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# ARMENIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Central Office:

212 STUART STREET, BOSTON, MASS. 02116 • TEL. (617) 426-9842

June 9, 1983

The Hon. George P. Shultz  
Secretary of State  
United States State Department  
21st and C Streets  
Washington, D. C. 20520

Dear Sir:

We have received Mr. Ogden's letter of April 28, 1983 and wish to inform the Department that although we acknowledge the "editor's note" for the April issue of the Department of State Bulletin is intended as a "retraction" of the August 1982 "Note" it does not resolve our concerns as reflected in our previous correspondence and some which we enumerated to the Department at a meeting held on April 20th, 1983 with Mr. Kelly, Mr. Sullivan, Mr. Auerswald, and Mr. Haass which are as follows:

1. A clear and unambiguous retraction of the August 82 "Note" in the Bulletin is a necessity. Already, the Turkish government is citing the "Note" in their press and recent letters sent to elected State officials in California and Massachusetts and referring to it as an official United States position. The April "Editor's Note" is an improvement, however, by, avoiding any reference to the genocide, or not stating the U. S. position, the "retraction" becomes meaningless not only in our viewpoint, but that of many congressmen and senators who participated in the recent Special Orders, as well as we suspect many of the Bulletin's regular readership.
2. The serious anguish and frustration surrounding the controversy over the State Department's denial of historical fact (not the Bulletin article) must be addressed by a public statement and

other appropriate action. We expect the Department to be sensitive to the emotions of American citizens of Armenian ancestry, especially the survivors of the genocide and their children as well as concerned elected officials.

3. As victims of genocide we do not condone violence for violence sake and value human life above all, however, to equate the unfortunate deaths of 26 diplomats with the murder of 1.5 million human beings as a matter of Turkish State policy is incomprehensible. Victim and victimizer in this instance cannot be interchanged for political ends meant to deny history. We would ask that you condemn genocide as quickly as you do "terrorism" instead of referring to the genocide of Armenians only as "tragic events."

Mr. Secretary, our organization, which has existed since 1890, also sincerely desires "to end this unfortunate controversy" not over the Bulletin article but the "Note" which clearly denies historical reality and overwhelming fact. We are prepared as always to discuss ways and means of resolving this problem with Department officials.

Yours very truly,

Armenian National Committee  
Eastern United States

*Aram Kailian*

Aram H. Kailian, Chairman

CC: Mr. Richard R. Burt, Assistant Secretary Designate, Bureau of European Affairs  
(United States State Department)

Mr. Richard N. Haass, Deputy for Policy Planning, Bureau of European Affairs

Mr. Paul E. Auerswald, Director, Office of Public Communication

Mr. John H. Kelly, Deputy Assistant Secretary, Bureau of Public Affairs

Mr. John Hughes, Assistant Secretary, Bureau of Public Affairs

Mr. Lawrence Eagleburger, Under Secretary for Political Affairs

Mr. Edward Derwinski, Counselor Designate

Mr. Joseph Sullivan, Assistant to Counselor

Mr. Geoffrey Ogden, Acting Director, Office of Southern European Affairs

The Speaker's Rooms  
U.S. House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515

April 28, 1983

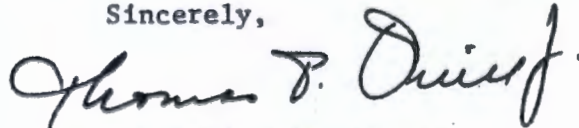
The Honorable John Hughes  
Assistant Secretary for  
Public Affairs and  
Department Spokesman  
Department of State  
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Mr. Secretary:

Thank you for your letter confirming that the August 1982 State Department Bulletin article "Armenian Terrorism: A Profile", its accompanying note, and footnotes do not represent U.S. policy regarding the tragic genocide carried out against the Armenian people in 1915. It has also come to my attention that the Department of State will publish a retraction in the next issue of the Bulletin.

Furthermore, in light of your assertion that "policy statements which are a part of the public record remain there and speak for themselves" I am pleased that the historical record from the time of the genocide in 1915 to the most recent proclamation by President Reagan, No. 4838 F.R. Doc. 81-12627 (1981), has been reaffirmed and continues to represent the policy of the United States.

Sincerely,



Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr.  
The Speaker



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

April 8, 1983

Dear Mr. Speaker:

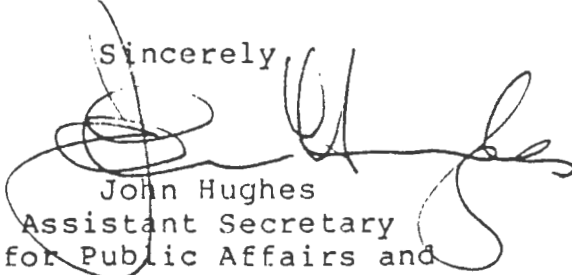
Thank you for your letter of February 8 requesting further confirmation of Department policy on issues raised in the Bulletin article on Armenian terrorism.

I am pleased to confirm to you that neither the article, its accompanying note, nor footnotes were intended as statements of policy of the United States. Nor did they represent any change in U.S. policy. Policy statements which are a part of the public record remain there and speak for themselves.

As you can understand, the Administration remains deeply concerned over the concerted efforts of some terrorist groups to invoke the tragic events of 1915 as a pretext for terrorism against Turkish diplomats and private and public activities of Turkey and Turks around the world. The United States Government condemns most strongly all such acts of terror.

We sincerely desire to end the unfortunate controversy generated by the Bulletin article. Therefore, I hope that the above confirmation of our policy alleviates any lingering concerns you may have.

Sincerely



John Hughes  
Assistant Secretary  
for Public Affairs and  
Department Spokesman

The Honorable  
Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr.,  
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

The Honorable  
Nancy L. Johnson  
U. S. House of Representatives  
C-119  
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Ms. Johnson:

I read your statement in the Congressional Record (April 21) with great disappointment.

That tragedies befell Turks, Armenians and other ethnic groups in the Ottoman Empire during World War I is beyond dispute. Unfortunately, whoever it was that prevailed upon you to embrace the one-sided distortions of history that currently are grist for an escalating campaign of defamation, intimidation, and violence aimed at all things Turkish, has done you a grave disservice.

No reliable evidence exists to justify the allegation that the Ottoman Empire, fighting for its survival in World War I, either planned or carried out a systematic massacre of its Armenian population. The Ottoman state in 1915 was the scene of a civil war within a global war--the civil war stemming from an armed uprising of Armenians seeking to impose establishment of an exclusively Armenian state in an area that was predominantly non-Armenian. Ensuing hostilities, famine and epidemics claimed Armenian and Turkish lives; more than 2 million Turks perished during the same period.

I was also deeply disappointed that your concern seems to be highly selective, excluding Turkish casualties and implying you hold Turkish lives of little importance. This selectivity apparently persists to the present day. You must be aware of the fact that 26 Turkish diplomats or members of their families have been ruthlessly murdered in the past few years by Armenian terrorists. These terrorists openly claim "credit" for their bloodletting, giving as their pretext the same one-sided distortion of events on which your statement is premised, events that occurred before the terrorists' victims were even born! Would you not agree that, leaving aside the Armenian distortions of history, fairness demands that you publicly and unequivocally condemn Armenian terrorism which is a part of international terrorism? I hope that you will do so in the very near future.

Statements by American lawmakers that embrace the very distortions that Armenian terrorists today so murderously advertise are widely reported in the Turkish press. They create a public furor at a time when thousands of Turks, whose parents or grandparents perished at the hands of Armenian extremists during that tragic time of long ago, have laid aside the bitterness of the past to achieve reconciliation.

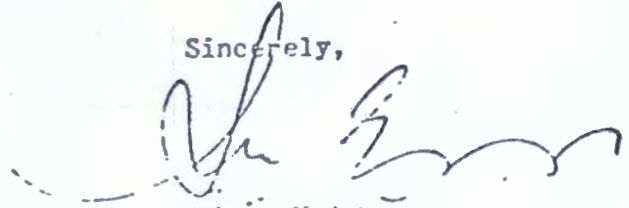
The United States and the Turkish Republic have maintained close relations for many years. These relations continue to strengthen to the great satisfaction of our two countries. Turkey provides an invaluable contribution to the protection of NATO's southern flank. Turkey shares a 1,000-mile border with the Soviet Union. The Turkish Straits are the only link between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. Turkey is in close proximity to the vital oil-producing areas of the Middle East.

There are some groups who would like nothing better than to damage severely relations between the U.S. and Turkey. Statements unjustly defaming Turkey provide these groups with the ammunition they seek.

Before you decide to make any statements in the future regarding Armenian allegations, I hope that you will consider that such statements, by glorifying their "cause," give Armenian terrorists more encouragement, however unintentional, for their violent acts. I also ask you to consider the negative effect of such an action on Turkish public opinion and the potentially adverse impact on U.S.-Turkish relations that may result as a consequence.

Above all, I ask that you seek unbiased sources of information regarding the Armenian allegations. You will find, I am sure, that distinguished scholars strongly dispute various Armenian descriptions of the events of the period and, most especially, their characterization as genocide.

Sincerely,



Richard M. Nixon



copy

# ARMENIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Central Office:

212 STUART STREET, BOSTON, MASS. 02116 • TEL. (617) 426-9842

President Ronald W. Reagan  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue  
Washington, D.C. 20500

October 3, 1983

Dear President Reagan,

This letter is a further attempt on our part to express our sincere desire to gain support of your administration to encourage our peaceful efforts to resolve the Armenian Case. Three recent events have prompted this correspondence. First the lack of your response to our Memorandum delivered to you at the Williamsburg Summit. Second your address to the American people and the World concerning the Soviet downing of the Korean airliner flight 007. And, finally your recent statements after the unfortunate occupation of the Turkish Ambassador's residence in Lisbon Portugal with the resultant deaths of five Armenian youths and others.

To graphically express the predicament and level of frustration experienced by the Armenians who have been dispersed thruout the World as a direct result of Turkish Genocidal policies, we would take the liberty of using your words after the Korean airliner mishap and interjecting the Armenian Case/Genocide by Turkey terminology where appropriate. Additionally, we feel that this method should serve to place into perspective where emphasis is appropriate. The deaths of 269 passengers, thirty diplomats, or five committed youth are all cause for great concern. However, aren't the deaths of one and one-half million human beings due to Turkish government policies during 1915 to 1923 cause for greater attention then they now receive? Especially, when the current "government" of Turkey actively pursues policies of deliberate distortion, denial, and half-truths regarding the overwhelming documentation of the facts which include the testimony of an American Ambassador the distinguished Henry Morgenthau. Beginning with the founder of the "Modern" Turkish Republic, Mustafa Kemal, these policies of lies have been continuous and without deviation.

Therefore we ask you to see our situation in your own words, which are as germaine today as they would have been if they were spoken seventy years ago:

"From around the world, press accounts reflect an explosion of condemnation by people everywhere."

"Let me state as plainly as I can: there is absolutely no justification either legal or moral, for what the (Turks) did."

## The (Turkish) Reaction

"But despite the savagery of their crime, the universal reaction against it and the evidence of their complicity, the



(Turkish Government) still refuse to tell the truth. They have persistently refused to admit ... They have spun a confused tale ..."

#### Moral Precepts

"And make no mistake about it: This attack was not just against ourselves or the (Armenian People). This was the (Turkish Government) against the World and the moral precepts which guide human relations among people everywhere."

"It was an act of barbarism borne of a society which wantonly disregards individual rights and the value of human life ..."

"They owe the World an apology, and an offer to join the rest of the World in working out a system to protect against this ever happening again."

#### Efforts to Hold a Ceremony

From every corner of the globe, the word is defiance in face of this unspeakable act, and defiance of the system which excuses it and tries to cover it up. With our horror and our sorrow, there is righteous and terrible anger. It would be easy to think in terms of vengeance, but that is not a proper answer. We want justice and action to see that this never happens again."

"Our immediate challenge to this atrocity is to ... seek just compensation for the families of those who were killed (by the Turks)"

We will continue to work with the Congress regarding our response to this (Turkish) massacre (of Armenians)"

As you know we (Ambassador Morgenthau and U.S. Consuls) made known to the world the shocking facts as honestly and completely as they came to us."

