

THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

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Published by "Yervant" Foundation

ARMENIAN GENOCIDE
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TEL: (617) 251-1951

Compiled and Edited by

David Ardahan

Armenian Genocide

THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

ARMENIAN GENOCIDE - 1915-1918

Published by "Navasart" Foundation

NAVASART

204 E. Chevy Chase, Suite 6
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Tel. (818) 241-5933

**THE
ARMENIAN
GENOCIDE**

Compiled and Edited by

Libarid Azadian

Armen Donoyan

April 1987 Los Angeles, CA, U.S.A.

I dedicate this book in memory of
1.5 million, innocent Armenian victims
massacred by Ottoman Turkey in
1915

RAFIK SARKISSIAN, M.D.

*Aesthetic, Plastic and
Reconstructive Surgeon*

9100 Wilshire Blvd. Suite 432
Beverly Hills, CA 90212

We are grateful to Dr. Rafik Sarkissian for his generous
sponsorship of this publication

NAVASART

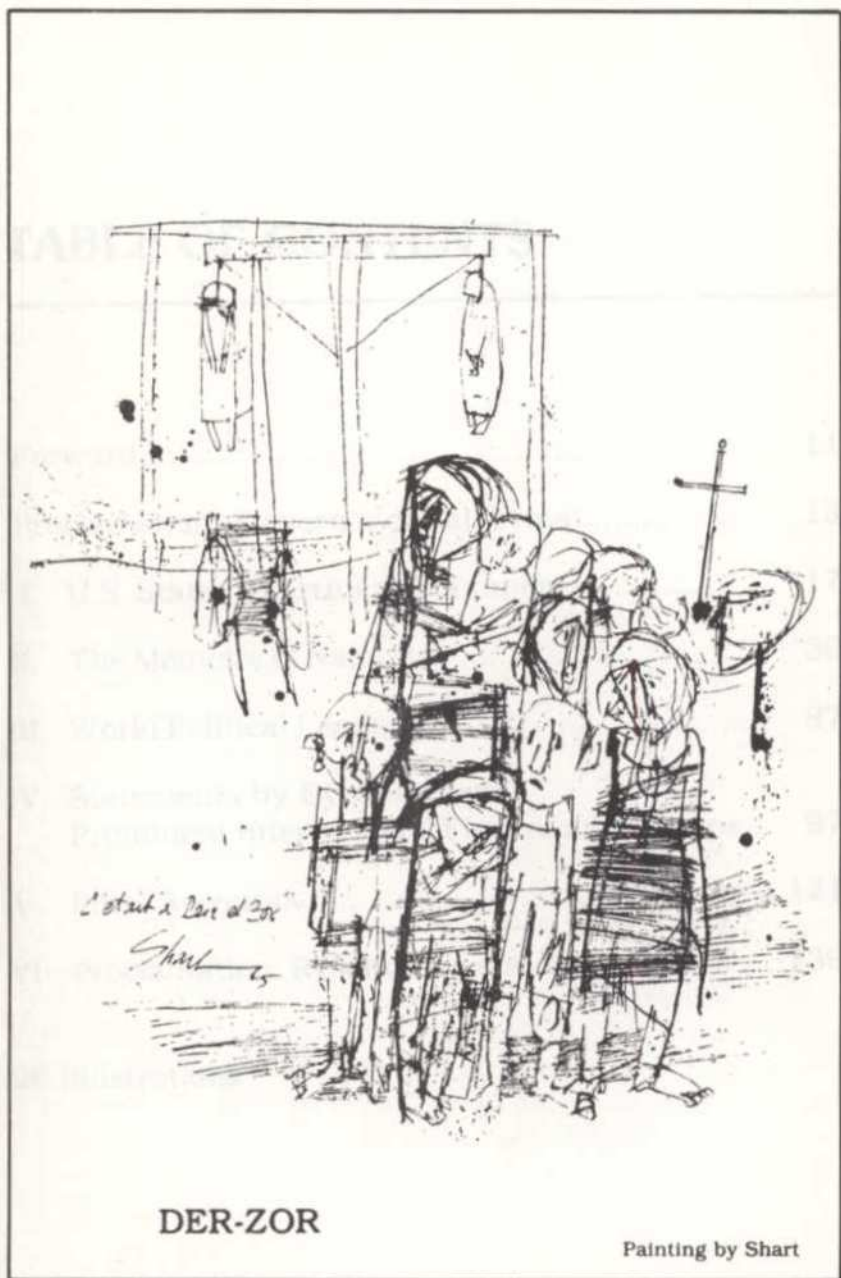


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FORWARD

The massacre of Armenians in 1915 by the Ottoman Turkish government is an undeniable fact. Historians, prominent government officials, the press and people of goodwill have recorded the terrible events as they occurred. These records represent a day by day account of life and death of 1.5 million victims of the first genocide of the 20th century. Despite Turkey's desperate efforts of historical distortion and revisionism, the genocide cannot be undone, nor its shame ignored or denied. No amount of conniving, falsification of documents, destroying of records, cover-up, or even bribery and blackmail, can absolve Turkey of her terrible guilt.

The Turkish government devised a diabolic plan "to solve the Armenian question" once and for all by mass murder. In 1915, the plan was put into execution and over a million Armenians perished. Armenians lost their homeland in what today is called the eastern provinces of Turkey. The scant remnants of survivors scattered around the four corners of the globe.

The object of this publication is to present,

once again, authentic documentation of the genocide, not from Armenian sources, but by world-wide witnesses. Primarily, it is a protest against atrocities committed against a member of the human family that had trusted its fate to the government of Turkey. But above all, it is an endeavor to bring a proper perspective to history. It is an endeavor to put the powers to be on notice that appeasing the usurpers encourages further atrocities against those who, more than the predator, need the protection of great powers. Because, there will be no peace in our world until those oppressed nations attain freedom and recover what historically belongs to them.

Turkey has mobilized its entire state machinery — educational, economic, political, diplomatic — toward an extensive campaign of denial. This cover up is tantamount to a second crime, a perpetual crime as ignominious as the genocide itself.

In short, it is the intent of this book to subpoena the Turkish government to the tribunal of public opinion and let the world condemn Turkey for its barbaric acts against the Armenian nation.

THE EDITORS

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT
STATE OF CALIFORNIA



A PROCLAMATION
by the Governor of the State of California

WHEREAS, as Americans we can appreciate the many freedoms and opportunities we are fortunate to be blessed with: and

WHEREAS, many of our ancestors suffered through paralyzing trauma and devastating hardships so that we, their children, would have the opportunity to build a future of hope and prosperity: and

WHEREAS, the Armenian people endured unparalleled tragedy as they struggled under the oppression of the Ottoman Turks in the early part of this century: and

WHEREAS, approximately 1.5 million Armenians were killed by the brutal, systematic massacres ordered by the Turkish government: and

WHEREAS, in spite of this horrible genocide, history repeated itself in the genocides of the Jewish people in Nazi Germany and most recently in Cambodia: and

WHEREAS, each year people of Armenian heritage solemnly observe April 24 as a Day of Remembrance to pay tribute to the strength and courage of their forebearers: and

WHEREAS, this observance is not only in memory of the past, but a reminder and admonishment that we must not allow history to repeat itself in this way again:

NOW, THEREFORE, I, GEORGE DEUKMEJIAN, Governor of the State of California, do hereby proclaim April 24, 1985, as a State Day of Remembrance.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF I have hereunto
set my hand and caused the Great Seal
of the State of California to be affixed
this 20th day of March 1985.

George Deukmejian

Governor of California

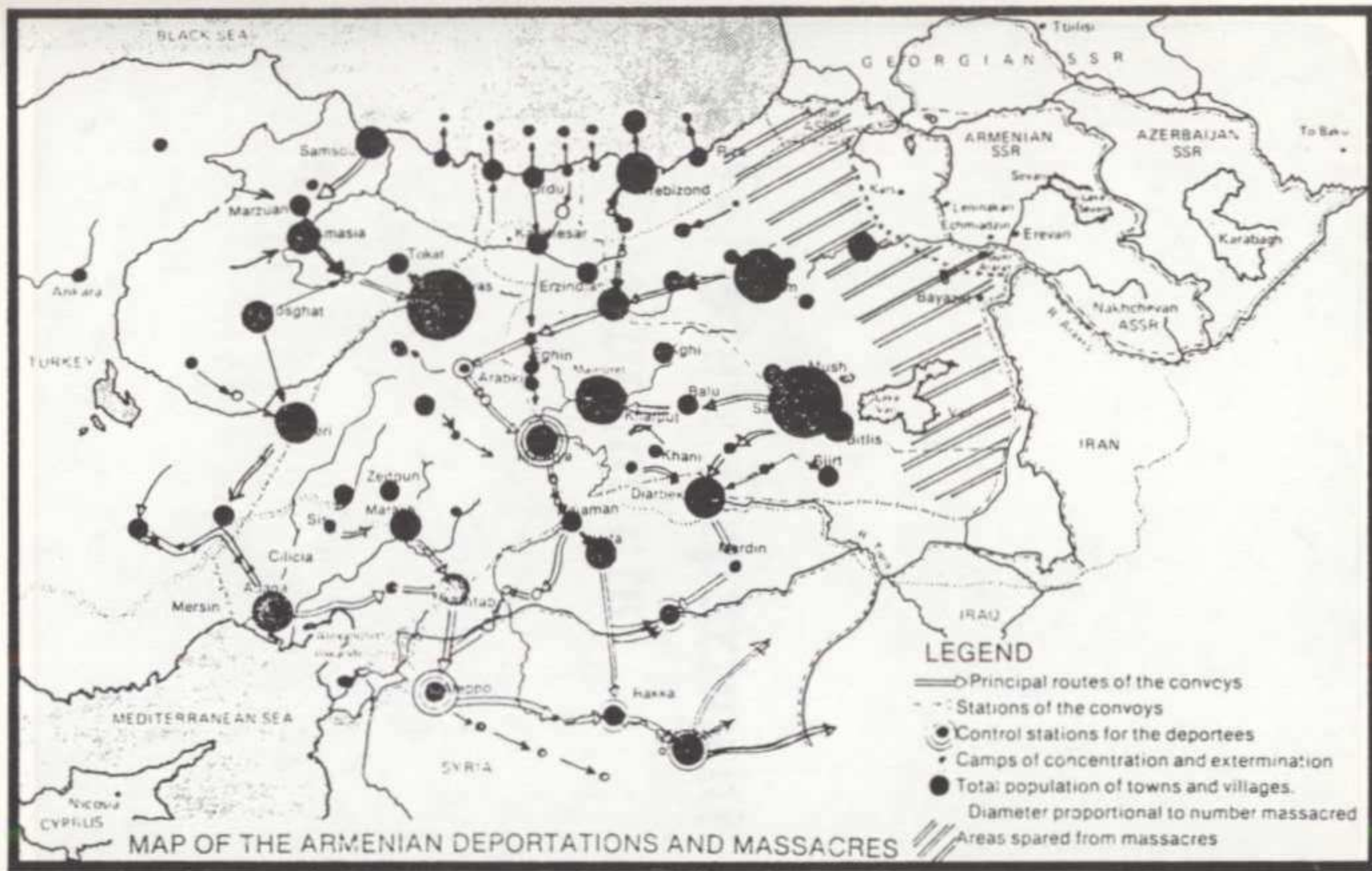
ATTEST:

March Forc Ee
Secretary of State

by

Regina Hershberger
Deputy Secretary of State





I

**U.S. State Department
Documents**

R.G. 59, 867.4016/58

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

From Constantinople

Dated April 27, 1915

Recd. April 28, 10:30 A.M.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

608 April 27, 4 P.M.
Confidential.

Over hundred Armenians of better class were arrested ostensibly to prevent revolutionary propaganda. Among the number is Leon Chirinigon a naturalized citizen of Persian origin whose American citizenship is recognized by the Sublime porte. Have taken up matter. Their lives are probably not in danger but they are being deported to the interior. Movement against Armenians forms part of concerted movement against all non-Turkish and non-Union-and-Progress elements and indications exist that it will be followed by action against Zionists. Have also received unfavorable reports about Armenians in interior provinces. Colleagues and I are (*) strong efforts to prevent excesses and stop the movement.

AMERICAN AMBASSADOR CONSTANTINOPLE

(*) Apparent omission.

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

From Constantinople.
Dated April 30, 1915.
Rec'd 8:30 A.M. May 1.

Secretary of State,
Washington, D.C.

614. April 30, 4 P.M.
Confidential

Your 626. May 608.

Continued reports of persecutions, plunder and massacres of Armenians in certain parts of empire had been received. Strong representations were made by Armenian patriarch, Italian Ambassador, Bulgarian Minister and myself. Minister of War, to justify movement against Armenians, stated to me that Russian Armenians were responsible for destroying with bombs public buildings and post-office at Van, of which city they were in possession for twelve days. He declared that authorities feared similar attacks by Dashnagists in common council, therefore number of Armenians there had been deported. It is stated that while Armenians were in possession of Van, the Turkish Governor-General, brother-in-law of the Minister of War, was attacked and wounded and that later he died of the wounds. As traveling in the eastern provinces has been stopped practically and all correspondence is under strict censorship it is impossible to know how true the reports or statements are. From a report received today from Consul at Aleppo it appears that the Turkish authorities are treating Armenian population of Zeitoun and Marash with incredible severity and on account of the doings of some deserters are deporting and scattering a large number of the innocent population. Will forward copy of the report.

Apparently these measures are part of the campaign of repression against non-Turkish and non-Union-and-Progress elements and organizations. This campaign may be executed however by the officials in remote regions with greater severity than the cabinet desires. The Grand Vizier, Minister of War and the Minister of the Interior have promised that no general massacres or excesses will occur and that a number of Armenians who were not Dashnagists and

were arrested by mistake will be released. Arranged with Italian Ambassador this morning to call on the Grand vizier and make further strong representations for the protection of Armenians and other non-Moslems.

American Ambassador,
Constantinople.

R.G. 59,867.4016/71

American Embassy,
Constantinople
Strictly Confidential
No. 310
The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

May 25, 1915.

Sir:

I have the honor to bring to your notice, certain aspects of policy adopted by the present Government toward the Armenian community. The sharp oscillations in the treatment to which it has been subjected since the Turkish Revolution have taken a markedly unfavorable turn by reason of the War. The fact is that the present Ottoman Government no longer count on the Armenians as loyal to them. The hardships and oppression the Armenians have suffered in recent years, compared with the more favorable treatment received in Russia has caused them not unnaturally to contrast their lot with that of their co-religionists there. The first glamor of the constitutional era here soon disappeared, while the recollection of the Adana Massacre in 1909 is still fresh in their minds. It is therefore not unlikely to suppose that the great majority of the Armenians in common with all non-Moslem communities, as well as many Turks ardently hope for a change in Government. Between the wish and the ability to realize this there lies, however, a wide gulf. Apart from the mountainous region in Eastern Armenia, and the Zeitoun district, North of Alexandretta, the Armenians no more than other dissatisfied communities, possess the means or the determination to give expression to their wishes. In the Zeitoun, where a few tried to escape from military service a movement of savage repression has

lately been carried out. Its details are in great part ignored here, but enough is known (See Dispatch from Mr. Consul Jackson of April 21st) to make it certain that entire villages have been destroyed, with the invariable accompaniments of murder, rape and pillage. A more systematic policy than has been customary in the past, appears to have been pursued, in the wholesale deportation of the population. Only the other day, I received word (see Enclosure No. 1. letter from Dr. Dodd) of the arrival of 4000 homeless refugees from this district at Konia, where they find themselves in the most pitiable state. Our Red Cross relief which was proffered, was refused by the Turkish authorities who announced that the refugees will be distributed in the neighboring country. The policy pursued in this case appears to be one of breaking up a compact Armenian community which had hitherto been able to preserve a certain liberty owing to living in mountain vastnesses, and by wholesale deportation which must deprive them of their ordinary means of livelihood locating them among purely Turkish villages where those who survive their ill-treatment need no longer be feared by the Government.

In the Eastern regions of the Empire although news is extremely scarce and unreliable, it would seem as if an Armenian insurrection to help the Russians had broken out at Van. Thus a former deputy here, one Pastermajian who had assisted our proposed railway concessions some years ago, is now supposed to be fighting the Turks with a legion of Armenian volunteers. These insurgents are said to be in possession of a part of Van and to be conducting a guerrilla warfare in a country where regular military operations are extremely difficult. To what extent they are organized or what successes they have gained it is impossible for me to say; their numbers have been variously estimated but none puts them at less than ten thousand and twenty-five thousand is probably closer to the truth. At all events, these doings have not unnaturally cast suspicion on the peaceful Armenian communities elsewhere and notably in the capital. Partly because of the suspicion that these are in connivance with the insurgents, partly because of the policy to destroy all vestiges of organization other than its own, the Government as I telegraphed you lately, has proceeded to the arrest and exile of several hundred Armenians in this city. In the towns of the interior similar repressive measures have been undertaken, while the same carried out in Armenian villages by brutal subordinates have doubtless given rise to excesses. I do not believe that as yet there have been any massacres on a large scale, but the repression and the coercive measures employed have undoubtedly been responsible for some loss of life. They have been brutal enough to alarm a nervous and excitable population who are



Children of Armenian refugees at Marash fed by Near East Relief workers. *UPI*



A loaf of bread meant life. Without bread, many hundreds of thousands of Armenians slowly died of starvation. *UPI*

prone moreover to give credence to startling reports. It is very difficult by reason of circumstances which the Department will appreciate to investigate the truth of the rumors of real or proposed massacres which constantly reach our ears. Correspondence with the interior is practically stopped or else written with a view to the censor's eye. Travel is permitted only exceptionally and takes place with great difficulty. The Armenians in common with everyone not in sympathy with the ruling party, are afraid of expressing themselves. Even if they dared do so, they have not the means of making heard their complaints. The Government invariably denies these or invests them with a totally different complexion. We hear at times through our Missionaries in the interior, but the difficulties and dangers of correspondence are so great as to render their news only fragmentary and occasional.

The situation is one of mutual fear. Fear on the part of the Armenians who recall the past massacres and fear on the part of the Government at alleged or dreaded conspiracies. Their distrust of all non-Moslems which may often be more apparent than real in order to create rifts in the population has recently been manifested in various ways. In the army they have for the most part been disarmed in common with the Greek soldiers and employed in manual employment. Here a most stringent regulation compelling all inhabitants to deliver their weapons to the authorities under penalty of death, has I understand, been applied differently in the case of Moslems who have been authorized to retain their arms. The recent expulsion measures against the non-Moslem inhabitants of the Bosphorus have caused grave hardships to an eminently peaceful community. Hardly a day passes without hearing of some new measures of vexation. Short of the actual taking of life, of which there appear as yet to have been but few cases, the period we are traversing is one of very severe repression. Those out of sympathy with the Committee of Union and Progress, describe it as a reign of terror. It is a situation which at a time like this when restraining elements are few may easily lead to the most serious and the saddest consequences.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
(Signed) H. MORGENTHAU

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

R.G. 59,867.4016/67

From Paris,
Dated May 28, 1915
Recd. 8 P.M.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

796, May 28th, 11 A.M.

Foreign Office note just received transmits a communication requesting that it be notified urgently to Ottoman government as follows:

"May 24th. For about a month the Kurd and Turkish population of Armenia has been massacring Armenians with the connivance and often assistance of Ottoman authorities. Such massacres took place in middle April (?) at Erzerum, Dertchun, Eguine, Akn (Van), Bitlis, Mouch, Sassoun, Zeitoun, and throughout Cilicia. Inhabitants of about one hundred villages near Van were all murdered. In that city Armenian quarter is besieged by Kurds. At the same time in Constantinople Ottoman government ill treats inoffensive Armenian population. In view of these new crimes of Turkey against humanity and civilization the Allied governments announce publicly to the Sublime Porte that they will hold personally responsible for these crimes all members of the Ottoman government and those of their agents who are implicated in such massacres."

SHARP

R.G. 59,867.4016/85

Copy for Department
AMERICAN CONSULATE

TREBIZOND TURKEY, June 28, 1915

Honorable Henry Morgenthau,
American Ambassador,
Constantinople.

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose herewith for the information of the Embassy a copy of the proclamation which has been posted up in

public places by the local authorities notifying the Armenians that within five days from its date, namely, on Thursday, July 1st, the entire Armenian population of Trebizond and vicinity including men, women and children will be obliged to turn over to the government such property as they cannot take with them and start for the interior, probably for Eldjezireh or Mosul where they will remain until the end of the war. Upon their return after the war their goods will be returned to them.

It is impossible to convey an idea of the consternation and despair the publication of this proclamation has produced upon the people. I have seen strong, proud, wealthy men weep like children while they told me that they had given their boys and girls to Persian and Turkish neighbors. I know of one Armenian woman who is not in Dr. Crawford's house who has become insane and two other such cases are reported in the same vicinity. Many are providing themselves with poison which they will take in case the order is not rescinded.

At the present time there are no means of transportation available. All horses, wagons and vehicles have been requisitioned for military purposes and the only way for these people to go is on foot, a journey of sixty days or more. At this season of the year in the heat and dust it is simply impossible for women and children and old men to start on such a journey. Even a strong man without the necessary outfit and food would be likely to perish on such a trip.

As I am not permitted to use the cipher code it does not seem best to send an open telegram to the Embassy on this subject, but I have talked with my Austro-Hungarian colleague who has the privilege to use a code and have requested him to express my hearty concurrence with him in urging that some measures be taken at Constantinople to secure a withdrawal of this order if possible or at least a modification so as to spare the old men, women and children from such a journey which would mean their certain destruction.

I called upon the Governor General and asked if some exceptions could not be made and he read to me the enclosed proclamation which he thereupon handed to me saying that he was obliged to follow the text of the proclamation. He assured me however that he had telegraphed to Constantinople asking that an exception be made for Armenians in official positions which I told him I hoped would include the two consular cavasses and clerk who are Armenians.

I enclose a copy of the "Meshveret", dated Sunday, June 27th, which is the official organ of the government published in Trebizond. It contains an article in regard to excesses said to have been committed by Armenians and Greeks upon the family of a Turkish Emam

(Priest) at Erganess. Whether it is true or not it is an unfortunate thing to publish here just at this juncture. I have been informed furthermore that there are no Greeks whatever in that section of the country, which would seem to throw doubt upon the whole story.

The people are hopeless but are making preparations to start on the perilous journey. I trust that before the date of departure some modification may be secured.

As there is not time to make translations of the two Turkish enclosures before the mail closes I send them without translations.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
(Signed) OSCAR S. HEYIZER
American Consul

Enclosures: As stated.

AMERICAN CONSULATE

Aleppo, Syria, June 28, 1915

The Honorable
Henry Morgenthau,
American Ambassador,
Constantinople, Turkey.

