated as follows:

### TURKISH ARMENIA

1. Turkish Armenia forms an inseparable part of the Ottoman constitutional state, based on broad local self-rule.

2. Turkish Armenia, like all other Turkish regions, as a part of the Ottoman Federative state, shall enjoy internal freedom. All Armenian regions and communities shall likewise enjoy autonomy in all internal affairs.

3. In Turkish Armenia, all legislative-administrative bodies in central or remote regions shall be elected on the principle of universal, equal, secret, direct, and proportionate ballot, without distinction of race, creed or sex.

### RUSSIAN ARMENIA

1. The Transcaucasian Republic shall form an inseparable part of the Russian Federated Republic, subject to her in all matters of national defense, monetary system, tariff, and foreign policy.

2. In all her internal affairs, the Transcaucasian Republic shall be independent, shall have its National Assembly elected by universal, equal, direct, secret, and proportionate ballot. Any Transcaucasian over twenty years of age shall have the right to vote, without distinction of sex.

3. Transcaucasia shall send her representatives

to the National Assembly of Federated Russia, elected on the above-mentioned principle.

4. The Transcaucasian Republic shall be divided into cantons enjoying broad local autonomy. Communities shall likewise enjoy autonomy in all purely communal affairs.

5. In determining the boundaries of the cantons, it is important to take into account the ethnography, the geography and the cultural characteristics of the inhabitants, in order to make the administrative units as homogeneous as possible.

These are followed by general provisions, such as freedom of speech, of press, of conscience, of public assembly and organization, compulsory education, land and economic reforms in favor of the workingmen, and the like.

In the Turkish Revolution of 1908, which overthrew the despotic rule of Sultan Abdul Hamid and introduced constitutional order in Turkey, the Federation was an active participant in the efforts of the Young Turks and other opposition elements of the Ottoman Empire, and, after the proclamation of the Turkish Constitution, it terminated its revolutionary activity, and, together with other Constitutionalist organizations, it devoted its entire energies to the reforms of the Ottoman fatherland. The larger number of the Armenian delegates to the Ottoman Parliament were members of the Federation. In the federal and public life of Turkey, Armenians were largely represented by the Federation. The Armenians were sincerely devoted to the new order, and they were trying, at all cost, to put the constitutional order on a firm footing because in it only could they see their national safety and prosperity.

To the great misfortune of the Armenians, the Young Turks, under the banner of the Ittihad Party,

soon abandoned the spirit of the revolution and gradually reverted to the policy of Abdul Hamid, espousing Pan-Turanism instead of the former Pan-Islamism as their favorite means of assimilating the non-Islam elements of the Empire. Measures of oppression were also taken against the Armenians, which did not stop even at massacre. In 1909, the Armenian population of Adana were attacked by an armed Turkish mob and 30,000 innocent people were slaughtered before the eyes of the military and government officials while the criminals went scot free. Conditions were aggravated particularly in the interior of Armenia where the policy of draining Armenia of Armenians continued unchanged.

Under the circumstances, the Federation's attitude changed to one of opposition toward the government, meanwhile remaining loyal to the Ottoman State and the Constitutional order.

When, in 1918, as result of the first world war, the Independent Republic of Armenia was created, in its Ninth General Congress of 1919, the Federation again revised its political platform to wit:

1. Armenia shall be a democratic independent republic, embodying all former Russian-Armenian and Turkish-Armenian territories.

2. The basic laws of the democratic republic of United and Independent Armenia shall be determined by the Legislative Assembly of Armenia, elected by universal, equal, direct, secret, and proportionate suffrage.

3. These basic principles must guarantee the freedoms of speech, of press, of conscience, and of public assembly and people's unions, equality of nationalities and of religious communities, the removal of all class privileges, universal compulsory education, and free trial, and like progressive steps.



This detailed information concerning the Armenian Revolutionary Federation is recorded especially because this party is the largest and most influential organization among the Armenians, has played a leading role in their national life of the past, and to this day continues to enjoy the same influence and charm in the eyes of the majority of Armenians.

## CHAPTER V

### WAR, DEPORTATION AND MASSACRE

From the very beginning of the First World War the Turkish Government took its stand, as an ally of Germany, against the Allied Powers. Behaeddin Shakir and Naji Bey, full-powered representatives of Ittihad, the government party, submitted to the Federation proposals intended to secure the participation of all Armenians in the war against Russia. According to their proposals, the Russian-Armenians, in cooperation with the Georgians, the Azeris and the Caucasian mountaineers, were to cooperate with the Turkish army by inciting an insurrection on the flank of the Russian army, promising, in return, an autonomous Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan, under the protectorate of Turkey.

The Turkish Government's formal offer was presented to the Armenian Revolutionary Federation in its General Congress of July, 1914, in Garin (Erzerum), which, after a general survey of the war situation, had already passed the following resolution:

1. "To preserve Turkey's neutrality at all cost, convinced that, in case of an Allied victory, the break-up of the Ottoman Empire was inevitable.

2. "If, on the other hand, Turkey insisted on joining the war, to advise the Armenians everywhere to fulfill their citizen's duty."

Similar instructions were also issued by the Armenian Patriarchate of Turkey.

The Federation's representatives replied to the eight delegates of Ittihad in this sense while exerting every effort to persuade the Turks to keep out of the war, who, however, remained unshakable in their resolution and, soon afterward, joined the war as allies of the Central Powers.

The war made the condition of the Armenians even worse. From the very beginning, the Turkish government took a hostile stand against them, in spite of the fact that Armenians loyally fulfilled all their citizenship duties, supported the Turkish war effort whole heartedly, and gave demonstrations of valor on the battle field. Immediately upon Turkey's entry into the war, the Armenian population of bordering regions was deported into the interior of Anatolia. It should be noted that these deportations were carried out in the most ferocious Turkish fashion. Armenians were robbed wholly of their real estates, their portable furniture and cattle, while the huddled multitude, under escort of organized bandit bands, largely on foot, and in the blinding cold of the winter, were driven to certain death. Armenian churches, schools, and public institutions were seized and converted into hospitals, barracks or military depots. The Armenian soldiers were gradually withdrawn from the active army, were disarmed, and were placed in so-called labor detachments. In the ensuing persecution of Armenian intellectuals and clergy, many were imprisoned and many others were murdered outright. The Armenian population everywhere was disarmed and wholly deprived of all means of self-defense. In a word, the entire Armenian population of Turkey was placed outside the protection of the law.

It is obvious that the Turkish government was resolved to take advantage of the war in realizing the old policy of annihilation of the Armenians, and, in

order to justify this criminal aim before the outside world, it invented artificial rumors of Armenian disloyalty or treasonable acts. However, as historical facts have proven, the Armenians of Turkey did not commit a single act of disloyalty during the entire course of the war.

In the spring of 1915, during the hottest period of the war, when Turkey was entirely cut off from the outside world and no power could exert any influence upon her, the Turkish government at last ventured upon the execution of the policy of mass annihilation of the Armenians. On April 24, 1915, the Armenian intellectuals and national leaders of Constantinople and the provinces were arrested wholesale and were exiled to the interior of Anatolia, where they perished, either on the way or upon arrival at their destinations. Thereupon, after the civilian population was disarmed, the males were drafted into the army, the villages and towns were placed under military custody, all communications were cut off, and the helpless victims were subjected to a systematic deportation and massacre at the hands of the regular army, the police and armed irregulars.

In this manner, deportation of whole Armenian villages and towns followed one after another. Nearly two million Armenian men, women and children were forcibly ejected from their homes, and, amid indescribable sufferings, were driven to the deserts of Syria. The greater number of the males were brutally murdered on the way, and the beautiful women were attacked or seized for a life in the harem, and the children were Islamized. The remaining survivors were subjected to untold misery and suffering in the deserts of Der-el-Zor on their way to their destination. Of the deported population, wholly half perished on the way by outright slaughter, famine and disease,

or because of the insufferable desert life. The entire property of the Armenians was either seized by the government, or was looted by the mob or by highway bandits.

Incalculable stores of cultural and material wealth were doomed to destruction, and an entire civilized Christian people were crucified and martyred most brutally. In all of this, voices of protest and indignation were raised only by the Pope of Rome and the American Government through its Ambassador, Mr. Morgenthau; but even their intervention was scorned by the Turkish Government.

Ambassador Henry Morgenthau, the courageous and noble representative of the American people, who was in Constantinople at the time and was intimately acquainted with Turkish internal affairs, gives the following authentic testimony in regard to Turkish barbarities:

"The conditions of the war gave to the Turkish Government its longed-for opportunity to lay hold of the Armenians. At the very beginning they sent for some of the Armenian leaders and notified them that, if any Armenians should render the slightest assistance to the Russians when they invaded Turkey, they would not stop to investigate, but would punish the entire race for it. During the spring of 1914 they evolved their plan to destroy the Armenian race. They criticised their ancestors for neglecting to destroy or convert the Christian races to Mohammedanism at the time when they first subjugated them. Now, as four of the Great Powers were at war with them and the two others were their allies, they thought the time opportune to make good the oversight of their ancestors in the fifteenth century. They concluded that, once they had carried out their plan, the Great Powers would find themselves before an

accomplished fact and that their crime would be condoned, as was once the case in the massacres of 1895-96, when the Great Powers did not even reprimand the Sultan.

"They had drafted the able-bodied Armenians into the army, without, however, giving them arms; they used them simply to build roads or to similar menial work. Then, under pretext of searching the houses for arms, they pillaged the belongings of the villagers. They requisitioned for the use of their army all that they could get from the Armenians, without paying for it. They asked them to make exorbitant contributions for the benefit of the National Defense Committee.

"The first and worst measure used against the Armenians was the wholesale deportation of the entire population from their homes and their exile to the desert, with all the accompanying horrors on the way. No means were provided for their transportation or nourishment. The victims, who included educated men and women of standing, had to walk on foot, exposed to the attacks of bands of criminals, especially organized for that purpose. Homes were literally uprooted; families were separated; men killed, women and girls violated daily on the way or taken to harems. Children were thrown into the rivers or sold to strangers by their mothers to save them from starvation. **THE FACTS CONTAINED IN THE REPORTS RECEIVED AT THE EMBASSY FROM ABSOLUTELY TRUSTWORTHY EYE-WITNESSES SURPASS THE MOST BEASTLY AND DIABOLICAL CRUELTIES EVER BEFORE PERPETRATED AS IMAGINED IN THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD.**

"The Turkish authorities had stopped all communication between the provinces and the capital in the naive belief that they could consummate their

crime of ages before the outside world could hear of it. But the information filtered through the Consuls, missionaries, foreign travelers and even Turks. We soon learned that orders had been issued to the governors of the provinces to send into exile the entire Armenian population in their jurisdictions, irrespective of age and sex. The local officers, with a few exceptions, carried out literally their instructions. All the able-bodied men had either been drafted into the army or disarmed. The remaining people, old men, women and children, were subjected to the most cruel and outrageous treatment.

"I took occasion, in order that the facts might be accurately recorded, to have careful records kept of the statements which were made to me by eye-witnesses of the measures. These statements included the reports of refugees of all sorts, of Christian missionaries and other witnesses. Taken together, they form an account of certain phases of the great massacre which cannot be questioned and which condemns the brutal assassins of their race before all the world."\*

The Armenian massacres have been presented more extensively, together with numerous official documents and testimonies of eye-witnesses, in Viscount Bryce's *The Treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, 1915-1916*, and in Dr. Johannes Lepsius's *Deutschland Und Armenien, 1914-1918*.

In view of these atrocities, unprecedented in history, the governments of the Great Allied Powers solemnly warned the Turkish leaders that, after the war, they would be held personally responsible, and that the guilty would be punished. The war ended and the victorious powers, however, not only failed to

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\*Henry Morgenthau, *The Tragedy of Armenia*, 1918, London.

punish the criminals, but, in the end, signed treaties of friendship with them; and today these same criminals and their accessories are hailed as "knights" and as the defenders of civilization and of democracy.

What the Allies shirked doing, the Armenians did with their own hands, at least partly. The authors of the Armenian massacres fell one after another under avenging Armenian bullets. It only remained to the civilized world to justify this most natural outburst of human revenge, and there was not one court of law which dared condemn their act.



## CHAPTER VI EVENTS IN TRANSCAUCASIA

As the Armenians in Turkey were being subjected to a systematic decimation by unexampled atrocities, on the other side of the border Russian Armenians, filled with a patriotic zeal, adhered to the Allied Cause, convinced that an Allied victory would also insure the freedom of Armenia.

During the first days of the war, in Tiflis, there was organized an Armenian National Bureau, which represented all the Armenian factions in Russia, under the presidency of Mesrob Archbishop Movsesian, Prelate of Tiflis Armenians. The Bureau included a number of distinguished Armenians such as Alexander Khatissian, Mayor of Tiflis, the famous poet Hovanness Toumanian, M. Babachanian, member of the Russian Duma, the noted public worker Dr. H. Zavrian, the famous historian, Leo Babakhanian, and others.

This Bureau, with the consent of the Russian Government, laid the foundation of an Armenian volunteer movement, and accordingly, seven volunteer bands were organized under the leadership of such noted Armenian soldiers as Andranig, Keri, Dro, Hamazasp, Vardan, Prince Arghoutian, and Col. Janpoladian. During the war, these bands represented more than 10,000 volunteers from Russia, the Balkans, United States, and other countries, many of whom gave their lives on the battlefield. The Armenian volunteer bands fulfilled their duty splendidly and

rendered valuable services to the Russian and Allied armies.

In 1918, October 3, Lord Robert Cecil praised the services of the Armenians in the war with the following words:

"In the beginning of the war, the Russian Armenians organized volunteer forces, which bore the brunt of some of the heaviest fighting in the Caucasian campaign. After the Russian Army's breakdown last year, the Armenians took over the Caucasian front, fought the Turks for five months, and thus rendered very important service to the British Army in Mesopotamia. They served alike in the British, French and American armies, and have borne their part in General Allenby's victory in Palestine. The service rendered by the Armenians to the common Cause can never be forgotten."

In appreciation of these Armenian services rendered, the Russian Government, through Count E. Vorontzov-Dashgov, Viceroy of Caucasia, promised the Armenians an autonomous Armenia under Russian protectorate after the war. This promise was reiterated to the Armenian Catholicos, Gevorg V, by Tsar Nicholas II in his official visit in October, 1914, in Tiflis. The Tsar gave his word of honor that Armenia would be an autonomous state after the war.

