## THE FIRST GENOCIDE OF THE 20th

THE STORY OF THE ARMENIAN MASSACRES IN TEXT AND PICTURES

## JAMES NAZER



### COLLECTOR'S EDITION

International Year for HUMAN RIGHTS

# THE FIRST GENOCIDE

of the

**20th CENTURY** 





## THE FIRST GENOCIDE OF THE 20th CENTURY THE STORY OF THE ARMENIAN MASSACRES IN TEXT AND PICTURES

### COMPILED & ILLUSTRATED

By

## JAMES NAZER

T & T PUBLISHING, INC. 38 WEST 32nd STREET NEW YORK, N.Y. 10001

## THE FIRST GENOCIDE OF THE 20th CENTURY

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## DEDICATED

TO

THE MEMORY OF THE 1,500,000 ARMENIANS WHO WERE MARTYRED DURING THE TURKISH MASSACRES APRIL 24, 1915





## PREFACE

In April 1915, the Armenian people experienced their Way to Calvary. Since then many books have been written about that tragic event.

This work is a compliation of what has been written thus far in books and other publications. We do not intend to present here an epic literary or political work. But rather, have endeavored to tender our modest share of tribute to the one and a half million victims who perished during the most large-scale atrocity of the twentieth century — to a people whose ancestors were the first in the world to accept Christianity as their national religion — the Armenian martyrs of the Turkish genocide.

It is said, that the foremost criminals in the annals of history received their due punishment at the Nuremberg trials. But, can it be, that these same judges were not aware that a more heinous and terrible crime, in defiance of both human and divine precepts, had already been committed, which intended to exterminate an entire nation from infants up through elders at prayer; to burn children and youths, to brutally rape angelically pure young maidens, to behead the young men and to force a Christian people to abandon their faith? Such horrible barbaric incidents had occured before and after Genghis Khan and Tamerlane, but there had never been a systematic slaughter of a whole race. Indeed, people were massacred whose population numbered many millions more than the Armenians. But history had yet to record a crime where more than half a nation's population was massacred. And that crime was committed in sight of the great powers and the civilized world! The bloodthirsty Turk massacred more than one and a half million people, their intellectuals, clergymen, scholars, musicians and other men of art, without mercy even for those Armenian architects who had built and decorated the mosques for their religious worship.

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Three years ago, in 1965, the fiftieth anniversary of the Turkish Genocide of the Armenian people was commemorated throughout various parts of the world. The Memorial Day was observed by solemn religious and civil ceremonies. Along with representatives of the Armenian people, world-famous personalities and statesmen of many countries participated in that great Day of Mourning. A Day of Mourning — no more and no less, however, for . . . no sooner was the observance over than everything was forgotten. But we must not remain silent and appear to abandon our just cause for the sake of diplomacy. It is imperative to keep the Armenian Cause alive through words and in print. More importantly, we should organize through universities, newspapers, television and whatever other means, a vigorous campaign against the barbarous Turks until they acknowledge their genocidal deed.

In 1915 Talaat, the Turkish Minister of the Interior and one of the leading perpetrators declared: "For fifty years there will be no Armenian Question . . . . " But now, we declare to Talaat's successors, that not fifty but fifty three years have passed and the Armenian Question still stands. New champions of the Armenian Cause, new Gladstones, Bryces, Lepsius' or Wilsons will emerge to sponsor this brave people's appeal before the world and the United Nations; justice must be rendered to the Armenian people.

#### JAMES NAZER



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HIS HOLINESS, VAZKEN I SUPREME PATRIARCH AND CATHOLICOS OF ALL ARMENIANS

#### CHAPTER I

#### ENCYCLICALS



SUPREME PATRIARCH and CATHOLICOS OF ALL ARMENIANS

#### VAZKEN, SERVANT OF CHRIST, BY THE MERCY OF GOD AND WILL OF THE PEOPLE PRIMATE AND CATHOLICOS OF ALL ARMENIANS, SUPREME PATRIARCH OF THE PRE-EMINENT NATIONAL SEE OF ARARAT THE APOSTOLIC MOTHER CHURCH OF HOLY ETCHMIADZIN.

Greetings of love willed by Christ and Patriarchal blessing to the Catholicos of the Great House of Cilicia, Khoren I: to the Armenian Patriarch of Jerusalem, Archbishop Yeghishe: to the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople, Archbishop Shnork: to all the Archbishops, Bishops, Archimandrites, Priests, Diocesan Assemblies, Diocesan and Parish Councils, to Officers of the Armenian Apostolic Holy Church, and to all our beloved faithful Armenian People.

"Even though presumed dead, their death truly was life".

#### YEGHISHE

The history of our ancient nation is a living monument elevated on the horizon of mankind, blended and incorporated with the blood of martyrs, endowed with a creative genius to serve all that is good and beautiful and with a sacred fervor to create its own nation and free fatherland, especially from the very day when the Light of the Holy Gospel of Christ descended upon the land of Armenia. Through the Gospel of Christ the Armenian people came to believe in life, to believe in light and constructive toil, to believe that "love never faileth" (Corinth. XV, 8.). And thus he opened the doors of his spiritual powers and eternal life.

The era of the national history of the Armenian people began in the V Century with the invention of Armenian writing and the heroic battle of Avarayr.

Avarayr was the culmination of the development of the spiritual powers of the Armenian people and the clear expression of national consciousness; it was also the beginning of our real national history, which has left its mark on all the succeeding centuries. The martyrdom of the Vardanians and Ghevondians set the pattern of our national fate. And from that day on, continually, for one thousand five hundred years, our fathers waged the same heroic battle "For Christ and for fatherland" and with the same spirit "that the side of truth shall prevail", always with the faith of "overcoming death with death".

On that blood-soaked but nobly glorious road, fifty years ago, the history of the Armenian people recorded its most recent martyrdom.

Today, with our hearts a sea of sorrows, we recall the memory of the awful tragedy which began on April 24th, 1915 and continued for five whole years, and which annihilated the entire Armenian population in Western Armenia, along with fearful suffering, planned and put into execution by the genocidal government of the Turkish sultans. Nearly two million Armenians were martyred. Hundreds of prosperous villages, towns, churches, monasteries, many of them impressive historic monuments of the architectural genius of Armenians were put to the torch and destroyed. "Our valiant martyrs fell in battle, and the saintly priests were slaughtered by the hands of the wicked, handsome youth were put to death, and many virgins driven into slavery; gracious women subjected to the torments of widowhood, and many orphans to tears", and "Our homes became the graves of our dead, and that which our hands had built, fell upon us" (Elishe). In those dark days the time had come when "it was impossible to be an Armenian in this world". All hope appeared lost and the book of history of the Armenians dipped in blood and closed.

But, oh incomprehensible mystery of life and death, and miraculous history of the Armenian people!

In fact, an entire people was martyred but the Armenians did not die forever, for they had sacrificed themselves strong in the faith that "To live is Christ and to die is gain" (Philip. 1, 21). "With what courage they began the drama of martyrdom, with the same they ended, full of heavenly love and bright as the sun in the universe whose names are written in the Book of Life" (Hovhannes of Traskhanakert). As in the days of the Battle of Vardanantz and the succeeding centuries, the death defying spirit of Armenian history once more tore the curtain of cruel fate and recalled into life the remnants of our martyred nation, and one thousand and five hundred years later "through the precious blood of her brave sons" the renascent Armenian people gave to St. Vardan, the great tidings of Sardarabad.

And thus, for more than forty years, the main body of the Armenian people, gathered on the mother soil of their ancestors, under their own government, amidst fraternal peoples, is engaged in building a happy future under circumstances of unprecedented security, peace, and progress; whilst emigrant Armenians, dispersed throughout the world, their gaze directed to the motherland with renewed hope, noble pride, and with bright visions for the future, dream of returning some day to eternal Ararat, to their sisters and brothers in Armenia, so as to bring their share of toil to the Motherland of all Armenians.

The martyrdom of the Armenians finally has been crowned with victory, and in a daybreak of new life our ancient land is now reborn as a national state.

To-day, fifty years after the Great Massacre, the Armenian people, both in Armenia and throughout the world, reverently bow before the unknown graves of the myriads of martyrs and pray for the repose and bliss of their immortal souls; they vow anew to keep holy their sacred memory, and to remain loyal to their luminous faith, to their heroic spirit, and to their bright dream of seeing the Armenian people gathered in a totally restored fatherland. "Do you glorify yourselves in your patriotism? Then revive the memory of your forefathers" (Alishan).

To-day, for Armenians, wherever they may be, is also a day of prayer for the peaceful progress and well-being of our people, for the preservation of our newly established native land, for Mother Armenia which lives and breathes and grows in brilliance.

Our martyrs died with the hope of living and with the vision of the re-birth of the fatherland.

To-day is also a day of prayer for us all for the peace of the entire world and for the genuine brotherhood of peoples, so that henceforth nowhere and never on the face of the world shall there be bloodshed, and man shall not draw the sword against his kind. May there be peace along all boundaries of the world and within the hearts of all men. May it come to pass that "Mercy and truth are met together; righteousness and peace have kissed each other". (Psalms 85).

As the Catholicos of all Armenians, at the threshold of the 50th Anniversary of this great tragedy in our history, with this encyclical, we propose and instruct:

(A) That the forthcoming year 1965 be declared for all our churches and our people a year of national mourning and prayer.

(B) That in all Armenian Churches on April 24th there take place special religious ceremonies and memorial services to pray for the peace and enlightenment of the souls of our myriads of martyrs.

(C) That there be placed in all Armenian Churches before the Holy Altar a lamp of perpetual light dedicated to the memory of the Armenian martyrs. At the Mother Cathedral of Holy Etchmiadzin there will be placed a lamp of perpetual light before the altar of St. Stephen, the first martyr of Christianity, where henceforth, every year, on April 24th, a special Divine Liturgy shall be celebrated.

(D) That in all Armenian Communities and colonies, under the auspices of the Armenian

Church, through the cordial co-operation of all Armenian associations, without exception, there be organized solemn gatherings of national observance, lectures, and literary functions for Armenian and non—Armenian audiences, devoted to the April Massacre.

(E) That the Armenian ecclesiastical authorities, national organizations, historic, literary and cultural foundations, and the Armenian press consider their paramount duty to revive, in words and deeds, the sacred memory of the Armenians, of the clergy and prominent writers and national workers martyred during the years of the Great Massacre, by publishing the historic evidence, documents, studies, memoirs, literary and artistic works of Armenian and non—Armenian authors.

May the compassionate God in everlasting glory grant peace and rest to the pure and innocent souls of the martyred sons of our nation, and may He spread His protective hand on the Armenian people and fatherland, so that the sun of their lives shines brightly, and that they may forever live and grow, and acquire noble stature through their honest endeavors in the world.

May the Armenian people live forever, so that the light of the world abounds.

"Blessed are they who mourn; for they shall be comforted. Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst for righteousness; for they shall be filled". (Mat. V. 4-6).

#### VAZKEN I

#### Supreme Patriarch and Catholicos of all Armenians

The present encyclical was issued on August 16th, in the year of Our Lord 1964, and according to the Armenian Calendar, in 1414, at the Monastery of Holy Etchmiadzin.



HIS HOLINESS, KHOREN I CATHOLICOS OF THE ILLUSTRIOUS HOUSE OF CILICIA



#### CATHOLICOS of THE GREAT HOUSE OF CILICIA

#### KHOREN THE SERVANT OF JESUS CHRIST, BY THE UNATTAIN-ABLE WILL OF GOD, AND BY THE CHOICE OF OUR NATION, ARCHPRIEST AND CATHOLICOS OF ALL ARMENIANS OF THE GREAT HOUSE OF CILICIA.

To the Holy Fathers the Diocesan Prelates, Archbishops, Bishops, Vardapets and Priests, to the National Assembly, the Trustee Central Board to Diocesan Conventions, Provincial and Diocesan Bodies, Local Boards of Trustees, to Charitable Unions and Humanitarian Institutions, Educational Foundations and Servants of Armenian Letters, Educators, the Servitors of the press, and Generally, to Our entire Haigazian Nation of the Dispersion, Christian love and Patriarchal greetings from Us, and may the Blessing of the right forearm of our Father, Gregory the Illuminator, the peace of God the Father, the love of His only Begotten Son, and the grace of the Holy Ghost be with you all, amen. My beloved Armenian people:

It is with a stricken and severely wounded heart, with unutterable anguish and with an intense sense of righteous indignation that we send unto you the paternal fervent word of this Our Patriarchal Encyclical, with moving invocation, to revive in your souls the memory of our worshipful martyrs of the Great Aprilian Tragedy who, with their blood, inscribed the latest twin pages of Suffering and Triumph in the history of the Armenians.

Next year, 1965, is the Fiftieth Anniversary of the inhuman mass-murder which was perpetrated on the Armenian people during the bitter and disastrous days of World War I. The past fifty years, however, could not dim the Armenian Consciousness, so that today, more than ever, on this landmark of the Fiftieth Anniversary, on a deep and infinite national scope, and with a valiant all-Armenian fervor, in the four corners of the world, without discrimination, it revives in its light the forever worshipful memory of more than ONE MILLION Armenian martyrs who, with translucent spirits of loyalty to the christian faith and the Armenian nation, sacrificed their lives to the Nation as a new testimony to the irresistible striving for survival and to the unyielding and indestructible resolution of their Race.

At the very first glance from this observatory of the Fiftieth Anniversary, the bloody wounds of the Great Tragedy are unfolded before our eyes.

Who can fail to see the awesome ruination of our once flourishing and prosperous towns and villages, the destruction of our skypiercing temples, our spiritually edifying schools and our bright and gay ancestral homes?

Who is not terror-stricken at sight of that awesome desolation which suddenly extinguished the breath of life which dried up forever the sea of blessings of human creativity, and when, under a burning blight, the smiling and fruitful gardens of God-given Armenian life were converted into a desert?

Who cannot hear the heartrending cries of Armenian mothers whose waists became the cradle of their darling babies, who, however, scarcely having opened their eyes to the light, found their world darkened? How many, how many talented minds, how many potential gifts, skills, natural endowments and capabilities. even before they had a chance to taste the blessing of life, reached the grave and were buried without a trace and without a cross to mark their graves? How many incalculable and immeasurable natural powers for future vitality and deeds of valor found the realization of their callings only a dream and never had the happiness of converting them into authentic living and a beneficient fruition which they could contribute to their nation!

Who is not filled with a righteous indignation at sight of that onslaught of ruination and dissolution to which were secrificed the meaningful and brilliant values of our ancestral creativity, all the way from our architectural structures to our delicately tinted scrolls of Armenian miniatures? By destroying the cultural monuments wich condensed in them the power of the conquest of the soul and the perpetuity of the race and the civilizing glory of our race, they tried to pulverize the animated stone and the scroll into a lifeless and meaningless dust, to annihilate the Armenian name forever, and to convert civilized Armenian with her flourishing Armenians into a desolate, uninhabited land.

Who does not recall that terrible sight of death-spreading nights when the elite of the Armenian nation, Armenian leaders, churchmen, intellectuals, writers, educators, journalists, and parliamentarians, sleeping peacefully in deep darkness and regenerating their spiritual powers in the interests of their creativity. in their hundreds, were ejected from their homes, and, under tortures and blood-curdling conditions, were exiled to desolate mountain passes and endless burning deserts, and were savagely slaughtered with unimaginable brutality? Following immediately this monstrous deed which was tantamount to decapitation of the race, as history already has proved, there took place the mass deportation of the Armenian people and the attendant terrible slaughter. putting an end to myriads of Armenian lives.

O people of God.

How can we continue longer the endless series of irrecoverable losses and the heartrending invocation of those spectacles the very enumeration of which, like a sharp arrow, pierces our hearts, blending the blood with the tear and the tear with the ink! The human imagination is powerless to grasp the enormity of the loss. The human torgue shall always be inadequate to express the depths of the Armenian suffering and crucifixion on the one hand, and the savagery and the infernal nature of the crime on the other. To exterminate an entire nation, what a diabolical plan! To reduce a whole civilization into ruins, what a wicked thought! To bury the life of a centuries old people, what black audacity!

And yet, O worshipful Armenian people, against this death dealing attempt, the Armenian people rose up with all the might of its instinct for survival and with all its incomparable spiritual valor. And today, the shining pages of history testify that, the nation itself was the conqueror, that the enemy had devoured only the body of the Armenian but he had never been able to plant his bloody paw on his soul, the Armenian soul which is invincible and imperishable.

This is the reason why, on the occasion of the Fiftieth anniversary, the Armenian people must take a new stand. April 24 is no longer a day of tears and mourning. Years ago lamentation and tears were the order of the day, the natural response to the invocation of the Great Tragedy. A nation cannot live and perpetuate itself by weeping and tears. Today the event and the meaning of April 24 must be analyzed and grasped with a clear and searching light of the mind. We consider it the duty of our historians to make a critical and comprehensive study of the tragedy of April 24 and to bring under the searchlight of scientific analysis the causes, the motives and the details of the genocide which to this day, like bleeding wounds, torment the body of our people.

We find the secret of the Armenian triumph in the golden word of Christ which, in itself, is the key to the understanding of our entire history, for in it is stored up the ideological force which, like a coiled spring, throughout the centuries, has propelled the life and will of our people, and we believe that it was this same motive power which propelled the mind, the heart and the will power of our people during the somber days of 1915. The Heavenly Teacher, in plain but forceful words, said to his disciples: "AND FEAR NOT THEM WHICH KILL THE BODY, BUT ARE NOT ABLE TO KILL THE SOUL: BUT RATHER FEAR HIM WHICH IS ABLE TO DESTROY BOTH BODY AND SOUL IN HELL." MATTHEW X, 28.

Our people not only plainly believed this truth, but with a total self immolation adhered to its ideal and made it the motto of its life wherein it also discovered the secret of its perpetual victory and its immortality. it established the center of gravity of its life on spiritual values which, in their essence, are imperishable and which enable the survival not only of individual but of entire peoples. Matter, the body are transitory. They can be destroyed, but for a people which aspires to imortality, there is no death as long as it maintains a life of creativity and the repository of spiritual values. The great tragedy of April 24 must be classified among those deathly blows which, in the course of centuries, often dashed, like stormy billows, against the will of the Armenian to live and to create and which were shatered and buried in their foamy grave. The blow af 1915 must be viewed as one which was inflicted to the very depths of the history of the Armenians, and not merely as an isolated incident which is explainable. It is the last black link of a chain of tragic events which one again confirmed the unshakable conviction of the Armenian that spiritual values are worth more than the mere matter, the mere life, the routine of living and dying.

#### O believers in God.

Supremely precious is the human life. No one wants to be deprived of it. And yet there are moral and spiritual values, lofty and sublime which during the centuries have been valued by the Armenian people far more vital and sublime than life itself. Those values are the ideals of FAITH, FREEDOM OF THE FATHER-LAND, of HONOR, of HUMAN DIGNITY, and HUMAN RIGHTS, which are cemented in the spiritual structure of the Armenians, and are so deeply rooted in their soul that they have exalted our people to such lofty heights and such indestructible magnitude in the history of mankind. This is the reason why, in the course of centuries, the Armenian people has cultivated, guarded and preserved these values with a fervent worshipfulness which is reserved only for sanctities, and has defended them with its life blood. The sacrifice of our myriad MARTYRS of 1915, offered in this ideal, is a supremely valuable tribute to the perpetuity of our history, and in this sense, it contributes an episode of triumph in our contemporary history.

For the sake of this truth, and for the sake of our glorious martyrs, on this occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary, we proclaim April 24 as a DAY of VICTORY, dispelling once and forever from the hearts and minds of our people the sense of defeat and lamentation which were the natural reaction during the initial years of the Great Tragedy under the awful shock of the blow. As against immeasurable and incalculable losses, our martyrs kept alive the eternal spirit of the Armenian which, thanks to their sacrifice, remained invincible and imperishable during the most painful and tragic days of our suffering. Herein lies the real secret of our victory. We believed in the word of Christ: "Is not the life more than meat, and the body than raiment?" (MATTHEW VI, 25), and we survived by the power of that faith.

In the course of centuries we fixed our eyes on the idea of the RESURRECTION. And during the death- spreading days of 1915, armed with the inflexible will to live and to survive forever, our martyrs, with their concept of death comprehended, shattered the death of the Armenian people and pulverized the tombstones erected by our enemy to block the path of our freedom and survival. From among the sands of the deserts, from among our ancestral ruins, from among abysmal gorges, from the depths of the rivers and from among the most infernal tortures, the Armenian people miraculously rose. The parched bones of our martyrs were clothed with nerves, flesh and skin, and received the living breath just like the prophetic vision of Ezekiel, and the risen Armenian people, with an exhibition of hereditary valor, once again stood as the master and the claimant of its ancestral rights, and with its invincible will to live a free life and to create, it proved to the whole world its greatness and imperishability.

O ye the faithful Armenian people.

It is not enough to remember the past. It is not enough to understand the meaning of the past. It is not enough to pride yourselves with the victories of the past. We have a mission which extends to the shining future.

In our national history great events generally travel with the great episodes of the crucifixion of Christ and the Ressurrection. The Aprilian martyrs were crucified and we were resurrected. They converted their thorny crown of crucifixion into a resplendent crown of glory. We on our part, must share in the resurrected life. The victory won by them must be converted into a practical life and a life of creativity.

The Armenian people, first of all, without distinction of creed or ideology, in all corners of the world, should rise as ONE NATION, and with a firm conviction, realize that it has rights which for various reasons have been ignored by the powers of the world. We were forcibly deported from our ancestral homes where are ancestors had lived, created, and serced man and God. Our possessions and our wealth, our cultural treasures were seized from our hands through the instruments of persecution and terror. An unheard of crime of genocide, preplanned in its minutest details, was perpetrated against us to which were sacrificed more than one million of our fathers and mothers, our brothers and sisters and our darling burgeoning babies.

If we remain silent to this crying injustice, the ruined stones of our ancestral homeland will cry out and will ring our protest to the whole world, a protest, which ie just even by the strictest sense of justice. If we do not raise our voices to the world we shall be regarded as a people which is devoid of the character of a conscious nation before history. Who is the one who shall claim our rights from the wrong doer. from the lawless race wich ruined our homeland and which to this day is squatting on its ruins. If we do not stand for our just and sacred rights with a united will and with a firm sense of our responsibility, it means that we have forfeited our right to pose as a nation which has faith in the sacred values of freedom and independence. Our indifference toward those values is tantamount to treason to history and to our worshipful ancestors.

O ye faithful Armenian people.

On the occasion of this Fiftieth Anniversary, we must go farther than mere words and general aspirations.

We must first make a well organized, well planned and united appeal to all mankind, and especially, the leaders of nations, calling attention to the enormity of the wrong to the Armenians and to demand justice in the name of those principles which are the highest and most beautiful concepts of christianity and human morality, and which today constitute the basis of the United Nations Organization.

The principles of Freedom and Independence which at present have acquired a new emphasis in the life of nations and peoples, must necessarily find free and just expression also, and especially, in the life of the Armenian people, a people whose entire centuries-old life has been one of martyrdom in the name and in defense of the freedom of conscience and fatherland's freedom.

We must live and work with this sacred zeal during 1915. That must be an exceptional year of playing a decisive role and accomplishing significant work from the standpoint of our struggle for national existence and prospects of the future. Our young generation, in particular, which is removed by a span of years from the bitter experience of the Aprilian Tragedy, must make a special effort consciously to share in the spirit of the martyrs and to grasp to the enormity of the event which befell their parents, equally, both from its tragic and victorious aspects.

Led by these meditations, with this our Patriarchal Encyclical letter, on the occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Aprilian Tragedy, as the first and immediate expression of tribute, we proclaim the month of April, 1965, as MEMORIAL DAY.

WE ENJOIN the entire Armenian people of the Christian faith in the Diaspora, during that sacred month, to refrain from all sort of festive indulgences, and by voluntarily denying themcelves the pleasures of life, to concentrate their contemplations and their feelings on the blessed memory of our Aprilian martyrs, with a zeal to hold that memory exalted and pure.

WE ENJOIN our diocesan prelates, the Archbishops, the Bishops, the Vardapets and the priests, with solemn holy mass and with fervent requiem prayers to invoke the worshipful memory of our martyrs before God and all the saints, and in special sermons, to interprete and to expound to our people the mystery and the spirit of their sacrifice.

WE ENJOIN our Diocesan central bodies and all the organizations of the Armenian people, without discrimination, whether political, educational, cultural, charitable, athletic, and compatriotic, with a fraternal unreserved and sincere cooperation, and in a united national effort, to glorify the memory of our martyrs with educational and cultural mass rallies and with dignified public functions.

WE ENJOIN all our intellectuals, the writers, the historians and the artists to ply their talents, and with the immortal paths of the pen and the brush to portray before the eyes of our people the true picture of our martyrs and our martyrdom. Their names shall blaze in glory in our history if they only will lend themselves to earnest labor and erect monuments to the glory and the immortality of

our peerless martyrs.

WE ENJOIN and with cordial and fervent sentiments, we recommend that our entire Armenian nation shall make the year 1965 THE YEAR OF UNITY AND FRATERNITY.

O ye, the very own of our holy Armenian church and of the Armenian race, hearken unto the voice of the bones of our martyrs, which says:

"One is the Armenian people, one is the Armenian culture, one is the Armenian history, one is the Armenian language, one is the Armenian Fatherland, one is the Armenian Church, and one is the future of the Armenians. In the name of our braves, for the sake of our martyrdom, be one with your lives even as we became one on the road of our ideal and in death. In our name, once again verify and the truth of the saving: authenticate STRENGTH LIES IN UNITY. It is with unity that we shall be able to emerge victorious in this new and even more arduous struggle for the survival of our people scattered in the endless corners of the world. Your word will become but a futile whisper unless it is made powerful in unity and harmony. Who shall listen to you if you bo not listen to one another? In the name of our sacred and just cause, unite with one another, intensify the brotherhood of your braves with your lives and deeds, and when you do this, be assured that the weight of the world's judgement, sooner or later, shall tilt toward the weight of the Armenian name with the power of our majestic Mount Ararat, to the joy of our people and to the benefit of our future. We voluntarily were crucified, believing that you would be resurrected into the vibrant joy of the new life. For us, life came to an end infire and the dust of the desert sands. Life was opened to you in the comfort of flourishing cities. But what sense is in that life if you shall not live it with the warmth of the Armenian heart over the length and breadth of our own fatherland in freedom, and if you shall not convert its ruins into a paradise land."

O faithful Armenian people.

We believe that, on this landmark of the Fiftieth Anniversary, you will hearken unto these touching words which we think are not the creation of our mind as much as they are the birth of the spirits of our eternally illuminated martyrs, the inspiration which comes to us from their blessed bones, from the mysterious and sublime mausoleum within the compound of our Catholicosate.

Stop for a moment before these words. Meditate on them with a tense and sincere effort of introspection. Watch in their mirror and examine your consciences. Live your lives under their imperatives. And then, and only then you shall have lived the glorious mystery of the resurrection of the Armenian people in its truest and deepest comprehension.

From the depths of Our heart we pray unto the God of our ancestors to rest in peace and to illuminate the tortured souls of our priceless martyrs and glorify their evergreen memory, offering it to us an inexhaustible source of inspiration and dedication for our future.

May the shadowless light of justice once again shine on the life of the Armenians.

All glory to our Martyrs.

All glory to our regenerated Armenian people.

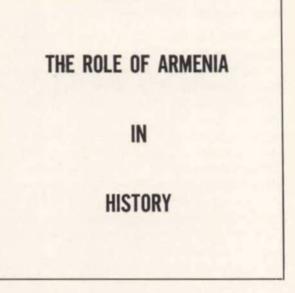
And now Grace, Love and Peace be with you all. Amen.

#### KHOREN I

Catholicos of the Illustrious House of Cilicia

This encyclical given at the Catholicosate of Antelias, in Lebanon At the portals of the Cathedral of Saint Gregory the Illuminator On August 19 in the year of our Lord and Master Jesus Christ, 1964 In the Armenian Calendar year of 1413 On the Festival of the Transfiguration of the Holy — begotten.

CHAPTER II



#### EARLY HISTORY

Armenians belong to the Indo-European race, and are one of the oldest nations in the world. They are as ancient as the Assyrians, Babylonians, Jews, Persians, and Greeks. Their antiquity is attested by ancient historians, such as Herodotus, Xenophon, and Strabo, by the cuneiform inscriptions of Van, and by those lately discovered near Lake Sevan in Armenia.

Armenians call themselves Hai and their country Haiastan, i.e., the country of the Hais. This name is derived from their heroic ancestor, Haik. Usully, the history of a nation has its origin in legend; the same is true the Armenians. Traditionally, the foundation of the first Armenian dynasty dates as far back as the middle of the third millenium B.C., when Haik fought against the tyranny of Belus, the ruler of Babylonia, and proved victorious.

Armenians came to Asia from Europe. In the eighth century B. C., they had advanced eastward and settled in the region of Mt. Ararat, which formed a part of the kingdom of Urartu, and established their sovereignty. Later, their territory stretched from the Caspian Sea to Cilicia, and from the borders of Pontus in the north to the valley of Tigris in the south, which formed one great country, Armenia. King Tigranes I, who reigned from 565 to 520 B.C., was the ally of Cyrus, king of Persia, whom he accompanied in his conquest of the city of Babylon. Armenia is mentioned in the commemorative relief of Behistun of Darius the Great. Xenophon and his immortals depended on Armenians as they made their way through Asia Minor.

Armenia's history is better known at the time of the extension of the Roman empire in the East, during the reign of Tigranes the Great (95-55 B.C.). About him, Lucullus has said: "It is but a few days' journey from the country of the Gabiri or Sebastia into Armenia, where Tigranes, king of kings, is seated surrounded with that power which has wrested Asia from the Partians, which carries Grecian colonies into Media, subdues Syria and Palestine, cuts off the Seleucidae, and carries their wives and daughters into captivity." Alluding to Tigranes, Cicero says: "He made the Republic of Rome tremble before the prowess of his arms."

Armenia is a mountainous country. The highest peak, Mt. Ararat (about 17,000 feet) on which the ark of Noah rested, is mentioned in the Bible (II Kings, 19.37; Isaiah, 37.38; and Jeremiah, 51.27). The land is very fertile. In ancient times, the shores of Lake Van and the valley of Araxes were famous for their orchards. vineyards, and superabundant agricultural products. The country is also rich in minerals of all kinds. Historians mention precious stones, gold, silver, iron, copper, and salt mines. Armenia produced carpets wollen fabrics, and embroidered silks; its capital, Dwin, and the city of Ashtishat were renowned for their textiles. Furs. leather goods, arms, goldsmiths' work, and other handicrafts constituted the main exports of the country. These products were represented in all the important commercial markets of the world with which the Armenian merchants carried on a lucrative trade. Herodotus mentions Armenian trade expeditions to Babylon. Armenians were very rich; according to Strabo, they had so much wealth that Tigranes was able to pay Pompay the enormous sum of 6,000 talents in silver.

The geographical position of Armenia has been a decisive factor in the making of her history. The Armenian highlands, which rose like a veritable fortress, the abundance of Armenia's natural resources, and the important caravan routes from India, Persia, and Babylonia which passed through Armenia to the Black Sea were considered to be of great importance by her powerful neighbours - Medes, Persians, Romans, Greeks, Byzantines, Arabs, and Turks - and were always coveted by them. As a buffer state between these world powers, Armenia, though partitioned and vanquished, was never completely subjugated, and for many centuries kept her national autonomy. And at times when entirely devastated, because of the coutinuous



HAIK Founder of Armenia. (2350 B.C.)

straggle for supremacy between the powers of East and West, she was never despondent, but set to work again and again to recover the lost ground. This steadfastness and stubborn vitality of the Armenians, together with their great fecundity, enabled them to survive the repeated devastations of their country.

As far back as the fifth century A.D., because of adverse circumstances which recurred so often in Armenia, groups of Armenians, mainly of noble families, emigrated to different parts of the world. Some went eastwards and settled mainly in Persia, India, and other eastern countries. Others went to various parts of Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, Europe, and as far as America. Wherever they emigrated, they brought with them knowledge, ingenuity, efficiency, enterprise and prosperity, and distinguished themselves in the countries of their adoption. The important Role played by them deserves due consideration.



GRANES THE GREAT OF ARMENI KING OF KINGS (Ruled from 95—55 B.C.)

#### IN THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE

Armenians exerted a decisive influence upon the destiny of the Byzantine empire through a long period, especially from the sixth to the eleventh century. Through the wise, intrepid, and energetic Armenians, the Byzantine empire became the Champion of Christian civilization against the Mohammedan inroads. According to Professor Adontz, "The military genius of Byzantium was represented by generals who were Armenian by birth and origin. ... In the tenth century the Armenians were the rulers of the empire and ... everywhere you could see only Armenians".

Emperors Maurice (582-602), Heraclius (610-41), Philippicus Bardanes (711-13), Leo V (813-20), Basil I (867-86), Romanus Lecapanus (919-44), co-emperor with Constantine VII Porphyrogenetus, John Tzimises (969-76), and Basil II (976-1025), who upheld and consolidated the empire, were all Armenians. These emperors were also known as skilful military leaders.

During the reign of Justinian, Artabanes, an Armenian of royal descent, because of his high position in the army, aspired to the imperial throne. Valentinian, another Armenain, rebelled against Constance II in 644 and attempted to seize the throne. Some other Armenian usurpers - Mjej Gnouni in 688, Artavazdes in 742, Alexius Museles in 790, Bardanes in 803, and Arsaber in 808 - held power for brief periods. Armenians occupied the most important positions in the empire during the reign of Michael III (842-67). He was the son of the Armenian empress Theodora; his two uncles were very renowned — Petronas led the imperial armies, and Ceasar Bardas became the real ruler of the empire from 856 to 866.

There were Armenian generals very distinguished for their conquest and military skill. To mention only a few: Nerses, the renowned general of Justinian, conquered Italy; other famous generals of this period were the three brothers, Isaac, Aratius, and Nerses. In the eighth century, Tadjat Andsevatsi directed the campaigns against the Bulgarians, and Ardavasdes Mamikonian subdued the Arabs in Cilicia. In the following century, Petronas and Manuel Mamikonian were victorious in the great campaigns against the Arabs. Most important of all is John Curcuas (920-42), the greatest commander-in-chief against the Arabs, called "a second Trajan or Belisarius", whose "genius brought in a new dawn on the eastern frontier".

