

MINUTES
OF
SECRET MEETINGS
ORGANIZING
THE TURKISH GENOCIDE
OF THE ARMENIANS

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WHAT TURKISH SOURCES SAY ON THE SUBJECT

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BY
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50th ANNIVERSARY OF THE TURKISH MASSACRES OF THE ARMENIANS

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By HAIGAZ K. KAZARIAN

In an effort to destroy all traces of the evidence, the Turkish Government by October of 1918 had carefully removed from its archives all incriminating evidence—the minutes of the secret meetings to organize the Armenian massacres, as well as all documentary literature pertaining to the Armenian deportations of 1915.

This documentary literature also included the correspondence of the ministers with the governors of the provinces of the Ottoman empire and their subordinates—the Valis, the Mutessarifs and the Kaimakams, the orders of the Ministry of War to the commanders of the army, circular letters, and similar accessory communications in regard to the deportations and accompanying confiscations.

Another part of this incriminating literature were the correspondence, the cipher telegrams and the code letters of the infamous machine of massacres which was called *Teshkilati Makhsooussieh*.

In the beginning of 1918, before the flight of Talaat Pasha (the author of the Armenian Deportations), Aziz Bey who was a leading member of the *Teshkilati Makhsooussieh* and former Minister of Internal Security, before his dismissal, removed from the government archives not only the complete set of documents of the *Teshkilati Makhsooussieh* but all the secret correspondence of the Central Government, and never returned them.

Nevertheless, when after the Armistice a court martial was organized to try the authors of the massacres, among the papers of the 5th sub-committee of the Ottoman Parliament, there came to light a number of documents which proved the existence of cipher telegrams and code letters authorizing the formation of brigand bands consisting of released convicts for the purpose of massacring the Armenians, as early as November of 1914. We have now access to some of these documents dated November 16, 1914, November 20, December 16 and 19, 1914, long before the Turkish rout at Sari-Kamish and the resistance stands in self-defense in Van, conclusively proving the formation of brigand bands for the purpose of massacring the Armenians in the regions of Ismidt, Balikesir, Samson and Brusa, as early as November and December of 1914.

The Turks have published a series of books to justify their crimes. The first of these, in old Turkish script, is entitled "Ermeni Komitelerinin Harekiati Ikhtilalieleri Meshrutietden Evvel ve Sonra," (Revolutionary Movements of Armenian Political Parties Before and After the Proclamation of the Ottoman Constitution), 1916, published by the Government Publishing House (Matbaayi Amireh). A similar pack of lies was a book in French entitled "La Questionne Turco-Armenienne" (The Turkish-Armenian Question) by one Alfred Rustem, published in Berne, Switzerland. Rustem was a Polish Jew who married a Turkish woman and became a Turk. He changed his name Alfred to Ahmed and became Ahmed Rustem. His book was published in 1918.

Before World War I, in the 1910's, Ahmed Rustem was Turkish Ambassador in Washington, a post which he kept until 1916 and he exploited his office to feed the American press a stream of lies and so-called "refutations." The American Government put up with him until the beginning of 1916 when the State Department invited him for an interview, and without saying a word, handed him his papers and expelled him from the country. In 1919 he joined the ranks of Mustafa Kemal. His book is a replica of the first Turkish book with such shopworn charges as: "The Armenians were disloyal," "the Armenians had arms and munitions," "the Armenians had bombs," "the Armenians were deported for reasons of military security," and similar lies, completely ignoring the fact that, as early as in the autumn of 1914, the execution of the massacres was begun, the Turkish Government having taken advantage of the world war.

After Rustem, in 1928 Halideh Edib Hanum published two volumes of her Memoirs (in English) about the Armenians, a tedious repetition of the lies and the slanders of the former two books.

In 1950, another Turk by the name of Assad Ouras, a former police chief according to information, published a volume of 785 pages, Turkish in Latin script. This work, published in Ankara, is a non-scientific work full of faulty statistics, outwardly impartial, but intrinsically a slanderous work, highly similar to its predecessors, making the Armenian the culprit and the Turk the innocent victim.