Under similar assurances, in 1915, volunteer bands were organized on the Allied eastern fronts, in Palestine and Syria, under the sponsorship of the Armenian National Delegation whose president was the famous Armenian patriot, Boghos Pasha Nubar, the plenipotentiary of the Armenian Catholicos in Europe.

These Armenian volunteer bands, which fought first under the name of the Eastern Legion and later under the name of the Armenian Legion, took active

part in the battles of Palestine, Syria and Cilicia, drawing the high praise of the Supreme Command.

As declared by France's Premier Briand on December 24, in the Chamber of Deputies, the Armenian Legion was organized on the following stipulations:

1. That the formation of the Legion of the Orient had for its principal objects to enable the Armenians to contribute toward the liberation of Cilicia, and to furnish additional rights upon which to base the realization of their national aspirations.

2. That said Legion was to fight the Turks, and in Cilicia only.

3. That the Armenian Legion would constitute in the future the nucleus of the Armenian army in Cilicia.

After Turkey's debacle in Palestine, General Allenby telegraphed the President of the Armenian National Delegation: "I am proud to have Armenian contingents under my command. They fought brilliantly and took a leading part in the victory."

Solemn promises of a free Armenia after the war in return for their services rendered were also made to the Armenians by the Allied Governments through Boghos Pasha Nubar.

But the volunteer bands were only a small part of Armenian participation in the war. 250,000 Armenian regulars served in the Russian army alone. In addition, the Armenians made huge material sacrifices for the Allied victory. All these sacrifices, however, proved in vain, and future events brought only bitter disillusionment to the Armenians. In the spring of 1916, France, Great Britain and Russia signed a secret treaty in which all former promises to the Armenians were ignored. According to that treaty, a part of Armenia including the vilayets of Van, Bitlis, Erzerum, and Trebizond, were to be annexed to Russia after the war, while Cilicia, as far as Harpoot, was

to go to France. There was nothing whatsoever said about an autonomous Armenia.

And while, even after this secret treaty, the Allies kept up their friendly relations and lavish promises to the Armenians, the policy of Russia underwent a complete transformation. The volunteer bands were dissolved, the Armenian National Bureau was closed up, and the Armenian people again became an undesirable element in the eyes of the Tsarist Government.

On June 16, 1916, the Russian Government passed a law according to which the occupied vilayets of Turkish Armenia were to become a permanent part of Russia, to be appropriated for Russian newcomer settlers under the administrative form called "Euphratian Kozaks." Moreover, as if in mockery of former pledges, Foreign Minister Sazanoff gallantly promised the Armenian inhabitants of the vilayets in question "ecclesiastical and educational autonomy."

There is no doubt that, had the Tsarist Government emerged victorious, the plan of partitioning Armenia would have become a reality. The plan of Armenia's seizure, along with a number of other Tsarist imperialistic plans, came to naught, however, with the February revolution of 1917.

After the downfall of the Tsarist regime, on April 27, 1917, the provisional Government nullified the former decision of annexing the Turkish Armenian vilayets to Russia, and created an autonomous administration for Turkish Armenia until the final settlement at the Peace Treaty. This brief period was used by the Armenians in reinhabiting and rebuilding the ruined country.

With the advent of the February revolution, and under the inspiration of President Woodrow Wilson's freedom-aspiring and prophetic plans, the Armenian

Question also received a new lease of life. The Russian Revolution repudiated the 1916 London secret treaty calling for the partition of Armenia, and with it, the demand of a free Armenia gained greater impetus, became the object of public attention and the subject matter of diplomatic chambers. It was during this period that decisive declarations were made and pledges given for a free Armenia.

Armenian affairs, however, again took a bad turn with the Bolshevik revolution of October 25, 1917. In December, by order of the Soviet Government, the Russian army deserted the Turkish front and withdrew to Russia. The task of defending the front was now left to the local populace, the Armenians, the Georgians and the Azeris, who refused to recognize the Soviet rule and created a separate administration for Transcaucasia under the name of the **Transcaucasian Seym**, consisting of the representatives of these peoples.

These three peoples, who constitute the dominant elements of Transcaucasia, were represented in the Seym through their respective parties; the Armenians, through the Armenian Revolutionary Federation; the Georgians, through the Social Democrat "Menshevik" Party; and the Azeris, through the "Musavat" Party. To what extent these parties reflected the will of their respective peoples is seen by the results of the elections to the Russian Constitutional Assembly. In these elections the Social Democrats totalled a vote of 661,934, the Musavatists, 615,816, and the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, 558,400. It should be added here that the Social Democrats, as an all-Russian party, attracted also an important number of votes of Russians, Armenians and other nationalities.

The Transcaucasian Seym found it very difficult

to continue the war. After the withdrawal of the Russian army, the hastily organized national divisions were hardly enough for the defense of the front. Secondly, equally inadequate were the means of supply, communication and finance, which were ruined as result of the panicky flight of the Russian army and the collapse of the state machinery. Worst of all, the peoples of Transcaucasia lacked mutual confidence and spirit of cooperation, as well as the will to continue the war with resolution. This was especially true of the Moslem elements who viewed with inner gratification the forward march of the Turks into Caucasia. The burden of the war, accordingly, and the weight of defending the front was left chiefly to the Armenians and the Georgians.

The Transcaucasian Government succeeded in concluding, on December 5, 1917, an armistice with the Turks, but, before long, the Turks who had brought up fresh troops from the western front broke the armistice and resumed the war. Armenian divisions defended the greater part of the front, extending from Van to Erzinga, while the Georgians held the Batum front. The Azeris refused outright to cooperate, objecting that they could not fight against their co-religionist Turks. After a stubborn resistance, the Armenians and Georgians finally succumbed under superior pressure and sued for peace.

The ensuing peace conference between Transcaucasia and Turkey which opened on March 1, 1918, and lasted until April 1, yielded nothing positive. What was worse still for Transcaucasia, on March 3, 1918, at Brest Litovsk, Soviet Russia and Germany signed a treaty of peace which ceded to Turkey the vilayets of Kars and Batum, the most important regions of Transcaucasia from economic and strategic standpoints. This provision of the treaty was made by the

Turks a prerequisite of the negotiations at Trebizond. The Sejm refused the Turkish demand and the war was resumed under even more unfavorable conditions for Transcaucasia.

In the following operations, the Turks reoccupied the whole of Turkish Armenia. Batum fell on April 1. Thereafter, the Armenian front became the chief scene of the war operations, stubbornly defended by Armenian divisions under the supreme command of General Nazarbekian. With the fall of Kars, on April 12, the Sejm was again confronted with the question of peace, and having no other way out, was compelled to sue for peace on the basis of the Treaty of Brest Litovsk.

The new peace conference opened on May 11, in Batum, and the same day the Turks delivered to the Transcaucasian Delegation a set of peace terms which were even more harsh than the terms at Trebizond, particularly for the Armenians, although the Georgians, too, had to make great sacrifices. The Turkish terms demanded of Georgia the entire region of Batum and the state of Akhaltzikh, while the Armenians were left with an area of scarcely 11,000 square kilometers around Yerevan, the remainder of Armenia going to Turkey and Azerbaijan. Besides, the whole of Transcaucasia was to be placed at the disposal of Turkey, politically, strategically, and economically. These extreme demands aroused indignation even among the Germans who were the Turks' allies. The German delegate, General Von Lossow, telegraphed his government from Batum: "The exorbitant Turkish demands to occupy the purely Armenian provinces of Akhalkalak, Alexandropol and parts of the state of Yerevan are a crying violation of the Brest Litovsk Treaty and have for their aim the annihilation of the Armenians in Caucasus. To-

day, in the evening, the Turks presented an ultimatum demanding transit of their troops across Alexandropol on to Julfa without telling me anything about it. I protested against a similar course."

Without waiting for a reply, the Turkish army attacked and occupied Alexandropol and moved toward the north and south-east. The Armenians resisted fiercely at Karakilise, Bash Abaran and Sardarabad, from May 23 to 28, delivering crushing blows. Particularly bloody was the victorious battle of Sardarabad where, on the entire front, the Turks were driven back in disorderly retreat. According to the admission of Vehib Pasha, the Turkish Commander-in-chief, the Turks had 5000 to 6000 casualties in these battles.

The Sardarabad victory elated the Armenians and raised the militant spirit of the soldiers. General Silikian, the conqueror of Sardarabad, now gave the order to march on to Alexandropol when the news of the peace arrived from Batum and the war was ended.

The fights on the Armenian front compelled the Turks to speed up the negotiations at Batum which had been lagging as result of the controversies of the Transcaucasian Delegation. Impressed by the harsh Turkish demands, the Georgians secretly appealed to Germany for help, and with the latter's support, secured the inviolability of Georgia against the Turks, meanwhile agreeing to declare Georgia's independence under the German protectorate.

Since Turkish plans were favorable for them, the Azeris and the Mountaineers of Caucasus (Karabagh) were attached to the Turks with bonds of friendship even from the beginning. This left the Armenians in a very hopeless situation. They were all alone, defenseless, deserted by all, and helpless, confronting a mortal enemy.

On May 26, the Turkish Delegation presented to



the Transcaucasian Delegation an ultimatum demanding immediate acceptance of the unconditional terms that "Turkish Army operations in southern Caucasus (in Armenia—S. V.) shall meet with no armed resistance."

The same day in Tiflis, at the session of the Transcaucasian Seym the Georgian representative, I. Tzereteli, proposed a resolution whereby the Seym dissolved itself, thus putting an end to the Transcaucasian Union. At the same time, the Georgian National Council declared Georgia independent. Georgia's example was followed by Azerbaijan. Under the circumstances, on May 28, the Armenian National Council declared Armenia an independent Republic.

Immediately upon the arrival in Batum of the news of the dissolution of the Transcaucasian Union, the Turkish Delegation presented to the three newly-formed republics separately the same peace terms in the form of an ultimatum. On June 4, Armenia and Turkey signed a treaty of peace—the first international act which the Republic of Armenia signed as an independent state.

The 11th article of the Treaty of Batum provided "that the Government of the Armenian Republic must use all efforts to withdraw, immediately upon signing the treaty, all Armenian forces in Baku and make sure that said withdrawal shall occasion no encounter with the Turkish forces."

This was a point of great interest for the Turks because Baku at the time was in Armenian hands, and the Turks wanted to seize the city at any price since it was a rich storehouse of oil, as well as an important Moslem center.

## CHAPTER VII EVENTS IN BAKU

Upon the disorderly retreat of the Russian army in January of 1918, encounters had taken place between Russian troops and the Mohammedan population of the Province of Gandzak (Elizavetpol). As result of these clashes, all communication via the Baku-Tiflis railway was wholly cut off, isolating large numbers of Armenian troops centered in Baku who were trying to return to the fatherland from the western front. The Armenian National Council, which had assumed the responsibility of the care and the transportation of these troops, was unable to carry out its plans as all roads were closed. Consequently, 12,000 Armenian troops were encompassed in Baku.

Baku had become, meanwhile, a center of Soviet activity, under the direction of S. Shahoomian, "Commissar Extraordinary for Transcaucasia," who had instructions from Lenin to insure Soviet Russia's rule over that region. In addition, there were in Baku, also several Russian regiments which had retreated from the Turkish front. These armed groups volunteered to defend Baku against any Turkish onslaught.

In his communication to Shahoomian, dated August 8, 1917, and at the recommendation of Lenin, Stalin thus defined the policy of Soviet Russia toward Transcaucasia: "Our Transcaucasian general policy is to compel the Germans to recognize officially that the questions of Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan are

internal matters for Russia in which Germans should not interfere, hence, we do not recognize the independence of Georgia which Germany has recognized.

"It is quite possible that we may be forced to yield to the Germans in the matter of Georgia; but such a concession shall be made only on condition that Germany shall not interfere in Armenia and Azerbaijan.

"Your successes to date are gratifying, but, to avoid complications with the Germans, we wish that you would not extend your activities beyond Gandzak—that is to say into Georgia, whose independence has officially been recognized by Germany."

In accordance with this policy, the Soviet government resolved to hold on to Baku at all cost; on the other hand, the Turks, too, were equally determined to seize Baku as the future springboard of their Pan-Turanian Policy. The immediate occupation of the city, meanwhile, was of paramount importance to the Germans who were suffering acutely from shortage of oil on their western front. Under these circumstances, the opposition of the Armenians to Turkish occupation naturally brought about the joint cooperation of the Workingmen's Council of Baku, the Soviet Government and the Armenian National Council.

The Armenian National Council was endeavoring, meanwhile, to establish friendly relations with the Mohammedan element of the city in order to insure the general peace until the end of the war and the establishment of the permanent peace. The Mohammedans, however, did not look with favor upon the presence of the small Russian force and the troops under the Armenian National Council, and demanded the immediate surrender of the government to the Mohammedan National Council. This led to sharp

antagonism between the Workingmen's Council of Baku and the Mohammedan National Council, climaxed by armed clashes in March, 1918, resulting in the deaths of many innocent men on both sides. These bloody encounters ended when the Armenian National Council intervened and took under its protection the Mohammedan population of the Armenian districts of the city, thus saving some 15,000 persons from certain death.

At this time, the Province of Gandzak, as Headquarters of the Azerbaijan National Council and the Government, had become a Mohammedan center. With the arrival of a fresh army from Turkey called "the Islam Army," under the command of Nuri Pasha, a brother of Enver Pasha, Gandzak assumed further importance among Mohammedans. Nuri also undertook the organization of the Azerbaijan National Army. He had instructions from the Constantinople government to occupy Baku, and to establish ties with the Turkish populations of the Trans-Caspian countries on the other side of Azerbaijan. Drunk with unexpected victories, the leaders of Turkey now dreamed of the creation of a Pan-Turkish Empire from the Sea of Aral to the Dardanelles, even though this would be in defiance of their ally, Germany.

In the summer of 1918, violent encounters took place between the defenders of Baku and the forces of Nuri Pasha. The defense forces consisted chiefly of Armenians, some Russian regiments and sailors from the Caspian fleet. With the city cut off from Russia and from the other parts of Caucasus, with no prospect of outside aid, the defenders of Baku could not carry on indefinitely no matter how heroically they resisted. Surprisingly enough, Lenin urged Shahoomian "to help Turkestan with all means at his disposal (both in arms and in men) inasmuch as the

English were plotting something evil in Bokhara and Afghanistan." Nuri Pasha's forces grew daily. After the signing of the Treaty of Batum, large numbers of Turkish troops moved across Armenia and Georgia to Baku, thus rendering the defense of the city all the more difficult.