Armenians gave also numerous courageous fighters to the imperial armies; their soldiers were the main defenders of the eastern front which was constantly menaced by the Saracens. One of these frontier leaders was Mleh, who fought the Arabs at the head of his own army, occupied the castle of Lykandos, and assisted John Curcuas in the capture of meletene. In the western provinces of the empire, there were Armenians holding highly distinguished positions. Isaac was the exarch of Ravenna in the seventh century; Gregory of Taron was the governor of Thessalonica; and Theodorakanos was the governor of Philippopolis. During the reign of Constantine VIII (1025-28). George, another member of the Theodorakanos family, became the governor of Samos; while another, Basil, was captain of the Theme of Lombardy.

There were Armenian dignitaries in other aspects of Byzantine life. The Hellenistic renaissance in arts and sciences in the ninth century, was achieved by the Armenians. Theodore, from Lesser Armenia, became the patriarch of Antioch in 752. John Grammaticus, the son of Astronomer Tigranes, was patriarch of Constantinople in the first half of the ninth century; he was, at the same time, the intimate counsellor of Emperor Leo V. Later, Theoghylactus, the son of Lecapenus, was patriarch of Constantinople. Photius, one of the most illustrious patriarchs of the Byzantine Church, was the son of Irene, sister of Arsaber the Usurper. Ceasar Bardas founded the first university in Constantinople, and put it under the leadership of an Armenian, Leo, a famous philosopher, mathematician, and Hellenist.

There was also the great mass of Armenian people who had settled in Constantinople and other important cities; they, too, contributed their important share in the handicrafts, industries, and the commercial enterprises of the empire. The Armenians, who have an aptitude for trade, were the richest and the most distinguished merchants. They travelled throughout the empire engaging in commerce. They were so numerous in Ravenna that a quarter in the city was called Armenia.



LEO I KING OF ARMENIA (Ruled from 1198 — 1219)

#### AS EMIGRANTS TO ASIAN, EUROPEAN AND AFRICAN COUNTRIES.

In the eleventh century, the emigrations increased due to Seljuk inroads. The Armenians, after losing their independence, established a new home in Cilicia, on the shores of the Mediterranean. In this region, strengthened by new contingents, they founded a new kingdom which lasted three centuries (1080-1375). This Cilician kingdom is a great evidence of the unique vitality and heroic spirit of the Armenians; for after so many dire misfortunes, they were able to migrate elsewhere and establish and maintain a flourishing new kingdom among many enemy nations. This kingdom gave substantial assistance to the Crusaders after their long and terrible march across the Anatolian plateau, and when passing through the gorges of the Taurus mountains. Armenians delivered the Crusaders from the horrors of famine and pestilence, and from the Seljuk invasions. Without their help, the Crusaders could not have conquered the Holy Land. Pope Gregory VIII was so pleased with the eminent services rendered by them to the cause of Christendom that, in the year 1304, he wrote: "When in the past princes and Christian armies were proceeding for the recovery of the Holy Land, no nation and no people were so prompt or so full of zeal as the Armenians to lend their aid, whether in men, in horses, in provisions or in council. With all their forces and with greatest gallantry and fidelity, they came to the aid of the Christian in their holy wars."

The important role played by the Armenians even under the terrible Turkish yoke is astonishing. Despite the dreadful persecutions and oppressions and the inhuman viciousness perpetrated on them by the Turks, they had the trade and the finance of the empire in their hands. The manufacture of gunpowder and the administrative services of the army were also under their control. Several ministers, state officials, scribes and interpreters were Armenians. They rose to the highest offices in the empire, including the grand vizierate. Just before the First World War, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and that of Post and Telegraph were likewise Armenians. On account of their intelligence, ingenuity and knowledge, they were the best craftsmen, builders and engineers, and constructed the most beautiful mosques, edifices and bridges. "That which is loosely styled oriental art," says Ormanian, "is in a great measure the offspring of Armenian imagination and genius."

Armenian living in Persia too had prominent positions. Some were the advisers of Shahs, their ministers, and treasurers. The export of rice, wool and dried fruits and the oil industry were in their hands.

In the eleventh century, Armenians began to migrate to Europe and settled in Crimea, Poland, Hungary, Italy, Rumania, and other places. They dwelt in important cities and made them the centres of their activities and progress. Many big workshops and magnificent edifices and quarters belonged to them. They made noteworthy contributions towards the prosperity of the countries of their adoption. For instance, in Transylvania they built two cities, Elizabethopolis and Armenopolis. Besides famous artisans, architects, merchants, grandees and princes, two Armenian poets in Lwow, Simon and Joseph Zimorovitch, brothers, won great distinction in the seventeenth century. Vova Voivoda Armeanul (1572-74). The Rumanian legendary hero and conquerer of Mohammedans; Spiritu Haret and Trancu Jassy, the renowned ministers of finance; Vasile Conta, the distinguished philosopher; and Mihail Eminiscu, the poet, were all of Armenians parentage. It will not be out of place to mention here that Boghos Shahriman, a commander of the Austrian army during the days of Empress Maria Theresa, who was noted "for his valour and bravery in the military services of the Austrian empire", was also an Armenian.

In the eleventh century, Armenians had already settled in Egypt; during the Fatimid reign, they had influential viziers who played a prominent part in Egypt's political and military life. "The prosperity which Egypt enjoyed," says the Arab historian P. K. Hitti, "under the first two caliphs in Cairo, and later under the two viziers of Armenian origin, is a prosperity worthy of the Pharaonic or Alexandrian age." Mention should be made of the fact that the regeneration of modern Egypt was through the genius of an Armenian, Nubar Pasha. There were other distinguished grandees also, such as Murad Bey, Tigran Pasha, Artin Pasha and Boghos Pasha.

Many Armenians became prominent and outstanding in Tsarist Russia. In the nineteenth century, there were more than thirty



#### NUBAR PASHA (1825—1899) Egyptian diplomat and statesman Premier of Egypt (1878-79, 1884–88, 1894-95).

Armenian generals in the service of tsar. Through the help of the Armenians, the Russians succeeded in conquering the Caucasus and parts of Persia and Turkey. W. Madatoff, was the commander-in-chief of the Russian army who had fought against Napoleon (Joachim Murat, one of Napoleon's generals and the viceroy of Naples, was an Armenian), subdued the Persians in 1826. Loris Melikoff was the commanderin-chief of the invading Russian army in Asia in 1827; he was also the Chancellor to Tsar Alexander II. Lazaref, Tergukanoof and Ghoukasof were also distinguished generals well known for their gallantry. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, the governor of Daghestan was an Armenian. During the two World Wars, Armenians fought on the side of the allies with bravery and distinction. The names of Antranik and Baghramian are well known. At present, many scientific, cultural, political, and military luminaries in the Soviet Union are Armenians. To mention a few: Hampartsoumian, Petrosian, Khatchatourian, Mikoyan, Sisakian and others.

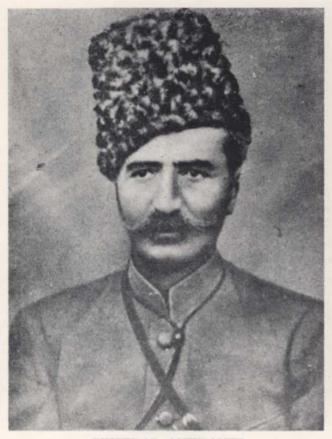


GENERAL LORIS MELIKOFF

Commander-in-Chief of the Russian Army in 1827.

#### AS TRADERS IN INDIA AND THE FAR EAST

Now let us consider the role of the Armenians in the Far East. Even before the Christian era, they carried on a lucrative trade with India via Persia; also many Armenians served in the Indian armies. (Recently, many Armenian manuscripts have been discovered in the National Library of Erevan, which give interesting and valuable information about the Indo-Armenian relations. Some extracts from these manuscripts have already been sent from Erevan to the Ministry of Education and Scientific Research of the Government of India. The manuscripts describe the history, geography, customs and religious rituals of India; also the trade of the Armenians with the Indians). Mesrob Seth ventures to assume that Armenians were acquainted with India from remote antiquity, perhaps about 2000 B.C., when Semiramis, the queen of Assyria, invaded India. The Armenians must have formed friendly relations with



GENERAL ANTRANIK (1865-1927) Armenian National Hero.

the ruling classes of India, for two Indian princes, Gissaneh and Demeter, sought refuge in Armenia in the middle of the second century B.C., after the discovery of their plot against the king of Kanauj. These princes were cordially received by the Armenian king Valarse, who gave them the district of Taron. There they built a city and named it Veeshap, which in Armenian means dragon, for the princes were of the Takshak house, which in Hindu mythology signifies dragon.

During the first centuries of Christianity, Kasi (the modern Varanasi) became a centre for Armenian traders. They came through Persia and Kabul. The Armenian merchants in India had monopolized a great portion of the export trade and filled the Persian and European markets with Indian wares and commodities. An Armenian merchant, Thomas Cana, known also as Mar Thomas, came to the Malabar coast in A.D.780, that is, seven centuries before the landing of Vasco de Gama. He amassed tremendous wealth by trading in muslins and spices, and found great favour in the eyes of the



MARSHAL HOVHANNES BAGHRAMIAN Famous Marshal of the Soviet Army.

native rulers. In the tenth century, before the Mohammedan invasion, there were Armenians in several principal commercial centres of India engaged in commerse.

In the sixteenth century, during the time of the Mogul emperors, the Armenians flourished in Agra, and also established themselves in all the great commercial cities of India. Ormanian points out that, "the English East India Company only succeeded to a position which was established in the first instance by an Armenian Company, which possessed civil and military powers". The Armenians through their intelligence and perseverance, during the Mogul and British reigns, gave to India many great and outstanding men. It will suffice to mention a few: opulent merchants - Khojah Phanous Calendar of Surat, Khojah Petrus Woskan and Agha Shameer of Madras, Agha Catchick Arakil of Calcutta and his son Moses; shipowners, jute mill owners and colliery proprietors -Apcar & Co., Thaddeus Arathoon and Alexander Apcar; great administrators and generals -Mirza Zul Quarnain, Emir of the Mogul and



ARAM KHATCHATURIAN World famous Soviet Armenian composer. Born in Tiflis, Georgia, 1903.

governor of important provinces, Gorgin Khan, commander-in-chief of the Nawab of Bengal, Colonel Jacob Petrus, commander of Scindhia's army; eminent diplomats - Khojah Israel Sarhad and Peter Arathoon; manufacturer of ordnance - Shah Nazar Khan; able lawyers -Sir Gregory Charles Paul and M. P. Gasper; builders of magnificent palatial residences -J.C. Galstaun and Aratoon Stephen. There were other prominent Armenians also in other realms of life, such as Sarmad, the renowned poet; Markus Erezad, Governor of Mylapore; J.M. Joseph, Deputy Surgeon-General; Major Sarkies Avetoom; J.D.M. Beglar, Executive Engineer; Gregory Sam, District Traffic Superintendent of the East Indian Railway and Sir Apcar A. Apcar, President of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce.

With the same fame and distinction, Armenians carried on trade and rose to prominent positions in other Far Eastern countries too — Burma, Malaya, Indonesia and Hong Kong. The Armenian Kalawoons (foreign ministers), Myowuns (town governors), Akunkwuns (collectors



VIKTOR HAMPARTSOUMIAN World famous Soviet Armenian astrophysicist. Born in 1908. President of the International Astronomical Union.

of customs), sea captains, military leaders, and other government officials in the Burmese Court played a decisive part in Burma. The greatest hotels in these countries belonged to the Armenians. In Indonesia, besides outstanding hotels, they owned many sugar and rubber factories.

The greatest citizen which Hong Kong has ever had was an Armenian, Sir Catchik Paul Chater, an eminent merchant, the contriver and the executor of the reclamation project, a great leader in administration, the head of all shipping, banking, and international companies, a most generous philanthropist; he was truly called "the father of everything in Hong Kong".

#### THE ARMENIAN LITERATURE

Now let us consider the cultural aspect of Armenia's contributions; we begin with its literature. Armenians had no script of their own until the fifth century A.D. They used Syriac,



TIGRAN PETROSIAN World Chess Champion from Soviet Armenia. Born in Tiflis, Georgia on June 17, 1929.

but often Greek characters. The court, the upper classes had a certain amount of Hellenistic culture. In the first century B.C., there were theatres in Tigranocerta, the new and magnificent capital built by Tigranes the Great, which, according to Strabo, "he had populated with war prisoners from twelve Greek towns that he had destroyed". Plutarch mentions Artavazdes, the son of Tigranes, who had written tragedies which were performed in the capital with great success. He also records that Lucullus made use of the dramas staged by the Armenians in honour of his victory.

In pre-Christian era, the Armenians had popular poetry, songs, and heroic epics, full of powerful imagery, which were used in praising royal marriages, and in religious feasts. They contained also dirges for the dead, and ballads of customs. Unfortunately, only a few fragments of these have been preserved. The birth of Vahagn, the god of strength, war, and victory, who was the dragon- slayer and later associated with Hercules, is represented in the following



MOSES OF KHOREN First Armenian Historian. (410 — 493)

allegorical language by Moses of Khoren: Heaven and earth were in travail, And the crimson waters were in travail. And in the water, the crimson reed Was also in travail. From the mouth of the reed issued smoke, From the mouth of the reed issued flame, And out of the flame sprang the young child. His hair was of fire, a beard had he of flame, And his eyes were suns.

Moses of Khoren says, "With our own ears did we hear these words sung to the accompaniment of the harp".

Here is another specimen of a beautiful song, sung by the minstrels, concerning the defeat of the Alans, and the desire of the Armenian king Artashes to marry the daughter of their king:

Brave king Artashes mounted his black charger, And took the red leathern cord With the golden ring. Like a swift-winged eagle





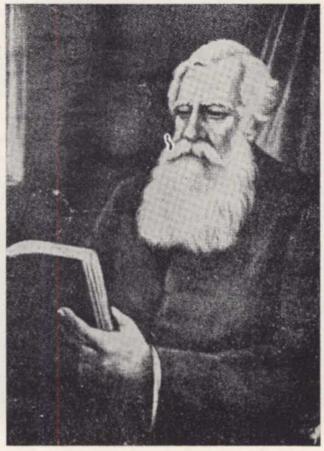
SAINT MESROP The inventor of the Armenian Alphabet in the 5th century.

He passed over the river, And cast the golden ring Round the waist of the Alan princess; Causing much pain To the tender maiden, As he bore swiftly Back to the camp. And of the wedding, they sang:

It rained showers of gold when Artashes became a bridegroom.

It rained pearls when Sathenik became a bride. "For", says Moses of Khoren, "it was the custom of our kings to scatter coins amongst the people when they arrived at the doors of the temple for their wedding, as was also for the queens to scatter pearls in their bride-chamber".

In the fourth century A. D., Proeresios (Parooyr Haikazn), an Armenian, won great fame in oratory. He taught rhetoric and philosophy at the university of Athens. Some of his students, such as St. Gregory Nazianzus and St. Basil, became eminent church fathers. Another



SAINT SAHAG Co-inventor of the Armenian Alphabet with Saint Mesrop, in the 5th century.

student of his, Julian the Apostate, bestowed upon him exceptional honours. As an expression of profound admiration and deep gratitude, his statue was erected in Rome with the inscription "**Regina Rerum Roma Regi Eloquentiae**" ("Rome the queen of the world to the king of eloquence").

After the invention of the Armenian characters by St. Mesrop at the beginning of the fifth century, a great literary epoch ensued. First the Bible was translated into Armenian. This translation is very important and valuable, because, firstly, it was made from exact and genuine copies of Bible manuscripts which existed at the time. Secondly, the Armenian language being very rich and subtle, and possessing clearness and flexibility in expression, the translation of the Scriptures has been very limpid, elegant, and thoroughly accurate; as F. C. Conybears notes, "its renderings very faithfully transmit the meaning of the original text". Thirdly, the translators have been very



ANASTAS MIKOYAN Former President of the Soviet Union.



SAINT NERSES THE GRACIOUS (1101 - 1173)

faithful, and firmly adhered to the original text. To quote Convbeare again, "it fits the original like a kid glove fits the hand". It was the general belief of the time that every word and syllable of the Holy Scriptures was written through divine inspiration. Therefore, to translate them, it was necessary to be altogether faithful not only to the general meaning of the sentences, but also to every word and syllable, which the Armenian translators have performed very carefully. This, however, has not been achieved by the Vulgate and other translations. Thus the Armenian version of the Bible, a masterpiece, is called "The Queen of Translations". It has great significance to scholars, for it contains the best and most genuine portions of Greek and Syriac codices, through which it will be possible to reconstruct the original text of the Bible.

Through the Armenian translation, it was discovered that the ending of St. Mark's Gospel (16.9-16) concerning Christ's resurrection, and the story of the woman taken in adultery (John, 8.3-12), do not constitute an integral part of the Gospels, but are later additions; Mark's ending was added by Presbyter Aristion in the second century.

We would like to note, en passant, that no translation of the Bible has ever made so great and lasting an impression on any people as the Armenian Version has made upon the Armenians. The Scriptures were regarded as their own God- revealed historical book, for events recorded in Genesis had happened in their own Fatherland, Armenia. In the Bible, they found the names of their national heroes, Haik (Orion, in Isaiah and Job) and Vahagn (Hercules, in II Maccabees). Haik had led the Armenians from the land of bondage into the land of freedom: so had Moses done for Israel. In the heroic history of Maccabees, they found the exact counterpart of the valiant deeds of Vardanank. The sons of Sennecherib, Adramelech and Sharezar took refuge in the land of Armenia. The stories of suffering and tribulation, and the revolt against oppression as expressed in the Bible, had their parallels in Armenian history; and thus the Book of God's breath, as designated in the Armenian Version, captivated the hearts of all the Armenians. And this is the reason why they became very faithful and staunch Christians, and heroically shed their blood for centuries for the preservation and dissemination of Christianity.

From the fifth till about the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Armenian literature depicts historical, religious, and Christological accounts. "The glory of the Armenian literature", says Dulouriez, "is the abundance and preciousness of her historical records. These records, succeeding each other uninterruptedly from the beginning of the fourth century to our days, form a golden chain which connects the old world with our own". Armenians, through their long and vexatious history, have come in constant contact with eastern nations and peoples - Persians, Byzantines, the Caucasian races, Arabs, Seljuks, Mongols, the Ottomans, in short, with the entire history of the East and have preserved valuable documentary information about their wars, mores, and religions. "Upon the whole", as an eminent historian bears witness, "they show more judgment than the Arabian and Persian historians". "It is a literature", says another author, "that spans the wide chasm between the Dark Ages of Medieval Europe and the Victorian Illumination of the nineteenth century."

In the realms of history, religion, Christian doctrine, hymnology, and hagiography, Armen-



VARDAN MAMIGONIAN Hero of the Religious War 451.

ian authors have made no less significant contributions. In the fifth century, Moses of Khoren, the Armenian Homer, wrote the history of Armenia from time immemorial to A.D. 428. This book is considered as one of the greatest and most important historical and literary works of the world's literature. Eznik of Kulpi, in his Refutation of Sects, gives valuable information about Mazdeism and Marcionism. Elishe Vardapet has some essential material on Mazdeism. David, a philosopher, called "the Invincible", wrote philosophical treatises and expositions on the works of Aristotle and Porphyry. Anania of Shirak (seventh century), a mathematician, proved the revolution of the earth around the sun. Armenian ecclesiastical canons and treaties of Otsnetsi (+728) are genuine and good sources about Mesallian and Paulician sects; likewise, Gregory Magistros (eleventh century) and Gregory of Tathev (fourteenth century) are on Paulicians and Manicheans. The treatise of the latter, Contra

GREGORY OF NAREK Great theologian and mystic poet. (951 — 1003)

Mohammedanos, sheds new light on the doctrinal and liturgical disputations between the Christians and the Saracens.

Moreover, the theological writings of Otsnetsi, Shnorhali, Tathevatsi, and other divines contain not only Christological problems analysed and expressed in plain language, but they also display such spirit of tolerance and broadmindedness which, I venture to say, is unsurpassed in the annals of any Church.

The hymns and canticles, some of which are attributed to St. Sahak and St. Mesrop, and those of Komitas Catholicos (seventh century), and especially of Nerses Shnorhali (twelfth century) — in addition to his other works are characterized by a magnificent beauty of form, profound religious inspiration, and deep spiritual meaning. One of Shnorhali's prayers, composed of twenty-four verses, has been translated into thirty-six languages. **The Book of Elegies**, the work of the great theologian and mystic Gregory of Narek (951-1009), is one of the most beautiful and original works of the mystic poetry of humanity. It is a collection of prayers, meditations and visions with highsoaring imagination. The author opens his heart to God and reveals his soul in converse with Him. This work is venerated by the Armenians as a sacred book, healer of all kinds of illness, a miracle in itself. Catholicos Gregory Vkayaser (The Martyrophile, eleventh century) compiled and translated many biographical and edifying accounts of the lives of saints.

About the beginning of the thirteenth century, the Armenian popular poets — Frik, Constantine of Erzinka, John of Thelkouran, Gregory of Aghthamar, Nahapet Kouchak, Sayat-Nova, and others — developed a new lyricism which continued to the end of the eighteenth century. This poetry with its Christian spirit has the vestiges of old paganism. It not only expresses the aspirations of the soul, but also the ardour of the body; it depicts the heavenly life as well as the terrestrial; it not only strikes many a deep chord of joy and happiness, but also the gloom of sorrow and suffering.

The literary activities of the Armenians, however, have not ceased. After the middle of the nineteenth century, until the First World War, those Armenians living in Russia and Turkey produced great poets, writers, intellectuals, and scholars. It was a period of great enlightenment and literary production, which, unfortunately, came to an end with the unspeakable persecutions and massacres executed by the Turks on these innocent and gifted people. After the incorporation of Armenia in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in 1920, however, it has experienced a literary and intellectual renaissance unique in its long and glorious history.

Besides the original writings which were just mentioned, Armenian literature is also famous for its translations. After the formation of the alphabet and the translation of the Holy Scriptures, the works of the Church Fathers were translated into Armenian. There were translations of the Greek secular writers—Plato, Aristotle, Dionysius, Justinus, Porphyry, Philo, Apollodorus, Euclid, Andronicus of Rhodes, Callimachus of Cyrene, Olympiodorus the Younger, and others. We find also the Romance of Alexander, of the pseudo - Callisthenes, and excerpts from the comedies of Menander. Unfortunately, most of these translations are not extant. The Peliades of Euripides, the original text of which has been lost, is preserved in the Rhetoric ascribed to Moses of Khoren. The same author, in his history of Armenia, has brief passages from twenty-five Greek historians. In addition to these, some historical works were also translated from Greek into Armenian.

Regarding the writings of the Church Fathers, the original texts of which have been lost or are not yet available, it must be noted that some of them have been known to the literary world through their Armenian versions. These are: the Apostolic Preaching of Irenaeous, and the fourth and fifth chapters of his book Against Schismatics; the Diatessaron of Tatian; the Chronology of Eusibius; the Christological Disputations of Timothy Aelurius; the Commentaries of St. Chryssoston, Cyril of Alexandria, and Ephraim the Syrian on Ezekiel; two treatises of Origen, and his commentary on the Book of Job and the Song of Songs; Zeno's On Nature; fragments from the writings of Hippolytus; the third epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, and their reply; the apocryphal account of the death of St. John; the false Athanasian Sermo Mayor, an epistle addressed to the Antiochian Church (fragments of this are extant in Greek); the letter of Proclus, Patriarch of Constantinople, to St. Sahak concerning the false preachings of the Nestorians (a few fragments are found in Mansi); and the Exegesis of St. John's Gospel by the Syrian archimandrite John. The Armenian historian Ghevond (eighth century) has preserved the long letter of Emperor Leo III to Omar II, wherein he refutes, in detail, the Mohammedan doctrines and gives enlightening information about the beliefs and concepts of the Orthodox Church concerning Moslem religion.

# CONTRIBUTIONS IN ARCHITECTURE, SCULPTURE, AND PAINTING

Armenia has remarkable fame for her art —architecture, sculpture, and painting. Her outstanding contribution, however, is in the field of architecture.

The original fundamental style of the churches was the typical ground - plan, a square structure imitating the earlier pagan temples. Over this square building, the Armenians constructed a central dome, which already was in use in the East. This new style was used on



SAYAT NOVA Popular poet and troubadour. (1712—1795)

Armenia's heathen edifices in the fourth century, after Christianity became her state religion. The Armenians, however, were the first nation to introduce the dome resting on a high polygonal or cylindrical drum bearing the pyramidal or the conical structure. In small churches particularly, the dome is raised over a square bay, and rests on squinches, whereas in larger buildings, where the cupola cannot cover the entire inner space, pendentives are used. Four big pillars erected at the angles of the square are joined together by means of semi-circular arches. The space between the latter is filled by inverted spherical triangles; the upturned bases of these triangles bear the weight of the drum upon which the dome stands. In the beginning of the seventh century, the domed church with its simple massive walls, with adequate support and proper buttressing by inner abutments rather than by exterior additions, become the characteristic form of Armenian architecture.

It should be pointed out that at this period, while European Christian architecture was still in its infancy and the whole of Europe in the Dark Ages, Armenia was in an enlightened age of art, wherein architecture had achieved perfection.

It is now an incontrovertible fact in the history of art that Armenia has played a major role in the development of Byzantine and Gothic architecture. Moreover, its influence has spread in Asia and in Europe as far as Spain, Ireland, and Scandinavia. "Greek genius of St. Sophia and Italian genius of St. Peters", says Strzygowski, "only realized more fully what the Armenians had originated". "The architects of Armenia", declared Charles Diehl, another world renowned scholar, "were very great masters. They were also great travellers, and as such they have spread knowledge in all the orient. From Georgia, where the churches are strictly Armenian. from the Caucasus, they have carried their instruction to Russia and to the Slavs of the south . . . One discovers also the influence of the Armenian architecture in the lowest part of Peloponnesus". Armenian architects had won such great reputation in Byzantium that, when the dome of St. Sophia was damaged in 989 by an earthquake, Tiridates, the famous Armenian architect and the builder of the cathedral of Ani, was summoned by Emperor Basil to restore it.

The Armenian method of building is highly significant. All the edifices are contructed of stone, smooth-faced and carefully cut and joined. Often the stones are so perfectly fitted together that no mortar is used between them. The churches with their simple proportions, massive stone walls, soaring domes, and their position — often built on high inaccessible cliffs — render themselves extremely charming and imposing.

Armenian architecture is primarily decorative. On the facades of the churches, there are carved crosses, interlaced and foliate motifs, and animal and human forms.

## THE ARMENIAN CHURCH

We shall now deal with the important and unique role of the Armenian Church. Her ancient and unvarying tradition acknowledges as her founders the two apostles of Christ, St. Thaddeus and St. Bartholomew, who preached Christianity and established churches in Armenia. Some relics closely connected with the mission of these apostles and other disciples are

highly venerated by the Armenians. One of them is the image of the Saviour on canvas brought from Jerusalem to Edessa to King Abgarus, who possessed a part of southern Armenia and whom - with other kings of Edessa - Armenians considered as their own ruler. The other relic which was brought to Armenia by St. Thaddeus, and which is now preserved in Etchmiadzin, is the spear with which the soldier pierced the side of Christ (John, 19.34). The third one is the image of St. Mary the Virgin, carved on wood, given by the apostles to Bartholomew, for he was not present at the Assumption of the Holy Lady. Later, it was brought to Armenia by him. Although a considerable number of people had accepted the new faith during the first three centuries, it was only in A.D. 301 that, through the efforts of St. Gregory the Illuminator, Christianity became the state religion of Armenia by the decree of King Tiridates. This event is highly significant, because through it Armenia had the unique distinction of being the first Christian state in the world. The conversion of Constantine the Great took place twelve years later, in A.D. 313, when, by the edict of Milan, he put Christianity and paganism in the empire on the same level.

The Armenians were also the first nation to defend Christianity. In 311, Maximianus, the Decian, declared war against the Armenians because of their conversion into the new religion, but, as Eusebius asserts, "he was defeated in the battle with all his armies". Later, throughout her history. Armenia had to fight and shed her blood valiantly for the preservation and vindication of Christianity. This is the reason why she has been known to be "the Torch Bearer" of the Christian religion in the East. Beginning with the fifth century, Armenia became the bulwark of Christianity in Asia. Through the heroism and martyrdom of S.S. Vardanank and Vahaniank, the expansion of Zoroastrianism was restrained. Later, despite the fact that she was overrun and ravaged by the Arabs and the Turks, she was still able to defend Christianity and withhold the spread of Mohammedanism. Had it not been for Armenia, Christianity in Asia would have been vanquished by the Persian fire-worshippers and the Mohammedans. To quote Dr. Fisher, Archbishop of Canterbury: "The Armenian people have often been defeated and overrun, yet their historic role of constant resistance to invasion has played a vital and self-sacrificing part in saving Europe by giving to it time for preparation and defence, while their country was occupied and ravaged to delay the invading hordes".

From the fourth century, Armenians began to have extensive activities in spreading Christianity and in promoting learning outside Armenia. The evangelization of Georgia, Caspian Albania, and Atropatene were accomplished by the efforts of St. Gregory the Illuminator, who despatched missionaries to those countries. His grandson, Bishop Grigoris, suffered martyrdom in Georgia. In the fifth century, St. Mesrop went to Georgia and Caspian Albania with a group of teachers and ecclesiastical leaders, formed characters for them, translated the Scriptures into the vernacular, and established churches and schools in many places. His missionary activities expanded even beyond the Caspian.

The Patriarchal Sees of Georgia and Caspo-Albania were under the jurisdiction of the Armenian Catholicate. Their Catholicoses were consecrated by the Armenian patriarchs, and took part as senior members in the ecclesiastical councils convened by the latter. In 608, the Georgian See, with her head Kurion, accepted the Chalcedonian Christology and seceded from the Armenian Church; the See of Caspo-Albania was abolished in 1836, on account of the fusion of the Caspo-Albanians with the Armenians. Since 1836, it constitutes a diocese within the Armenian See.

The Armenian Church occupied a leading position among the Eastern Lesser Orthodox Churches. The Christians in Persia constantly appealed to the Armenian Patriarchate for assistance and protection against the encroachments of the Nestorians. Catholicos Kristaphor Tiraridj (539-45), among others, not only defended the Church in Persia before the Persian monarch, but consecrated her bishops and assisted her in tending the flock. Moreover, the Syrian Orthodox Christians who lived in North Mesopotamia, and followed the teachings of Julian Hallicarnasius, who preached the incorruptibility of the Lord's body, sought the assistance and leadership of the Armenian See. In 549, one of their clergymen, named Abdisho, was ordained bishop by the Armenian Catholicos Nerses II of Bagrevand.

The Turkish government recognized only the Greek and the Armenian patriarchs of Constantinople as the heads of the two orthodox Christian groups in the East. This division was



SAINT GREGORY THE ILLUMINATOR Founder and First Catholicos of The Armenian Church.

(259 - 325)

made on the basis of doctrine, and not of race or nationality. Thus, all the dyophysites comprising the Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbians, Albanians, Walachians, Moldavians, Ruthenians, Croatians, Caramanians, Syrians, Melkites, and Arabs, with their respective leaders, come under the aegis of the Greek Patriarchate; while the orthodox Cyrillian monophysites comprising the Armenians, Syrians, Chaldeans, Copts, Georgians, and Abyssinians, with their respective heads, came under the spiritual control of the Armenian Patriarchate. The monophysites in the Holy Land held the same position with respect to the Armenian Patriarchate in Jerusalem.

The Armenian See in Jerusalem is of international significance, for she is the guardian of the holy places with the Greeks and the Latins. She has preponderant rights over important holy shrines. The Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem belongs to the Armenians, Greeks, and Latins; the church of the Holy Virgin Mary in Gethsemanee and that of the Nativity in Bethlehem are possessed by the Armenians and the Greeks. S. S. James Monastery on Mt. Sion and other sanctuaries are in the sole possession of the Armenians. The Armenians have been in the Holy Land since the inception of Christianity; and before the sixth century, seventy Armenian monasteries had been founded in Jerusalem and other places. In the seventh century, these had formed a diocese under the jurisdiction of a bishop.

It is interesting to discover that the Armenians had a noteworthy connection with the Germanic nations of the north. Sophus Bugge has shown that "there are several Armenian elements in the Gothic of Ulfilas's translation of the Bible". Dr. Fridtjof Nansen points out that probably the Goths received their first Christian teaching from the Armenians. Those "near the Black Sea apparently had another connection with Armenia, probably through Armenian traders and missionaries". The architecture which these Goths "brought with them to Bulgaria and Western Europe seems to indicate Armenian influences". Even "in Spain there were Gothic princes with Armenian names, such as Artavasdes (circa A.D. 710)". Three Armenian bishops, Peter, Abraham, and Stephen, in the eleventh century, had gone as far as Iceland to preach Christianity.

On the eastern part of the world also, the Armenian Church had her influence. In 1254, an Armenian king, Hethoum, went to Tataristan east of the Caspian Sea, and converted into Christianity King Mankou, the royal family, grandees, and many other people. Thereafter, the monarch promised to help the Armenians and bestow freedom upon the Christians. For many centuries the Armenians had their church in Kabul, which was destroyed by the Emir of Afghanistan in 1897. In the fourteenth century, the Armenians who were trading in China established two churches, which they gave to the Roman Catholics when their number was greatly diminished. Through the moral support and financial help of Mirza Zul-Quarnain, Armenian Emir of the Mogul Court in the sixteenth century, the Jesuit fathers were able to carry on their missionary work in India. The oldest Christian churches in Agra (1562), Calcutta (1707), and Singapore (1835) were built by the Armenians. The translation of the Scriptures into Chinese was commenced in Calcutta, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, by an Armenian, named Lassar, born in Macao. Lassar was also engaged by the English as Chinese interpreter in Bengal.

When we speak about the Armenian Church, we should bear in mind that it is the most liberal, broadminded, and tolerant Church in Christendom. "The spirit of tolerance and of liberalism forms the groundwork of the Armenian Church", declares one of her great divines. She believes in and stresses the fact that Churches should be at liberty to differ on points of secondary importance. She never condemns, as many Churches do, as heretics or schismatics those Churches which would not conform to her own teachings. She believes that each Church is saved by her own faith. Her lofty motto for centuries has been as follows: Unity in essentials, liberty in doubtful matters, and charity in all things.