#### Canadian Action

"...at the same time we're listening most carefully to private groups."

"I am asking the Congress to pass a joint resolution of condemnation of this (Turkish) crime."

#### Claims Against (Turkey)

"The United States will be making a claim against the (Turkish Government) within the next week to obtain compensation for the benefit of the victims' survivors.

Such compensation is of absolute moral duty which the (Turks) must assume."

"Secretary Shultz is going to present (Turkey) with our demands for disclosure . . . . ., corrective action, and concrete assurances that such a thing will not happen again - and that restitution be made."

"As we work with other countries to see that justice is done, the real test of our resolve is whether we have the will to remain strong, steady, and united (as we were supposed to have remained seventy years ago for the Armenians)"

#### Differences of Opinion

"... but I urge the members of that distinguished body to ponder long and hard the (Turks) aggression as they consider the security and safety of our people - indeed all the people who believe in freedom."

#### Arms Negotiations

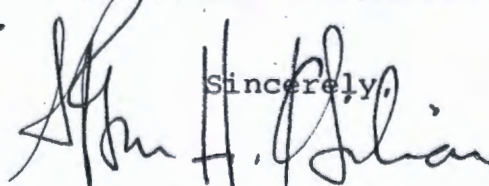
"This is not a role we sought. We preach no manifest destiny. But like Americans who began this country and brought forth this last best hope of mankind, history has asked much of the Americans of our own time. Much we have already given. Much more we must be prepared to give."

"Let us have faith in Abraham Lincoln's words that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it. If we do, if we stand together and move forward with courage, then history will record that some good did come from this monstrous wrong that we carry with us and remember the rest of our lives."

As we hope that we have illustrated, Armenian aspirations are no different than those we enjoy as American citizens in this our adopted second homeland. Justice, freedom, and self-determination are the goals to which we aspire. Current tenuous political relationships with the clearly repressive and totalitarian government of Turkey cannot in any way justify complicity in historical denial as in the State Department "Note" issue (August 82 State Department Bulletin) nor your recent statement after Lisbon (7/28/83) - "... No real or imagined greivance..."

Mr. Reagan, you insult the intelligence of Armenians world-wide by even implying that our greivances and thereby that of the Armenian Case are "imagined". We ask that you respond and assist in our peaceful demands for justice as enumerated in the Williamsburg Memorandum. Your silence in contrast to your strong words and actions over the downed airliner incident lead us to unfortunately conclude that the decade ahead will see an unecessary increase of confrontation and bloodshed due to frustration caused by this silence.

Sincerely,



AHK/ak

ARMENIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Aram H. Kailian, Chrmn Eastern Region USA

c.c Charles Percy, Clement Zablocki, George Shultz, Edward Derwinski



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

February 7, 1984

Mr. Aram H. Kailian  
Chairman, Eastern Region USA  
Armenian National Committee  
212 Stuart Street  
Boston, Massachusetts 02116

Dear Mr. Kailian:

I have been asked to reply to your letter to the President in which you refer to the tragic downing of a Korean airliner and the terrorist incident last summer at the Turkish Embassy in Lisbon in which a number of people died.

This Administration takes a very firm position against terrorism, whatever its source and whatever the reason used to try to justify it. There simply is no justification for taking the lives of innocent people, either to achieve current political goals or to redress past events. We could not agree to your implication that our position on this issue should lead to future confrontation and bloodshed. Terrorism will be eradicated only when all civilized people stand up against it, not by acceding to the demands of terrorism.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Dirk Gleysteen".

Dirk Gleysteen  
Director, Office of  
Southern European Affairs



**ARMENIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE**

THE ARMENIAN QUESTION TODAY  
AND  
ARMENIAN RIGHTS  
A.N.C. POSITION PAPER: AN OUTLINE

## THE ARMENIAN QUESTION TODAY AND ARMENIAN RIGHTS

### AN OUTLINE

#### BACKGROUND

**Historical Armenia**, situated at the "crossroads of the world," between the Caspian, Black and Mediterranean Seas, is the homeland of a people whose history and culture extends over a period of 3000 years. Her history has been one of survival against overwhelming odds, of victory over conquerors; her people have displayed an indomitable spirit, enabling them to triumph over frequent foreign domination, and even genocide, as a result of which the largest portion of Armenia is under Turkish occupation today.

Over one and a half million Armenians were killed in what has been described as "The First Genocide of the Twentieth Century." That extensively documented act, initiated in 1915, was the result of a deliberate Turkish government policy motivated by geo-political objectives and racial/religious hatred. It was designed to end "The Armenian Question" once and for all by eliminating the Armenians. Without Armenians, the Young Turks reasoned, Turkish-held Armenia could never be "separated" (freed) from the Turkish Empire. (See Appendix for some selected quotations.)

Also, it is not generally known that when the Russian armies withdrew from the Caucasian front in 1917, the Armenians, scarcely two years after the terrible blood bath of 1915 which had been designed to destroy their nation, fielded a volunteer force which, in a series of brilliant campaigns, prevented the Turkish Army from winning the oil reserves at Baku for the use of the German war machine.

The short-lived independent Republic of Armenia was created in May 1918, through the courage and determination of the Armenian people, but was destroyed two years later by a joint Turkish-Soviet attack, despite all of the promises and assurances of the Allies. Turkey reoccupied most of Armenia and a small portion ended up as the Armenian S.S.R.

It was in this post-World War I period that the United States Senate had considered, but turned down, President Wilson's proposed mandate for Armenia, whose boundaries had been drawn by the American President pursuant to international agreements. Also, American relief efforts saved thousands of survivors from certain death.

## **OUR POSITION IN BRIEF**

Today, the Armenian position can be stated clearly and simply in these terms:

1. The toleration of genocide and its acceptance as a "solution" to any problem leads only to its repeated use, just as the world's indifference to the Armenian Genocide and its aftermath led Hitler to cite it as a precedent and justification for his own crimes. The use of Genocide as an instrument of national policy, by any nation at any time, is a crime against all Humanity, and it must be universally condemned. There can be no statute of limitations on Genocide, and the genocidist state should be denied the territorial, material, or political fruits of Genocide.
2. The Eastern provinces of what is today called Turkey had been Armenian lands for two thousand years before the Turkish armies even entered that part of the world. Despite the murder and expulsion of the proprietor Armenian population, those territories remain no less Armenian today and must be returned to the rightful owners, the Armenian people. The Sevres Treaty and other international agreements confirm the Armenians' right to those territories and to national sovereignty.
3. As long as Armenians remain in forced exile from their ancestral heartland, subject to cultural assimilation and often more direct pressures and as long as the handful of Armenians remaining in Turkey are harassed into cultural oblivion, then the genocidal act initiated in 1915 continues. It will cease only when Armenians again occupy their own lands and control their own destiny.
4. While Turkish-held Armenia lies barren and unproductive, approximately one half of the world's Armenians live in the tiny (11,000 sq. mi.), crowded Armenian S.S.R. Armenians everywhere look forward to a united and free Armenia.

## **RECENT U.S. POLICY AND THE ARMENIANS**

Despite the historic United States role as champion of Armenian rights after World War I and the continuing friendly attitude of the American people, recent State Department policy, in previous Administrations, has been misguided at best. American political and governmental leaders should be aware of these considerations:

1. The Armenian Genocide, which is generally accepted as "the first genocide of the Twentieth Century," has been cited by literally hundreds of experts as an unprecedented act of genocide which, in fact, provided a precedent for later crimes, such as those of the Nazis. The genocidal methods applied to the Armenians, in their scope and thoroughness and in the degree of planning involved, comprise a classic case in terms of their precedential impact and their influence on both the perpetrators and opponents formerly "nameless crime." For instance, in addressing his commanders in chief, gathered at Obersalzberg, on August 22, 1939 a few days before the Nazi invasion of Poland, Hitler said: "Our strength is in our

quickness and our brutality.... **Who still talks nowadays of the extermination of the Armenians?**" TIME Magazine, on May 1, 1978, cited this as "one of the century's most chilling questions." On the other hand, there is also a direct connection between the Armenian massacres and the Genocide Convention. The "father" of the Convention, Raphael Lemkin, was a young student so moved by the realization of the enormity of the crime committed against the Armenians that he embarked on life-long, mission to outlaw the crime which he later called "Genocide."

2. The Genocide of the Armenians by the Turks in 1915 has very real and immediate contemporary implications that involve the United States and require serious consideration in the short-range future. Briefly stated, Armenians today demand the return of their lands forcibly occupied by the Turks since the massacre and deportation of the proprietor nation. The "Armenian Question" is very much alive throughout the world. The number of Armenian Americans lending their moral and material support and/or participating directly in the pursuit of Armenian political and territorial demands is growing like never before, a sign that efforts to "bury the Armenian Case" are doomed to failure and serve only to strengthen Armenian determination. Turkish unwillingness to accept responsibility or even acknowledge what happened stands in sharp contrast to the attitude of modern Germany toward the Holocaust.

3. Under previous Administrations, State Department policy had—in an apparent effort to please a so-called "ally"—gone so far as to support Turkish efforts to distort and deny the truth about what happened in 1915. There were, unfortunately, many such attempts by the Turks between 1964 and 1975, some of them temporarily successful and too often involving our Government. However, it should be noted that, despite some opposition, the U.S. House Subcommittee on Future Foreign Policy Research and Development did hold hearings on the Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust on May 11 and August 30, 1976, respectively. All things considered, the net result is that the Armenian Question—which the Turkish Government had sought to drown in the bloodbath of 1915 and which it seeks to bury by behind-the-scenes maneuvering today—is very much alive. To ignore that fact or to support futile Turkish efforts to escape the truth is simply unrealistic, counterproductive, and immoral. No "ally" has the right to expect the United States to participate in such efforts.

4. The current Administration has seemingly avoided any clear, specific, and unequivocal statements on either the events of 1915 or their current implications. The traditional U.S. policy of ignoring or covering up the truth about the Armenian Genocide and about the current realities of the Armenian Case has been unnecessarily antagonizing and alienating the world's six million Armenians and has obviously driven some to the conclusion that the established nations will not listen to peaceful appeals from the disinherited and dispossessed nations of the world.

5. Considerations of U.S. "national interests" must go beyond bases in Turkey to consider also the world-wide influence of the Armenian nation scattered throughout the Middle East, Europe, Africa, and the Americas, and the potential role of a free and united Armenian republic in that part of the world, between Turkey, Iran, and Russia. It has been suggested by some observers that an Armenian republic could be a dependable and mutually acceptable (to the U.S. and U.S.S.R.) "security zone" or "neutral buffer state" in the troubled area.

## **RELATED ISSUES**

### **1. The Armenians of Turkey**

In direct violation of the Lausanne Treaty's guarantee of minority rights, the relative handful of Armenians remaining in Turkey today is subjected to both official and (officially-tolerated) "mob" harassment designed to destroy any semblance of Armenian identity. Extensive documentation exists on the restrictions suffered by Armenians, Greeks, Jews, and Assyrians in Turkey—documentation ignored by our State Department. Also, a recent World Council of Churches report has devoted considerable attention to the difficulties experienced by Christians in Turkey today. (see especially *The Armenians*, Report No. 52, Minority Rights Group, London, England, December, 1976, Reprinted January, 1977.) In the case of the Armenians, this policy of cultural genocide extends even to the destruction of "Turkification" of architectural monuments and cultural and religious artifacts with the obvious purpose of obliterating every trace of any Armenian presence in Asia Minor. As such, it is simply another chapter in the genocidal policy conceived even before 1915. These continuing human rights violations by Turkey cannot be ignored any longer.

### **2. Turkish-American Relations**

The general area of Turkish-American relations is outside the scope of this particular outline, except that we wish to emphasize that Turkish attitudes toward the Christian and Jewish minorities in Turkey today are not isolated phenomena, but are symptoms of a militaristic, repressive, and opportunistic attitude that has long characterized Turkish policy.

We will mention, in passing, the following examples:

The brutality of Turkish troops and "colonists" in Cyprus, as documented by the European Commission on Human Rights and other international agencies; the continued occupation of Cyprus. (It is inconsistent to denounce Soviet aggression while tolerating or even supporting the expansionist acts of our so-called "allies.")