The situation had become so grave by the end of July that, without outside aid, defense of the city was considered hopeless. The Armenian National Council proposed that the defenders of Baku appeal to the British Army in Persia for aid, but the Bolsheviks violently opposed this suggestion. Notwithstanding this disagreement, a request for help was made to the British command who promised to send support on the condition that Bolshevik forces and the Soviet Government withdraw from Baku. The matter was discussed at a joint session of the Armenian National Council, the Workingmen's Council of Baku and the Military-Revolutionary Committee of Baku and, despite the fierce opposition of the Bolsheviks, and after noisy debates, it was finally decided on July 27, to ask the English army to enter Baku. At the demand of the British command, 26 commissars were imprisoned and later were moved in ships to Trans-Caspia. The government was taken over by the Workingmen's Council and the Armenian National Council; this meant that the burden of the defense of Baku fell entirely on the Armenians.

The Turks who were, of course, aware of the disagreements among the defenders, multiplied their attacks from various directions, meanwhile presenting the National Council with an ultimatum demanding immediate and unconditional surrender. On August 4, the condition of Baku was desperate. The Turks had already occupied an important section of the city called Bibi-Heybat. Colonel Stokes from Persia ar-

rived in Baku on the same day together with a score of English troops, bringing with them the news that 5,000 more British troops would soon arrive to help the defenders. This news spread like wild fire among the soldiers and the civilian population, immensely raising their fighting morale. The Armenians now took the offensive, and, in a fierce attack, repulsed the enemy. The panic-stricken Turks left the field, leaving behind 1,000 dead, 16 machine guns and a large quantity of rifles and ammunition. The Armenians lost only 14 officers and 45 soldiers.

By August 5, Baku was out of immediate danger. On the same day a small English force arrived in Baku, and by August 19 the number of British troops was raised to 2,700.

After a three weeks truce, and upon receipt of new forces, the Turks again took the offensive on August 29. This time, the Armenians were fighting side by side with the British, and there followed a series of bloody battles with heavy casualties on both sides.

On September 14, the British troops withdrew from Baku. In announcing the news, General Dunsdervil advised the Armenian National Council "to hoist the white flag" and to surrender to the enemy. That meant the virtual annihilation of the Armenians. The Armenians were now completely alone.

On September 15, the Turks occupied Baku, and, for three days, the Armenian districts of the city were subjected to an incessant massacre, pillage and destruction. According to official statistics, Armenian losses during those days were 9,029 killed, 3,586 missing, 4,246 prisoners, 253 confined in jails, 1,142 kidnapped, and 572 cases of personal violations. Altogether, there were 29,060 victims. The loss in material was estimated at 945,724,017 rubles, or approxi-

mately 500,000,000 dollars, which is no exaggeration in view of important position Armenians occupied in the industry, business and the real estate of Baku.

Costly as they were to the Armenians, the Baku fights were of special importance in the outcome of the war. As result of the Armenian resistance, the Central Powers were delayed from reaching the Baku oil for fully eight months at the most critical period of the European war when military supremacy was fast passing into the hands of the Allies.

Here, it is important to recall the condition which prevailed on the European battle fronts in the summer of 1918. In March, Ludendorff had opened his famous offensive against the Anglo-French forces, the first phase of which closed in the end of May in a splendid German victory. At the same time, England and France were facing serious internal problems. Anti-British demonstrations were frequent in Ireland. France was feeling the shortage of man power, of ammunition and of oil and Clemenceau was sending feverish calls to the United States for help. America had just begun to make her power felt, even though American divisions, already in Europe, had not as yet participated in the fight.

The second battle of the Marne, fought toward the middle of July, marked the final and decisive German offensive against the united Anglo-French-American forces. Bloody battles continued uniniterrupted for months until the Allies gradually gained the superiority, to assure the victory of November, 1918.

One of the causes of the defeat of Ludendorff's army was the shortage of fuel oil. The efforts of the German and Turkish forces to reach the rich oil fields of Baku were delayed for months as result of the resistance on the Armenian plateau and at the gates of Baku. If "the allied victory came on the waves

of American oil," as Clemenceau said, Germany's defeat to a large extent was caused by her shortage of oil.

Speaking of the events of 1918, General Von Ludendorff observes in his Memoires: "We could not depend upon Baku oil until we had taken it ourselves. I cannot speak too often of the lack of fuel supply in Germany and the consequent difficulties which we suffered. Following the offensive of the 7th Army, the oil reserves of the Army were exhausted."

In the same Memoires, Ludendorff repeats: "The principal factor that forced the breakdown of the of the German Army in the west was due to the lack of fuel supply, created by the failure of the Turks to reach Baku in time."

This view is also confirmed by Lord Robert Cecil's following testimony: "The Armenian forces took over the Caucasian front and for five months delayed the Turks' advance, thus rendering important service to the British armies in Mesopotamia."

Armenian resistance was of decisive consequence also on the Turkish front in Palestine, as testified by General Liman Von Sanders, German Commander-in-chief of the Syrian front, who, in his memoires, wrote: "The collapse of the Turkish Palestinian front was due to the fact that the Turks, against my orders and advice, sent all their available forces to the Caucasus and Azerbaijan where they fought the Armenians."



## CHAPTER VIII THE ARMENIAN REPUBLIC

The three national republics of Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan came into existence with the dissolution of the Transcaucasian Sejm and the treaty of Batum. Turkey and Germany were the first powers to recognize the independence of these states.

The political situations of the three newly-created states differed from one another. Georgia, occupying a favorable geographical position and being the least damaged by the war, adopted a German orientation and entered under Germany's protection. Azerbaijan tied herself to Turkey in complete surrender. Armenia's situation was the most unfavorable of all. As the "Little Ally" of the Great Allies, Armenia had been the enemy of the now victorious Turkey during the war. Despite her defeat, she continued to remain loyal to the Allies, and for that very reason she refused to maintain friendly relations with Azerbaijan who now regarded Armenia as a dangerous wedge between herself and Turkey.

Armenia, moreover, was embarking on her new independence under most unusual and difficult circumstances. She had just signed a very exacting treaty with Turkey. She had inherited nothing from the Russian Empire—no organized state machinery, no money, no means of transportation, no trained officers, nor any other material or functional facilities.

The country was wholly in ruins, crowded with hundreds of thousands of fugitives; her economy and administrative machinery were in a chaotic condition. Communication with the outside world was wholly cut off; the food supply almost exhausted, and the specter of famine and epidemic hovered over the land. H. Kachaznooni, the first premier of Armenia, in his first speech to the Armenian Parliament, described the catastrophic situation in the following words:

"The government has not one connecting link with the past. It has not succeeded a former government so that it can continue its labors. It has inherited no administrative machinery. It has had to start from scratch. It must create everything from a heap of ruins and absolute chaos. The government has found the country in a condition which can be characterized only by one word, 'catastrophic'."

From this general chaos had to be created a state which would preserve the existence of a people. It seemed a hopeless task, almost impossible; still the Armenian people, with native endurance, stubborn labor and with an inexhaustible spirit of patriotism and sacrifice, triumphed over every obstacle and succeeded in building the structure of Armenia's state.

The Armenian National Council, which after the dissolution of the Transcaucasian Sejm had declared itself the Supreme Governing Body of the Armenian provinces, now established itself in Yerevan, and assumed the functions of the first legislative body under the title of "Council of Armenia." Armenia was declared a democratic republic on the European parliamentary model. The chairman of the Council of Armenia was also the President of the Republic. The government was appointed by the Council and was directly responsible to it. The final draft of the con-

stitution was postponed to a Constitutional Assembly which was to convene after the general war was ended.

The Council of Armenia and the government took up their task under almost impossible conditions. Fortunately, however, the war soon ended, and Armenia commenced her rapid regeneration beginning in the latter part of 1918. The Turkish troops withdrew from their occupied positions and the boundaries of Armenia were enlarged. Then came an influx of refugees, and, soon, food from the outside world. America, in particular, played a saving role in those days. On May 20, 1920, the first American ship, loaded with 2,000 tons of flour, arrived in Batum; a week later, another ship came into port with 10,000 tons of the same commodity, and other ships followed regularly bearing food supplies, clothing and medicine. During 1919, Armenia received from the United States 21,500 tons of flour, 4,280 tons of wheat, 2,000 tons of beans, 1,000 tons of rice, 330 tons of grains, 5,950,000 cans of condensed milk, 733 tons of sugar, 33 tons of cocoa, 100 tons of fats, 25 tons of tea, corn, barley and the like; and, in 1920, 36,165 tons of flour, various canned goods, medicine, agricultural implements, and machines. The greater part of these goods was sent by the Near East Relief, the American Red Cross and other charitable organizations; the remaining part was sent by the American Relief Administration.

With these and other supplies, not only the population survived, but enough seed grain was provided to remove the need of outside help.

One year after its founding, in the latter half of 1919, Armenia already was an organized state with a functioning administrative machinery. A large number of nations recognized Armenia's independence and sent their diplomatic representatives to Yerevan. Armenia had a delegation in Paris which was to partici-

pate in the Peace Conference and diplomatic representatives in various capitals.

Armenia's parliamentary elections were held in June, 1919, by universal, equal, secret, direct, and proportional ballot, without distinction of sex. The new parliament consisted of 80 delegates.

On January 19, 1920, the Allied Supreme Council recognized Armenia's independence and her de facto government, with the provision, however, that such recognition did not predetermine the question of that state's future boundaries.

Three months later, on April 22, 1920, the United States of America followed the example of other countries in officially recognizing the Armenian Republic as an independent state and received that republic's diplomatic representative in Washington.

The creation of the Armenian Republic brought forth an unprecedented degree of patriotic fervor among Armenian people everywhere, who now hastened from all corners of the world — Russia, the Balkan countries, Europe, America, Egypt, Persia, and India—to pour in their contributions towards building the Armenia of whose freedom they had been dreaming since centuries. The American Armenians, alone, in a short while, raised two million dollars; in addition, many helped in other ways. The Armenians of Egypt founded a special fund for an Armenian air fleet, and the Melkonian brothers bequeathed their entire wealth of nearly ten million dollars to Armenia. A "Gold Fund," aiming to firmly establish Armenia's monetary system, was supported by the Armenian people with unusual sacrifices. A twenty million dollar loan, floated for Federal needs, was likewise generously supported by the Armenians.

Armenians from many lands now retraced their steps to the homeland, bringing along with them

capital and machinery with which to develop Armenia's industry and agriculture. Various other societies with large resources were also organized for the same purpose. Then followed an influx of Armenian intellectuals — professors, doctors, engineers, architects, agricultural economists, men of letters, artists, and other specialists—whose presence helped transform Armenia within a short time.

There could now be no question of a revitalized Armenian state. There remained only the final determination of its boundaries, namely, the annexation of Turkish Armenia and the Republic's *de jure* recognition, a matter which depended largely upon the future treaty between Turkey and the Allies and, which, unfortunately, became the object of long procrastinations.

President Wilson, who, being an ardent champion of international cooperation, wanted American participation in the general war settlement and membership in the League of Nations, and was well disposed toward an American protectorate over Armenia. The Allies welcomed and encouraged President Wilson's plans, meanwhile tying up the final solution of the Armenian question with the decisions which he was to render and which, unfortunately, were delayed more than necessary.

In January, 1919, the five Great Powers, England, United States, Russia, France, and Italy drafted a formula of general principles defining the Allied war aims which included the following paragraph concerning the fate of the subject-races of the Turkish Empire:

"Because of the historic misgovernment of the Turks of their subject peoples and the terrible massacres of the Armenians and others in recent years, the Allied and Associated Powers are agreed that Ar-

menia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Palestine, and Arabia must be completely severed from the Turkish Empire."

The same year, in February, the Allied Supreme Council took up the question of the Turkish treaty but, upon the intervention of President Wilson, postponed it indefinitely. This postponement had a fatal effect upon Armenia. The United States Congress refused to ratify President Wilson's plan, with the result that United States withdrew from all European affairs, rejecting the while the mandate of Armenia. The peace treaty with Turkey, now delayed 16 months, was signed at Sevres, on August 10, 1920. It was during this interval of 16 months that there came into existence in Turkey the strong nationalist movement under Mustafa Kemal, actively supported by France, Italy and Soviet Russia. The Kemalist movement had such disastrous consequences — especially for the Armenians.

Armenia was represented in the peace conference at Sevres, and, as a *de jure* government, was a signatory of th treaty through its delegation headed by Avetis Aharonian. The Sevres Treaty was the crowning of the long and bloody Armenian struggle for freedom, as well the reward for their services to civilization and their active aid in the Allied victory.

The Sevres Treaty contained the following articles concerning Armenia:

#### "SECTION VI.—ARMENIA

"Article 88—Turkey recognizes Armenia as already recognized by the Allied Powers, as a free, independent state.

"Article 89—Turkey and Armenia, as well as the other High Contracting Parties, agree to submit to the arbitration of the President of the United States

the determination of the boundary between Turkey and Armenia, in the provinces of Erzerum, Trebizond, Van and Bitlis, and to accept his decision, as well as other conditions that may be prescribed by him relative to the access of Armenia to the sea and relative to the demilitarization of the Ottoman territory adjacent to the said boundary."

The Treaty of Sevres, however, was never destined to be carried out. Subsequent events made its ratification impossible. The Kemalist movement, vitalized by the mutual competitions of the Allied Powers and the active aid of the Bolsheviks, frustrated not only the Treaty, but all the Allied plans concerning the Near East as well. Scarcely a month after the signing of the Treaty, in September of 1920, Kemalist Turkey, the ally of Soviet Russia and with the latter's active aid, attacked Armenia. The Red Army attacked from the north. Armenia was left between two fires and resisted longest, meanwhile urgently appealing to the Allies for immediate help. In this connection the League of Nations considered the Armenian appeal and passed the following resolution:

"The Assembly invites the Council to take into immediate consideration the situation in Armenia and to submit to the examination of the Assembly proposals to meet the danger which actually threatens the life of the Armenian race, and to establish a stable and permanent state of things in that country."