Worthy of attention is an important book of another Turk named Mevlan Zadeh Rifat, entitled "Turkia Inklabinin Ich Yuzu" (The Inner Facet of the Turkish Revolution), in old Turkish and consisting of four parts, published in 1929 by the *El Vakit* printing house of Aleppo, Syria. This work, too, repeats the same views which the Ittidahist Damad Ferid Pasha repeated before the Paris Peace Conference in June of 1919: "The Turks suffered far more casualties during the war than did the Armenians."

According to Mevlan Zadeh Rifat, the atrocities which were committed during the Ittihad regime were the work solely of the Ittihad and the

brigand bands whose number was approximately eight to ten thousand, and that, the Turks of Anatolia were innocent. As to the deportations and the attendant massacres, these were triggered by the Armenian volunteers, following the revolt of Van and the occupation of the fort of Shabin Karahissar.

History generally reinforces its facts with specific dates, yet in all these Turkish books a specific date is never mentioned, to becloud the exact truth and to promote confusion of minds. Fortunately, we have access to a mass of official documents which are dated and which facilitate the determination of the truth and which clearly prove that the massacre of the Armenians was a deliberate plan of the Turkish Government. Should an impartial tribunal examine the above mentioned Turkish works, it assuredly would throw the greater part of them into the sewer.

Apparently Melvan Zadeh Rifat hated the Ittihad an he makes a series of disclosures which we translate literally from the Turkish original:

"The Ittihad and Terakki held in its hand the Ottoman Empire. The generals and army officers who were members of that Party received their education in Germany and they trusted the German invincibility. (page 4).

"The Ittihadist leaders were under German influence and when the two German cruisers entered Turkish waters, Turkey presumably bought them from the Germans. Said Halim, the Turkish Prime Minister, went to the Ittihad headquarters to communicate the news but they already knew all about it and talked about the occupation of Egypt and the Caucasus as well as about opening the way to Turan (page 7). During these consultations, Djavid had told them that the country is bankrupt and they have no money, but Enver had assured them that Germany will give them money. When Turkey joined the war the Germans established a military staff at the Straits. The German Ambassador Wangenheim appeared before the *Merkezi Oumoumi* (Ittihad headquarters) and said to them 'What more do you want? Bulgaria shall be our ally. You shall crush the other elements (the Armenians) who pose as an obstacle on your path. You shall occupy the Caucasus and shall open the highway to Turan (page 13). If you hesitate one week more you shall lose everything.'

"Enver has told them that Germany has extended us its hand and we cannot reject their offer of alliance (page 25)."

The fact of the matter is, ten days before these consultations, August 2, 1914, the alliance had already been signed in secret.

According to Milvan Zadeh, one of the men who triggered the war was the Jew Carasso, a Zionist and a leader of Free Masons who was also an influential member of the Ittihad. It should be noted also, that it was this same Carasso who through the Austrian Foreign Minister Ehrenthal, a Jew, who, on September 1, 1901, through the medium of Wiener Bank

Verein, in behalf of the Zionists, had made an offer to Sultan Hamid of a loan of 20,000,000 gold pounds (\$100,000,000) without interest, and an additional bonus of 5,000,000 pounds (\$25,000,000) in return for the cession of a piece of land to the south of Lake Tiberius (Palestine) for a Jewish homeland (page 73)."

THE ITTIHAD, THE WAR, AND THE INTERNAL FACET OF THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT

Milvan Zadeh continues:

"In the autumn of 1914 the war had become intensified. The British and French fleets had not yet forced the Dardanelles. The Straits were closed and yet the seacoast was under blockade. Russia had sent the important units of the Caucasian army to the border and had taken a defensive position. The man who became Vice Generalissimo, (Enver) wanted to inspect the Russian fronts, and when he learned that the Russian forces defending the Caucasian front were weak, driven by a desire to win new laurels for himself, had a childish notion, and disregarding the hardships of the winter and the problem of logistics so far from the center, assuming the command, wanted to attack the Russians. The commander of the Caucasian front, Damad Hafiz Ismayil Hakki Pasha had disapproved the project and had called the chief officers of the army to a consultation. A number of the members of the Staff had advised a defensive position during the winter (1914-1915) until the summer of 1915, to replenish the understrength ranks, and only then pass to the offensive.