The mistreatment of political dissidents and Kurdish nationalists, including the extensive use of torture, as documented by Amnesty International and several other groups.



The indifference of the Turkish government to international agreements, as in the illegal use of U.S. arms in the invasion of Cyprus and Turkey's refusal to allow U.S. overflights or the use of bases in Turkey at times of actual crises. The fact that Turkey is the second largest recipient of Soviet aid, receiving almost as much from the U.S.S.R. as from the U.S. Many other examples can be cited, but the focus of this outline is the Armenian Question today.

### **WHAT WE SEEK**

What we seek, first from our own government, are the following assurances:

1. That the past shameful U.S. State Department policy of supporting and participating in Turkish attempts to deny or distort the truth about the Turkish Genocide of the Armenians will be permanently abandoned; also, that the current practice of avoidance and ambiguous references will be reexamined in terms of the implied support of our State Department of the untenable position of a foreign power.
2. That channels and methods for continuous and open dialogue between the Department and the Armenian National Committee, to deal constructively with short-range and long-term issues involving U.S. and Armenian interests, will be continually improved. As a result of this dialogue, we would, of course, expect to see from our government clearer statements of understanding and hopefully support toward the legitimate aspirations of the Armenian people. Briefly stated, we would expect that United States policy would recognize, at least in principle, the territorial and political rights of the Armenian Nation, and the importance of a just and equitable solution to the Armenian Question. At the very least, we would expect that the historic reality of the Armenian Genocide could be openly and clearly acknowledged by the President and others in the same way as the Holocaust perpetrated by Hitler is.
3. That, through the State Department, there will be a recognition that the world's six million Armenians constitute a "nation-without-boundaries," a trans-national entity with a great degree of commonality, not only in terms of cultural and linguistic bonds, but in terms of universal political aspirations regarding the Armenian Question and an international organizational structure which provides for this "stateless nation" a unity that must be understood in the shaping of our foreign policy. The U.S. can no longer be restricted by traditional State Department structure, though which that the Armenian Nation has been looked at in a piecemeal and totally inadequate manner, e.g. as a minority in Lebanon, in Turkey, etc. In previous discussions with State Department representatives, the possibility of a "Bureau of Armenian Affairs" or some such special unit has been discussed. It should be noted that, in recent years, the Department has evinced ge-

nuine concern for the well-being of Armenians abroad, e.g. in the Lebanese Civil War, and has taken steps in their behalf. We applaud and encourage the continuation of such an interest in the Armenians in Lebanon, Turkey, the U.S.S.R., wherever they may live.

4. That, consistent with the above, U.S. policy within the United Nations reflect an attitude of concern and accessibility toward the Armenians and others denied voice and vote in that body because of acts of genocide or occupation by U.N. members. Those most in need of a forum are ironically denied it. The United States must provide leadership in seeing that the just aspirations, rights, and interests of the Armenians are not ignored or subordinated by the U.N. or its bodies (e.g. the Human Rights Commission).

5. That there be a full re-examination of our government's disastrous pro-Turkish policy of the recent past, such a re-examination to include not only the occupation of Cyprus and Turkey's sordid human rights record in general, but the Armenian Question as it relates to U.S. national interests and the reality of the Armenian presence throughout the world.

6. That, meanwhile, our government should condition any aid to Turkey, not only on progress in Cyprus, but on confirmation by appropriate, independent, international humanitarian organizations that repression in Turkey has ended and that there is indisputable evidence that:

a. Armenian, Greek, Assyrian, and Jewish citizens of Turkey enjoy in fact, as well as under law, all the rights (individually and collectively) enjoyed by others, and that their churches, schools, press, and other institutions are free of discriminatory restrictions and practices.

b. The illegal imprisonment and torture of Turkish, Kurdish, and other Moslem political dissidents has ceased. (We have seen, in Iran, the result of ignoring the human rights violations or excesses of a government simply because it is an "ally.")

Finally, what do we expect from Turkey? Initially that for which we have been waiting for too long: A significant action that provides evidence that the government of Turkey has matured to the point of acknowledging reality and of taking the first positive steps toward a peaceful and just solution of the Armenian Question, thereby opening a new era of Turkish-Armenian dialogue and cooperation to replace its current "policy" of pathological and hysterical denial.

We are committed to the relentless pursuit of our cause. The peaceful pursuit of that cause clearly demands a change of attitude on the part of Turkey. The United States can perhaps play a role in this regard. In any case, the Armenian Question can no longer be ignored. It exists. We exist.

## THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE: SELECTED STATEMENTS

—Quotes from non-Armenian observers and experts on “the first genocide of the twentieth century,” in which over one and a half million Armenians were systematically annihilated by the Turks (1915-1917)—

“By any standards this was surely the most unprecedented, indeed the most unimaginable racial annihilation, until then, in modern history. Nevertheless, apparently unconcerned by the enormity of their affront to civilization, the members of the Young Turk regime continued to view the ‘deportations’ as nothing more than effective diplomacy, the realization of Abdul Hamid’s injunction that ‘the best way to finish with the Armenian Question is to finish with the Armenians.’ ”

Howard M. Sachar  
*Emergence of the Middle East 1914-1924*  
(Knopf, 1969)

“From May until October the Ottoman Government pursued methodically a plan of extermination far more hellish than the worst possible massacre. Orders for deportation of the entire Armenian population to Mesopotamia were despatched to every province of Asia Minor. These orders were explicit and detailed. No hamlet was too insignificant to be missed. The news was given by town criers that every Armenian was to be ready to leave at a certain hour for an unknown destination. There were no exceptions for the aged, the ill, the women in pregnancy.”

Dr. Herbert A. Gibbons  
*The Blackest Page of Modern History*  
(Putnam, New York, 1916)

“In 1915 there occurred a ‘final solution’ which is now almost forgotten, the deliberate extermination of the Armenians by the Turks. The Armenian ‘problem’ was solved by the massacre or deportation of some 1,750,000 men, women and children from the Armenian provinces of Turkey. Over a million died or disappeared through massacres in Turkey or during the forced marches to the deserts of the Turkish eastern territories—the areas which were later to become Syria and Iraq.”

Roger Manvell and Heinrich Fraenkel  
*The Incomparable Crime*  
(Putman, 1967)

“A foreign witness has said that these deportation columns were merely a polite form of massacre, but in reality they were infinitely worse and more heartless; for instead of instant death they forced the victims to undergo all sorts of inhuman sufferings, while this cowardly and barbarous plan was to save the face of the authorities by posing as a necessary military measure. From June till August 1915, the hottest time of year when the victims were most likely to succumb, these processions of death wended their way endlessly from all the vilayets and towns where there were Armenians southwards in the direction of the desert.”

Fridtjof Nansen  
(High Commissioner for Refugees, League of Nations)  
*Armenia and the Near East*  
(New York, 1928)

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

Arnold J. Toynbee  
*Mankind and Mother Earth*  
(Oxford Univ. Press, NY/London, 1976)

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

“I have by no means told the most terrible details, for a complete narration of the sadistic orgies of which these Armenian men and women were the victims can never be printed in an American publication. Whatever crimes the most perverted instincts of the human mind can devise, and whatever refinements of persecutions and injustice the most debased imagination can conceive, became the daily misfortunes of this devoted people. I am confident that the whole history of the human race contains no such horrible episode as this. The great massacres and persecutions of the past seem almost insignificant when compared to the sufferings of the Armenian race in 1915.”

Henry Morgenthau  
(U.S. Ambassador to Turkey, 1913-1916)  
*Ambassador Morgenthau’s Story*  
(Doubleday, Garden City, 1918)

“It was left to the civilized twentieth century to invent the word ‘genocide’ to identify the action that seeks systematically to destroy a whole people. The Turks, early in the century, were its first practitioners; the Nazis in mid-century gave it a horrible extension that eclipsed the earlier record.”

“The Turkish victims numbered more than a million and a half Armenians, a gentle, highly cultured, industrious people who, in 1915, behind the facade of war, were methodically done to death.”

“The Reaction of the West to Genocide” in  
Abram L. Sachar, *The Course of Our Times*,  
(Knopf, N.Y., 1972)

“The victims of twentieth-century premeditated genocide—the Jews, the Gypsies, the Armenians—were murdered in order to fulfill the state’s design for a new order.”

“War was used in both cases to transform the nation to correspond to the ruling elite’s formula by eliminating groups conceived of as alien, enemies by definition.”

Helen Fein  
*Accounting for Genocide*  
(Victims and Survivors of the Holocaust)  
(Free Press/Macmillan, N.Y., 1979)



# ARMENIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Central Office:

212 STUART STREET, BOSTON, MASS. 02116 • TEL. (617) 426-9842

May 27, 1983

## FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

(For more information call Aram H. Kailian (617)426-8479)

*On the occasion of the Williamsburg Summit, the Armenian National Committee delivered a memorandum to the leaders of the Western democracies. The memorandum calls for the leaders from United States, Canada, United Kingdom, France, Italy, Germany and Japan to honor their political and moral commitments made to the Armenian people in the Treaty of Sevres and circumvented by the Treaty of Lausanne.*

*This year marks the 60th anniversary of the Treaty of Lausanne which the United States Senate would not ratify due to objections against oil concessions and the failure to mention a homeland for the Armenian people. These objections cite the Turkish official policy of denial of the genocide of the Armenians and their disregard for the minority provisions contained in the Lausanne Treaty (protecting the rights of Greeks, Jews, Assyrians, Kurds and Armenians).*

*The memorandum calls for the immediate convocation of an International Conference, initiated by these leaders to address the Armenian Question, genocide of the Armenians and self-determination for the Armenian nation. Peace in the Middle East can be established when the national aspirations of the people of the region are fulfilled.*

ARMENIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Offices in: Los Angeles • Toronto • Buenos Aires • London • Paris • Athens • Beirut • Teheran



**ARMENIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE**  
**A MEMORANDUM**

This year marks the 60th anniversary of the Treaty of Lausanne. This treaty which was the result of rivalry among the Great Powers for obtaining economic concessions in Turkey served to relegate the Armenian Question to the category of unresolved problems. Great Britain, France, Italy, the United States and Turkey were all parties to this betrayal of the rights of the Armenian people for justice and self-determination. By no mention of Armenia or Armenians 1.5 million human beings murdered in the first genocide of this century perpetrated, planned, and executed by the Turkish government one of the darkest pages in history was left untried and unanswered. To this day the Turkish government by its denial of this genocide and continued suppression of human rights (Armenians, Greeks, Jews, Kurds, Assyrians), contrary even to the provisions of the Lausanne Treaty guaranteeing the protection of minorities, demonstrates its inability to honor its past commitments as well as their blatant disregard for the rights of other peoples, including their own citizens. Turkey because of this criminal betrayal has to date enjoyed the territorial and material fruits of its crime against humanity.

The Treaty of Sevres signed on August 10, 1920, by the Allied and Associated Powers was meant to implement their promises and to do justice to the Armenians. The relevant articles of the Treaty of Sevres are the following:

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

**Article 89:** Turkey and Armenia, as well as the other High Contracting Parties, agree to submit to the arbitration of the President of the United States the determination of the boundary between Turkey and Armenia, in the provinces of Erzerum, Trebizond, Van and Bitlis, and to accept this decision, as well as other conditions that may be prescribed by him relative to access of Armenia to the sea and relative to the demilitarization of the Ottoman Territory adjacent to said boundary.

In his book *Armenia and the Near East* published in 1928 Dr. Fridtjof Nansen summarizes the effects of the Lausanne betrayal:

“The nations of Europe and the statesmen of Europe are tired of the everlasting Armenian Question. Of course it has only brought them one defeat after another, the

very mention of it recalling to their slumbering consciences a grim tale of broken and unfulfilled promises which they have never in practice done anything to keep. And after all, it was only a massacred, but gifted little nation, with no oil fields or gold mines.

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

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

“They are waiting still.”