Democratic spirit and administration is also characteristic of the Armenian Church. Sacerdotal exclusiveness has never been practised by her. Since the very beginning, she has belonged as much to the laity as to the clergy. The former take part even in discussions concerning doctrinal and disciplinary matters. The greater part of the administrative power in ecclesiastical affairs is in their hands. The clergy are elected and ordained by the general



KING TIRIDATES III First king in the world to adopt Christianity as the national religion in 301. (250 - 330) consent of the faithful, who have also the preponderant voice in the election of the incumbents of the Holy Sees and the dioceses.

The Armenian Church preserves the doctrines and the rites of the ancient Christian Church in their purity and simplicity. She accepts only the first three ecumenical councils— Nicea, Constantinople, and Ephesus — where the fundamental dogmas and principles of Christianity were declared and adopted by all Churches. She has not sought to increase the burden of mysteries, the number of dogmas, and of councils, which in one way or another hinder the mutual understanding, love, and communion among Christian Churches.

At present, the number of the Armenians all over the world is five million. It is the Armenian Church which keeps all these dispersed members together. Every Armenian, wherever he lives, is tenaciously and zealously attached to his Church. The Armenians, during their long period of persecution and distress, have turned to their Church as the ground of their existence and the anchor of their salvation. For them the Church is an integral part of the nation, and the two form one unity, a single whole.

The supreme head of the Armenian Church, His Holiness the Catholicos, resides in Etchmiadzin, the Holy City of the Armenians. The jurisdiction of Etchmiadzin extends over the entire Church. Armenians scattered throughout the world are equally the sheep of the same flock.

To conclude, the Armenians, in comparison with their number, have given more martyrs for Christianity and for the preservation and dissemination of the divine Light than any other Christian nation. Their Church has become the strong bulwark of Christianity in Asia, more than any other Church. Their contributions to the world in arts and sciences, in trade, handicrafts, and industries, in military service, and generally in all aspects of life form a proud record of praiseworthy achievements. The important role which they have played in history will continue to be played by them with more energy, more enthusiasm, and with more faith and determination.

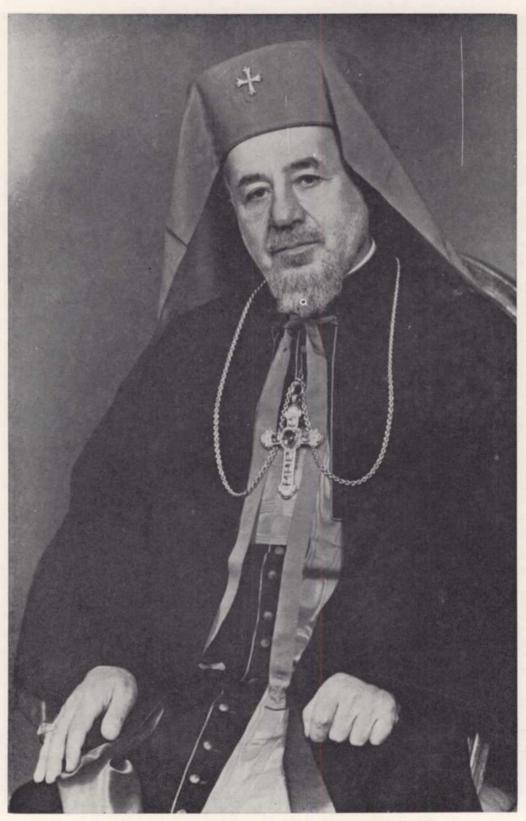
Reprinted from the Bulletin of the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture for September and October 1958.

Besides the Armenian personalities ment ioned in the above article "The Role of Armenia in History", we wish to present a few famous Armenians of the 20th century who are well known throughout the world and have made lasting contributions in their respective fields.



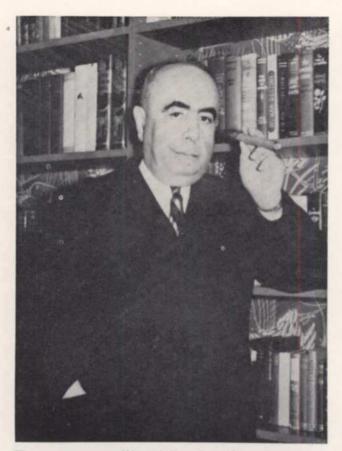
His Eminence, CARDINAL GREGOIRE AGAJANIAN

Born September 18, 1895 in Aghaltsgha, Tiflis. In 1937 was elected Patriarch Catholicos of the Armenian Catholics. In 1946 he became Cardinal and in 1958 was designated as Pro-prefect of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith. In 1962 he resigned from his position as Patriarch Catholicos of the Armenian Catholics to devote himself to his duties as Prefect of the Sacred Congregation for the Evangelization of Nations.



His Beatitude, IGNATIUS PETER XVI BATANIAN Armenian Catholic Patriarch

Born in Mardin, Turkey, February 15, 1899. In 1962 was elected as Patriarch Catholicos of the Armenian Catholics, succeeding Cardinal Gregoire Agajanian.



ARPAKSAT SETRAKIAN

Famous personality of the American-Armenian community. Was born in Bitlis, Armenia. Immigrated to the United States in 1905. Graduated from Berkeley University. Has been president of the Federal Raisin Advisory Board and Federal Raisin Administrative Committee for more than 20 years. Has been president of the International Agreement Committee for 9 years.

# PROFESSOR VARAZDAT KAZANDJIAN

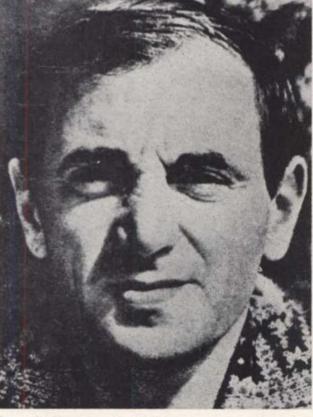


World famous Plastic Surgeon. Was born on March 18, 1879 in Erzinga, Armenia; in 1895 immigrated to the United States. Graduated from Harvard University.



HARRY TATOSIAN

Born in Pashaghag, Kharput on August 15, 1892. Immigrated to the United States in 1909. Famous benefactor and inventor. In 1916 invented his first machine for Sugar Shell Ice Cream Cones. Has subsequently invented 20 different types of machinery for melba toast, and other Old London food products. These machines can be found all over the world, including England, India, Japan, Canada and Italy.



Born in France, world famous composer, actor and singer.

CHARLES AZNAVOUR

ARLENE FRANCIS



World famous composer. Born on May 12, 1921 in Koris, Georgia; lives in Yerevan, Armenia. International prize-winner. President of the Composers Union in Armenia and Secretary of the Soviet Composers Union in Moscow.



Leading lady of radio, television, theatre and moving pictures. Was born in Boston, Massachusetts. She is the daughter of the famous New York photographer Aram Kazanjian.

EDWARD MIRZOYAN



ROUPEN MAMOULIAN



Born in Kassaba, Izmir in 1901. Immigrated to the United States in 1920. Famous benefactor and president of the Armenian General Benevolent Union.

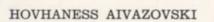
Born in Tiflis on October 8, 1899. World famous Director-Producer of moving picture films and theatrical productions.

ALEX MANOOGIAN



World famous marine painter. Was born in Crimea, 1817, and died in 1900.

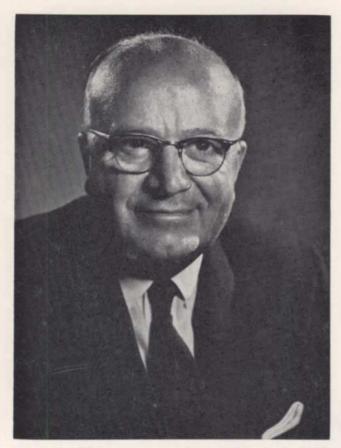
HOVSEP PUSHMAN



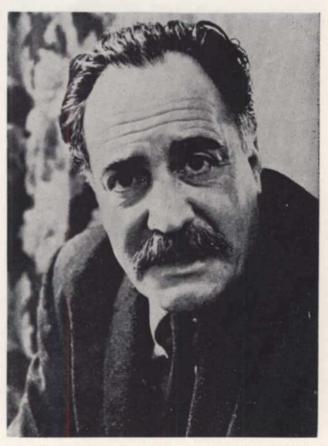


(Portrait by A. Dechenaud)

World famous painter and sculpture. Was born in Diarbekir, Turkey in 1877. Immigrated to the United States in 1910. Studied in Paris. Winner of several medals for composition, drawing and painting. Died in New York 1966.

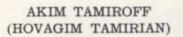


Born in Kharput, Armenia on March 5, 1901. Immigrated to the United States in 1906. Philanthropist. Has donated more than 5 million dollars to american colleges and libraries. STEPHEN P. MUGAR



World famous writer and winner of the Pulitzer prize, which he rejected. Was born in California, . 1908.

# WILLIAM SAROYAN



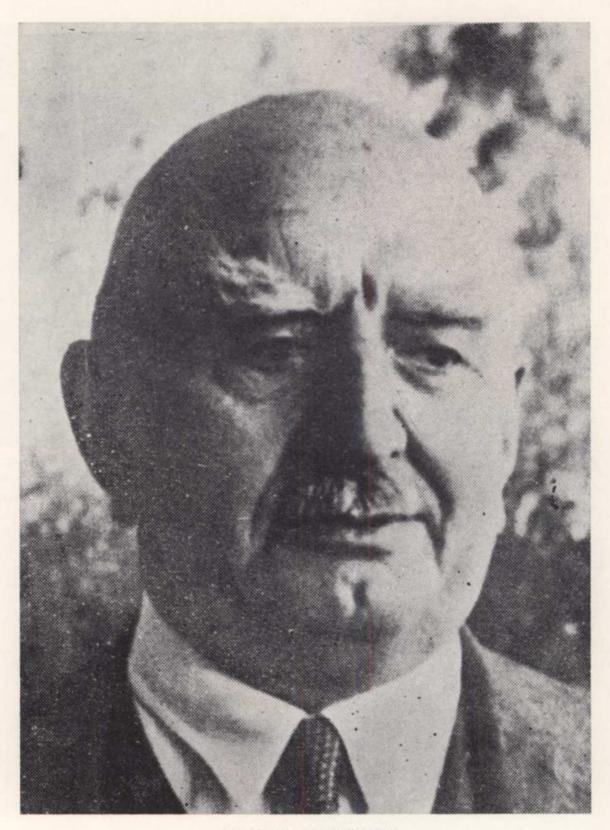


World famous writer was born in Moscow, 1911, and immigrated to France. Elected member to the French Academy in 1959.



World famous movie actor. Was born in Baku, Georgia. Came to the United States in 1923.

HENRI TROYAT (LEVON TOROSIAN)



CALOUSTE GULBENKIAN OIL KING. MR. 5%.

Born in Talas, Turkey, 1869 and died in Lisbon, Portugal, 1955. Willed his entire fortune to the Gulbenkian Philanthropic Foundation.



Born in Armenia and immigrated to the United States in 1911. Graduated from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1919. Author. World-wide consulting engineer and constructor of power plants in Pakistan, Persia, Iraq, Jordan, U.A.R., South America, Korea and India.

> CARZOU (KARNIG ZULUMIAN)

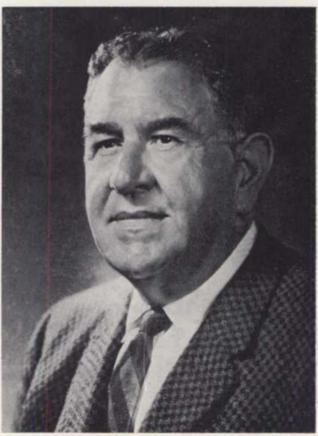
HARRY KULJIAN



World famous painter was born in Armenia and immigrated to France.



Born in Armenia in 1908. Resides in Ottawa, Canada. World famous portrait photographer. YOUSSOUF KARSH



Born in Marash on December 25, 1902. Immigrated to the United States. Benefactor. Founder of International Shoe Machine Corporation, Boston, Massachusetts in 1938. Director of International Shoe Machine Corporation of Canada, England, France, Germany and Brazil. Inventor of the Diving Bell.

JACOB KAMBOORIAN



PAUL IGNATIUS

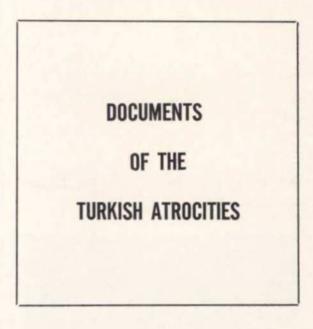
World famous scenario and costume designer for opera, ballet and theatrical productions. Was born in Tiflis, Georgia. Emigrated to Paris, then Berlin; where he received his education. Immigrated to the United States in 1951.



Born in Los Angeles in 1920. Graduated from the University of Southern California in 1942. Was appointed, in 1961, by the late President of the United States, John F. Kennedy as Assistant-Secretary of Defense. In August 1967, was appointed by President Lyndon B. Johnson as Secretary of the Navy.

RUBEN TER - ARUTUNIAN

# CHAPTER III



# THE SECRET MEETING OF THE ITTIHAD

"DR. NAZIM — If we are going to do something like the Adana massacre of 1909, here and there, the result will do us more harm than good. Since we have decided to purge the other elements, the Arabs and the Kurds will be alerted, and the danger will be multiplied and the execution of the operations will be rendered more difficult. I have spoken many times in these meetings. I repeat, if this purge is not made general and final, harm will come instead of good. The Armenian element must be severed from the roots. We must not leave a single Armenian alive in our country, we must kill the Armenian name. We are at war. No better opportunity could we hope for.

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

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

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

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

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

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

"DR. BEHAEDDIN SHAKIR — (speaking deliberately and pausing between the sentences):— When an orator like Moses, a wanderer like Jesus, and an orphan like Muhammed establish great religions in this world, why shouldn't resolute thinkers like us introduce and generalize the religion and the idealism of Turan?

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

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

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

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

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

"The geese, the duck, the hen, the sheep, the goat, the cow, the oxen, the buffalo, the horse, on a farm, no matter what their status cannot change their species. The above mentioned alien elements present the same image in our yard. They survived, preserving their language and nationalities. If they have a chance, they will smash the Turk, will seize our lands and will secede. Witness the Greeks, the Serbs and the Bulgarians, and last of all the Albanians.

### "KARA KEMAL — Perish them all ...

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

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

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

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

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

"DJAVID — Now let us come to a decision. The expositions of my brothers Dr. Nazim, Behaeddin Shakir and even Hasan Fehmi have clarified sufficiently the matter. The Armenians on every occasion aligned themselves with the enemies of the Turks against the fatherland in which they have lived for centuries. Against the same Turks, Effendis, who insured for the Armenians comfort and happiness. The Turk is the ruler of this country. The Turk toils on his farm under the burning sun, brings his produce to the city and sells it to the Armenian. Enriches him and insures his happiness. The economic rule is in the hands of the Armenian. At the cost of leaving not one Armenian alive, the extermination of all of them is both a national and political duty. It is equally important that the Turk shall establish his economic rule. I will now take the vote.

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

An extract from "Turk'a Inklabinin Ich Yuzu" by Mevlan Zadeh Rifat. (The Inner Facet of the Turk'sh Revolution). Translated from the Turkish by Haigaz K. Kazarian in "Minutes of Secret Meetings Organizing the Turkish Genocide of the Armenians". Boston, Mass. 1965.

# MEMOIRES OF A TURKISH OFFICIAL

(Chief Secretary Of The Deportation Committee)

The following extracts are taken from "The Memoires of Naim Bey". Naim Bey was the chief secretary of the Deportation Committee in Aleppo. "The Committee was charged by the Central Government of Turkey with the official responsibility of deporting via Aleppo the uprooted Armenians with the ultimate aim of exterminating them."

After the arrival of the British at Aleppo, Naim Bey did not flee with the Turkish officials but remained back and in order to calm his deeply disturbed conscience handed over to A. Andonian many official documents under his disposal received from the Central Government as regard the exterminations of the Armenians.

The Memoires of Naim Bey was first published in London in 1920 with the following Introduction by Viscount Gladstone.

#### 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 consigned to undying infamy.

Readers of this significant Memoires, 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.

We are about to make a Treaty with the Government of Turkey reeking of deeds surpassing in magnitude and vileness the most imaginative pictures of hell ever conceived. 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-.

Extracts from "The Memoires 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 which has been 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.

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.

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

"The purpose of sending away Certain People 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 PAGE IS DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF THE MARTYRED ARMENIANS FROM ADANA, ADAPAZAR, ADIAMAN AND ADILJEVAS. 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, has 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."

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

#### 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 babies in the cradle are not to be spared. The results of carrying out this order have been 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 to the place of exile are left in Aleppo, whereby the Government is involved in 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



Parents murdered. A boy from Tokat tails the caravan of deportees.

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.

THIS PAGE IS DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF THE MARTYRED ARMENIANS FROM ADRIANOPLE, AFIUN KARA-HISSAR, AGNI AND AINTAB.

#### "To serve Armenia is to serve civilization".

#### -W. E. GLADSTONE

"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.

"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."

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 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 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.

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 despatch 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."

# THE MASSACRES OF RAS-UL-AIN

While the deportation of the deportees 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."

The first thing which attracted the attention of **Jevdet Bey** was the mound at whose base were the thousands of tents belonging to the Armenian Camp.

Jevdet Bey 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 dreaming that there was an Armenian amongst his audience, exclaimed —

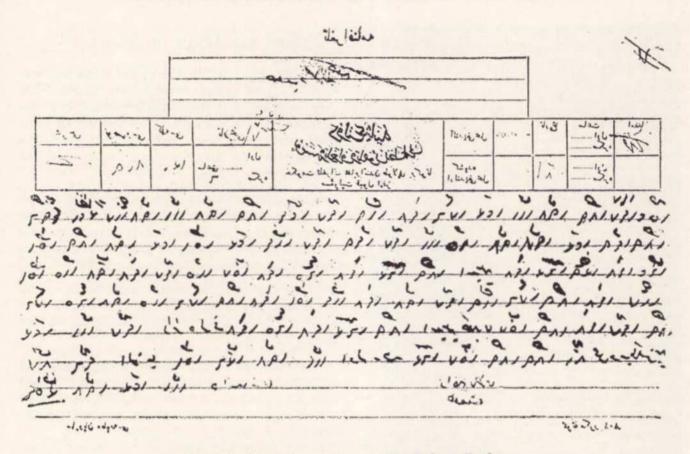
"Are those dogs still in existence? I command you to slaughter them all!"

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 Jevded Bey, and he threatened to have him dismissed.

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 **Ras-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 shud-

THIS PAGE IS DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF THE MARTYRED ARMENIANS FROM AK SHEHR, ALABASH, ALASHKERD AND ALBUSTAN.



Reproduction of a telegram by Talaat Pasha

dered 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, and seek to revenge themselves."

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.

The companies sent via Aintab and Marash

were slaughtered all along the way until they reached Mardin, where none of them were to arrive.

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.

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

THIS PAGE IS DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF THE MARTYRED ARMENIANS FROM AMASIA, ANGEGH, ANGORA AND ANTIOCH.

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 despatch 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."

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."

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."

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

#### -W. E. GLADSTONE

"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."

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 people were driven out of **Der-Zor** in batches, under the pretext of being sent to **Mou**sul. 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 carcases of horses and dogs. Finally, when there was nothing else left to eat, they began to devour human corpses, more especially corpses of small children.

In the desert some ownerless and hungry children saw a cauldron on a fire at a camp and thought that it was meat cooking; they took off the lid of the cauldron 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

THIS PAGE IS DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF THE MARTYRED ARMENIANS FROM ARABKIR, ARDISHAI, ARMASHA AND ARSLANBEG

-VICTOR HUGO

watching beside her. The smell of cooking meat came from somewhere near. Doubtless they were cooking the corpse of some child.

"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 babes of this people (Armenians) are criminals, for they will carry the seeds of vengeance in themselves. If you wish to ensure tomorrow, 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 (two 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.

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

"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."

"To Jemal Bey, delegate at Adana .-

"Nov. 18, 1915.— It is the duty of all of us to effect on the broadest lines the realization 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 civilization.

"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 centers. 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 court-martial.

#### Minister of the Interior, "TALAAT."

"No. 502.

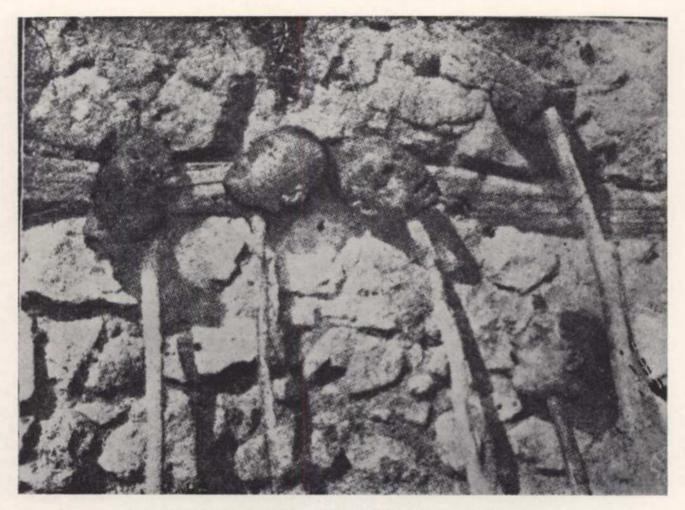
"To the Government of Aleppo.

"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 (Armenians), and that you shall subject the women and children to them also. Appoint reliable officials for this.

Minister of the Interior, "TALAAT."

THIS PAGE IS DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF THE MARTYRED ARMENIANS FROM AVAZAGHPUR, AYASH, AZIZIA AND BAB.

#### -W. E. GLADSTONE



Severed heads mounted on sticks. A Turkish festival of murder. (Photographed by a German Officer in Turkey)

"In Haftewan and Salmast 850 corpses, without heads, have been recovered from the wells and cisterns alone. Why? Because the commanding Officer had put a price on every Christian head."

> Eye-witness account from "The Murder of a Nation" by Arnold J. Toynbee

THE RIGHT

TO SECURITY OF

PERSON

The right to security of person and protection by the State against violence or bodily harm, whether inflicted by government officials or by any individual, group or institution.

- ARTICLE 5B OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION ON THE ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION.

THIS PAGE IS DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF THE MARTYRED ARMENIANS FROM BAGHTCHE, BAIBOURT, BALIKESER AND BAYAZID.

-VICTOR HUGO

#### "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 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 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 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.

# "MUSTAFA ABDULLHALIK."

"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 order regarding this to the people.

#### Minister of Interior, "TALAAT."

"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 Interior, "TALAAT."

"To the Government of Aleppo.

"Sept. 16, 1916.— 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."

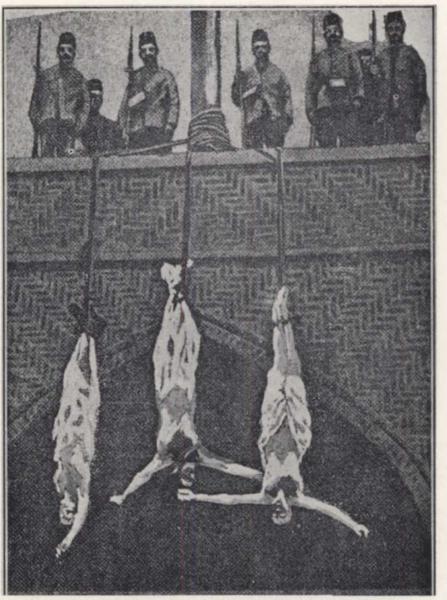
"A cipher-telegram from the War Office sent to all the commanding officers of the army.

"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

THIS PAGE IS DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF THE MARTYRED ARMENIANS FROM BESNE, BIREDJIK, BITLIS AND BOZANTI. "To serve Armenia is to serve civilization". -W. E. GLADSTONE



Hanged Armenian Doctors and the Turkish Hangmen. (Armenian physicians murdered by Turks, 60, and 41 died in Turkish Military service of spotted typhus; pharmacists murdered, 31, and 15 died in military service of spotted typhus; dentists murdered, 8; Armenian medical students murdered, 13.)

# EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW

All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law.

- ARTICLE 7 OF THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

THIS PAGE IS DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF THE MARTYRED ARMENIANS FROM BROUSSA, DERANDA, DERSIM AND DIVRIG.

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."

"We think," writes Ali Kemal Bey, "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 crime universal 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 programme 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.

Writes Ali Kemal Bey.

## -VICTOR HUGO

### DOCUMENTS

The following extracts are quoted from "The Treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire" (THE BLUE BOOK), a collection of documents relating to the massacres and deportation of the Armenian population of Asiatic Turkey from early 1915 to July 1916, presented to Viscount Grey of Fallodon, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and laid before the Houses of Parliament as an official paper and was published in 1916.

A SCHEME FOR EXTERMINATING THE AR-MENIAN NATION 53 YEARS AGO LETTER FROM VISCOUNT BRYCE TO VISCOUNT GREY OF FALLODON, SECRE-TARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

July 1st, 1916.

### My Dear Sir Edward,

In the autumn of 1915 accounts of massacres and deportations of the Christian population of Asiatic Turkey began to reach Western Europe and the United States. Few and imperfect at first - for every effort was made by the Turkish Government to prevent them from passing out of the country - these accounts increased in number and fullness of detail till in the beginning of 1916 it became possible to obtain a fairly accurate knowlege of what had happened. It the struck me that in the interest of historic truth, as well as with a view to the questions that must arise when the war ends, it had become necessary to try to complete these accounts, and test them by further evidence, so as to compile a general narrative of the events and estimate their significance. As materials were wanting or scanty in respect of some localities. I wrote to all the persons I could think of likely to possess or to be able to procure trustworthy data, begging them to favour me with such data. I addressed myself in particular to friends in the United States, a country which has long and intimate relations with Eastern Christians and to which many of those Christians have in recent years emigrated. Similar requests were made to Switzerland,

THIS PAGE IS DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF THE MARTYRED ARMENIANS FROM DIYARBEKIR, DJABAGHTCHOUR, DJERA AND DJEVIZLIK.



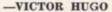
A starved Armenian mother with her two starved children. (Arabian Desert. Photograph by a Viennese Officer in Turkey, 1916)

THE CHILD SHALL PLAY

The child shall have full opportunity for play and recreation...

- PRINCIPLE 7 OF THE DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD.

THIS PAGE IS DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF THE MARTYRED ARMENIANS FROM MOUSA DAGH, DONGOL, DORT YOL AND EGIN.





Turkish hangmen and their victims. (A scene in a public square in Aleppo, 1915.)

also a neutral country, many of whose people have taken a lively interest in the welfare of the Armenians. When the responses from these quarters showed that sufficient materials for a history - provisional, no doubt, but trustworthy as far as the present data went - could be obtained, I had the good fortune to secure the co-operation of a young historian of high academic distinction, Mr. Arnold J. Toynbee, late fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. He undertook to examine and put together the pieces of evidence collected, arranging them in order and adding such observations, historical and geographical, as seemed needed to explain them. The materials so arranged by Mr. Toynbee, followed by such observations as aforesaid, I now transmit to you. They are, of course, of unequal value, for while most of them are narratives by eye-witnesses, some few report, at second hand what was told by eye-witnesses. In a short introduction prefixed, I have

tried to estimate their value, and so need only say here that nothing has been admitted the substantial truth of which seems open to reasonable doubt. Facts only have been dealt with; questions of future policy have been carefully avoided.

It is evidently desirable not only that ascertained facts should be put on record for the sake of future historians, while the events are still fresh in living memory, but also that the public opinion of belligerent nations and, I may add, of neutral peoples also should be enabled by a knowledge of what has happened in Asia Minor and Armenia to exercise its judgment on the course proper to be followed when, at the end of the present war, a political resettlement of the Nearer East has to be undertaken.

> I am, Yours sincerely, BRYCE.

THIS PAGE IS DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF THE MARTYRED ARMENIANS FROM ENTILLI, ERZEROUM, ERZINDJAN AND ESKI SHEHIR.

# "To serve Armenia is to serve civilization". -W. E. GLADSTONE



Remains of murder by the Turks.

THE RIGHT TO LIFE

Everyone has the right to life, liberty and the security of person.

- ARTICLE 3 OF THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

THIS PAGE IS DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF THE MARTYRED ARMENIANS FROM EUZERLI, EVEREK, EZLI AND FUNDADJAK.

# LETTER FROM VISCOUNT GREY OF FALLODON, SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, TO VISCOUNT BRYCE

Foreign Office, August 23rd, 1916

My Dear Bryce,

I have to thank you for sending me the collection of documents on the Armenian Massacres which has been so ably put together by Mr. Arnold J. Toynbee.

It is a terrible mass of evidence; but I feel that it ought to be published and widely studied by all who have the broad interests of humanity at heart. It will be valuable, not only for the immediate information of public opinion as to the conduct of the Turkish Government towards this defenceless people, but also as a mine of information for historians in the future, and for the other purposes suggested in your letter.

> Yours sincerely, GREY OF FALLODON.

...the position of the Armenians and the system of deportation, dispersion, and extermination that is being carried out against them beggars all description.

#### **DOCUMENT 2.**

A week before anything was done to Baibourt, the villages all round had been emptied of their Armenian inhabitants. The forced exodus from Baibourt took place on the 1st of June. All the villages, as well as three-fourths of the town, had already been evacuated. The third convoy included from 4,000 to 5,000 people. Within six or seven days from the start, all males down to below fifteen years of age had been murdered.

Persecutions, accompanied by horrible torture, have taken place in the Armenian village of Baghtchedjik or Bardizaq (2,000 families), in Ovajik (600 families), in Arslanbeg (600 families), in Dongol (65 families), in Sabandja (1,000 families), in Ismid, etc. The inhabitants of Kurt-Belene (6,000 to 7,000 families) have been expelled.

In Arabkir the Armenian population has been converted to Islam, after 2,000 males had been killed.

## **DOCUMENT 4.**

The least details of this compulsory emigration that reach us at Constantinople, reduce one to tears at their recital. Among those 1,000 families deported to Sultania there are less than fifty men. The majority made the journey on foot; the old people and the young children died by the wayside, and young women with child miscarried and were abandoned on the mountains.

## **DOCUMENT 6.**

The villages in the neighbourhood of Van and distance that involves one or two months' marching and sometimes even more, before they reach the particular corner of the desert assigned to them for their habitation, and destined to become their tomb. We hear, in fact, that the course of their route and the stream of the Euphrates are littered with the corpses of exiles, while those who survive are doomed to certain death, since they will find in the desert neither house, nor work, nor food.

It is simply a scheme for exterminating the Armenian nation wholesale, without any fuss. It is just another form of massacre, and a more horrible form.

The villages in the neighbourhood of Van and Bitlis have been plundered, and their inhabitants put to the sword. At the beginning of this month, there was a pitless massacre of all the inhabitants of Kara-Hissar with the exception of a few children who are said to have escaped by a miracle. Unhappily we learn the details of all these occurrences too late, and even then only with the utmost difficulty.

## **DOCUMENT 7.**

It is now established that there is not an Armenian left in the provinces of Erzeroum, Trebizond, Sives, Kharpout, Bitlis and Diyarbe-

THIS PAGE IS DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF THE MARTYRED ARMENIANS FROM FURNUS, GEBEN, GEMEREK AND GEMLEYIK.

#### "To serve Armenia is to serve civilization".

#### -W. E. GLADSTONE



### Torture and degradation of Armenian women.

(A unique picture, photographed on the road from Trebizond to Erzinga by a German Officer.)

No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

- ARTICLE 5 OF THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

THIS PAGE IS DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF THE MARTYRED ARMENIANS FROM GEREG, GOURKSOUN, GURIN AND GURLA.



The bones of hundreds of thousands Armenians whom the Turks murdered, by gathering them together, pouring gasoline on them, and then setting them to fire alive. No pen can truly depict the horrors inflicted by the Turkish monsters.

kir. About a million of the Armenian inhabitants of these provinces have been deported from their homes and sent southwards into exile.

The convoys of women and children were placed on view in front of the Government Building at each town or village where they passed, to give the Moslems an opportunity of taking their choice.

The convoy which started from Baibourt was thinned out in this way, and the women and children who survived were thrown into the Euphrates on the outskirts of Erzindjan, at a place called Kamakh-Boghazi. Mademoiselle Flora A. Wedel Yarlesberg, a norwegian lady of good family who was a nurse in a German Red Cross Hospital, and another nurse who was her colleague, were so revolted by these barbarities and by other experiences of equal horror, that they tendered their resignations, returned to Constantinople, and called personally at several Embassies to denounce these hideous crimes.

The same barbarities have been committed everywhere, and by this time travelers find nothing but thousands of Armenian corpses along all the roads in the provinces. A Moslem traveler on his way from Malatia to Sivas, a nine hours' journey, passed nothing but corpses of men and women. All the male Armenians of Malatia had been taken there and massacred.

THIS PAGE IS DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF THE MARTYRED ARMENIANS FROM HADJIN, HAFTEVAN, HAI KEUI, HARNI AND HAVAV.

#### -W. E. GLADSTONE

#### **DOCUMENT 11.**

German travelers from Aleppo describe the misery of the deported Armenians as terrible. All along the route they saw corpses of Armenians who had died of hunger.

The Arab deputies from Bagdad and Syria report that the misery in the deserts of Hauran is indescribable.

#### **DOCUMENT** 12.

In the Vilayet of Aleppo they have evicted the inhabitants of Hadjin, Shar, Albustan, Goksoun, Tasholouk, Zeitoun, all the villages of Alabash, Geben, Shivilgi, Furnus and the surrounding villages, Fundadjak, Hassan-Beyli, Harni, Lappashli, Dort-Yol and others.

They have marched them off in convoys into the desert on the pretext of settling them there. In the village of Tel-Armen (along the line of the Bagdad Railway, near Mosul) and in the neighbouring villages about 5,000 peoples were massacred, leaving only a few women and children. The people were thrown alive down wells or into the fire. They pretend that the Armenians are to be employed in colonizing land situated at a distance of from twenty-four to thirty kilometers from the Bagdad Railway. But as it is only the women and children who are sent into exile, since all the men, with the exception of the very old, are at the war, this means nothing less than the wholesale murder of the families, since they have neither the labour nor the capital for clearing the country.