"Enver's associate and Chief of Staff (German) Bronsart Pasha (Von Schellendorff) had disclosed that the Russian armies had been weakened by the German offensives. He then had brought pressure upon Enver to attack Russia in order to lighten the burden of the German armies. Enver used his authority as Vice Generalissimo, and the Turkish army, despite the objections of the army officers, took the offensive in the region of Sari Kamish. By January of 1915 the elite of the Turkish army had been wiped out. And, according to reliable sources, the Turks had lost 75,000 soldiers. (page 82). ⁽¹⁾

"The Russian, taking advantage of this heavy Turkish loss, reinforced with new replacements, launched a counter-offensive.

"On one side, the Russians advanced in the direction of Van, on the other side, by way of the sea coast, they advanced from the Sanjak of Lazistan toward Trebizond, and their center advanced on Erzinka and Erzerum.

(1) On the Turkish rout before Sari Kamish, the German Military Mission later revealed that, out of 100,000 Turkish soldiers, 88,000 perished in battle and the remaining 12,000, without shoes and trench coats, retreated to Erzerum in January of 1915.

"The Armenian volunteer battalions, the vanguard of the Russian armies entered the villages and the towns where they perpetrated atrocities, killing the women, the children and the oldsters, without discrimination.⁽²⁾

"The Armenian brigand bands were filled with vengeance. In previous events, some had lost their fathers and mothers, some their brothers and sisters, their wives and their children either had been killed or raped, their homes and huts had been burnt down and looted. It is quite natural that their hearts were inflamed with revenge. ⁽³⁾

"Politicians knew this well—in regard to the volunteers—and for this reason they had put them on advance guard duty. The fact is, the leaders of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation had come to an understanding with the leaders of the Ittihad and Terakki that, if war broke out between Russia and Turkey, the Armenians would remain neutral. This commitment was made at the 8th A.R.F. World Congress which was held in 1914 in Erzerum. ⁽⁴⁾

"The Ittihad and Terakki Government, upon learning that the Armenian brigand bands had become the vanguard of the Russian armies, made this circumstance a pretext and abrogated the agreement it had made with the Armenian Revolutionary leaders. Then it arrested, one by one, the prominent Dashnaktzakan leaders, exiled them to unknown destinations and had them murdered on the way.

"In Istanbul, such men as Zohrab, Vardkes and Diran Kelegian, men of science and ideas, universally respected, were exiled and were murdered

(2) These allegations of Melvan Zadeh are untrue. On the contrary, it was the Turkish brigand bands who ruined the Armenian villages in Erzerum and the environs, massacred the Armenians of Artanoush, rolled down the mutilated bodies from the heights and killed the priest in front of his church. In the region of Van, Armenian villages, were ruined by the Turkish soldiers, the Kurds and the irregulars, and the same was done to the villages of Urmia. All these were done under the command of Khalil Bey and Djevdet in December of 1914 and January of 1915.

(3) In war, when a volunteer wears the military uniform, he is considered an enemy soldier and is subject to the military code. But the families of these volunteers have no relation whatsoever to the deeds of their kinsmen, according to international law.

(4) This particular point, too, has been distorted. The leaders of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation expressed the wish that Turkey would not join the war for the sake of both her interests and territorial integrity. But in the event of a Russo-Turkish war, the Turkish Armenians would do their patriotic duty in defense of the fatherland while the Russian Armenians would do the same thing as regards Russia, and that's the way it happened. Although Turkish law imposed on the Christians an exemption fee for exemption from military service (active or reserve), nevertheless the Armenians were drafted into the Turkish army at the outbreak of the war. In Russia, 150,000 Armenians (15 percent of their total numbers) were enlisted in the Russian army. Those enlisted in the Turkish army, by an edict of the Ministry of war, February 18, were separated from their units and organized into the so-called Labor Battalions, were isolated, and then systematically decimated by both the military and civil authorities.

on the way. Zohrab and Vartkes Effendis were killed somewhere between Aleppo and Diarbekir, while Diran Kelegian was done to death between Chorum and Amasia. Khazhad, Zartarian, Djangiulian, Daghavarian and like personalities were killed on the way to Tigranocerta, somewhere called Djin Deresi. (page 83)

"The Armenian soldiers in the army were segregated and organized into "Labor Battalions" (Ameleh Tabourou) and were done to death under hard labor.