It is clear that a growing minority has decided that their waiting and the peaceful petitioning by long established Armenian organizations of the League of Nations, United Nations, Sevres signatories, and other world governments have produced no appreciable results for over sixty years towards a resolution of the Armenian Question. Their direction points toward a decade of increased conflict, confrontation, and unnecessary bloodshed.

It is for this reason we again as in the past demand that you the world leaders of the Western Democracies exercise your moral commitment to the dispersed Armenian people by using your influence to convoke an international conference which will address the Armenian Question, Armenian self-determination, human rights and conceptualization of an Armenian Homeland. Your silence to this serious request we fear leaves the future in uncertainty. The Armenian people have waited patiently for justice; their patience has worn thin. Whether this proposal is realized through an existing international vehicle such as the United Nations or an independent means is initiated, the need is imperative. We implore your immediate consideration.

Armenian National Committee

## **ARMENIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE:**

### **U.S.A.**

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**Sydney, Melbourne.**





# **FACTS ABOUT THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE**

**—in response to Turkish efforts to distort the truth—**

**AUTHORITATIVE STATEMENTS FROM RECOGNIZED EXPERTS,  
EYE-WITNESSES, AND OFFICIAL SOURCES**

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## FACTS ABOUT THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

### In Response to Turkish Efforts to Distort the Truth

#### INTRODUCTION

There is an unconscionable and callous effort by the Turkish Government and some of its friends or agents to distort or even deny outright the truth about the planned Genocide of 1,500,000 Armenians by the Turks in 1915-17. The passage of time, neglect by many history books, general indifference, and other factors have resulted in a tendency by some less-informed newsmen or politicians to refer to the Genocide as "alleged" "claimed", "charged", "disputed", etc. rather than do even the very little research it would take to convince almost anyone that the Genocide of the Armenians is a fact. Denial by the criminal perpetrator in the face of overwhelming evidence does not constitute a legitimate "controversy".

The fact is that the Armenian Genocide is perhaps better documented than most such historical events. There are literally thousands of documents in the official archives of all major governments, including the U.S., as well as the testimony of neutral observers and even Germans (Turkey's allies); and the Genocide has been the subject of many books and articles, both at the time (especially 1915-1925) and more recently by experts writing on Genocide in general or about the subsequent Holocaust of the Jews, the Armenian massacres being regarded as the prototype of modern genocide.

In the following pages, we have cited only a very small sample of the sources available and have quoted only a few experts as illustrations of the evidence readily accessible to any concerned person. (We recommend interested persons consult the excellent bibliography, The Armenian Holocaust prepared by Prof. Richard Hovanissian and published by the National Association for Armenian Studies and Research, 175 Mt. Auburn Street, Cambridge, MA 02138.)

#### U.S. AMBASSADOR MORGENTHAU

U. S. Ambassador Henry Morgenthau, who was in Turkey from 1913-1916, had no question that the Turkish treatment of Armenians was part of a deliberate plan of extermination, as the following two quotes from his memoirs, Ambassador Morgenthau's Story (1918), illustrate:

"It is absurd of the Turkish Government to assert that it ever seriously intended to deport the Armenians to new homes; the treatment which was given the convoys clearly shows that extermination was the real purpose of Enver and Talaat."

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

In his The Tragedy of Armenia (1918) also, Ambassador Morgenthau again expressed his firm conviction that the Armenians were the victims of a preconceived plan of annihilation and cited his sources of information about the massacres, their nature and their scope:

"During the spring of 1914 they evolved their plan to destroy the Armenian race."

"Now, as four of the Great Powers were at war with them and the two others were their allies, they thought the time opportune to make good the oversight of the ancestors in the fifteenth century. They concluded that, once they had carried out their plan, the Great Powers would find themselves before an accomplished fact and that their crime would be condoned . . ."

"Homes were literally uprooted; families were separated; men killed, women and girls violated daily on the way or taken to harems. Children were thrown into the rivers or sold to strangers by their mothers to save them from starvation. The facts contained in the reports received at the Embassy from absolutely trustworthy eye-witnesses surpass the most beastly and diabolical cruelties ever before perpetrated or imagined in the history of the world (underlined by the author). The Turkish authorities had stopped all communication between the provinces and the capital in the naive belief that they could consummate this crime of ages before the outside world could hear of it. But the information filtered through the Consuls, missionaries, foreign travellers and even Turks."

The entire chronology of the massacres was recorded by the American Ambassador, much of his information coming from American consular officials and missionaries in the interior. He cites the formation of the labor battalions and the eventual destruction of them, the systematic arrests and murders of the remaining able-bodied men, the unbelievable tortures, the deportations, the killings, the looting, the raping, and the forced starvation, deprivation and disease.

"From May until October the Ottoman Government pursued methodically a plan of extermination far more hellish than the worst possible massacre."

Orders for deportation of the entire Armenian population to Mesopotamia were dispatched to every province of Asia Minor. These orders were explicit and detailed. No hamlet was too insignificant to be missed. The news was given by town criers that every Armenian was to be ready to leave at a certain hour for an unknown destination. There were no exceptions for the aged, the ill, the women in pregnancy". (Ambassador Morgenthau's Story).

To this day, Turkish propagandists insist that the government's intent had been simply to "deport" Armenians from militarily sensitive areas to other areas, allegedly under government "protection", but this and all other fabrications about the "military" necessity of the 1915 events have been systematically rebuked by experts and observers, countless times.

#### NANSEN THE HUMANITARIAN

Fridtjof Nansen, the Norwegian scientist, statesman, the humanitarian, winner of the 1923 Nobel Peace Prize, and High Commissioner for Refugees for the League of Nations, has this to say about the deportations and their true intent in his Armenia and the Near East (New York).

"A foreign witness has said that these deportation columns were merely a polite form of massacre, but in reality they were infinitely worse and more heartless; for instead of instant death they forced the victims to undergo all sorts of inhuman sufferings, while this cowardly and barbarous plan was to save the face of the authorities by posing as a necessary military measure. From June till August, 1915, the hottest time of the year when the victims were most likely to succumb, these processions of death wended their way endlessly from all the vilayets and towns where there were Armenians southwards in the direction of the desert."

#### TOYNBEE THE HISTORIAN

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

"The various Turkish contentions thus fail, first to last, to meet the point. They all attempt to trace the atrocities of 1915 to events arising out of the war; but they not only cannot justify them on this ground, they do not even suggest any adequate motive for their perpetration. It is

evident that the war was merely an opportunity and not a cause - in fact, that the deportation scheme, and all that it involved, flowed inevitably from the general policy of the Young Turkish Government."

Toynbee also addressed the matter of official (governmental) planning and responsibility:

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

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

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

#### PRESENT-DAY EXPERTS

Many present-day historians, sociologists, and other experts have studied the Armenian Genocide, either as a phenomenon in and of itself or as a precedent to the Holocaust, or more often, as the prototype of modern genocide. In an over-all sense, the Armenian Genocide actually provided the initial impetus and motivation for Professor Rafael Lemkin's efforts which were eventually to culminate in the coining of the term, "genocide", and the development of the U.N. Convention (Treaty) Against Genocide.

Among such contemporary authorities is Professor Irving L. Horowitz, Hannah Arendt Distinguished Professor of Sociology and Political Science at Rutgers University. In his study Taking Lives: Genocide and State Power (Transaction Books, USA & UK, 1980), Horowitz has a lot to say about the Armenian massacres as the precedental genocide and of the long-term nature of Turkey's genocidal policy:

"Equally important, and far more ominous, was the final legacy of the Ottoman Empire. From the start of the century until its final demise in 1918, it bequeathed a policy of genocide on a scale

unparalleled in an earlier epoch. The destruction of the Armenians was an event whose magnitude was matched only by the silence of the civilized world too absorbed in its own horrors of World war I to realize the qualitative uniqueness involved in the mass extermination of the Armenian people."

"The genocide committed against the Armenian people illustrates how different facets of state authority, and even different state authorities as such, can generate an appropriate ideology to perform the necessary dirty work. The Turkish overseers began the destruction of the Armenian minority in the name of the Ottoman Empire. The Young Turks continued the process in the name of Turkish nationalism. The Kemalists completed this process in the name of development and hegemonic integration. Hence, between 1893 and 1923 roughly 1,800,000 Armenians were liquidated, while another 1,000,000 were exiled, without a single political or military elite within the state assuming responsibility for the termination of the slaughter, or for that matter, granting the Armenians national autonomy or territorial rights."

The fate of the Armenians is the essential prototype of genocide in the twentieth century."

First comes the fact and then comes the word. First a homicide is committed and then someone defines the conditions of murder. First genocide is committed and then a language emerges to describe the phenomenon. The Turkish assassination of the Armenians is a clear case of genocide prior to 1945."

Historian Dr. Howard Sachar (George Washington University) devotes considerable space to the Armenian Genocide in his Emergency of the Middle East 1914-1924 (Knopf, NY, 1969) and has this to say about the nature of the horrible events of 1915.

"The unfolding evidence of Armenian genocide was too palpable to be subject to Ottoman distortion. For now, indeed, in the spring of 1915, the storm of Turanian Xenophobia which had been gathering for decades over this vulnerable minority people was released with lethal and climactic savagery."

"By any standards this was surely the most unprecedented, indeed the most unimaginable racial annihilation, until then, in modern history. Nevertheless, apparently unconcerned by the enormity of their affront to civilization, the members of the Young Turk regime continued to view

the 'deportations' as nothing more than effective diplomacy, the realization of Abdul Hamid's injunction that 'the best way to finish with the Armenian Question is to finish with the Armenians'."

In discussing the Turkish Government's publication, in 1916, of a book designed to justify its crimes by purportedly "documenting" Armenian war-time treason and even "massacres of Turks" by Armenians - the same long-disproven charges repeated by Turkish propagandists today, Sachar says: "It was a fabrication from beginning to end."

Another authority, political sociologist Helen Fein, in her study of the Holocaust, Accounting for Genocide (Free Press/MacMillin, 1979), provides the following insights in her very thorough background treatment of the Armenian genocide:

"The victims of Twentieth-century premeditated genocide - the Jews, the Gypsies, the Armenians - were murdered in order to fulfill the state's design for a new order."

"War was used in both cases to transform the nation to correspond to the ruling elite's formula by eliminating groups conceived of as alien, enemies by definition."

"The fact that only 19% of the Armenians were estimated to have survived the Turkish genocide of 1915 testifies to how readily large and concentrated numbers of people, once identified and isolated, can be murdered without any mechanical means of extermination such as the Germans devised."

She also refers to the observations of the German Ambassador (Germany was Turkey's ally, of course) on the nature of the events of 1915-19:

"Count Wolf-Metternich understood that the Armenians' extermination was an end in itself to the ruling Triumvirate and its party, as well as a portent of things to come. He wrote the Reich Chancellor in June 1916:

'I have discussed with Talaat Bey and Hallil Bey the deportation of the Armenian workers from Amanus stretch, which deportation hampers the conduct of the war. These measures, I told the ministers, among other things, gave the impression as if the Turkish government were itself bent on losing the war . . . But no one any longer has the power to

control the many-headed hydra of the Committee, to control the chauvinism and the fanaticism . . . there is not much to gain from the Armenians . . . Turkification means to expel or kill everything non-Turkish'".

A few additional quotes from current-day scholars whose views cannot be dismissed as "war-time propaganda" (as Turkish spokesman have charged in attempting to dismiss the writing of U.S. Ambassador Morgenthau, despite U.S. neutrality at the time) should be more than sufficient to make the point.

Brandeis University Chancellor, Abram L. Sachar, writes in the chapter "The Reaction of the West to Genocide" in his The Course of Our Times, (Alfred A. Knopf, NY 1972):

"It was left to the civilized twentieth century to invent the word 'genocide' to identify the action that seeks systematically to destroy a whole people. The Turks early in the century, were its first practitioners, the Nazis in mid-century gave it a horrible extension that eclipsed the earlier record."

"The Turkish victims numbered more than a million and a half Armenians, a gentle, highly cultured, industrious people who, in 1915, behind the facade of war, were methodically done to death."