For a whole month corpses were observed floating down the River Euphrates nearly every day, often in batches of from two to six corpses bound together. The male corpses are in many cases hideously mutilated (sexual organs cut off, and so on), the female corpses are ripped open. The Turkish military authority in control of the Euphrates, the Kaimakem of Djerablous, refuses to allow the burial of these corpses, on the ground that he finds it impossible to establish whether they belong to Moslems or to Christians. He adds that no one has given him any orders on the subject. The corpses stranded on the bank are devoured by dogs and vultures. To this fact there are many German eye-witnesses. An employee of the Bagdad Railway has brought the information that the prisons at Biredjik are filled regularly every day and emptied every night into the Euphrates. Between Diyarbekir and Ourfa a German cavalry captain saw innumerable corpses lying unburied all along the road.

Aleppo and Ourfa are the assemblage-places for the convoys of exiles. There were about 5,000 of them in Aleppo during June and July, while during the whole period from April to July many more than 50,000 must have passed through the city. The girls were abducted almost without exception by the soldiers and their Arab hangers-on. One father, on the verge of despair, besought me to take with me at least his fifteen year old daughter, as he could no longer protect her from the persecutions inflicted upon her. The children left behind by the Armenians on their journey are past counting.

Women whose pains came upon them on the way had to continue their journey without respite. A woman bore twins in the neighbourhood of Aintab; next morning she had to go on again. She very soon had to leave the children under a bush, and a little while after she collapsed herself. Another, whose pain came upon her during the march, was compelled to go on at once and fell down dead almost immediately. There were several more incidents of the same kind between Marash and Aleppo.

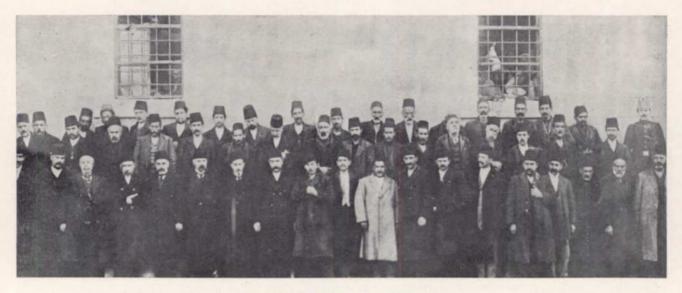
### **DOCUMENT** 13.

When I left Turkey early in March (1916), the Armenian situation was as follows:—

In general deportations had ceased, but local interference with Armenians continued. Quite often Armenians who had remained in the villages or cities between the Taurus Mountains and Constantinople have been sent from one locality to another within the province, or even to localities in other provinces.

Arrests of Armenians in the Capital continue with considerable frequency. Those arrested were usually sent to some interior prov-

THIS PAGE IS DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF THE MARTYRED ARMENIANS FROM KHARPUT, HASSAN-BEYLI, HUSSEINIG AND IGDIR.



#### Armenian Martyrs from Kesaria

This photograph was taken in front of the prison, one hour before all were killed. First row.— From L. to R. a rugdealer a hero from gurin. Hovhaness Soogurlian. Garabed Zambakjian. Parsekh Kilimian. Garabed Jamjian. Nishan Halajian. Lawyer, Yervant. Karnig Kouyoumjian. Soongurlian, Jr. Varteres Armenian. Karnig Oughourlian. Avedis Zambakjian. Krikor Kerekmezian. Haroutiun Der Mgurdichian. Hagop Timourian. Shoemaker, Baghdasar. Hohannes. Dr. Levon Hunjakian.

Second row. L. to R.- Not known. Karnig Balukjian. Hagop Churakian. Hohannes Ekmekjian. Mardiros Lousararian. Hagop Avsharian. Hagop Merdinian. Shoemaker, Garabed Navrouzian. Nevshirlian. Vahan Kurkjian. Brassworker. Shoemaker. Grocer, Daniel. Tekeh Ehyonin. Khacher. Ironworker. Unknown. Krikor Deukmejian. Mardiros Boyajian.

Third row. L. to R .- Voskian Minassian. Unknown. Karnig Jurjurian. Unknown. Bedros Matossian. Haroutiun Boejekian. Candy maker, Mihran. Hagop Kherlian. Garabed Matossian. Garabed Elmajian. Minas Minasian. Boghos Meshejian. Hadji Mirijian. Diran Ohanian. Garabed Istambolian. Turkish policeman. Unkown.

> No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

- ARTICLE 9 OF THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

THIS PAGE IS DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF THE MARTYRED ARMENIANS FROM ISMID, ITCHME, KAHDEM AND KAISARIA.



Last days of starving children. (Arabian Desert. Photograph by a German Officer in Turkey.)

ince, often to be killed or to be left to die from ill-treatment or lack of food.

Extortion of money and supplies from Armenians, and discriminations against them in the distribution of bread and other food supplies, continue out of all proportion to these practices as applied to other Ottoman subjects.

The suffering of all Armenians, and especially of those in exile, is very great, and many are dying from lack of proper food and from disease. Anti-Armenian feeling among Moslems is increasing.

Early in January of this year, trustworthy reports from Aleppo gave 492,000 as the number of deported Armenians who were at that time in the regions of Mosul, Der-el-Zor, Aleppo and Damascus. Most of these are women and children and old men, practically all of whom are in great need of food and other necessities of life. Without physicians and medicine, disease is reaping a rich harvest from these exiles.

The Turkish Minister of the Interior has stated that about 800,000 Armenians have been deported, and that about 300,000 of these people have been killed or have perished from other causes. Other estimates place the number of deported at 1,200,000, and the number who have perished from all causes at 500,000.

#### **DOCUMENT** 19.

## THEY WERE KILLED OR STARVED TO DEATH

... At sunset these 500 young men were shot outside the town without any formality. During the following two days the same process was carried out with heartless and cold-blooded thoroughness in the 80 Armenian villages of Ardjish, Adiljevas, and the rest of the district north of Lake Van. In this manner some 24,000 Armenians were killed in three days, their young women carried away and their homes looted.

The country from Igdir to Van had indeed been a slaughter-house but a few months before. Entire villages had been completely wiped-out. Except for some casual travellers, not a single human soul was to be seen there — there were but vultures and howling dogs who fed upon the putrified human remains.

THIS PAGE IS DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF THE MARTYRED ARMENIANS FROM KAMAKH, KANGAL, KARASU AND KARSAKH.



After slaughter

## DOCUMENT 20.

"I spent a month in Van while our school was the target of the Turks. I saw them kill, burn and persecute," she said. "I saw our town become a part of barren waste. I saw Turks bury Armenian victims with the dogs, divide the women among them as wives and throw babies into the Lake. The school was burned, the missionaries fled, and 35,000 of the 75,000 inhabitants of the Van district were killed or starved to death."

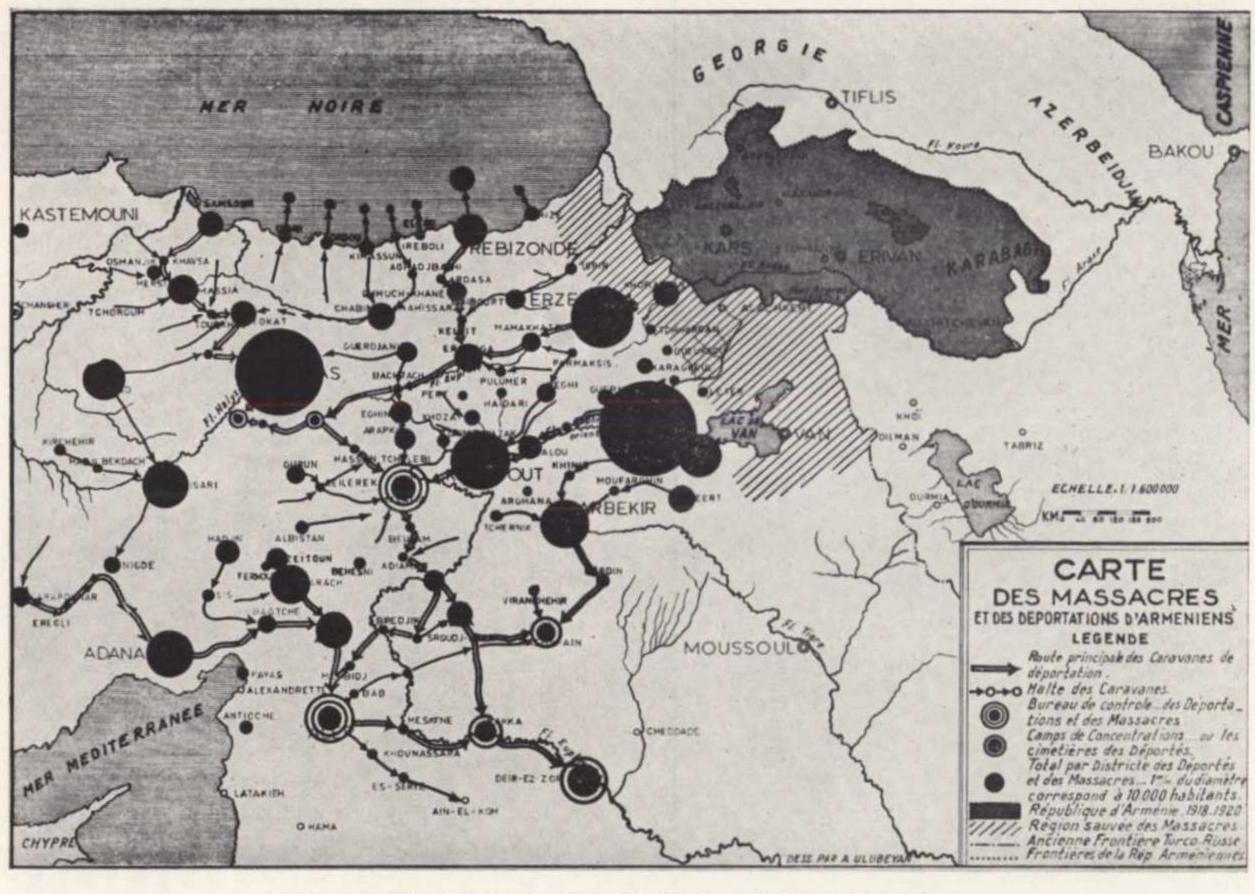
### **DOCUMENT 23.**

When there was no one left in Bitlis to massacre, their attention was diverted to Moush. Cruelties had already been committed, but so far not too publicly; now, however, they started to shoot people down without any cause, and beat them to death simply for the pleasure of doing so. In Moush itself, which is a big town, there are 25,000 Armenians; in the neighbourhood there are 300 villages each containing about 500 houses. In all these not a single male Armenian is now to be seen, and hardly a woman either, except for a few here and there.

We left for Harpout. Harpout has become the cemetery of the Armenians; from all directions they have been brought to Harpout to be buried. There they lie, and the dogs and the vultures devour their bodies. Now and then some man throws some earth over the bodies. In Harpout and Mezre, the people have to endure terrible tortures. They have had their eye-brows plucked out, their breasts cut off, their nails torn off; their torturers hew off their feet or else hammer nails into them just as they do in shoeing a horse.

In Mezre a public brothel was erected for the Turks, and all the beautiful Armenian girls and women were placed there. At night the Turks were allowed free entrance.

THIS PAGE IS DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF THE MARTYRED ARMENIANS FROM KARS, KASSABA, KEBAN AND KEGHI.



MAP OF THE ARMENIAN MASSACRES AND DEPORTATIONS



In the desert of Der-el-Zor. Why there are no living Armenians in the Armenian provinces in Turkey.

### **DOCUMENT 51.**

...Women were wantonly slain; those with child ripped up with swords; the breasts of others cut off. Some threw themselves and their children into the streams and over the precipices to escape outrage.

### DOCUMENT 57.

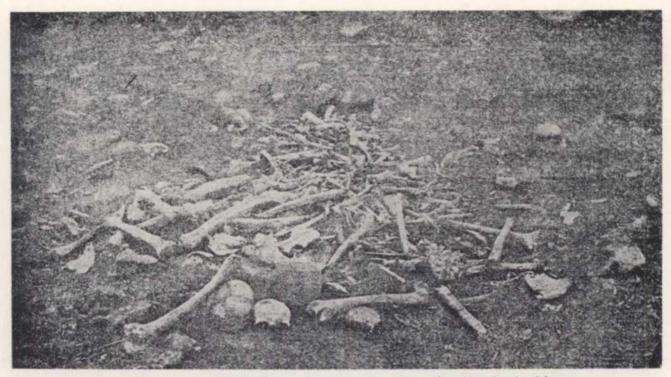
A few hours' distance beyond Mamahatoun, at the entrance of a valley called the Kabakh gorge, this convoy was "ambushed by unknown robbers." The signal was given by a revolver shot, where upon a volley of fire was poured upon the Armenians. One of the survivors of this batch, a lad of 18 whom I saw in Erzeroum, told me that the shrieks and cries of the women and weeping children under fire were distracting. Many attempted to escape, but they were fired upon by their own escort. In two hours' time the valley had become a vast cemetery of unburied human bodies. Out of the 15,000 thus disposed of, a few escaped and reached Erzeroum in the guise of Turkish peasants.

The German officers in Erzeroum behaved in an outrageous manner towards the Armenian women torn away from their men. The Germans, in fact, seem to have set the example of wrenching women from their homes. One Captain is said to have forced Miss Tchilingarian, a handsome girl, to follow him. On her resisting and crying, she was dragged about in the streets and roughly handled. This worthy German also carried off Mrs. Sarafian, a young woman educated in Switzerland. Another German lieutenant, Karl, dragged five women to his rooms, and so on.

THIS PAGE IS DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF THE MARTYRED ARMENIANS FROM KELIDJ, KEREMET, KHEDER-BEY AND KHOI.

#### "To serve Armenia is to serve civilization".

#### -W. E. GLADSTONE



A public square of Erzindjan in Turkey. (An Armenian theatre had been planned for this square, now the remains of the murdered Armenians act the roles of their tragedy.)

In a loop of the river near Erzindjan, the ernor asked all the leaders and prominent Arthousands of dead bodies created such a barrage that the Euphrates changed its course for about a hundred yards. ernor asked all the leaders and prominent Armenians to go to him. He told them that they were obliged to abandon the city to the enemy, consequently the army would retreat from the

### **DOCUMENT 58.**

Ali-Aghazade Faro, a Kurd, related to some Armenians of St. Garabed, who reached Caucasia as refugees, that he had gone to Erzeroum last September to sell sheep, etc., and to get September to sell booty from the Armenians if possible. Faro remained in Erzeroum for five or six days, during which time he did not see a single Armenian. He only &c., and to get his share of the body from ians. When he asked how it was that they were in these shops, some answered that they had bought them, while others said that they were gifts to them from the Government.

Faro spent the night in a Turkish house, and asked his host what had become of the Armenians. The latter replied as follows:—

"It was at the end of May when the Gov-

menians to go to him. He told them that they were obliged to abandon the city to the enemy, consequently the army would retreat from the place. Therefore he instructed them to get ready and join him within twenty-four hours. They had to get ready, but as all means of transport had been requisitioned, they could take practically nothing with them. Before the twentyfour hours were up, they all gathered near the Government Building without knowing what was impending. Several hundred gendarmes surrounded them immediately and drove them out of the city towards the west. They were taken as far as Charuk-Dersim (Doujik). The Kurds of Dersim had already received their orders. They attacked them and killed every one. Another batch of Armenians was deported towards Sivas. They were seen passing through the Kamakh Pass, but what happened to them afterwards has never been known. A few hundred of their most beautiful girls were captured by certain Turks, and the Government was still looking for them."

THIS PAGE IS DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF THE MARTYRED ARMENIANS FROM KILIDJLAR, KILLIS, KIZIL AGATCH AND KONIA.



A scene of mass murder. (Mesopotamia, 1915. Photograph by a German Officer in Turkey).

### **DOCUMENT 59.**

The worst and most unimaginable horrors were reserved for us at the banks of the Euphrates and in the Erzindjan plain. The mutilated bodies of women, girls and little children made everybody shudder. The brigands were doing all sorts of awful deeds to the women and girls that were with us, whose cries went up to heaven. At the Euphrates, the brigands and gendarmes threw into the river all the remaining children under fifteen years old. Those that could swim were shot down as they struggled in the water.

After seven days we reached Erzindjan. Not an Armenian was left alive there. Between there and Enderessi, the fields and hillsides were dotted with swollen and blackened corpses that filled and fouled the air with their stench.

### **DOCUMENT 64.**

...When she visited the Orphanage again several days later, there were only thirteen of the 700 children left — the rest had disappeared. They had been taken, she learnt, to a lake six hours' journey by road from the town and drowned. Three hundred fresh children were subsequently collected at the "Orphanage", and Sister DA. believed they suffered the same fate as their predecessors. These victims were the residue of the Armenian children at H. The finest boys and prettiest girls had been picked out and carried off by the Turks and Kurds of the district, and it was the remainder, who had been left on the Government's hands, that were disposed of in this way.

## DOCUMENT 65.

If it were simply a matter of being obliged to leave here to go somewhere else, it would not

THIS PAGE IS DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF THE MARTYRED ARMENIANS FROM LAPPASHLI, MALATIA, MALGARA AND MAMOURET-UL-AZIZ.



On the road to exile

be so bad, but everybody knows that it is a case of going to one's death. If there was any doubt about it, it has been removed by the arrival of a number of convoys, aggregating several thousand people, from Erzeroum and Erzindjan. I have visited their encampment a number of times, and talked with some of the people. A more pitiable sight cannot be imagined. They are, almost without exception, ragged, filthy, hungry and sick. That is not surprising, in view of the fact that they have been on the road for nearly two months, with no change of clothing, no chance to wash, no shelter and little to eat.

On the Wednesday morning they were taken to a valley a few hours distant, where they were all made t osit down. Then the gendarmes began shooting them, until they had killed nearly all of them. Some who had not been killed by bullets were then disposed of with knives and bayonets.

... Our ears are sick with these sights and stories of abject terror and suffering. The extermination of the race seems to be the objective, and the means employed are more fiendish than could be concocted locally. The orders are from headquarters, and any reprieve must be from the same sources.

#### DOCUMENT 73.

# TREBIZOND: EXTRACTS FROM AN INTER-VIEW WITH COMM. G. GORRINI, LATE ITAL-IAN CONSUL-GENERAL AT TREBIZOND, PUB-LISHED IN THE JOURNAL "IL MESSAGGERO" OF ROME 25th AUGUST, 1915

For over four years I was Consul-General at Trebizond, with jurisdiction over practically the whole Black Sea littoral, from the Russo-

THIS PAGE IS DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF THE MARTYRED ARMENIANS FROM MARASH, MARDIN, MARMARDJIK AND MARSOVAN.

-VICTOR HUGO



After slaughter

Turkish frontier to the neighbourhood of Constantinople, and over five provinces in the interior of Asia Minor, (Eastern Anatolia, Armenia and Kurdistan) — districts chiefly inhabited by Turks, Armenians and Kurds, with a considerable sprinkling of Persians, Russians, Greeks and Arabs. For the last ten months, morever, I had also been responsible for the protection of the very numerous Russian subjects and Russian interest, as well as the Greeks and Montenegrin, and also, to some etent, the French, the English, and the American, with others of minor account...

As for the present internal condition of the Ottoman Empire I can only answer for my own district. In my district the present condition of things is almost desperate. The population is showing true Moslem resignation in the way it is bearing the existing situation — the ruin and desolation of individuals and community, the holocaust of all and everything for a war which no one desired, but which was forced upon them

by Enver Pasha, and which will lead to the ruin and dismemberment of all that still remains of the Ottoman Empire. But the Moslem and Christian populations can do nothing more they have reached the extreme limit of their effort. The oxygen is being administered by the Germans, who are trying to prolong the agony of the dying Empire, but will not be able to perform the miracle of restoring life to a corpse. Apart from a few lunatics, a speedy peace, even if it involves the foreign occupation of Ottoman territory, is the prayer of all. There is no courage for a rebellion. The Germans and the "Committee of Union and Progress" are hated and detested by all, but only in the intimacy of the heart and in confidential conversation, for the Germans and the Committee constitute the one genuine, solid organization at present existing in Turkey - a masterly and most rigorous organization, which does not hesitate to use any weapon whatever; an organization of audacity, of terror, and of mysterious, ferocious revenge .....

THIS PAGE IS DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF THE MARTYRED ARMENIANS FROM MESSOUDIA, MEZRE, MIKHALIDJ AND MORINIG.

#### "To serve Armenia is to serve civilization". -W. E. GLADSTONE



A group of starved women and children. A monument for the glorification of Turkish Racism. (Photograph by a Viennese Officer, 1916.)

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 despatched under the guard of the gendarmerie to distant, unknown destinations, which for a few will mean the interior of 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 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 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.

From the 24th June, the date of the pub-

THIS PAGE IS DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF THE MARTYRED ARMENIANS FROM MOUSH, NIDGE, NIKSAR, ODJAKLI AND NOR KEUI.

lication of the infamous decree, until the 23rd July, the date of my own departure from Trebizond. I no longer slept or ate: I was given over to nerves and nausea, so terrible was the torment of having to look on at the wholesale execution of these defenseless, innocent creatures.

The passing of the gangs of Armenian exiles beneath the windows and before the door of the Consulate; their prayers for help, when neither I nor any other could do anything to answer them; the city in a state of siege, guarded at every point by 15,000 troops in complete war equipment, by thousands of police agents, by bands of volunteers and by the members of the "Committee of Union and Progress"; the lamentations, the tears, the abandonments, the imprecations, the many suicides, the instantaneous deaths from sheer terror, the sudden unhinging at men's reason, the conflagrations, the shooting of victims in the city, the ruthless searches through the houses and in the countryside; the hundreds of corpses found every day along the exile road; the young women converted by force to Islam or exiled like the rest; the children torn away from their families or from the Christian schools and handed over by force to Moslem families, or else placed by hundreds on board ship in nothing but their shirts, and then capsized and drowned in the Black Sea and the River Devirmen Dere - these are my last ineffaceable memories of Trebizond, memories which still, at a months distance, torment my soul and almost drive me frantic. When one has had to look on for a whole month at such horrors, at such protracted tortures, with absolutely no power of acting as one longed to act, the question naturally and spontaneously suggests itself, whether all the cannibals and all the wild beasts in the world have not left their hiding places and retreats, left, the virgin forests of Africa, Asia, America and Oceania, to make their rendez-vous at Stamboul. I should prefer to close our interview at this point, with the solemn asseveration that this black page in Turkey's history calls for the most uncompromising reproach and for the vengeance of all Christiandom. If they knew all the things that I know, all that I have had to see with my eyes



THE REAL KULTURIST (From N. Y. Evening Telegram)

and hear with my ears, all Christian powers that are still neutral would be impelled to rise up against Turkey and cry anathema against her inhuman Government and her ferocious "Committee of Union and Progress", and they would extend the responsibility to Turkey's Allies, who tolerate or even shield with their strong arm these execrable crimes, which have not their equal in history, either modern or ancient. Shame, horror, and disgrace.

### **DOCUMENT** 76.

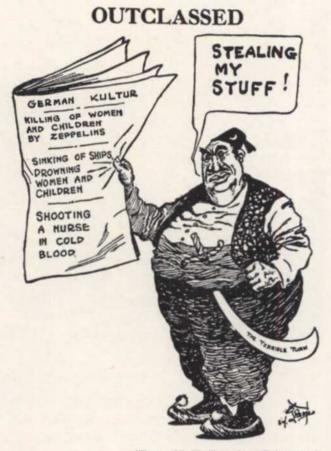
The whole Armenian population of Trebizond, numbering some 10,000 souls, was thus exterminated. It is hoped, however, that some hundreds of persons may yet be found hidden in the villages in the neighbourhood.

At Erzeroum, where the Armenian population was considerably greater, being estimated at 35,000, practically the same program was carried out.

THIS PAGE IS DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF THE MARTYRED ARMENIANS FROM OLTI, ORDOU, ORTAKEUI AND OURFA.

# "The Turk has trodden this land, all is in ruins".

#### -VICTOR HUGO



(From N. Y. Evening Telegram)

## DOCUMENT 77.

We believe there is imminent danger of many of these people (whom we estimate for the Sivas, Erzeroum and Harpout Vilayets to be 600,000) starving to death on the road.

### DOCUMENT 78.

The night before we had spent at Kazi Mahara, which was empty. They said that a valley near there was full of corpses. At Kangal we also began to see exiles from Tokat. The sight was one to strike horror to any heart; they were accompany of old women, who had been robbed of absolutely everything.

As we approached the bridge over the Tokma Su, it was certainly a fearful sight. As far as the eye could see over the plain was this slow moving line of ox-carts. For hours there was not a drop of water on the road, and the sun poured down its very hottest. As we went on we began to see the dead from yesterday's company, and the weak began to fall by the way.

#### DOCUMENT 87.

With unspeakable brutality, the innocent young women teachers and pupils of the girls' school, who were remaining in the school for the summer vacation on account of the difficulties of traveling to their homes, were carried off by the Turkish gendarmes under Government orders.

You will see, incidentally, how this work of destruction illustrates the deep laid and carefully executed plans of the Turkish Government for the assassination and annihilation of the Armenian people.

On my way from X, to Constantinople, I saw at least 50,000 people, three fourths of whom were women and children, who had been torn from their homes and all their earthly possessions, and driven into the fields along the railway line without any shelter or any adequate means of subsistence, hungry, sick and perishing, awaiting the conveniences of the railway traffic to be crowded like sheep into the goods trucks, to be carried away eastward to die in the desert, if they did not perish or disappear in Turkish Harems on the way.

The 50,000 whom I saw represented but a brief section of the procession which has been passing along that way for months. A very moderate estimate of the number of people who have perished in this way places the figure at 500,000, and still they go on.

When the wife of our American Ambassador at Constantinople made a personal appeal to Talaat Bey, the Minister of the Interior in the Turkish Cabinet — the man who more than anyone else has devised and executed this deportation of the Armenians, and who has boasted that he has been able to destroy more Armenians in 30 days that Abd-ul-Hamid was able to destroy in 30 years, when she made an appeal to this Turkish Minister, begging him

THIS PAGE IS DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF THE MARTYRED ARMENIANS FROM OVADJIK, PALU, PANDERMA AND PERRI.

-VICTOR HUGO

to stop this cruel persecution of Armenian women and girls, the only answer she got from him was: "All this amuses us!"

The mayor of our city told our American Consular Agent that the Government intended first to get rid of the Armenians, and then of the Greeks, and finally of the foreigners, and so to have Turkey for the Turks. Enver Pasha said the same thing to our Ambassador.

One of the gendarmes who helped to drive these 1,213 men away, boasted to our French teacher that he had killed 50 Armenians with his own hands, and had obtained from their persons 150 Turkish. The chief of the police at X, stated that none of these 1,213 men remained alive. Our Consular Agent visited the scene of this slaughter in August, and brought back with him Turkish "nufus teskeries", or identification papers, taken from the bodies of the victims. I personally saw these papers. They were all besmeared with blood.

### **DOCUMENT 88.**

The number of Armenians in Turkey was variously estimated at from one and a half million to two and a half million. Most people who know this country well, think that not over five hundred thousand are now left.

### **DOCUMENT 89.**

A little bride and a slim young girl sidled up to our wagon to talk. In reply to our talk they told us that they were "busy taking care of the babies." We asked what babies, and they said,"O, those the effendis stop here; the mothers nurse them and then go." We asked if there were many, and were told that every house was full. We were watched too closely to make calls possible. Afterwards we found an officer ready to talk, who said, "We take them off after a while and kill them. What can we do? The mothers cannot take them, and the Government cannot take care of them for ever.

### **DOCUMENT 90.**

A person of standing, who has been traveling in the interior, gave me confidentially the following details on the subject:



VIA DOLOROSA. ---Kirby In the New York World.

1. Samsoun, Amasia and Marsovan people — all reached Amasia. Then all the men were taken, bound, and some of them killed, between Amasia, Tokat and Tourchal. All those who reached Tokat were directed towards Tchiftlik or Guishguisha and murdered. The women and children were taken in ox-carts to Sharkishla; then they were sent to Malatia, and finally thrown into the Kirk Goz or Euphrates.

2. The same thing as above, with the difference that all pretty women and all children were taken off to Turkish houses.

3. Erbaa, Niksar, Messoudia.— The men were bound during the night, and then part of them were thrown into the river Kelkid. The others were murdered near Tokat. The women and children were deported via Sharkishla and Malatia — same fate as in No. 1.

4. Sharkishla, Gemerek, Azizia, Tchoroum, Derenda — all sent on foot to Malatia, same fate.

5. Sivas, Divrik, Kangal, then all on foot to Malatia, men murdered en route, same fate.

THIS PAGE IS DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF THE MARTYRED ARMENIANS FROM PERTCHENDJI, PASHAGHAG, RODOSTO AND SABANDJA.

#### -W. E. GLADSTONE



6. Egin, Arabkir, Keban, Harpout, Malatia — same fate.

7. Karahissar, Sou-Shehr, Zara, Tchavik all murdered.

8. Erzindjan, Kamakh — part murdered, the rest thrown into the Euphrates.

Band of Kurds from Dersim are at work in Malatia. All Armenians have been killed, according to my informant. I believe that all the men have been killed, but that the women and children have been distributed among the Turkish families of the interior. Not one Armenian is to be seen.

## **DOCUMENT 93.**

Under the pretext of transportation for political reasons, the Young Turks are carrying out a well-planned, systematic process of extermination. Beginning in April, they imprisoned the leaders and many other prominent people in X. In order to exact confession they used all sorts of torture, only to be paralleled in the records of Mediaevalism and the Iquisition.

The Kaimakam and the commandant of the gendarmes at X, told me repeatedly that they were only tools; they had to carry out the orders given them. No Armenian is to be left. Old or young, blind or lame, or disabled — all had to go away, without any exception being granted.

## **DOCUMENT** 94.

It was on the 29th April that the Turkish Government began to arrest the leading Armenians at X.

Mr. OO., Professor of Armenian, was sent to Z. with sixteen other Professors; they suffered fiendish atrocities. Their hair was plucked out by the roots; they were burned with red hot irons; they were sprinkled with boiling water, they were flogged daily; some of them died in prison. Mr. OO. himself had his eyes gouged out, and was then hanged.

## DOCUMENT 95.

Then they were sent away, principally in three directions - some along the high-road that leads to Kaisaria and Yozgad, others in the Sungurlu direction, and others westward. Reports came from all directions that these exiles were all killed after proceeding some miles from the city. It was said that one party was shot, but in all the other cases the Turks practised economy, killing their victims with axes and daggers. Some of the perpetrators of these horrible crimes boasted of it openly in the cafes, giving details of their achievement and the number of their victims. One Albanian said he had killed fifty men. Villagers from Kilidjlar, on the way to Sungurlu, spoke to many people confidentially of how the ground in their neighbourhood was soaked with blood.

THIS PAGE IS DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF THE MARTYRED ARMENIANS FROM SALMAS, SAMSOUN, SASSOUN AND SEVEREG.



"By Allah! I may have to interfere in the name of humanity."

-Eve. Sun.

#### **DOCUMENT 96.**

People say that the mountains round Asi Yozgad are a cemetery.

In Angora I learned that the tanners and the butchers of the city had been called to Asi Yozgad, and the Armenians committed to them for murder.

The Ottoman Bank President showed bank notes soaked with blood and struck through with daggers with the blot round the hole, and some torn that had evidently been ripped from the clothing of the people who had been killed, and these were placed on ordinary deposit in the bank by Turkish officers.

### DOCUMENT 97.

In the valley of Beyhan Boghazi, six or seven hours' distance from the town, they were attacked by a wild horde of Turkish peasants, and, in pursuance of the order, were all mas-

#### -VICTOR HUGO

sacred with clubs, hammers, axes, scythes, spades, saws — in word, with every implement that causes a slow and painful death. Some shore off their heads, ears, noses, hands, feet, with scythes; others put out their eyes. Thus was exterminated the whole male Armenian population of Angora.

The bodies of the victims were left in pieces in the valley, to be devoured by the wild beasts. The gendarmes boast the part they played in these exploits.

#### **DOCUMENT 100.**

I have received information in regard to the wholesale extermination of the Armenian population of Andrinople.

The document furnishes a list of 29 districts in which the whole Armenian population numbering some 835,000 persons, have been either killed or exiled or forcibly converted to Islam. One ecclesiastic was burnt alive, five were hanged, or otherwise killed, and ten were imprisoned.

## DOCUMENT 101.

Words are inadequate to describe the utter misery and destitution of these hordes of emigrants who are today roaming all over Asia Minor. The roads are crowded with thousands upon thousands of these unfortunate wretches.

However, even if no Armenian had been killed outright, the result would be the same, for the deportation as carried out at present is merely a polite form of massacre. Unless the whole movement be stopped at once, there is, I am firmly convinced, not the slightest chance of any of the exiles surviving this coming winter, except possibly the very wealthiest amongst them.

Nor do authorities make any secret of the fact that their main object is the extermination of the whole Armenian race. The Vali admitted quite frankly: "We are determined to get rid, once and for all, of this cancer in our country. It has been our greatest political danger, only we never realized it as much as we do now. It

THIS PAGE IS DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF THE MARTYRED ARMENIANS FROM SHABIN KARA-HISSAR, SHAKLAK, SHIVILGI, SIS AND SOCRAT.

#### "To serve Armenia is to serve civilization".

-W. E. GLADSTONE



First Ally: These from a London Zeppelin raid. Second Ally: These from the Armenians.

(From the Harper's Weekly)

is true that many innocent are suffering with the guilty, but we have no time to make any distinctions. We know it means an economic loss to us, but it is nothing compared with the danger we are thereby escaping!".

### **DOCUMENT 106.**

Some of the exiles have been sent to Konia, but on the bleak uplands of Afiun Kara Hissar, under canvas, or, in many cases, without tents at all, there are about 11,000 exiles in misery. Most of them have been reduced to an indescribable condition. They endured all kinds of hardships on their journey, and a large proportion of them died on the road. Many fathers have been compelled to abandon their children on the road. They have been obliged to march day after day on foot, pricked on at the point of yataghans and deluged with curses. In the struggle to keep up this unending journey on foot, they have been forced to abandon by the road such possessions as they had taken with them, even the most necessary articles, and they are now naked and shelterless on the frozen plateau.

This pitiful mass of sufferers is composed of Armenians from the towns and villages of Balikesri, Panderma, Erendjik, Hai Keui, Mikhalidj, Kassaba, Broussa, Gemleyik, Benli, Marmardjik, Karsakh, Gurle, Yenidje, Djera, Ezli, Adapazar, Karasu, Yalova, Tchoukour, Karsz, Kelidj, Shaklak, Mess Nor Keui, Tchingiler, Orta Keui and Keremet.

There are about ten priests from these villages among them.