Sir:

I have the honor to quote the following from a communication dated the 14 instant received from Rev. F. H. Leslie, of Ourfa, viz:

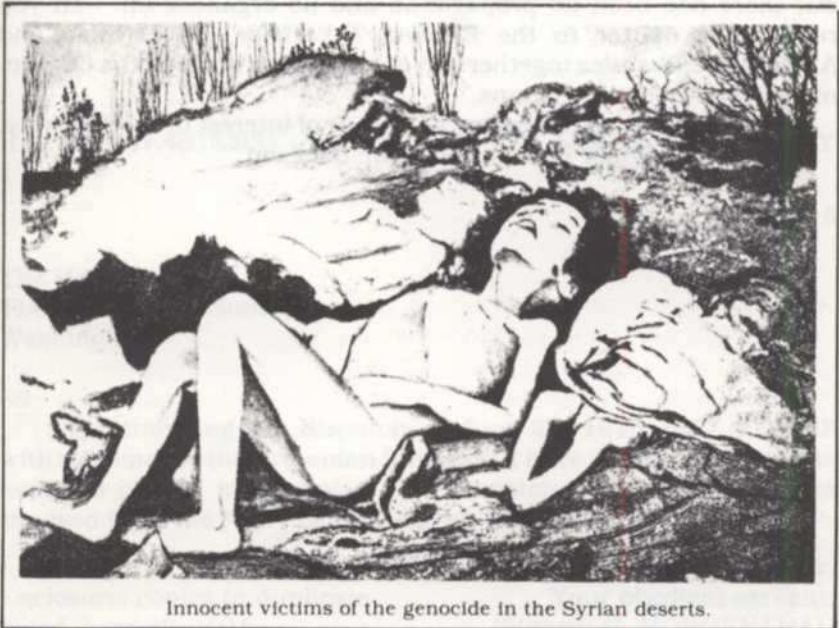
"I wish to inform you of conditions here. They are very bad and daily getting worse. I suppose that the Maynards told you of the horrible things taking place in Diarbekir. Just such a reign of terror has begun in this city also. Daily the police are searching the houses of the Armenians for weapons, and not finding any, they are taking the best and most honorable men and imprisoning them; some of them they are exiling, and others they are torturing with red hot irons to make them reveal the supposedly concealed weapons. Four weeks ago they exiled fifteen men and their families sending them to the

desert city of Rakka, three days journey south of here. Among these men our own native assistant business manager, Soghomon Knadjian, who has been a trusted and tried and faithful servant of the American Mission here for twenty years and a most loyal subject of the Sultan. With Mr. Gracey gone and no experienced help besides this man it has been impossible for me to continue the mission work since he was taken. I personally went to the Mutessarif and offered to be surety for Knadjian, agreeing to deliver him over to the Government at any time that they asked for him, if they would allow him to return and continue his work in the Mission, but met with a courteous refusal. The Gendarmery Department seems to have full control of affairs and the Mutessarif upholds them. They are now holding about a hundred of the best citizens of the city in prison, and today the Gendarmery chief called the Armenian Bishop and told him that unless the Armenians deliver their arms and the revolutionists among them, that he has orders to exile the entire Armenian population of Ourfa, as they did the people of Zeitoun. We know how the latter were treated for hundreds of them have been dragged through Ourfa on their way to the desert whither they have been exiled. These poor exiles were mostly women, children and old men, and they were clubbed and beaten and lashed along as though they had been wild animals, and their women and girls were daily criminally outraged both by their guards and the ruffians of every village through which they passed as the former allowed the latter to enter the camp of the exiles at night and even distributed the girls among the villagers for the night. These poor victims of their oppressors' lust and hate might better have died by the bullet in their mountain home than be dragged about the country in this way. About two thousand of them have passed through Ourfa, all more dead than alive: many hundreds have died from starvation and abuse along the roadside, and nearly all are dying of starvation, thirst, of being kidnapped by the Anaza Arabs in the desert where they have been taken. We know how they are being treated because our Ourfa exiles are in the same place and one young Armenian doctor who was there making medical examination of soldiers for the Government has returned and told us".

"Now this is the fate which is in store for the Ourfa Armenians also unless some one delivers them. Having seen how the Zeitoun exiles have been treated the Ourfa Armenians have said they will never submit to exile but will die in their homes instead, and who can blame them? We greatly fear that the cruel persecuting attitude of the Gendarmery in seizing, beating and torturing the people will drive some of them to such desperation that they will resist, and that



The beginning of deportations under the guard of Turkish policemen.



Innocent victims of the genocide in the Syrian deserts.

will surely provoke a general massacre. Up to date the Armenian Bishop and Protestant pastors have been most earnest and successful in keeping the young men especially under restraint and this has prevented any outburst thus far, but as the Government is daily taking the wisest and best leaders of the people and imprisoning them there are few left to restrain the others. The officers of the Government told the Armenian Bishop plainly that unless they delivered their arms the Armenians here would be destroyed, but the people fear to deliver their arms for they remember that in 1895 the Government made all the Christians deliver their arms and as soon as they had done so, the Moslems fell upon the Christians and killed six thousand of them in two days. Now if the Government would make the Moslems give up their weapons also the Christians would cheerfully deliver theirs, but the Government is not taking weapons from the Moslems. Ourfa is not a revolutionary center and never has been. The people here have always been loyal to the Government and have never resisted, not even when they were butchered like sheep. Why the local Government persists in persecuting a population that has always had a good record for loyalty is very strange. There is no revolutionary organization here; there may be thirty or forty men of revolutionary beliefs, but there has been no propaganda and no organization. Can you report this matter to the Embassy? Perhaps the German and American Embassies together can change the attitude of the Government towards the Christians."

Trusting that the foregoing will prove of interest to the Embassy, I have the honor etc. etc. (Signed): Jackson

R.G. 59,867.401672

July 10, 1915

The Reverend James L. Barton,
American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions,
14 Beacon Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

Sir:

The Department herewith transmits to you for your information a copy of a dispatch, dated May 12th, from the American Consul at Aleppo, Syria, on the subject of the deportation of Armenians. This dispatch is sent you at the suggestion of the American Consul at Aleppo, who, however, in his dispatch to the Department, after suggesting the transmission of this dispatch to you, adds: "Conditions here are such that it would not be wise to give any publicity of the writer's name".

I am, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
ROBERT LANSING

Enclosure: From Aleppo Consul
May 12, 1915
867.4016/72
3 P/PI

R.G. 59, 867.4016/93

AMERICAN EMBASSY
Constantinople

July 13, 1915

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

Supplementing my dispatch of June 26, 1915, (867.4016*80) with reference to the Armenian Situation, I have the honor to enclose herewith copies, in duplicate, of a dispatch on the same subject received from the American Consul at Trebizond.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
(Signed) H. MORGENTHAU

Enclosure: copies in duplicate
dated June 30, 1915

R.G. 59, 867.4016/92

AMERICAN EMBASSY
Constantinople

July 13, 1915

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose herewith for the information of the Department copies, in duplicate, of a dispatch received from the American Consul at Aleppo, dated June 28, 1915, embodying a report prepared by Rev. F.H. Leslie, relative to the condition of the Armenians in Ourfa.

Enclosure: copies in duplicate
dated June 28, 1915.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
(Signed) H. MORGENTHAU

TELEGRAM SENT
Department of State,

R.G. 59, 867.4016/74

Washington, July 15 (16), 1915

Amembassy,
Constantinople.

Your 841, July tenth. Department approves your procedure in pleading with Turkish Minister of Interior and Minister of War to stop Armenian persecution and in attempting to enlist sympathies of German and Austrian Ambassadors in this cause. The Department can offer no additional suggestions relative to this most difficult situation other than that you continue to act as in the past. Have any native born American citizens or any naturalized American citizens entitled to protection under American statutes received injuries during this trouble?

(Signed) LANSING

867.4016/74

3 P/PI

Copy.
No. 333.

AMERICAN CONSULATE

Aleppo, August 3, 1915.

"DEPORTATION OF ARMENIANS"

The Honorable
Henry Morgenthau,
American Ambassador,
Constantinople,

Sir:

I have the honor to report as follows concerning the attitude of the Turkish Government towards the Armenians in this vicinity and the hinterland:

Ever since the destruction of certain government buildings in Van by the Armenians in April last, the Turkish Government has been taking the most drastic measures against the Armenians in all this part of the Empire. The idea of direct attack and massacre that was carried out in former times has been altered somewhat, in that the men and boys have been deported from their homes in great numbers and disappeared en route, and later on the women and children have been made to follow. For some time stories have prevalent from travelers arriving from the interior of the killing of the males, of great numbers of bodies along the roadsides, and the floating in the Euphrates river; of the delivery to the Kurds by the gendarmes accompanying the convoys of women and children of all the younger members of the parties, of unthinkable outrages committed by gendarmes and Kurds, and even the killing of many of the victims. At first these stories were not given much credence, but as many of the refugees are now arriving in Aleppo, no doubt longer remains of the truth of the matter. August 2nd about 800 middle aged and old women, and children under the age of 10 years arrived afoot from Diarbekir, after 45 days en route, and in the most pitiable condition imaginable. They report the taking of all the young women and girls by the Kurds, the pillageing even of the last bit of money and other belongings, of starvation, of privation, and hardship of every description. Their deplorable condition bears out statements in every detail.

I am informed that 4500 persons were sent from Sughurt to Ras-ul-Ain, over 2000 from Mezireh to Diarbekir, and that all the cities of Bitlis, Mardin, Mossoul, Severeck, Malatia, Besne, etc. have been depopulated of Armenians, the men and boys and many of the women killed, and the balance scattered throughout the country. If

this is true of which there is little doubt, even the latter must naturally die of fatigue, hunger and disease. The Governor of Der-el-Zor, on the Euphrates river, and who is now in Aleppo, says there are 15,000 Armenian refugees in that city. Children are frequently sold to prevent starvation as the Government furnishes practically no subsistence. The following statistics show the number of families and persons arriving in Aleppo, places from whence deported, and number sent further on up to and including July 30.

Where from	Families	Persons	Sent away
Cheuk-Merzemen (Dortyol)	400	2109	734
Ojakli	115	537	137
Euzerli	116	593	173
Hassanbayli	187	1118	514
Harni	84	528	34
Karspazar	51	340	
Hadjin	592	3988	1025
Roumlou	51	388	296
Shar	150	1112	357
Sis	231	1317	
Bagche	13	68	
Dengala	126	804	
Drtadli	12	104	
Zeytoun	5	8	
Tarpouz	22	97	
Albustan	10	44	
	-----	-----	-----
Total	2165	13255	3270

2100 Persons more arrived since the above figures were compiled.

Now all Armenians have been ordered deported from the cities of Aintab, Mardin, Killis, Antioch, Alexandretta, Kessab, and all the smaller towns in Aleppo province, estimated at 60,000 persons. It is natural to suppose that they will suffer the fate of those that have gone before, and which are appalling to contemplate. The results are that as 90 percent of the commerce of the interior is in the hands of the Armenians, the country is facing ruin. The great bulk of business being done on credit, hundreds of prominent business men other than Armenians face bankruptcy. There will not be left in the places

evacuated a single tanner, moulder, blacksmith, tailor, carpenter, clay worker, weaver, shoemaker, jeweler, pharmacist, doctor, lawyer, or any of the other professional or tradesmen with very few exceptions, and the country will be left in a practically helpless state.

The important American religious and educational institutions are losing their professors, teachers, helpers, and students, and even the orphanages are to be emptied of the hundreds of children therein, and which ruins the fruits of 50 years of untiring effort in this field. The Government officials in a mocking way ask what the Americans are going to do with these establishments now that the Armenians are being done away with. Aleppo city is expected to be next to suffer.

The situation is becoming more critical daily as there is no telling where this thing will end. The Germans are being blamed on every hand, for if they have not directly ordered this wholesale slaughter (for it is nothing less than the extermination of the Armenian race) they at least condone it. Private German individuals openly approve the whole scheme and condemn the Armenians on every occasion.

American Missionaries at Diarbekir and Mardin have had their premises searched, and Dr. Smith and family at the former place were expelled from the country via Beirut. The Americans at Mardin solicit the presence of a Consular officer, saying the situation is dangerous for them. Mr. R.C. Hill, of Aintab, and wife, Miss Kate E. Ainslie, of Marash, and Rev. Maynard, of Diarbekir, all had their baggage searched while en route from the interior to the coast.

The Turkish military officials maintain a press-bureau and collect the news from all points concerning matters in Turkey, and have hinted to the writer that it would be well to keep his pen quiet. Consequently as we have several hundred Europeans under our protection in Ourfa and Aleppo, it is suggested this communication be treated accordingly.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
(Signed): J.B. Jackson.
Consul.

Copy forwarded to the Department of State.

840.1

COPY

Ourfa, Mesopotamia,
August, 6, 1915.

My dear Consul Jackson,

The situation in this city is very dangerous and daily getting worse. The feeling between the Moslems and Christians is very bitter and is at present almost at the breaking point, and we have no government here. Fourteen "volunteers" from Stamboul (lately come from Diarbekir) have terrorized the governor, the gendarmery commander, the martial law examining commission and all the other chief officers of the local government so that they dare not move to protect the Christian population or to oppose the will of these murderers who now have everything under their control. They are nightly seizing the best and most prominent Christian citizens and after a period in prison here sending them on to that death-trap Diarbekir.

For six weeks we have witnessed the most terrible cruelties inflicted upon the thousands of Christian exiles who have been daily passing through our city from the northern cities. All tell the same story and bear the same scars: their men were all killed on the first day's march from their cities, after which the women and girls were constantly robbed of their money, bedding, clothing, and beaten, criminally abused and abducted along the way. Their guards forced them to pay even for drinking from the springs along the way and were their worst abusers but also allowed the baser element in every village through which they passed to abduct the girls and women and abuse them. We not only were told these things but the same things occurred right here in our own city before our very eyes and openly on the streets. The poor weak women and children died by thousands along the road and in the khans where they were confined here. There must be no less than five hundred abducted girls now in the homes of the Moslems of this city and as many more have been sexually abused and turned out on the streets again. They have even abused these girls openly on the streets and before the eyes of the foreigners. These are the conditions in the city to which the wives and daughters of the belligerents are being sent.

Moreover the situation here is dangerous. The Ourfa Christians seeing and knowing very well what has happened to these other exiles are not in a mood to accept exile themselves, and if it is attempted they may resist. Resistance, even of a few, will certainly mean a massacre and then all the Christians, foreigners as well, are in

danger. Fully one half of the internees are living in native houses in the city where they will be exposed in case the above happens. The situation is critical. The Moslems have even hinted at taking the wives and daughters of some of the internees. Not being officially recognized I cannot protect them. I earnestly beg of you to send Vice-Consul Edelman here immediately for the protection of the internees and to do anything possible together with the German Consul to persuade the military commander of this district to protect the Christian population here and prevent their exile.

Unless the Vice-Consul comes I cannot handle this work nor remain here much longer. No less an official than Mr. Edelman ought to come.

We are in great need of money for the internees. Please send by the Vice-Consul. The German missionaries are sending this same information about conditions to their consul.

Yours faithfully,
Signed: F. H. Leslie

R.G. 59,867.4016/147

AMERICAN CONSULATE
Aleppo, Syria, August 10, 1915.

Subject: ARMENIAN TROUBLES IN OURFA.

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose herewith a copy of my dispatch No. 341, of even date, to the Embassy regarding Armenian troubles in Ourfa.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
(Signed) J.B. JACKSON
Consul.

II

The Memoirs Of
Naim Bey

FOREWARD

The author of the present work, Mr. Aram Andonian, is one of the Armenian intellectuals who were arrested and exiled from Constantinople on Saturday, April 11, 1915, without any trial and with no sentence except the decision of a committee.

Mr. Aram Andonian, who had been appointed Military Censor at the time of the mobilisation, was arrested in Constantinople on the accusation of having conveyed news of the murder of Sahag Vartabed, Bishop of Shabin Karahissar, and of the massacre at Segher, to the Armenian Patriarchate. He had been betrayed by a Turkish official. The Military Tribunal at Constantinople had not been able to prove this accusation, but as the suspicion against him remained, he was dismissed from his post and sent to the Labour Battalion to do hardship duty. He succeeded in escaping, but was arrested and driven with others to be sent to Diarbekir.

To be exiled to Diarbekir was equivalent to a death sentence, as it was understood that those condemned to exile in that place were to be murdered before reaching their pretended destination, and any Turkish official, gendarme or policeman, in fact, any Mussulman, was free to do away with them at any suitable point. Among those murdered en route were three Armenian members of the Turkish Parliament—Zohrab, Vartkes and Dr. Daghavarian. When the real meaning of a sentence of banishment to Diarbekir became known, Mardin was substituted for Diarbekir, and then exiles to Mardin were murdered on the way.

On the way to Diarbekir, Mr. Andonian broke his leg, and they were obliged to cast him into a hospital, where he remained until the wholesale deportations began, when he was one of those that were driven to Der Zor. Then, after a series of escapes and re-arrests, he finally reached Aleppo, where he was again arrested, but was rescued by friends, who managed to obtain a permit for his temporary residence in the town.

INTRODUCTION

SEARCH the blood-stained annals of the Ottoman Empire and nothing comparable to the atrocities of the past five years can be found. The awful story of the extermination of men, women and children by the direct order of the Turkish Government is beyond words. For cold and bestial cruelty the names of Enver and Talaat are condemned to eternal infamy.

Readers of this significant Memoir must form, as I have done, their own conclusions.

We know the horrible facts. It is well to know also how and by whom the massacres were organised and perpetrated.

It is right to note that even their instruments sometimes showed pity and that some Turkish officials are good and humane men.

But for the Turkish Government the strongest words are ineffective. If there is anything in the modern conception of duty and justice, the Treaty that has yet to come must rescue once and for all the survivors of this Christian nation from the unutterable misdoings of the "Sublime Porte."

GLADSTONE.

December 24, 1919.



Bodies prior to burning.



No place to go.

THE MEMOIRS OF NAIM BEY

I BELIEVE that the history of the Armenian deportations and massacres, which have rendered the name of Turk worthy of eternal malediction on the part of all humanity, has no parallel in any record of inhuman deeds written until this day. In whatever corner of the wide territories of Turkey one may look, whatever dark ravine one may investigate, thousands of Armenian corpses and skeletons will be found, slaughtered and mutilated in the most cruel manner.

I had as yet not had anything to do with the work of deportation. I was a secretary in the employment of the Tobacco Regie at Ras-ul-Ain. I saw a caravan outside the village, by the riverside, composed of hundreds of miserable women and children. They used to come to the village every morning to beg. Some of them carried water, and tried to live on the crust of bread which they earned in that way.

It was summer as yet. They could shelter themselves in the clefts of some rock or mound, but, when the winter came, one could hear the moaning of those that were dying of cold and hunger all through the stillness of the long night. The Circassians of the village heard them too, but those dying moans touched neither their hearts nor their consciences.

I shall never forget that night. I was at the house of the Kaimakam; a storm was raging outside; within ten minutes' walk from where we were we could hear the sobs and moans of those unhappy people outside, exposed to the fury of the elements. The Kaimakam, Yousouf Zia Bey, was a very good, kind-hearted man. We went out together to the house of an Agha, and to one or two other places, whence we managed to get hold of two or three tents. With the help of ten or fifteen gendarmes, and some of the people, we succeeded in pitching the tents, so that the poor victims might have some sort of shelter. Their death was a pitiful thing to behold; but an infinitely more heartrending scene took place when the dogs began to devour the corpses.

These were the remnants of the unhappy Armenian populations of Sivas, Diarbekir and Kharpout. About one million inhabitants were

being transferred from five or six provinces. By the time they arrived at the place of exile destined for them, there were hardly a hundred or a hundred and fifty women and children left in each caravan, which meant that they were slaughtered as they were brought along.

I came to Aleppo. As luck would have it, Abdullahad Nouri Bey, who had arrived three or four days before as Representative of the General Deportations Committee, appointed me his Chief Secretary.

Although I had seen things with my own eyes while I was at Ras-ul-Ain, I had not been able to understand the purpose of those crimes. I only grasped their nature and spirit afterwards. Every time I recorded the secret orders given in cipher documents I trembled. A great nation was sentenced to death with its women and babies.

First the Government decided that the deported Armenians should be driven to Maara, Bab, and other outlying districts of Aleppo, and then orders were given that "the destination of the Armenians is around the river Khan Zor (near Der Zor)."

One day the following telegram came from the Minister of the Interior—

"The purpose of sending away Certain People¹ is to safeguard the welfare of our fatherland for the future, for wherever they may live they will never abandon their seditious ideas, so we must try to reduce their numbers as much as possible."

This telegram arrived in November 1915. Eight days afterwards, without even being ratified by the Governor-General, it was given to Abdullahad Nouri Bey. The very same evening at 11.30 (Turkish time) the superintendent of the deportees, Eyoub Bey, and the head of the gendarmerie, Emin Bey, hurried to the Government offices to see Nouri Bey. Nouri Bey at once showed them the telegram he had received, and they were together for about an hour. The subject of their conversation was the method of exterminating the Armenians. Eyoub Bey was for openly exterminating them, but Abdullahad Nouri Bey, who was a very cunning man, disapproved of this plan. His idea was that it would be better to expose the Armenian deportees to want and to the rigour of the winter; killing them in this way would serve in the future as evidence to prove the story that they had died a natural death.

Till then the gendarmes had not interfered with affairs concerning deportees in Aleppo. But now the gendarmerie began to co-operate with the police.

1. In all the official communications regarding the deportations and massacres, as well as other similar operations, the designation "certain people" is used for the Armenians.

Very soon great activity began in Aleppo. The deportees crowded into the districts of Garma and Kilis, and around Aleppo they were sent in companies to Akterim, and from there to Bab. And it turned out exactly as the officials had anticipated. Every day news reached us of hundreds of deaths, through hunger, cold and sickness.

Eyoub Bey went to Azaz. On his return he went in great glee to the seat of government. He told how he had burnt the tents. Bab was crowded. Typhus was making ravages everywhere. The Kaimakam and the officials charged with the work of deportation sent reports of deaths every day. Death did not only strike the Armenians; it slaughtered the native population as well.

One day I said to Abdullahad Nouri Bey: "Bey Effendi, let us relax the deportation of the Armenians a little, for in this way death is threatening the whole of Mesopotamia. None but devils will remain in those wide stretches of land. The Kaimakam of Ras-ul-Ain is making painful communications about this."

Nouri Bey laughed.

"My boy," he said, "in this way we rid ourselves of two dangerous elements at once. Is it not the Arabs who are dying with the Armenians? Is it a bad thing? The road for Turkey's future will be cleared!"

I listened. This fearful answer made me tremble.

What was it that encouraged the man to continue so boldly and fearlessly in the execution of such a cruel and diabolical plan? Much might be said with regard to this. But the copy of an order which was found amongst the secret papers of the Deportations Committee is sufficient in itself to explain the fearlessness and daring with which Nouri Bey was carrying out the work entrusted to him—the work of completely exterminating the Armenians.

This is the order—

"Although the extermination of the Armenian element, which has for centuries been desirous of destroying the sure foundation of our Empire, and has now taken the form of a real danger, had been decided upon earlier than this, circumstances did not permit us to carry out this sacred intention. Now that all obstacles are removed, and the time has come for redeeming our fatherland from this dangerous element, it is urgently recommended that you should not be moved to feelings of pity on seeing their miserable plight; but, by putting an end to them all, try with all your might to obliterate the very name 'Armenia' from Turkey. See to it that those to whom you entrust the carrying out of this purpose are patriotic and reliable men."

The date of this order is not known, nor is it known to whom it was addressed, because it was a copy. Everything points, however, to its having been sent on behalf of Talaat Pasha, the Minister of the Interior, straight to the Governor-General, and having been forwarded by the Government to the Deportations Committee. This order must have reached Aleppo before the arrival of Abdullahad Nouri Bey, probably during the administration of Jelal Bey. Perhaps it was on the strength of this that Jelal Bey wired to Constantinople, saying, "I am the Governor of this province; I cannot be its executioner." He was dismissed at once, and Beker Sami Bey, a man who was also opposed to the massacres, was sent to Aleppo in his place.

The General Supervisor of the deportees, Shukri Bey, had already been several months in Aleppo, and was organising the plan of the deportations and massacres. But he could not find people trustworthy enough to carry out the terrible project. The Governor-General, Jelal Bey, was not dismissed yet; it was impossible to get help from him. The Chief of the Police, Fikri Bey, was under the influence of Jelal Bey, and he also disapproved of the massacres, so there was no hope from him either. The only hope of Shukri Bey was Jemal Bey, who had been sent from Adana specially to superintend the Armenian massacres. The two were working together to put the fearful crime into effect, but they could not do anything.

Two Armenian brothers, Onnik and Armenak Mazlounian, personal friends of Jelal Bey and Fikri Bey, were the greatest obstacles in the way of Shukri and Jemal, as they were trying to mitigate the evil, even if they could not prevent it altogether. Their hotel in Aleppo (Baron's Hotel), besides being an inn, was the place where one branch of the Government had its seat; in fact, it was almost a Government building, because the Governor, the Chief of the Police, and nearly all the officials used to meet there constantly. The position of these two Armenians was a strange one, during all that terrible time. One of them, Onnik Mazlounian, was incapable of cringing to any one; he did not know how to hold his tongue, and he could not pretend to be what he was not. It is difficult for such a straightforward and daring person to get on with the Turks. His nature was so lovable, he was so generous in spending all his wealth on entertaining the people who might any day become the executioners of his nation, that he succeeded in gaining a great influence, which he used in trying to save his compatriots.