On November 22, 1920, the Assembly, after having heard Lord Robert Cecil, Balfour, Viviani, Branting, Spalaikovich and F. Nansen, unanimously adopted the following resolution:

"The Assembly, desirous of collaborating with the Council to put an end, within the shortest possible time, to the horrible Armenian tragedy, invites the Council to effect an understanding with the govern-

ments to the end that one Power be charged with the task of taking necessary measures to bring to a termination the hostilities between Armenians and Kemalists, and, further, charge a commission of six members to examine the measures, if any, to be taken to put an end to the hostilities between Armenians and the Kemalists, and report to the present Assembly."

At the recommendation of the Council, the League of Nations invited all member Governments and the Government of the United States to mediate between Armenia and the Kemalists. President Wilson and the Governments of Brazil and Spain accepted the invitation, but, owing to the hostile attitude of the Kemalists, no success was achieved.

Meanwhile, the Turco-Bolshevik combination had already defeated Armenia, and on December 2, 1920, forced upon her the harsh Treaty of Alexandropol. On the same day, upon the ultimatum of the Soviet representative in Yerevan, the Armenian Government was forced to sign an agreement with the Soviet Government whereby Armenia was declared an independent Soviet republic and the government was turned over to the Bolsheviks.

The independence of Soviet Armenia did not, however, last long. On December 13, 1922, by an arrangement with Moscow, Azerbaijan, Georgia and Armenia formed the Confederated Republic of Transcaucasia, which, in turn, on December 30, 1922, was merged into the Soviet Union. In 1936, by the provisions of a new constitution, and again at the dictate of Moscow, the Confederation was dissolved and Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia entered the Soviet Union as separate federal republics. According to the 17th article of this constitution each federated republic had the right to secede from the Soviet Union



and to declare itself independent. Article 17 stated: "Each federated republic reserves to itself the right to secede from the Soviet Union."

Moreover, notwithstanding the sovietization of Armenia, the Armenian Question was far from being dead. The Allied Powers and the League of Nations continued their interest and formally recognized the Armenian Delegation in Paris, as well as the Armenian diplomatic representatives in the several countries. But, with events, the Allies gradually steered away from the provisions of the Sevres Treaty.

On February 20, 1921, the Allied Supreme Council invited the Turkish delegations of Constantinople and Ankara to London, and Lord Curzon, the chairman of the Supreme Council, declared to them that the Allies decisively insisted upon the independence of Armenia, but the Turks dodged the issue with evasive answers. On March 12, 1921, Premier Lloyd George, on behalf of the Allied premiers in session in London, delivered to the Turkish delegations from Constantinople and Ankara, thirteen proposals as a basis of the revision of the Sevres Treaty, of which proposals number 11 referred to Armenia and read as follows:

"Turkey to recognize the rights of Turkish Armenians to a national home on the eastern frontiers of Turkey in Asia, delimitation of the frontiers to be decided by a commission appointed by the Council of the League of Nations."

The Turks rejected this proposal also.

On September 22, 1921, the General Assembly of the League of Nations adopted unanimously the following resolution:

"Whereas the first Assembly, on November 18, 1920, entrusted to the Council the task of safeguarding the future of Armenia; and

"Whereas the Council, on 25 February, 1921,

realizing the impossibility of taking any affirmative action to meet the situation in Asia Minor, requested the Secretariat to follow the course of events in Armenia, so as to enable the Council to take ultimately new decisions; and Whereas in the meantime, the Supreme Allied Council in view of the probable revision of the Sevres Treaty has proposed the creation of a National Home for the Armenians; and

“Whereas there exists an imminent probability of a treaty of peace being made between the Allied Powers and Turkey: therefore be it

“Resolved, that the Assembly invites the Council, at once, to press upon the Supreme Council (Allied) the necessity of making provisions in the Treaty, safeguarding the future of Armenia, and, further, insuring for the Armenians a National Home, wholly independent of Turkish rule.”

The Turks rejected this proposal also.

On March 27, 1922, the Allied Foreign Ministers, in session in Paris, agreed upon a complete revision of the Sevres Treaty in favor of the Turks, of which they published a paraphrase in the form of a memorandum. The proposal referring to Armenia read as follows:

“The situation of Armenia has received special consideration, as much as account of the obligation contracted by the Allied Powers during the war as an account of the cruel suffering endured by the people. Consequently, the aid of the League of Nations is sought, in addition to the provisions made for the protection of minorities, with a view to satisfying the traditional aspirations of the Armenian people and the establishment of a national home for them.”

This proposal met with the same fate of its predecessors. The Allies continued to yield to the

Turks until they were completely disarmed at Lausanne.

Undaunted by this turn of events, the Armenian delegation continued its official existence and kept diplomatic contacts with the Powers until the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne on July 24, 1923, and the recognition of the Soviet Government by the Allied Powers and the United States. The Armenian Delegation was present at the Lausanne Conference as a creditor nation representing Armenia.

In the December 10, 1923, session of the Lausanne Conference, in a forceful speech, Lord Curzon reiterated the demand for the creation of an independent Armenian state or a "national home." The French, Italian and Japanese delegates supported Lord Curzon, but upon Turkish resistance, the Allies finally yielded, and the Treaty of Lausanne which was signed on July 23, 1924, passed in complete silence over the Armenian question. Neither was there any word about Armenia in the Turkish-American treaty which was signed on August 6, of the same year and which, after provoking intense discontent in United States, was rejected by the Senate.

The Treaty of Lausanne is one of the most shameful pages of history. The attitude of the Allies at Lausanne was no different than that of the Bolsheviks at Brest-Litovsk. After Lausanne, "İleri" (Forward), the Kemalist official organ, cynically remarked: "The Greeks and the Armenians must forget their own language and become Turks or they get out." And "İkdam" commented even more vulgarly: "The Armenians in Turkey are to enjoy two privileges only, namely, to pray to their God and to bury their dead." And, indeed, the Turks have continued this inflexible policy of Turkification and annihilation of Christians in Turkey, and, during the past 10-15 years, have

extended this program to the Kurdish population also.

Whenever anything is said about the rights of the Christian races, the Turks have always objected that there are no non-Turks left in Turkey and that Turkey is now a homogeneous nation. This, of course, is not true. At present there are one and a half million Kurds in Turkey, in addition to many Greeks, Armenians, Jews, Arabs, and others. Even if it were true that there are no non-Turkish races in Turkey, what a terrible price has been paid to make Turkey a homogeneous state!

According to the Statesman's Yearbook, 1921, before the first world war, the Ottoman Empire had a population of 20,973,000. As result of the war, the Empire lost Syria, Arabia, Palestine, and Iraq, with a population of 8,406,475 (Statesman's Yearbook, 1932). In the remaining territory, therefore, before the war, Turkey had a population of 12,566,535, which number included 2,500,000 Greeks, 2,026,000 Armenians, and approximately 2,000,000 Kurds. The war, massacres, deportations, famine, epidemic, and ex-traditions further reduced the original population by the following losses: 2,300,000 Greeks, 1,900,000 Armenians, 500,000 Kurds, and approximately 3,000,000 Turks. These figures show that, despite the official statistics given by present day Turkish leaders, the greater part of Turkey's 320,000 square miles is left desolate.

If civilization, humanity and justice, in whose name freedom-loving mankind today is shedding rivers of blood, have not disappeared from the face of the earth, then the barbarism perpetrated on the Armenians should neither be forgotten nor forgiven. And the Armenian people with supreme patience and faith, look forward to the hour of retribution. It was in this spirit of protest that Avetis Aharonian, famous writer

and president of the Armenian Delegation, as the interpreter of the Armenian people's indignation, on August 8, 1923, solemnly declared to the Allied Powers: "If it be true that the general peace has failed to solve all the problems issuing from the war, it is no less true that, today, the Armenian people are the only one whose condition incontestably is worse than ever before, the only people wholly deprived of any of the benefits of the common victory—the only one that is suffering the inevitable consequences of complete isolation and abandonment.

". . . The delegation, which signed the Sevres Treaty for Armenia, reserves and insists upon all the rights which the Powers, during and since the war, solemnly recognized, and which were duly embodied in the Sevres Treaty, and reincorporated and reaffirmed by decisions of subsequent conferences.

"Whatever reception a solemn protest may have at this time, the delegation, by virtue of the mandate which it holds from the Armenian people, is impelled by a clear duty to denounce respectfully the act of Lausanne. It leaves to history to judge that act."

Yes, it leaves history to judge that act, but not alone to judge, but to redress the wrong, and today the Armenian people await, more than ever, the just verdict of civilized mankind.

Since the signing of the Lausanne Treaty and the universal recognition of the Soviet government, the Armenian Delegation has continued to press unofficially the cause of Armenia before the powers, in the words of President Poincare of France, "As a memorial of the past and a hope of the future."

## CHAPTER VIX ARMENIA AND THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT

The Bolshevik revolution and the subsequent Turco-Soviet friendly cooperation had a tragic effect upon the fate of Armenia and the Armenian Question.

Prior to the October Revolution, the Bolshevik Party used the Armenian Question as a weapon in its fight against the Provisional Government of Russia, the socialist and democratic parties and the "Anglo-French imperialist vultures."

Having for their motto the principles of "complete self-determination of peoples" and "peace without seizure of territories and war indemnities," Lenin and his comrades demanded immediate freedom for Armenia. "We are ready," wrote Lenin in the summer of 1917, "to satisfy at once the demands of the Ukrainians and the Finns, to assure them, as well as all the other alien races of Russia, complete freedom, even the right to secede. The same must be done in regard to Armenia. We are ready to withdraw our troops from Armenia and from the Turkish territories occupied by us." And some time later: "If tomorrow the Soviets take over the government, we say, 'Bring out our troops from Armenia, or else it will be a deceit.'"

Lenin presented this proposal to the first conference of the Soviets in May, 1917. "It would be far better if our army in Armenia, whose presence there

you endure," he said, "would convert Armenia into an independent state, and if the money which English and French bankers take from us were given to Armenia."

Kerensky objected in vain that "We cannot vacate Armenia, because in that case, there will be nothing left of Armenia. She will be annihilated by the knives of the Turks and the Kurds." Lenin and his comrades were unyielding, and when they took over the government, one of their first acts was to order the withdrawal of the Russian army from Turkish Armenia. The result was that these territories again passed to the Turks and hundreds of thousands of Armenians became homeless.

Upon coming into power, on December 31, 1917, the Council of the People's Commissars immediately issued a decree, signed by chairman Lenin and Commissar of National Affairs Stalin, promising the Armenian people that the Peasants and Workers Government of Russia would defend the rights of Turkish Armenians in the occupied territories until they were completely independent.

The demand for Armenian self-rule was again included in a declaration of the rights of workers and exploited peoples, issued at the proposal of Lenin in the third conference of the Soviets which ran: "The Third Conference of the Soviets hails the policy of the Council of People's Commissars which has promised Finland complete independence, has called back the troops from Persia and has declared Armenia's freedom." Armenia's right to freedom finally was officially adopted in article 6, chapter III, of the first part of the Constitution of Soviet Russia, drafted in the Fifth Conference of the Soviets, on July 10, 1918.

All these declarations and solemn promises, how-

ever, proved of no practical avail to the Armenians. The Soviet Government's word and actions took an opposite course from the beginning of their regime, since, to the Bolsheviks, the question of the freedom of oppressed peoples was of second rank importance. In his speech in the Central Executive Session of May, 1918, Lenin decisively declared: "For us the interests of world's socialism stand higher than national interests." This became the keynote of Soviet policy from then on.

The Lenin-Stalin decree came to an end with the signing of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in March of 1918. By the 4th article of this treaty the Soviet Government ceded to Turkey not only the whole of Turkish Armenia, but the regions of Kars and Ardahan in Russian Armenia as well. Thereafter, whenever there was any question of Armeno-Turkish relations, the Soviet Government unswervingly defended the interests of the Turks at the expense of the Armenians. This is explained by the fact, as the Bolshevik historian B. Boran has written, that, in Soviet diplomacy's view, "the Armenian Question was only a means and not an end. . . To Lenin, Armenia was a weapon with which to solve his diplomatic puzzles."

As a matter of fact, from the very first days of the Bolshevik revolution, basic Soviet policy was its struggle against British imperialism which was deemed an obstacle to world revolution, having taken a hostile attitude toward Bolshevism. One of the best means of fighting against British imperialism was the fermentation of a revolt of the eastern peoples, especially the Islam races. For this reason, Turkey, for a long time the leader of Pan-Islam, its Sultan, as Caliph, being the spiritual head of the Islam world, was especially attractive to the Soviet government.



It was no wonder, therefore, that soon after the Bolsheviks came to power during the early part of 1918, friendly relations were established between the Ittihad leaders, Enver Pasha, Talaat Pasha, Djemal Pasha and their comrades and the Bolshevik ring-leaders Karl Radek and others.

This friendship was soon converted into formal cooperation and the Ittihad leaders presently moved their headquarters to Russia where, by degrees, gathered together all the responsible leaders of defeated Turkey, Enver, Djemal, Halil, and Nuri Pashas, Doctor Nazim, Behaeddin Shakir, Kutchuk Talaat, and others. From here the Turks moved their activity into the Caucasus, Transcaucasia, Iran, Afghanistan, India and other regions. Their task was, with the material aid of the Bolsheviks, to stir up the Moslem peoples against English imperialism; in return, the Bolsheviks were to aid in preventing defeated Turkey from falling into complete ruin.

These Turkish agents also became the connecting link between Mustafa Kemal Pasha and the Soviet government. They actively supported their kinsmen during the Greek invasion of Asia Minor, both with money and with arms. A special Islam division, organized and equipped at Baku with Russian funds, crossed the Turkish border under the command of Halil Pasha.

This collaboration was further cemented at the Congress of Eastern Peoples, presided over by Zinoviev, the head of the Third International, which convened in August, 1920, in Baku, under the invitation of the Executive Committee of the Third International. The Congress was attended by Enver Pasha, Halil Pasha and a special delegation of Mustafa Kemal, along with Islam delegations from India, Afghanistan, Dutch Indies, Africa, and many other Eastern

regions. The battle cry of the Congress was to put an end to the colonial empire of the great powers, especially England, by calling for a revolt of the Eastern peoples under the leadership of the Third International. One of the resolutions of this Congress was to fight against the Sevres Treaty which had just been signed.