THIS PAGE IS DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF THE MARTYRED ARMENIANS FROM SIVAS, SMYRNA, TALAS AND TASHOLOUK.



From N. Y. Evening Telegram

# THE KULTUR TWINS

The rich have become poor, and the poor, naked, famished and deplorably miserable, without help and without hope, are compassed by all the terrors of death. Exposed to freezing blasts and drenching rain, their life is one long agony. One would rather die than see such a spectacle.

The railway has been requisitioned for the transport of troops, so they have decided to leave this unfortunate mass of people here for an indefinite period. There is no means of escaping from this terrible life of exposure to the elements. The only means is death, and they are dying in numbers every day. There have been twelve deaths only to-day.

### **DOCUMENT 108.**

Old women weeping, babies crying piteously. Oh, it was awful to see such brutality, to hear such suffering.

They told us that twenty babies had been

thrown into a river as a train crossed — thrown by the mothers themselves, who could not bear to hear their little ones crying for food when there was no food to give them.

One woman gave birth to twins in one of those crowded trucks, and crossing a river she threw both her babies and then herself into the water.

Those who could not pay to ride in these cattle-trucks were forced to walk. All along the road, as our train passed, we saw them walking slowly and sadly along, driven from their homes like sheep to the slaughter.

A German officer was on the train with us, and I asked him if Germany had anything to do with this deportation, for I thought it was the most brutal thing that ever happened. He said; "You can't object to exiling a race; it's only the way the Turks are doing it which is bad." He said he had just come from the interior himself and had seen the most terrible sights he ever saw in his life. He said: "Hundreds of people were walking over the mountains, driven by soldiers. Many dead and dying by the roadside. Old women and little children too feeble to walk were strapped to the sides of donkeys. Babies lying dead in the road. Human life thrown away everywhere."

The last thing we saw late at night and the first thing early in the morning was one train after another carrying its freight of human lives to destruction.

### **DOCUMENT 110.**

Whether these unfortunate people are sent on towards the east or whether they remain where they are along the road, their future is very dark, and it means annihilation for the whole race unless they can be quickly reinstated in their homes with permission to carry on their business, or else taken out of the country altogether. Even if they are left just as they are, two or three months will probably see the end of most of them.

It is all horrible, horrible—no mere description can adequately portray the awful suf-

THIS PAGE IS DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF THE MARTYRED ARMENIANS FROM TCHAR-SANDJAK, TCHAR-SHAMBA, TCHIFTLIK AND TCHINGILER.

### -W. E. GLADSTONE

fering of these unfortunate people, whose only crime is that they are Armenians.

Dr. and Mrs. D. went through the massacres of '94 and '96 and they and Miss H. and I have been through two revolutions, one massacre and two wars since then, but we all agree that we have never seen anything like this.

## DOCUMENT 111.

The mortality among Armenians —exiles who have been admitted to our wards has been over 30 per cent, and this in spite of the fact that we have taken only the ordinary run of maladies and that there has been no epidemic! The nation is being systematically done to death by a cruel and crafty method, and their extermination is only a question of time.

#### **DOCUMENT 112.**

The valley was strewn with graves, and many of them had been torn open by dogs and the bodies eaten. I was told that considerably over a thousand people had died at Bozanti and about the same number at P. How many thousands all along the way from Constantinople to Mesopotamia, no one can tell. People coming from that region say that not one person in ten ever reached Zor, and that those people who have gotten there have nothing but starvation before them. From the statements of the railway officials and others, I should think that not less than 500,000 people must have passed through Bozanti

### **DOCUMENT 113.**

Immediately after the recall of the Vali, Djelal Bey, who had left the exiles' tents with tears in his eyes, more than 80,000 Armenians — men, women, and children — were driven away from their tents and directed towards the south, beaten along with whips and clubs. It was a heart-rending sight. The poor people, who were already in rags, had to abandon what blankets or clothes they possessed and start on foot. Parents had lost their children, women were looking for their husbands, but the wild gendarmerie flogged without mercy all those who cried or entreated. The tents were full of corpses, which dogs were devouring.

#### DOCUMENT 117.

I have just returned from a ride on horseback through the Baghtche Osmania plain, where thousands of exiles are lying out in the fields and on the roads, without any shelter and completely at the mercy of all manner of brigands.

I found men and women badly wounded — bodies slashed open, broken skulls and terrible knife-wounds.

A number of corpses were lying about unburied, and it was only by bribing the gendarmes that we could induce them to allow their burial.

Nearly everything had to be transported on foot; men, women and children carried their few belongings on their backs. I often saw them break down under their burden, but the soldiers kept on driving them forward with the buttends of their rifles, even sometimes with their bayonets.

Unburied women and children were lying in the ditches.

The camp at Islohia itself is the saddest thing I have ever seen. Right at the entrance a heap of dead bodies lay unburied. I counted 35, and in another place 22, in the immediate neighbourhood of the tents of those who were down with virulent dysentery. The filth in and around these tents was something indescribable. On one single day the burial committee buried as many as 580 people. Men were fighting for bread like hungry wolves.

#### **DOCUMENT 118.**

They were mostly bare-headed, and their faces were swollen from the sun and exposure. Many had no shoes on, and some had their feet wrapped in old pieces of rag which they had torn from their clothing. At Entilli there was an encampment of about 10,000 and at Kotmo a large encampment of 150,000.

THIS PAGE IS DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF THE MARTYRED ARMENIANS FROM TCHOMAKLI, TCHOROUM, TCHOUKOUR AND TCHUNKOUSH.



BRADLEY, in Chicago Daily News

As Near as the Pupil Can Come to It

From Kotmo on to Aleppo I witnessed the worst sights of the whole journey. Here the people began to give out in the intense heat and dearth of water, and I passed several who were prostrate — actually dying of thirst. One woman, whom I assisted, was in a deplorable condition, unconscious from thirst and exhaustion; and further on I saw two young girls who had become so exhausted, that they had fallen on the road and lay with their already swollen faces exposed to the sun.

Their condition in Aleppo is beyond description, I personally visited several of the places where they were kept and found them starving and dying by the hundreds every day.

The British Consulate was filled with these exiles, and from this place the dead were removed almost every hour.

Most of the dead were simply thrown into two-wheeled carts, which made a daily round to all the places where the Armenians were confined.

Many of these suffering Armenians refuse

alms, saying that the little money so obtained will only prolong their suffering and that they prefer to die.

I remained in Damascus and Aleppo about a month, leaving for Smyrna on the 26th October. All along the road I met thousands of these unfortunate exiles still coming to Aleppo. The sights I witnessed on this return journey were more pitiful than those I had seen on my outward journey to Aleppo. There seems to be no end to the convoy which moves over the mountain ranges from Bozanti south. Throughout the day from sunrise to sunset, the road as far as one can see is crowded with these exiles.

### **DOCUMENT 119.**

The German Consul at Aleppo, of whom we shall have more to say below, made an extremely significant declaration to the Consul of a Power which has sinced joined the Allies:

"However painful and deplorable the condition may be to which the Armenians find themselves reduced, the Turkish Government

THIS PAGE IS DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF THE MARTYRED ARMENIANS FROM TEL-ARMEN, TOKAT, TREBIZOND AND URMIA.

#### -W. E. GLADSTONE

could take no other course towards them, in view of the fact that they have everywhere cast in their lot with the enemies of Turkey."

Dort Yol presents the same tragic spectacle. Though there have been no massacres here in the literal sense of the word, the arrests and expulsions en masse continue without abatement. The story is already well known of the German spy who came to Dort Yol disguised as a British officer, — how he incited them to revolt against the Turkish Government, and the arrests and partial massacre that came of it. The story of this piece of treachery is also confirmed by the Italian Consul from Alexandretta. The village of Dort Yol, once prosperous, is now plunged in frightful misery.

### **DOCUMENT 120.**

Many women and girls have been outraged. At one place the commander of the gendarmerie openly told the men to whom he consigned a large company that they were at liberty to do what they choose with the women and girls.

### **DOCUMENT 121.**

German officers, who came into Aleppo one night on their way from Bagdad to Constantinople, said that they first met this weary train two days out of Bagdad, and that the road the thousands they had met were marching along was marked or outlined by the bodies of their dead.

### **DOCUMENT 134.**

Herr Kunzer went with them to Severeg and on his return told some friends, among whom were the two Armenians aforementioned, that there was no more deliverance for the Armenians. The deputy for Bagdad had said to him: "It was decided in the Ottoman Parliament that we should massacre all the Armenians. We will not leave a single Armenian alive, and thus we will correct the old Sultan's mistake."

First, all the Armenians were ordered to get ready to go to Der- el- Zor. When they ob-

jected, saying that they had lost everything and had nothing left to take with them, Fakhri Pasha ordered them to be massacred. The massacre lasted 10 days, The German artillerymen destroyed the Armenian quarters, the church and everything, thus putting an end to the Armenian population of Ourfa.

### DOCUMENT 135.

"On the 19th August the fusillade began, about five o'clock in the evening. We heard it during supper-time, and it lasted far into the night.

"Next morning Dr. J. Vance Young ventured to make his way into the town to see if he could be of any service. He saw all the streets littered with corpses. He got the impression that there was not a single Armenian left in Ourfa.

"It appeared that the massacres had been organized in advance, for a systematic domiciliary visit was made to every Armenian house; the men were shot or otherwise assassinated while the women were driven from their houses with their children, to be marched away to the desert and perish there of hunger.

"All along the road from Ourfa to the coast Mrs. Young saw hundreds of putrified corpses, and also a few miserable survivors. The latter looked more like wild beasts than human creatures. She described this spectacle as being literally sufficient to unhinge one's reason."

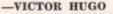
### DOCUMENT 137.

Dr. L. asked whether he might go to the places where needy refugees were, and give them some help, if he could get any money from the United States. This request was most emphatically refused. He said; "Why, they will die." The answer of the Turkish official was: "What do you suppose they are sent there for?".

### **DOCUMENT 140.**

The number of people from Zeitoun exiled to Konia is more than 6,000; they have been put in the Sandjak or Sultania or Kara-Pounar. More than 20,000 Armenians who have been

THIS PAGE IS DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF THE MARTYRED ARMENIANS FROM VAN, YALOVA, YEGHEK AND YENIDJE.





Remains of mass murder by Turks (Photograph by Miss Jacobson)

forced to emigrate are being cast into the deserts amid nomadic tribes, leaving their houses, gardens and tilled lands to the Turkish mouhadjirs. Deprived of all that they possessed, the unfortunate people have not even any graves for their dead.

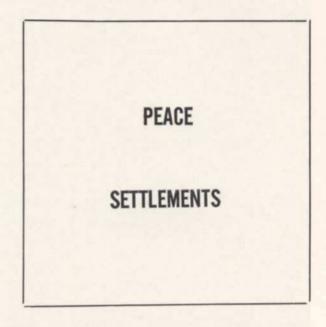
At Aleppo all the churches and schools are full of exiled Armenians. Rich and poor, teachers and pupils, all are brothers there, victims of the same blow. The inhabitants of the city do their utmost to alleviate the suffering. Those that are deported — women, old men, children are obliged to cross the deserts on foot, under the burning sun, often deprived of food and water. The most modest complaint is stifled by the most barbarous threats. Overpowered by fatigue, exhausted by hunger, mothers in despair leave on the way their infant children, often only six months old, and continue their journey. . . . Even in this deplorable state, rapes and violent acts are everyday occurrences. . . . . . The Armenians deported from Hadjin could not be recognised as a result of their twelve days' journey.

## **DOCUMENT 141.**

When they were expelled from any of the towns in Northern Asia Minor, all the men between the ages of fifteen and sixty were shot down before the eyes of the women and children, either before starting or some little way on the road.

### Reprinted from "ARAKATS" monthly, volume 2, 1965, London, England.

# THIS PAGE IS DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF THE MARTYRED ARMENIANS FROM YOZGAD, ZARA, ZEITOUN AND ZILA.



Prior to World War I, the area considered as Armenia included the Turkish Vilayets of Van, Bitlis, Erzerum, Diarbekir, Mamuret-ul-Aziz (Kharput) Sivas, Trebizond, a large part of Cilicia, including the Vilayets of Adana as well as certain portions of the Russian Transcaucasian governments of Kars, Erivan and Elisavetopol.

When war was declared, the Armenian population of this area numbered about 2,700,000, constituting 35 to 100 per cent of the local populations. About half of these being in the Russian section.

The previous chapters of this book have dealt in great detail with the horrors of the massacres and deportations inflicted upon the inhabitants of the Turkish portion. These unfortunates were driven from Cilicia eastward and southward into Persia, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon and Palestine; westward to Constantinople, Greece and the Greek Islands; and northward and eastward into Transcaucasia.

On August 10, 1920, the treaty of peace was signed at Sevres between Turkey and the Allied Powers, among them Armenia. The representative of Turkey was General Haadi Pasha. Armenia was represented by Mr. Avedis Aharonian, President of the Delegation of the Armenian Republic which was established in May 1918.

### THE TREATY OF SEVRES

The following section of the treaty pertains to the Armenians.

### SECTION VI.

ARMENIA.

#### Article 88.

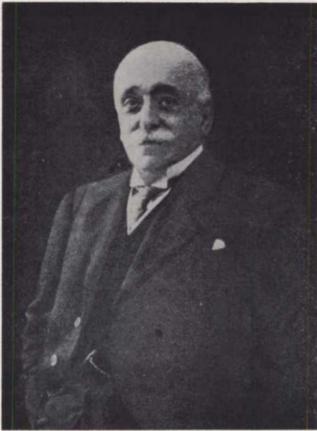
Turkey, in accordance with the action already taken by the Allied Powers, hereby recognizes Armenia as a free and independent State.

## Article 89.

Turkey and Armenia as well as the other High Contracting Parties agree to submit to the arbitration of the President of the United States of America the question of the frontier to be fixed between Turkey and Armenia in the Vilayets of Erzerum, Trebizond, Van and Bitlis, and to accept his decision there upon, as well as any stipulations he may prescribe as to access for Armenia to the sea, and as to the demilitarization of any portion of Turkish territory to the said frontier:

### Article 90.

In the event of the determination of the frontier under Article 89 involving the transfer of the whole or any part of the territory of the said Vilayets to Armenia, Turkey hereby re-



AVEDIS AHARONIAN (1866—1948) President of the Delegation of the Armenian

Republic.

(1851—1930) President of the Armenian National Delegation.

BOGHOS NUBAR PASHA

nounces as from the date of such decision all rights and title over the territory so transferred. The provisions of the present Treaty applicable to territory detached from Turkey shall thereupon become applicable to the said territory.

The proportion and nature of the financial obligations of Turkey which Armenia will have to assume, or of the rights which will pass to her, on account of the transfer of the said territory will be determined in accordance with Articles 241 to 244, Part VIII (Financial Clauses) of the present Treaty.

Subsequent agreements will, if necessary, decide all questions which are not decided by the present Treaty and which may arise in consequence of the transfer of the said territory.

# Article 91.

In the event of any portion of the territory referred to in Article 89 being transferred to Armenia, a Boundary Commission, whose composition will be determined subsequently, will be constituted within three months from the delivery of the decision referred to in the said Article to trace on the spot the frontier between Armenia and Turkey as established by such decision.

# Article 92.

The frontiers between Armenia and Azerbaijan and Georgia respectively will be determined by direct agreement between the States concerned.

If in either case the States concerned have failed to determine the frontier by agreement at the date of the decision referred to in Article 89, the frontier line in question will be determined by the Principal Allied Powers, who will also provide for its being traced on the spot.

### Article 93.

Armenia accepts and agrees to embody in a Treaty with the Principal Allied Powers such

provisions as may be deemed necessary by these Powers to protect the interests of inhabitants to that State who differ from the majority of the population in race, language, or religion.

Armenia further accepts and agrees to em-

body in a Treaty with the Principal Allied Powers such provisions as these Powers may deem necessary to protect freedom of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of other nations.

As stipulated in this treaty, President Wilson was given the task of delineating the frontiers of the Armenian State. On the 24th of November, President Wilson communicated his decision with a letter to the President of the Supreme Council.

President Wilson's letter and decision was as follows.

# PRESIDENT WILSON

# To the President of the Supreme Council of the Allied Powers

### Mr. President:

By action of the Supreme Council taken on April 26th of this year an invitation was tendered to me to arbitrate the question of the boundaries between Turkey and the new state of Armenia. Representatives of the powers signatory on August 10th of this year to the Treaty of Sevres have acquiesced in conferring this honor upon me and have signified their intention of accepting the frontiers which are to be determined by my decision, as well as any stipulation which I may prescribe as to access for Armenia to the sea and any arrangement for the demilitarization of Turkish territory lying along the frontier thus established. According to the terms of the arbitral reference set forth in part III, Section 6, Article 89, of the Treaty of Sevres, the scope of the arbitral competence assigned to me is clearly limited to the determination of the frontiers of Turkey and Armenia in the Vilavets of Erzerum, Trebizond, Van and Bitlis. With full consciousness of the responsibility placed upon me by your request, I have approached this difficult task with eagerness to serve the best interests of the Armenian people as well as the remaining inhabitants, of whatever race or religious belief they may be, in this stricken country, attempting to exercise also the strictest possible justice toward the populations, whether Turkish, Kurdish, Greek or Armenian, living in the adjacent areas.

In approaching this problem it was obvious that the existing ethnic and religious distribution of the population in the four vilayets could not, as in other parts of the world, be regarded as the guiding element of the decision. The ethnic consideration, in the case of a population originally so complexly intermingled, is further beclouded by the terrible results of the massacres and deportations of the Armenians and Greeks, and by the dreadful losses also suffered by the moslem inhabitants through refugee movements and the scourge of typhus and other diseases. The limitation of the arbitral assignment to the four vilavets named in Article 89 of the Treaty made it seem a duty and an obligation that as large an area within these vilayets be granted to the Armenian state as could be done, while meeting the basic requirements of an adequate natural frontier and of geographic and economic unity for the new state. It was essential to keep in mind that the new state of Armenia, including as it will a large section of the former Armenian provinces of Transcaucasian Russia, will at the outset have a population about equally divided between Moslem and Christian elements and of diverse racial and tribal relationship. The citizenship of the Armenian Republic will, by the tests of language and religion, be composed of Turks, Kurds, Greeks, Kizilbashis, Lazes and others, as well as Armenians. The conflicting territorial desires of Armenians, Turks, Kurds and Greeks along the boundaries assigned to my arbitral decision could not always be harmonized. In such cases it was my belief that consideration of healthy economic life for the future state of Armenia should be decisive. Where, however, the requirements of a correct geographic boundary permitted, all mountain and valley districts along the border which were predominantly Kurdish

or Turkish have been left to Turkey rather than assigned to Armenia, unless trade relations with definite market towns threw them necessarily into the Armenian state. Wherever information upon tribal relations and seasonal migrations was obtainable, the attempt was made to respect the integrity of tribal groupings and nomad pastoral movements.

From the Persian border southwest of the town of Kotur the boundary line of Armenia is determined by a rugged natural barrier of great height, extending south of Lake Van and lying southwest of the Armenian cities of Bitlis and Moush. This boundary line leaves as a part of the Turkish state the entire Sandjak of Hakkiari, or about one-half of the Vilayet of Van, and almost the entire Sandjak of Sairt. The sound physiographic reason which seemed to juctify this decision was further strengthened by the ethnographic consideration that Hakkiari and Sairt are predominently Kurdish in population and economic relations. It did not seem to the best interest of the Armenian state to include in it the upper valley of the Great Zab River, largely Kurdish and Nestorian Christian in population and an essential element of the great Tigris river irrigation system of Turkish Kurdistan and Mesopotamia. The control of these headwaters should be kept, wherever possible, within the domain of the two interested states, Turkey and Mesopotamia. For these reasons the Armenian claim upon the upper valley of the Great Zab could not be satisfied.

The boundary upon the west from Bitlis and Moush northward to the vicinity of Erzingan lies well within Bitlis and Erzerum vilayets. It follows a natural geographic barrier, which furnishes Armenia with perfect security and leaves to the Turkish state an area which is strongly Kurdish. Armenian villages and village nuclei in this section, such as Kighi and Temran, necessarily remain Turkish because of the strong commercial and church ties which connect them with Kharput rather than with any Armenian market and religious centers which lie within Bitlis or Erzerum vilayets. This decision seemed an unavoidable consequence of the inclusion of the city and district of Kharput in the Turkish state as determined by Article 27 II (4) and Article 89 of the Treaty of Sevres.

From the northern border of the Dersim the nature and the direction of the frontier decision

was primarily dependent upon the vital question of supplying an adequate access to the sea for the state of Armenia. Upon the correct solution of this problem depends, in my judgment, the future economic well-being of the entire population, Turkish, Kurdish, Greek, Armenian, or Yezidi, in those portions of the vilayets of Erzerum, Bitlis and Van which lie within the state of Armenia. I was not unmindful of the desire of the Pontic Greeks, submitted to me in a memorandum similar, no doubt, in argument and content to that presented to the Supreme Council last March at its London Conference, that the unity of the coastal area of the Black sea inhabited by them be preserved and that arrangement be made for an autonomous administration for the region stretching from Riza to a point west of Sinope. The arbitral jurisdiction assigned to me by Article 89 of the Treaty of Sevres does not include the possibility of decision or recommendation by me upon the question of their desire for independence, or failing that, for autonomy. Nor does it include the right to deal with the littoral of the independent Sandjak of Djanik or of the Vilayet of Kastamuni into which extends the region of the unity and autonomy desired by the Pontic Greeks.

Three possible courses lay open to me: to so delimit the boundary that the whole of Trebizond Vilayet would lie within Turkey, to grant it in its entirety to Armenia, or to grant a part of it to Armenia and leave the remainder to Turkey. The majority of the population of Trebizond Vilayet is incontestably Moslem and the Armenian element, according to all pre-war estimates, was undeniably inferior numerically to the Greek portion of the Christian minority. Against a decision so clearly indicated on ethnographic grounds weighed heavily the future of Armenia. I could only regard the question in the light of the needs of a new political entity, Armenia, with mingled Moslem and Christian populations, rather than as a question of the future of the Armenians alone. It has been and is now increasingly my conviction that the arrangements providing for Armenia's access to the sea must be such as to offer every possibility for the development of this state as one capable of reassuming and maintaining that useful role in the commerce of the world which its geographic position, athwart a great historic trade route, assigned to it in the past. The civilization and the happiness of its mingled

population will largely depend upon the building of railways and the increased accessibility of the hinterland of the three vilayets to European trade and cultural influences.

Eastward from the port of Trebizond along the coast of Lazistan no adequate harbor facilities are to be found and the rugged character of the Pontic range separating Lazistan Sandjak from the Vilayet of Erzerum is such as to isolate the hinterland from the coast so far as practicable railway construction is concerned. The existing caravan route from Persia across the plain of Bayazid and Erzerum, which passes through the towns of Baiburt and Gumushkhana and debouches upon the Black Sea at Trebizond, has behind it a long record of persistent usefulness.

These were the considerations which have forced me to my original conviction that the town and harbor of Trebizond must become an integral part of Armenia. Because of the still greater adaptability of the route of the Karshut valley, ending at the town of Tireboli, for successful railway construction and operation I have deemed also essential to include this valley in Armenia, with enough territory lying west of it to insure its adequate protection. I am not unaware that the leaders of the Armenian delegation have expressed their willingness to renounce claim upon that portion of Trebizond Vilayet lying west of Surmena. Commendable as is their desire to avoid the assumption of authority over a territory so predominantly Moslem, I am confident that, in acquiescing in their eagerness to do justice to the Turks and Greeks in Trebizond I should be doing an irreparable injury to the future of the land of Armenia and its entire population, of which they will be a part.

It was upon such a basis, Mr. President, that the boundaries were so drawn as to follow mountain ridges west of the city of Erzingan to the Pontic range and thence to the Black Sea, in such a way as to include in Armenia the indentation called Zephyr Bey. The decision to leave to Turkey the harbor towns and hinterland of Kerasun and Ordu in Trebizond Sandjak was dictated by the fact that the population of this region is strongly Moslem and Turkish and that these towns are the outlets for the easternmost sections of the Turkish vilayet of Sivas. The parts of Erzerum and Trebizond Vilayets which, by reason of this delimitation, remain Turkish rather than become Armenian comprise approximately 12,120 square kilometers.

In the matter of demilitarization of Turkish territory adjacent to the Armenian border as it has been broadly described above, it seemed both impracticable and unnecessary to establish a demilitarized zone which would require elaborate prescriptions and complex agencies for their execution. Fortunately, Article 177 of the Treaty of Sevres prescribes the disarming of all existing forts throughout Turkey. Articles 159 and 196-200 provide in addition agencies entirely adequate to meet all the dangers of disorder which may arise at the borders, the former by the requirement that a proportion of the officers of the gendarmerie shall be supplied by the various Allied or neutral Powers, the latter by the establishment of a Military Inter-Allied Commission of Control and Organization. In these circumstances the only additional prescriptions which seemed necessary and advisable were that the Military Inter-Allied Commission of Control and Organization should, in conformity with the powers bestowed upon it by Article 200 of the Treaty, select the superior officers of the gendarmerie to be stationed in the vilayets of Turkey lying contiguous to the frontiers of Armenia solely from those officers who will be detailed by the Allied or neutral Powers in accordance with Article 159 of the Treaty: and that these officers, under the supervision of the Military Inter-Allied Commission of Organization and Control, should be especially charged with the duty of preventing military preparations directed against the Armenian frontier.

It is my confident expectation that the Armenian refugees and their leaders, in the period of their return into the territory thus assigned to them, will by refraining from any and all form of reprisals give to the world an example of that high moral courage which must always be the foundation of national strength. The world expects of them that they give every encouragement and help within their power to those Turkish refugees who may desire to return to their former homes in the districts of Trebizond, Erzerum, Van and Bitlis remembering that these peoples, too, have suffered greatly. It is my further expectation that they will offer such considerate treatment to the Laz and the Greek inhabitants of the coastal region of the

Black Sea, surpassing in the liberality of their administrative arrangements, if necessary, even the ample provisions for non-Armenian racial and religious groups embodied in the Minorities Treaty signed by them upon August 10th of this year, that these peoples will gladly and willingly work in completest harmony with the Armenians in laying firmly the foundation of the new Republic of Armenia.

I have the honor to submit herewith the text of my decision.

Accept (etc.)

## WOODROW WILSON

Washington, November 22, 1920.

# DECISION OF PRESIDENT WILSON

Respecting the Frontier Between Turkey and Armenia, Access for Armenia to the Sea, and the Demilitarization of Turkish Territory Adjacent to the Armenian Frontier.

### WOODROW WILSON, President of the United States,

#### To Whom it shall Concern,

### Greeting:

Whereas, on April 26, 1920, the Supreme Council of the Allied Powers, in conference at San Remo, addressed to the President of the United States of America an invitation to act as arbitrator in the question of the boundary between Turkey and Armenia, to be fixed within the four Vilayets of Erzerum, Trebizond, Van and Bitlis;

And whereas, on May 17, 1920, my acceptance of this invitation was telegraphed to the American Ambassador in Paris, to be conveyed to the Powers represented on the Supreme Council;

And whereas, on August 10, 1920, a Treaty of Peace was signed at Sevres by Plenipotentiary Representatives of the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan, and of Armenia, Belgium, Greece, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, and Czecho-Slovakia, of the one part; and of Turkey, of the other part, which Treaty contained, among other provisions, the following:

"ARTICLE 89. Turkey and Armenia as well as the other High Contracting Parties agree to submit to the arbitration of the President of the United States of America the question of the frontier to be fixed between Turkey and Armenia in the Vilayets of Erzerum, Trebizond, Van and Bitlis, and to accept his decision thereupon, as well as any stipulations he may prescribe as to access for Armenia to the sea, and as to the demilitarization of any portion of Turkish territory adjacent to the said frontier";

And whereas, on October 18, 1920, the Secretariat General of the Peace Conference, acting under the instructions of the Allied Powers, transmitted to me, through the Embassy of the United States of America in Paris, an authenticated copy of the above mentioned Treaty, drawing attention to the said Article 89;

Now, therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, upon whom has thus been conferred the authority of arbitrator, having examined the question in the light of the most trustworthy information available, and with a mind to the highest interests of justice, do hereby declare the following decision:

I

The frontier between Turkey and Armenia in the Vilayets of Erzerum, Trebizond, Van, and Bitlis, shall be fixed as follows:

1. The initial point<sup>\*</sup> shall be chosen on the ground at the junction of the Turkish-Persian

<sup>\*</sup>It is my understanding that this initial point will lie upon the former Turkish-Persian frontier referred to in the Article 27 II(4) of the Treaty of Sevres; but 40 miles of the said frontier, within which the initial point of the Armenian frontier is included, were left undemarcated by the Turko-Persian

frontier with the eastern termination of the administrative boundary between the Sandjaks of Van and Hakkiari, of the Vilayet of Van, as this administrative boundary appears upon the Bashkala sheet of the Turkish map, scale 1:200, 000, editions published in the Turkish financial years 1330 and 1331 (1914-15). From this initial point the boundary shall extend southwestward to the western peak of Merkezer Dagh, situated about 6 kilometers westward from point 3350 (10,990 feet), about 2 kilometers southeastward from the village of Yokary Ahvalan, and approximately 76 kilometers southeastward from the city of Van.

the Sandjak boundary specified above, then the administrative boundary between the Kazas of Mamuret-ul-Hamid and Elback, then the same Sandjak boundary specified above, all modified, where necessary, to follow the main water-parting between the Zap Su (Great Zab River) and the Khoshab Su, and dividing equably the summits of the passes Krdes Gedik and Chokh Gedik;

then northwestward about 28 kilometers to Klesiry Dagh,

a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water — partings between the Khoshab Su and the streams flowing into the Shatak Su, and traversing the pass south of the village of Yokary Ahvalan, and passing through Shkolans Dagh (3100 meters or 10,170 feet) and the Belereshuk pass;

thence southwestward to the junction of an unnamed stream with the Shatak Su at a point about 10 kilometers southward from the village of Shatak,

a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water — partings, and passing through Koh Kiran Daghlar, Sari Dagh (3156 meters or 10,335 feet), Kevmetala Tepe (3,500 meters or 11,615 feet), in such a way as to leave to Armenia the village of Eyreti, and to Turkey the village of Araz, and to cross the Shatak Su at least 2 kilometers southward from the village of Dir Mouem Kilisa; thence westward to the point where the Bitlis-Van Vilayet boundary reaches the Moks Su from the west, situated about 18 kilometers southward from the village of Moks,

a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings, leaving to Armenia the villages of Kachet, Sinpass, and Ozim, passing through Kanisor Tepe (3,245 meters or 10,645 feet), an unnamed peak about 3 kilometers southward from Arnus Dagh (3,550 meters or 11,645 feet), crossing an unnamed stream about 2 kilometers southward from the village of Sinpass, passing through point 3,000 (9,840 feet), following the boundary between the Vilayets of Van and Bitlis for about 3 kilometers southwestward from this point and continuing couthwestward on the same ridge to an unnamed peak about 2 kilometers eastward from Moks Su, and then descending to this stream;

thence northward to an unnamed peak on the boundary between the Vilayets of Van and Bitlis about 3 kilometers westward from the pass at Mata Gedik,

the administrative boundary between the Vilayets of Van and Bitlis, modified south of Vankin Dagh (3,200 meters or 10,500 feet) to follow the main water- parting;

thence westward to the peak Meidan Chenidiani, situated on the boundary between the Sandjaks of Bitlis and Sairt about 29 kilometers southeastward from the city of Bitlis,

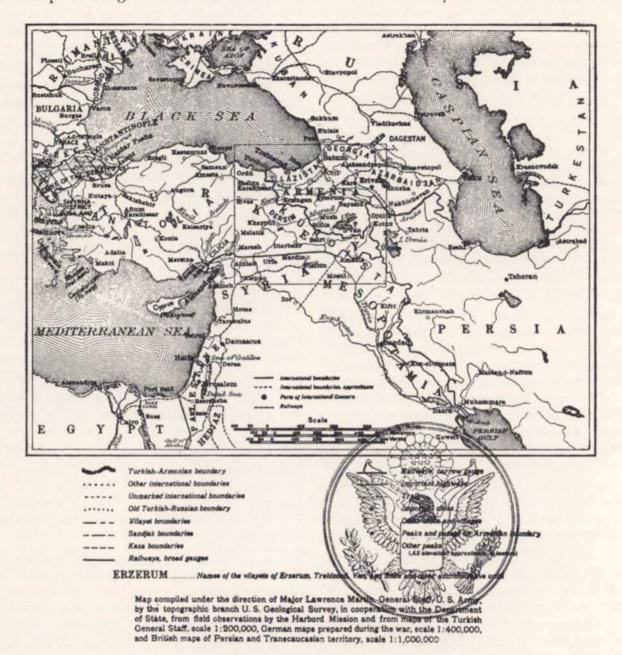
a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water- partings, passing through Veberhan Dagh (3,110 meters or 10,200 feet), crossing the Kesan Dere about 2 kilometers southward from the village of Khoros, leaving to Turkey the villages of Semhaj and Nevaleyn as well as the bridge or ford on the trail between them, and leaving to Armenia the village of Chopans and the trail leading to it from the northeast;

thence westward to the Guzel Dere Su at a point about 23 kilometers southward from the city of Bitlis and about 2 kilometers southward from Nuri Ser peak (2,150 meters or 7,050 feet),

Frontier Commission in 1914. The initial point contemplated lies about 1 kilometer southward from the village of Kara Hissa and approximately 25 kilometers southwestward from the village of Kotur, and may be fixed on the ground as near this location as the Boundary Commission shall determine, provided it lies at the junction of the Van-Hakkiari Sandjak boundary with the frontier of Persia.



WOODROW WILSON (1856—1924) Twenty-eighth President of the United States.



Map showing the boundaries of Armenia as awarded by PRESIDENT WILSON.