On Thursday in Passion Week he was asked by Abdullahad Nouri Bey what brand of champagne he was going to bring out that Easter. "Our Easter," he replied, "will begin on the day of your departure."

The younger brother, Armenak, was also a man who did not know how to disguise or hide his feelings. He, too, treated all these officials with extravagant generosity, and even when a man with the evil reputation of Zeki Bey came to Aleppo on his way to Der Zor, he invited him to his house and tried to make him feel friendly towards the Armenians. He was at the Police Headquarters almost every day to intervene on behalf of some individual, or some family.

Jemal Pasha liked and protected the two brothers. Shukri Bey understood that they were an obstacle to him, and would call out—

"First of all that nest (Baron's Hotel) should be cleared out."

It was after the appointment of Mustafa Abdullhalik Bey as Governor-General of Aleppo that those fearful massacres took place.

At first there was an Executive Committee in the Deportations Committee of Aleppo, by means of which the deportations of the Armenians to the desert were carried out. So long as the work was in the hands of this executive committee, the deportees were to a certain extent immune from spoliation and brutal treatment. The Government, realising that they could not effect their ultimate purpose in this way, dismissed the Governor (Bekir Sami Bey), and sent in his place Mustafa Abdullhalik Bey, who would implement its plan. This man was an enemy of the Armenians, and tried, in the name of Turkey, to crush out the whole Armenian race. The orders sent by him to the Deportations Committee are so ruthless that one can hardly explain them. Some of the Armenian members of the Ottoman Parliament had—probably with many supplications—succeeded in obtaining from the Ministry of the Interior permission for their families to remain in Aleppo. The Ministry of the Interior sent orders about them to Mustafa Abdullhalik Bey, but he concealed these orders, and sent those families also away to the desert.

I know of fifteen or twenty families which had received permission to stay in Aleppo, but which he sent to the desert.

The Government had given Abdullahad Nouri Bey as a colleague to this man. The representative of the General Deportations Committee, Nouri Bey was a very clever and naturally cruel man, and he was filled with a special enmity against the Armenians. He was an incarnation of refinement of cruelty. The sufferings and misery of the Armenians, the frequent reports of deaths among them, filled him with such rapture that he almost danced with joy, because all these things were the result of his orders. "The Government does not want these people to live," he would say. He used to say that, when he was called to this office, as he was leaving for Aleppo, the Advisor of the Ministry of the Interior suggested that he should see Talaat Pasha before he left. Nouri Bey went to the Sublime Porte. There were a few

guests with the Pasha.

"When do you leave?" he asked, then, rising, he took him to the window, and said in an undertone: "Of course you know what you are expected to do. I must see Turkey rid of those cursed people" (the Armenians).

Jemal Pasha had ordered that five or six Armenian families who had been working (with their carts) in the tunnel of Intilli, should go to Damascus. The Governor had communicated this order to Nouri Bey, who added the following inscription to it—

"Does a great Government, which has deported hundreds of thousands of Armenians, need two broken carts belonging to a handful of Armenians, be separated from the General Deportation to the desert, and sent to Damascus?"

He was a very nervous and a very strict man.¹

Abdullahad Nouri Bey's principal colleague was his immediate subordinate, Eyoub Sabri Bey, both a bloodthirsty and a corrupt man. His aim was always killing and, still more, plundering. During his time of office he accumulated great wealth.

This man, who had grown rich through great amount of plunder that he had taken from the Armenians, never did any good to any Armenian. His religion and his conscience were money. The brutalities which he committed against the Armenians were not committed in the name of any patriotic ideal.

By the decrees of the Governor of Aleppo, Abdullhalik Bey, the representative of the General Deportations Committee, Abdullahad Nouri Bey had begun to make arrangements for the deportation; and when they had once begun working, crime succeeded crime.

A new and awful order had arrived from the Ministry of the Interior, which gave them full authority. And, as it was, they needed no permit.

These are the orders—

"To the Government of Aleppo.

"March 9, 1915.— All rights of the Armenians to live and work on Turkish soil have been completely cancelled, and with regard to this the Government takes all responsibility on itself, and has commanded that even babes in the cradle are not to be spared. The results of carrying out this order have been seen in some provinces. In spite of this, for reasons unknown to us, exceptional measures are taken with 'Certain People,' and those people instead of being sent

1. Abdullahad Nouri Bey never took bribes. "Of course I like bribes," he would say, "but I am afraid to accept them. I am afraid that in the place of the money which enters into my pocket an Armenian - even if it is only one Armenian - will escape."

straight to the place of exile are left in Aleppo, whereby the Government is involved in an additional difficulty. Without listening to any of their reasoning, remove them thence—women or children, whatever they may be, even if they are incapable of moving; and do not let the people protect them, because, through their ignorance, they place material gains higher than patriotic feelings, and cannot appreciate the great policy of the Government in insisting upon this. Because instead of the indirect measures of extermination used in other places—such as severity, haste (in carrying out the deportations), difficulties of travelling and misery—direct measures can safely be used there, so work heartily.

"General Orders have been communicated from the War Office to all the Commanders of the Army that they are not to interfere in the work of deportation.¹

"Tell the officials that are to be appointed for that purpose that they must work to put into execution our real intent, without being afraid of responsibility. Please send cipher reports of the results of your activities every week.

"Minister of the Interior,
"TALAAT."

When this order came, the Deportations Committee of Aleppo had the right to do all sorts of things, under the direct orders of the Governor-General.

The reasons for leaving all the work of deportation in the hands of one man was that the orders given for putting barbarities into execution should be kept as secret as possible—so that many people might not know what was going on, and the crime might be committed in silence, without being heard abroad.

The camp where the deportees were gathered together was in the dreary height of Karlik, twenty minutes from Aleppo. From this place the deportees were sent to the desert. The lives of the Armenians who were there depended on the caprice of a police sergeant, or a deportation official.

Anyhow, there was no hope of life for any one who went a step beyond Aleppo. The whole line from Karlik to Der Zor was a track of

1. For a time the Commanding Officers of the military camps began to separate artisans from amongst the deportees, for the erection of military buildings. The deportation officials wrote to Constantinople complaining of this, and Talaat Pasha sends this order to say that the right to keep back artisans had been taken from the military officers.



The streets were their homes.



Orphans near death from starvation.

misery—a graveyard. The officials in charge had been ordered not to abstain from any brutality which would cause death.

The two following telegrams prove this— both of them sent on behalf of Talaat Pasha, the Minister of the Interior.

"We hear that some officials have been brought before a military tribunal (court martial) under the accusation of extortion and severity towards Certain People (the Armenians). Even though this may be a mere formality, it may lessen the energy of other officials. For this reason I command that you shall not allow such examinations.¹

"Minister of the Interior,
"TALAAT."

"To pay heed to the complaints lodged by 'Certain People' on all sorts of personal subjects will not only delay their dispatch to the desert but will also open the door to a series of actions which may entail political difficulties in the future. For this reason no notice should be taken of those applications, and orders must be given to this effect to the officials concerned.

"Minister of the Interior,
"TALAAT."

Instructions were subsequently received from the Minister of the Interior to the effect that letters or telegrams addressed to Governmental High Officials containing complaints should be received but not forwarded.

Thus the Armenian people who were in the deserts were condemned to certain death, and the executioners who were to carry out the work were just the men for it:—the Governor of Aleppo, Mustafa Abdullhalik, the representative of the General Deportations Committee, Abdullahad Nouri Bey, his colleague Eyoub Bey, the Deputy of the Ittihad, Jemal Bey, and a multitude of officials under them—one more bloodthirsty than the other; all devoted heart and soul to the "sacred work," as the documents designated.

1. Sergeant Rahmeddin, the Mudir of Abu-Harrad, (one of the camps on the Euphrates), who had become a terror to the Armenians, and often killed people with a great club which he invariably carried about with him, was summoned to Aleppo after many protests for a mock trial; but in accordance with this telegram he was sent back to his work again, without even being tried. On his return, as he was passing through Meskene to go to Abu-Harrad, he fired some revolver shots towards the deportees' camp, calling out, "You protested, and what was the result? Here I am again restored to my office." Naturally the brutalities practiced by this man, whom the Armenians called "the bone-breaker," grew more cruel after his return.

THE MASSACRES OF RAS-UL-AIN

While the deportation was carried on by railway, Kaimakam Yousouf Zia Bey reported that there was no more room for Armenians in Ras-ul-Ain; that five or six hundred were dying every day, and that there was neither time to bury the dead nor to send the living further south.

He received an answer to the following effect. "Hasten the deportations. In this way those who are not fit to leave will fall down and die at a few hours' distance from the town, and the town will get rid of both the living and the dead."

From the last reports of the local deportation officials and of the Kaimakam, it was understood that from 13,000 to 14,000 people died of starvation and sickness in four months.

The Armenians in Ras-ul-Ain were in this condition, while in Aleppo the Turks were thinking out methods of exterminating them completely. Everything showed that Yousouf Zia Bey would not consent to become a tool for the carrying out of this crime. But there was still a greater obstacle—the Governor of Der Zor, Ali Souad Bey, who had done all he could in his official circle at Ras-ul-Ain to mitigate the sufferings of the Armenians. He had directed them to pitch their tents at the foot of a hill near the village, and had, in a way, assigned a part of the village to those who still had a little money and could occupy themselves in commerce. In that quarter the Armenians had at once set up shops—tailors', shoemakers', grocers' and greengrocers' shops, and sixty bakeries. Amongst the deported Armenians there were a great many architects, builders, stone-masons, and other artisans. The military authorities were having a large hospital elected by them. Sixty masterbuilders were working at that hospital, and with their families received wages in return for their work.

Souad Bey had addressed the following words to the Kaimakam one day—

"Let us not ask why the Armenians are being deported; that is not our business. We can treat them as we like. If we like, we can protect and keep them, and profit by their industries. If we like, we can make an end of them. We cannot remove this misfortune which is weighing on them so heavily, but we can lighten it. I believe that by their labour these deserts will be turned into flowery fields, and in the place of these hovels, beautiful dwellings will be erected."

At the same time the plan to exterminate these people was being worked out in Aleppo.

The orders issued to the official commanding the deportations at

Ras-ul-Ain were not carried out. Abdullahad Nouri Bey himself went as far as Ras-ul-Ain, and by worrying the official commanding the deportations, Arel Bey, he discovered that it was the Governor of Der Zor, Souad Bey himself, who had failed to carry out the order for driving the Armenians towards the desert.

On his return to Aleppo, Nouri Bey informed the Governor-General (Vali), Abdullhalik Bey of the truth, and he immediately sent the following order by cipher to Ali Souad Bey—

"It is contrary to the sacred purpose of the Government that thousands of Armenians should remain in Ras-ul-Ain. Drive them in to the desert."

Souad Bey answered—

"There are no means of transport by which I can send the people away. If the purpose which you insist upon is slaughtering them, I can neither do it myself nor have it done."

Mustafa Abdullhalik Bey sent this telegram to Constantinople to the Ministry of the Interior, adding to it the following report concerning Souad Bey—

"To the Ministry of the Interior.

"Dec. 23, 1915.— We understand from the deputy of the general overseer of the Deportations Committee that the Armenians who have been sent to Ras-ul-Ain are still there, and have built themselves good houses and established themselves comfortably; and that the person who is protecting them and allowing them to settle down is the Governor of Der Zor, Ali Souad Bey.

"In spite of our having written again and again that the crowding of Armenians in a small but locally important town like Ras-ul-Ain and the making of excuses such as the lack of means of transport, and so forth, for keeping them there lays a great responsibility upon us, yet we have seen no result.

"The partiality which Ali Souad Bey has shown for them and the protection he has extended to them have reached amazing proportions. According to what we hear, he dresses and looks after some of the Armenian children himself, and he weeps and mourns with them over the sufferings of their parents. In this way the Armenians sent in that direction are enjoying a very happy existence, and they are indebted for this to Ali Souad Bey.

"But as the continuation of this state of things will cause needless delays in the transport of deportees from Aleppo, we are addressing Your Excellency on the matter, begging that you will make all necessary arrangements.

"MUSTAFA ABDULLHALIK,

"Governor-General (Vali)."

It was on the strenght of this report that Ali Souad Bey was subsequently dismissed.

Affairs remained in this condition until February 1916. Then one of the most cruel and evil-reputed executors of the Armenian massacres arrived in Ras-ul-Ain—a former Governor-General of Van, Jevdet Bey, brother-in-law of the Minister of War, Enver Pasha. After having accomplished the massacre in Van, he went to Moush, where he also supervised massacres; and thence he went to Bitlis, to complete the massacres of Mustafa Abdullhalik Bey. Having been appointed Governor of Adana, he was on his way there, and in February 1916 he reached Ras-ul-Ain, where there were at that time about 50,000 Armenian deportees. The Kaimakam had gone out to meet him, with his suite.

Amongst the deportees there happened to be an Armenian doctor—Dr. Hreshdagian, who belonged to the staff of the Executive Committee of the Baghdad Railway. The doctor afterwards said that the first thing which attracted the attention of Jevdet Bey was the mound at which base there were thousands of tents belonging to the Armenian camp.

Jevdet Bay thought that it was a military camp, and asked where those soldiers were going. The Kaimakam answered that those were not soldiers, but Armenian deportees. On hearing this, Jevdet Bey, not expecting that there was an Armenian amongst his audience, exclaimed—

“Are those dogs still in existence? I command you to slaughter them all !”

The Kaimakam refused, saying that he could not shed the blood of so many innocent people, who had never done him any harm.

“Then you don't know what policy the Government is pursuing?” said Jevdet Bay, and he threatened to have him dismissed.

Suiting the action to the word, he summoned the chief of the telegraph office and immediately reported what had passed to Constantinople. The consequence could be nothing but a dismissal, and so it was. Yousouf Zia Bey was removed from Ras-ul-Ain, and ten days later, at the beginning of March, a new Kaimakam arrived—a young man from Kochana in Rumelia. Kerim Refi Bey. He was Jevdet Bey's man.

For the Armenian massacres the Government intentionally appointed officials who, with their families, had suffered greatly during the deportations of the Balkan War, and had escaped to Constantinople. The bitterness of their past sufferings and the thirst for revenge was very strong in the hearts of these people. And that is the reason why they showed such fearful savagery, in spite of the fact

that the Armenians had had no share in causing their sufferings. All through the Balkan wars the Armenian soldiers who were in the Turkish armies fought with great heroism on all the fronts, as all the Turkish commanders witnessed.

Not being able to wreak their vengeance on the Bulgarians, Serbians and Greeks, these Turkish officials wreaked it on the Armenians.

The new Kaimakam of Ras-ul-Ain was one of these men, and he became an excellent tool in the hands of the jackals of Aleppo, before whom the ground was now quite clear, since they had succeeded in getting the dismissal of Ali Souad Bey, the Governor of Der Zor. On March 17 Kerim Bey began the deportations. This work had been entrusted to the Circassians, at the head of whom was the Mayor of Ras-ul-Ain, Arslan Bey.

A guard was formed of the Circassians, ostensibly with the object of defending travellers from assault. This guard was armed. This company, however, which was supposed to be formed for protective purposes, had the office of slaughtering the deportees committed to their charge.

The order for the criminal deeds at Ras-ul-Ain was given directly from Aleppo. This order was given to the chiefs of the guard. Some of them came to Aleppo and had interviews with Mustafa Abdullhalik Bey.¹ Four or five days after their return, the Kaimakam reported, by cipher-telegram, that they had arrived and received their orders. The massacres followed the deportations almost immediately, because they were committed in the neighbourhood, chiefly on the banks of the Jurjib and on the road to Shaddade. The Armenians were taken out in groups, and killed in the most brutal manner. Some of them used to escape occasionally, and come to Ra-ul-Ain— it was not possible for them to go anywhere else—and they used to tell of the horrors. One can imagine how terrified the helpless people were who heard these stories, how they shuddered when they came with whips, revolvers and clubs to beat them and drive them out to the slaughter-houses. Neither the sick were spared, nor the children, nor the aged.

"Don't leave any of them alive especially the children, down to five or seven years old; otherwise in a short time they will grow up,

1. Amongst these was the brother of Arslan Bey, Hussein Bey, who after the death of Arslan Bey (in the beginning of 1917) succeeded him as mayor in Ras-ul-Ain. Both brothers played prominent parts in the massacres of Der Zor also. Hussein Bey used often to go to Aleppo to sell the property which he and his brother and others were constantly seizing from the deportees.

and seek to revenge themselves."¹

Zeki Bey had arrived at Der Zor as governor, in the place of Ali Souad Bey; and, as the massacres had begun there, he needed people to carry out his devilish work. To slaughter about 200,000 people is not an easy matter.

The colossal amount of labour needed had stupefied him. He had been obliged to call to his assistance all the Circassians who had executed the massacres of Ras-ul-Ain. But still the butchers were not enough for the victims. Seeing that the Circassians would not be sufficient to complete the work, Zeki Bey had promised the Arab Ashirats of Der Zor the clothes of the victims, if they would come and help in the killing. And they had accepted the offer. Most of the Armenians were slaughtered by them.

The greater number of the officials both of the Executive Committee and of the constructional works were Armenians. The Government, on the pretext of being afraid that they would be unsuitable for the work, gave the following order—

"NO. 801.

"To the Government of Aleppo.

"Dec. 26, 1915.— It has been decided that all Armenians working on the railway or on any other construction shall be sent to their places of deportation. The War Office has given notice of this to the Commanders of deportation camps.

"Minister of the Interior,
"TALAAT."

Upon this their names were demanded from the military commissariats of the railway. Both, the Railway Commissironer, Khairi Bey, and Jelal Pasha showed great kindness with regard to this. Talaat Pasha's guilt is demonstrated by the fact that, although most of the officials on the railway were Armenians, and the Armenians had been treated so brutally during the four or five years of the war, they had all worked faithfully the whole time. Nowhere on the line was there any accident through them.

But, a short time after, the question was raised again, and the following telegram arrived—

"No. 840.

"To the Government of Aleppo.

1. This seemed to be a watchword. Every official in every place repeated it to the people who were to execute the massacres.

"Jan. 16, 1916.— We hear that all along the line which runs between Intilli, Airan and Aleppo there are some forty or fifty thousand Armenians, mostly women and children. Those persons, who are causing a great deal of trouble by remaining on sites which are very important for the dispatch of troops, will be punished with the greatest severity. Therefore communicate with the Government of Adana, and send those Armenians to Aleppo immediately, without letting them go further. I am anxiously waiting to hear the result of this within a week.

"Minister of the Interior,
"TALAAT".

The following telegram, supplementing the foregoing one, was received the very same day.

"To the Government of Aleppo.

"Sequel to the telegram dated Jan. 16.

"No. 840.

"Do not deport the Armenian workers left at Intilli and Airan until the construction of the railway is completed. But, as it is not permissible for them to live with their families, billet them temporarily somewhere in the outskirts of Aleppo. The remaining women and children dispatch to the desert immediately, in compliance with the former telegram.

"Minister of the Interior,
"TALAAT".

When this order was executed the infants were left behind under the trees, naked and hungry.

Herr Koppel¹ collected them and put them into cases prepared for dynamite, and took them to Intilli, where they were cared for in his orphanage. A few days later the German Director of the Baghdad Railway reproached him for this work of mercy.

The companies sent via Aintab and Marash were slaughtered all along the way until they reached Mardin, where none of them were to arrive. A number of them—500 people— were taken to Ras-ul-Ain and there joined the 200 Armenian families that were left in the place and had not yet been massacred because the Circassians were occupied at Der Zor. But when the deportations at Der Zor were completed, and the massacres facilitated, the Circassians soon returned

1. Herr Koppel was one of the Swiss engineers worthy of special mention, who did all in their power to save the lives of some of the Armenians working on the Baghdad railway line.

to Ras-ul-Ain, and drove out the people left there, as well as those Intilli, towards the neighbourhood of Shiddade. They were to be massacred with the last remnant of the Armenians of Der Zor.

While the massacres of Ras-ul-Ain and Intilli were being completed, the even more terrible slaughter, by means of which Zeki Bey was to exterminate the 200,000 Armenians deported to Der Zor, had begun.

Zeki Bey was impatiently sending telegrams to the Government at Aleppo, asking that the Armenians in the neighbourhood of that town should be sent to him as soon as possible.

The real terror commenced when they began to drive the people who were in Aleppo and the neighbourhood towards Meskene. There was no end to the caravans. Bab, Maara and Moonbooj were completely emptied. Without regard to the severity of the weather, the Armenians were driven towards Meskene, often on foot, now and then on donkeys or camels. Even there also they might not stay. They must go to Der Zor—that was the decree.

The greater part of these deportees on the banks of the Euphrates were from the environs of Constantinople—from Rodosto, Nicomedia, Bardezag, Adabazar, Gezve and Konia—in a word, all the Armenians deported from along the line of the Anatolian Railway, and from Cesarea.

Everybody wondered why this new deportation was being made, and why the people were being driven towards Zor. But there was still a stronger reason for anxiety. News of the massacres at Ras-ul-Ain had reached Meskene among other places. A massacre that went on for years could not remain secret even in the desert.

News had already arrived that no more deportees would be sent from the right bank of the Tigris—only from the left bank; and this in itself was a death-sentence for the caravans about to depart; for from that bank as far as Rakka they would have to travel through waterless deserts, where they would certainly die of the heat or of hunger and thirst. The El-Jezireh, as the left bank of the river was called, was the road to the tomb.

The deportees coming from Bab increased the terror by bringing with them the following telegraphic order, which the Governor-General of Aleppo and the Mayor sent to the Kaimakam of Bab—

“Very urgent and secret.

“Do not keep back even condemned Armenians or those accused or arrested by the police; send them down to Der Zor at once.”

The Turkish soldiers often pointed out to the Armenians, with devilish sarcasm, troops of Indians, and especially English prisoners

that were being deported to Nisibin, to work on the construction of the railway. Their condition was no better than that of the Armenians. They had been starving for days, and most of them were worn out and incapable of walking. They were dragging themselves along the road, and many of them would fall down then and there, often under revolver shots. They had neither shoes nor clothing. Pale, emaciated and bent, they were more like shadows than men. And the Turks pointed out those caravans to the Armenians, and said: "Here are the people you worship—here are those with whom you sympathise and for whom you were sacrificed. Call them—call them to liberate you!"

Old women took out bags of earth which they had brought with them from their distant homes—the earth which had been sanctified by all the martyrdom and bloodshed through which they had brought and kept it. Feeling that they were going to die, they distributed that earth amongst those who had none. They placed it in their bosoms, so that when they died in this strange land, they might at least close their eyes in the illusion that they were dying in the embrace of their native soil.

All the orders of the Government said—

"Join them on to the caravans and send them." The meaning of this ambiguous saying was: "Send them to the desert." But even in the desert there was no fixed place for the Armenian deportees. They always had to get up, walk, and move on, no one knew whither. It was enough that they should not stay long in one place, and should wear themselves out by walking.

Before even the idea of the Yildirim army had been conceived, the Government sent the following telegram to Aleppo—

"No. 723.

"A cipher-telegram from the Ministry of the Interior, sent to the Government of Aleppo.

"Dec. 3, 1915.— Send the Armenians—those in the neighbourhood of Aleppo first— without delay, to their place of deportation, and report concerning this.

"Minister of the Interior,
"TALAAT."

At the beginning of the deportations, at least, the villages around Aleppo were appointed to be dwelling-places for the Armenians. Great number of Armenians were settled in those villages. On receipt of this telegram, mounted gendarmes were sent round the environs

of Aleppo, who began to turn the people out of the villages by means of many cruelties, driving them towards Meskene, where most of them were put to death.

It is worth while to recall in this connection that the order for the general deportation of the Armenians came after Marshal Mackenson had pierced the Russian front, when the crushing of Russia, and consequently ultimate victory, seemed assured to the Turks.

Instructions were given from Aleppo to try and keep the deportees hungry and thirsty on the way, so as to diminish their numbers as much as possible.