The noted authorities on Nazi Germany and authors of several related works, Roger Manvell and Heinrich Fraenkel, have this to say in The Incomparable Crime, about the Holocaust (Putman, 1967):

"In 1915 there occurred a 'final solution' which is now almost forgotten, the deliberate extermination of the Armenians by the Turks. The Armenian 'problem' was solved by the massacre or deportation of some 1,750,000 men, women and children from the Armenian provinces of Turkey. Over a million died or disappeared through massacres in Turkey or during the forced marches to the deserts of the Turkish eastern territories-the areas which were later to become Syria and Iraq."

Princeton University's Ulrich Trumpener, in his Germany and the Ottoman Empire, 1914-1918 (Princeton, 1968), makes extensive use of statements by German officials who confirm the intent and result of the "deportation" scheme while bemoaning the fact that "as regrettable as it is from the Christian standpoint that innocent people, too, must suffer under the Turkish measures, the Armenians are after all less close to us than our sons and brothers being indirectly aided by the military help of the Turks." This callous attitude of one of the Kaiser's



representatives sounds altogether too much like the political or military reasoning which may be behind the seeming willingness of some U.S. officials to aid and abet the Turkish cover-up of the murder of 1,500,000 Armenian men, women and children.

#### WINSTON CHURCHILL

In his history of World War I, The World Crisis, published in 1929 (Scibners, N.Y.) and clearly not "war-time propaganda", Winston S. Churchill described the Armenian massacres (Volume V, "The Aftermath"):

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

"Out of a community of about two and a half millions, three-quarters of a million men, women and children had perished. But surely this was the end."

". . . the Armenians and their tribulations were well known throughout England and the United States. This field of interest was lighted by the lamps of religion, philanthropy, and politics. Atrocities perpetrated upon Armenians stirred the ire of simple and chivalrous men and women spread widely about the English-speaking world."

Churchill also described the Post-World War I period and the continuing pattern of massacres, as well as the Turkish Kemalist destruction of the newly-created independent Armenian Republic (1918-1920):

"Already nearly a year before, in January, 1920, the Turks had attacked the French in Cilicia, driven them out of the Marash district and massacred nearly fifty thousand Armenian inhabitants. In May, Bolshevik troops invaded and subjugated the Republic of Erivan (Armenia). In September, by collusion between the Bolsheviks and Turks, Erivan was delivered to the Turkish Nationalists; and as in Cilicia, another extensive massacre of Armenians accompanied the military operations."

The fact is that Armenians endured nearly a century of "rule by massacre" which began in the nineteenth century and continued into the Kemalist period, with The Genocide of 1915-1917 being the most notorious manifestation of Turkish racism and brutality.

#### CARDINAL CUSHING

In a statement appearing in the April 24, 1965 issue of the "The Pilot" (Boston's archdiocesan newspaper), the late Richard Cardinal Cushing marked the fiftieth anniversary commemoration of the Armenian Genocide, which he described as "well-planned" and "unprovoked". The beloved Cardinal, who on the same day sponsored a pontifical solemn high mass in memory of the victims, described the Armenian massacres in these terms in his statement in The Pilot:

"The Turkish violence against the Armenians lasted from 1915 to 1918. Almost 2,000,000 people were killed or deported by the Turks."

"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."

#### EYEWITNESSES TO HORROR

Yes, they were killed because they were Armenians. But those who suffered and died were not simply "Armenians", but people-human beings like us, like you. Indeed, in focusing on statements dealing with the overwhelming fact of the genocide, its planned nature, or its numerical or geographical scope, there is a danger of losing sight of the individual human suffering referred to by such phrases as "untold horrors", "unparalleled brutality", "hellish massacres", "lethal savagery", "unimaginable racial annihilation", etc. Literally thousands of pages of eyewitness descriptions and survivor testimony could be provided, but the following few brief excerpts from the previously-cited official British Blue Book, compiled by Arnold Toynbee at the direction of Lord Bryce, provide some idea of the shocking treatment of the Armenians by the Turks"

". . .The girls have been outraged mercilessly; we have seen their mutilated corpses tied together in batches of four, eight or ten, and cast into the Euphrates. The majority had been mutilated in an indescribable manner."

". . .It was a very common thing for them to rape our girls in our presence. Very often they violated eight or ten-year-old girls, and as a consequence many would be unable to walk, and were shot."

". . . she shuddered to recall how hundreds of children were bayoneted by the Turks and thrown into the Euphrates, and how men and women were stripped naked, tied together in hundreds, shot and then hurled into the river."

". . . He told how, at each village, the women had been violated; . . . how children had had their brains battered out when they cried or hindered the march."

". . . The condemned were stripped of all but their underclothing and led to the brink of a great ditch. There they knelt with their hands bound behind their back and were despatched by axe-blows on the head."

The following, slightly longer extracts from statements by foreign witnesses are from the same reports:

"In Harpoot and Mezre the people have had to endure terrible tortures. They have had their eyebrows 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 horses. This is all done at nighttime, and in order that the people may not hear their screams and know their agony, soldiers are stationed round the prisons, beating drums and blowing whistles . . . Harpoot has become the cemetery of the Armenians."

(From a Statement by a German eyewitness . . . communicated by the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief).

". . . In another camp we found thirty or forty thousand Armenians. I was able to distribute bread among them. Desperate and half-starved, they fell upon it. . . I often saw them break down under their burden, but the soldiers kept on driving them forward with the butt-ends of their rifles, even sometimes with their bayonets. I have dressed bleeding wounds on the bodies of women that had been caused by these bayonet thrusts."

(From a Report by Fraulein M., a Swiss resident in Turkey, dated 16th November, 1915).

"At the first large station a sight burst upon my view which, although I knew and was prepared for it, was nevertheless a shock. There was a mob of a thousand or more people huddled about the station

and environs, and long strings of cattle-trucks packed to suffocation with human beings. It was the first glimpse of the actual deportation of the Armenians . . . There was no confusion, no wailing, no shouting, just a mob of subdued people, dejected, sad, hopeless, past tears . . ."

(From a Narrative of a journey . . . by a physician resident in Turkey for ten years).

In volume III of the seven-volume Source Records of the Great War (The American Legion, Indianapolis, 1931), in which Talaat Pasha's infamous extermination orders are reprinted, there appears a statement by Dr. Martin Niepage, a German eyewitness who had served as a teacher at Aleppo. Germany was Turkey's ally but many German missionaries and others recorded with horror what they witnessed, as does Dr. Niepage in this graphic excerpt:

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

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

"One of them, Herr Greif, of Aleppo, reported corpses of violated women lying about naked in heaps on the railway embankment at Tell-Abiad and ras-el-Ain. Another, Herr Spiecker, of Aleppo, had seen Turks tie Armenian men together, fire several volleys of small shot with fowling pieces into the human mass, and go off laughing while their victims slowly perished in frightful convulsions. Other men had their hands tied behind their back and were rolled down steep cliffs. Women were standing below, who slashed those who had rolled down with knives until they were dead."

"The German Consul from Mosul related, in my presence, at the German club at Aleppo that, in many places on the road from Mosul to Aleppo, he had seen children's hands lying hacked off in such numbers that one could have paved the road with them. In the German hospital at Ourfa there was a little girl who had had both her hands hacked off."

"In many Christian houses in Aleppo I found Armenian girls hidden who by some chance had escaped death; either they had been left lying exhausted and had been taken for dead when their companions had been driven on, or in other cases, Europeans had found an opportunity to buy the poor creatures for a few marks from the last Turkish soldier who had violated them. All these girls showed symptoms of mental derangement; many of them had had to watch the Turks cut their parents' throats. I know poor things who have not had a single word coaxed out of them for months, and not a smile to this moment."

"A German I know saw hundreds of Christian peasant women who were compelled, near Ourfa, to strip naked by the Turkish soldiers. For the amusement of the soldiers they had to drag themselves through the desert in this condition for days together in a temperature of 40° Centigrade, until their skins were completely scorched. Another witness saw a Turk tear a child out of its Armenian mother's womb and hurl it against the wall."

"There are other occurrences, worse than these few examples which I give here, recorded in the numerous reports which have been sent in to the Embassy from the German Consulates at Alexandretta, Aleppo and Mosul. The Consuls are of opinion that, so far, probably about one million Armenians have perished in the massacres of the last few months. Of this number, one must reckon that at least half are women and children who have either been murdered or have succumbed to starvation."

"The object of the deportations is the extermination of the whole Armenian nation. This purpose is also proved by the fact that the Turkish Government declines all assistance from Missionaries, Sisters of Mercy and European residents in the country, and systematically tries to stop their work."

Another eyewitness and a survivor, Rev. Abraham Hartunian recorded his own experiences during the genocide, published as Neither to Laugh Nor To Weep (Beacon Press, Boston, 1968),

translated by Reverend Vartan Hartunian, his son and also a minister. His book provides this picture of the incredible savagery to which his people were subjected:

"Many of our teachers, professors, and doctors--those of the educated class--were captured and with the words 'So you are the intellect of this people!' had their heads placed in vises and squeezed till they burst."

"Many children were herded out of the deserts, thrown alive, into ditches, and covered over with dirt and sand, to smother beneath the earth. Many were thrown into rivers or dashed to the ground. Many were killed by ripping their jaws and tearing their faces in half."

"Many women were stripped naked and lined up, and, their abdomens slashed one by one, were thrown in ditches and wells to die in infinite agony. The kaymakam of Der-el-Zor, holding a fifteen-year-old girl before him, directed his words to a murderous band and then, throwing her to the ground, clubbed her to death with the order, 'so you must kill all Armenians, without remorse.'"

"To save bullets, many Armenians were stoned and hacked with axes."

"Convoy after convoy was driven night and day unceasingly, robbed, raped, then brought to the edge of streams and forbidden to drink at the point of the gun. Under the burning sun, thousands perished from hunger and thirst."

"Many were gathered in one place and burned alive. One of these, left half dead and later rescued, told me that for days she had remained with the corpses and had lived by eating their flesh."

Perhaps this is enough description for now. It is however, only minute fraction of the chronicle of horrors which survivors and eyewitnesses have provided for those who care to try to understand this unprecedented inhumanity by man against man. Some exposure to these brutalities is essential to appreciate the personal hurt, the sense of violation, and ultimately outrage and frustration which Turkish denial of the genocide causes for Armenians, the vast majority of whom know that their parents, grandparents, and other relatives suffered experiences such as those described above.

The fact that the Turks were able to "get away with murder" during World War I encouraged the Nazis to undertake similar crimes in World War II. If the Turks are now able to re-write

the facts and escape even the judgment of history, then that in turn will encourage those who would re-write the history of the Holocaust or other such tragedies.

Let us respond to Adolf Hitler's chilling question:

"Who still talks nowadays of the extermination of the Armenians"? (Obersalzburg, August 22, 1939).

Let us answer: We do! And we will not let history be rewritten or forgotten!

Act now! Protest against Turkish distortions! Insist that our own government not permit political or strategic considerations to allow the U.S. to become involved or implicated at all in such efforts to subvert and deny the truth.

Stop the big lie!

"THOSE WHO DO NOT REMEMBER THE PAST ARE CONDEMNED TO RELIVE IT." (Santayana)

ARMENIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE  
EASTERN REGION, UNITED STATES  
FEBRUARY, 1983

HAI TAD / 6

The Armenian Case Committee  
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The Secretary

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THE ARMENIAN CASE:  
TOWARD A JUST SOLUTION

BY RICHARD G. HOVANNISIAN

Address to the  
WORLD AFFAIRS COUNCIL OF PITTSBURGH  
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Jerusalem — 1982



FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

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The University of California Press is pleased to announce the publication of *The Republic of Armenia*, Volume II, by Professor Richard G. Hovannisian. Volume II is the sequel of *Armenia on the Road to Independence* and the first volume of the *Republic* series and is the product of ten years of research and writing. In this 600-page volume, the history of the Armenian republic is carried forward until the spring of 1920, integrating domestic, regional, and international themes. Hovannisian's pioneering studies have been recognized for providing valuable new information and insights into Near Eastern and Soviet studies, the modern history of Armenia, Georgia, and Azerbaijan, the peace settlements following World War I, and the policies and actions of the European powers and the United States in the Near East, Transcaucasia, and Russia.