"This situation alarmed the Armenians and drove them to revolt in self defense. (5)

"Finally the Armenians took over the City of Van. The Governor, Djevdet Bey, who was the brother-in-law of Enver, had fled and until the arrival of Russian forces, a temporary government had been organized under Aram Manoogian. Meanwhile, they had inflicted extreme suffering and privation on the Islam population of the city. (6)

"The leaders of Ittihad and Terakki had been greatly disturbed by these developments and the flight of Enver's brother-in-law further infuriated the Turks against the Armenians. A secret meeting of the *Merkezi Oumoumiyeh* (The Ittihad Central Executive) was held on February 15, 1915 with the express idea of exterminating the Armenians so that not one should be left alive. (page 83)

"In this respect, many disapprove of the way I have presented this decision. And although it was very difficult for me to do this, nevertheless this was the most vivid manner in which I could describe the events to enable the reader to understand the truth without tedium and this was the best way of presenting the absolute reality, including the scientific ability of the actors in the drama, their political and social convictions.

"THE MASSACRES AND THE DEPORTATIONS OF THE ARMENIANS WERE EXCEEDINGLY SAVAGE AND A TRAGIC POLITICAL CRIME.

"The Armenians had supplied the Russian armies with volunteer brigand bands, they had put to flight Djevdet Bey, Enver's brother-in-law, and for this reason the leaders of Ittihad and Terakki held a secret meeting and the decision of this secret meeting was to exterminate all the Armenians,

(5) The words "self-defense" and "revolt" are used promiscuously by the Turkish author. The fight for the defense of life and honor is never regarded as "revolt."

(6) The Armenians of Van had fought for four months in their self-defense before the arrival of the Armenian volunteers, May 6, 1915. Whereas, the Turks had staged massacres in the Armenian villages. They massacred the Armenian villages of Van as early as February and March of 1915; they massacred the region of Akhlat on April 6; and the region of Adiljevaz on April 8. Melvan Zadeh pretends ignorance in regard to these Turkish massacres.

not even sparing the women and children (cholouk chojouk). To put this decision into execution, they organized brigand bands consisting of blood-thirsty ex-convicts which was called 'Teshkilati Makhsoossieh' under the leadership of a committee of three (Uchler Ishra Komitessi) consisting of Dr. Nazim, Dr. Behaeddin Shakir and the Minister of Education Shukri." (7)

"It will not do merely to record these events and become satisfied. The greatest atrocities which were perpetrated cannot be adequately described exactly as they happened. The description of this tragic ("pejiy") and historic secret session of the Ittihad and Terakki, the explanations of the influential Turks who attended the secret meeting, their scientific abilities and their political and social convictions, no doubt, render the grim decision to exterminate the Armenians, more intelligible, and as such, is a contrition to history in determining the authors of the Great Crime." (8)

"I have culled these events and developments," Melvan Zadeh continues, "from reliable sources (salahiyet Darve mevsouzul kalam) at the time and have based them on the writings which I have read. I found it far more proper to introduce the real authors of those heinous crimes against the Armenians and to present the records of the decisions of their secret consultations (Muzaketeh Zabitnamesi).