On January 20, 1916, Abdullahad Nouri Bey wrote to the chief official of the Deportations Committee of Bab, Mouharrem Bey—

"No. 344.

"Jan. 20, 1916.—Doubtless you appreciate the confidence which the Government has in you, and you realise the importance of the work entrusted to you. You are not to permit one single Armenian to remain in Bab. Your severity and promptitude with regard to the deportations can alone assure the success of the scheme which we are pursuing. Only you must take care that no corpses are left by the roadsides. Let us know by post the maximum remuneration which you propose to pay to the men whom you appoint for this work.

"Do not trouble about means of transport. The deportees can go on foot.

"The weekly death-rate sent to us during these last few days was not satisfactory. It is evident from this that those people (the Armenians) are living quite comfortably there.

"The dispatch of the deportees must not be like a journey. Do not listen to protests or lamentations. The Government has sent the necessary instructions to the Kaimakam as well.

"ABDULLAHAD NOURI,"

Abdullahad Nouri Bey subsequently issued the following order—

"No official will be held responsible for any severities connected with the deportations of Armenians."

In accordance with the foregoing instructions, all the deportees in Bab were to be driven out within twenty-four hours.

The number of deaths was reported to Constantinople by cipher-telegrams once a fortnight.

The Government demanded that the life and honour of the

Armenians should be destroyed. They no longer had any right to exist. Talaat Pasha wrote—

"It is necessary to punish those who wish to ensure the existence of the Armenians, who have for centuries been an element of danger to Turkey, and have recently tried to inundate the whole of our country with blood. Send secret instructions to the Officials."

At one moment, when the joy of the Turks was at its height, the deportations were so harsh in Aleppo that the gendarmes and police would go into the houses and tie up like pigs and drive out the poor Armenians, who had no refuge but God, and were hiding themselves through the fear of death.

One day a poor man presented a petition to say that, while his whole family had been suffering from typhus, they had thrown them all out into the street, put them into dust-carts and sent them out of town to Karlok. The wretched man begged and implored with sobs and tears that they would at least give him ten days' grace. He did not know that he was condemned to death; no one would pity him. During my term of office 10,000 petitions were given in to our office from the Armenian deportees. I did not see any notice taken of even ten of them.

A woman from Diarbekir was seen carrying a plate with the Armenian coat-of-arms on it. She was brought before the General Deportations Committee, and asked where she had got that plate.¹ The woman answered that it had been in her house a long time, and she did not know whence it was brought. She was taken to a cell in the gendarmerie, where she was tortured eight or ten days, in order to find out where she had got the plate. But the poor woman did not know. She died in the midst of those tortures, which were aggravated by hunger.

Thus, after having witnessed hundreds of thousands of such dramas in Aleppo, I was sent to Meskene as an official of the Deportations Committee. When I was about to depart, Eyoub Bey called me and said: "We have not been satisfied with any of the officials sent to Meskene. You have been in the work, and you are familiar with the orders that have been sent. See that you do not let those people (the Armenians) live. When necessary, kill them with your own hand. Killing them is an amusement."

I went to Meskene; I heard of the crimes committed. I remained there two months and only once deported a company. Their number

1. All kinds of objects and pictures bearing this coat-of-arms were sold freely all over Turkey after the Constitution was established. During the deportations all those who possessed any of these objects were punished with death.

could not have exceeded thirty.

While I was still at Aleppo, the following cipher-telegram had arrived from Constantinople—

"A cipher-telegram from the Ministry of the Interior, sent to the Government of Aleppo.

"Dec. 1, 1915.— In spite of the fact that it is necessary above all to work for the extermination of the Armenian Clergy, we hear that they are being sent to suspicious places like Syria and Jerusalem. Such a permit is an unpardonable delinquency. The place of exile of such seditious people is annihilation. I recommend you to act accordingly.

"Minister of the Interior,
"TALAAT."

When I went to Meskene the old Bishop of Nicomedia (Izmit) was there. He sat in a small tent, and spent the time in thinking of his fate. No one knows how the attention of the Director of the Deportations Committee was called to this man, who was incapable of doing any harm to any one.

I received a note to the effect that the Bishop of Izmit was there; why had they kept him? he must be deported, so that he might fall down at some corner of the road and die. I could not say that I would not do, or refuse to send him. But we did not send him.

Another time two priests had been sent to Meskene. The order given concerning these two was very severe. It openly commanded that they should be killed. I did not deport those two priests, however, I kept them where they were. I do not remember their names, but I think that both of them are in Aleppo now.

Meskene was filled with skeletons, from one end to the other. It looked like a real valley of dry bones.

Two hundred thousand Armenians were sent out on the road from Aleppo to Meskene and Ras-ul-Ain alone, and only about five or six thousand of this great multitude survived. The babies were thrown into the Euphrates and drowned. The women were killed with bayonets or revolvers at different points of the road by the savagery of the gendarmes or the people.

THE MASSACRES OF DER ZOR

The discharged postmaster of Der Zor described the beginning of the massacres at Der Zor as follows. A cipher-telegram arrived at Der Zor from the Ministry of the Interior, saying, "An end has been made of the deportations; begin to work according to the previous order, and let it be done as rapidly as possible."

The massacre began two days after the cipher-telegram arrived.

At the end of July, Zeki Bey sent the following telegram to Aleppo—

"Cipher-telegram from the Government of Der Zor sent to the Governor-General of Aleppo.

"July 31, 1916.—In accordance with the order sent to me from the Committee, when the deportations of the Armenian deportees from Aleppo have been somewhat slackened, the dwelling-place of the Armenians¹ that are here will be changed. Please let me know how long the deportation of the deportees is to continue.

"Governor,

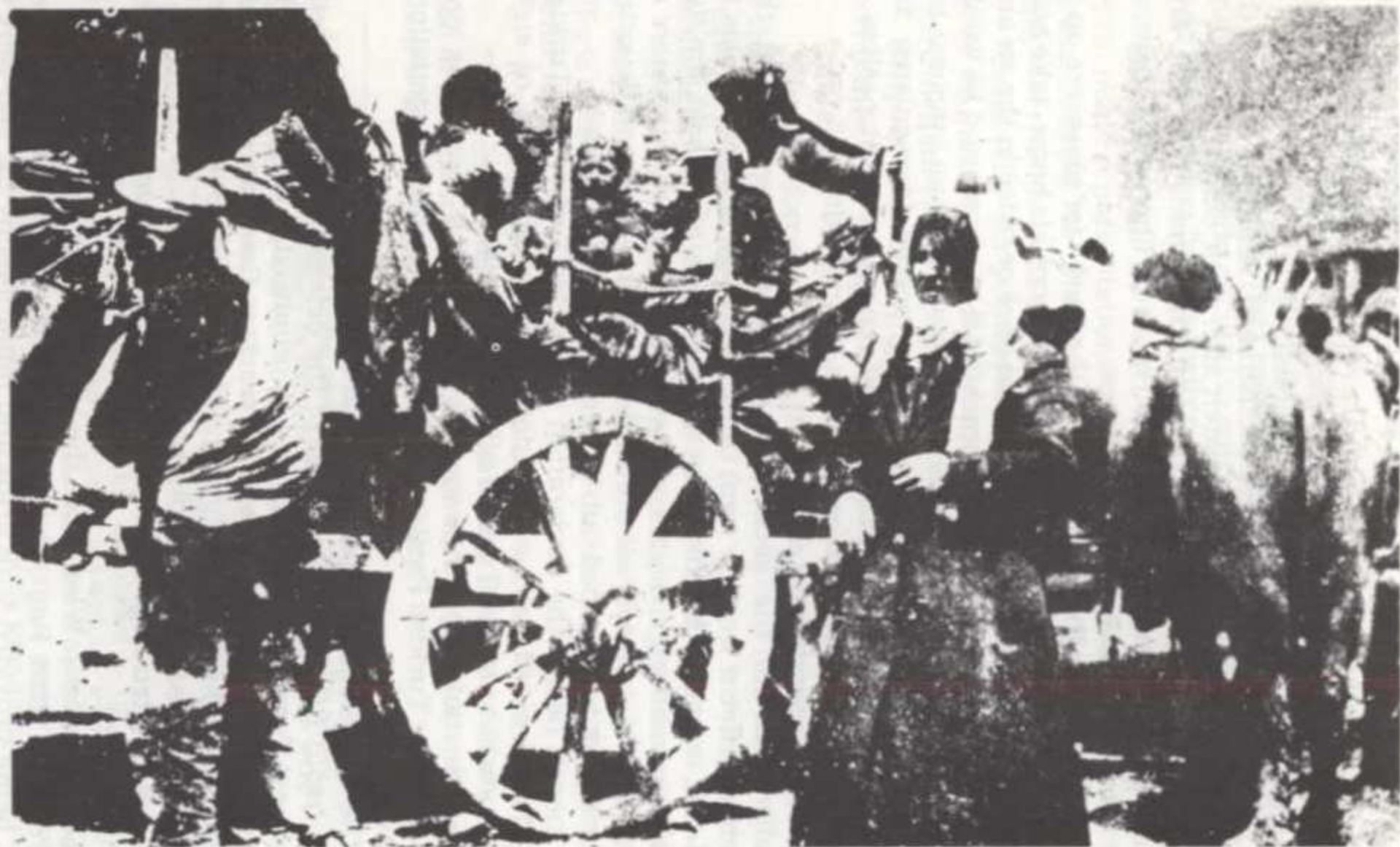
"ZEKI."

The people were driven out of Der Zor in batches, under the pretext of being sent to Mosul. But they were unable to go beyond Sheddade. Zeki Bey selected principally the deserts of Marat and Souvar on the road to Sheddade, and as it was impossible to wipe out so many people by slaughtering them, he created an artificial famine, during which the people first ate the donkeys, dogs and cats, then the carcasses of horses and dogs, and finally, when there was nothing else left to eat, they began to devour human corpses, especially corpses of small children.

In the desert some orphans and hungry children saw a cauldron on a fire at a camp and thought that it was meat cooking; they took off the lid and stole a piece. It was a little child's hand they had stolen.

A girl was ill in bed, from having had nothing to eat for several days. Her mother was watching beside her. The smell of cooking meat came from somewhere near. Doubtless they were cooking the

1. The meaning of the sentence in this telegram - "the dwelling-place of the Armenians that are here will be changed" - is that they will be massacred, and as a matter of fact the massacres which Zeki Bey was so anxious to consummate had already begun with the removal of the Armenians all along the banks of the Euphrates to the slaughter-house of Der Zor.



Armenian refugees fleeing from the Turks. The massacre of Armenians remaining within Turkey was called the "most colossal crime of all ages" by the examining American Military Mission's report to the U.S. Congress. UPI

corpse of some children.

"Mother, go and ask for a piece, I can stand it no longer," said the girl. The mother went, but shortly returned empty handed.

"Wouldn't they give any?" said the girl. "Mother, if I die, don't give them any of my flesh. Eat it yourself."

In this way the children were accustomed, while still alive, to the idea that their corpses would be eaten after their death.

A chemist who had some poison with him made pills of it, and fortunate people used to buy them, so as to be liberated a moment earlier from those unspeakable tortures.

In order to keep the enthusiasm of the Turks for massacre up to the mark, Zeki Bey would often bend down from his horse, take hold of a small child by its arm, turn it round once or twice in the air and dash it to the ground, killing and breaking it to pieces; and he would say to his followers: "Don't think that I have killed an innocent being. Even the new-born babies of this people (Armenians) are criminals, for they will carry the seeds of vengeance in themselves. If you wish to ensure to-morrow, kill even their children."

And they spared none.

Only a few of the good-looking girls were saved from the massacres. After a week or two, those girls were sent on camels to Ras-ul-Ain, towards Mardin, where they were often sold for five piastres (one shilling). In this way was completed the massacre of Der Zor, in which nearly all the Armenians who had been deported into the desert were wiped out—more than 200,000 people.

A month before the declaration of war by Turkey the Turkish War Office entered into negotiations with a delegation of eight Georgians who met the Turkish officials at Trebizond.

The Constantinople newspapers of April 15 report the proceedings in the Turkish Parliament with regard to these negotiations as follows—

"The President. Of whom did that delegation consist?

"Yousouf Riza Bey. The chief of the delegation was Tseretelli, and Colonel Terel was with him. It was promised to these two and to their three companions that an independent Georgian state should be founded, in which all the eight should have positions as ministers.

"The President. Who made that promise?

"Yousouf Riza Bey. Turkey, in her own name and in that of the German Empire.

"The President. What were the conditions to be?

"Yousouf Riza Bey. The Georgians in the Caucasus were to revolt, being provided with arms and munitions by us, and were to cut off the Russian line of retreat; they were also to destroy the

railway lines and to blow up the arsenals and munition factories.

"The President. Had Turkey declared war then?

"Yousouf Riza Bey. No!

"The President. Where were you when war was declared?

"Yousouf Riza Bey. In a Russian town.

"The President. That means that your centre (the centre of the Ittihad) had already decided to enter the war, since you were already over the Russian frontier before war was declared."

The Armenian Patriarch at Constantinople had, on April 11, 1915, made representations on behalf of the Armenians exiled from Constantinople to the Grand Vizier, Said Halim Pasha, whose reply—verbatim—was as follows—

"Before the war you approached the Entente Powers, wishing to sever yourselves from the Ottoman Empire. What is happening to the Armenians is the result of a scheme which will be carried out."

Some of the following dispatches emanating from the Ittihad Committee bear as signatures merely an initial.

"March 25, 1915.— To the delegate at Adana, Jemal Bey.

"The only force in Turkey that is able to frustrate the political life of the Ittihad and Terakke' is the Armenians. From news which has frequently been received lately from Cairo, we learn that the Dashnagtzoutiun¹ is preparing a decisive attack against the Jemiet.

"If we examine minutely the historical circumstances of the past we shall find that all the storms which have obstructed the patriotic efforts of the Jemiet are the result of the seeds of discord sown by the Armenians.

"It will be forbidden to help or protect any Armenian.

"The Jemiet has decided to save the fatherland from the ambition of this cursed race, and to take on its own patriotic shoulders the stain which will blacken Ottoman history.

1. The Committee of Union and Progress, which is also called "Jemiet" (or "Assembly"). It is necessary to explain that in those days there were two Governments in Turkey - one was the official one, the Cabinet of Said Halim Pasha, and the other that of the Ittihad Committee, which, although unofficial, was a more real and influential power, for it held the official Government under the strictest control. It had special delegates in all the provinces - they were generally called "Responsible Secretaries," and these delegates superintended all activities, especially the Armenian deportations and massacres.

2. The "attack" of the Dashnagtzoutiun mentioned in the first paragraph of this letter was nothing new, and had no connection with the European war.

What the letter calls an "attack" was the union which the Dashnagtzoutiun and other Armenian political parties formed in Egypt to press for reforms in Turkey, at the time of the Balkan War, when the Powers were already stirring up the question.

"The Jemiet, unable to forget all old scores and past bitterness, full of hope for the future, has decided to annihilate all Armenians living in Turkey, without leaving a single one alive, and it has given the Government a wide scope with regard to this.

"Of course the Government will give the necessary injunctions about the necessary massacres to the Governors. All the delegates of the Ittihad and Terakke will do their utmost to push on this matter.

"The property left will be temporarily confiscated by any means that the Government thinks fit, with the intention of its being sold afterwards and the money used for reorganising the Jemiet on a broader basis, and for patriotic purposes.

"With regard to this, if you deem it necessary, demand an explanation from the Executive Committees which are to be formed. If you see anything in the administration which is not in order, you can apply either to the Governors-General or to us."

The second dispatch shows that, when the Turkish Government finished with the Armenians, they were going to undertake the extermination of other races—Greeks, Syrians and Arabs.

"To Jemal Bey, delegate at Adana.

"Nov. 18, 1915.— It is the duty of all of us to effect on the broadest lines the realisation of the noble project of wiping out of existence the Armenians who have for centuries been constituting a barrier to the Empire's progress in civilisation. For this reason we must take upon ourselves the whole responsibility, saying 'come what may,' and appreciating how great is the sacrifice which has enabled the Government to enter the world war, we must work so that the means adopted may lead to the desired end.

"As announced in our dispatch dated February 8, the Jemiet has decided to uproot and annihilate the various forces which have for centuries been an obstacle in its way, and to this end it is obliged to resort to very bloody methods. Be assured that we ourselves were horrified at the contemplation of these methods, but the Jemiet seen no other way of ensuring the stability of its work.

"We are criticised and called upon to be merciful; such simplicity is nothing short of stupidity. For those who will not co-operate with us we will find a place that will wring their delicate heart-strings.

"I again recall to your memory the question of the property left. It is very important. Do not let its distribution escape your vigilance; always examine the accounts and the use made of the proceeds."

(See the original, Plate I.)

"A cipher-telegram from the Ministry of the Interior, addressed

to the Government of Aleppo.

"From interventions which have recently been made by the American Ambassador of Constantinople on behalf of his Government, it appears that the American consuls are obtaining information by secret means. In spite of our assurances that the (Armenian) deportations will be accomplished in safety and comfort, they remain unconvinced. Be careful that events attracting attention shall not take place in connection with those (Armenians) who are near the cities, and other centres. From the point of view of the present policy it is most important that foreigners who are in those parts shall be persuaded that the expulsion of the Armenians is in truth only deportation. For this reason it is important that, to save appearances, a show of gentle dealing shall be made for a time, and the usual measures be taken in suitable places. It is recommended as very important that the people who have given such information shall be arrested and handed over to the military authorities for trial by courtmartial.

"Minister of the Interior,
"TALAAT."

"Nov. 21, 1915.—P.S.—Without mentioning the cipher-telegram see the Director. Are there really such people interfering? In accordance with the order of the committee, let the operations conducted there be a little moderate. To the representative of the General Committee,

"Governor-General,
"MUSTAFA ABDULLHALIK."

(See the original, Plate II.)

"I was certain of the existence of such people, and had repeatedly requested the Chief of Police to make the necessary investigations, but it was no good. If strict injunctions are sent to him direct from the Government, it may have some effect. We give you full authority with regard to this.

"Representative of the General Committee,
"ABDULLAHAD NOURI."

A cipher-telegram from the Ministry of the Interior, sent to the Government of Aleppo (No. 745)—

"Dec. 11, 1915.— We hear that the correspondents of Armenian newspapers travelling in those parts have faked some letters and photographs showing certain criminal actions, which they have

given to the American consuls. Arrest and destroy such dangerous persons.

"Minister of the Interior,

"TALAAT."

The following cipher-telegram further demonstrates the anxiety of the Government—

"No. 809.

"To the Government of Aleppo.

"Dec. 29, 1915.— We hear that there are numbers of alien officers on the roads who have seen the corpses of the above-mentioned people (the Armenians) and are photographing them. It is recommended as very important that those corpses should at once be buried, and not left so exposed.

"Minister of the Interior,

"TALAAT."

"No. 502.

"To the Government of Aleppo.

"Sept. 3, 1915.— We recommend that the operations which we have ordered you to make shall be first carried out on the men of the said people (the Armenians), and that you shall subject the women and children to them also. Appoint reliable officials for this.

"Minister of the Interior,

"TALAAT."

"No. 537.

"To the Government of Aleppo.

"Sept. 29, 1915.— We hear that some of the people and officials are marrying Armenian women. We strictly prohibit this, and urgently recommend that these women shall be picked out and sent away (to the desert).

"Minister of the Interior,

"TALAAT."

"No. 691.

"To the Government of Aleppo.

"Nov. 23, 1915.— Destroy by secret means the Armenians of the Eastern Provinces who pass into your hands there.

"Minister of the Interior,

"TALAAT."

"No. 820.

"To the Government of Aleppo.

"Jan. 4, 1916.— It is decreed that all Armenians coming from the north shall be sent straight to their place of deportation, without passing through any town or village on the way.

"Minister of the Interior,

"TALAAT."

A cipher-telegram sent from the Government of Aleppo to the Government of Aintab—

"Jan. 11, 1916.— We hear that there are Armenians from Sivas and Kharput in your vicinity. Do not give them any opportunity of settling there, and, by the methods you are acquainted with, which have already been communicated to you, do what is necessary and report the result.

"Governor-General,

"MUSTAFA ABDULLHALIK."

"From the Government of Aintab.

"To the Government of Aleppo.

"An answer to the cipher-telegram of Jan. 11, 1916.

"Jan. 18, 1916.— It has been ascertained that there are about five hundred people from the said provinces in the vicinity of Roum Kale, which is under our jurisdiction. The Kaimakam of Roum Kale reports that most of them are women and children, and that, in accordance with the methods with which the Turkish officials were acquainted, communicated to them earlier, these women and children have been sent under Kurdish guards, with the understanding that they are never to return.

"GOVERNOR AHMET."

"To the Government of Aleppo.

"Feb. 20, 1916.— The military authorities proclaim the necessity of using those of the aforesaid people (the Armenians) that are of military age, for military service. We think that it will not be possible to send them to the war-zones, and, as it is not permissible for them to remain in the town either, we permit you to use them outside the town for road-making, or any other necessary work, on condition that their families shall be sent away with the rest of the deportees. Special orders have been sent from the War Office to the Military



A wandering Armenian mother with her children.

Authorities to this effect. Consequently, communicate with them, and work in harmony with them.

"Minister of the Interior,
"TALAAT."

"No. 57.

"To the General Committee for settling the deportees.

"Jan. 10, 1916.— Enquiries having been made, it is understood that hardly ten per cent of the Armenians subjected to the general deportations have reached the places destined for them; the rest have died from natural causes, such as hunger and sickness. We inform you that we are working to bring about the same result with regard to those who are still alive, by using severe measures.

"ABDOULLAHAD NOURI."

"To the General Committee for settling the deportees.

"Feb. 26, 1916.— I report for your information that hardly a quarter of the Armenians sent to the desert have arrived at their destination, with the exception of those sent to Syria as artisans.¹ The rest have died from natural causes on the way. We have taken in hand measures to send also those that were for various reasons left in Aleppo.

"ABDULLAHAD NOURI."

"No. 76.

"To the Committee for settling the deportees.

"In answer to the telegram dated March 3, 1916.

"March 7, 1916.— We understand from information received that 35,000 Armenians have died in the vicinity of Bab and Meskene from various causes, 10,000 in Karluk (the place of deportation from Aleppo), 20,000 at Dipsi, Abu Harrar, and Hamam, and 35,000 in Ras-ul-Ain—100,000 in all.

"ABDULLAHAD NOURI."

"No. 51.

"To the General Committee for settling the deportees.

"Dec. 13, 1915.— It was ordered by telegrams dated September 9 and November 20, 1915, sent by the Ministry of the Interior, that

1. It was a common saying in Constantinople, "When you build a house and need workmen, you will see that not a single Turk will present himself. But if you are going to pull down a house, all who present themselves will be Turks." It was the Armenians who built all the barracks, hospitals, inns, etc., on the Mekene-Der Zor line.

certain persons therein named should be arrested. Having ascertained that they are at Ras-ul-Ain, we inform you that the necessary operations have been carried out, in accordance with the order received from the Ministry, delivered to us by an official specially sent from here.

"ABDULLAHAD NOURI."

"No. 603.

"To the Government of Aleppo.

"Nov. 5, 1915.— We are informed that the little ones belonging to the Armenians from Sivas, Mamuret-ul-Aziz, Diarbekir and Erzeroum are adopted by certain Moslem families and received as servants when they are left alone through the death of their parents. We inform you that you are to collect all such children in your province and send them to the places of deportation, and also to give the necessary orders regarding this to the people.

"Minister of the Interior,

"TALAAT."

"P.S.—See the Chief of the Police about it."

"The Representatives of the

"General Deportations Committee,

"Governor-General,

"MUSTAFA ABDULLHALIK."

"To the Government of Aleppo.

"Sept. 21, 1915.— There is no need for an orphanage. It is not the time to give way to sentiment and feed the orphans, prolonging their lives. Send them away to the desert and inform us.

"Minister of the Interior,

"TALAAT."

"No. 31.

"To the General Committee for settling the deportees.