WednesWilson

the administrative boundary between the Sandjaks of Bitlis and Sairt, and then, a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water — partings, and passing through points 2,750 and 2,700 of Kur Dagh (9,020 and 8,860 feet respectively), Biluki Dagh (2,230 meters or 7,315 feet), and Sihaser Tepe (2,250 meters or 7,380 feet);

thence westward to the junction of the Bitlis Su the unnamed stream near the village of Deshtumi, about 30 kilometers southwestward from the city of Bitlis,

a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings, leaving to Turkey the villages of Lered and Daruni, and to Armenia the village of Enbu and all portions of the trail leading northeastward to the Bitlis Su from Mergelu peak (1,850 meters or 6,070 feet), and passing through Mergelu Tepe and Shikh Tabur ridge;

thence westward to the Zuk (Gharzan) Su at the point about 11 kilometers northeastward from the village of Hazo and approximately 1 kilometer upstream from the village of Zily,

a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings, leaving to Armenia the village of Deshtumi, passing through the eastern peak of Kadmen Dagh (2,710 meters or 8,890 feet) and continuing in such a manner as to leave to Armenia the upland **dolina**, or basin of interior drainage, to traverse the pass about 3 kilometers westward from the village of Avesipy, passing through Shelash Dagh (1,944 meters or 6,380 feet);

thence westward to the Sassun Dere at a point about 4 kilometers southwestward from the village of Kabil Jeviz and approximately 47 kilometers southward from the city of Moush,

a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings through Cheyardash peak (2,001 meters or 6,565 feet), Keupeka peak (1,931 meters or 6,335 feet), an unnamed peak on the Sassun Dagh about 4 kilometers southwestward from Malato Dagh (2,967 meters or 9,735 feet), point 2,229 (7,310 feet), and leaving to Turkey the village of Gundenu;

thence northwestward to the Talury Dere at a point about 2 kilometers upstream from the village of Kasser and approximately 37 kilometers northeastward from the village of Seylevan (Farkin), a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings and passing through an unnamed peak about 2 kilometers eastward from the village of Seyluk, and through point 2,073 (6,800 feet), leaving to Armenia the village of Heyshtirem;

thence northwestward to the western tributary of the Talury Dere at a point about 2 kilometers eastward from the village of Helin and approximately 42 kilometers southwestward from the city of Moush,

a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings, and passing through point 2,251 (7,385 feet);

thence northwestward to the junction of the Kulp Boghazy (Kulp Su) and Askar Dere, approximately 42 kilometers southwestward from city of Moush,

a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings leaving to Turkey the village of Helin and to Armenia the village of Kehirvanik;

thence northwestward to a point on the administrative boundary between the Sandjaks of Gendj and Moush northeast of Mir Ismail Dagh, and situated about 5 kilometers westward from the village of Pelekoz, and approximately 19 kilometers southward the village of Ardushin,

a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings, and passing through the Komiss Dagh;

thence northwestward to the Frat Nehri (Murad Su, or Euphrates) at a point to be determined on the ground about 1 kilometer upstream from the village of Dorne and approximately 56 kilometers westward from the city of Moush,

the administrative boundary between the Sandjaks of Gendj and Moush northward for about 2 kilometers, then a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings westward to an unnamed peak approximately 6 kilometers east of Chutela (Akche Kara) Dagh (2,940 meters or 9,645 feet), then northward passing through Hadije Tepe on Arshik Gagh, leaving to Turkey the village of Kulay and to Armenia the village of Kluhuran;

thence northwestward to the Gunik Su at a point about midway between two trails crossing this river about half way between the villages of Elmaly and Chenajki, and approximately 26 kilometers northeastward from the village of Cholik (Chevelik),

a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings, passing through an unnamed peak about 2 kilometers westward from the village of Shanghar, along Solkhan Dagh, and through point 2,200 (7,220 feet), leaving to Turkey the villages of Shanghar and Chenajky, and to Armenia the villages of Kumistan, Lichinak, and Elmaly;

thence northwestward to the boundary between the Vilayets of Erzerum and Bitlis at an unnamed peak near where a straight line between the villages of Erchek and Agha Keui would intersect said vilayet boundary,

a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water- partings, passing through point 2,050 (6,725 feet);

thence northward to an unnamed peak on said vilayet boundary about 8 kilometers northwestward from Kartalik Tepe on the Choris Dagh,

the administrative boundary between the vilayets of Erzerum and Bitlis;

thence westward to the Buyuk Su (Kighi Su) at a point 2 kilometers upstream from the junction of the Ghabzu Dere with it, and approximately 11 kilometers northwestward from the village of Kighi,

a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings of the Sheitan Daghlar, passing through points 2,610 (8,565 feet), Sheitan Dagh (2,906 meters or 9,535 feet), Hakstun Dagh, leaving to Armenia the village of Dinek and the ford or bridge southwest of this village;

thence westward to the Dar Boghaz (Kuttu Dere) at a point 3 kilometers southward from the village of Chardaklar (Palumor), a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings, leaving to Armenia the villages of Shorakh and Ferhadin, passing through Ghabarti Dagh (2,550 meters or 8,365 feet), Sian Dagh (2,750 meters or 9,020 feet), the 2,150 meter pass on the Palumor-Kighi trail near Mustapha Bey Konaghy, Feziria Tepe (2,530 meters or 8,300 feet), point 2,244 (7,360 feet), and point 2,035 (6,675 feet);

thence westward to the point common to the boundaries of Sandjaks of Erzingan and Erzerum and the Vilayet of Mamuret-ul-Aziz, situated at a sharp angle in the vilayet boundary, approximately 24 kilometers westward from the village of Palumor and 32 kilometers southeastward from the city of Erzingan,

a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings, and passing northwestward through an unnamed peak about 2 kilometers southwestward from Palumor, through Silos (Kersinod) Dagh (2,405 meters or 7,890 feet) to an unnamed peak on the southern boundary of the Sandjak of Erzingan, about 8 kilometers southwestward from the Palumor-Erzingan pass, then turning southwestward along said Sandjak boundary for nearly 13 kilometers, passing through Karaja Kaleh (3,100 meters or 10,170 feet);

thence westward to an unnamed peak on the boundary between the Vilayets of Erzerum and Mamuret-ul-Aziz about 3 kilometers northeastward from the pass on the trail across the Monzur Silsilesi between Kennakh on the Euphrates and Pelur in the Dersim, the peak being approximately 40 kilometers southwestward from the city of Erzingan.

the administrative boundary between the vilayets of Erzerum and Mamuret-ul-Aziz, modified\*, in case of a majority of the voting members of the Boundary Commission deem it wise, to follow the main water-parting along the ridge

<sup>\*</sup>At the locality named, the vilayet boundary (according to Khozat-Dersim sheet of the Turkish General staff may, scale 1:200,000) descends the northern slope of the Monzur-Silsilesi or about 7 kilometers. The junction of the boundary between the Kazas of Erzingan and Kemakh in Erzingan Sandjak of Erzerum vilayet with the boundary of Dersim Sandjak of Mamuret-ul-Aziz Vilayet lies within 14 kilometers of the Euphrates River. This leaves to Turkey a military bridgehead north of an 11,000 foot mountain range and only 20 kilometers south of the city of Erzingan. I am not empowered to change the administrative boundary at this point, and these 40 square kilometers of territory lie outside the four vilayets specifid in Article 89 of the Treaty of Sevres.

However, I venture to call the attention of the Boundary Commission to the desirability of consulting the local inhabitants with a view to possible modification of the vilayet boundary at this point.

between an unnamed peak about 2 kilometers southwest of Merjan Daghlar (3,449 meters or 11,315 feet) and Katar Tepe (3,300 meters or 10,825 feet);

thence northward to the Frat Nehri (Kara Su, or Euphrates) at a point to be determined on the ground about 6 kilometers eastward from the village of Kemagh and approximately 35 kilometers southwestward from the city of Erzingan,

a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings, leaving to Turkey the trail from Pelur in the Dersim to Kemakh on the Euphrates, and to Armenia the village of Koja Arbler;

thence, northward to the boundary between the vilayets of Erzerum and Trebizond at a point to be determined about 1 kilometer west of peak 2,930 (2,630 or 8,625 feet) and about 4 kilometers southward from the village of Metkut, or approximately 39 kilometers northwestward from the city of Erzingan,

a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings, leaving to Turkey the villages of Chalghy Yady, Toms, and Alamlik, and to Armenia the village of Erkghan and the road and col south of the village of Metkut, passing through Utch Kardash Tepe, Kelek Kiran (Tekke Tash, 2,800 meters or 9,185 feet), Kehnam Dagh (or Kara Dagh, 3,030 meters or 9,940 feet), dividing equably between Armenia and Turkey the summit of the pass about 2 kilometers westward from the village of Zazker and, similarly, the summit of the pass of Kral Kham Boghazy near the village of Chardakli, passing through point 2760 on Kara Dagh (9,055 ft.), point 2,740 (8,990 ft.), and a point to be determined on the ground, situated near the Iky Sivry stream less than 2 kilometers westward from the Chimen Dagh pass, and located in such a manner as to leave to Turkey the junction of the two roads leading westward to the villages of Kuchi Keui and Kara Yayrak, and to Armenia the junction of two other roads leading to the villages of Metkut and Kirmana; the Boundary Commission shall determine in the field the most equable disposition of the highway between points 2,760 and 2,740;

thence northwestward to the Kelkit Chai (Kelkit Irmak) at the point where the boundary between the Vilayets of Trebizond and Sivas reaches it from the south, the administrative boundary between the Vilayets of Trebizond and Erzerum, and then the administrative boundary between the Vilayets of Trebizond and Sivas;

thence northward to an unnamed peak on the boundary between the Vilayets of Trebizond and Sivas about 4 kilometers southwestward from Borgha Paya (2,995 meters or 9,825 feet) the latter being situated approximately 38 kilometers southwestward from the city of Gumush-Khana,

a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water-partings, leaving to Armenia the villages of Halkit, Sinanli, Kiliktin and Kirtanos; and to Turkey the villages of Kar Kishla, Sadik, Kara Kia, and Ara, crossing the pass between the western tributaries of the Shiran Chai and the eastern headwaters of the Barsak Dere (Kara Chai) about 43 kilometers eastward from the city of Karahissar Sharki (Shebin Karahissar);

thence northeastward, northward, and westward to an unnamed peak on the boundary between the Vilayets of Trebizond and Sivas situated about 7 kilometers northwestward from Yerchi Tepe (2,690 meters or 8,825 feet) and approximately 47 kilometers south southeastward from the city of Kerasun,

the administrative boundary between the Vilayets of Trebizond and Sivas;

thence northward, from the point last mentioned, on the crest of the Pontic Range, to the Black Sea, at a point to be determined on the seacoast about 1 kilometer westward from the village of Keshab, and approximately 9 kilometers eastward from the city of Kerasun,

a line to be fixed on the ground, following the main water- partings, leaving to Turkey the fields, pastures, forests, and villages within the drainage basin of the Komit Dere (Ak Su) and its tributaries; and to Armenia the fields, pastures, forest, and villages within the drainage basins of the Yaghaj Dere (Espiya Dere) and the Venazit Dere (Keshab Dere) and their tributaries, and drawn in such a manner as to utilize the boundary between the Kazas of Tripoli (Tireboli) and Kerasun in the 7 kilometers just south of Kara Tepe (1,696 meters or 5,565 feet), and to provide the most convenient relationships between the new frontier and the trails along the ridges, as these relationships may be determined by the Boundary Commission in the field after consultation with the local inhabitants.

2. In case of any discrepancies between the text of this Decision and the maps on the scales of 1:1,000,000 and 1:200,000 annexed, the text will be final.

The limits of the four vilayets specified in Article 89 of the Treaty of Sevres are taken as of October 29, 1914.

The frontier, as described above, is drawn in red on an authenticated map on the scale of 1:1,000,000 which is annexed to the present Frontier Decision. The geographical names here mentioned appear upon the maps accompanying this text.

The chief authorities used for the names of Geographical features, and of elevations of mountains, and the location of vilayet, sandjak, and kaza boundaries, are the Turkish General Staff map, scale 1:200,000, and, in part, the British map, scale 1:1,000,000.

The maps on the scale of 1:200,000 are recommended to the Boundary Commission, provided in Article 91, for their use in tracing on the spot the portion of the frontiers of Armenia established by this Decision.

#### п

The frontier described above, by assigning the harbor of Trebizond and the valley of Karshut Su to Armenia, precludes the necessity of further provision for access for Armenia to the sea. In addition to the general provisions for the limitation of armaments, embodied in the Military, Naval and Air Clauses, Part V of the Treaty of Sevres, the demilitarization of Turkish territory adjacent to the frontier of Armenia as above established shall be effected as follows:

The Military Inter-Allied Commission of Control and Organization provided for in Articles 196-200 of the Treaty of Sevres chall appoint the superior officers of the gendarmerie stationed in those vilayets of Turkey lying contiguous to the frontiers of the state of Armenia exclusively from the officers to be supplied by the various Allied or neutral Powers according to Article 159 of the said Treaty.

These officers shall, in addition to their other duties, be especially charged with the task of observing and reporting to the Military Inter-Allied Commission of Control and Organization upon any tendencies within these Turkish vilayets toward military aggression against the Armenian frontier, such as building strategic railways and highways, the establishment of depots of military supplies, the creation of military colonies, and the use of propaganda dangerous to the peace and quiet of the adjacent Armenian territory. The Military Inter-Allied Commission of Control and Organization shall thereupon take such action as is necessary to prevent the concentrations and other aggressive activities enumerated above.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

> Done in duplicate at the city of Washington on the twenty-second day of November, one thousand nine hundred and (SEAL) twenty, and of the Independence of the United States the one hundred and forty-fifth.

> > WOODROW WILSON

By the President: BAINBRIDGE COLBY Secretary of State.

> EXTRACTS FROM "British and foreign state papers number 113:652(E) GBTS 1920:11(E)".

# WE THE PEOPLES OF THE UNITED NATIONS DETERMINED

. . . . . . . . . . . .

to reaffirm faith in fundamental human right, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small.

.....

## HAVE RESOLVED TO COMBINE OUR EFFORTS TO ACCOMPLISH THESE AIMS

## Article 1

The Purposes of the United Nations are:

. . . . . . . . . . . .

To achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of... humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.

## Article 13

The General Assembly shall initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of... assisting in the realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.

## Article 55

With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, the United Nations shall promote... universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.

## Article 56

All Members pledge themselves to take joint and separate action in cooperation with the Organization for the achievement of the purposes set forth in Article 55.

## CHARTER OF THE INTERNATIONAL MILITARY TRIBUNAL OF NUREMBERG

#### **6 OCTOBER 1945**

The following acts, or any of them, are crimes coming within the jurisdiction of the Tribunal for which there shall be individual responsibility:

(a) CRIMES AGAINST PEACE: namely, planning, preparation, initiation or waging of a war of aggression, or a war in violation of international treaties, agreements or assurances, or participation in a common plan or conspiracy for the accomplishment of any of the foregoing;

(b) WAR CRIMES: namely, violations of the laws or customs of war. Such violations shall include, but not limited to, murder, illtreatment or deportation to slave labor or for any other purpose, of civilian population from occupied territory, murder or ill-treatment of prisoners of war or persons on the seas, killing of hostages, plunder of public or private property, wanton destruction of cities, towns or villages, or devastation not justified by military necessity;

(c) CRIME AGAINST HUMANITY: namely, murder, extermination, enslavement, deportation, and other inhumane acts committed against any civilian population, before or during the war; or persecutions on political, racial or religious grounds in execution of or in connection with any crime within the jurisdiction of the Tribunal, whether or not in violation of the domestic law of the country where perpetrated.

Leaders, organizers, instigators and accomplices participating in the formulation or execution of a common plan or conspiracy to commit any of the foregoing crimes are responsible for all acts performed by any persons in execution of such plan.

## **GENOCIDE CONVENTION**

## 9 DECEMBER 1948

Having considered the declaration made by the General Assembly of the United Nations in its Resolution 96 (I) dated 11 December 1946 that genocide is a crime under international law, contrary to the spirit and aims of the United Nations and condemned by the civilized world;

Recognizing that at all periods of history genocide has inflicted great losses on humanity, and

Being convinced that, in order to liberate mankind from such an odious scourge, international co-operation is required;

Hereby agree as hereinafter provided:

## Article I

The Contracting Parties confirm that genocide, whether committed in time of peace or in time of war, is a crime under international law which they undertake to prevent and to punish.

### Article II

In the present Convention genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

- (a) Killing members of the group:
- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;

- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- (e) Forcibly tranferring children of the group to another group;

#### Article III

The following acts shall be punishable:

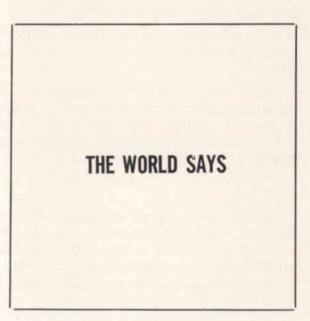
- (a) Genocide
- (b) Conspiracy to commit genocide
- (c) Direct and public incitement to commit genocide
- (d) Attempt to commit genocide
- (e) Complicity in genocide

## Article IV

Persons committing genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article III shall be punished, whether they are constitutionally responsible rulers, public officials or private individuals.



## CHAPTER V

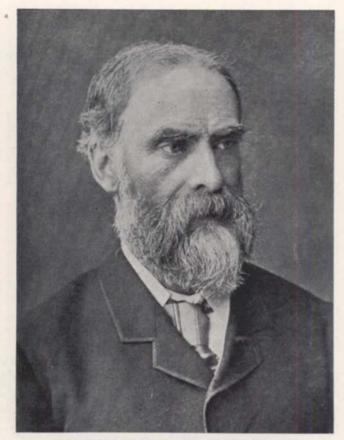


## "HE SAW RAVINES FULL OF SKELETONS OF THE SLAIN"

By VISCOUNT BRYCE, O.M.

London, 1920

We know what Ottoman tyranny always was, and is, and always will continue to be, since it belongs to the character of the race. The Turks, as rulers, have proved themselves, to be what Edmund Burke called them one hundred and thirty years ago, savages. They are moreover, irreclaimable savages. Their governing class it is of that class only and not of the simple Turkish peasants that I speak throughout these pages — is cruel, perfidious, incapable of honest or efficient government, dead to all feelings of justice or humanity. Their diplomacy has shown cunning and adroitness, in playing upon the jealousies of the European Powers, as their only statesmanship has lain in setting one part of their subjects against the others,



VISCOUNT JAMES BRYCE (1838—1922) British jurist, historian and diplomat.

but they have neither the wish to give, nor the capacity for giving, a decent administration to the once prosperous countries which they beggared and depopulated. Whoever doubts this need only recall their behaviour since the Crimean War, when they made lavish promises of reforms that they never even attempted to carry out, and since the Treaty of Berlin in 1878, when they were allowed another chance of mending their ways. So far from improving, they grew worse. Abdul Hamid, 1895 and 1896, directed a series of frightful massacres in Armenia, in which more than one hundred thousand Christians perished.

With the fall of Abdul Hamid better prospects seemed to be opening. The young Turk party and so-called Committee of Union and Progress which led it and governed Turkey till 1918, made liberal professions, proclaiming equal rights for all subjects of the Sultan. But within a few months they planned and carried out a massacre at Adana, and, not, without some promptings from German advisers, they formed

the design of removing or exterminating all the Christian populations. The Armenians, as the most energetic and industrious part of these populations, were the chief victims. About the middle of 1915, as soon as the fear that Constantinople might be captured by the British fleet had vanished, Talaat and Enver, the two leading members of the Committee, issued orders for the slaughter of all the adult males among the Armenian Christians in the Asiatic parts of the Empire, and for the expulsion from their homes and enslavement or transportation into the desert of Northern Arabia and Mesopotamia, of the women and children. These orders were carried out. Nearly a million persons were killed, many of them with horrible tortures, some including bishops and other ecclesiastics, roasted to death. An American Consul told me that he saw ravines in the Mountains near Kharput full of the skeletons of the slain. Of the women, many were seized by Turkish offiicials or sold by public auction, to Muslim purchasers for their harems, and in those harems most of these helpless victims are still confined. Those children who escaped death were given over to dervishes to be made Muslims. Of those, both women and young children, who were deported, the greater number perished on their journey to their places of exile, but a few escaped into Egypt, and some three hundred thousand fled into Trans-Caucasia, a large proportion of whom have since died of starvation. Forty or fifty thousand survived, in severest distress, near Adana in Cilicia. The Turkish ruffians in power at Constantinople tried, when the facts became known in Western Europe - for the German Government, even when appealed to by the horrified German missionaries, refused either to allow the truth to become known, as it had refused to raise a finger to arrest the work of massacre - the Turkish government tried to accuse the Armenians of having given provocation. But these falsehoods cannot impose on any one who looks at the evidence as it has now been brought to light, and sifted.

It is necessary to repeat these facts, for in these last three years, full of startling events and dismal sufferings everywhere, many English people have already forgotten the massacres of 1915 though they are the most terrible that even these afflicted countries have ever seen. Whoever wishes to know how vile and ruthless Turkish cruelty can be should read the evidence

regarding the massacres published by the British Foreign Office in 1916, and read also in the book of Mr. Morgenthau the account which he, then American Ambassador at Constantinople, gives of the efforts he made to induce Talaat and Enver to desist from their hideous work. These two last-named wretches were the most prominent actors but they allowed, or encouraged, by their colleagues to proceed with the policy of extermination. Not a voice seems to have been raised, inside or outside the Governmental circle, to check or modify it. It was indeed of a piece with the policy of Turkish rulers in former days. The massacres of the Greek Christians in Chios in 1822, the massacres of the Bulgarians in Thrace in 1876, the massacres in Armenia and Constantinople, ordered by Abdul Hamid in 1895 and 1896, were only attempts on a comparatively small scale to secure obedience by murder and uniformity by extermination. But the most convincing proof that the snake is still a snake, however often he many change his skin, was given by those apostles of freedom, the Young Turks, who bettered the achievement of the tyrant whom they had deposed by slaughtering hundreds of thousands where he had slaughtered tens of thousands. They had not even the excuse of fanaticism, whatever it may be worth. The Committee of Union and Progress are not what Orientals call "good Muslims". Some of them are more than suspected of not being Muslims in any thing but name. It was political motives, and in some cases the desire to enrich themselves (as they in fact did) by robbery, that prescribed their policy.

Can anyone who recalls this long record of oppression, cruelty, and bloodshed, anyone who knows what misery and poverty Turkish administration, hardly less pernicious to its Muslim subjects than to its Christian subjects, has brought upon countries rich in natural resources, doubt to what conclusion the record points? The Council of Ten at Paris had no doubt. In their answer to the Turkish delegates who appealed to them in June, 1919, to leave the Turkish Empire standing, they observed that "the Turk had no capacity to rule over alien races. The experiment has been tried too long and too often for there to be any doubt. Neither among Christians nor among Muslims has the Turk done other than destroy wherever he has conquered. Never has he shown himself able to develop in peace what he has won by wars".

This is a gentle way of stating that he has ruined everything he has touched. Every chance given for amendment has been neglected. The condition of the Turkish dominions was worse in 1914 than it had been before the Crimean War; and the country is more hopelessly disorganized now than it was in 1914, with more ferocious passions let loose and a greater difficulty in restoring order or prosperity, because the most orderly and industrious part of the population has been destroyed.

The only course that can be followed by the Allies, if they have the slightest regard for the welfare of the populations or for the declarations and promises they have repeatedly made during the war, is to put an end, once for all and forever, to any Turkish rule over Christian races. The British Prime Minister said in Parliament on December 21st, 1917, that Mesopotamia and Armenia must never be placed again under Turkish domination, and in a declaration made to trade union delegates on January 5th, 1918, repeated that Arabia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Svria, and Palestine had a right to have their separate national existence recognised, and could not be given back to their former masters. The French Minister for Foreign Affairs said, a few days later, that the policy of respect for the right of nationalities ought to be applied to the Armenian and Syrian populations. President Wilson, in the twelfth of his Fourteen Points, M. Clemenceau in a letter dated July 15th, 1918, recognizing the services which the Armenians who fought for the Allies had rendered to the Allied cause, made similar declarations. So did the British Under-Secretary of State (Lord Robert Cecil then held that office) in a letter (since published) to myself of October, 1918, and more than once in Parliament. From those dates till now no official authority in any Allied country had, so far as appears, receded - as how, indeed, could any of them recede? - from these announcements of what the Allies have promised and of what justice requires. Public opinion both here and in America welcomed those announcements, and has relied upon them, for every reasonable man saw that it would be a crime and a blunder to give the Turk any further chance of wreaking his wicked will upon Christians subjects.

Extract from "The Settlement of the Near East",

London, 1920

## THE GREATEST HORROR IN HISTORY

## HENRY MORGENTHAU

## (American Ambassador in Turkey during the First World War)

Few nations have suffered as much as Armenia. So terrible and continuous have been the atrocities to which it has fallen victim, that the very name of Armenia to most of us, became synonymous with martyrdom. Its sufferings during the present catastrophe have been greater than any known in the history of the world. None of the fearful horrors perpetrated in the carious crimes of the war can compare with the "Tragic Lot of the Armenians..."

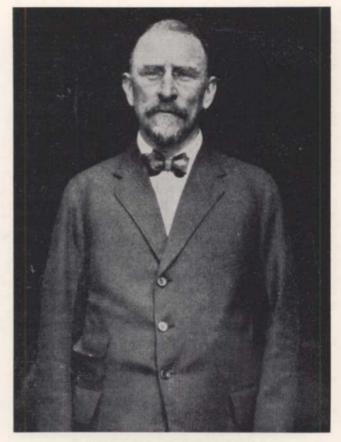
The final and worst measure used against the Armenians, was the wholesale deportation of the entire population, from their homes and their exile to the Desert, with all the accompanying horrors on the way.

"Homes were literally uprooted, families were separated, men killed, women and girls violated daily on the way or taken to harems, children were thrown into the rivers or sold to strangers by their mothers to save them from starvation. The facts contained in the reports received at the Embassy from absolutely trustworthy eye witnesses surpass the most beastly and diabolic cruelties ever before perpetrated or imagined in the history of the world."

"The women and children were taken to the neighbouring villages, placed in houses by the hundreds, and either burned alive or thrown into the river. Furthermore, one could see women and children pass by with blood streaming down, weeping... Who can describe such pictures? Add to all this the sight of burning houses and smell of man burning corpses.

Mamuret-ul-Aziz has become the cemetery of all the Armenians, all the Armenians from the various vilayets were sent there, and those who had not died on the way came there simply to find their graves.

"And they had generally treated so harshly the families of better class. Feet, hands, chests,



HENRY MORGENTHAU (1856—1946) American diplomat.

were nailed to a piece of wood, nails of fingers and toes were torn out, beard and eye-brows pulled out, feet were hammered with nails, as they do with horses, others were hung with their feet up and hands down over closets... Oh!"

"This massacre of the Armenians judged both by the numbers involved and the methods used, was the greatest single horror ever perpetrated in the history of humanity."

"Will the outrageous terrorizing, the cruel torturing, the driving of women into harems, the debauchery of innocent girls, the sale of many of them at eighty cents each, the murdering of hundreds of thousands and the deportation to and starvation in the deserts, the destruction of hundreds of villages and cities, with the willful execution of this whole devilish scheme to annihilate the Armenians, Greek Syrian Christians of Turkey, will all this go unpunished?"

"The Tragedy of Armenia"

#### A TESTAMENT IN THE DESERT

## AN OPEN LETTER TO PRESIDENT WILSON

## By ARMIN T. WEGNER

(A German eye-witness of the Armenian Massacres)

Berlin, January 1919.

MR. PRESIDENT,

In your message to Congress of January 8, 1918, you made a demand for the liberation of all non-Turkish peoples in the Ottoman Empire. One of these peoples is the Armenian Nation. It is on behalf of the Armenian nation that I am addressing you.

As one of the few Europeans who have been eye-witnesses of the dreadful destruction of the Armenian people from its beginning in the fruitful fields or Anatolia up to the wiping out of the mournful remnants of the race on the banks of the Euphrates, I venture to claim the right of setting before you these pictures of misery and terror which passed before my eyes during nearly two years, and which will never be obliterated from my mind. I appeal to you at the moment when the Governments allied to you are carrying on peace negotiations in Paris, which will determine the fate of the world for many decades. But the Armenian people is only a small one among several others; and the future of greater States more prominent in the world's eye is hanging in the balance. And so there is reason to fear that the significance of a small and extremely enfeebled nation may be obscured by the influential and selfish aims of the great European States, and that with regard to Armenia there will be a repetition of the old game of neglect and oblivion of which she has so often been the victim in the course of her history.

But this would be most lamentable, for no people in the world has suffered such wrongs as the Armenian Nation. The Armenian Question is a question for Christendom, for the whole human race.

Armin T. Wegner, An Open Letter to President Wilson. Berlin, January 1919. See. "The Memoirs of Naim Bey."

The Armenian people were victims of this War. When the Turkish Government, in the Spring of 1915, set about the execution of its monstrous project of exterminating a million of Armenians, all the nations of Europe were unhappily bleeding to exhaustion, owing to the tragic blindness of their mutual misunderstanding, and there was no one to hinder the lurid tyrants of Turkey from carrying on to the bitter end those revolting atrocities which can only be likened to the acts of a criminal lunatic. And so they drove the whole people - men, women, hoary elders, children, expectant mothers and dumb sucklings - into the Arabian Desert, with no other object than to let them starve to death.

For a long time, Europeans had been wont to regard Siberia as one of the most inhospitable regions in the world; to be condemned to live there was regarded as a most severe punishment. And yet, even in that place, there are fertile lands and, despite the cold of its winters, the climate is healthy. But what is Siberia compared with the Mesopotamian Steppes? There we find a long tract of land without grass, without trees, without cattle, covered with stunted weeds, a country where the only inhabitants are Arab Bedouins, destitute of all pity; a stretch of grey limestone plains several miles in extent, bare wastes of rock and stone, ruined river banks, exposed to the rays of a merciless sun, ceaseless autumn rains, and frosty winter nights, leaving sheets of ice behind them. Except its two large rivers there is no water. The few small villages scarcely suffice to feed a handful of Bedouins, who, in their wretched poverty, regard any traveller as a welcome prey. From the dwellings which their race had held for more than two thousand years, from all parts of the Empire, from the stony passes of the mountain region to the shores of the Sea of Marmora and the palmy oases of the South. the Armenians were driven into this desolate waste, with the alleged purpose of forcibly transplanting them from their homes to a strange land - a purpose which, even had it been the real one, is repugnant to every human feeling. The men were struck down in batches, bound together with chains and ropes, and thrown into the river or rolled down the mountain with fettered limbs. The women and children were put on sale in the public market; the old men and boys driven with deadly bastonados to forced labour. Nor was this suffi-



ARMIN T. WEGNER

cient; in order to render indelible the stain on their criminal hands, the captors drove the people, after depriving them of their leaders and spokesmen, out of the towns at all hours of the day and night, half-naked, straight out of their beds; plundered their houses, burnt the villages, destroyed the churches or turned them into mosques, carried off the cattle, seized all the vehicles, snatched the bread out of the mouths of their victims, tore the clothes from off their backs, the gold from their hair. Officials - military officers, soldiers, shepherds vied with one another in their wild orgy of blood, dragging out of the schools delicate orphan girls to serve their bestial lusts, beat with cudgels dying women or women close to childbirth who could scarcely drag themselves along, until the women fell down on the road and died, changing the dust beneath them into bloodstained mire. Travellers passing along the road turned away their eyes in horror from this moving multitude, driven on with devilish cruelty — only to find in their inns new-born babes buried in the dung-heaps of the courtyards, and the roads covered with severed heads of boys, who had raised them in supplication to their torturers. 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 strewed with swollen, blackened corpses, infecting the air with their odours, lying about desecrated, naked, having been robbed of their clothes, or driven, bound back to back, to the Euphrates to provide food for the fishes. Sometimes gendarmes in derision threw into the emaciated hands of the 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 barefooted, hundreds of miles under a burning sun, through stony defiles, over pathless steppes, enfeebled by fever and other maladies, through semi-tropical marshes, into the wilderness of desolation. Here they died — slain by Kurds, robbed by gendarmes, shot, hanged, poisoned, stabbed, strangled, mown down by epidemics, drowned, frozen, parched with thirst, starved — their bodies left to putrefy or to be devoured by jackals.

Children wept themselves to death, men dashed themselves against the rocks, mothers threw their babes into the brooks, women with child flung themselves, singing, into the Euphrates. They died all the deaths on the earth, the deaths of all the ages.

I have seen maddened deportees eating as food their own clothes and shoes, women cooking the bodies of their new-born babes.

In ruined caravanserais they lay between heaps of corpses and half-rotted bodies, withno one to pity them, waiting for death; for how long would it be possible for them to drag out a miserable existence, searching out grains of corn from horse dung or eating grass? But all this is only a fraction of what I have seen myself, of what I have been told by my acquaintances or by travellers, or of what I have heard from the mouths of deportees.

Mr. President, if you will look through that dreadful enumeration of horrors compiled by Lord Bryce in England and by Dr. Johannes Lepsius in Germany with regard to these occurrences, you will see that I am not exaggerating. But I may assume that these pictures of horrors of which all the world has heard except Germany, which has been shamefully deceived, are already in your hands. By what right, then, do I make this appeal to you?

I do it by the right of human fellowship, in dutiful fulfilment of a sacred promise.

When in the desert I went through the deportees' camp, when I sat in their tents with the starving and dying, I felt their supplicating hands in mine, and the voices of their priests, who had blessed many of the dead on their last journey to the grave, adjured me to plead for them, if I were ever in Europe again.

But the country to which I have returned is a poor country; Germany is a conquered nation. My own people (the Germans) are near starvation; the streets are full of the poor and wretched. Can I beg help of a people which perhaps will soon not be in a condition to save itself for a people (the Armenians) which is in even more evil case?

The voice of conscience and humanity will never be silenced in me, and therefore I address these words to you.

This document is a request. It is the tongues of a thousand dead that speak in it.

Mr. President, the wrong suffered by this people is immeasurable. I have read everything that has been written about the war. I have carefully made myself acquainted with the horrors in every country on this earth, the fearful slaughters in every battle, the ships sunk by torpedoes, the bombs thrown down on the towns by air-crafts, the heartrending slaughters in Belgium, the misery of the French refugees, the fearful sickness and epidemics in Roumania. But here is wrong to be righted such as none of these peoples has suffered — neither the French nation, nor the Serbian, nor the Roumanian, Russian, nor the Serbian, nor the Roumanian, nor even the German nation, which has had to suffer so much in this war. The barbarous peoples of ancient times may possibly have endured a similar fate. But here we have a highly civilized nation, with a great and glorious past, which has rendered services that can never be forgotten to art, literature and learning; a nation which has produced many remarkable and intellectual men, profoundly <sup>1</sup> religious, with a noble priesthood; a Christian people, whose members are dispersed over the whole earth, many of whom have lived for many years in your country, Mr. President. Men acquainted with all the languages of the world, men whose wives and daughters have been accustomed to sit in comfortable chairs at a table covered with a clean white cloth, not to crouch in a cave in the wilderness. Sagacious merchants, distinguished doctors, scholars, artists, honest prosperous peasants who made the land fruitful, and whose only fault was that were defenseless and spoke a different language from that of their persecutors, and were born into a different faith.