The minutes of the Secret Meeting

"The secret meeting was held under the chairmanship of Talaat. Dr. Nazim was first to speak. In an animated voice, Dr. Nazim presented the matter in following words:

"Estimable brothers: The fruit of bloodless revolutions is unripe (Kham) and bitter, and the digestion is difficult. There are constant indications of danger and revolt. I have spoken about this on many occasions. Take the Armenians. This time, taking advantage of the war, they have reneged on their promise of remaining neutral, they have volunteered in the Russian army, they have organized brigand bands who have entered Turkish villages and towns, massacred savagely the inhabitants, and in places they have promoted revolts and have threatened to cut off the line of retreat

(7) The greater part of Turkish historians, including Melvan Zadeh, meticulously abstain from mentioning specific dates in regard to Turkish affairs. Melvan Zadeh does not give the specific date of the secret meeting in which the Armenian genocide was decided. The expression "after the occupation of Van" is vague. The fact is the organization of Turkish hatchet men and their operations was a fact as early as October, November and December of 1914. This is substantiated by the records of the edicts of the Turkish Military Court in this respect.

(8) As early as October 11, 1914, the decree for the *Djihad* (war of extermination of the Christians) had been passed, and with supplementary written directives a religious duty was imposed on the Turks, as a God pleasing work, to organize genocidal humanitarian societies making it obligatory on each Turk to kill 3 or 4 Armenians, either openly or in secret, a circumstance which Melvan Zadeh has ignored.

of our armies. In Van, an Armenian leader named Aram has put to flight Djevdet Bey, the brother-in-law of freedom's hero Enver, and has instituted a temporary government.

"The Armenians of Shabin Karahissar, having seized the fort, have raised the flag of rebellion on its ramparts. Although it must be said that Muammer, the Governor of Sebastia, has taken care of them and has killed them all, leaving not one soul who breathes. According to reports, preparations are afoot to raise the banner of revolt everywhere. Behold, Minister of Interior Talaat Pasha is here with us. Ask him.' (page 84) ⁽⁹⁾

"TALAAT—Yes, what Dr. Nazim has said are true. Those snakes again have risen. We must deliver the final knockout.

"HASAN FEHMI. (M.P. from Kastemouni)—What do they want? Why don't they appreciate this era of freedom? That was only a favor to them, let me explain. I, your humble servant, in the era of despotism, was a poor man. As field worker I made propaganda in three cities, giving the people my advice, in return for which I received scarcely a few piasters with which to drag my miserable existence. Thank Allah, then came the new regime of liberty and I became a Deputy to the Parliament and I was a happy man. What more do they (the Armenians) want? Why don't they be content with the favor which was done to me and sit still?

"DR. NAZIM—I will tell you what they want, Khodja Effendi. They want to destroy us. They want to sit in our homes and rule over us. They say to us, 'O Turk, get out of here and get lost; you are not the owner of this land. These mountains, these forests, these rivers are ours, from ancient times, from the beginning, they are ours. History confirms our claim.' Do you understand now, Hodja Effendi?

"HASAN FEHMI.—The perdition of Allah upon them. Let them be exterminated and their bodies be thrown down the rocks.

"AGHA OGHLU AHMED.—Let us set aside the curse and the sophistry. Let us understand the true cause of the revolt of Van and how it came about. In short, let us understand the factors and take necessary measures accordingly. Can we have an explanation of the details of that developments?

"TALAAT—Yes, why not? I will tell you. . . Before joining the war, we had come to an agreement with the Dashnak leaders that, in the event of war, they would remain neutral. The Armenians would aid neither us nor the Russians. This protocol was accepted and endorsed at the Dashnak

⁽⁹⁾ The resistance stand of Shabin Karahissar occurred on June 2, 1915 and lasted until the end of the month, whereas the orders for the deportations and the massacres and cipher telegrams existed as early as March and May of 1915. Melvan Zadeh who divulges the information about the secret meeting, true to his character, confuses these dates as well.

World Congress at Erzerum. But now they have reneged on their promise and have sent volunteers to the Russian armies. They repudiated their promise. They established contacts with the Armenian soldiers in Russian armies under the pretext of persuading them to return home. With the knowledge of the Governor of Van, Djevdet Bey, and by his orders, the Dashnak leader Ishkhan and his two companions were liquidated on the way. And the Governor ordered the M.P. Vramian to be brought to him in chains and threw him in jail (Itch etmish)—He has locked him up in a sack. He wanted to remove Manoogian, too, but the latter was clever, he headed the revolt and put Djevdet Bey to flight. And, having established a temporary government, he has made himself the head of that government. This is the fact of the matter. We are sending troops from all sides. Here is a copy of *Utro Youga*, a newspaper of Rostov, which includes an article entitled "Ten Days."—April 6 to 16. I will read the translation which explains the event.