"Nov. 26, 1915.— There were more than four hundred children in the orphanage. They will be added to the caravans and sent to their places of exile.

"ABDULLAHAD NOURI."

"To the Government of Aleppo.

"Jan. 15, 1916.— We hear that certain orphanages which have been opened receive also the children of the Armenians. Whether this is done through ignorance of our real purpose, or through contempt of it, the Government will regard the feeding of such children or any attempt to prolong their lives as an act entirely opposed to its purpose, since it considers the survival of these children as detrimental. I recommend that such children shall not be received into the orphanages, and no attempts are to be made to establish special orphanages for them.

"Minister of the Interior,
"TALAAT."

(See the original, Plate III)

"No. 830.

"A cipher-telegram from the Ministry of the Interior addressed to the Government of Aleppo.

"Collect and keep only those orphans who cannot remember the tortures to which their parents have been subjected. Send the rest away with the caravans.

"Minister of the Interior,
"TALAAT."

"No. 853.

"A cipher-telegram from the Ministry of the Interior addressed to the Government of Aleppo.

"Jan. 23, 1916.— At a time when there are thousands of Moslem refugees and the widows of our martyrs¹ are in need of food and protection, it is not expedient to incur extra expenses by feeding the children left by Armenians, who will serve no purpose except that of giving trouble in the future. It is necessary that these children should be turned out of your vilayet and sent with the caravans to the places of deportation. Those that have been kept till now are also to be sent away, in compliance with our previous orders, to Sivas.

"Minister of the Interior,
"TALAAT."

1. The Turks call their soldiers fallen in the war Shehid, or martyrs.

دفعه تقاریریه در سال ۱۳۰۲ و ۱۳۰۳
مغز و فک و اندام و سایر اعضا

ابن ندیم قدس سره در حال حاضر
اینکه خطی است بر روی کاغذی که
از امده ۱۳۰۲ و ۱۳۰۳
دفعه تقاریریه
طبع است

۱۳۰۲ و ۱۳۰۳
۱۳۰۲ و ۱۳۰۳
۱۳۰۲ و ۱۳۰۳

(See the original, Plate IV.)

"No. 63.

"To the General Committee for settling the deportees.

"By continuing the deportation of the orphans to their destinations during the intense cold, we are ensuring their eternal rest. Consequently we beg you to send us the sum which we asked for."

"To the Government of Aleppo.

"Collect the children of the Armenians who, by order of the War Office, have been gathered together and cared for by the military authorities. Take them away on the pretext that they are to be looked after by the Deportations Committee, so as not to arouse suspicion. Destroy them and report.

"Minister of the Interior,

"TALAAT."

"No. 544.

"Cipher-telegram from the Ministry of the Interior to the Government of Aleppo.

"Oct. 3, 1915.— The reason why the sanjak of Zor was chosen as a place of deportation is explained in a secret order dated September 2, 1915, No. 1843. As all the crimes to be committed by the population along the way against the Armenians will serve to effect the ultimate purpose of the Government, there is no need for legal proceedings with regard to these. The necessary instructions have also been sent to the Governments of Zor and Ourfa.

"Minister of the Interior,

"TALAAT."

"No. 745.

"Cipher-telegram from the Ministry of the Interior addressed to the Government of Aleppo.

"Dec. 9, 1915.— There is nothing wrong in accepting the telegrams sent to Government offices by the Armenians, complaining and protesting against the deeds done to them. But it would be a waste of time to examine them. Tell those who protest to claim their lost rights when they reach their place of exile.

"Minister of the Interior,

"TALAAT."

۵.

داعیه نظار نه جبهه تنه
زور در مشوره فی تنفر قار نه مرزانه

مخدا جی حجاب و نه بکرم جی حجاب و نه بکرم جی حجاب و نه بکرم جی حجاب
وجود آیه آیه نه بکرم جی حجاب و نه بکرم جی حجاب و نه بکرم جی حجاب
پدغه اخلاص مدد و نه بکرم جی حجاب و نه بکرم جی حجاب و نه بکرم جی حجاب
خیا بی و نه بکرم جی حجاب و نه بکرم جی حجاب و نه بکرم جی حجاب
و نه بکرم جی حجاب و نه بکرم جی حجاب و نه بکرم جی حجاب و نه بکرم جی حجاب

داعیه نظار
مخدا جی حجاب و نه بکرم جی حجاب
پدغه اخلاص مدد و نه بکرم جی حجاب
خیا بی و نه بکرم جی حجاب
و نه بکرم جی حجاب

"To the Government of Aleppo.

"Sept. 16, 1915.— It was at first communicated to you that the Government, by order of the Jemiet (the Ittihad Committee) had decided to destroy completely all the Armenians living in Turkey. Those who oppose this order and decision cannot remain on the official staff of the Empire. An end must be put to their existence, however criminal the measures taken may be, and no regard must be paid to either age or sex nor to conscientious scruples.

"Minister of the Interior,
"TALAAT."

"No. 762.

"To the Government of Aleppo.

"Answer to the telegram of Dec. 2, 1915.

"Dec. 17, 1915.— Communicate to those who wish to save themselves from the general deportations by becoming Moslems that they must become Moslems in their places of exile.

"Minister of the Interior,
"TALAAT."

"To the Government of Aleppo.

"Feb. 3, 1916.— After having fulfilled its duties in examining and acquiring papers concerning the seditious ideas and doings of the Armenians¹ the Committee sent to Ourfa under Mustafa Nail Efendi will make investigations in the towns of Aintab and Kilis also, which are in your provinces. Consequently send secret instructions to the right quarters so that the necessary steps may be taken to facilitate their efforts and ensure their success.

"Minister of the Interior,
"TALAAT."

1. The Committee referred to in this telegram spread its activities everywhere, and finally published a large volume in which it tried to prove by the most ridiculous lies that the Armenians had really threatened the existence of the Ottoman Empire, and that the Government had been obliged in consequence to deport them. The strongest evidence in this book consists of the photographs of arms collected from the Armenians. Amongst them were some photographs of bombs found in the provinces near Constantinople. These bombs were prepared by the Armenian party known as the "Dashnagtzagans" in co-operation with the Ittihad Committee, so that, in case a reaction took place in Turkey, as had been the case shortly after the Constitution was proclaimed on March 31, 1909, the Armenians and the Young Turks might be able to fight side by side against the Reactionaries.

It was in Germany that certain albums were first published by the Turkish Government, with the object of proving the guilt of the Armenians.

No. 563.

A cipher-telegram from the Ministry of the Interior to the Government of Aleppo.

"Oct. 12, 1915.— Prepare to send within a week the papers demanded by cipher order.

"Minister of the Interior,
"TALAAT."

A cipher-telegram from the War Office sent to all the commanding officers of the army.

"Feb. 27, 1918.— In view of present circumstances, the Imperial Government has issued an order for the extermination of the whole Armenian race. The following operations are to be made with regard to them:—

(1) "All the Armenians in the country who are Ottoman subjects, from five years of age upwards, are to be taken out of the towns and slaughtered.

(2) "All the Armenians serving in the Imperial Armies are to be separated from their divisions without making any disturbance; they are to be taken into solitary places away from the public eye, and shot.

(3) "Armenian officers in the army are to be imprisoned in the barracks belonging to their regiments until further orders.

"Forty-eight hours after these three orders are communicated to the commanders of each regiment, a special order will be issued for their execution. You are not to undertake any operations except those indispensable for the execution of these orders.

"Representative of the
"High Command, and Minister of War,
"ENVER."

The official telegrams which we have published have already thrown much light upon this matter. The orders which constantly came from Constantinople with regard to letting crimes committed on the road against the Armenian deportees go unpunished.

Even Turkish elements like those who, in the time of Hamid II, had refused to take part in the massacres and had in some places protected their Armenian neighbours, enthusiastically welcomed the Government's project of exterminating the Armenians. The Ittihad had spread its poison even as far as those strata—it had succeeded in awakening in all the Turks and Kurds the instinct of

massacre and plunder.

"The war had scarcely commenced," writes Naim Bey in his memoirs, "when hunger and misery began to show themselves in an already incapacitated Turkey. It was necessary to feed and deceive the people, and that could be done by means of the money and property that the Armenians would leave behind. In the provinces of Erzeroum, Bitlis, Diarbekir, Mamurat-ul-Aziz, and Sivas, the massacre and plundering of the Armenians had already begun. This occupation made the people forget everything else. It was necessary to divert Syria and Mesopotamia also. The roads and plains of Mesopotamia and the desert of Syria were filled with Armenians. Much of the enormous wealth which the Armenians had earned through centuries of honourable work was seized. What was left of it was to be lost in those deserts, the inhabitants of which soon understood that the Armenians were being sent to them as victims. At the beginning they made feeble assaults, but, when they realised what the State policy was, they proceeded to wholesale slaughter and plunder.

The Ittihad Committee, the Turkish people and all the Moslem population in Turkey had a hand in this crime.

Kemal Bey was the Governor of Yozghat at the time of the deportations, and he organised one of the most terrible of the massacres in that region. After the troops of the Entente had entered Constantinople, the military tribunal condemned him to death, and he was hanged. The Turkish people organised great demonstrations to protest against this punishment, and was not ashamed to designate as a "martyr", a man who was nothing but a murderer, having brought about the death of some 60,000 people.

The Turkish people behaved in the same way at the time that the members of the Ittihad Committee were being tried. This trial was rather a political ruse than a work of justice. The present Government in Turkey simply wanted to throw dust in the eyes of Europe. But the pressure of the Turkish people soon forced them to put an end to this sham, and the trial stopped without any result.

Let us hear what a Turk has to say about this. At the beginning of the present year, when the trial of a few of the secondary criminals was commenced in Constantinople, a Turkish newspaper, the *Sabah*, published an article by signature of the editor, Ali Kemal Bey, which treated this trial with well-grounded scepticism. And what he said with regard to this was a condemnation not only of the Ittihad Committee, not only of the Turkish Government, but of the whole Turkish people.



Armenian victims of one of the widespread forced marches.

Brown Brothers.

"We think," writes Ali Kemal Bey,¹ "that those who know how to judge conscientiously and without bias will give a verdict in our favour. What are the facts of the case? Four or five years ago a universal crime and unique in history was being perpetrated in our country. Taking into consideration the gigantic magnitude and extent of the crime, it could not have been committed by four or five people, but proportionately by hundreds of thousands. If the victims had been 300,000 instead of 600,000—if they had been even 200,000 or 100,000, a hundred, five hundred, or even a thousand criminals could not have wiped out so many people. It is already a proved fact that this crime was mapped out and decreed by the General Centre of the Ittihad. After the program of the crime had been drawn up by certain bodies, it was carried out by Governors-General and Governments—that is, by Government officials, by the police and by the people. Now, is it not a contempt of justice to let loose on the one hand a multitude of great and small criminals, and on the other to arrest only the Governors-General of Diarbekir, Sivas and Kharput (who were in any case not tried), and a few subordinate officials?"—*Sabah*, January 28, 1919.

1. Ali Kemal Bey was, at the time he wrote this, the Turkish Minister of the Interior.

III

World Political Leaders

- WINSTON CHURCHILL
- WOODROW WILSON
- DAVID LLOYD GEORGE
- DAMAD FERID
- GEORGES CLEMENCEAU
- MUSTAFA KEMAL
- ADOLF HITLER
- GERALD FORD
- GISCARD D'ESTAING
- JIMMY CARTER
- RONALD REAGAN
- FRANCOIS MITTERAND

• WINSTON CHURCHILL

Excerpts from memoirs of Winston Churchill "The Aftermath".

... In 1915 the Turkish Government began and ruthlessly carried out the infamous general massacre and deportation of Armenians in Asia Minor. Three or four hundred thousand men, women and children escaped into Russian territory and others into Persia or Mesopotamia, but the clearance of the race from Asia Minor was about as complete as such an act, on a scale so great, could well be. It is supposed that about one and a quarter millions of Armenians were involved, of whom more than half perished. There is no reasonable doubt that this crime was planned and executed for political reasons. The opportunity presented itself for clearing Turkish soil of a Christian race...

... The Armenian people emerged from the Great War scattered, extirpated in many districts and reduced through massacre, losses of war and enforced deportations adopted as an easy system of killing, by at least a third. Out of a community of about two and half millions, three-quarters of a million men, women and children had perished. But surely this was the end...

... Atrocities perpetrated upon Armenians stirred the ire of simple and chivalrous men and women spread widely about the English-speaking world. Now was the moment when at last the Armenians would receive justice and the right to live in peace in their national home...

• WOODROW WILSON

In 1918, during the war, said:-

"The methodic massacres executed by Turkey, force us to sweep from Europe these uneducated and unhealthy brigands.

Armenia must be given its historical right".

In a letter to Rt. Rev. Philip M. Rhinelander, dated November 11, 1918, he wrote in part:

"Let me assure you of my profound interest in everything that affects the Armenian people. I hope with all my heart that it may be possible for me to serve them in some substantial way".

In a speech in Boston, Massachusetts, February 24, 1919, he stated in part:

"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."

At Salt Lake City on September 23, 1919, he declared:

"Armenia is to be redeemed... At last this great people, struggling, struggling through night after night of terror, knowing not what day would see their land stained with blood, are now given a promise of safety, a promise of justice and a possibility that a time may come when they can enjoy their own rights as free people".

• DAVID LLOYD GEORGE

David Lloyd George, British Liberal Party leader and Secretary of State for war in 1916 addressing a group of Armenians, Manchester, England, September 11, 1918, quoted in "Armenia's Charter".

Gentlemen: I am honoured and touched by your address. The spirit of confidence which breathes through your words is a striking demonstration of the unconquerable resolve of your stricken nation. The cry of Armenia is both piteous and compelling, but that which gives her the greatest claim to the unqualified support of those who are fighting for the liberties of mankind is that her sons never falter in their determination to achieve their purpose. In spite of persecution and disaster, and of ruthless and scientific repression, Armenia still claims justice from the world and disdains to crave for mercy from her oppressors.

I ask you to believe, gentlemen, that those responsible for the government of this country are not unmindful of their responsibilities to your martyred race.

• DAMAD FERID

After the fall of the Government of Young Turks, Damad Ferid Pasha, the Turkish Prime Minister on June 17, 1919 in the Peace

Conference, accepted the reality of the massacres by declaring:

"During the war the civilized world was shocked when hearing the story of those crimes which the Turks had committed. I would never try to cover those crimes which represent the terrifying aspects of human conscience. I will not try to lighten the sins of the authors of the big tragedy".

In reply to the statement of the Grand Vizier, Clemenceau the French Prime Minister on June 25th 1919 in the Supreme Court stressed the fact that Turkey "Quite clearly and by itself accepts those massacres which equal or excell all those which history has inscribed".

• GEORGES CLEMENCEAU

Georges Clemenceau, the famous french statesman, was the Premier of France in 1906-1909 and 1917-1920. In his reply to the memorandum of the Ottoman Delegation in 1919, he stated:

Mr. President:

Your excellency does not deny or try to minimize the crimes for which the Turkish government is being condemned. In the memorandum mention is made of all the political intrigues that forced Turkey to enter the war which resulted in tragedy.

Your memorandum tries to show that these crimes were committed by a government and that the Turkish people cannot be considered as an accomplice. Those crimes which caused Moslems and Christians alike to suffer, did not contain elements of religious intolerance and were incompatible with Ottoman history and traditions in dealing with her subjects.

It is mentioned in your memorandum that preservation of the Ottoman Empire is necessary to keep religious balance of the world. Civilization and justice mandate that Turkish territories be retained same as they were before the War.

The Council cannot accept neither this conclusion nor the arguments on which it is based. The Council does not doubt the sincerity of the Turkish government in condemning the policy of its predecessors. Even if the Turkish government does not resolute this blame by moral consideration, it has to do by circumstantial worries.

You cannot find a single country in Europe, Asia and Africa where Turkish domination has not resulted in decreasing financial prosperity and cultural life. By the same token, there is no single case in which disappearance of Turkish domination did not result in in-

creasing financial and cultural prosperity.

It has been possible to estimate the style of premeditated fanaticism in the massacre of Christian Armenians organized by order of the Turkish government.

• MUSTAFA KEMAL

Mustafa Kemal Pasha, the father of modern Turkey, had an interview with Emile Hilderbrand, a Swiss artist and journalist, on June 22, 1926 which appeared in "Los Angeles Examiner" on August 1, 1926.

Excerpts from this interview:-

In several instances in the past, when, in Kurdistan and other interior regions of Anatolia, they showed a disposition to challenge the will of the republic, I crushed them with an iron hand, and, for example, had over sixty of their leaders hanged at dawn.

That element had its lesson and will not again attempt to measure swords with me.

The second element, I am now about to deal with ruthlessly, is the group of men who in the pre-republic days were known to the world as the Committee of the Union of the Young Turks. The ranks of this element were recruited from a questionable assortment of political adventurers, half-educated progressives and men of dissolute habits. In the days when we were battling against foes from within and without this element joined us and fought in our ranks. Yet from the early days I had misgivings as to their motives. But I wished, hoped and then prayed that once our country was redeemed from the foreign yoke, this element would mend its methods and become infused with the seal of patriotism. I soon began to realize that my hopes were doomed to be disillusioned and my prayers were to be unanswered. I patiently waited, keeping a sharp-eye on their movements.

They formed themselves into a political opposition. I do not pretend to be a dictator, bent to suppress sincere and honest political opposition, because a republic is a misnomer when it ceases to brook criticism. But when a group of dissolute, corrupt and unscrupulous political adventurers begin to organize seditious movements under the cloak of political opposition, it becomes the sacred duty of those who are in charge of the machinery of the government to suppress it and suppress it with an exemplary ruthlessness that will prevent the eventual shedding of rivers of blood.

I am about to show these plotters that the Republic of Turkey cannot be overthrown by murderers or through their murderous designs.

These left-overs from the former Young Turkey Party, who should have been made to account for the lives of millions of our Christian subjects who were ruthlessly driven en-masse, from their homes and massacred, have been restive under the Republican rule. They have hitherto lived on plunder, robbery and become inimical to any idea or suggestion to enlist in useful labor and earn their living by the honest sweat of their brow.

Under the cloak of the opposition party, this element, who forced our country into the Great War against the will of the people, who caused the shedding of rivers of blood of the Turkish youth to satisfy the criminal ambition of Enver Pasha, has, in a cowardly fashion, intrigued against my life, as well as the lives of the members of my cabinet.

• ADOLF HITLER

On August 22nd, 1939 Adolf Hitler in a speech he gave to his military commanders mainly dealing with his immediate plans for attacking Poland said "Who, after all, speaks today of the annihilation of the Armenians?"

• GERALD FORD

From an address delivered on April 29, 1965 in the House of Representative, Washington, by Congressman Gerald R. Ford.

"Mr. Speaker, with mixed emotions we mark the 50th anniversary of the Turkish genocide of the Armenian people. In taking notice of the shocking events in 1915, we observe this anniversary with sorrow in recalling the massacres of Armenians and with pride in saluting those brave patriots who survived the attacks to fight on the side of freedom during World War 1.

"The stouthearted Armenian people who escaped the terror, murder, and carnage set an example for the free world by their devotion to the cause of freedom and by their tremendous personal sacrifices. I join my colleagues in pausing to extend our deep sym-

pathy to thousands of Americans whose Armenian forefathers fought for freedom with our war allies and who have given so much of themselves to make this a better country, and a strong one". Congressional Record, pg. 8890.

- GISCARD D'ESTAING

French President, Giscard D'Estaing said in 1973, "The Armenian case is an example of a historically solid truth and the events of 1915 were undoubtedly a genocide executed upon the Armenian nation".

- JIMMY CARTER

In a statement issued on October 22, 1976, U.S. President Jimmy Carter said:

"The history of Armenia, extending over 3,000 years, is one of survival against overwhelming odds, victory over oppressors, and tragic human suffering".

The Armenian people have consistently demonstrated an indomitable spirit and a dedication to the cause of freedom, as exemplified by the creation of a Republic following the 1915-1917 bloodbath".

"An estimated one and a half million persons were murdered during the first genocide of 20th century, yet even though the tragedy of history has not been corrected, Armenians, wherever they are, continue to maintain their culture and strong desire for freedom".

(President Jimmy Carter's remarks during a reception honoring Armenian Americans at the White House on May 16, 1978).

I feel close to you because you were the first Christian people, first Christian nation, and because of that, your deep religious beliefs, I doubt that any other people have ever suffered more. I know that through the early years of the foundation of your people's home, you suffered a great deal. But it's generally not known in the world that in the years preceding 1916, there was a concerted effort made to eliminate all the Armenian people, probably one of the greatest

From the album of Armin T. Wegner



Orphans on the way to the desert.



The clergy gather the bones of Armenians near Der Zor.

tragedies that ever befell any group. And there weren't any Nuremberg trials. There weren't any high public figures who recognized how much you and your families had to suffer.

Well, I feel very deeply that I, as President, ought to make sure that this is never forgotten, not only the tragedy of your history but also the present contributions that you make and the bright future that you have.

• RONALD REAGAN'S LETTER

Dated April 15, 1980 addressed to "Asbarez" Daily, an Armenian newspaper in Los Angeles.

Sixty five years ago one of the greatest tragedies in the annals of recorded history occurred when one and a half million innocent Armenian men, women and children were massacred in the shadow of Mt. Ararat.

Their only "crime" was their century-old dedication to live their lives as free Armenians, professing their Christian beliefs, in a homeland that had previously dazzled Asia Minor with its prominence and power.

To this day, the Armenian diaspora is recovering from the blood-bath of 1915. Armenians in Lebanon, Turkey, and other parts of the Middle East are still suffering from ancestral hatreds and discrimination... And in this country, the Armenian cause is still only dimly understood.

The 1980's must be that period when the voices of Americans of Armenian ancestry are heard in the councils of government. It must be that period when Americans and its allies throughout the Free World resolve that the tragedy of 1915 never again be repeated.

I join with the American Armenian community in solemn remembrance of the martyrs of 1915.

• FRANCOIS MITTERAND

On January 7, 1984 the French President, Francois Mitterand concerning the Armenian Genocide, said, "It is impossible to erase the trace of the Genocide. It has to be registered in the memory of human beings".

"Le Monde" of Paris wrote on January 9, 1984 "It is the first time a French President expresses so clearly about the genocide where the Armenians were sacrificed".

IV

Statements by Eyewitnesses, Prominent International Figures and Groups

- VISCOUNT JAMES BRYCE
- BARON VON WANGENHEIM
- DR. MARTIN NIEPAGE
- COUNT WOLFF METTERNICH
- ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE
- DR. JOHANNES LEPSIUS
- ARMIN T. WEGNER
- ANATOLE FRANCE
- HENRY MORGENTHAU
- HENRI BARBI
- RENE PINON
- YEVGUINEH TARLEH
- DR. FRIDTJOF NANSEN
- BOHDAN GEBARSKI
- SOVIET ACADEMY OF SCIENCE
- CHRISTOPHER J. WALKER
- VICTOR HUGO

• **BARON VON WANGENHEIM**

Baron von Wangenheim, German Ambassador in Constantinople, in a report to the German Chancellor dated July 17, 1915, writes:

"It is obvious that the banishment of the Armenians is due not solely to military considerations. Talaat Bey, the Minister of the Interior, has quite frankly said to Dr. Mordtmann of the Embassy, that the Turkish Government intended to make use of the World War and deal thoroughly with its internal enemies, the Christians in Turkey, and that it meant not to be disturbed in this by diplomatic intervention from abroad".

• **JAMES BRYCE**

Viscount James Bryce was a British politician, diplomat and writer. On the subject of "The Armenian Massacres" on October 6, 1915 he delivered a speech in the House of Lords excerpts of which are given as follows:-

"I am grieved to say that such information as has reached me from several quarters goes to show that the number of those who have perished in the various ways to which I shall refer is very large. It has been estimated at the figure of 800,000. Though hoping that figure to be far beyond the mark, I cannot venture to pronounce it incredible, for there has been an unparalleled destruction of life all over the country from the frontiers of Persia to the Sea of Marmara, only a very few of the cities on the Aegean Coast having so far escaped. This is so, because the proceedings taken have been so carefully premeditated and systematically carried out with a ruthless efficiency previously unknown among the Turks. The massacres are the result of a policy which, as far as can be ascertained, has been entertained for some considerable time by the gang of unscrupulous adventurers who are now in possession of the Government of the Turkish Empire. They hesitated to put it in practice until they thought the favourable moment had come, and that moment seems to have arrived about the month of April. That was the time when these orders were issued, orders which came down in every case from Constantinople, and which the officials found themselves obliged to carry out on pain of dismissal.