Hovannisian is Professor of Armenian and Near Eastern History and the Director of the Near Eastern Center at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA). He has lectured extensively and had frequent media appearances in the United States and abroad on Armenian history and the Armenian question. He has received special recognition from the Armenian American Citizens League, the Armenian Professional Society, the Armenian National Committee, Eastern District, and the United Armenian Cultural Association of Chicago. He has been active in many civic and educational endeavors and was a founding director of the Armenian Assembly of America and the Society for Armenian Studies.

Volume II of *The Republic of Armenia*, as well as copies of the second edition of Volume I, may be ordered through local bookstores and Armenian book services or directly through the University of California Press, Berkeley, California 94720.

## THE ARMENIAN CASE: TOWARD A JUST SOLUTION

Since the destruction of the Armenian people in the Ottoman Turkish Empire earlier in this century, new international crises and conflicts have pushed the Armenian question from the consciousness of most opinion- and policy-making bodies. In cases where that consciousness has been sustained or revived because of special circumstances, policymakers have usually deemed it impolitic to address the issue, although taking care sometimes to lull the Armenians with words extolling their virtues as a proud, industrious, enduring, honest people.

The Armenians and the Armenian question are still remembered, of course, by some students of history and politics, by some well read individuals, and especially by some elder citizens who recall that as children they made Sunday School offerings or else were forced by their parents to clean their plates with the admonition, "Remember the starving Armenians." Yet, the ranks of these individuals have thinned and the public today is largely unaware of the Armenians and their national tragedy. This is not to say that Armenians have not tried to keep the public informed. For decades the survivors of the genocide labored in a score of countries to pick up the pieces, to build new churches and cultural institutions to remind them of their lost homeland, and to preserve new generations in the face of strong, external assimilative pressures. They mourned their dead each year in April, the month marking the beginning of the deportations and massacres of 1915, and they wrote petitions to public officials, governments and international bodies, but without significant, tangible results. They learned repeatedly that the success or failure of a cause had little to do with what they considered to be the concepts of political morality and justice.

But beginning in the 1970's, an unexpected phenomenon pushed the Armenian name back into print and not always in a positive light - much to the consternation of image-conscious Armenians. Coming forth with names such as the "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia" and the "Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide," small, clandestine groups emerged outside the established Armenian community and initiated a course of political violence against Turkish officials, demanding recognition and recompense for the Armenian genocide from a still unrepentant gov-

ment. Initially, there was doubt that the perpetrators were actually Armenian, but recent revelations leave little room for doubt.

All indications point to a decade of increased confrontation and bloodshed unless men of goodwill and particularly the two most interested parties, the Turkish government and the Armenian people, move to ease tension and prepare the way for a dialogue. During the first half century after the genocide, successive Turkish governments tried to remain silent or simply to dismiss the massacres. Recently there has been an apparent change in strategy. The Armenian challenges, rather than causing the Turkish government to cease attempts to conceal the horrendous skeleton in its closet, seem to have prompted an even more adamant stand, as well as an active countercampaign of denial, refutation, and vilification. One may conjecture that Turkish strategists believe that the ability to reject Armenian claims for a few more decades will be rewarded with the disappearance of the Armenian question. After all, time will have pushed the genocide into a previous century, all the eyewitnesses and survivors will have passed from the scene, and the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of the survivors will have been engulfed by assimilation with increasing rapidity. Yet, such calculations would be fraught with great risks and grave consequences, not excluding violent upheaval before such an end were achieved. Conversely, for the Armenians, it is a matter of life and death as they continue to be denied self-determination and are faced with cultural disintegration and loss of national identity. Hence, it must be asked, Is there a reasonable, pacific answer to the Armenian question? Is there room for a dialogue? Is it possible that the interested sides can face a tragic, burning historical event and deal with it? Is there any way out of the obsession of one side with the past and the obsession of the other side with the denial of the past? Or must the future be abandoned to extremism and unbridled violence?

It is perhaps fitting in this connection to say a few words about Armenian history. Although tracing their lineage, according to epical-biblical traditions, to Noah, whose ark was said to have rested on Mount Ararat, the Armenian people actually passed through a long era of formation and emerged as a nation in the sixth century before Christ, in the great highlands between the Caspian, Black, and Mediterranean Seas, in an area now referred to as Eastern Anatolia and Transcaucasia, on both sides of the current Soviet-Turkish frontier. For the next two thousand years, they were led by their kings, nobles, and patriarchs, sometimes independently

and often under the sway of powerful, neighboring empires of the East and West. Located on perhaps the most strategic and coveted crossroads of the ancient and medieval worlds, the Armenians not only managed to survive and thrive but also to develop a rich, distinctive culture by maintaining a delicate balance between Orient and Occident.

As the first people to adopt Christianity as the state religion in about 301, the Armenians were often persecuted for their faith by fanatic invaders and alien overlords. By the end of the fourteenth century, the last Armenian kingdom had collapsed, the nobility had been decimated in constant warfare, and the Armenian plateau had fallen under foreign subjugation. Most of the country ultimately came under Turkish rule, while the eastern sector came first under Persian and then in the nineteenth century under Russian dominion.

In the Ottoman Empire, which pressed to the gates of Vienna in the seventeenth century, the Armenians were included in a multinational and multireligious realm, but as a Christian minority they had to endure official discrimination and second-class citizenship. Inequality, including special taxes, the inadmissibility of legal testimony, and the prohibition on bearing arms, was the price paid to maintain their religion and sense of community. This is not to say that there were not prosperous merchants, traders and artisans throughout the empire, even though most of the Armenian population remained rooted in its historic homeland, becoming, for the most part, tenant farmers or sharecroppers under a dominant Muslim feudal-military elite.

Despite their debilities, the Armenians lived in relative peace so long as the Ottoman Empire was strong and expanding. But as the Ottoman administrative, financial and military structure crumbled under internal corruption and external European challenges in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, intolerance and exploitation increased, contributing to rebellions among the Christian peoples of the Balkans, who won their freedom from the Turks with some European support. The Armenian situation, however, was different. Armenia was located far to the east, and nearly half of the Armenian population lived in areas outside their historic provinces. Under these circumstances, Armenian aspirations were directed toward egalitarian reforms and civil rights — that is, change within the system. The articulation of Armenian programs of reform, however, came at a time of heightened anarchy and oppression. Marauding nomadic tribal groups spread havoc throughout the region, the central government becoming unable or un-

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willing to guarantee the security of family, home, and property. And each time the European Powers attempted to intercede for their own reasons, the Armenians suffered still greater persecution. In the reign of Sultan Abdul-Hamid II, 1876-1909, countless thousands were massacred in pogroms intended to intimidate the Armenians and discourage them from seeking European intercession or trying to follow the path of the Balkan Christians. Despairing of legal reforms, some Armenians began to organize resistance groups in the last decade of the nineteenth century, but the effectiveness of these nascent revolutionary societies was limited in face of the sultan's mechanisms for suppression.

It is understandable, therefore, that the Armenians, perhaps more than any other minority group, rejoiced at the Young Turk revolution in 1908, which ushered in constitutional government and a year later sent Abdul-Hamid into exile. It was a time of optimism. Liberty and constitution were in the air. It was believed that the new leaders of the Ottoman Empire were committed to saving the realm through liberal reforms and the extension of equality to all Ottoman subjects regardless of religion and nationality.

One of the most interesting and, for the Armenians, tragic metamorphoses in modern history was the process from 1908 to 1914 in which the seemingly liberal, egalitarian Young Turks were transformed into xenophobic nationalists bent on creating a new order and eliminating the Armenian question by eliminating the Armenian people. Taken advantage of the European Powers and courted by Kaiserian Germany, the Turkish government was seized in 1913 by Young Turk extremists, who were drawn to the newly articulated ideology of Turkism. The exclusivist principles of Turkism were to supplant the goal of Ottomanism and give justification to violent, brutal means to transform a multinational, multireligious realm into a homogeneous state based on the concept of one nation - one people. According to Helen Fein, *Accounting for Genocide*, "The victims of twentieth-century premeditated genocide - the Jews, the Gypsies, the Armenians - were murdered in order to fulfill the state's design for a new order. War was used in both cases to transform the nation to correspond to the ruling elite's formula by eliminating groups conceived of as alien, enemies by definition."

The outbreak of World War I indeed placed the Armenians in extreme jeopardy, since their lands and people were situated on both sides of the Russo-Turkish frontier and would become the inevitable victims in

any military action in that region. But the Turkish dictatorship headed by Minister of War Enver and Minister of Interior Talaat had already committed the Ottoman Empire to war against Russia in secret treaties with Germany. Yet Enver's anticipated swift victory in Transcaucasia was not attained and, failing miserably in the winter campaign of 1914-1915, he slipped back into the capital in humiliation, although claiming impressive military successes. The failure of the campaign, together with the Allied landings on the Gallipoli peninsula in the spring of 1915, may have eliminated any remaining hesitation to execute the plan to remove the Armenian population from one end of the empire to the other. Claiming that the Armenians were untrustworthy, that they could offer aid and comfort to the enemy, and that they were in a state of imminent nationwide rebellion, Minister of Interior Talaat Pasha ordered their deportation from the war zones to relocation centers - actually the deserts of Syria and Mesopotamia. And in fact the Armenians were driven out, not only from the war zones, but from the width and breadth of the empire, except Constantinople (Istanbul) and Smyrna (Izmir), where foreign diplomats and merchants were concentrated. The whole of Asia Minor was put in motion. Armenians serving in the Ottoman armies had already been segregated into unarmed labor battalions and were now taken out in batches and murdered. Of the remaining population, the adult and teenage males were, as a pattern, swiftly separated from the deportation caravans and killed outright under the direction of the gendarmerie, Young Turk agents, and bandit and nomadic groups prepared for the task. The greatest torment was reserved for the women and children who were driven for weeks over mountains and deserts, often dehumanized by being stripped naked and repeatedly preyed upon and abused. Many took their own and their children's lives by flinging themselves from cliffs and into rivers rather than prolonging their humiliation and torment. In this manner an entire nation melted away and the Armenian people was effectively eliminated from its homelands of nearly three thousand years. Of the survivors and refugees scattered throughout the Arab provinces and Transcaucasia, thousands more were to die of starvation, epidemic, and exposure, and even the memory of the nation was intended for obliteration as churches and monuments were desecrated and small children, snatched from their parents, were renamed and farmed out to be raised as Turks.

Herbert Adams Gibbons described the process as "The Blackest Page of Modern History," whereas Henry Morgenthau, the United States ambas-

sador to the Ottoman Empire at that time, wrote: "When the Turkish authorities gave the orders for these deportations, they were merely giving the death warrant to a whole race; they understood this well, and, in their conversations with me, they made no particular attempt to conceal the fact." Morgenthau continued: "I have by no means told the most terrible details, for a complete narration of the sadistic orgies of which these Armenian men and women were the victims can never be printed in an American publication. Whatever crimes the most perverted instincts of the human mind can devise, and whatever refinements of persecutions and injustice the most debased imagination can conceive, became the daily misfortunes of this devoted people. I am confident that the whole of history of the human race contains no such horrible episode as this. The great massacres and persecutions of the past seem almost insignificant when compared to the sufferings of the Armenian race in 1915."

While the decimation of the Armenian people and the destruction of millions of persons in Central and Eastern Europe during the Nazi regime a quarter of a century later each had particular and unique features, historians and sociologists who have pioneered the field of victimology have drawn some startling parallels. These include the perpetration of genocide under the cover of a major international conflict, thus minimizing the possibility of external intervention; conception of the plan by a monolithic and megalomaniac regime; espousal of an ideology giving purpose and justification to chauvinism, racism, and intolerance toward elements resisting or deemed unworthy of assimilation; imposition of strict party discipline and secrecy during the period of preparation; formation of extralegal special armed forces to ensure the rigorous execution of the operation; provocation of public hostility toward the victim group and ascribing to it the very excesses to which it would be subject; certainty of the vulnerability of the intended prey (demonstrated in the Armenian case in the previous general massacres of 1894-1896 and 1909), exploitation of advances in mechanization and communication (the telegraph) to achieve unprecedented means of control, coordination, and thoroughness; and use of sanctions such as promotions and the incentive to loot, plunder, and vent passions without restraint or, conversely, the dismissal and punishment of reluctant officials and the intimidation of persons who might consider harboring members of the victim group.