Everyone who knows the events of this war in Anatolia, who has followed the fortunes of this nation with open eyes, knows that all those accusations which were brought, with great cunning and much diligence, against the Armenian race, are nothing but loathsome slanders fabricated by their unscrupulous tyrants, in order to shield themselves from the consequences of their own mad and brutal acts, and to hide their own incapacity for reconciliation with the spirit of sincerity and humanity.

But even if all these accusations were based on the truth, they would never justify these cruel deeds committed against hundreds of thousands of innocent people.

I am making no accusation against Islam. The spirit of every great religion is noble, and the conduct of many a Mohammedan has made us blush for the deeds of Europe.

I do not accuse the simple people of Turkey, whose souls are full of goodness; but I do not think that the members of the ruling class will ever, in the course of history, be capable of making their country happy, for they have destroyed our belief in their capacity for civilization.

Turkey has forfeited for all time the right to govern itself.

Mr. President, you will believe in my impartiality if I speak to you on this subject, as a German, one of a nation which was linked with Turkey in bonds of close friendship, a nation which in consequence of this friendship has most unjustly been accused of being an accomplice in these murderous man-hunts. The German people know nothing of this crime. The German Government erred through ignorance of the Turkish character and its own preoccupation with solicitude for the future of its own people. I do not deny that weakness is a fault in the life of nations. But the bitter reproach of having made possible this unpardonable deportation does not fall on Germany alone.

In the Berlin Treaty of July 1878, all the six European Great Powers gave the most solemn guarantees that they would guard the tranquillity and security of the Armenian People. But has this promise ever been kept? Even Abdul Hamid's massacres failed to bring it to remembrance, and in blind greed the nations pursued selfish aims, not one putting itself forward as the champion of an oppressed people.

In the Armistice between Turkey and your Allies, which the Armenians all over the world awaited with feverish anxiety, the Armenian question is scarcely mentioned. Shall this unworthy game be repeated a second time, and must the Armenians be once more disillusioned?

The future of this small nation must not be relegated to obscurity behind the selfish schemes and plans of the great states. Mr. President, save the honour of Europe.

It would be an irremediable mistake if the Armenian districts of Russia were not joined with the Armenian provinces of Anatolia and Cilicia to form one common country entirely liberated from Turkish rule, with an outlet of its own to the sea. It is not enough, Mr. President, that you should know the suffering of these people. It is not enough that you should give them a state in which the houses are destroyed, the fields laid waste, the citizens murdered. The exhaustion of this country is such that by its own strength it cannot rise again. Its trade is ruined; its handicrafts and industries have collapsed. The asset of its annihilated population can never be restored.

Many thousands of Armenians were perverted to Islam by force, thousands of children and girls kidnapped, and thousands of women carried away and made slaves in Turkish harems. To all these must be given perfect assurance of their return to freedom. All victims of persecution who are returning to their homes after spending two years and more in the desert must be indemnified for wealth and goods that they have lost, all orphans must be cared for. What these people need is love, of which they have so long been deprived. This is, for all of us, a confession of guilt.

Mr. President, pride prevents me from pleading for my own people (the Germans). I have no doubt that, out of the plenitude of its sorrow, it will gain power by sacrifice to co-operate in the future redemption of the world. But, on behalf of the Armenian Nation, which has suffered such terrible tyranny, I venture to intervene, for if, after this war, it is not given reparation for its fearful sufferings, it will be lost for ever.

With the ardour of one who has experienced unspeakable, humiliating sorrows in his own tortured soul, I utter the voice of those unhappy ones, Whose despairing cries I had to hear without being able to still them, whose cruel deaths I could only helplessly mourn, whose bones bestrew the deserts of the Euphrates, and whose limbs once more become alive in my heart and admonish me to speak.

Once already have I knocked at the door of the American people when I brought the petition of the deportees from their camps at Meskene and Aleppo to your Embassy at Constantinople, and I know that this has not been in vain.

If you, Mr. President, have indeed made the sublime idea of championing oppressed nations the guiding principle of your policy, you will not fail to perceive that even in these words a mighty voice speaks, the only voice that has the right to be heard at all times — the voice of humanity.

"HELL WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN A RIGHT

## **GOOD VESTIBULE FOR ARMENIA"**

Lieut. Col. Little:

"... The Sultan has been killing off small nations much longer than the Kaiser. For hundreds of years this has gone on to a greater or less extent. To deflower the maids, to rape the matrons, to slay the young men, to butcher the old, to assemble them together in the Armenian churches and steal everything they have; to burn their furniture, to drive away such as are left from their homes is a most everyday action in Armenia. Hundreds of thousands have so suffered since 1914. I would hesitate about making such a statement on the floor of this House if I were not absolutely satisfied of the correctness of my statement."

"Fifty-four villages in Bulgaria forty-odd vears ago were ruined and everybody in them was destroyed: the massacres in Chios and the other Grecian isles some 90 years ago were awful, but hardly a circumstance to what has been done in Armenia. In 1915 thousands upon thousands of men were slain and thousands upon thousands of women were dishonoured. Slaughter often began by the sound of a bugle, and ended each day by the same signal. Hundreds of thousands of Armenian men, women and children, driven from their good homes, were hurried on foot, without provisions, to unknown destinations, in the hope of extermination. Many women sprang into the Euphrates to escape dishonour; 3,000 died in the burned church at Orfa in the massacre of a few years ago. Circumstances have been such in the last few years that hell would not have been a right good vestibule for Armenia."

"... The rape of Belgium, the murder of Serbia, the collapse of Russia have appalled a world that would stand aghast if it knew the horrors of Christian life in Armenia."

Extracts from "The Armenian Question in the American House of Representatives", 1918.

## GENOCIDE OF THE ARMENIANS

## by SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

## (Chairman of the West Bengal Legislative Council From 1952 to 1965; National Professor of India in Humanities)

The Armenians are celebrating a great national calamity which befell them some fifty years ago - the massacre of thousands of them by the Turks who wanted to retaliate upon them for their sympathy and support for the allies in the First World War. Massacres of this type have been fairly common in human history and mankind has to admit it with shame and sorrow. In the earlier literature of the nations and their historical records, we read stories of en masse slaughter or sacrifice of peoples. In many cases it was not outright slaughter, but it was bringing a people to ruin and destruction by economic pressure, by religious persecution, by removing their children from their care, and by various other means which are no less cruel than actual physical destruction. In the modern world, this kind of suppression of one people by another is still continuing without let-up or hindrance, and the conscience of humanity seems now to have become almost callous about it.

The term Genocide is very frequently used in recent times. It is a Latin compound made up of two words gens meaning people or race, in Sanscrit janas, and the root caed or cid meaning "to destroy", which can be rendered in sanscrit as sat. Genicide thus means the slaughter of a people or race, which we might translate for our use in Indian language as jana-sata. There are the words patricide and matricide, and compounds of the same nature occur in Latin. It would appear that in modern times the word has been first employed by Dr. Raphael Laemkin in 1944, and he used it to characterize the attempted extermination of the Jews in Nazi Germany. Similar attempted exterminations of whole peoples have taken place in other parts of the world, and are continuing during this century too. The most outstanding of this which shocked the whole civilized world in the present century took place as the aftermath of the First World War when such a large

number of the Armenian people were destroyed by the cold, callous and calculated policy pursued by the rulers of the Turkish People. The average Turkish individual is just as human and as kind and friendly as any other person. But when a nation comes under the control of a small ruling minority which is unscrupulous as to the lines it follows for the attainment of its aim, they can find enough people to assist them in carrying out their policy of cruelty and of destruction.

Genocide has been recognized as one of the greatest evils of the present age, and the UN as well as the UNESCO naturally are striving to remove this canker from human society. Genocide has been defined by a UNESCO Convention in 1948 to mean "any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy in whole or in part a national, ethnical or religious group as such:—

- (a) killing members of the group:
- (b) causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group:
- (c) deliberately inflicting upon the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part:
- (d) imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group:
- (e) forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

In the case of the Armenians, in 1915 the situation was so very shocking for ordinary human sensibilities that it became immediately noted and condemned as something inhuman. Hundreds and thousands of people for the mere fact that they were Christians and Armenians, and that they were harbouring sympathies for the allies as against the German and their friends the Turks, were either killed outright or were made to suffer terrible punishments, or they were finally forced into the deserts and other places to be slaughtered far away from human habitation, or left to their fate to die of thirst and hunger in the desert. A large percentage of this small but gallant nation was in this way totally destroyed.

We in India did not have any direct knowledge of these happenings. But during the time when this thing was going on, we read in the papers, and that was half a century ago, about what were happening in Turkey. During this war, quite a number of Indian soldiers who were fighting the Turks and the Germans under the British in Mesopotamia, fell prisoners to the Turks. The Indian military personnel who were being kept as prisoners by the Turks, in some of the country district in Northern Mesopotamia and other parts of Turkey, in those days narrated their experiences of what was passing in front of their eyes. It was described in the Indian papers how Turkish soldiers were marching large batches of Armenian prisoners - men and women, old and young, as well as small children, and they were being taken to unknown destinations. They sometimes passed beside the camps of these Indian prisoners, where the Indian soldiers could see the misery and the cruelty that was in evidence before their eyes. These unfortunate Armenians, all of them tired and hungry, and weary and footsore, and hardly able to drag themselves on, were being forced by frequent beatings with the butt ends of rifles, to proceed. Some of the prisoners were stolid and had prepared themselves for the worst, and others, particularly the women and the children were weeping and wailing, and little toddlers were sometimes being dragged on by their mothers, and this was a sickening sight. It happened in many instances that mothers, who could not speak a word with the Indian soldiers - mostly Sikhs as well as Hindus and Muslims, and there was no common language between them - with abject imploration in their eyes would leave the little toddlers and babies nearby the Indian Camps, silently pleading with them to look after them as their children, whom they were forced to leave behind in these tragic circumstances. I heard in Calcutta that some of these children were allowed to be taken charge of by the Indian soldiers who adopted them as their own children and brought a few to India, and they of course in a short time forgot everything about their nightmare childhood and became absorbed in the country in which they found asylum with their adopted fathers. Naturally these boys and girls became Sikhs or Muslims or Hindus and were absorbed in the communities in which they were placed. I have heard of at least one case in Calcutta; but here the boy was rescued in this way was not an Armenian but an Assyrian Christian. The Assyrians were a small community in Northern Mesopotamia who spoke some old form of Syriac but were Christians, and they suffered in the same way as the Armenians. A very distinguished Bengali doctor who was in the Indian Army brought this child and now he has become a good Bengali, not remembering any thing about his past, and he has been married and has become fully absorbed in an Indian Community. This of course has been a saving for the boy, but certainly a great tragedy for his relations and for his people.

The Armenians suffered similarly from thousands of such tragedies. It was in fact like the whole Armenian nation being crucified -and they had to suffer like their Master Jesus. The Armenians were perhaps the oldest people in the World who accepted Christianity as their national religion, and this religion has been the cause of many of their sufferings at the hands of people who were hostile to them and to their religion. But nevertheless their religion has been as history makes it quite clear, a great source of strength and hope for them. It is only fitting that the Armenian people all over the world, after half a century of this great tragedy, would, try to keep the memory of their fellow nationals of 50 years ago who suffered so much and who gave their lives only because they were Armenians. The memory of these Martyrs will certainly be a sustaining thought for them in their corporate or national life and endeavour; and I can only repeat for the Armenian people who have faith in themselves and in their culture and religion these lines from an old hymn from their Christian Liturgy:-

> Vor Apavened es Neghelotz... Ler ognakan Azkis Hayotz. Der Voghormia. "Refuge of the afflicted, Thou... Be helpful to the race of Haik. Lord, have mercy!"

> > Suniti Kumar CHATTERJI

Calcutta, February 23, 1965

## AN OPEN LETTER AND A PLEA FROM ARMENIAN-AMERICANS TO HIS EXCELLENCY PRESIDENT CEVDET SUNAY OF TURKEY ON THE OCCASION OF HIS APRIL 1967 VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES

#### MR. PRESIDENT:

Your visit to the United States comes at a time when Armenian-Americans, and Armenians throughout the world, are commemorating the most tragic anniversary in their history: the murder of one and onehalf million of their kinsmen in Turkey, fifty-two years ago this month.

We can understand that such commemorative observances disturb your government, because they recall the terrible misrule which has been the lot of your minorities. Judging by certain articles in your press, such as the following typical excerpt from a recent issue of "Yeni Gazette," the Turkish attitude has not changed. Recalling your deportation of Istanbul Greeks, this article concludes as follows concerning the Armenians:

"In our century genocides do not happen as they once did. No one can easily massacre the other. But if a stifling atmosphere is created, then not an Armenian will remain in Istanbul. There will be only one alternative for them: to cower and go away."

But citizens of free nations can neither take kindly to threats, Mr. President, nor disregard the lessons of history. We are compelled to remind you that it was the "new" Young Turk government that decreed, on April 24, 1915, that not one Armenian was to be left alive within the borders of Turkey. Over one and a half million — or seventy-five per cent of the Armenian population in Turkey perished.

The undersigned are of those remnants who managed to escape the Turkish sword. Our numbers have multiplied and include thousands of scientists, educators, writers, artists, industrialists and professionals who contribute to the progress and stability of every nation that gave us refuge. It is only our ancient home, the beautiful land of Mt. Ararat, that is denied our help and lies barren and unproductive in your hands.

It is through the memory of those who perished that we are driven to seek an end to destruction of minorities as an instrument of national policy, for the world is made up of minorities. For this reason we record our anguish that the baser aspects of your history are denied by your government; that your children are taught deception that can only perpetuate evil; that in your textbooks, tourist information, and posture you present to the world, you still try vainly and naively to deny even the existence of this ancient and still virile Armenian people.

In the face of such distortion of history and of self deception we wonder how it is possible to promote international understanding. With changing political alignments that are beginning to sharpen the political acumen and conscience of the world, will the Turkish people once more stand alone, self- deceived, feared by their neighbors and distrusted by the world?

Or will you, Mr. President, help your people find the courage with which to acknowledge the mistakes of your nation's past, to forsake using your minorities as pawns, and to accept moral and political responsibilities for the future?

The German Hitler took lesson from the Turkish example of 1915 and launched terrible destruction on the Jews in the second genocide. Are you, in turn, equal to the task of taking example from Germany's acknowledgement of guilt and difficult return to the respected family of nations? As private, responsible individuals who are keenly aware of the international implications of your posture, we wish you this understanding and courage. For the roots of national progress lie in courage to face the truth.

April 12, 1967

Signed:

Thomas T. Amirian, Structural Engineer, Boston, Mass. Antranig Antreasian, Editor, Watertown, Mass.

Vigen K. Babayan, Research Director, Indianapolis, Ind. Zaven Baikar, Architect, Worcester, Mass.

Dr. Barkev Bakamjian, Physicist, Ridgefield,Conn. Dr. Nubar Berberian, LL.D; Editor, Watertown, Mass. Hamparsoum Berberian, Composer, Watertown, Mass. Dadour Dadourian, Industrialist, New York, N.Y.

Dr. Haroutune M. Dadourian, Physicist, West Hartford, Conn.

Prof. Vahakn N. Dadrian, Sociologist, Superior, Wis.

Anne Demirjian, Security Account Executive, Worcester, Mass.

Archie Dickranian, Merchant, Beverly Hills, Cal.

G. John Gregory, Former Member Mass. State Board of Education.

Dr. Zaven G.T. Guiragossian, Physicist, Palo Alto, Cal.

Prof. Leo Hamalian, The City College, New York, N.Y. Haroutune Hazarian, Industrialist, New York, N.Y.

H. Kashmanian, Writer, Forest Hills, N.Y.

Michael Kermoyan, Actor, New York, N.Y.

Dikran Missirlian, Exporter-Importer, New York. N.Y.

Dr. Charles N. Mahjoubian, Ardmore, Pa.

Dr. V. Mgrdichian, Chemist, Greenwich, Conn.

Albert Mardirosian, President Home for Armenian Aged, Passaic, N.J.

Prof. Thomas Moranian, Livingston, N.J.

Yeprem Mourachian, Businessman, Watertown, Mass.

Moses H. Nahigian, Realtor, West Newton, Mass.

Dr. A. Packchanian Microbiologist, Galveston, Texas. Edward Sahagian, Writer, New York, N.Y.

Dr. Manasseh G. Sevag, Bacteriologist, Philadelphia, Pa.

Dicran Simsarian, Attorney, New York, N.Y.

Yeghia Sirvart, Author, Providence, R.I.

Garabed H. Sulahian, Manufacturer, Watertown, Mass.

Dr. Souren Tashian, Surgeon, Seattle, Washington.

Charles A. Vertanes, Information Scientist, Smithtown, N. Y.

Osia Yeramian, Retired businessman,, Watertown, Mass.

Sarkis M. Zartarian, Attorney, Arlington, Mass.

\* \* \*

"The Armenians are physically of good stature, strong features and manly bearing; industrious and frugal; loyal to their religion and their nation; of market ability for adapting themselves to any circumstances, whether of climate, social or political life; very kindly, sympathetic, affectionate, with an element of the jovial in their life; intensely proud of their history and their faith: clannish almost to the last degree, refusing such association with other races as might imply the loss of their own; of exceptionally pure morals among the Eastern races; intense lovers of home and family life, and hospitable in the last degree; with acute minds and suave manners, they manifest many of the essential elements of a strong nation."

## EDWIN M. BLISS

"Turkey and the Armenian Atrocities"

"The importance of the Armenian people is often ignored. The Armenians have played in antiquity, and more especially in the Middle Ages, an important role. As a factor of civilization in the Orient, the Armenian is more important than is generally realized. The Armenians are, without doubt, intellectually the most awake amongst all the peoples that inhabit the Ottoman Empire. They are superior to Turks and Kurds."

> "Armenica und Deutschland" PROF. KARL ROTH German historian and writer.

"The Armenians constitute the sole civilizing, the sole humanizing element in Anatolia; peaceful to the degree of self-sacrifice; lawabiding to their own undoing and industrious and hopeful under conditions which would appall the majority of mankind. At their best they are the stuff of which heroes and martyrs are moulded."

> "Armenia, an Appeal" DR. EMILE DILLON (1854—1933) British journalist.

"The Armenians are a noble race."

("New York Herald", Dec. 18, 1894)

DR. CYRUS HAMLIN

(1811-1900)

"If I were asked what characteristics distinguish the Armenians from other Orientals, I should be disposed to lay most stress on a quality known in popular speech as grit. It is this quality to which they owe their preservation as a people, and they are not surpassed in this respect by any European nation. Their intellectual capacities are supported by a solid foundation of character, and, unlike the Greeks, but like the Germans, their nature is averse to superficial methods; they become absorbed in their tasks and plumb them deep."

> HARRY FINNIS BLOSS LYNCH (1862—1913) British historian and writer.

"No terms can be used which would be too strong in describing the horrors which have been narrated to me by Christians from these regions named, those to which the noble Viscount has referred. The frequent putting up of women and girls to public auction as the troops passed, the old women driven away and the girls sold as cattle."

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

"We may say without exaggeration that not only in Armenia proper, but also far beyond its boundaries, the economic life of **Turkey** rests, in great part, upon the Armenians."

> PAUL ROHRBACH 1869—1956) German journalist and writer.

American Congregational missionary and founder of Robert College in Turkey.

"Over 40 per cent of the Armenians admitted to the United States are, according to the classification of our Immigration Bureau, skilled laborers and educated professional men and women. The record of their character, life and activities in our country brings to light the substantial qualities of Armenian people. By comparison, they stand head and shoulder above all other immigrant races from Southeastern Europe and Asia Minor"

JAMES WATSON GERARD

(1867 - 1951)

American lawyer and diplomat.

"The Armenian volunteers from America were as a band of crusaders, who marched resolutely away. A French flag at the head of the column, flanked by the Armenian and American colors. Can even this war offer a more inspiring example of patriotism and self-sacrifice?"

## FRANCIS ROGERS

"Lord, save us from the devil, the Turk and the comet."

> POPE CALLISTUS III (1455—1458)

"Three things naught but evil work — The locust, the vermin, and the Turk."

ARAB BARD

"History moves slowly in Turkey when it is a question of instituting reforms, but fast enough when massacres are in the air."

W. J. WINTLE

"If there is a race which has been closely connected with the Turks by its fidelity, by its services to the country, by the statesmen and functionaries of talent it has furnished, by the intelligence which it has manifested in all domains —commerce, industry, science, and the arts— it is certainly the Armenian."

> General SHERIF PASHA Turkish exile in Paris.

"It would not be easy to find anywhere in history a parallel to the Armenian story."

BISHOP HAROLD JOCELYN BUXTON (1880— ) British clergyman and writer.

"The more we fathom their distant past, the more we begin to realize the constructive and enlightening role played by the Armenians in the world history of civilization."

> "Armenia's Past and Present" PROF. PAUL HAUPT (1858—1926) German historian and educator.

"I believe the Armenian to be the most artistic in Turkey. Many paint well, and some have made reputations in Russia and France. Amateur painting is so general as to suggest that the race has a natural taste for Art. The picture gallery on the Island of Lazzaro at Venice contains many works of art by Armenians which won the approval of Ruskin."

> SIR EDWIN PEARS (1835—1919)

British lawyer, writer and historian.

"The Armenians have been and still are remarkable for their intelligence and their education. They have clung passionately to their religion, and their women have been brought up in purity and refinement.

ANEURIN WILLIAMS

"Then, coming to the broad question of Armenia, we remember those terrible massacres in 1895 and 1896, but they pale into insignificance before what has been done during this War. The Germans have been guilty of the most ghastly and unspeakable crimes, but there is no crime so ghastly and unspeakable as the wholesale massacre, under circumstances of the greatest possible barbarity and atrocity, of the Armenians themselves."

## SIR GEORGE GREENWOOD

"Another word remains —Armenia— a word of ghastly horror carrying the memory of deeds not done in the world since Christ was born — a country swept clear by the wholesale murder of its people."

("Times" 30. 12. 1916)

"Let me say also that all this talk about the gentlemanly Turk is the greatest rot in the world. Too many people are running down the character of the Armenians (hear, hear). It is simply done in the interests of those who are persecuting them. The Armenians I look upon as most oppressed and deserving body of people."

## BISHOP OF LONDON

"Of the 2.000.000. Armenians in Turkey in 1914, one million have been slaughtered, and the survivors only 130,000 remain in Turkey and the rest are refugees and exiles. Armenian property losses are valued at over 5.000.000.000 dollars are more than three fourths of the estimated wealth of the Armenian race."

H. ADAM

"Armenia in the World War"

"The Turk, who in the last ten years had thrown back to the primitive Turanian Conqueror, was not content with dominating, but was now engaged in exterminating the Armenian, the Syrian Christian, and the Arabs, and was even now beginning to bully the Jews."

("The Near East", January 19, 1917)

"The Armenians are a people of large and noble capacities. For ages they have maintained their civilization under oppression that would have crushed almost any other people."

ANDREW DICKSON WHITE

(1832 - 1918)

American educator and diplomat.

"The highest possible wish that we have for our Armenian brethren is that they will lead the world in their humanity.

"Their suffering gives them the first right to do so."

**Rev. CHARLES FLETCHER DOLE** 

(1845 - 1927)

American Unitarian clergyman.

"Armenia, thatglorious land which leads Asia to Europe!

"A land that rests in the incomparable light of the Orient.

"A land that bears a crown of heroic and sacred memories."

ALBERT DE MUN (1841-1914) French politician. "I would like to see Europe, that wept over Uncle Tom's Cabin, think over the outrages perpetrated by the Turks in Armenia. Eight centuries ago a lesser injustice than these crimes would have caused an avenging Crusade. It is the duty of the Allied Powers, fighting now against the Central Empires, to grant freedom to Armenia. Otherwise the remnant of this unfortunate nation will become anarchists, and if they were to destroy Constantinople by dynamite, I a bishop, standing before the altar of Christ, would without any compunction pronounce their action not only justified, but even sanctified."

> MONSIGNOR TOUCHET Bishop of Orleans, France.

"Never once, throughout their history, have Armenians been accused of treachery by the monarchs under whose dominion they were living."

> NOEL BUXTON (1875—1942) British statesman and writer.

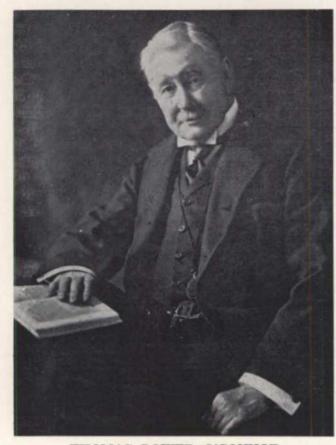
"The Armenians, can be considered the possessors of the highest civilization in Asia Minor. Thanks to their aptitude and their intelligence, the Armenians occupy the highest positions in Turkey."

"Tagliche Rundschau"

DR. V. ROSENTS German authority on Near Eastern affairs and writer.

"Surely, surely, my brethren, when the one great tragedy and crime of war has been the pitiless massacre of the Armenian people, it would complete, even exceed, the crime, if now freedom were to be denied them. We can hardly bear even to think of such a possibility."

BISHOP BURY (In St. Paul's Cathedral, November 26, 1918)



THOMAS POWER O'CONNOR (Tay Pay) (1848— 1929) Irish journalist and nationalist leader.

"The Armenians are an oppressed and a noble nation, which has partaken of the proscription and bondage of the Jews and of the Greeks, without the sullenness of the former, or the servility of the latter. This people has attained riches without usury, and all the honours that can be awarded to slavery without intrigue. But they have long occupied, nevertheless, a part of the house of bondage, who has lately multiplied her many manions. It would be difficult, perhaps, to find the annals of a nation less stained with crimes than those of the Armenians, whose virtues have been those of peace and their vices those of compulsion. But whatever may have been their destiny -and it has been bitter- whatever it may be in the future, their Country must ever be one of the most interesting on the globe, and perhaps their language only requires to be more studied to become more attractive."

LORD BYRON

"Let us not forget that the Armenian nation has a long and glorious history; that it was one of the earliest to create a civilization and cultured society; that it was the first as a nation to adopt Christianity for all these centuries, through every horror. But even this is not enough to say of the essential greatness of Armenian history and the Armenian character.

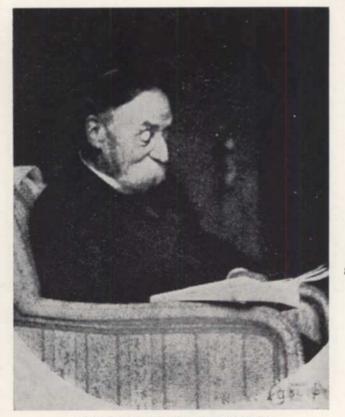
"It is necessary to remember that it was at one period of its history, the greatest power among the nations of Asia, that it governed itself with success and Christianity between Asia and Europe and finally that these traditions of faith and of patriotism have been carried on through many centuries and numberless generations while religion and national spirit have not suffered the slightest diminution in either valor or tenacity."

T. P. O'CONNOR

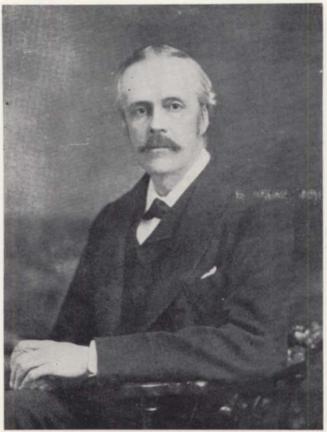


GEORGE GORDON BYRON (LORD BYRON) (1788—1824) British poet. "His Majesty's Government is following with earnest sympathy and admiration the gallant resistance of the Armenians in defense of their liberties and honor. I would refer the Honorable member to the public statements made by leading statesmen among the Allied Powers in favor of a settlement (of the Armenian case) upon the principle of self- determination."

BALFOUR



GUSTAVE SCHLUMBERGER Member of the Institute of France and an Eminent Byzantinist.



ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR (1848—1930) British statesman and philosopher.

"The history of Armenia!

"A history of valiant deeds, of energy, of suffering\_"

## GUSTAVE SCHLUMBERGER



JACQUES ANATOLE FRANCOIS THIBAULT (ANATOLE FRANCE) (1844—1924) French poet, critic, novelist and playwright.

"What remains forever in the Armenian civilization, its cathedrals and its poets, its saints and its martyrs — is its spirituality.

"And this indestructible spirituality is Armenia."

RENE GROUSSET

"After the victory of our armies, which are fighting for justice and liberty, the Allies will have great duties to fulfill; and the most sacred of them will be to bestow life again on the martyred nations, — on Belgium, on Serbia. They will also insure the safety and the independence of Armenia.

"Turning to her, they will say, Sister, arise! Suffer no longer! Thou art henceforth free to live in accordance with thy genius and thy faith!'"

ANATOLE FRANCE



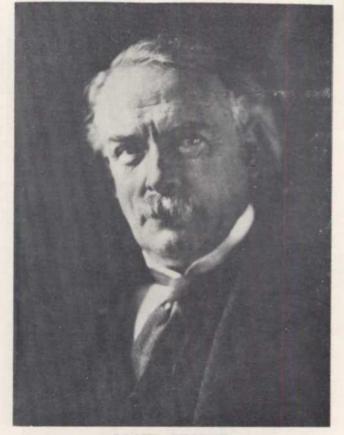
RENE GROUSSET (1885—1952)

French historian and member of the French Academy.

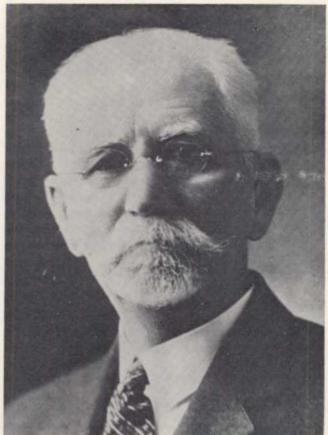
"Out from among the Armenians have come some of the noted leaders of the Middle East, as well as men who have won distinction in many fields of activity in Europe and America."

"Give the Armenian capital and a righteous government and he will turn the whole of Turkey into a Garden of Eden in ten years."

JAMES L. BARTON



LLOYD GEORGE (1863—1945) British statesman and historian.



JAMES L. BARTON (1855-1936)

Secretary American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

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

LLOYD GEORGE



"The scheme was nothing less than the extermination of the whole Christian population within the Ottoman frontiers... 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".

> ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE ("The Murder of a Nation")

ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE (1889— ) British historian.

FRIDTJOF NANSEN (1861—1930) Norwegian zoologist, explorer and statesman.

"The whole plan of extermination was nothing less than a cold-blooded, calculated political measure, having for its object the annihilation of a superior element in the population, which might prove troublesome, and to this must be added the motive of greed."

FRIDTJOF NANSEN

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

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

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

CLEMENCEAU



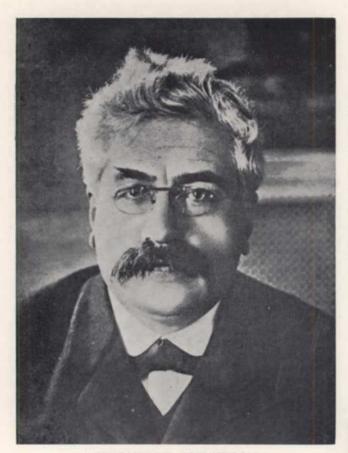
VISCOUNT EDMUND HYNMAN ALLENBY (1861—1936) British field marshal.



GEORGES CLEMENCEAU (1841— 1920) French statesman.

"I am proud to have Armenian contingents under my command. They fought brilliantly and took a leading part in the victory."

GENERAL ALLENBY



"The Allies see clearly that the time has come to put an end to Turkish domination over other races. During the past twenty years Armenians have been massacred with unexampled brutality. During the war, the exploit of the Turkish government, in massacres, deportations and bad treatment of prisoners of war, exceeded in ferocity its former misdeeds. Not only has the Government failed to protect its subjects against murder and pillage, but it itself has organized and perpetrated these outrages. The Allies are determined to liberate from Turkish rule the regions inhabited by non-Turks."

> MILLERAND July 16, 1920

ALEXANDER MILLERAND (1859—1943) President of the French Republic.

"The Turkish Government began and ruthlessly carried out the infamous massacre and deportation of Armenians in Asia Minor. The clearance of the race from Asia Minor was about as complete as such an act, on a scale so great, could well be".

SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL



SIR WINSTON SPENCER CHURCHILL (1874—1965) British statesman and historian. "I believe that I have Armenian blood flowing through my veins."

VENIZELOS



(Photo Courtesy of United Nations)

SPYROS ACHILLES KYPRIANOU Foreign Minister of Cyprus



## ELEUTHERIOS VENIZELOS (1864—1936) Greek statesman.

"I am obliged in this respect — because this subject (massacres) has come up and one also has to think of people who have not been thought of by others — to point out that only this year the Armenians throughout the world are observing the 50th anniversary of the wholesale massacre of 1.5 million innccent people in Turkey in 1915."

U.N. records A PV 1321, January 25, 1965

"The representative of Turkey again spoke of massacres. I was not the first one who raised this question of massacres and as I said, I wanted to avoid it. I was forced the other day to refer to the Armenian massacres, which the representative of Turkey yesterday called 'alleged' massacres.

"I would advise him to read all the works of Arnold Toynbee, and he would read there about the massacres of the Armenians and many other things indeed that I am sure he would not like."

## KIPRIANOU

19th Session of the General Assembly U.N. records A PV 1325, January 27, 1965



CARDINAL RICHARD CUSHING Archbishop of Boston

Saturday, April 24, 1965, is the fiftieth anniversary of the "massacre" of the Armenian people at the hands of the Turks.

The Turkish violence against the Armenians lasted from 1915 to 1918. Almost 2,000,000 people were killed or deported by the Turks. The passing of years has obliterated details and new crimes that took place during World War I, and since then, have tended to obscure the once happy country of the Armenians.

The 1915 Armenian Massacre had these characteristics:

- 1) It was well planned.
- 2) It was unprovoked; distortions of trivialities and plain misstatements were alleged as reasons for Turkish "retaliation" and the suppression of "revolts."
- 3) The Armenians had been systematically deprived of all weapons for a period before the beginning of the massacre and were utterly helpless. Under these circumstances they would have been helpless to revolt.