..."In some cases the Governors, being pious and humane men, refused to execute the orders that had reached them, and endeavoured to give what protection they could to the unfortunate

Armenians. In two cases I have heard of the Governors being immediately dismissed for refusing to obey the orders. Others more pliant were substituted, and the massacres were carried out.

"As I have said, the procedure was exceedingly systematic. The whole Armenian population of each town or village was cleared out, by a house-to-house search. Every inmate was driven into the street. Some of the men were thrown into prison, where they were put to death, sometimes with torture; the rest of the men, with the women and children, were marched out of the town. When they had got some little distance they were separated, the men being taken to some place among the hills where the soldiers, or the Kurdish tribes who were called in to help in the work of slaughter, dispatched them by shooting or bayonetting. The women and children and old men were sent off under convoy of the lowest kind of soldiers—many of them just drawn from gaols—to their distant destination, which was sometimes one of the unhealthy districts in the center of Asia Minor, but more frequently the large desert in the province of Der el Zor, which lies east of Aleppo, in the direction of the Euphrates. They were driven along by the soldiers day after day, all on foot, beaten or left behind to perish if they could not keep up with the caravan; many fell by the way, and many died of hunger. No provisions were given them by the Turkish Government, and they had already been robbed of everything they possessed. A few of the women were stripped naked and made to travel in that condition beneath a burning sun. Some of the mothers went mad and threw away their children, being unable to carry them further. The caravan route was marked by a line of corpses, and comparatively few seem to have arrived at the destinations which had been prescribed for them—chosen, no doubt, because return was impossible and because there was little prospect that any would survive their hardships.

"To give one instance of the thorough and remorseless way in which the massacres were carried out, it may suffice to refer to the case of Trebizond, a case vouched for by the Italian Consul who was present when the slaughter was carried out, his country not having then declared war against Turkey. Orders came from Constantinople that all the Armenian Christians in Trebizond were to be killed. Many of the Moslems tried to save their Christian neighbours, and offered them shelter in their houses, but the Turkish authorities were implacable. Obeying the orders which they had received, they hunted out all the Christians, gathered them together, and drove a great crowd of them down the streets of Trebizond, past the fortress, to the edge of the sea. There they were all put on board sailing boats, carried out some distance on the Black Sea, and there thrown over-

board and drowned. Nearly the whole Armenian population of from 8,000 to 10,000 were destroyed—some in this way, some by slaughter, some by being sent to death elsewhere. After that, any other story becomes credible; and I am sorry to say that all the stories that I have received contain similar elements of horror, intensified in some cases by stories of shocking torture.

"Their policy of slaughter and deportation has been wanton and unprovoked. It appears to be simply an application of the maxim once enunciated by Sultan Abdul Hamid: 'The way to get rid of the Armenian question is to get rid of the Armenians'; and the policy of extermination has been carried out with far more thoroughness and with far more bloodthirsty completeness by the present heads of the Turkish Administration—they describe themselves as the Committee of Union and Progress—than it was in the time of Abdul Hamid.

• DR. MARTIN NIEPAGE

Dr. Martin Niepage, an accredited Representative of Germany and a higher grade teacher in the German Technical School at Aleppo, in a pamphlet entitled "The Horrors of Aleppo", includes a letter dated October 8, 1915, addressed to the Imperial German Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Berlin. Below are few extracts from the pamphlet:-

"When I returned to Aleppo in September, 1915, from a three months' holiday at Beirut, I heard with horror that a new phase of Armenian massacres had begun which were far more terrible than the earlier massacres under Abdul Hamid and which aimed at exterminating, root and branch, of the intelligent, industrious, and progressive Armenian nation, and at transferring its property to Turkish hands.

"Such monstrous news left me at first incredulous. I was told that, in various quarters of Aleppo, there were lying masses of half-starved people, the survivors of so-called "deportation convoys". In order, I was told, to cover the extermination of the Armenian nation with a political cloak, military reasons were being put forward, which were said to be necessary to drive the Armenians out of their native lands, which had been theirs for 2,500 years, and to deport them to the Arabian deserts. I was also told that individual Armenians had lent themselves to acts of espionage.

"After I had informed myself about the facts and had made inquiries on all sides, I came to the conclusion that all these accusations against the Armenians were, in fact, based on trifling provoca-

tions, which were taken as an excuse for slaughtering 10,000 innocents for one guilty person, for the most savage outrages against women and children, and for a campaign of starvation against the exiles which was intended to exterminate the whole nation."

Horrified by the spectacle, Dr. Niepage wrote the following report which was signed by "my colleague, Dr. Greater (higher grade teacher), and by Frau Marie Spiecker, as well as by myself..."

The Report was also signed by "The head of our institution, Director Huber," who added, "a few words in the following sense: 'My colleague Dr. Niepage's report is not at all exaggerated...'".

"As teachers in the German Technical School at Aleppo, we permit ourselves with all respect to make the following report:

"We feel it our duty to draw attention to the fact that our educational work will forfeit its moral basis and the esteem of the natives, if the German Government is not in a position to put a stop to the brutality with which the wives and children of slaughtered Armenians are being treated here.

..."Out of convoys which, when they left their homes on the Armenian plateau, numbered from two to three thousand men, women and children, only two or three hundred survivors arrive here in the south. The men are slaughtered on the way; the women and girls, with the exception of the old, the ugly and those who are still children, have been abused by Turkish soldiers and officers and then carried away to Turkish and Kurdish villages, where they have to accept Islam. They try to destroy the remnant of the convoys by hunger and thirst. Even when they are fording rivers, they do not allow those dying of thirst to drink. All the nourishment they receive is a daily ration of a little meal sprinkled over their hands, which they lick off greedily, and its only effect is to protect their starvation.

"Opposite the German Technical School at Aleppo, in which we are engaged in teaching, a mass of about four hundred emaciated forms, the remnant of such convoys, is lying in one of the hans (inns). There are about a hundred children (boys and girls) among them, from five to seven years old. Most of them are suffering from typhoid and dysentery. When one enters the yard, one has the impression of entering a mad-house. If one brings them food, one notices that they have forgotten how to eat. Their stomach, weakened by months of starvation, can no longer assimilate nourishment. If one gives them bread, they put it aside indifferently. They just lie there quietly, waiting for death.

..."Mohammedans, too, of more sensitive feelings - Turks and Arabs alike - shake their heads in disapproval and do not conceal their tears when they see a convoy of exiles marching through the

city, and Turkish soldiers using cudgels upon women in advanced pregnancy and upon dying people who can no longer drag themselves along. They cannot believe that their Government has ordered these atrocities, and they hold the Germans responsible for all such outrages, Germany being considered during the war as Turkey's schoolmaster in everything. Even the mollahs in the mosques say that it was not the Sublime Porte but the German officers who ordered the ill-treatment and destruction of the Armenians.

"The things which have been passing here for months under everybody's eyes will certainly remain as a stain on Germany's shield in the memory of Orientals.

..."What we saw with our own eyes here in Aleppo was really only the last scene in the great tragedy of the extermination of the Armenians. It was only a minute fraction of the horrible drama that was being played out simultaneously in all the other provinces of Turkey. Many more appalling things were reported by the engineers of the Bagdad Railway, when they came back from their work on the section under construction, or by German travellers who met the convoys of exiles of their journeys. Many of these gentlemen had seen such appalling sights that they could eat nothing for days.

..."To test the conclusion derived from my information, I visited all the places in the city where there were Armenians left behind by the convoys. In dilapidated caravansaries (hans) I found quantities of dead, many corpses being half-decomposed, and others, still living, among them, who were soon to breathe their last. In other yards I found quantities of sick and starving people whom no one was looking after. In the neighbourhood of the German Technical School, at which I am employed as a higher grade teacher, there were four such hans, with seven or eight hundred exiles dying of starvation. We teachers and our pupils had to pass by them every day. Every time we went out we saw through the open windows their pitiful forms, emaciated and wrapped in rags. In the mornings our school children, on their way through the narrow streets had to push past the two-wheeled ox carts, on which every day from eight to ten rigid corpses, without coffin or shroud, were carried away, their arms and legs trailing out of the vehicle...

• COUNT WOLFF METTERNICH

Count Wolff Metternich, who was appointed German Ambassador after von Wangenheim's death, cabled the following on

July 10, 1916, to the German Chancellor:

"In its attempt to carry out its purpose to resolve the Armenian question by the destruction of the Armenian race, the Turkish Government has refused to be deterred neither by our representations, nor by those of the American Embassy, nor by the delegate of the Pope, nor by the threats of the Allied Powers, nor in deference to the public opinion of the West representing one-half of the world".

• ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE

Arnold J. Toynbee, a British historian of high academic distinction wrote a book in 1916 entitled "Armenian Atrocities, the murder of a nation." Some excerpts from this book:-

..."The intermittent sufferings of the Armenian race have culminated in an organised, cold-blooded attempt on the part of its Turkish rulers to exterminate it once and for all by methods of inconceivable barbarity and wickedness.

"The Armenians are perhaps the oldest established of the civilised races in Western Asia, and they are certainly the most vigorous at the present day. Their home is the tangle of high mountains between the Caspian, the Mediterranean, and the Black Sea. Here the Armenian peasant has lived from time immemorial the hardworking life he was leading till the eve of this ultimate catastrophe. Here a strong, civilised Armenian kingdom was the first state in the world to adopt Christianity as its national religion. Here Church and people have maintained their tradition with extraordinary vitality against wave upon wave of alien conquest from every quarter.

..."The Government at Constantinople, if Government is not too good a name for Enver, Talaat, and the rest of that "Committee of Union and Progress" which Lord Bryce has justly described as a "gang of unscrupulous ruffians, meanwhile, this unprincipled and all powerful organisation was working out its plans, and it began to put them into action in April.

"The scheme was nothing less than the extermination of the whole Christian population within the Ottoman frontiers. For the war had temporarily released the Ottoman Government from the control, slight as it was, which the Concert of Europe had been able to exert. The belligerents on one side were Turkey's allies and very good friends; and Enver, looking to the future, relied upon their promised victory to shield himself and his accomplices from the vengeance of the Western powers and Russia, which had always stood between the malignant hostility of the Ottoman Government

and the helplessness of its Christian subjects. The denunciation of the "Capitulations" broke down the legal barrier of foreign protections, behind which many Ottoman Christians had found more or less effective shelter. Nothing remained but to use the opportunity and strike a stroke that would never need repetition. "After this", said Talaat Bey, when he gave the final signal, "There will be no Armenian question for fifty years."

... "Communities, after being mutilated by the wholesale conscription or assassination of the husbands and fathers, were now torn up by the roots and driven, under the forlorn leadership of the mothers and the old men, into an exile that was to terminate in a death of unspeakable horror.

... "From the impression it made on the witnesses, the scene of departure must in any case have been harrowing enough. From that town on the coast the exiles were despatched in successive batches of about 2,000 each.

"The weeping and wailing of the women and children was most heartrending. Some of these people were from wealthy and refined circles, some were accustomed to luxury and ease. There were clergymen, merchants, bankers, lawyers, mechanics, tailors, and men from every walk of life.... The whole Mohammedan population knew that these people were to be their prey from the beginning, and they were treated as animals."

In his Summary in the official British Blue book of documents of the 1915 massacres, "*Treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire*," Arnold Toynbee systematically and thoroughly examines each of the major Turkish contentions regarding the war and Armenian "disloyalty" and dispels them, concluding:

"The various Turkish contentions thus fail, first to last, to meet the point. They all attempt to trace the atrocities of 1915 to events arising out of the war: but they not only cannot justify them on this ground, they do not even suggest any adequate motive for their perpetration. It is evident that the war was merely an opportunity and not a cause — in fact, that the deportation scheme, and all that it involved, flowed inevitably from the general policy of the Young Turkish Government.

"In one way or another, the Central Government enforced and controlled the execution of the scheme, as it alone had originated the conception of it: and the Young Turkish Ministers and their associates at Constantinople are directly and personally responsible from beginning to end, for the gigantic crime that devastated the Near East in 1915.

In this last work before his death, "Mankind and Mother Earth" (New York/London, 1978), Toynbee provided this final matter of fact but very clear summary of the nature of the crimes of 1915.

"The atrociousness of the two great twentieth century wars was aggravated by genocide (i.e. the wholesale extermination of civilian populations). In the First World War the Turks committed genocide against the Armenians: in the Second World War, the Germans committed genocide against the Jews."

• DR. JOHANNES LEPSIUS

Dr. Johannes Lepsius, the German philanthropist's collections of eyewitness reports were published during and after the First World War.

Lepsius (1858-1925) was the son of the well known Berlin Orientalist Prof. Carl Richard Lepsius and was himself a scholar of theology and Oriental studies. Moved to act following the Armenian pogroms under Abdul-Hamid in 1895, he founded and devoted his entire work to the Deutsche Orient-Mission (German mission for the Orient) through which he set up aid programs. Lepsius headed the Orient Mission until 1917, when he fell out with the other members of the Mission's governing body over the publication of his *Report*.

Lepsius' work as the chronicler of the Armenian pogroms and persecutions led to the publication of three books. "*Armenien und Europa*" (Armenia and Europe), which appeared in 1896, was a collection of reports by eyewitnesses and victims of the persecutions of the 1890s, and contained the report of the six Great Powers to the Sublime Porte of 4 February 1896, as well as Lepsius' own commentary. The reports focused on events up to 1896.

Before the end of the First World War, a second publication appeared - the "*Bericht über die Lage des Armenischen Volkes in der Türkei*" (Report on the Situation of the Armenian People in Turkey) (Potsdam, 1916); this book was published in a second, enlarged edition in 1919 under the title "*Der Todesgang des Armenischen Volkes*" (The Walk into Death March of the Armenian People) prefaced by Lepsius' report of his three-week visit to Constantinople, his seventh journey east, which had included an interview on 24 August 1915 with the Minister of War, Enver. Lepsius had been forbidden to continue his journey into the interior.

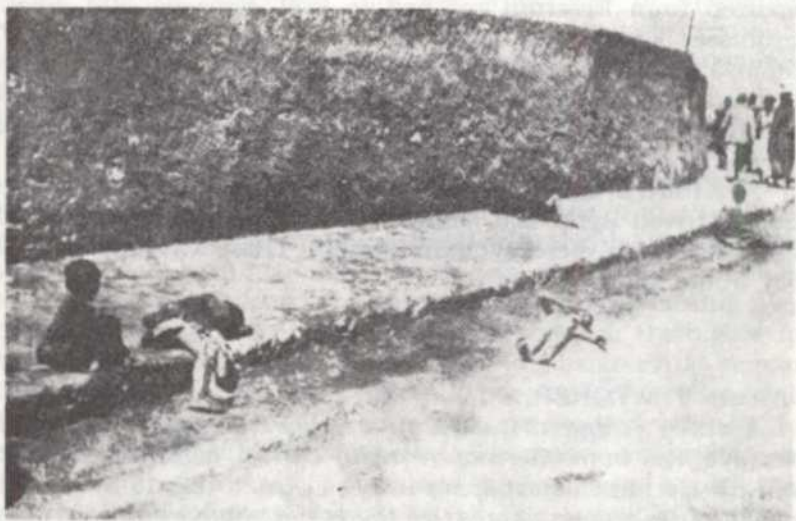
The "*Report*" as a whole contains more European and American

From the album of Armin T. Wegner



Hundreds of men, women and children near Aleppo.

From the album of Armin T. Wegner



Perhaps merciful Turkish mothers might take care of these orphans.

eyewitness reports than those of Armenians. It also affords the first, and probably still the most complete, overview of the events, including information on the historical and political background and critical treatment of various aspects such as the Turkish government's self-justifying propaganda and anti-Armenian reporting in Germany.

In all, the "Report" went through five editions (Potsdam, 1916, 1919, 1927, 1930; Heidelberg, 1980 (reprint of the second edition). A French translation appeared in 1918 in Paris with a foreword by Rene Pinon.

An even more voluminous collection of eyewitness reports is contained in the collection of German diplomatic exchanges relating to the Armenian genocide, which was edited by Lepsius and appeared in 1919 under the title "*Deutschland und Armenien 1914-1918. Sammlung diplomatischer Aktenstücke*" (Germany and Armenia 1914-18. A Collection of Diplomatic Documents.)

In his book "*Massacres of Armenia*" he wrote:-

"... Three days prior to arrests (April 24-25, 1915) in Constantinople there were imprisonment of Armenian leaders in the country which continued from April 21st up to May 10. During 4 weeks the Turks arrested and deported from Izmit 100, Bartizak 80, Brussa 40, Balekes 30, Adabazar 80. Then followed from Marsuan 20, Diyarbekir 20. The number of eminent Armenians arrested and deported from Erzerum reached to 600, Sebastia 500, Shabin Karahissar 50 and then again from Diyarbekir 800 and Cesarea 200 and also from other cities.

From this it follows that it is a general arrangement that the Armenian people would not have its leaders to enable them execute successfully the deportations without noise and resistance.

Two third of the exiled fell dead on the road, others half naked ghosts arrived Syria and Mesopotamia to be pushed toward the desert and to die there, silent in torment. Those who would not die, they would kill them..."

● ARMIN T. WEGNER

Armin T. Wegner, the German writer and poet who, in 1915, was an officer in the German Army in Turkey, acting as correspondent for German newspapers was an eyewitness to the Turkish atrocities. He owned nearly two thousand photographs of Turkish barbaric acts which he exhibited in Berlin in 1919.

In an open letter to President Wilson he wrote in January 1919 "As one of the few Europeans who have been eyewitness of the dreadful destruction of the Armenian people". Excerpts from his letter:

..."Parties which on their departure from the homeland of High Armenia consisted of thousands, numbered on their arrival in the outskirts of Aleppo only a few hundreds, while the fields were strewn with swollen, blackened corpses, infecting the air with their odor, lying about desecrated, naked, having been robbed of their clothes, or driven, bound back to back, to the Euphrates to provide food for the fish.

..."Sometimes gendarmes in derision threw into the emaciated hands of starving people a little meal which they greedily licked off, merely with the result of prolonging their death-agony. Even before the gates of Aleppo they were allowed no rest. For incomprehensible and utterly unjustifiable reasons of war, the shrunken parties were ceaselessly driven bare-footed, hundreds of miles under the burning sun, through stony defiles, over pathless steppes, enfeebled into the wilderness of desolation. Here they died — slain by Kurds, robbed by gendarmes, shot, hanged, poisoned, stabbed, strangled, mowed down by epidemics, drowned, frozen, parched with thirst, starved — their bodies left to putrefy or to be devoured by jackals.

"Children cried themselves to death, men threw themselves to their death on the rocks while women threw their own children into wells and pregnant mothers leapt singing into the Euphrates. They died all the deaths of the world, the deaths of all the centuries. I saw men gone mad, feeding on their own excrement, women cooking their newborn children, young girls cutting open the still warm corpses of their mothers to search their guts for the gold they had swallowed out of fear of the thieving gendarmes. In the decrepit caravaserails, people lay apathetically among the heaps of dead and emaciated bodies, waiting for death: how long could they expect to eke out a miserable existence with nothing to eat but grass and the few grains of corn they could find in the horses' dung? Yet all this is still only a fraction of what I saw with my own eyes or was related to me by friends and travellers, or by the outcasts themselves..."

In March 1965 on the 50th anniversary of the Armenian Genocide, Armin T. Wegner, upon the invitation of Armenians in Rome, gave a speech, excerpts of which are reproduced below:

... "When the caravan passed and its cloud of dust spread away, you would see children on the roadside whose Armenian mothers had left them there. Exhausted after walking for many days the women found their children impossible to carry any longer, and hoped that compassionate Turkish mothers would take the children home and care for them. Some children were saved in this manner but were raised as Turks and remained unaware of their origin.

"As a member of German General Von der Goltz's staff with the Ottoman Army, I went from Constantinople to Baghdad via Konia, Darson, Aleppo, Ras el Ain and Mosul. Whenever there was an opportunity, I used to leave our Turkish and German companions to visit the nearest camps of Armenian refugees. I was trying to encourage them but could not do anything other than distribute some medications.

"Near Aleppo hundreds of men, women and children were lying dead in the fields as a result of typhus. This is the city whose governor telegraphed Constantinople to the Minister of Interior, Talaat Pasha, with this message: "The caravans of Armenian refugees arrived Aleppo. What has to be done?" Talaat Pasha replied, "The purpose of deportation is annihilation".

"After some days with the German General's staff which consisted of few German army and administrative officers, I continued my journey to Mosul. When entering the desert in Ras el Ain at daybreak, I saw a big caravan of Armenian refugees which has remained in my memory as the saddest and most miserable scene ever. I could not tell if many of the people were dead or alive. Sitting at the edge of the camp was a group of infants, seven to ten years of age, whose parents had perished during the deportation, either killed by Kurds or died of exhaustion.

"Nearly frozen and trembling from the cold desert night, they cowered, crying and lamenting loudly. No adult was interested in these children because of their preoccupation with their own problems. No one paid attention to these orphans. The Germans did not enter the camps of refugees for fear of contagious diseases. They also feared that the Turks would look upon them with suspicion if they showed any interest in the fate of the Armenians. Disregarding personal danger, I used to follow the orphans but could not be of much help to them. Without consolation, I cried for the grief and torment they were undergoing. I would depart in shame from those places,

cursing the human harshness and cruelty. After the war, in memory of those innocent creatures, my newly born girl was christened with the beautiful Armenian name of *Anoush*.

"In those days when we reached the shores of Euphrates, the following happened:

"A group of Armenian girls and women gathered on a cliff overhanging the river. To keep anyone from trying to save herself at the last minute, each one tied her wrist to the one standing next to her, and in this way they formed an unbreakable chain. Thus tied together, they started to sing and rock. Upon reaching the ecstasy of martyrdom, they threw themselves into the river.

"A year later I was returning to Constantinople with five friends from the shores of Euphrates via Aleppo. Out of tens of thousands of refugees which I had seen in the camps previously, only few hundred remained. In the desert, there were dead bodies and skulls.

"Notwithstanding deportation and massacre, the remnants scattered throughout the world and because of their abilities and skills, the survivors contributed to the reputation of Armenian people in the countries where they lived and thrived as intellectuals, artisans and business people. The Armenians 'survived' despite Talaat's diabolic prediction of total 'annihilation' of the nation."

• ANATOLE FRANCE

Anatole France, the famous French writer, uttered the following words in 1916, while the massacres were taking place, to a gathering of distinguished French leaders and intellectuals at the Sorbonne in Paris:

"Armenia expires, but will be born again. The little blood that is left to it is a precious blood which will generate a heroic posterity. A people who do not wish to die will not die."

• HENRY MORGENTHAU

Henry Morgenthau, the U.S. Ambassador at Constantinople from 1913 to 1916, wrote a book "Ambassador Morgenthau's Story" in 1919. Excerpts from this book:-

"When the Turkish authorities gave the orders for these deportations, they were merely giving the death warrant to a whole race; they understood this well, and, in their conversations with me, they made no particular attempt to conceal the fact."

... "I have by no means told the most terrible details, for a complete narration of the sadistic orgies of which these Armenian men and

women were the victims can never be printed in an American publication. Whatever crimes the most perverted instincts of the human mind can devise, and whatever refinements of persecutions and injustice the most debased imagination can conceive, became the daily misfortune of this devoted people. I am confident that the whole history of the human race contains no such horrible episode as this. The great massacres and persecutions of the past seem almost insignificant when compared to the sufferings of the Armenian race in 1915".