In the West, the Armenian genocide evoked sentiments of sympathy and outrage. The Allied Powers declared collectively, "In view of this new

crime of Turkey against humanity and civilization, the Allied Governments make known publicly that they will hold all members of the Turkish Government, as well as those officials who have participated in these massacres, personally responsible." French officials echoed British Prime Minister Lloyd George's view that after the war the peace settlement should guarantee "the redemption of the Armenian valleys forever from the bloody misrule with which they had been stained by the infamies of the Turk." In the United States the hand of charity was extended across the ocean, with the assistance of such prominent Pittsburgh families as the Heinzes and the Mellons, to keep alive as many of the survivors as possible and to help the Armenian people escape complete obliteration. Leaders of both parties and all branches of government called for the restoration of the survivors to their ancestral lands and the safeguarding of their collective existence, whereas President Wilson's celebrated Fourteen Points offered the Armenians "an undoubted security of life and absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development."

This, too, was the attitude of the Paris Peace Conference, which declared at its opening in January, 1919, that because of Turkish misgovernment and massacres, Armenia and the Arab provinces would be completely severed from the Turkish Empire. In pleading the case of the defeated empire, the new Turkish chief minister tried to deflect the guilt by pointing an accusing finger at the small clique that had perverted the government, admitting nonetheless that there had occurred "misdeeds which are such as to make the conscience of mankind shudder forever." In reply, the Allied Powers, drawing attention to the massacres "whose calculated atrocity equals or exceeds anything in recorded history," rejected any attempt to minimize or circumvent the crime. Sent out from Paris on a fact-finding mission to the Armenian provinces, American Major General James G. Harbord confirmed that "mutilization, violation, torture, and death have left their haunting memories in a hundred beautiful Armenian valleys, and the traveler in that region is seldom free from the evidence of this most colossal crime of all the ages."

Yet, ironically, despite all the words and evidence, the "conscience of mankind" did not shudder for long before this "most colossal crime of all the ages." It is true that in 1920 the Allies finally imposed the Treaty of Sèvres upon the Sultan's government, creating on paper a moderately sized united Armenian republic, but, recoiling from the burdens of the World War, the European Powers and the United States proved unwilling

to shoulder the moral and material responsibilities to execute the peace and to restore the Armenian people to their homeland and help them build a free nation. Rather, after the successful rise and consolidation of the Turkish Nationalist Movement under Mustafa Kemal, the European Powers bowed to political, economic and military expediency in the treaties of Lausanne in 1923 and turned away from the miserable Armenians and the Armenian question. The refugees were barred from returning home, and, except for those who settled in the small Armenian state that had been created in Transcaucasia in 1918 and forcibly sovietized in 1920, remained dispersed throughout the Middle East, Europe, and America.

The passage of time and the strategic geopolitical position assigned to Turkey in the calculations of the world powers further removed the Armenian issue from the realm of international diplomacy. A new generation of politicians, correspondents, and academics lost interest in the Armenians – perhaps the fate of most losers in history. Some gradually began to rationalize the existence of the Republic of Turkey within its given boundaries by tending to rationalize the events that had led to this eventuality. Whether because of naïveté, assumed objectivity, or self-interests, a few even introduced the adjective “alleged” and “asserted” in reference to the Armenian massacres, even though their own newspaper files and national archives were replete with the awesome evidence of the systematic annihilation. Perhaps Adolf Hitler had good cause in 1939 to declare, according to the Nuremberg trial transcripts, “Who, after all, speaks today of the extermination of the Armenians.”

But unlike the Armenian case, the atrocities of World War II did not pass unrequited, nor they have been allowed to blur in public awareness and international relations. Hundreds of persons charged with crimes against humanity were brought to trial and punished, and the Federal Republic of Germany, while denouncing and disassociating itself from the erstwhile Nazi regime, nonetheless accepted the burden of collective guilt and made recompense to the survivors, the families of the murdered millions, and the governments having a special relationship with the victimized groups. By contrast, the Ankara government has, ever since the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, refused to acknowledge the criminal actions taken against the Armenian people. Perhaps it is the strength of the moral claims against Turkey that has made that government all the more unwilling to accept those claims, afraid that acknowledgment of a major historical transgression could then lead to pressures to make reparations and possibly even partial territorial restitution.

In recent years, therefore, the Ankara government, aroused by renewed efforts of the dispersed Armenian communities to challenge the erasure of the Armenian case, has intensified efforts to keep the issue from again becoming a topic of international diplomacy or even from being mentioned in international bodies. A concerted high-level campaign was launched to expunge only a passing reference to the Armenian massacres in a United Nations' subcommission draft report. Turkish academic personnel and institutions and a few non-Turkish academics have been used to give a scholarly semblance to the regrettable goal to deny and obscure the genocide. Strong diplomatic pressures and military considerations have been employed in attempts to prevent the erection of Armenian memorials, the participation of foreign dignitaries at Armenian commemorative observances, the preparation of motion pictures and other media productions relating to the genocide, and the inclusion of the Armenian experience in the Holocaust Museum being planned for Washington, D. C.

Speaking before the Los Angeles World Affairs Council in November, 1981, Turkish Ambassador Sükrü Elekdağ declared: “The accusations that Ottoman Turks, sixty-five years ago, during World War I, perpetrated systematic massacres of the Armenian population in Turkey, to annihilate them and to seize their homeland, is totally baseless.” And a recent Turkish publication from Washington, D. C. entitled *Setting the Record Straight on Armenian Propaganda against Turkey* begins as follows: “In recent years claims have been made by some Armenians in Europe, America, and elsewhere that the Armenians suffered terrible misrule in the Ottoman Empire. Such claims are absurd.” A few pages later, we read: “There was no genocide committed against the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire before or during World War I. No genocide was carried out. Recent scholarly research has discovered that the stories of massacres were in fact largely invented by Armenian nationalist leaders in Paris and London during World War I and spread throughout the world through the British intelligence.”

One should not be surprised if governments, whose own archives contain voluminous materials on the deportations and massacres, may find it expedient tacitly to foster this type of falsification by acknowledging the receipt of such publications with thanks or by maintaining a telling silence. It is no novelty that expediency frequently reigns over morality in politics, but it seems to me that it is also no novelty that humanitarians and statesmen must strive toward truth and justice.

Is there any solution to this problem or is there only the prospect of heightened frustration, increased extremism, and explosive confrontation? I cannot be very optimistic. Yet, the narrowest avenues of hope cannot be abandoned, and the Turkish government should be assisted in seeing that its own national interests require a mitigation of its adamant position. The public, too, such as this very audience, must be brought to understand that this and like issues are not just old world feuds and smoldering ancient animosities having no bearing on today's realities. They are fundamental matters of national conduct and human rights.

What is it that the Armenians seek? Obviously, there are various gradations in their desiderata, so let me read what the most politically-active and strongly-nationalistic groups say:

1. The toleration of genocide and its acceptance as a "solution" to any problem leads only to its repeated use, just as the world's indifference to the Armenian Genocide and its aftermath led Hitler to cite it as a precedent and justification for his own crimes. The use of Genocide as an instrument of national policy, by any nation at any time, is a crime against all Humanity, and it must be universally condemned. There can be no statute of limitations on Genocide, and the genocidist state should be denied the territorial, material, or political fruits of Genocide.

2. The Eastern provinces of what is today called Turkey had been Armenian lands for two thousand years before the Turkish armies even entered that part of the world. Despite the murder and expulsion of the proprietor Armenian population, these territories remain no less Armenian today and must be returned to the rightful owners, the Armenian people.

3. As long as Armenians remain in forced exile from their ancestral heartland, subject to cultural assimilation and often more direct pressures, and as long as the handful of Armenians remaining in Turkey are harassed into cultural oblivion, then the genocidal act initiated in 1915 continues. It will cease only when Armenians again occupy their own lands and control their own destiny."

Many would regard these demands as being maximalist, and would, through discussion and compromise, stand at intermediate positions. Indeed, the one demand that is shared universally by Armenians of all walks of life and at all stages of acculturation is for an admission of wrongdoing and the extension of recognition and dignity to the hundreds of thousands of victims whose very memory the Turkish authorities and the rationalizing revisionists would eliminate. Underlying the search for a solution to the

Armenian question is the word "dialogue." It is in dialogue that the beginning of a long and difficult process aimed at ultimate resolution might be achieved. It is not a step without serious risks, and it requires enormous courage. The Turkish government should be encouraged by its friends and allies to take the necessary first step toward the initiation of dialogue. The enervating and harmful malaise of Armeno-Turkish alienation can and must be surmounted. Every person present can assist in that reconciliation through concern for the truth and the rights of peoples to live beyond the specter of genocide and cultural oblivion. Yet, until the elusive, auspicious step toward reconciliation is actually taken, the Armenian people will have no choice but to reiterate time and again George Santayana's admonition, "Those who do not remember the past are condemned to re-live it."



## ABOUT THE AUTHOR

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*Richard G. Hovannisian was born and reared in Tulare, California, a small farming community. Although he did not know the Armenian language well at that time, he developed a strong interest in Armenian history and recalls that he was frequently disappointed not to find the term "Armenia" in books and histories relating to the ancient and modern worlds. This feeling of being "left out" may have been one of the motivations that made him a pioneer in developing a university program in Armenian history and of teaching the subject to hundreds of students over the past twenty years.*

*After completing a B. A. degree in history at the University of California, Berkeley, in 1954, Hovannisian spent an academic year in Beirut, Lebanon, learning the Armenian language. This was a critical period for him, as it opened the way to a lifetime of research, writing, teaching, and lecturing on Armenian subjects. After completing his M. A. degree at Berkeley in 1958 and teaching in the public schools for several years, Hovannisian received his Ph. D. degree in Russian and Near Eastern History at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) in 1962. Beginning in 1962, he introduced survey histories of the Armenian people into the UCLA curriculum and, after serving as an Associate Professor of European and Near Eastern History at Mount Saint Mary's College from 1965 to 1969, became a tenured professor of Armenian studies at UCLA in 1969. As a full professor, he developed an undergraduate, M. A. and Ph. D. curriculum in Armenian history and has had large numbers of undergraduate students and a select group of graduate students under his guidance. Among the courses that Hovannisian introduced into the UCLA curriculum was "Armenian Oral History,"*

*which focuses on the methods and uses of orally-transmitted history and includes live student interviews with Armenian survivors who were born in the Ottoman Empire and subjected to the deportations and deprivations of the 1915-1923 period.*

*Professor Hovannisian's own research concentrates on the history of the Armenian Question and of the shortlived Republic of Armenia. He has undertaken extensive archival studies and research trips in the United States, several European countries, the Middle East, and Armenia. He is the recipient of the prestigious Guggenheim award for original scholarly research, and he has been honored for his scholarly contributions and his community service by the Armenian National Committee of America, the Armenian Professional Society, the United Cultural Committee of Chicago, and the Armenian-American Citizens League. Hovannisian is a founding director of the Armenian Assembly of America and the Society for Armenian Studies, and he represents the state of California on the Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education.*

*Professor Richard Hovannisian is currently Professor of Armenian and Near Eastern History, and the Director of the Near Eastern Center at the University of California, Los Angeles. He is married to Vartiter Kotcholosian-Hovannisian, M. D., and they have four children, Raffi, Armen, Ani, and Garo.*





WORKS BY PROFESSOR RICHARD G. HOVANNISIAN

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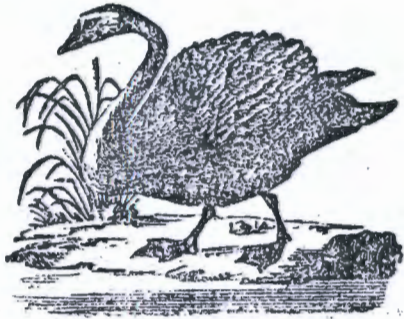
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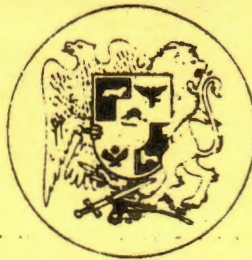
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ARMENIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

212 STUART STREET, BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS 02116 TEL. (617) 426-9842

Materials Presented To:

The Republican National Committee  
1976 Platform Committee

By Representatives Of:

The Armenian National Committee

At Hearings Held:

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## BACKGROUND STATEMENT

-For Committee Use And Consideration-

### THE ARMENIANS:

Historic Armenia, located between the Black, Caspian, and Mediterranean Seas, is the homeland of a nation whose history extends over 3,000 years. The Armenians speak a distinct Indo-European language and most belong to the ancient national (Christian) church.