"Holding the newspaper in his hand, Talaat reads the following:

"For six centuries we have been fighting against a ruthless, barbarian government which has trampled underfoot all human rights and civilization. We shall always fight with the assassin Djevdet who is satiated with the blood of the Armenians. . . They have declared a holy war and they have massacred the women and the children, the oldsters and the youth, the sick and the maimed as if they were enemies, in the interior provinces.

"We, the Armenians of Vaspourakan (Van) have been fighting for ten days with all our power, individual and national. This fight shall become memorable in our history, and during the world war, it will be appreciated by all civilized nations. . . The whole world shall know that a handful of heroes are fighting for the sake of justice. The God of vengeance is with us. The desire and the honor of our heroes shall be our reward."

"AGHA OGHLU AHMED—How can the Dashnak Party represent the whole nation? The party may have made a promise in the name of a number of its members, but it does not represent the whole nation. The whole nation cannot be held responsible for such an action. You have made an agreement with one segment of the Armenian people, namely the Dashnak Party. The remaining Armenians may not have accepted this agreement. All the Armenians are not Dashnakzadans. The Dashnaks have not rallied all the Armenians around their banners, and even a large number of Armenians oppose the Dashnaks because the Dashnaks are extremist brigands. Furthermore, my Effendi, the agreement of this party with the Ittihad and Terakki is of no practical value. The Armenians in our country were drafted into the regular army in keeping with our military law and they were driven to fight against Russia. The same thing is happening on the

other side, in Russia. When war breaks out between Russia and Turkey, of what worth is the promise of the Dashnak Party to remain neutral?

"TALAAT.—But the leaders of the Armenians who occupied Van and who staged the revolt of Shabin Karahissar were Dashnak chiefs. When those events were occurring, at least the Dashnaktzakans should have remained neutral. . .It would have meant something if at least one person had taken such a stand in these events. The Dashnak leaders have double-crossed us. The Dashnaks have assured us that they represent the whole nation, even as we claim to represent the whole of Turkey. The Dashnaktzakans have the presumption of representing the Armenian nation. If they have lied to us, the responsibility is not ours. . .It belongs to them. Listen to this article from the pen of Severianine, entitled 'A Dream Has Come True,' published in number 142 issue of *Utro Yougo*:

"Lo, finally, the highest dream which for centuries we have cherished, and which was born in Armenian hearts, has come true. That dream was a legacy to our children.' (Talaat continues after a number of interruptions) (page 87)

"KARA KEMAL—Perdition and damnation! Van is ours. It belongs to holy Ittihad and Terakki. No one can take it away from us.

"HASAN FEHMI—Is not this traitor Aram the deputy from Van to the Parliament?

"TALAAT—(continues to read). . ."And Van is occupied. . ."

"HASAN FEHMI—God cannot be with the unbelievers. Allah is with us.

"TALAAT—(continues to read. . .)

"KARA KEMAL—Perdition on them. Let them perish.

"TALAAT—Continues to read (page 84).

"KARA KEMAL.—Armenians, in a short while you shall weep; not weep, you shall be killed.

"TALAAT—Continues to read the writing.

"KARA KEMAL—Down with the Armenians, those lands belong to the Holy Sultanate. We will not let any one get hold of those lands.