..."And thus, as the exiles moved, they left behind them another caravan that of dead and unburied bodies, of old men and women in the last stages of typhus, dysentery, and cholera, of little children lying on their backs and setting up their last piteous wails for food and water. There were women who held up their babies to strangers begging them to take them and save them from their tormentors, and failing this, they would throw them into wells or leave them behind bushes, that at least they might die undisturbed. Behind was left a small army of girls who had been sold as slaves frequently for a medjidie, or about eighty cents and who, after serving the brutal purposes of their purchasers, were forced to lead lives of prostitution. A string of encampments filled with the sick and the dying, mingled with the unburied or half-buried bodies of the dead, marked the course of the advancing throngs. Flocks of vultures followed them in the air, and ravenous dogs, fighting one another for the bodies of the dead, constantly pursued them. The most terrible scenes took place at the rivers, especially the Euphrates. Sometimes, when crossing this stream, the gendarmes would push the women into the water, shooting all who attempted to save themselves by swimming. Frequently the women themselves would save their honour by jumping into the river, their children in their arms. ...It is absurd for the Turkish government to assert that it ever seriously intended to deport the Armenians to new homes; the treatment which was given the convoys clearly shows that extermination was the real purpose of Enver and Talaat."

In an interview, Talaat Pasha, the Minister of Interior of Turkey, said to Morgenthau "We have already disposed of three quarters of the Armenians. The hatred between Turks and Armenians is now so intense that we have got to finish with them. If we don't they will plan their revenge. Our Armenian policy is absolutely fixed and nothing can change it. No Armenian can be our friend after what we have done to them". Talaat Pasha boasted to his friends by saying "I have accomplished more toward solving the Armenian problem in 3 months than Sultan Abdul Hamid accomplished in thirty years".

● HENRI BARBI

Henri Barbi, the famous French Journalist in his book "Martyrized Armenia" as an eyewitness wrote in 1917:

..."Being surrounded by Turks and Kurds, the Armenians in the neighbouring counties were looking for shelter in Erzerum, but they were forbidden to enter the city. Turks had planned to deport the entire Armenian population from Erzerum and its vicinities towards Mesopotamia. They were trying to convince the Armenians that those measures were meant to protect them. The true meaning of this operation was completely different. They were just trying to do the massacres without difficulty.

"They were given 15 days time limit. The deported Armenians were forced to sell their belongings...

"The time limit expired and thus on June 16th of 1915, the Turks awakened the Armenians by force of weapons, gathered them in one place and separated the women from men. Then they were ordered to move. It was the beginning of the bloody path of the miserable Armenians' endless wanderings. Few days later, the Kurdish gangs appeared and attacked the unprotected Armenians like hungry wolves. They were taking away the beautiful Armenian girls. Also they were taking the able-bodied Armenian males and slaughtering the rest. Some of them were lucky to escape from this massacre and half naked came to Kemakh. They were like walking skeletons.

"How can I describe these horrible sins which I was witnessing. Slaughtered children, delirious mothers...

● RENE PINON

Rene Pinon in his book published in Constantinople in 1919 titled "Armenian Massacres, German Method, Turkish Style" wrote:

..."Talaat Pasha stated to an American reporter. 'We do not accept, that we were cruel, but we have been prompt. We are living in war-time.'

..."In 1916 when replying to a question put by a German reporter, Talaat Pasha said. "It was a military must to move the Armenians from their lands." By transferring them to Mesopotamia, some of them were attacked by Turks and killed. In 1915 during the fighting

at the Dardanelles, it was considered necessary to move away the Armenians from Constantinople and its vicinity.

... "Thus the massacres continued under the pretext of deportation. The intervention of the U.S.A. and the Papal delegation was of no consequence. In Constantinople, Ahmed Riza and others protested against massacres of people. In Izmir, the Mayor Rahmi Bey, satisfied by accepting large amounts of money from wealthy Armenians, arrested some party members, but refused to massacre or deport from Izmir.

• YEVGUINEH TARLEH

Yevguineh Tarleh was a prominent Soviet historian and academician. In his book "At the Epoque of European Capitalism", published in Moscow in 1928, he also wrote about Armenians. Some excerpts are given:

... "We have to mention that the Turkish Government, in those years, beside its warfare, was executing the massacre of the Armenian people in order to get freed from Russian pressure.

... "Whatever occurred in Turkey with its intensity remains unique in the history of humanity even from the times of Gengis Khan. In September of 1914, the Turkish Government ordered and cruelly executed the mobilization of Armenian youth in order to weaken the Armenian population. In the Vilayets, there remained only women, children and the elderly.

... "The time was appropriate for Talaat Pasha, the Interior Minister and Enver Pasha, the War Minister to put their plan into action by annihilating the Armenian people.

"No more an Armenian question as no more Armenians," said Talaat Pasha in 1916 with ironic smile.

• DR. FRIDTJOF NANSEN

Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, the Norwegian statesman, a winner of the 1922 Nobel Peace Prize, who became acquainted with the Armenian suffering in the aftermath of World War I as High Commissioner for Refugees under the League of Nations, in his book "Armenia under the Turks" in 1928, writes:

"In the Armenian people's long tale of woe the most woeful

chapters are concerned with the time when the Armenians were under Turkish rule. To their Mohammedan 'masters' the Christians were slaves and chattels, whom the Allah had given to the faithful, and who were quite outside of the pale of the law. The evidence of an infidel i.e. a Christian against a Moslem was invalid in the law courts; nor could he defend himself against violence and robbery, because no Christian was allowed to carry arms; this of course gave the Kurds and other marauders a pretty free hand. As Christians could not do war-service for Allah, every male between the ages of eight and sixty had to pay a specially heavy tax in addition to all the other taxes and dues. Furthermore, there was the "boy tax" which the Sultan exacted from the infidels; this consisted in taking every year thousands of boys, aged between four and eight, from Christian families, in order that they might be circumcised and brought up as Moslems to form the standing army of Janissaries which for long was Turkey's most formidable weapon against the Christians."

In the same year in *"Armenia and the Near East"* Dr. F. Nansen writes:-

..."The nations of Europe and the statesmen of Europe are tired of the everlasting Armenian question. Of course. It has only brought them one defeat after another, the very mention of it recalling to their slumbering consciences a grim tale of broken and unfulfilled promises which they have never in practice done anything to keep. And after all, it was only a massacred, but gifted little nation, with no oil-fields or gold-mines.

"Woe to the Armenians, that they were ever drawn into European politics! It would have been better for them if the name of Armenia had never been uttered by any European diplomat.

"But the Armenian people have never abandoned hope; they have gone on bravely working, and waiting... waiting year after year.

"They are waiting still.

● BOHDAN GEBARSKI

Bohdan Gebarski, a well known Polish writer in his "A Letter to my Turkish Friend," November 26, 1961; published in the Polish Kiernuki.

Extracts from this letter:-

..."I had reason to be interested in your country from an additional point of view. I simply felt a necessarily unavoidable urge to look into the eyes of a man who should have felt the responsibility towards the

most horrible crime in human history. In the simple language of the time (and that happened in the days of the First World War) the word was crime. Today, alas! we already know the name of that crime - GENOCIDE.

"That massacre, which was carried out and executed to its last detail, had no similarity with those random exploits of one Abdul Hamid during the years 1895-1896 when the savage bands of Kurds and the scum of the Turkish rabble were provoked against the Armenians culminating in "moderate" results hardly half a million Armenians massacred.

..."According to reliable statistics that have reached us, the authorities issued orders for all Armenians to leave their native habitations usually within two hours "for the purpose of reaching new quarters." They were allowed to take with themselves only light articles which they could carry by hand, leaving their entire property to the Turkish population. It was strictly forbidden to use any means of conveyance. No exception was made for the aged, the sick, the children, even in case of pregnant women. Under the scorching summer sun of Asia Minor the caravans on foot were accompanied by gendarmes, armed with rifles and whips. If any sympathetic Muslim were tempted to give water to the Armenians, he was instantly whipped or even shot there and then on the spot.

"If any of the prisoners fell exhausted (which happened every moment in that death caravan from its beginning) gendarmes killed the fallen or kicked with their boots. Hordes of tchetchens and rover bandits, who followed the caravans, denuded the bodies of the dead with insolent abuse, with the tacit consent and permission of the gendarmes. They immediately seized and carried away young women and girls who had fallen down or straggled a few paces behind the caravan. After raping them repeatedly, they murdered them in the most atrocious manner. Among others, that also was being done according to secret orders issued to the gendarmes, which meant that those who were being exiled were to be slaughtered en route.

..."The number of the dead exceeded ten thousand each day... Deportation embraced within its folds all the persons of that unfortunate people, from the Bulgarian frontier to that of Persia...

"The continuation of the onslaught took on an entirely different aspect. Those Armenians who had somehow escaped deportation were subjected to a ruthless massacre. Attention was first directed to those who had saved their lives by means of self-defense in a few isolated spots of resistance, where besieged Armenians received occasional help from the French, the British or the Russians. That was

the case, for example, in Cilicia and around Lake Van.

..."Let me say in parenthesis that the territories occupied by you were of no benefit to you. About two years ago, while I was passing along the boundaries between Armenia and Turkey, during two hours of my travel I did not see a single living soul on your side of the frontier. You have converted the thickly populated territory into a desert, dead and ghastly, like a forgotten and desecrated graveyard. Did you massacre the rightful owners of that territory, contrary to all divine and human laws, so as to call that land "Turkey" and scorch it?

..."Every century has its own true image. The 20th century differs from those that preceded it in that it is the century of greatest crimes and greatest retributions. The greatest crimes of the 20th century are the massacres, that is the attempts to exterminate an entire people by torture and murder, attempts which fortunately never succeeded by one-hundred percent.

"The first attempt at such a crime, which was successful in sixty percent, was made during the first part of our century, in the beginning of the spring of 1915. That was called "the complete solution of the Armenian Question."

..."I am neither Turk nor Armenian, therefore, I cannot consider it my duty to evaluate the manifest means of retribution which the Armenians demand from you. But I know that during this historic era of ours, in this era of self-obtained freedom by the persecuted and tortured peoples, the Armenian Question also will undoubtedly arise."

• SOVIET ACADEMY OF SCIENCE

The Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences, in the book *"Outlines of Turkey's History,"* says: "Abdul Hamid II and his entourage are responsible for the 1894-1896 appalling massacre of the Armenians that shook the world."

The book then portrays the despicable crimes perpetrated against the Armenian people by the Young Turk nationalists in the years of World War I. "Embarking on the systematic elimination of the Armenians", says the book "the Young Turks government concocted a hypothesis to the effect that the Armenian population 'was being deported from its native places to the depth of the country for military considerations' ". In effect, however, the "triumvirate", that assassin of the Armenian people, worked out and implemented the

wholesale genocide of the Armenians. In many towns and villages the inhabitants selflessly resisted the butchers but the forces were quite unequal. One and a half million Armenian lives were snuffed out, and about 800,000 Armenian refugees sought shelter in foreign countries.

● CHRISTOPHER WALKER

Christopher J. Walker, British historian and author, reported to the Permanent Tribunal of the People which took place on April 13-16, 1984 in Paris, France.

In 1916, the British Government published a Blue Book with the title Miscellaneous No. 31 which was published commercially as "The Treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire". The original documents of this collection are in the Public Record Office. Excerpts from C.J. Walker's report:-

..."The vast weight of testimony presented by the Blue Book, detailing the first 15 months of the Armenian genocide, points to the responsibility of the Turkish government.

"The pattern of the events, which is so comprehensively described by the documents, is as follows. First, Armenian men who had enrolled in the Ottoman army were disarmed, transferred to labour battalions, and forced to do menial work until they collapsed through exhaustion. Groups of them working on the roads were shot for no apparent reason. The Ottoman officials instituted ruthless and trumped up searches for arms, holding sections of the male Armenian population as hostages. Arms were collected, and even purchased from the Turks so that Armenians could fulfil the arbitrary quotas demanded by officials.

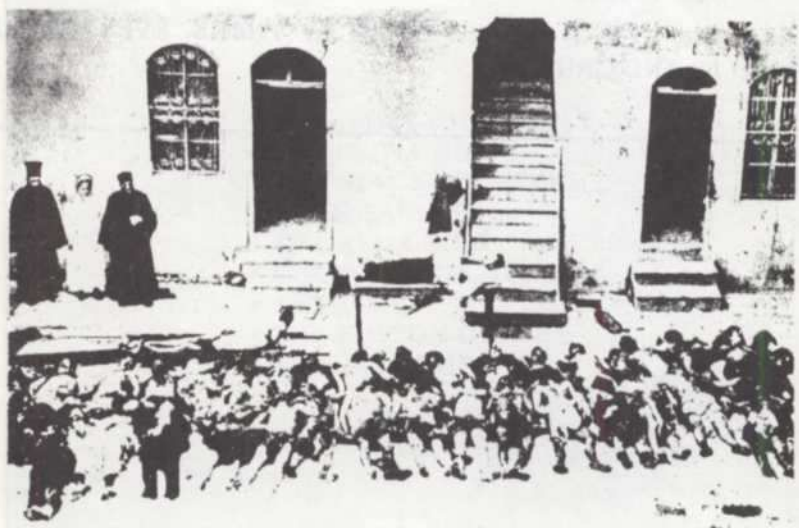
"Then, in the Armenian towns and villages, Armenian able-bodied men would be summoned to the government building. Once there, they were most often marched a short way out of town and either shot or hacked to death. The pattern sometimes varied; for instance at Trebizond they were taken out to sea, and then the boats were capsized. For the women, children and old men, a worse fate remained; they were driven out of their homes immense distances into the burning deserts of Syria or Mesopotamia, given no food and scarcely a drop of water, and harassed until they dropped. The Turks have justified these actions as 'relocation' of the Armenians, placing



Armenian child during deportation.



Left alone, an orphan marches on.



An Armenian priest praying for the victims in Aleppo.

them in new homes away from the battle zone. In reality, the only facilities that they prepared for the Armenians were vast open-air concentration camps, at Meskene, Rakka and Der-el-Zor. Here the Armenians rapidly died from starvation or exposure..."

• VICTOR HUGO

The famous French novelist and poet, Victor Hugo in a poem in 1829 wrote about the Turks:-

"LES TURKS ONT PASSE LA. TOUT EST RUINE ET DEUIL."

"THE TURKS HAVE PASSED BY THERE. EVERYTHING IS IN RUIN AND GRIEF."

V

Press Accounts

- THE DAILY CHRONICLE
- THE OUTLOOK
- THE NEW YORK TIMES
- IL MESSAGERO
- THE RED CROSS
- CORRIERE DELLA SERA
- THE TIMES
- THE BOSTON GLOBE
- CHICAGO TRIBUNE

"THE DAILY CHRONICLE"

London, August 6, 1915

The Armenian Horrors Grow. Massacres Greater than under Abdul Hamid

"A tragic episode of the war in the East is the wholesale massacre of the Armenians in the eastern vilayets of Asia Minor by the Turks and Kurds. Regarding the terrible scale of these massacres, greater than any which occurred under Abdul Hamid, there is now no room for doubt, and the statements made on the subject last week by Lord Bryce in the House of Lords were officially corroborated by Lord Crewe.

"In certain cases the Armenians have defended themselves successfully. At the town of Van, for instance, to which Enver Pasha sent his brother-in-law with a commission of extermination, the victims rose after the massacres had begun, barricaded the Armenian quarter, and held out against the Turkish siege for four weeks until relieved by the advance of the Russian army. But with this and some similar exceptions they have been powerless. Tens and probably hundreds of thousands have been butchered, and great numbers more have been deported by road hundreds of miles to Western Anatolia under conditions amounting to slow extermination...

The Outlook

An illustrated weekly Journal of current events

August 18, 1915

The Armenians in Asia Minor

"On July 28, in the British House of Lords, the Earl of Crewe, Lord President of the Council, replying to a question by Viscount Bryce concerning the killing of Christians in Armenia, said that such crimes had increased both in number and in degree of atrocity. The Armenians have often suffered outrage and massacre, and the present war offers a new opportunity for oppression.

..."The police at midnight swooped down upon the homes of all

Armenians whose names had been put on the proscribed list sent from Constantinople. These men were arrested and the minutest search made of their homes for possible revolutionary documents. The young Armenians were then ordered into the army; the older men were deported into the interior, while women and children who were not carried off in an opposite direction were left to shift for themselves. In thousands of cases the deportation has been carried out on such a basis that families, broken up by the Turkish officials, will never be reunited.

"Another report is at hand in a letter just received by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions from a British resident of Constantinople:

"Zeitun has ceased to exist as an Armenian town. The inhabitants have been scattered, the city occupied by Turks, and the very name changed. The same is true, to a large extent, of Hadjin, except, I believe, the name has not been altered. The Armenians of the regions of Erzerum, Bitlis, and Erzingan have under torture been converted to Islam. Hardin reports 1895 (the year of the infamous massacre) conditions as prevailing there. The tale is awful to the last degree... The inhabitants of cities like Zeitun and Hadjin are driven out like cattle and made to march long distances under the burning sun, hungry and thirsty. For instance, large numbers from Zeitun have recently reached Adana utterly destitute, many having been left to die along the road. More than a thousand families from Hadjin recently arrived in Aleppo in the last degree of misery, and yet the purpose is to send them much farther. Husbands are forcibly separated from wives and sent to places long distances apart. Children are similarly separated from parents.

"We learn that some twenty thousand Turks from Thrace were taken to Zeitun and established in houses that for generations belonged to the Armenians, while the former owners were scattered to the extreme ends of the Empire, one portion being sent to the sandy deserts at the head of the Persian Gulf and the other to malarial marshes in the interior.

"So critical is the situation that Mr. Morgenthau, our Ambassador at Constantinople, who, almost single-handed, is fighting to prevent a wholesale slaughter, has asked and obtained the co-operation of the Ambassadors there of Turkey's allies, Baron von Wangenheim and Margrave Pallavicini. They have joined our Ambassador in trying to convince the Turkish Government that a renewal of the atrocities of the former Turkish regime would be a crime...



An abandoned and homeless Armenian family (1915).

The New York Times

AUGUST 20, 1915

BURN 1,000 ARMENIANS

Turks lock them in a Wooden Building and Then Apply the Torch.

LONDON. Friday, Aug. 20.— A Reuter dispatch from Petrograd says:

"Almost unbelievable details of Turkish massacres of Armenians in Bitlis have reached Petrograd.

"In one village 1,000 men, women and children are reported to have been locked in a wooden building and burned to death.

"In another large village only thirty six persons, it is said, escaped massacre.

"In still another instance, it is asserted, several scores of men and women were tied together by chains and thrown into Lake Van."

"IL MESSAGERO"

"Il Messagero" newspaper in Rome in its issue of August 25, 1915 published an interview with the Italian Consul General at Trabizond, Mr. G. Gorrini which is given in part:-

..."As for the Armenians, they were treated differently in the different vilayets. They were suspect and spied upon everywhere, but they suffered a real extermination, worse than massacre, in the so-called 'Armenian vilayets.' There are seven of these, and five of them (including the most important and most thickly populated) unhappily for me formed part of my own Consular jurisdiction. These were the vilayets of Trebizond, Erzeroum, Van, Bitlis and Sivas.

"In my district, from the 24th June onwards, the Armenians were all 'interned',— that is, ejected by force from their various residences and dispatched under the guard of the gendarmerie to distant, unknown destinations, which for a few will mean the interior Mesopotamia, but for four fifths of them has meant already a death accompanied by unheard-of cruelties.

"The official proclamation of internment came from Constantinople. It is the work of the Central Government and the 'Committee of the Union and Progress.' The local authorities, and indeed the Moslem population in general, tried to resist, to mitigate it, to make omissions, to hush it up. But the orders of the Central Government

were categorically confirmed, and all were compelled to resign themselves and obey.

"The Consular Body intervened, and attempted to save at least the women and children. We did, in fact, secure numerous exemptions, but these were not subsequently respected, owing to the interference of the local branch of the 'Union and Progress Committee,' and to fresh orders from Constantinople.

"It was a real extermination and slaughter of the innocents, an unheard-of-thing, a black page stained with the flagrant violation of the most sacred rights of humanity, of Christianity, of nationality. The Armenian Catholics, too, who in the past had always been respected and excepted from the massacres and persecutions, were this time treated worse than any—again by the orders of the Central Government. There were about 14,000 Armenians at Trebizond—Gregorians, Catholics and Protestants—they had never caused disorders or given occasion for collective measures of police. When I left Trebizond, not a hundred of them remained.

The New York Times

SEPTEMBER 16, 1915

ANSWER MORGENTHAU BY HANGING ARMENIANS

He Protests Against the War of Extermination Now in Progress

Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, Thursday, Sept. 16,— A Times correspondent, lately in Salonika, says that all the reports from Turkey are agreed as to the terrible character of the Turkish atrocities against Armenians. It is believed that it is the official intention that this shall be a campaign of extermination, involving the murdering of 800,000 to 1,000,000 persons. Christians can escape murder by embracing Mahomedanism, in which case all the female members of the convert's family of marriageable age—wife, sisters, or children—are distributed around to other Turks, making the reversion to Chris-

tianity in the future practically impossible.

The American Minister at Constantinople is said to have protested recently against the massacre, in view of the danger to which they exposed the American missionaries. The only response to his protest was the hanging of twenty leading Armenians the next day in the streets of Constantinople.

The New York Times

OCTOBER 4, 1915

TELL OF HORRORS DONE IN ARMENIA

Report of Eminent Americans Says They Are
Unequaled in a Thousand Years.

TURKISH RECORD OUTDONE

A Policy of Extermination Put in Effect
Against a Helpless People.

ENTIRE VILLAGES SCATTERED

Men and Boys Massacred, Women and Girls Sold as Slaves and
Distributed Among Moslems.

The Committee on Armenian Atrocities, a body of eminent Americans which for weeks has been investigating the situation in Turkish Armenia, issued, yesterday, a detailed report of that investigation, in which it is asserted that in cruelty and in horror nothing in the past thousand years has equalled the present persecutions of the Armenian people by the Turks. The committee adds that the sources of its information are "unquestioned as to veracity, integrity, and authority of the writers."

The data on which the report is based, were gathered from all parts of the Turkish Empire.

The report tells of children under 15 years of age thrown into the Euphrates to be drowned, of women forced to desert infants in arms and to leave them by the roadside to die; of young women and girls appropriated by the Turks, thrown into harems, attacked, or else sold to the highest bidder, and of men murdered and tortured. Everything that an Armenian possesses, even to the clothes on his back, are stolen by his persecutors. The report says the use of the bastinado

has been revived, high dignitaries of the Church have been hanged, families scattered to the four winds, and thousands upon thousands of defenseless, miserable persons herded together like cattle and driven into the desert lands of the empire, there to starve and die.

“The Red Cross”

In his article entitled “The Greatest Horror in History,” *The Red Cross Magazine*, March 1918, Ambassador Morgenthau asserted:

The final and the worst measure used against the Armenians was the wholesale deportation of the entire population from their homes and their exile to the deserts, with all the accompanying horrors on the way. No means were provided for their transportation or nourishment. The victims, which 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 eyewitnesses surpass the most beastly and diabolical cruelties ever before perpetrated or 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 this crime of the ages before the outside world could hear of it. But the information filtered through the Consuls, missionaries, foreign travellers, 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 jurisdiction, irrespective of age and sex. The local officers, with a few exceptions, carried out literally those instructions. All the able-bodied men had either been drafted into the Army or been disarmed. The remaining people, old men, women and children, were subjected to the most cruel and outrageous treatment!

"Corriere Della Sera"

Luigi Luzatti, famous Italian financial and political leader, was Prime Minister of Italy 1910-1911. He wrote ardently against Turkish barbaric acts against the Armenian people in "Corriere Della Sera" on November 26, 1918. Excerpts are given below:

..."This horrible war began with the Armenian massacre and it will end with the same massacres.

..."After the Armenian Conference in Erzerum where Armenians, with splendid gesture, refused to take part in the war, Turks replied by massacring 700,000 Armenians. This massacre was unprecedented in its precision, method and rage in human history!

..."We respect the decision of the Allies in according autonomy and independence to Poles, Checks, Slavs, but unfortunately the same was denied to Armenians.

"It will be a great honor to Italy to acknowledge its historical relations with Armenia and to take charge of the liberation of its small but great people, which has been betrayed so many times by the great powers.