This Armenian Massacre was really "genocide"; it was an attempt to extinguish an entire race of people, as such. The sole crime of the martyred people was that they were Armenians. Minor campaigns within the larger pattern, notably anti-religious and anti-language "drives", became auxiliaries to the persecution to the extent that they furthered its political purpose.

There is hardly any person of Armenian descent today, no matter where he lives, who was not represented by some relative on the long list of innocent people who lost their lives during the awful events of fifty years ago. The survivors and descendants have much to live up to, and the civilized world at large, which seemingly treated the situation with scant compassion, has much to live down.

Cardinal Richard Cushing (Courtesy of Mekhitarist Information Center)



EDWARD KENNEDY Senator from Massachusetts

"Mr. President, April 24, 1965 was the fiftieth anniversary of the commencement of the atrocities against the Armenian people, resulting in the massacre of 1.5 million of this courageous race. Armenians throughout Massachusetts and the Nation have reaffirmed their commitment to the cause of justice and human rights.

"Indeed, the Armenian question is very much alive today. In America, where both the concept and practise of justice demand that the slightest trespass of the rights of a single individual receive meticulous attention, certainly the oppression and destruction of a race or nation calls forth our expressed horror and opposition. It becomes a people such as ourselves — dedicated to freedom and individual liberty — not only to remember and reflect upon the past suffering of the Armenians during this prescribed month of mourning, but also to dedicate our efforts and reflections to the best manner by which to avoid and eliminate any future repetition of such ignoble action.

"To the Armenian people in Massachusetts, I would like to express my sincere admiration for the dignity and concern they have exhibited in carrying out the commemorative programs and for the many fine and intellectual contributions they have made to our Commonwealth. To the Armenian people throughout this nation and the world, I would like to reaffirm my sympathetic dedication to their fight for justice and liberty for every single human being."

> Congressional Record — Senate April 26, 1965

## CHAPTER VI



## MONUMENTS DEDICATED TO THE ARMENIAN

## MARTYRS OF THE 1915 TURKISH MASSACRES.

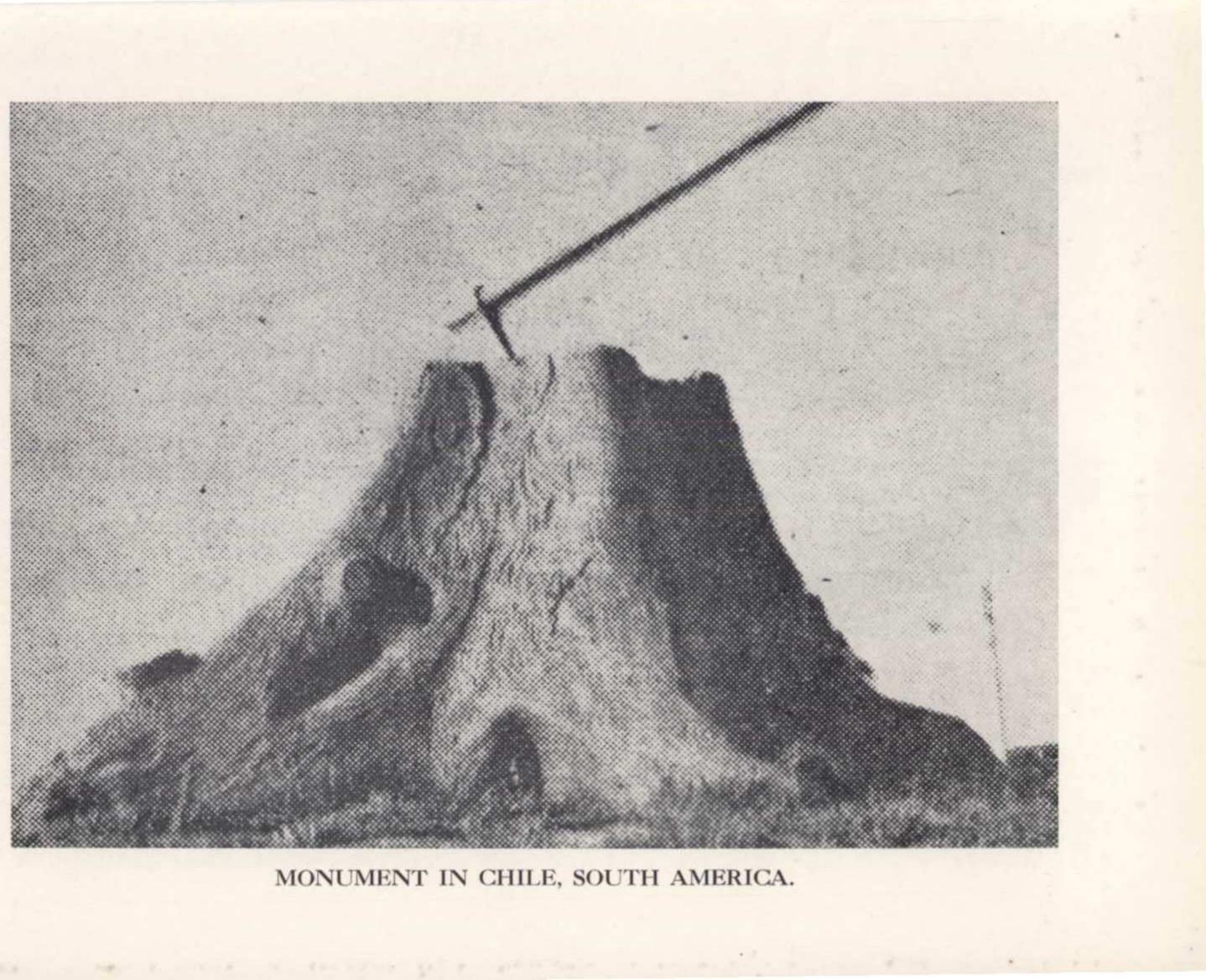


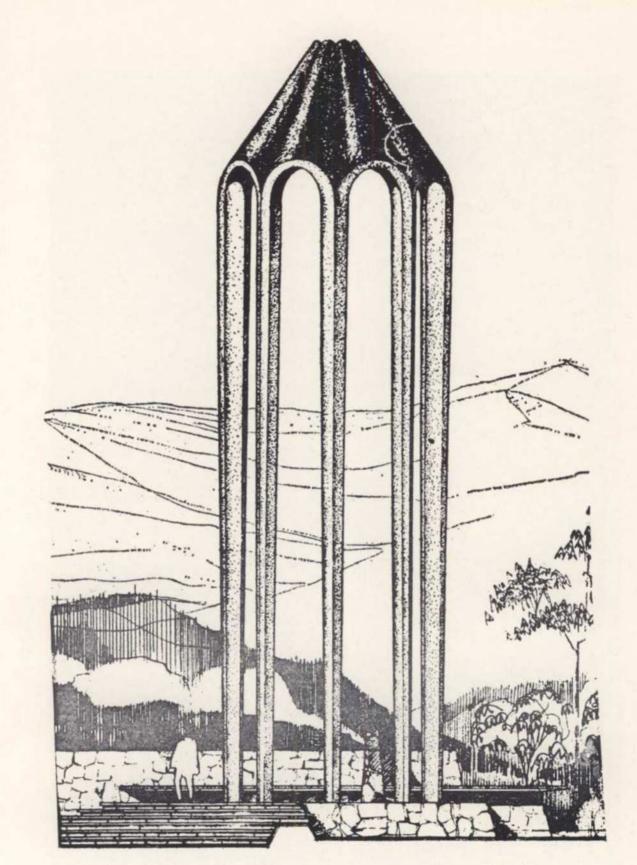
MONUMENT IN VENICE, ITALY.



MONUMENT IN BIKFAYA, LEBANON.







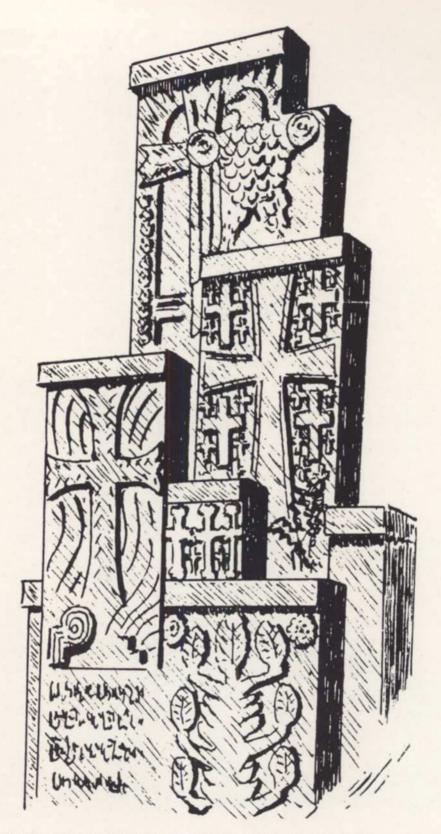
MONUMENT IN MONTEBELLO, CALIFORNIA, U.S.A.



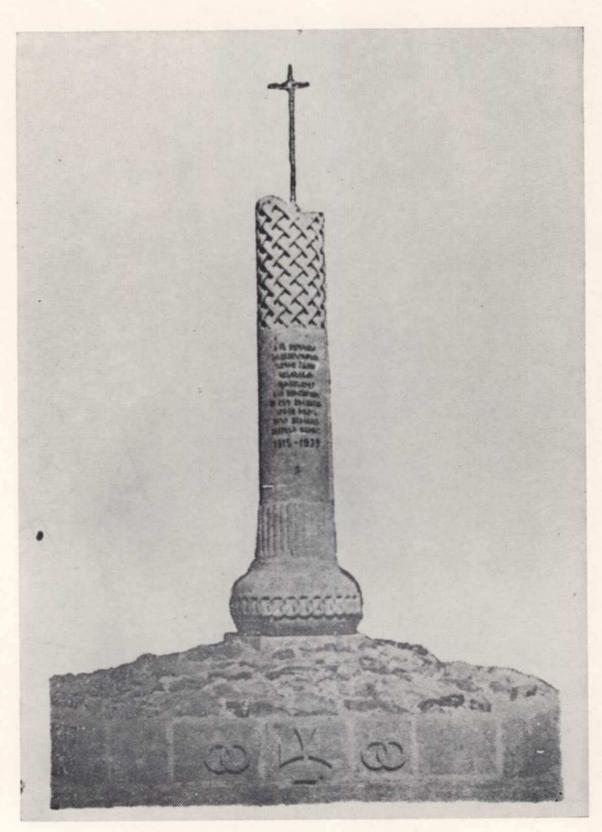
MONUMENT IN ANTELIAS, LEBANON. (exterior view)



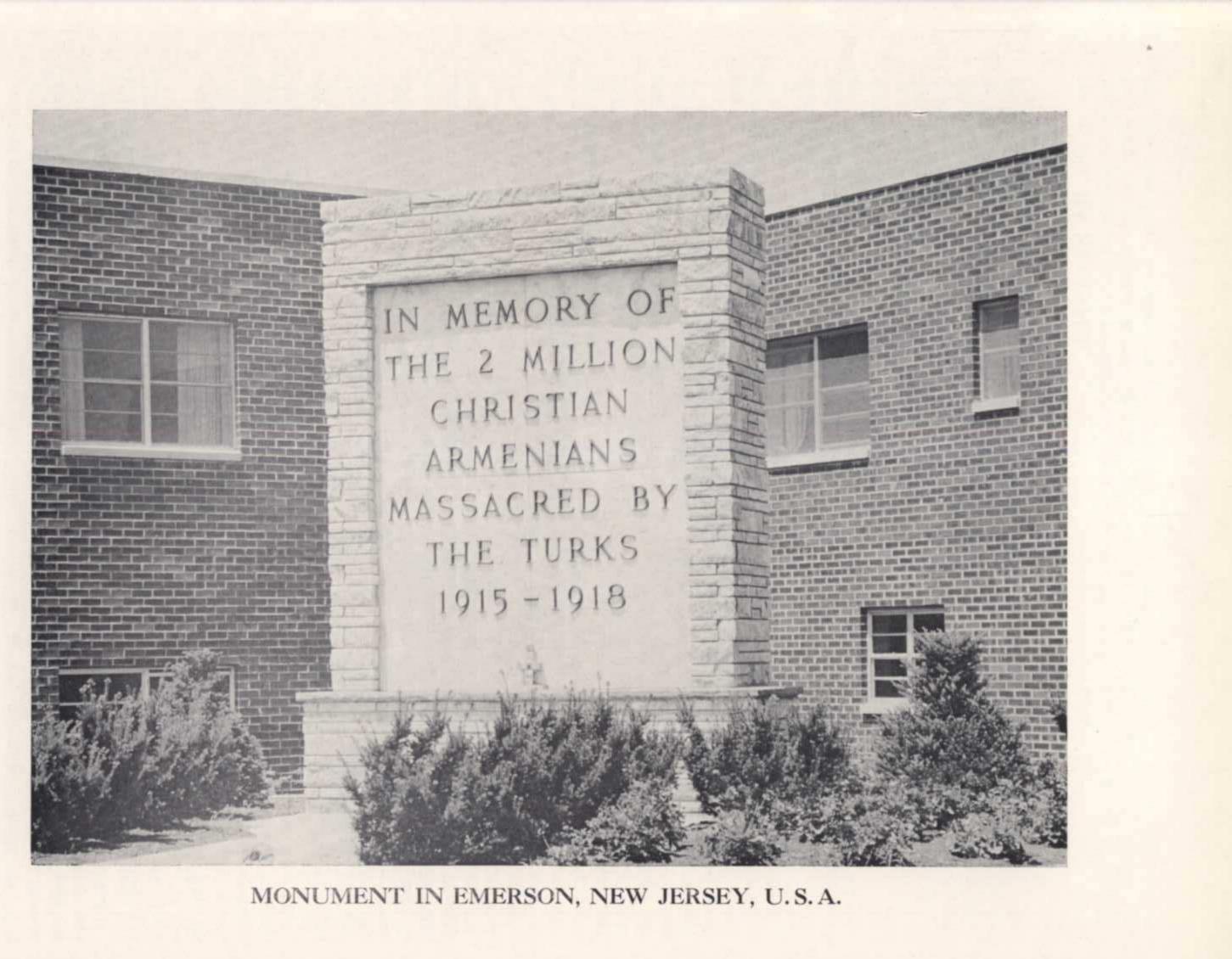
MONUMENT IN ANTELIAS, LEBANON. (interior view)



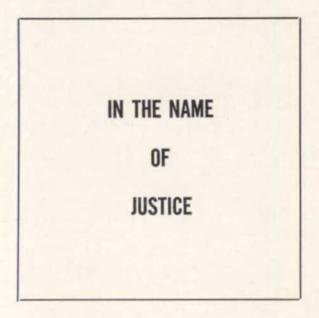
MONUMENT IN ETCHMIADZIN, ARMENIA, U.S.S.R.



MONUMENT IN BEIRUT, LEBANON.



#### CHAPTER VII



#### A LETTER TO MY TURKISH FRIEND

Your letter was a pleasant surprise to me. I had already given up hope of receiving any correspondence from you because your countrymen were not answering letters received from Poland. It is possible though that our letters did not reach you. At this time there might be an amelioration of conditions and your country cease to be one of the two or three Asiatic lands which look upon Poland with suspicion.

In your last letter you express satisfaction that the year 1960 became the one in which so many colonies were liberated though your country has never been a colony with the full sense of the word. As to the black tribes, they never interest you. In the last part of your letter you express special pleasure that Poland got back its Western territories but you forget to state that the Poles do not interest you much.

You visited our country several years ago. We were both young and inquisitive at the time, but you showed interest in our Poland and I in your country, which, to me was yet unknown though its fate was entangled with the fate of our country, by some historical whim of the Gods to the detriment of both countries. Usually that is the case when two governments mutually consider themselves a barrier between two different religions.

At all events both of us had enough historical data to be interested vis a vis each other's country. On my part 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.

We made our acquaintance in the year 1936. Instantly we began our conversation with what interested us most. I was carefully studying your personality, and, I must confess, that my first contact with you left an excellent impression on me. You were a very comely young man, a worthy representative of your people which is the prettiest star of the Near East — people of the Islamic Rome. I must also add that you were keen, intelligent and companionable. In a word you were endowed with all th advantages which win women's hearts and the permanent friendship of men.

Even today I recall how your face paled when I mentioned that "thing." You attempted to pinpoint my question and you nervously doodled on the paper in front of you with your pencil. You were drawing endless squares and did not dare look into my eyes. Then you began to stammer that you were yet too young in those days. It was evident that you had heard of few vague things but never imagined that those things had happened exactly like that and at the moment you were not able to answer me because it was necessary for you to think about them and understand them.

I never saw you since then. I think it is most probable that you eluded me until the day you left Poland.

Twenty five years have passed since that conversation. You admit of course, that it is a lapse of time amply sufficient to think about the subject and draw from it a manly conclusion. Especially so because your people did not participate in the last war and did not undergo such fundamental changes as did Poland. A case which attenuates the delay in writing you.

However, since there is not the slightest mention m your letter about the subject, it appears that we did not even cover the subject during our conversation. I did surmise though, reading between the lines, that you fully recalled the subject of our conversation when you write me about the unprecedented acts of Eichmann and call them a crime. Do you not know that Eichmann was only a diligent pupil of yours? All that Eichmann did to the Jews during 1942-1944 was the repetition, on a larger scale, of exactly that which your countrymen inflicted on the Armenians in the year 1915. And that happened please do not forget — for the first time in history, organized and executed with scientific precision and system — the organized extermination of a people!

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.

During the 1915 massacres, continued for the next five years, until the end of all Armenian resistance in all sections of your country ceased, locations which were situated in Cilicia, the regions of Lake Van, Russian Azerbaijan and around Kars, three million Armenians were sacrificed, a figure which amounted to sixty percent of that people! Only those who lived beyond the frontiers of your domain escaped from that general-massacre. Now, proceeding for a while and considering the number of Armenians existing in Turkey in 1911 and taking into consideration their natural ratio of growth during the last fifty years, we can state that in this year of 1961 their number would have reached to TEN MILLION whereas in reality they number four million.

Therefore by killing one man it must be considered as having killed his unborn progeny in the perspective of thousands of years.

And it was just that objective that the massacrers and organizers of the massacres had in view before anything else. The three million massacred in the years 1915-1920 would have reached six million in the next 40 years. About two million Armenians were massacred in the first year of the campaign in 1915 and your Minister of Interior Affairs Talaat Bey officially declared: "There is no Armenian Question any more since there are no Armenians..." Talaat was the gifted precursor of Eichmann and the real massacrer of Armenians was Enver the Prime Minister, who, among others, owed his life to Armenians. (During the Russian seige the Armenian contingent of the Turkish army saved him - to their cost later on). Talaat Bey and Enver Pasha each received the punishment they deserved, mildly at that. The first was murdered by the bullet of an Armenian student at Berlin (1921) and the second by the bullet of a Russian soldier (1922).

The third murderer worthy of being put to shame is, alas, your intellectual class which voluntarily aided the criminal organization of the chauvinistic campaign at a time when the common people, the Mohammedan clergy and the aristocratic stratum either did not participate in the massacres or even made efforts to save Armenians.

I do not know whether there is in international literature a more moving scene than the story told by Franz Warfel about Turkish old men who climbed high, near the beseiged Armenians on Musa Dagh to take some food to them! Just for that fact it is possible to love your people to whom your intellectual class only brought dishonor during the tragic days of the Armenian massacres.

I am sorry I do not have available the statistics which I used to gather for you at one time. All of my papers on that subject were destroyed by fire during the rebellion of Warsaw, a rebellion which was a consecutive link of those inane massacres to which the Armenians, the Poles, the Jews, the Russians, the Indians in the Islamic section of India were sacrificed. I can only give you the dry enumeration of those evidences which are forgotten by most people.

The 1915 massacre of Armenians and the massacre of the majority of Jews by Eichmann were not of the same kined in reality. They were "Police Actions" and resulted in the terribly inevitable death of millions of men. According to reliable statistics that 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 withthemselves 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 the case of pregnant women. Under the scorching sun of Asia Minor the pedestrian caravans were accompanied by armed gendarmes, mounted and with rifles and cravashes. If any Islam peasant attempted to give any water to the unfortunate Armenians on their way he was instantly cruelly whipped or even shot there and then on the spot.

If any of the prisoners in the caravan fell exhausted (which happened every moment in that death caravan from its beginning) gendarmes killed the fallen or kicked with their boots. Tchetchen and rover bandit bands followed the caravans and with insolent abuse and with the tacit permission of the gendarmes, robbed the clothing of the fallen dead. They seized and carried away any of the young women and girls who had fallen down or straggled a few paces behind the caravans, raping them repeatedly, they martyred them in the most unheard of atrocious manner. And that happened according to the secret orders issued to the gendarmes which meant that the deported should be killed en route.

When the ranks of the carravans thinned in few days during that terrible ordeal, the gendarmes used to separate the males from the women and send the men to form "work gangs" and when the work assigned to them was completed the "workers" were killed. The aged and the women were driven further to extermination stations, previously determined, between Deir-el-Zor and Meskeneh in the desert of Mesopotamia. Werfel mentions the words of a Turkish officer who had visited the camps of the deported: "They were not humans but ghosts ... ghosts of anthropoid apes, who gradually expired one by one, eating grass ... they wailed from hunger. The women sought undigested barley seeds in the droppings of my horse..."

The number of the dead exceeded ten thousand a day. Does this picture have the difference from the concentration camps of Hitler? Except that the police in Hitler's camps had permission to raps the arrested women and girls while yet they had human figures. Perhaps in that fact they did not pay any attention to the principles of race worship.

The deportations included all of that unfortunate Armenian race, from the Bulgarian frontier to that of Persia. Any Armenian found outside the concentration camp, the "work gangs" or caravans was promptly shot. When there was any doubt as to the nationality of an arrested person he was examined as to whether he was circumcised or not, exactly the reverse of Hitler's case when all those circumcised were killed.

The soldiers in the Armenian brigades of the Turkish army who fought so heroically to save the life of Enver Pasha on the Russian front were later isolated into "work gangs" by his own special order, and, as we know, were assigned to perform special tasks until they were completely exhausted, after which all of them were shot to death by the supervisory Turkish squads.

During those days Istanbul was yet an international center of Armenian and Greek culture. In reality Istanbul was a city of the three races including the Turks but Armenian culture was twice as high as that of the others. In times past Tourian and Beshiktashlian, great Armenian poets, produced their creative works — they were the Byrons and Shelleys of Eastern Christianity. Their career was followed by a multitude of brilliant authors, poets, dramatists, novelists and publicists. Any one of that academy who lived until 1915 found his death at that date.

In that year, on the road to martyrdom, in prisons or concentration camps, were sacrificed Krikor Zohrab, Yervant Srmakeshkhanlian, Roupen Zartarian, Daniel Varoujan, Siamanto and dozens of other wellknown writers, artists, composers. The talented composer and collector of folk songs Komitas was left alive by a miracle from his deportation but lost his reason permanently. He passed away in a Paris asylum after twenty years of insanity.

The continuation of the deportations took on an entirely different aspect. All those Armenians who had somehow escaped from exile began to be mercilessly massacred. Attention was first directed to those who had saved their lives by means of self-defense in a few resistance spots, whre beseiged Armenians received occasional help from the French, the British or the Russians. That was the case, for example, in Cilicia or around Lake Van.

When the Russian front collapsed after Kerenski's revolution, the massacre of Armenians was extended to a new territory which was outside the zone of massacres up to that time, and the atrocities extended like wild-fire first in Azerbaijan then in Russian Armenia. Your troops were advancing to definitely exterminate the populations of the villages and in order to cross mountain streams they built bridges of dead Armenians for their artillery wheels, The atrocious massacre of Baku and the uneven struggle against the Tashnags followed, which in reality was the continuation of the general massacres of 1915. I know that during that struggle the Armenians also allowed themselves to commit atrocities. I do not atone them for that but I do not blame them either.

The final capture of Erevan by the Russian army in the fall of 1920 really deprived from you the last remnants of Armenian territory but at the same time one half of Russian Armenia was ceded to you without the firing of a single shot (Kars territory) along with the Ararat plains, which, there is no evidence that they ever belonged to you.

Kindly sum up, therefore, the murdered Armenians in round figures by every means of torture to 3,000,000 about which I have written above. Let me add also in parenthesis that those territories you occupied were of no use to you. I was passing along the frontier between Armenia and Turkey about two years ago and during those two hours of my travel I did not see a single human being on your side of the frontier. You have converted a thickly populated territory into a desert, dead and sinister, forgotten like a desecrated cemetry. Did you massacre the rightful owners of that territory, against all divine and human laws, because you wanted to call it Turkey and burn it?

Bear with me if I have bored you with descriptions of things which took place tens of years ago, especially so because their verification must have been known to you least from Franz Werfel's "Forty Days of Musa Dagh," or from what I related to you 25 years ago. But I hope you will admit that the matter of the number of 3,000,000 massacred and the 6,000,000 unborn are figures that are worth taking some of your valuable time.

But why am I telling you all this when I have not even an anniversary to justify them? Is it not a fact that the fiftieth year of the great Shame will be four years from now — in the year 1965? — I am trying in the meantime to answer especially your question in the order of events, and my reply is the most essential part of my present letter.

Most probably you know that the 20th century did not begin in the night of 1901 but a few years later , that is, in the summer of 1914, just as the 19th century began after the Battle of Waterloo in 1815. Such changes in dates arise from the simple fact that the course of history cannot be correctly fixed by calendar cycles.

Every century has its own characteristic. The 20th century differs from its preceding ones in that it is the century of the greatest crimes and retributions. The greatest crimes of the 20th century were the Massacres, that is to say they were the attempts of exterminating a given people by torture and murder, which, fortunately has not succeded one hundred percent.

The first attempt at such a crime was successful to the extent of 60 percent committed during the first part of our century, in the beginning of the summer of 1915. That was called "the complete solution of the Armenian Question." Similarly the Hitlerian Germans attempted "a final solution of the Jewish Question" which, alas, they succeeded to do to a greater extent. The final liquidation of the Polish ond Russian questions and perhaps of the entire Slavic were undoubtedly part of Hitler's plan and it was gradually realized in the concentration camps and prisons as well as by public shootings.

I know that some of the French, the British and Americans on their part in those days were seriously thinking of the "solution of the German question" which, though a reprehensible though, was psychologically understandable at that time. Simultaneously, the Ukranian nationalists "were solving the Polish Question" at Volin and in revolted Warsaw and the Croats were "solving the Serbian Question" in Croatia.

And were not, perhaps, the terrible masacres between Mohamedans and Indians which took place during the first days of the independence of Pakistan and India naive efforts of genocide? Is it not true that the disruption of the obligatory moral laws of human society are the most difficult since after such disruption it is easier to consider even the most amoral act to seem natural?

The first nation that took that stumbling road was your country, alas, a case which cannot minimize in the least the terrible Hitlerian crimes nor the responsibility of the perpetrators of those other crimes, especially so because they did not know much about your "Armenian Campaign" and because by contrast to yours, Hitlerian Envers were the simi-intellectuals. Already the atmosphere was polluted and was fetidly extending like a plague, you don't know from whence — perhaps in reality from the unburied bodies of Armenians.

At any event, when I had my first conversation with you little did I imagine that my own country also could be later the scene of equally terrible events than those we were talking about nor could I imagine that the chain of crimes could ever be stopped soon.

But the 20th century is that of the greatest retributions. You yourself refer to this fact in your letter, though you do not use the word retribution. Does not the fact of the liberation of the majority of those colonies, without the firing of single shot, present itself like an historical miracle the like of which has never happened in past history?

And th return to us of our Western territories. lands on which the Polish element was being exterminated during the course of hundreds of years, without massacre but with the same result nonetheless, is it not a terrible warning to all those who think that it is enough to exterminate the owners of their lands to claim them forever? During the Nuremberg trials and during hundreds of other trials a minority of criminals were condemned but they too became famous cases of retribution. Similarly the gradual realization of collective sin is getting to be common but it is not the same thing as collective responsibility. Big retributions appear just like that in those countries wich, in the post war period were the principal participants. The Russians returned to you the exiled Palgars, the Karatashlis, the Chechens, the Inkoush. The British Commonwealth cast off its bosom the South African as a punishment for the persecution of the Negro population of their land. There are only a few countries which do not realize that the twentieth century exists in an age of disjunction, and that to the cycle of great crimes succeeds the cycle of retributions, compensations which apart from political reasons show signs of being voluntary. Independently of all these, there is something in that sincere wish, from that yearning, so that those officially committed injustices be compensated.

It is not even improbable, among other things, that responsible political leaders who act according to public opinion, may iot be aware how strongly that public opinion reacts under stronk moral impetus. Certain national societies, however continue to avoid reality convinced that public opinion cannot harm them. The South Africans are convinced that the blacks will continue to serve the whites even in the future. Naively the Portugese believe that their colonial empire will stand permanently notwithstanding the fact that the entire old world is crumbling. And you too, in your turn, suppose that because 60 percent of the population has been martyred and the rest has been dispersed to the four corners of the world, therefore that country ceases to exist in your eyes, even as a colony and you consider that land as a component part of your own country as a DISTINCTIVE BOUNTY OF GENOCIDE!

Let me ask though — Why the massacres of Armenians will be a bounty, a gift to you when the massacres of the Poles and Jews in the same manner has officially been recognized as a Crime against humanity? Are those unfortunate Armenians in any way of less value than ourselves and the Jews?

I know this letter will not reach you for the simple reason that you do not read the Polish newspapers. Even under the best of circumstances one of your informers will clip my article from the newspaper with a pair of scissors and will mark it: "Enemy Propaganda" although it is a stupidity to do so since I was and remain a sincere friend of your people, and what is still more important, I have not lost my faith in you and it is exactly for that that I am writing this angry and sad letter.

However this letter of mine is not enclosed in an envelope and addressed to you because you did not justify the hopes I had placed in you; to find sufficient courage and energy in you so that you might raise your voice in your country for a martyred people. That is why I address this letter to all those who represent the true conscience of your people: your writers, your men of art, your teachers, your scientists of international repute, the instructors of your generation and to friends.

I know you will hear the echoes of my letter under some cricumstances as it may appear here and there in the international press, or you may even hear the entire contents of my letter reported to you in the letters of some of your friends. That is very little of course, but the result can be effective. It can happen that a slight flash of light as a warning ( the flash that the world still remembers the Armenian Question despite the supposed oblivion) which will also kindle so many brighter that even you will not be able to miss them. I am interested exactly with that. From now on you alone will be the defender or the Armenians now dispersed to the four winds (I mean those outside the microscopic Soviet Armenia) especially because your fathers robbed from under their feet their lands along with their 3,000,000 lives.

I am neither Turk nor Armenian thererfore 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.

It will be more honorable for you if you yourselves become the judges instead of remaining the... condemned. I cannot understand your indifference towards a crime which, for 42 years, has weighed on your people. I cannot understand how a people can live under such conditions, love its country, be happy and laugh, read humanitarian books, visit abroad and entertain foreigners in its country? I imagine exactly such a mentality would have been the case with the German people had Hitler been victorious in the Second World War, but in such a case the entire world would have gone crazy, while you, in spite of all, live in a normal world. Once, before the war, I read the story of a Bulgarian writer as to how the Bulgarian bandits killed a Turkish child before the eyes of its mother. Why did that Bulgarian writer have the courage to expose an unknown episode to besmirch his people while for your writers the matter of the massacre of 3,000,000 Armenians still remain so shamefully hidden? Why?

I cannot conceive that any diary like that of Anna Frank will be published in your language declaring that during those horrible years you killed at least one million under-age girls and young women who had been so much cultured in the Orient of that time. Even the classic book of Franz Werfel is forbidden in your country.

It is not true that those moral goads which move the European nations to encourage the liberation of colonies and compensate the old injustices, those goads may not seem harsh to you too?

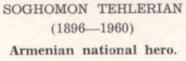
And exactly for that same reason, that painful matter which forms the subject of my letter, contains an insoluble psychological condition in my mind which tormented me for so many years without avail.

I assure you also that I am not alone in this. All those who are not indifferent towards the honor and the good name of you illustrious people feel the same anguish as myself.

A LETTER TO MY TURKISH FRIEND by Bohdan Gebarski (From the November 26, 1961 issue of th Polish "Kierunki") translated by Matthew A. Callender, The Baikar Press, 1963.



On March 15th, 1921 in Berlin, Germany, Soghomon Tehlirian's bullet assassinated the murderous Turkish Minister of the Interior, Talaat Pasha; thus avenging the blood of his martyred countrymen.



Once again, in Berlin, Germany, on April 17th, 1922, Behaeddin Shakir and Jemal Azmi were assassinated, with Aram Yerganian playing an important role in bringing them to justice.



ARAM YERGANIAN (1895—1930) Armenian national hero. On December 6th, 1921, in Rome, Italy, Said Halim Pasha, Prime Minister of Turkey during the Armenian massacres, was assassinated by Arshavir Shiragian; whose supreme efforts avenged the one and a half million martyred Armenians.



ARSHAVIR SHIRAGIAN Armenian national hero.

In Constantinople, Turkey on July 19th, 1921, Minister of Azerbaijan, Jivhanshir, one of the persons responsible for the Caucasian-Armenian mascacre, was assassinated by Missak Torlakian.



MISSAK TORLAKIAN Armenian national hero.

# "A MILLION AND A HALF ARMENIAN VICTIMS HORRIBLY MASSACRED,

## ALL THE ARMENIAN PEOPLE, SHAKEN BUT NOT DISCOURAGED,

### AWAIT AN ANSWER."

EXTRACT FROM "The Armenian Tragedy".

His Eminence, IGNATIUS PETER XVI BATANIAN

Armenian Catholic Patriarch

# TALAAT'S ORDER

"September 16, 1916. — To the Government of Aleppo. It was at first communicated to you that the Government, by order of the Jemiet had decided to destroy completely all the Armenians living in Turkey . . . 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"

## HITLER'S ORDER

"August 22, 1939. — I have given orders to my Death Units to exterminate without mercy or pity men, women and children belonging to the Polish speaking race. It is only in this manner that we can acquire the vital territory which we need. AFTER ALL WHO REMEMBERS TODAY THE EXTERMINATION OF THE ARMENIANS."

ADOLF HITLER

If Hitler was encouraged by the fact that the perpetrators of the Great Massacre of the Armenians were never brough to justice, then those Powers who allowed this to happen, must be in part responsible to the Hitlerite Genocide.