Thus Armenia—the "Little Ally" of the big Allies—was left helpless between the Bolshevik sledge and the Turkish anvil, though the government of Armenia had always tried to foster friendly relations with its neighbors. With this aim, toward the latter part of April, 1920, the Armenian Government sent a special delegation, headed by the Vice-president of the Parliament, the well known writer Levon Shant, to Moscow. These negotiations with Foreign Commissar Chicherin were successfully consummated in a treaty whereby the Soviet Government recognized Armenia's independence, pledged itself not to interfere in her internal affairs, and promised its support in bringing about an Armeno-Turkish understanding. A delegation of Mustafa Kemal, however, had come, meanwhile, to Moscow, to negotiate with the Soviet Government for a treaty of friendship and to seek greater aid from Russia. As result, because of this Turkish pressure, the Armeno-Soviet treaty was never ratified. The negotiations were transferred to Yerevan, with Legran as the plenipotentiary of Moscow.

Scarcely a month after the adjournment of the Eastern Peoples' Congress, Turkey, with the material and military aid of Moscow, attacked Armenia. Simultaneously, the Red Army opened attacks on Armenia from the north and Armenia was caught between two enemy forces.

During the third week of the Armenian-Turkish

war, Legran, upon instructions from Moscow, presented the following demands to the Armenian Government:

1—Armenia must renounce the Sevres Treaty.

2—The Government of Armenia must give to the Red Army free passage to Turkey.

3—The quarrel over boundaries between Turkey and Armenia must be settled through the mediation of Russia.

The Armenian Government rejected the first of these demands but accepted the other two, and the negotiations which followed dragged on until the mediation of the Soviets no longer became necessary. The war ended unfavorably for the Armenians, resulting, as we have seen, in the treaty of December 2, and the sovietization of Armenia.

By the terms of the December 2 treaty, signed by Legran, the Soviet Government pledged itself to respect the independence of Armenia, to insure her boundaries, to form a coalition government consisting of communists and "leftist" Tashnagtzakans (Armenian Revolutionary Federationists), and to exempt from any responsibility those state functionaries—the military, and the political workers of the former government—for their acts during the preceding regime.

The Soviet Government, however, neither respected its promises nor was able to carry out its commitments. Immediately after the sovietization of Armenia, the Legran agreement was declared null and persecutions commenced against non-Bolshevik elements. Armenian prisons were crowded with thousands of innocent men. Members of the former government and of the parliament, along with many intellectuals, were arrested. 1500 officers of the Armenian army were sent into exile in Russia. The

country was given over to unlawful seizures of property and of the necessities of life, surpassing in extent and violence the darkest days of military communism.

The promise of insuring the boundaries of Armenia, what is more, remained a dead letter. Despite the numerous protests and demands of the Soviet Government, the Turks refused to evacuate the occupied territories, massacred and pillaged many Armenian villages and towns before the very eyes of the Bolsheviks. According to the Soviet official declaration, these losses totalled 30,000.

These Bolshevik excesses engendered widespread disillusionment and aroused bitter hatred among Armenian people everywhere, and resulted in the popular uprising of February, 1921. The Soviet Government was driven from Armenia and the reestablished former government administered the affairs of the country until July when the Red Army of aid arrived from Russia, reoccupied the country, and reestablished the Soviet Government.

The Soviet Government, though pledged to defend the boundaries of Armenia, on March 16, 1921, in Moscow signed a treaty of friendship with Turkey the terms of which were even more harsh for Armenia than the Treaty of Alexandropol. The Moscow Government surrendered to the Turks not only the Armenian territories ceded by the Treaty of Brest-litovsk, but the Surmalu region and Nakhitchevan, purely Armenian inhabited regions not directly contiguous with Azerbaijan, were turned over to that country at the Turks' demand.

At the behest of the Soviet Government, on October 3, 1921, this treaty, without any alterations, was also signed by the representatives of Turkey, Soviet Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan. Thus, Ar-

menia, under Soviet pressure, was obliged to accept a disastrous treaty.

At the Lausanne Conference (July, 1923), Soviet diplomacy championed the cause of Turkey, despite the wishes of England to satisfy Armenian aspirations for freedom. After the Conference, Foreign Commissar Chicherin issued a statement through the Tass News agency saying: "The spectre of Soviet Russia hovered over the green table of the Lausanne Conference and frustrated the designs of the great powers to attack and smash little Turkey." And the reader may add: thus, "smashing little Armenia" . . .

Since that time, the Soviet Government has adhered strictly to the letter and the spirit of the Moscow, Kars and Lausanne treaties in regard to Armenia, thus robbing Armenia of a large mass of expatriates whom it is impossible to gather within the limited boundaries of Russian Armenia.

Neither has the Soviet's attitude been righteous in regard to the internal boundaries of Armenia. Mountainous Karabagh, a region of 4,160 square kilometer area with a purely Armenian population of 155,000, which is the immediate extension of the Armenian mountain range and which has no connection whatsoever with Azerbaijan, was forcibly taken from Armenia by the Soviet, contrary to the will of the people, and was turned over to Azerbaijan, probably again under Turkish pressure.

Today, all Armenians without any distinction, including the Armenian Bolsheviks who are now compelled to remain silent through fear of Moscow, consider the extension of the boundaries of Armenia as the basic condition to the solution of the Armenian Question.

## CHAPTER X

### ARMENIA AND THE GREAT POWERS

As has been observed, the last attempt of the great powers to introduce reforms in Armenia in 1914 failed because of the opposition of the Turkish Government and the outbreak of the World War. The war itself, however, opened new horizons before Armenia and the Armenian Question. The Turkish atrocities on the one hand, and the unexampled devotion of the Armenians to the Allied Cause on the other, provoked a deep sympathy for them by the entire civilized world. Armenia was hailed as the "Little Ally" of the Great Powers and the demand for Armenia's freedom was included among the war aims. And as Clemenceau declared, at the war settlement not only would the Armenians who were living be taken into account, but those Armenians who had been slaughtered by the Turks as well.

An idea of how popular the Armenian Cause was during the war in Europe and the United States and what was the attitude of the governments of the Great Powers and leading statesmen toward the Armenians is gained by the following testimonies which appeared at the time:

On November 6, 1917, Lord Balfour declared before the British Parliament:

"Can we allow Armenia to be put hard under the yoke of the Turk? We do not wish to disturb any regions, inhabited by Turks, governed by Turks, for

the Turks, that suits the Turks, but it is our fixed purpose to liberate from Turkish rule the non-Turkish races."

The same resolute attitude is seen in the words of Lloyd George on December 21, 1917:

"The question of Mesopotamia must be resolved by the Peace Conference, with the clear understanding, however, that neither that region, nor Armenia can ever be put back under the blighting domination of the Turks."

And later, on January 5, 1918, Lloyd George urged: "We insist that Armenia, Arabia, Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine have the right to a separate national existence."

The French statesmen were no less decisive. Speaking on July 4, 1918, not only in behalf of France but for all the Allies, Premier Clemenceau of France made the following promise to the Armenians:

"France, the victim of the most unjust of aggressions, has included in her peace terms the liberation of oppressed nations.

"The spirit of self-abnegation of the Armenians, their loyalty towards the Allies, their contributions to the Foreign Legion, to the Caucasian front, and to the Oriental Legion have strengthened the ties that connect them with France.

"I am happy to confirm that the Government of the Republic, like that of Great Britain, has not ceased to place the Armenian nation among the peoples whose fate the Allies intend to settle according to the supreme law of humanity and justice".

Expressions to the same effect, and with the same unequivocal tone, were made by President Raymond Poincare, P. Deschanel, President of the French Chamber of Deputies, Premier Briand, Foreign Min-

ister Pichon, A. Millerand, and many other distinguished Frenchmen.

Sympathy for the Armenian cause was equally prominent among Italian political leaders such as Premier Orlando and Foreign Minister Baron Sonino and others, but the best interpreter of Italian sentiments was the noted scientist and patriot, Signor Luzzati, who, in answer to Premier Orlando's solemn promise in the November 20th, 1918 session of the Italian Chamber of Deputies called especially for the Liberation of the Armenians, exclaimed: "My Italian heart leaped for joy when the Premier, to whom I carried a few days ago a message from the Italy-Armenia Society, said to me: 'Say to the Armenians that I make their cause my cause.' Italy, liberator of Armenia—that is the insignia of honor I wish for my country!"

Most disinterested and sincerest of all, as well as warmest and most unreserved was the American public opinion and the attitude of the United States Government in regard to Armenia. The 12th point of President Wilson's famous Fourteen Points (January 12, 1919) which defined the Allied war aims, was a direct promise of Armenia's freedom, without mentioning the name Armenian.

President Wilson, both during the war, during the Versailles Conference, and afterward, was the champion of Armenia's liberation. Wilson was supported by world and American public opinion, as well as his Democrat Party which had included in its political platform the demand for Armenia's Freedom. The independence of Armenia was also championed by the American Republican Party which, however, differed with the President in regard only to the question of interrelations with Armenia. On April 30, 1918, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, the leader of



the Republican Party declared: "I am most deeply interested in the cause of the Armenians, and no one realizes more than I the importance of the service they are rendering to the cause we all have at heart."

And again on November 21, 1918:

"I feel very strongly that the Armenians should be given their independence, as I have pointed out in my speeches on several occasions, and it is my intention to offer a resolution in the Senate in regard to it."

On December 10, 1918, Senator Lodge offered a resolution in the Senate expressing the hope that the Peace Conference would make arrangements for helping Armenia to establish an independent republic. This resolution was cabled to President Wilson on February 8, 1919, over the signatures of Senator Lodge, Senator Williams, Mr. Hughes, Mr. Bryan and Mr. Gerard. The President, in reply, said that "this has struck a responsive chord in my heart. I beg to assure the Committee that I shall be as watchful as possible to do my utmost in Armenia's behalf."

The Russian public attitude in regard to Armenia was no different. The Russian liberal and radical public opinion, almost without exception, demanded autonomy for Turkish Armenia. The Duma became the scene of many demonstrations, and the Russian Government showed warm sympathy toward Armenian aspirations. Tsar Nicholas II, as has been observed, gave his personal word of honor to the Armenian Catholicos that an autonomous Armenia would be created after a victorious war.

How sincere were the promises of these governments, and how far did their public utterances coincide with their real policies? It may confidently be stated that, with the exception of United States whose attitude toward the prosecution of the Armen-

ian case was generally idealistic and sincere, all the other powers were led by their private interests and used Armenia and the Armenian Question as a means of attaining their objectives. For proof, witness the secret treaty between France and Russia for the partition and seizure of Armenia, though this secret agreement was never realized chiefly as result of the Russian revolution of February 28, 1917, and especially because of the participation of United States in the war. These two factors greatly transformed the international policy of the Allied Powers and had a decisive effect upon the Armenian Question.

CHAPTER XI  
ARMENIANS IN THE UNITED STATES

Armenian mass immigration in the United States took place within the last fifty years, in particular during the years 1894 and 1895. Comparatively few Armenians had come to America before that.

According to students of the history of Armenian American immigration, the first Armenian to come to United States was from Iran, one called "Martin the Armenian," whose name is mentioned in the Colony at Jamestown, Virginia list of 1619. Martin engaged in tobacco culture and returned to England in 1622, where, it appears, he played an important role in the founding of the Virginia Company of London.

Later, in 1653, at the invitation of Edard Digges, one of the leaders of Jamestown Colony, two other Armenians "who enjoyed an high reputation in their land for their skill and experience" came to America to develop silk culture. The success of these two Armenians is attested by the following lines of a poem by John Ferrer dedicated to Ed. Digges, in 1654:

But noble Digges carries the Bell away  
(Less! want of eggs made so small the essay)  
His two Armenians from Turkey sent  
Are now most busy on his brave attempt  
And had the stock sufficient for neat year  
Ten thousand pounds of Silk would there appeare  
And to the skies his worthy deeds upreare.

No doubt a few scattered Armenians arrived in America afterward but no mention of them appears in the records. It is only after 1831, after American missionaries entered Turkey, that a large number of Armenian youth came to America chiefly for the purpose of study. As late as the 1870's, Armenians in America numbered 70 to 75, among whom was Dr. Christopher Der Seropian of Yale who invented the green of the American dollar. Among these were several Armenian physicians who served in the hospitals of Philadelphia during the Civil War. Several of these Armenians also took part in the Civil War as volunteers.

Influenced mostly by the American missionaries, Armenian immigration to America during the following years assumed greater proportions, until, by 1894, the number of Armenians in America had reached the 10,000 mark, with settlements in New York, Worcester, Boston, Providence, Philadelphia, Chicago, Fresno, and several other centers of population. Armenian immigration to America took even greater impetus after 1894 as result of the successive Turkish massacres. According to the U. S. Commission of Immigration, 70,980 Armenians entered America between 1895 and 1917.

The first world war put a stop to the Armenian influx to America for the time being. As a matter of fact, a large number of Armenian youths left the country either as volunteers or as soldiers of the American expeditionary forces. But after the Armistice, larger numbers poured in, mostly with families, to settle here. Today, the total number of the Armenians in the United States and Canada is estimated at 200,000, with large concentrations in the Atlantic and Middle West states, and in California. New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Providence, Worcester, Water-

town, Detroit, Chicago, Los Angeles and Fresno are important Armenian centers.

In spite of their modest numbers, as compared with other racial groups, the Armenians continue to play an important part in the economic and public life of the adopted fatherland. They are swift to learn the new language, to adjust themselves to the new environment and to assimilate the American culture. They are patriotic and law-abiding citizens, have initiative spirit, and are generally well-to-do as professionals, modest businessmen or trained working men. They cherish intellectual advancement and exert every effort to give their children a good education. According to the testimony of the Immigration Commission, the Armenians maintain the highest percentage of literacy of all the racial groups of America. "The Armenian passion for education is astonishing," says J. Gordon Brown. "There is probably no people in the world who will make such sacrifice for this object." Andrew D. White, founder of Cornell University and former U. S. Ambassador to Berlin, said of the Armenians: "The Armenians are a people of large and noble capacities;— if I were asked to name the most desirable races to be added by immigration to the American population, I would name among the very first—the Armenians."