"Italy, the Liberator of Armenia: I wish this great honor to my country."

"The Times"

"The Times" of London, on May 2, 1919, wrote:-

"Whatever was said and are said about Armenian atrocities, they are never exaggerated, are based on official British reports."

"ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY"

An article "Facts Condemn" appeared in March-April 1985 issue of Soviet monthly "Asia and Africa Today" concerning the extermination of Armenians in Turkey.

Excerpts from this article:-

"April 24 is a remembrance day commemorating the mass extermination of Armenians in Turkey.

"Armenia and its people have a multacentennial history.



Some of the Armenian victims.

Situated at a junction of roads connecting East and West and enjoying favorable strategic and trade positions, Armenia had for centuries on end been the scene of bloodletting wars. It went through periods of tempestuous advances and tragic decline. Its cities and towns developed vigorously and crumbled to debris.

... "When the war broke out in 1914, Transcaucasia became a scene of armed operations between Russia and Turkey, the latter having the German-Austrian coalition. The reactionary leadership of the then ruling party of the Young Turks nurtured racist plans of setting up a Turkish empire on a vast territory from Istanbul to Central Asia. Supported by the German imperialists the Young Turks followed the policy of unrestrained chauvinism.

"They wanted to wipe off the face of the earth the entire Armenian nation with its ancient culture, which had been evolving in the course of millenia. The very words "Armenia" and "Armenians" were to be lost forever. The threat of annihilation was looming over the entire Armenian nation.

"Enver Pasha, a leader within the Turkish government at that time, disarmed the Armenians through deceit, outlawed them and directed against them the zealots' hatred. The decimation of Armenians was launched in an organized and planned way.

"Armenians were massacred throughout Turkey, robbed and forcedly driven away from their native lands into the deadly deserts of Mesopotamia, where they died of hunger and diseases under the scorching sun.

"During fierce repressions in some Armenian vilayets of the country in the spring of 1915 the population mounted resistance to the Turkish gendarmes and regular troops. The self-defence of Van that lasted for more than a month became widely known. Turkish troops met with just as stubborn resistance in the neighbouring Moush vilayet, in Sassoun on the mountain plateau, where centuries before David of Sassoun, the famous Armenian popular epic, had been created. More than 30,000 strong Turkish regular troops could not break into the Sassounians' camp for several months in a row. It was only the shortage of ammunition and foodstuffs among the heroically fighting Armenians that helped the butchers to seize the region. All the survivors were subjected to wholesale massacre. Armenians' self-defence on Mount Musa Dagh on the Mediterranean coast became a legend. On the 53rd day of their resistance more than 4,000 Armenians defending the Musa Dagh were taken aboard French warships and thus saved.

... "The policy of genocide pursued by the Turkish government led to the annihilation of more than 1,000,000 Armenians and the forc-

ed deportation of over 600,000 to the lifeless deserts of Mesopotamia. More than 300,000 Armenians found refuge in Transcaucasia within Russia. Armenian emigrants from Turkey scattered in the Middle and Near East, Western Europe and America. Turkish (Western) Armenia became almost depopulated, while the few surviving Armenians there became Kurds or Turks...

The Boston Globe

Thursday, April 18, 1985

Armenia, History and Guilt

President Reagan shocked many Americans with his explanation of why he thought he should not visit Dachau during his trip to Germany in May. The President said the German people have "a guilt feeling that's been imposed upon them, and I just think it's unnecessary." He intimated that Americans are wrong to expect German guilt for the Holocaust: that the Germans themselves feel no guilt; or that there was never anything for anyone to be guilty of.

The President displayed a similar confusion about history and morality earlier this month, before the visit of Turkey's prime minister. The White House released the text of a statement Reagan made to a Turkish interviewer in which he disassociated his Administration from a unanimous congressional resolution commemorating April 24th, the 70th anniversary of the Armenian genocide, as a National Day of Remembrance of Man's Inhumanity to Man.

The Turkish slaughter of 1,500,000 Armenians from 1915 to 1918 was a ghastly-crime against humanity, the great precedent for 20th-century genocide. "Who still talks nowadays of the extermination of the Armenians?" was the rhetorical question Hitler posed to his top commanders on Aug. 22, 1939, as they prepared for the invasion of Poland.

This week, in response to public dismay, Reagan changed his mind and decided to make a symbolic visit to a concentration camp site. Generosity requires that Americans assume their President merely became confused and misspoke when he made his strange

remarks about the imposition of guilt.

In his remarks to the Turkish interviewer, Reagan said: "I sympathize with all those who suffered during the tragic events of 1915. I also profoundly regret that Turks and Armenians have so far not been able to resolve their differences." This was a way of saying he would not contradict Turkey's official denial that the Armenian genocide even took place. He then said that he opposed the congressional resolution because it "might inadvertently encourage or reward terrorist attacks on Turks and Turkish-Americans" and because it "could harm relations with an important ally."

The world can only deplore the insane acts of a few Armenian terrorists. They harm the just cause of the Armenian people. Nevertheless, Reagan violates logic when he pretends that the existence of Armenian terrorists constitutes a reason for rejecting the resolution.

Testifying against the resolution in February, Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger asserted that "such resolutions are counterproductive in that they serve to encourage Armenian terrorists." Like the President, Weinberger revealed his true motive when he said, "This resolution would embarrass the United States and strain relations with this critical ally (Turkey)."

For reasons of State, Weinberger and Reagan have distorted history and offended the victims of genocide. The American people owe an apology to Armenians for the callousness of American officials.

Chicago Tribune

Saturday, April 27, 1985

NOW IT IS 70 YEARS

Anniversaries of Turkey's massacre of its Armenian citizens—which began in April of 1915—have changed their character. By now the observance is not so much a mourning for the dead, or the hideous manner in which most of them died. That was 70 years ago, and enough horrors have happened since to blur the memory.

Only one thing keeps this wound fresh among all the wounds the

world has suffered. It is the stubborn refusal of Turkey's government and people to acknowledge that the massacre ever happened.

The time for mourning the dead may have passed. What is still to be mourned is the strange, perverse ability of human beings to deny reality and to keep denying it, apparently forever.

The Turks do not want to remember the systematic killing of more than a million men, women and children. No nation could. But there is a right way and a wrong way to get rid of an evil memory: to cleanse it, or to repress it. For 70 years Turkey has clung to the wrong way. It has tried to erase a historical fact from everyone's memory, to convince the world that such things are too dreadful to happen and therefore did not happen.

That is the purpose of observing this anniversary: to make clear that the self-deception has not yet succeeded. And if it has not worked for Turkey in 70 years, it may not be worth trying any longer, for the Turks or anyone else.

The New York Times

Saturday May 4, 1985

Inconvenience VS. Armenians

President Reagan's failure to grasp the power of remembrance has gotten him into fresh trouble. He now asks Congress to defeat a joint resolution that would designate next April 24 as a day of remembrance honoring Armenian victims of a genocidal massacre and dispersion in 1915. The President contends that the observance would harm relations with an important ally and, inadvertently, reward terrorism.

This reasoning is bitterly resented by law-abiding Armenians, whose ancestors were killed or driven into exile by the Ottoman regime. Speaking for them is George Deukmejian, Governor of California:

"We recognize that Turkey is a military ally of the United States, but a mature society should be able to admit its past mistakes.

"Some may ask us, why should we be so concerned about a tragedy which occurred 70 years ago? The answer lies in the events that have happened since... A terrible pattern has repeated itself over

and over again. Hitler decided he could get away with the extermination of 6 million Jews because, as he put it, 'Who still talks nowadays about the extermination of the Armenians?' And in April 1945, exactly 30 years after the Armenian genocide, allied forces liberated the death camps of Nazi Germany.

"And exactly 30 years after that, in April 1975, came the fall of Southeast Asia and the beginning of the reign of terror in Cambodia that destroyed over one-fourth of the Cambodian people. A new generation — a new genocide... If the civilized world continues to be silent, this cycle of horrors will go on repeating itself over and over again."

Governor Duekmejian has grasped the point that somehow eluded his friend in the White House. Congress should approve the resolution.



Orphans on the march to exile.

VI

Proclamation, Resolutions & Verdict

- PROCLAMATION - RONALD REAGAN
- PERMANENT TRIBUNAL OF THE PEOPLE
- UNITED NATIONS' REPORT
- U.S. SENATE RESOLUTIONS

Proclamation

• RONALD REAGAN

Proclamation 4838 of April 22, 1981

Days of Remembrance of Victims of the Holocaust

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

The Congress of the United States established the United States Holocaust Memorial Council to create a living memorial to the victims of the Nazi Holocaust. Its purpose: So mankind will never lose memory of that terrible moment in time when the awful spectre of death camps entered the history of our world.

When America and its allies liberated those haunting places of terror and sick destructiveness, the world came to a vivid and tragic understanding of the evil it faced in those years of the Second World War. Each of those names — Auschwitz, Buchenwald, Dachau, Treblinka and so many others—became synonymous with horror.

The millions of deaths, the gas chambers, the inhuman crematoria, and the thousands of people who somehow survived with lifetime scars are all now part of the conscience of history. Forever must we remember just how precious is civilization, how important is liberty, and how heroic is the human spirit.

Like the genocide of the Armenians before it, and the genocide of the Cambodians which followed it—and like too many other such persecutions of too many other peoples—the lessons of the Holocaust must never be forgotten.

As part of its mandate, the Holocaust Memorial Council has been directed to designate annual Days of Remembrance as a national, civic commemoration of the Holocaust, and to encourage and sponsor appropriate observances throughout the United States. This year, the national Days of Remembrance will be observed on April 26 through May 3.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, RONALD REAGAN, President of the United States of America, do hereby ask the people of the United States to observe this solemn anniversary of the liberation of the Nazi death camps, with appropriate study, prayers and commemoration, as a tribute to the spirit of freedom and justice which Americans fought so hard and well to preserve.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this 22nd day of April, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-one, and of the independence of the United States of America the two hundred and fifth.

• PERMANENT TRIBUNAL OF THE PEOPLE

This Tribunal was founded by the English philosopher, Bertrand Russell in 1966 and it was transferred permanently to Rome in 1979.

The Permanent Tribunal of the People met in Paris from April 13 to 16, 1984 and adopted the following resolutions on the Armenian Genocide:

1- The Armenian population did and do constitute a people whose fundamental rights, both individual and collective, should have been and should be respected in accordance with international law.

2- The extermination of the Armenian population through deportation and massacre constitutes a crime of genocide not subject to statutory limitations, according to the Convention of 9 December 1948 on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide with respect to the condemnation of this crime. The aforesaid Convention is declaratory of existing law in that it takes notes of proofs which were already enforced at the time of the incriminating acts.

3- The Young Turk government is guilty of this genocide with regard to acts perpetrated between 1915 and 1917.

4- The Armenian Genocide is also an international crime for which the Turkish State must assume responsibility without using the pretext of any discontinuance of the existence of the State to shun that responsibility.

5- This responsibility mainly implies the obligation to recognize officially the reality of this genocide and the consequent damages suffered by the Armenian people.

6- The United Nation and each of its members have the right to demand recognition of this genocide and to assist the Armenian people to that end.

Among those present at the Tribunal were eminent writers, statesmen, international lawyers, Nobel prize winners, theologians, experts on genocide and others. The Permanent Tribunal of the People is centered in Rome and is composed of 61 individuals from 31 countries.



Cruel Turkish official taunts starving Armenians by showing a piece of bread.



Armenian orphan girls turned into Turks. In the middle is Khalideh Edib Hanum who was the leader in arranging Armenians to accept the Muslim faith.

UNITED NATIONS
ECONOMIC AND
SOCIAL COUNCIL



COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination
and Protection of Minorities

Thirty-eighth session

Item 4 of the provisional agenda

E/C. 4/Sub. 2/1985/6

2 July 1985

REVIEW OF FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS IN FIELDS WITH
WHICH THE SUB-COMMISSION HAS BEEN CONCERNED

*Revised and updated report on the question of the prevention
and punishment of the crime of genocide prepared
by Mr. B. Whitaker*

Paragraph 24 and Footnote 13

The full text of the Paragraph as it appears
in Whitaker's Report

Paragraph 24: Toynbee stated that the distinguishable characteristics of the twentieth century in evolving the developments of genocide "are that it is committed in cold blood by the deliberate fiat of holders of despotic power, and that the perpetrators of genocide employ all the resources of present-day technology and organization to make their planned massacres systematic and complete." The Nazi aberration has unfortunately not been the only case of genocide in the twentieth century. Among other examples which can be cited as qualifying are the German massacres of Hereros in 1904, the Ottoman massacre of Armenians in 1915-1916, the Ukrainian pogrom of Jews in 1919, the Tutsi massacre of Hutu in Burundi in 1965 and 1972, the Paraguayan massacre of Ache Indians prior to 1974, the Khmer Rouge massacre in Kampuchea between 1975 and 1978, and the con-

temporary Iranian killings of Baha'is. *Apartheid* is considered separately in paragraphs 43-46 below. A number of other cases may be suggested. It could seem pedantic to argue that some terrible mass-killings are legalistically not genocide, but on the other hand it could be counter-productive to devalue genocide through over-diluting its definition.

Footnote 13: At least 1 million, and possibly well over half of the Armenian population, are reliably estimated to have been killed or death-marched by independent authorities and eyewitnesses. This is corroborated by reports in United States, German and British archives and of contemporary diplomats in the Ottoman Empire, including those of its ally Germany. The German Ambassador Wangenheim, for example, on 7 July 1915 wrote: "The government is indeed pursuing its goal of exterminating the Armenian race in the Ottoman Empire" (Wilhelmstrasse archives). Though the successor Turkish Government helped to institute trials of a few of those responsible for the massacres at which they were found guilty, the present official Turkish contention is that genocide did not take place although there were many casualties and dispersals in the fighting, and that all the evidence to the contrary is forged. See, inter alia, Viscount Bryce and A. Toynbee, *The Treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, 1915-1916* (London, HMSO, 1916); G. Chaliand and Y. TERNON, *Genocide des Armeniens* (Brussels, Complexe, 1980); H. Morgenthau, *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story* (New York, Doubleday, 1918); J. Lepsius, *Deutschland und Armenien* (Potsdam, 1921; shortly to be published in French by Fayard, Paris); R.G. Hovanissian, *Armenia on the Road to Independence* (Berkeley, University of California, 1967); Permanent People's Tribunal, *A Crime of Silence* (London, Zed Press, 1985); K. Gurun, *Le Dossier Armenien* (Ankara, Turkish Historical Society, 1983); B. Simsir and others, *Armenians in the Ottoman Empire* (Istanbul, Bogazici University Press, 1984); T. Ataov, *A Brief Glance at the 'Armenian Question'* (Ankara, University Press, 1984); V. Goekjian, *The Turks before the Court of History* (New Jersey, Rosekeer Press, 1984); Commission of the Churches on International Affairs, *Armenia, the Continuing Tragedy* (Geneva, World Council of Churches, 1984); Foreign Policy Institute, *The Armenian Issue* (Ankara, F.P.I., 1982).

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
SEPTEMBER 12 (legislative day, SEPTEMBER 5), 1984

Received; read twice and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

JOINT RESOLUTION

To designate April 24, 1985, as "National Day of
Remembrance of Man's Inhumanity to Man"

1 Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives
2 of the United States of America in Congress assembled,
3 That April 24, 1985, is hereby designated as "National Day
4 of Remembrance of Man's Inhumanity to Man", and the
5 President of the United States is authorized and requested to
6 issue a proclamation calling upon the people of the United
7 States to observe such day as a day of remembrance for all
8 victims of genocide, especially the one and one-half million

1 people of Armenian ancestry who were victims of the geno-
2 cide perpetrated in Turkey between 1915 and 1923, and in
3 whose memory this date is commemorated by all Armenians
4 and their firends throughout the world.

Passed the House of Representatives September 10, 1984.

Attest: BENJAMIN J. GUTHRIE,
Clerk.

To designate April 24, 1985, as "National Day of Remembrance of
Man's Inhumanity to Man".

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MARCH 19, 1985

Mr. COELHO (for himself, Mr. PASHAYAN, Mr. CONTE, Mr. DOR-
NAN of California, and Mr. ASPIN) introduced the following joint

resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service

July 9, 1985

Reported with amendments, referred to the House Calendar, and ordered to be printed

(Omit the part struck through and insert the part printed in *italic*)

July 9, 1985

Additional sponsors: Mr. HOYER, Mr. DINGELL, Mr. TOWNS, Mrs. JOHNSON, Mr. BOLAND, Mr. JACOBS, Mr. MARKEY, Mr. ADDABBO, Mr. HOWARD, Mr. BARNES, Mr. WAXMAN, Mr. MARTINEZ, Mr. LUNGREN, Mr. MOORHEAD, Mr. FROST, Mr. ACKERMAN, Mr. MARTIN of New York, Mr. FAUNTROY, Mr. DWYER of New Jersey, Mr. BLILEY, Mr. FLORIO, Mr. DIXON, Mr. FASCELL, Mr. WEAVER, Mr. BERMAN, Mrs. BURTON of California, Mr. FAZIO, Mr. TORRES, Mr. GREEN, Mrs. BOXER, Mr. ROYBAL, Mr. DYMALLY, Mr. LEHMAN of California, Mr. FRANK, Mr. MAVROULES, Mr. EDGAR, Mr. KAPTUR, Mr. FEIGHAN, Mr. PORTER, Mr. BEDELL, Mr. RANGEL, Mrs. KENNELLY, Mr. RODINO, Mr. JEFFORDS, Mr. PARRIS, Mr. ANNUNZIO, Mr. HORTON, Mr. FISH, Mr. BRYANT, Mr. COYNE, Mr. NELSON of Florida, Mr. MOAKLEY, Mr. ST GERMAIN, Mr. CLAY, Mr. HERTEL of Michigan, Mr. SISISKY, Mr. LEHMAN of Florida, Mr. RINALDO, Mr. HEFNER, Mr. ECKART of Ohio, Mr. MRAZEK, Mr. AKAKA, Mr. COOPER, Mr. CARR, Mr. PEPPER, Mr. LENT, Mr. MORRISON of Connecticut, Mr. BOUCHER, Mr. McHUGH, Mr. STENHOLM, Mr. OLIN, Ms. VUCANOVICH, Mr. MATSUI, Mr. SMITH of New Jersey, Mr. DONNELLY, Mr. WALGREN, Mr. ANDERSON, Mr. McKERNAN, Mr. RICHARDSON, Mr. BEVILL, Mr. BONIOR of Michigan, Mr. WORTLEY, Mr. LOWRY of Washington, Mr. LEVINE of California, Mr. LEVIN of Michigan, Mr. DASCHLE, Mr. MANTON, Ms. OAKAR, Mr. REID, Mr. DARDEN, Mr. GEJDENSON, Mr. RITTER, Mr. LIPINSKI, Mr. ROE, Mr. SUNIA, Mr. GREGG, Mrs. LLOYD, Mr. PURSELL, Mr. EARLY, Mr. STUDDS, Mr. BONER of Tennessee, Mr. CARPER, Mr. COURTER, Mr. GALLO, Mr. TORRICELLI, Mr. BATES, Mr. LATTA, Mr. DURBIN, Mr. BURTON of Indiana, Mr. McDADE, Mr. ATKINS, Mr. PACKARD, Mr. SAXTON, Mr. DYSON, Mr. AUCOIN, Mr. HENRY, Mr. HEFTTEL of Hawaii, Mr. DOWDY of Mississippi, Mr. TALLON, Mr. ANTHONY, Mr. JENKINS, Mr. GUARINI, Mr. ENGLISH, Mr. GRADISON, Mr. BOSCO, Mr. CONYERS, Mr. MOLINARI, Mr. YATES, Mr. WOLPE, Mr. OWENS, Mr. SCHEUER, Mr. MILLER of California, Mr. PANETTA, Mr. GONZALEZ, Mr. HUTTO, Ms. SNOWE, Mr. HAYES, Mr. SABO, Mr. APPELEGATE, Mr. LEWIS of California, Mr. KLECZKA, Mr. YOUNG of Missouri, Mr. GEPHARDT, Mr. LUJAN, Mr. BIAGGI, Mr. ANDREWS, Mr. HAWKINS, Mr. BORSKI, Mr. PRICE, Mr. PERKINS, Mr. GEKAS, Mr. ORTIZ, Mr. EVANS of Illinois, Mr. McGRATH, Mr. TAUKE, Mr. UDALL, Mr. LaFALCE, Mr. McKINNEY, Mr. TRAFICANT, Mr. TRAXLER, Mr. BROWN of California, Ms. FIEDLER, Mr. GRAY of Illinois, Mr. BILIRAKIS, Mr. SUNDQUIST, Mr. OBERSTAR, Ms. MIKULSKI, Mr. YATRON, Mr. HUNTER, Mr. GOODLING, Mr. CHAPPIE, Mr. SHUMWAY, Mr. THOMAS of California, Mr. DREIER of California, Mr. DANNEMEYER, Mr. WYDEN, Mr. ROSE, Mr. HAMMERSCHMIDT, Mr. SCHAEFER, Mr. VISCLOSKEY, Mr. FORD of Tennessee, Mr. BEILENSEN, Mr. DENNY SMITH, Mr. McCANDLESS, Mr. SAVAGE, Mr. MOODY, Mr. WOLF, Mr. QUILLEN, Mr. LUNDINE, Mr. MACKAY, Mr. NOWAK, Mr. KOSTMAYER, Mr. YOUNG of Alaska, Mr. SNYDER, Mr. LUKEN, Mr. DICKS, Mr. ROBERT F. SMITH, Mr. DIOGUARDI, Mr. LOWERY of California, Mr. BOEHLERT, Mr. DORGAN of North

Dakota, Mrs. COLLINS, Mr. SCHUMER, Mr. WIRTH, Mr. BUSTAMANTE, Mr. DELLUMS, Mr. HALL of Ohio, Mr. SKELTON, Mr. STALLINGS, Mr. PETRI, Mr. CLINGER, Mr. GILMAN, Mr. GORDON, Mr. EVANS of Iowa, Mr. CARNEY, Mr. SMITH of New Hampshire, Mr. COATS, Mr. ROWLAND of Connecticut, Mrs. BOGGS, Mr. LEACH of Iowa, Mr. WEISS, Mr. HAMILTON, Mr. HUGHES, Mr. SIKORSKI, Mr. STRANG, Mr. LELAND, Mr. SOLOMON, and Mr. CROCKETT

Delete sponsors: Mr. ROBERT F. SMITH (April 24, 1985), Mr. HUTTO, Mr. BURTON of Indiana, and Mr. BUSTAMANTE (June 4, 1985)

JOINT RESOLUTION

To designate April 24, 1985, as "National Day of Remembrance of Man's Inhumanity to Man".

*1 Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives
2 of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

1 That April 24, 1986, is hereby designated as "Nation-
2 al Day of Remembrance of Man's Inhumanity to Man", and
3 the President of the United States is authorized and request-
4 ed to issue a proclamation calling upon the people of the
5 United States to observe such day as a day of remembrance
6 for all victims of genocide, especially the one and one-half
7 million people of Armenian ancestry who were victims of the
8 genocide perpetrated *by the governments of the*
9 *Ottoman Turkish Empire* between 1915 and 1923, and in
10 whose memory this date is commemorated by all Armenians
11 and their friends throughout the world.

Amend the title so as to read: "Joint resolution to designate April 24, 1986, as National Day of Remembrance of Man's Inhumanity to Man."

H. J. RES. 132

JOINT RESOLUTION

Designating April 24, 1987, as "National Day of Remembrance of the Armenian Genocide of 1915-1923"

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That April 24,

1987, is designated as "National Day of Remembrance of the Armenian Genocide of 1915-1923," and the President is authorized and requested to issue a proclamation calling upon the people of the United States to observe this day as a day of remembrance for the 1.5 million people of the Armenian ancestry who were victims of the genocide perpetrated by the governments of the Ottoman Empire from 1915 to 1923, prior to the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, and in their memory this date is commemorated by all Armenians and their friends throughout the world.



SO IT GOES ON AND ON...



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