"DR. NAZIM—The cargo ship does not run by words. Work, and decisive work is needed. The Armenians are like a canker, a malignance which looks like a small pimple from the outside which, if not removed by a skillful surgeon's scalpel, will kill the patient. A good job is needed and decisive execution. If we are going to do something like the Adana massacre of 1909, here and there, the result will do us more harm than good. Since we have decided to purge the other elements, the Arabs and the Kurds will be alerted, and the danger will be multiplied and the execution of the operations will be rendered more difficult. I have spoken many times in these meetings. I repeat, if this purge is not made general

and final, harm will come instead of good. The Armenian element must be severed from the roots. We must not leave a single Armenian alive in our country, we must kill the Armenian name. We are at war. No better opportunity could we hope for. (page 90)

"NAZIM continues: There will be no intervention of the great powers and the hue and cry of the world press will not be heard. Even if so, it will be too late to do anything about it. This time I move the decisive execution of operation extermination. We must exterminate them so that not one Armenian is left alive.

"Some of you perhaps will say, is it necessary to resort to such atrocities? What harm can come from the children, the oldsters and the sick? Who is the guilty one? The guilty one is the criminal who must be punished. The helpless people sitted in their homes, in their huts, to attack them, to attack the suckling babies is barbarism, contrary to civilization and humanity. Dr. Nazim, too, is an extremist, he does not think logically, you will say. I beg you, Effendis, to not surrender yourselves to such a degree of tenderheartedness. That is a bad disease. Take a look at war itself. . .What is war? Is it not savagery? To uproot the farmer from his land and to take him to the battle front, is it not killing him? What is it to take the artisan out of his shop and expose him to the shrapnel? What has he done? What crime has he committed that he should be doomed to such a tragic death? Barbarism is in the law of nature. (page 90)

"To determine whether or not such views are acceptable is a matter of conviction. All the animals, even the plants eat one another. They prolong their lives by destroying one another. Is it not so? Can you tell them not to eat the flesh of one another? Avoid destroying one another, that is barbarism? Can you say it?

"HASAN FEHMI—Yes, my Effendi. Your humble servant knows this much. It is a matter of eating or being eaten. I have read it in books on natural science.

"DR. NAZIM—(continuing)—Let us think well. Why did we bring about this revolution? What was our aim? Was it to dethrone Sultan Hamid and his men and take their places? I don't think it was for this.

"It was to revive Turkism that I became your comrade, brother and fellow-traveler. I only want that the Turk shall live. And I want him to live only on these lands, and be independent. With the exception of the Turks, let all the other elements be exterminated, no matter to what religion or faith they belong. This country must be purged of alien elements. The Turks must do the purging. Religion is of no worth to me. My religion is the Turan.

"DR. BEHAEDDIN SHAKIR—(speaking deliberately and pausing between the sentences):—When an orator like Moses, a wanderer like Jesus,

and an orphan like Muhammed establish great religions in this world, why shouldn't resolute thinkers like us introduce and generalize the religion and the idealism of Turan?

"HASAN FEHMI—With the help of God (El avyazi billah). Those are not idle words. More than religious zeal, they are Kefer (atheism). (He looks around). Aiajoun and Majoun (incomprehensible words) ve your kiafirin (death to the unbelievers).

"KARA KEMAL—(Seeing the haste of the Hodja Effendi, and in a mocking tone)—What are you saying? Are you reading a prayer? I beg of you, come and read a prayer over my head. Groan over me. Perhaps it will cure my headache and my fears.

"DR. NAZIM—(continuing)—Woe is us, if there will be no radical purge, a final extermination. We shall not be able to sit in our places today, tomorrow they will take us by the hand and throw us out. They will not be satisfied by merely throwing us out, they will kill us. Revolution knows no pity. It only thinks of prolonging the life of the ideal, it removes, destroys the obstacles.

"DR. BEHAEDDIN SHAKIR—We revolutionary Turks, having taken our positions in the name of the nation, and based upon the principles of the Ottoman Empire, founded the rule of Ittihad and Terakki. Our sole aim is to prolong the life of the generation with the sperm of the Turk.