It is this inborn gift which explains the unusual phenomenon that, despite their modest number and the fact that they are comparatively newcomers, the Armenians have been prominent in American careers and have given to the adopted fatherland many talented men. We have already seen that the development of the silk worm industry in this country was the work of the Armenians. Equally significant has been the role of the Armenians in agriculture. The development of the rich vine culture of the Fresno

region is largely due to the Armenians who not only laid its foundation but perfected the vine with plants imported from Armenia and elsewhere. They have also perfected various species of melon, cereals and vegetables, as well as the wine industry in which they have given many prominent figures such as Arakelian and others.

In the industries, the Armenians have been known as introducers of the rug, carpet weaving and repairing. They have popularized the rug by creating a production which meets the American taste and needs. Most noted in this industry in America is the Karageuzian house.

Worthy of special mention are the Armenian contributions of the American kitchen. It was they who introduced the famous Yoghourt, the Pilav, the Shish Kebab and various kinds of pastries. Witness George Mardigian and others.

The Armenians have given many distinguished leaders to American science, literature, the arts, and to almost all the branches of culture, many of whom have attained high positions, such as educators, professors, doctors, attorneys, dentists, architects, engineers, mechanics, electricians, builders, pilots, sculptors, writers, actors, singers, musicians, editors, journalists, clergymen, government officers, economists, big businessmen and social workers.

The following are typical examples:

DR. CHRISTOPHER DER SEROPIAN, the inventor of the green of the American dollar.

H. PATIGIAN, the famous sculptor of San Francisco.

H. PUSHMAN, noted painter of Chicago.

N. GARO, the late noted photographer of Boston.

DR. VARAZTAD KAZANJIAN, famous plastic surgeon of Boston.

DR. M. KASSABIAN, the distinguished scientist of Philadelphia.

DR. M. GREGORY, the late eminent psychiatrist of Bellvue Hospital, New York.

M. MANGASSARIAN, the liberal orator and preacher of Chicago.

ARMAND TOKATYAN, noted tenor of the New York Metropolitan Opera Co.

ROUBEN MAMOULIAN, famous Hollywood director.

WILLIAM SAROYAN, one of the brilliant stars of contemporary American literature.

AKIM TAMIROFF, noted Hollywood actor.

The Armenian devotion to the present American war effort is known to all. The Armenians are in the front ranks in all the branches of defense industries, in civil defense agencies, in the purchase of war bonds, and wherever there is work to do. Thousands of Armenian youths today proudly wear the American uniform and are the dutiful, disciplined and brave soldiers of Uncle Sam. Many of these have already won their spurs on the battlefield. Some of them have given their lives and others have been decorated for their valiance, such as Roy Melikian, the hero of the Solomon Islands.

While, as American citizens, the Armenians of America have fulfilled their full share of the duty, they have also preserved to a remarkable degree their national individuality, and follow with keen interest the general Armenian scene. They have maintained their solicitude in the fate of their kinsmen in Armenia and abroad, keep contacts with them and aid them materially and morally. They draw inspiration from Armenian culture, literature and the arts. The triumphs of Armenia fill their hearts with joy, while Armenian sufferings pain and grieve them. The idea

of Armenia's freedom is just as dear to their hearts as it is to the people of Armenia herself. They are ready to make any kind of sacrifice for the freedom of Armenia.

Armenian national life in America is centered in their churches, their cultural and charitable organizations and their political parties.

The Armenian church in America is divided into two dioceses: the East which includes the Eastern and Middle West states and Canada, and the West which consists chiefly of California. Each diocese is divided into communities, according to locality. The community has its church and is governed by a board of trustees and a priest who are elected by the popular assembly of the members. The meeting of the representatives of the communities is called the National Assembly which is the supreme authority of the Diocese. The National Assembly elects a Central Executive Body and the Diocese Prelate from among high ranking ecclesiastics. The Central Executive and the Prelate direct the affairs of the Diocese until the next election. From the ecclesiastical viewpoint, both dioceses are directly subject to the authority of the Catholicos of All Armenians in Etchmiadzin (Armenia). In addition to the National church, known as the Armenian Apostolic Church, there are also Protestant and Catholic communities, but these are comparatively few in numbers and maintain their separate organizations.

Among charity organizations, the foremost are the Armenian General Benevolent Union and the Armenian Relief Corps, both of which are institutions of long standing, maintaining chapters in all important Armenian centers. Both pursue similar aims, namely,— to aid needy Armenians, to encourage and foster Armenian culture, to promote education in



general, and to further the material security and intellectual advancement of the Armenians in the homeland and abroad. The Armenian Relief Corps, which is the continuation of the Armenian Red Cross which came into existence during the period of the Independent Republic and which is purely a women's organization, has for its special aim medical and sanitary aid to needy Armenians, helping widows and orphans, as well as hastening aid to Armenian prisoners and the war-stricken. Both organizations have a great many members and friends and both play an important part in Armenian life.

In addition to these, there are also numerous other charitable and compatriotic organizations whose aims are likewise to aid their compatriots, materially and morally.

The most stimulating force in Armenian life, however, are the political parties with their branch activities, their public meetings and their press. At present, in the United States, there are found the following parties:

1—THE ARMENIAN REVOLUTIONARY FEDERATION.—This organization, as everywhere in the world, is the most numerous, most popular, and strongest of all. Its members are largely workingmen, artisans, small businessmen, and intellectuals. Their press has the widest circulation of any other Armenian publication in the United States. This party publishes, in Boston, an Armenian language daily called *Hairenik*, an Armenian language monthly magazine *Hairenik*, and an English language weekly called *Hairenik Weekly*, and, in Fresno, an Armenian language weekly newspaper called *Asbarez*.

The Armenian Revolutionary Federation has existed in the United States since 1895. Its aim is to aid materially and morally the cause of Armenia's

emancipation. As an organization, it maintains a strictly neutral attitude towards American politics, but its members freely participate in American public life according to their inclinations and convictions. In its world outlook and in its activities, the Federation is inexorably opposed to all dictatorial orders and is a strong advocate of democracy. In regard to Armenia, it stands for a united and free Armenia, and expects that, after the war, Armenia too shall benefit from the promises of the Atlantic Charter.

2—THE ARMENIAN DEMOCRATIC LIBERAL PARTY.—This is a fusion of the former Reorganized Hunchagist and Constitutional Democrat parties founded in 1921. It maintains some branches in various cities in the United States, publishes, in Boston, an Armenian language daily newspaper called Baikar, and in Fresno a similar weekly paper called Nor Or.

By platform, this party is a democratic liberal organization committed likewise to the idea of a united independent Armenia.

Theoretically opposed to dictatorships and Bolshevism since the sovietization of Armenia in 1921, it has, however, been reconciled with the Soviet regime and continues to seek the friendship of the Soviet Government. Down deep, however, it too maintains the same view in regard to Bolshevism and Armenia as the Armenian Revolutionary Federation. Like the Federation, this party also maintains a neutral attitude towards American politics.

3—THE SOCIAL DEMOCRAT HUNCHAGIST PARTY.—This party entered the United States in the 1890's and, for a time, it was the strongest Armenian organization. In the course of years it was disrupted and lost much ground until today it maintains scarcely a few branches with a negligible membership. Its

organ is Yeridasard Hayastan, an Armenian language tri-weekly newspaper published in New York.

Although Social Democratic by political platform, this party aspires to Armenia's independence and the establishment of a social-democratic order. It has actually recognized the Soviet Government and endeavors to carry out the plans mapped out by the latter.

4 — THE ARMENIAN BOLSHEVIKS.— These have a very negligible following in the United States and exert no moral influence whatsoever among the Armenians. They derive their power chiefly from the Soviet Government and the charm of Armenia.

Afraid of government prosecution, the Armenian Bolsheviks avoid any membership in the American Communist Party and carry on their activities under non-party names. They operated at one time under the name of the Committee to Aid Armenia (H-O-K), and today they hide their true identity under the false name of "Progressives." They publish an Armenian language bi-weekly newspaper called *Lraber* in New York.

Although maintaining a few branches in various cities of the United States, the Progressive Party scarcely exerts any perceptible influence on American Armenian life. And if some of their public affairs are well attended, the reason is because the Progressives exploit the name of Armenia and the festivals dedicated to Armenia, both of which are very dear to the hearts of the Armenian people.

The Armenian Bolsheviks have no real political platform. They pursue no Armenian national or political aims, and consider the Armenian Question as solved by the establishment of the Soviets. They are satisfied with the present status of Armenia and take their orders from Moscow or from Yerevan.

## CHAPTER XII

### ARMENIA AND AMERICA

A distance of nearly 5000 miles separates Armenia from America. This geographical factor explains why only in recent times America has been politically interested in Armenia. Cultural and humanitarian relations between America and Armenia, however, began a century ago.

American missionaries entered Turkey in 1831 and established their headquarters in Bebek, a suburb of Constantinople. Their aim was to spread light among the inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire, and, naturally, it was expected that they would confine their activities to the conversion of non-christian Mohammedans; the Armenians, the Greeks, the Nestorians and the other Christian denominations needed no salvation. But, before long, the American missionaries became convinced that they could hope for no success among the Mohammedans; they, therefore, turned their attention chiefly upon the Christian Armenians. The fact that the American schools established in various parts of the Empire were chiefly attended by Armenian students, who voraciously devoured the knowledge which the Americans had brought them, contributed to this change in no small measure. The Turks, on the other hand, were suspicious of those "Giavour" (infidel) Americans, not to mention the fact that they generally had no great love for learning, and looked with suspicion on all western innova-

tions. Thus, for a whole century, the missionaries in Turkey busied themselves with the Christians and did nothing to convert a single Moslem.

The American missionaries exerted a great influence upon the Christians of Turkey, particularly the Armenians. Their numerous schools and colleges in Armenian populated centers forged a young generation imbued with American liberal ideas—a young generation which later assumed a very important role in Armenian national life. What is more, through the inspiration of these missionaries, and often with their material aid, scores of Armenian youths came to America to obtain advanced education.

These missionary institutions were the object of the Armenians' respect and love, especially because they, like the Swiss, Swedish and Danish institutions, did not pursue political aims in Turkey, but confined their activity to the relief of oppressed peoples through sheer humanitarian motives. The best demonstration of this sentiment was seen during the first world war when the Turkish government attempted the mass annihilation of the Armenian people. The American ambassador to Constantinople, Henry Morgenthau, was the first to inform the world of the Turkish crime. Early in September, 1915, he wired the State Department in Washington from Constantinople that "the destruction of the Armenian race is rapidly progressing," and asked for immediate steps to effect their rescue. An American official communication, written in the early September of 1915, reads in part:

"Unless the whole movement be stopped at once, there is, I am firmly convinced, not the slightest chance of any of the exiles surviving this coming winter, except possibly the wealthiest among them, nor do the authorities make any secret of the fact that their main object is the extermination of the whole

Armenian race. The Vali admitted quite frankly, 'We are determined to get rid, once and for all, of this cancer in our country. It has been our greatest political danger, only we never realized it as much as we do now. It is true that many innocent are suffering with the guilty but we have no time to make any distinction. We know it means an economic loss to us, but it is nothing compared with the danger we are hereby escaping.'

"Without commenting upon the truth or falsity of these remarks, the fact remains that the Turks are rapidly depleting the country of some of the thriftiest, most intelligent and, in many respects, the most valuable element of their population. One has only to walk through the streets of any town in the interior to realize how this deportation has wrought havoc with the life of the community. Nearly all doctors, dentists, tailors, and carpenters are gone, in short, every profession or trade requiring the least skill has been stopped, not to mention the complete stagnation of all business of any consequence."\*

The harrowing tale of Turkish atrocities which kept coming in one after another shocked American public opinion, thus giving rise to an intense humanitarian and political movement which, later, greatly effected the Armenian Question, as well as the fate of the Armenian Republic. Under the immediate stimulus of Ambassador Morgenthau's trumpet warnings, on September 16, 1915, the Armenian Relief Committee was founded with James L. Barton as chairman; Charles H. Crane, treasurer; and Samuel T. Dutton, secretary. This group had for its aim the raising of 100,000 dollars for the immediate relief of the Armenian victims in Turkey. The State Department as-

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\* J. L. Barton, "Story of Near East Relief, 1930, New York, p. 11.

sured the Committee of its full support, and within a short time this committee had already raised more than its quota and by October had sent 100,000 dollars to Ambassador Morgenthau. In November of 1915, the Armenian Relief Committee was converted into the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief which now absorbed all those organizations which had been working for the alleviation of suffering in these countries. Later, in 1919, by a special act of Congress, this committee was reorganized under the name of The Near East Relief and played a providential role in the life of Near Eastern peoples, meanwhile serving as an outstanding manifestation of best American national sentiments and traditions. In his foreword to James L. Barton's "Story of Near East Relief," the late President Calvin Coolidge thus characterizes the organization.

"It was national because it received its support from all our people and was endorsed by Congress and by all our Presidents throughout its history; and with its widely extended work of life and child saving, it represented the true spirit of our country, for its benevolence extended to three continents where, irrespective of religion and creed, it clothed the naked, fed the starving and provided shelter, care and practical schooling for more than a hundred and thirty thousand fatherless waifs left as wreckage from the Great War. . . . No private enterprise ever undertaken by Americans and in the name of America has accomplished more to arouse, in the minds and hearts of all the peoples of the countries in which this organization has carried on operations, a sincere regard and even affection for America."

In the summer of 1919, aid to Armenia was also hastened by the American Relief Administration, headed by Herbert Hoover. According to Dr. J. L.

Barton, Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Near East Relief, "from January, 1919, to July, 1920, the total relief distributed in Armenia and the Caucasus amounted to 137,765 metric tons, with a value of \$11,155,591, including a special gift from the Red Cross of \$500,000. Nearly thirty percent of the supplies that were used were furnished by the Committee.

"The American Relief Administration provided over 50,000 tons of food with a value of \$10,630,872 from the Congressional Relief appropriation, and the American Government gave its notes covering this amount. By a later act of Congress, March, 1920, the United States Grain Corporation contributed 40,000 tons of flour, representing a government gift of \$4,813,144.

"The Commonwealth Fund cooperated in a special feeding program for children through an appropriation of \$750,000. Other funds and clothing were received from the American Relief Administration, the Red Cross, the Canadian Fund, for cattle and seed grain, Lord Mayor's Fund and Friends of Armenia.