"The alien nations left from ancient times are like malignant weeds, we must pluck them from the roots, cast it aside and purge our homes. This is the aim and the principle of our revolution. This is the reason why we called it the government of Ittihad and Terakki - the Government of the New Turkey, - and reduced the value of the name Ottoman to zero. Really, what is the name Ottoman (Osman) worth? What aim can the government achieve by clinging to the name Osman? The riffraff of the nationalities like the Dervish's Keoshkur, the beggars (Derbeder), hiding behind the name Ottoman have formed a strange conglomerate. This is not a government in the scientific sense of the word. At best, the Osmanjik (the Ottoman citizen), transfers his vineyard and his property to his children (page 91). The Ottoman composite consisting of various elements, cannot be accepted as a national entity. That is like tame animals in a vineyard—Greek, Armenian, Bulgarian, Bosnians, Serbs, Pomaks (Islamized Bulgarians), Albanians, Kurds, Circassians, Arabs, Georgians, the Lazis and manifold elements, as if they have constituted a totality under the "Ottoman" name. This concept must be revised (page 91).

"The geese, the duck, the hen, the sheep, the goat, the cow, the oxen, the buffalo, the horse, on a farm, no matter what their status cannot change their specie. The abovementioned alien elements present the same image in our yard. They survived, preserving their language and nationali-

ties. If they have a chance, they will smash the Turk, will seize our lands and will secede. Witness the Greeks, the Serbs and the Bulgarians, and last of all the Albanians.

"KARA KEMAL—Perish them all. . .

"HASAN FEHMI—By your high permission, your servant thinks like his physician brother, with this exception that I do not base my convictions on western science but on the Eastern, religious, Sheriyat laws. Being transported unto Almighty God, I would like to introduce a few beautiful principles of my own. The law of the Sheriyat permits the extermination of the malignant. Basing my words on a poem of Sheikh Saadi of blessed memory, the author of *Gulistan*, I say that, since we have seen nothing but harm from the Armenians, since they have opposed our holy party of Ittihad and Terakki, have revolted and have put to shameful flight the son-in-law of our freedom's hero Enver Pasha, without further piddling, the killing of all the Armenians, provided not one of them shall be left alive, is a religious duty.

"Your servant is prepared to present a holy edict in this respect. Don't look upon me as a turbaned Softa (religious fanatic). I was a man of poor means, scarcely able to eke out a living. I was given the right of freedom and I became a Deputy to the Parliament. I am the teacher and the representative of 50,000 students of the *Medresseh* (schools). Let me explain. Since the collective society is endangered, the individual becomes sacrificed. This is Kaidahi Fiykiyeh (the principle of Islam philosophy). Therefore they must all be killed, men, women and children, without discrimination. To put this idea into effect, I have another suggestion. With your permission, let me explain. By reason of general mobilization, we took into the army all those who carry arms. We send them (the Armenians) to the front line of the battle. Then we will take them in a cross-fire between the Russians in front, and our special forces from behind. Having thus removed the menfolk, we give the order to our Salih (believers) to exterminate the remainder of women and children, the oldsters and the sick and the maimed in one full sweep. Our believers exterminate them and seize their properties and take their daughters to their beds (*Doukhterleri istifrash ederler*). Don't you find my suggestion the best and the most acceptable way of dealing with them?

"KARA KEMAL—Long live, long live, Khodja Effendi. Do you see, brethren, our most worthy Sheikh-ul-Islam?

"ENVER—(seriously)—The manner of extermination and punishment are the duty of the Council of Ministers at the head of the Government.

"HASAN FEHMI—The order and the Firman belong to your Highness.

"DJAVID—Now let us come to a decision. The expositions of my brothers Dr. Nazim, Behaeddin Shakir and even Hasan Fehmi have clarified

sufficiently the matter. The Armenians on every occasion aligned themselves with the enemies of the Turks against the fatherland in which they have lived for centuries (page 93). Against the same Turk, Effendis, who insured for the Armenian's comfort and happiness. The Turk is the ruler of this country. The Turk toils in his farm under the burning sun, brings his produce to the city and sells it to the Armenian. Enriches him and insures his happiness. The economic rule is in the hands of the Armenian. At the cost of leaving not one Armenian alive, the extermination of all of them is both a national and political duty. It is equally important that the Turk shall establish his economic rule. I will now take the vote."

At the order of Talaat, the votes are collected and counted. The result was that, the resolution to exterminate the Armenians, provided not a single Armenian should be left alive, was passed unanimously (page 93).