"The United States was the only government to appropriate relief for Armenia during this period."\*

During its fifteen years existence, the Near East Relief raised \$91,146,212. Of this sum 7 millions were spent for administrative expenses, publications, and the like, 7 millions for transportation of supply goods and contingent expenses, and \$75,526,143 was actually spent for the relief of the war-stricken peoples of the Caucasus, Turkey, Greece, Iran, Syria, Palestine, Egypt and Bulgaria. A large share of this sum went to the Christian peoples rescued from Turkish barbarism and to Armenia during her days of terrible crisis—

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\* J. L. Barton, "Story of Near East Relief," 1930, pp. 124-125.



a noble act which has left the Armenians eternally grateful to America.

This American charitable relationship brought in its train a natural American political interest in Armenia and the fate of the Armenian people, especially in view of the fact that the question of Armenia's freedom, which at the time was included in the Allied war aims, was in full accord with these ideals in the defense of which the United States had entered the war.

In his letter to the Provisional Government of Russia, dated June 9, 1917, President Wilson wrote:

"America seeks no material profit or aggrandisement of any kind. She is fighting for no advantage or selfish object of her own, but for the liberation of peoples everywhere from an aggression of autocratic forces. No people must be forced under sovereignty under which it does not wish to live. No territory must change hands except for the purpose of securing those who inhabit it a fair chance of life and liberty."\*

Three months later, on June 8, 1918, in his speech before Congress, President Wilson stated his famous Fourteen Points defining the war aims. The 12th article pertained to Turkey and fully accorded with Armenian aspirations:

"XII. 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, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantee."

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\* J. B. Scott, "President Wilson's Foreign Policy," pp. 319-20.

One year later, on February 24, 1919, President Wilson made the following touching call to the American people: "Have you thought of the sufferings of Armenia? You poured out your money to help succor the Armenians after they suffered; now set your strength so that they shall never suffer again."

The Armenian people understood Wilson's declaration as meaning that Armenia should be independent after the war. They were taken in the same sense by international public opinion and all political circles, as well as by the people of the United States. As a tangible expression of that mood, the American Committee for the Independence of Armenia was formed immediately after the Armistice under the secretaryship of James W. Gerard, former ambassador to Berlin, having for its members many noted American state, church, scientific, and public figures such as William Jennings Bryan, Elihu Root, Henry Cabot Lodge, John Sharp Williams, Charles W. Eliot, Nicholas Murray Butler, Samuel Gompers, William H. King, William T. Manning, Albert Bushnell Hart, Myron T. Herrick, Cleveland H. Dodge, Alfred Smith, Oscar S. Straus, Stephen S. Wise, and others.

This committee represented and championed the cause of Armenia in the United States and enjoyed the warm sympathy and support of the entire American people and the government.

On November 21, 1918, a few days after the armistice, President Wilson expressed himself definitely in favor of the creation of an independent Armenia. He said: "I feel very strongly that the Armenians should be given their independence," and declared that he intended to present to the Senate a resolution to that effect. In echo of this mood, on December 10, 1918, Senator Lodge, leader of the Republican Party, presented to the Senate a resolution

in which hope was expressed "that the Peace Conference will make arrangement for helping Armenia to establish an independent Republic."

It must be stated that there was no essential difference between the views of the two great American parties, Republican and Democrat, concerning the political status of Armenia; both admitted that she must be an independent state consisting of former Turkish and Russian Armenias. Both parties cherished a warm sympathy for the Armenians and both were ready to actively assist Armenia. The difference lay in their views of the form of American-Armenian political relationship. President Wilson, and the Democratic Party generally, were inclined to the idea of an American mandate over Armenia, whereas the Republican Party was opposed to an American mandate and, instead, stood ready to assist Armenia directly, by signing a treaty with her, as from state to state. This difference of viewpoints stemmed from the general principles of the two parties on American foreign policy. The victory of the Republicans resulted in America's isolation from European affairs, together with its fatal consequences; and this very same controversy between the two parties later had its tragic effect upon the fate of Armenia and the Armenian people.

On February 8, 1919, Senator Lodge's resolution was telegraphed to President Wilson who already had left for the Paris Peace Conference. The President wired in answer that he would be "as watchful as possible to do my utmost in Armenia's behalf." On March 3, 1919, the American Committee for the Independence of Armenia presented to President Wilson two sets of printed petitions, signed by twenty thousand ministers, rectors and priests; 85 bishops; 40 governors and 250 college and university presidents,

respectfully asking him "to do your utmost to secure and insure the independence of Armenia . . . and to exert your great influence to the end that the Peace Conference may make requisite arrangements for helping Armenia to establish adequate reparation for the terrible losses the Armenian people have suffered during the war."

In February of 1919, when the Allied Powers took up the question of the peace treaty with Turkey, the latter was a defeated and thoroughly exhausted state and it would not have been a difficult thing for the Allies to have forced upon her a permanent treaty in accordance with the Allied declared principles; but President Wilson asked for a postponement of the question, meanwhile impressing the Powers with the firm conviction that the United States would assume the mandate of Armenia. He promised to give a final answer by August of that year, or September at the latest. This postponement reacted in a generally adverse manner on Near Eastern affairs and had a fatal effect upon the Armenian cause, as has been detailed. Later, the delay was subjected to such severe criticism that the British Government was forced to exonerate itself from all blame. On June 23, 1920, Lloyd George stated in the House of Commons that postponement of the Turkish problem had been due to the request made to the Allies by America, and Austin Chamberlain, on October 13, 1922, declared that the Allies were encouraged by President Wilson to believe that America would take part in the Turkish settlement, and had therefore postponed action.

President Wilson's step may be explained by two basic causes: first, he was not closely acquainted with all the Near Eastern problems and wanted unimpeachable information; secondly, his activities were greatly impeded by the American internal disagree-

ments and the controversy between the Republicans and the Democrats in regard to the peace settlement. The Democrat Party and Wilson advocated American participation in the treaties to be signed and in the League of Nations which was about to be formed, and were ready to shoulder the consequent responsibilities of such moves, one of which would have been the protectorate of the Near East and particularly of Armenia. The Republican Party which carried the weight of American public opinion, on the other hand, was decisively opposed to such a policy, but was willing that the United States should recognize the independence of Armenia at once and hasten her active aid. This attitude is fully expressed in the following telegram, dated June 22, 1919, which Charles Evans Hughes, Elihu Root, Henry Cabot Lodge, John Sharp Williams, James W. Gerard, Alfred E. Smith, Frederic Courtland Penfield, and Charles W. Eliot sent to President Wilson in Paris.

"We believe that without regard to party or creed the American people are deeply interested in the welfare of Armenia. When the unspeakable Turks were perpetrating their diabolical crimes upon men, women and children of Armenia, American hearts were stirred with impotent horror. But with the triumph of right over primitive barbarity we had hoped that the Peace Conference would make it one of its first duties to take necessary steps to put a stop to the agony of Armenia and recognize her fidelity and services to our cause. We now believe that the prevailing insecurity of life and intense want in the major portion of Armenia make immediate action an imperative and sacred duty. We therefore respectfully urge that, as a first step in that direction, either the Allies or America or both should at once send to Caucasian Armenia requisite food, munitions and supplies for

fifty thousand men, and such other help as they may require to enable the Armenians to take over the non-occupied parts of Armenia, within the boundaries defined in the Memorandum of the Delegation of integral Armenia. We trust that it may be possible to secure prompt and full justice for Armenia."

The demand for hastening immediate aid to Armenia had become an imperative necessity in view of the grievous internal situation caused by the postponement of the Turkish treaty, the vacillating attitude of the Allies and the Kemalist movement which had just been born in Turkey. Encouraged by the prevailing controversies among the Allied Powers, and emboldened by the secret support of Italy, France and Russia, Mustafa Kemal had revolted against the government of Constantinople and had refused to yield to the Allied demands.

In the summer of 1919, England announced her decision to withdraw her troops from Transcaucasia and Armenia. This placed the Armenian Republic in grave danger and in need of immediate help. In August of the same year Messrs. Lodge, Hughes, Root, Eliot, and others urged the President to send troops to Armenia. Then, on September 6, the Secretary of State revealed that "with the cordial approval of their Government, France had agreed to send ten to twelve thousand troops into the Caucasus to replace the British troops." The latter promise, however, was never carried out as result of the disagreements among the Allies. Mr. Auguste Benard (officier d'Academie) writes in this connection: "Had it not been for the subsequent intrigues of some of the Great Powers, these measures would have been consolidated and rendered secure the position of the Armenian Republic. But, the United States Government, which had given its assent to our sending troops to

Armenia, informed us a few days later, that it, itself, had decided to send troops to Armenia."

As a matter of fact, on September 8, Senator Williams presented to the Senate a resolution authorizing the President to send troops to Armenia and arms and munitions to the Armenian army. The Senate subcommittee, under the chairmanship of Senator Harding, took up an examination of the resolution which lasted until October 10. Being busy with the presidential election campaign, Senator Harding delayed his committee's report to the Senate by ten months, and France, taking advantage of this delay, withdrew her offer. For the same reason, England too refrained from her promise to send arms and munitions to the Armenian army and promptly withdrew her troops from Transcaucasia, leaving Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan defenseless before the menace of Kemalist Turkey and Bolshevik Russia.

Hampered by the intrigues and the rivalries of the Great Powers, President Wilson, despite his good intentions, was unable to extend any tangible help to Armenia. In August of 1919, he sent a military commission of 26, under Major General John G. Harbord, to the Near East with instructions "to investigate and report on political, military, geographical, administrative, economic and other considerations involved," with a view to determining the proposition of whether or not America should accept a mandate in that region. The Mission visited Turkey, Armenia and Transcaucasia and returned with a detailed report which, however, remained a dead letter.

The same summer, at President Wilson's behest, the Allied Supreme Council sent Colonel Haskell, as High Commissioner, to Armenia. The Commissioner's presence in Armenia, however, was only of moral sig-

nificance inasmuch as he had no force at his disposal to back his authority.

Armenia needed immediate help to defend her boundaries, and while American public opinion was in favor of hastening help, President Wilson continued to insist on the mandate, thus delaying the settlement of the Turkish question. President Wilson was also unable to fulfill his promise to the Allies concerning the final answer in September which would settle the Turkish question.

On December 18, 1919, J. W. Gerard, Charles E. Hughes, A. B. Parker, E. Root, F. C. Penfield, N. M. Butler, J. G. Schurman, J. G. Hibben, P. N. Rhinlander, and B. A. Fiske, in a telegram addressed to President Wilson, again expressed themselves as opposed to the idea of mandate and stated that "representative American opinion has already expressed itself with convincing emphasis in favor of the creation of an Armenian state." They insisted on the immediate recognition of Armenian independence and instant help to Armenia. "We believe," they said, "the American people will gladly sanction America's extending necessary aid to Armenia during the formative period. We therefore respectfully ask that the Administration declare itself in favor of America's extending direct aid to Armenia; to that end, formulate a definite continuing policy, and as a preliminary step in that direction, recognize at once the Armenian Republic. This recognition will enable the Armenian Government to borrow the necessary funds to meet the most pressing needs of its starving people, and will also be a practical step toward the erection of a United Armenia."

In spite of all this, and the fact that the Senate on April 4, 1920, had refused to ratify the Versailles Treaty and the League Covenant, President Wilson



was immovable. On April 25, 1920, the Allied Supreme Council in San Remo asked President Wilson to determine the boundaries of Turkey and Armenia in the States of Erzerum, Trebizond, Van, and Bitlis. The President accepted the proposal, and, on April 22, 1920, Armenia was formally recognized by the United States.

At the same time President Wilson appealed to the Senate to authorize him to accept a mandate for Armenia. It was apparent that, after the rejection of the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Senate would be unlikely to accept the mandate of any country. This was precisely what happened as the Senate rejected the President's plea in its session of May 27. This rejection did not mean, however, that the Senate was opposed to aiding Armenia. There never was any question of any unwillingness on the part of either the Democrats or the Republicans to help Armenia.

By the Treaty of Sevres, signed on August 10, 1920, between Turkey, the Allies and Armenia, the latter was recognized as an independent state, leaving the demarcation of her boundaries to President Wilson. Not being at war with Turkey, the United States was not a participant in the Sevres Treaty; nevertheless President Wilson assumed the responsibility of defining Armenia's boundaries according to his commitment after the San Remo Conference.

According to Wilson's map, drawn on November 22, 1920, Armenia acquired from Turkey 42,000 square kilometers of land in addition to the Caucasian section which consisted of an area of 26,491 square kilometers,— the whole making a total area of 68,491 square kilometers.

In his note of August 10 to the Italian Ambassador, Secretary Colby wrote: 'While gladly giving

recognition to the independence of Armenia, the Government of the United States has taken the position that final determination of its boundaries must not be made without Russia's cooperation and agreement. Not only is Russia concerned because a considerable part of the territory of the new state of Armenia, when it shall be defined, formerly belonged to the Russian Empire; equally important is the fact that Armenia must have the good-will and the protective friendship of Russia if it is to remain independent and free."

In this respect the Armenian people, including all factions, were convinced that Russia would be friendly toward the formation of the Armenian state and that the question of boundaries would be solved in a manner satisfactory to both parties.

It is apparent from all this that the American people and the Government, headed by President Wilson, were in favor of Armenia's independence and had made not only moral, but also political commitments for Armenia. Wilson's successor, President Harding, also continued this sympathetic attitude. On December 17, 1920, he authorized Senator Lodge to advise the Secretary of State that he favored the sending of an identical note to the Powers, which read in part as follows:

"The Government of the United States views with grave concern the nonfulfilment, up to the present time, of the promise made to the Armenian people by spokesmen of your Government.

"It is reluctant, therefore, not being a party to the Sevres Treaty, to more than call to your attention the urgent propriety and necessity that the Powers concerned shall effectuate the terms of the President's award to Armenia.

"The Congress of the United States will be asked

to authorize such financial and material aid to the New Republic when put in possession of its rightful territory."

On May 30, 1921, President Harding again repeated, "I am still in favor of the independence of Armenia and of the Armenian people and Government doing their share in the upbuilding of Armenia," and on November 8, 1922, on the occasion of the Lausanne Conference, he promised that "Everything that may be done will be done to protect the Armenian people and to preserve to them the rights which the Sevres Treaty undertook to bestow."

On August 6, 1923, after the Treaty of Lausanne, when the Great Powers of Europe had abandoned the cause of Armenia by signing treaties of peace with Turkey, the United States signed a similar treaty with the Turks in which she completely ignored Armenia and the Armenian Question. The American people revolted against this humiliating treaty, and the fight against the ratification of the Lausanne Treaty continued for three years with intense feeling. Prominent leaders of both the Democratic and Republican parties, and a great portion of the public opinion were opposed to the ratification. In 1924, the Democratic Party included the following special plank in its platform:

"We favor the protection of American rights in Turkey and the fulfillment of President Wilson's arbitrary award respecting Armenia."

The Senate finally rejected the Lausanne Treaty on January 18, 1927. From then on, despite the sovietization of Armenia, the American Government continued to consider Armenia as an independent state for more than ten years until the United States' recognition of the Soviet Union.

Whatever the changes brought about by political

events, there is no doubt that, today, the American people still cherish the same sentiments toward Armenia and adhere to the same ideals and political traditions which prevailed at the time of Wilson. On the strength of this the Armenian people hopefully await the hour of their restitution.

### CHAPTER XIII

## THE PRESENT SITUATION AND ARMENIAN ASPIRATIONS

What is the condition of Armenia and the Armenian people today? What are the political aspirations of the Armenian people?

Armenia today is divided into two parts: the portion in the north which is a member of the Soviet Union under the title of Soviet Socialist Republic of Armenia, and the tract in the south which has been seized by the Turks.

The Armenian population of the latter division has been driven from the land and the remaining Turks and Kurds constitute only an insignificant number. The greater part of the villages and towns in this section are either in ruins or in a semi-demolished state. The land is left uncultivated, the economic life is dead and fully half the country is depopulated and desolate.

Turkish information, itself obviously exaggerated, shows that Turkish Armenia is devoid of population, and the few peasants who remain are grovelling in ignorance and in misery. According to *Istatistiki Yelliki* (Annuaire Statistique), the October 20, 1933 official Turkish census, there were 8 inhabitants per square kilometer in the province of Agri (Ararat), 12 in Erzinga, 13 in Erzerum, 10, Gumushkhane, 18, Kars, 4, Van, 9, Moush,— an average of

10.5 inhabitants per square kilometer—, which means that, compared with the past, the land is practically depopulated. Since 1935, a portion of these provinces, Erzinga in particular, has been subjected to severe earthquakes, resulting in considerable human and material loss. Similar losses also were sustained during the Kurdish insurrection of 1937-1938.

The intellectual standard of the population in these regions presents an even more dismal picture. According to the same Turkish census, illiteracy in the province of Agri was up to 99%, Erzinga, 96.2%, Erzerum, 97.7%, Gumushkhane, 97.4%, Kars, 97.1%, Moush, 99.3%, Van, 99%. The same official document states that 97.1% of the entire population of Turkey can neither read nor write. And yet, lo and behold, a people of such low literacy is acclaimed by the civilized nations of Europe and America today as a champion of civilization and of democracy, and is classed alongside the European and American peoples!

The Armenians, who lived in these same regions before the massacres and the deportations, had many schools, colleges, libraries, printing presses, newspapers and periodicals, theaters, and other cultural institutions. Today, this same people, exiled to foreign lands and eagerly awaiting the hour when they shall return to the fatherland, are even more intellectually advanced and, hence, even better prepared to re-inhabit, rebuild and redevelop their country.

There is no official count as to the number of Armenians expelled from Turkey, or of those who have emigrated from time to time. The following figures, based on information supplied by Armenian national church foundations and local authorities, may be

taken as a reliable estimate of the number of the Armenians.

|                                                                                 |           |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| Soviet Union                                                                    | 400,000   |
| North America (United States and Canada)                                        | 200,000   |
| Syria and Lebanon                                                               | 175,000   |
| Turkey*                                                                         | 150,000   |
| Iran                                                                            | 100,000   |
| France                                                                          | 75,000    |
| Rumania                                                                         | 40,000    |
| Bulgaria                                                                        | 30,000    |
| Greece                                                                          | 30,000    |
| Egypt and Sudan                                                                 | 30,000    |
| Argentine                                                                       | 20,000    |
| Iraq                                                                            | 15,000    |
| Europe (England, Germany, Italy, Poland,<br>Hungary, Belgium, Switzerland etc.) | 10,000    |
| Palestine and Transjordan                                                       | 7,000     |
| Brazil                                                                          | 5,000     |
| Uruguay                                                                         | 5,000     |
| Cyprus                                                                          | 4,000     |
| India and Java                                                                  | 3,000     |
| Manchuria and China                                                             | 2,000     |
| Ethiopia                                                                        | 1,000     |
| Various other countries (Mexico, Cuba, Chile,<br>Algeria, Morocco etc.)         | 5,000     |
| Total                                                                           | 1,307,000 |

The Soviet census of January 17, 1939 placed the number of the Armenians within the Soviet Union

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\* The Turkish state census is taken according to language and not race. Many Armenians, as well as other non-Turkish races, often represent the Turkish as their native language for the purposes of self defense as result of which the number of the Armenians is represented less than the true figure. It must be supposed that the true number is much larger than this.

at 2,150,000, including Armenians from Turkish Armenia. According to the same census the Armenian increase in birthrate was 4 percent. If this increased rate since the date of the census is added to the total number which at the time existed, the number of the Armenians in the Soviet Union today is no less than 2,500,000 in round figures, and, taken together with the Armenians in the world reaches to around 3,400,000.

The 1939 census estimated the total number of the Armenians in Soviet Armenia at 1,281,591. Of this number, 915,183 are rural, and 366,416, urban. The Armenians constitute 85 percent of the entire population.

From the standpoint of birthrate, Armenia holds first place in the Soviet Union. Armenia's present area is not enough to shelter and feed her fast growing population, and this situation accounts for the fact that less than half of the total two and a half million Armenians in the Union actually live in Armenia. This also accounts, to a large degree, why the Armenians abroad are not permitted to move to Armenia.

More than two thirds of the area of Soviet Armenia is mountainous country unsuitable for agriculture, whereas more than two thirds of the population are agriculturists. In view of this sharp land crisis, it is easily understood, therefore, why an important part of the population is compelled to seek work outside the fatherland, either in Soviet Russia, or abroad.

Despite this situation, and despite the restrictions of the Soviet regime, Armenia has made perceptible economic and cultural progress during the past two decades. Yerevan, which during the Tsarist rule was only a backward provincial town with a popula-



tion of scarcely 25,000-30,000, having been made the capital with the creation of the Armenian Republic, has grown speedily until today it is a flourishing metropolis with, according to the official census of 1939, a population of 200,031, and is the Republic's main economic and cultural center. Yerevan boasts a university, more than two dozens of colleges and high schools, museums, a state opera, a conservatory of music, theaters, a national library housing two million volumes—a repository of some of the richest manuscripts in the world—scientific and art institutions, huge industrial plants, a synthetic rubber factory—the largest in the Soviet Union—the Ararat winery, famous for its cognac—, chemical plants, electric power stations, and the like.

Leninakan and Kirovakan are other industrial centers. Armenia has attained a high rate of production in copper, cotton, the growing of grapes, tobacco, grains, the development of marble quarries and other construction stones, and has an extensive network of electric power stations; also numerous chemical factories, and plants manufacturing canned goods and wine. Armenia excels in its dairy products, tobacco and other commodities.

Armenia is one of the most literate countries of the Soviet Union. Illiteracy there is almost nonexistent. A network of schools compassing the whole country almost wholly meets the educational needs of the entire young generation.

Thanks to the constructive genius of the Armenian people, Armenia, a backward province during the Tsarist regime, has been converted today into a flourishing country even though under the most disheartening conditions;— while a little yonder, wilderness and darkness reign within the parts of Armenia now under Turkish rule. It is very natural, therefore,

that the Armenians are full of bitterness against such an unjust condition. Today the Armenian Question is primarily a question of territory,— specifically, the question of expanding the boundaries of Armenia to an extent which will meet the demands of the natural growth of population and the necessity of providing adequate room for those expatriated who want to return to the fatherland.

The Armenian people have no imperialistic inclinations. They have no eyes on the property of other peoples. They want only their own land, the land which has been forcibly wrested from them, their own property which others have seized and which has fallen into a desolate wilderness. If law and justice are not mere empty words, if civilization really insures all peoples, great or small, conditions of free existence and progress, then it follows that, with their historic past, their inborn talents, their high culture, their intrepid fight and their sacrifices for liberty, and their unbounded devotion and service to the cause of civilization, the Armenian people have the first right to hope and to demand that the injustice done them should be rectified, and that their rightful inheritance be restored to them. That will be the least compensation for those sacrifices and tortures to which they were subjected in furthering the cause of liberty.

The creation of the Armenian Republic of 1918, its recognition by great or small nations, the Treaty of Sevres, President Wilson's draft of its boundaries which sanctified the international concept of a United and Independent Armenia,— these were the consummation of the Armenian people's political aspirations. These aspirations remain in force today.

Relying on those moral and judicial foundations the Armenian people await the hour of just resti-

tution. When the roar of the cannon is stilled and the hour of the world's new order of liberty and justice is here, Armenia and the Armenian people also must have their rightful place under the sun.

The practical solution of the Armenian Question depends wholly upon the outcome of the war and the future peace. One thing, however, is certain. It is no longer possible to return Armenians to the Turkish rule. There is the blood of one million martyrs between the Armenians and the Turks which cannot be easily forgotten. It is not easy to put under the same roof two peoples who radically differ from each other in character, temperament, native ability, religion, and who are embittered by centuries of enmity. It will be a good thing for both if they are apart and live their own separate lives. In the course of time they may be able to restore normal, and even friendly relations. Confined together, they shall always remain enemies and such companionship shall always remain a source of endless trouble. The great nations which shall decide the fate of the world must take this circumstance into consideration.

The New York Times justly commented editorially, years ago: \*

"The Armenians were mistreated chiefly because they were Christians and held to their religion inflexibly, incidentally because they were economically superior to the Turks.

"A nation that has been sacrificed for the faith and the civilization of Europe should not again be betrayed, in whole or in part, by Europe and America."

Today, the situation is the same as it was a quarter of a century ago. Today, once again, Europe and America have included in their war aims the

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\* The New York Times, Feb. 16, 1919.

demand for justice to oppressed and wronged nations.—  
“The right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live, sovereign rights and self-government returned to those who have been forcibly deprived of them, and a place which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries.” (The Atlantic Charter)

What the Armenian people expect is nothing different—a permanent peace, security for free development, and the right to self-determination and to choose the form of its own government—a right which all nations, great or small, will undoubtedly enjoy after this war.

President Wilson once told the American senate that “our recognition of the independence of Armenia will mean genuine liberty and assured happiness for her people.” And indeed Armenia’s independence was a landmark of Armenian regeneration. The Armenian people hope and trust that the work begun by President Wilson will be finished after this war.

“The Armenian people has never lost its hope; it has waited, waited long. It will always wait.”—  
Friedtjof Nansen.

THE END



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TREATY OF LAUSANE

SIGNED AT LAUSANE JULY 24, 1923

GREECE, ROUMANIA, SERB-CROAT-SLOVENE STATE, US, AND TURKEY

TO EXAMINE TOGETHER THE ARRANGEMENTS BY WHICH A RESULT EQUALLY  
DESIRED BY ALL NATIONS MIGHT BE ACHIEVED.

SECTION III

PROTECTION OF MINORITIES: ARTICLE 38

THE TURCKISH GOV'T UNDERTAKES TO ASSUME FULL AND COMPLETE PROTECTION  
OF LIFE LIBERTY TO ALL INHABITANTS OF TURKEY WITHOUT DISTINCTION OF  
NATIONALITY, LANGUAGE RACE OR RELIGION.

ALL INHABITANTS SHALL BE ENTITLED TO FREE EXERCISES WHETHER IN PUBLIC  
OR PRIVATE OF ANY CREED RELIGIOUS OR BELIEF THE OBSERVANCE OF WHICH  
SHALL NOT BE INCOMPATIBLE WITH PUBLIC ORDER AND GOOD MORALS.

ARTICLE 39

NO RESTRICTIONS SHALL BE IMPOSED ON FREE USE BY ANY TURKISH NATIONAL  
OF ANY LANGUAGE IN PRIVATE INTERCOURSE, IN COMMERCE RELIGION IN THE  
PRESS OR IN PUBLICATIONS OF ANY KIND OR AT PUBLIC MEETING.

ARTICLE 41

AS REGARDS TO PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, THE TURKISH GOVT WILL GRANT IN THOSE  
TOWNS AND DISTRICTS WHERE A CONSIDERABLE PROPORTIONS OF NON-MOSLEM  
NATIONALS ARE RESIDENT ADEQUATE FACILITIES FOR ENSURING THAT IN THE  
PRIMARY SCHOOLS THE INSTRUCTIONS SHALL BE GIVEN TO THE CHILDREN OF  
SUCH TURKISH NATIONALS THE MEDIUM OF THEIR OWN LANGUAGE. THIS  
PROVISION WILL NOT PREVENT THE TURCKISH GOVT FROM MAKING THE  
TEACHING OF THE TURKISH LANGUAGE OBLIGATORY IN THE SAID SCHOOLS.

IN TOWNS AND DISTRICTS WHERE THERE IS A CONSIDERABLE PROPORTION OF  
TURKISH NATIONALS BELONGING TO NON-MOSLEM MINORITIES THESE MINORITIES  
SHALL BE ASSURED IN EQUATEABLE OF THE ENJOYMENT AND APPLICATION  
OF THE SUMS MAY BE PROVIDED OUT OF PUBLIC FUNDS UNDER THE STATE  
MUNICIPAL OR OTHER BUDGETS FOR EDUCATIONAL RELIGIOUS OR CHARITABLE  
PURPOSE.

ARTICLE 42

TURKISH GOVT UNDERTAKES TO GRANT FULL PROTECTION TO THE CHURCHES  
SYNAGOGUES CEMETERIES AND OTHER RELIGIOUS ESTABLISHMENTS OF ABOVE  
MENTIONED MINORITIES  
NOTWITHSTANDING THE EXISTENCE OF THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE ADEQUATE  
FACILITIES SHALL BE GIVEN TO TURKISH NATIONALS OF NON-TURKISH  
SPEECH FOR THEORAL USE OF THEIR OWN LANGUAGE BEFORE THE COURTS.