The history of the Armenians is one of survival against overwhelming odds, of victory over oppressors, and of an indomitable creative spirit that has continuously contributed to world civilization despite frequent foreign domination and even genocide. For instance, many scholars point to the influence which Armenian church architecture and miniature painting have had on European architecture and art.

As recently as 1915-17, an estimated one-and-a-half million Armenians were killed in the "First Genocide of the Twentieth Century," planned and executed by the Turks as a "Final Solution" to the "Armenian Question" -- the issue of equal rights for the Armenians who had endured Turkish mis-rule of their homeland for almost six centuries.

Even from the ashes of the 1915 Holocaust, however, the Armenians created a free but short-lived (1918-20) republic, which collapsed under enemy attacks while the U. S. Senate debated President Wilson's proposed American Mandate for Armenia. Today, a small portion of historic Armenia is incorporated into the USSR as the Armenian SSR, while most of the remainder is still held by Turkey,

desolate and unproductive.

Of today's six million Armenians, over half live in the USSR, with the U.S. having the second largest concentration, estimated at over one-half million. Several hundred thousand live in various crucial countries of the Middle East and Eastern Mediterranean. Others live in Europe and South America, as well as in smaller colonies in Australia, New Zealand, India, and Africa. Those remaining in Turkey have recently been subjected to increased official harassment which has cultural genocide as its goal.

#### GENOCIDE AND THE ARMENIAN QUESTION

A year ago, the Armenians observed the 60th Anniversary of the initiation of the genocide committed against the Armenian people by the Government of the Ottoman Turkish Empire, which planned and organized the murder of more than a million and a half Armenians in Turkish-held Armenia and other parts of the Empire, and the deportation of the remainder of the Armenian population. The stated purpose of that unprecedented act was the elimination of the Armenian Question through the elimination of the Armenians. However, the Armenian people lives, and the Armenian Question is not dead. It demands a solution.

We believe that our observance of the 60th Anniversary of the Genocide of the Armenians served not only to remember and pay tribute to the one-and-a-half million Armenian men, women and children who were killed in the first major Genocide of the twentieth century, but to give evidence of the continued vitality of the Armenian people and of our determination to continue our struggle to regain the territorial and national rights drowned in the blood-bath of 1915-20.

Our observance was a protest against the continued indifference of the world powers who betrayed and abandoned the Armenians in return for economic and other gains promised by a brazen and unrepentant Turkey and a reminder to the repressive regime in Turkey that, despite its pathological denial and distortion of the events of 1915-20, we - the children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren of the victims - will not forget until justice is done. We believe that the time has come.

The time has come for the government of Turkey to acknowledge that the Eastern provinces of what is today called Turkey were Armenian lands for thousands of years before the Turkish armies even entered that part of the world, and to recognize that, despite the murder and expulsion of the proprietor Armenian population, those territories remain no less Armenian today and must be returned to the rightful owners, the Armenian people.

The time has come for the world community to recognize that the



toleration of Genocide and its acceptance as a "solution" to any problem leads only to its repeated use, just as the world's indifference to the Armenian Genocide and its aftermath led Hitler to cite it as a precedent and justification for his own crimes.

Clearly, the time has come for the world to recognize that the use of Genocide as an instrument of national policy by any nation at any time is a crime against all Mankind, that it must be universally condemned, that there can be no statute of limitations on Genocide, and that the genocidist state should be denied the territorial, material, or political fruits of Genocide.

The time has come for the United States Government to commit itself to seeking a just and equitable solution to the Armenian Question through all appropriate and peaceful means available.

The time has come for the United States to re-assume its historic leadership role on behalf of the Armenian people, and the Republican Party - as the party of Abraham Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt and Dwight Eisenhower - is destined to play a critical role in the development, as it has in the past.

#### THE U.S. AS CHAMPION OF ARMENIA

Perhaps more than any other nation, the United States emerged during the period of 1915-20 as the friend of the Armenian people. The twelfth of President Wilson's famous "Fourteen Points", for instance, provided that "the other nationalities which are now under

Turkish rule should be assured undoubted security of life and absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development."

In his book, Ambassador Morgenthau's Story, the U. S. Ambassador to Turkey recorded the chronology of the massacres, much of his information coming from American consular officials and missionaries in the interior. He cites the formation of the labor battalions and the eventual destruction of them, the systematic arrests and murders of the remaining able-bodied men, the unbelievable tortures accompanying "arms-searches," the deportations, the killings, the starvation, the looting, and the raping. "When the Turkish authorities gave the orders for these deportations," says Morgenthau, "they were merely giving the death warrant to a whole race; they understood this well, and, in their conversations with me, they made no particular attempt to conceal the fact." After describing the agonies of the death-caravans, Morgenthau states:

"I have by no means told the most terrible details, for a complete narration of the sadistic orgies of which these Armenian men and women were the victims can never be printed in an American publication. Whatever crimes the most perverted instincts of the human mind can devise, and whatever refinements of persecutions and injustice the most debased imagination can conceive, became the daily misfortunes of this devoted people. I am confident that the whole history of the human race contains no such horrible episode as this. The great massacres and persecutions of the past seem almost insignificant when compared to the suffering of the Armenian race in 1915."

When the war ended, a tiny independent Armenian Republic had

already been miraculously established as a haven in the Caucasus (formerly Russian-held Armenia) in May of 1918, and the remnants of the Armenian Nation looked forward to the return of Turkish-held Armenia to its rightful owners. On January 30, 1919, the Paris Peace Conference "agreed that Armenia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Kurdistan, Palestine, and Arabia must be completely severed from the Turkish Empire..." Meanwhile, President Wilson's espousal of the Armenian Cause had put America in the position of a natural friend and protector, so that, on March 3, 1919, there were presented to the President petitions signed by 25,000 Ministers, Rec-tors, and Priests, by 100 Bishops, 45 Governors, representing both major parties, and 250 college and university Presidents, all calling for American leadership and assistance in strengthening Armenia, in insuring the return of the six Turkish-held Armenian provinces to Armenia, and in securing adequate reparations for Armenian losses in the War.

Since U.S. promises of military and other assistance to Armenia prompted British withdrawal from the region, France sought and received from the U.S. Government, on March 24, an assurance that "there can be no question as to the genuine interest of this government in the plans for Armenia."

In April, 1920, the San Remo Conference officially proposed (1) that the U.S. accept the Armenian mandate, (2) that, whatever the U.S. decision on the mandate, President Wilson define the boundaries

of Armenia, and (3) that the President's arbitration of the Turko-Armenian boundaries be recognized in the Peace Treaty with Turkey. About the same time, on April 23, Kemal Ataturk established his rebel "Provisional Government" in Ankara in defiance of the Western Powers, and, in Cilicia, Kemalists massacred more than 20,000 defenseless Armenians.

While opposing as a general principle (not only in the Armenian instance) the notion of a mandate, the GCP Convention of 1920 voiced its sympathy with the Armenian people as follows:

We deeply sympathize with the people of Armenia and stand ready to help them in all proper ways, but the Republican Party will oppose now and hereafter the acceptance of a mandate for any country in Europe or Asia.

Although Turkey signed the Treaty of Sevres on August 10, 1920, thereby recognizing Armenia and accepting President Wilson's boundary decision, Ataturk rejected the treaty signed by the government in Constantinople and joined in an attack on the infant Armenian Republic in the Caucasus. Thus, when, on November 24, 1920, President Wilson officially conveyed his boundary report returning some 40,000 square miles of Turkish-held Armenia to the Armenians, the Kemalist Turks had already secured their hold on most of Armenia.

On July 24, 1923, the Lausanne Treaty was signed between the "Great Powers" and "new" Turkey - with no mention of Armenia or Armenian rights. The repeated promises formalized at Sevres and

Armenia's just claims against Turkish-held territory, claims officially recognized by President Wilson's arbitration, were ignored. The Armenian Question had been buried... for the time being.

For the record - and to America's credit - it must be noted that there was a wave of protest in America. Led by Gerard, Gompers, and others who had been active friends of the Armenian Cause, an influential Committee Opposed to the Lausanne Treaty waged a three-year fight against American ratification of the separate bi-lateral Turko-American agreement signed at Lausanne.

Many Republican leaders were clearly opposed to the Lausanne agreement, although the GOP Convention of 1924 made no specific mention of it in its platform.

Finally, public opinion prevailed and, on January 18, 1927, the Senate rejected the Lausanne Treaty, an action that had little practical significance for the Armenians, since the bulk of their historic territories, including "Wilsonian" Armenia, remained in Turkish hands. (The remainder had been incorporated into the expanding Soviet Union as a result of the Turko-Soviet alliance that destroyed the Republic, and is today a small and overcrowded (11,000 square miles) "constituent republic" of the USSR).

AMERICA'S CONTINUING RESPONSIBILITY . . . AND RECENT FAILURE:

However, that action of the Senate remains symbolic of the deep moral, historical, and diplomatic obligations and commitments which the United States has toward the peaceful solution of the Armenian Question. Representative of this continuing sense of responsibility toward the Armenian people was the action last April 8 of the U. S. House of Representatives (HJR 148) designating April 24, 1975, as "National Day of Remembrance of Man's Inhumanity to Man," commemorating the 60th anniversary of the 1915 Genocide of the Armenians by the Turks.

Unfortunately, this positive act on the part of the House met with surprisingly ill-conceived opposition from the State Department in what must be viewed as a serious failure of U. S. policy. The Chairman of the Sub-Committee which had considered the resolution, Rep. David Henderson (D-N.C.) was reported in the Congressional Record (H 2510, April 8, 1975) as saying the following:

"With the consent of the Speaker and the majority leader, the joint resolution was put on for consideration today. We have amended the resolution by striking two words in the resolution, which are "in Turkey." This amendment resulted from objections of the State Department set forth in a letter which was transmitted to us yesterday. This has been acceptable to the sponsor of the resolution and those Members who are most interested in designating April 24 a commemorative day as explained."

Congressmen O'Neill and Helstoski, co-authors of the resolution, had apparently anticipated such a problem, as evidenced by the following

excerpt from a letter co-signed by the two (dated February 21, 1975)

and circulated to all members of Congress:

"This resolution is particularly important in light of what transpired at the March 6, 1974, meeting of the United Nations Human Rights Commission. During the consideration of the historical survey to be contained in a Report on Genocide being prepared by the Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities, the Commission acquiesced to a request by the Turkish Representative to delete from the study the brief reference (paragraph 30) to the 1915 Armenian genocide."

"We must not allow the 1915 atrocities to be relegated to oblivion because there is no Armenia in the United Nations to represent the Armenian people. There is ample historical evidence of the deliberate attempt to exterminate the Armenian Nation which cannot and should not be ignored."

Yet, despite the overwhelming evidence to which the honorable congressmen referred, the State Department had indeed put itself in the indefensible and probably uncomfortably embarrassing position of attempting to cover up or throw a cloud over a historic reality of significance to many Americans, simply in order to placate a foreign power. (It should be noted that the U. S. representative to the U. N. Human Rights Commission failed to support the truth, for obvious political reasons.)

Although Secretary Kissinger, in a recent Detroit press conference, denied State Department pressure on this matter, the above quotes clearly indicate that such pressure existed. This pressure is typified by the letter to which Congressman Henderson

referred. The text of that letter, dated April 7, 1975, from Robert J. McCloskey, Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations, clearly stated State Department objection to a resolution memorializing over one-and-a-half million victims of this century's first genocide and included the following particularly objectionable sentence:

"The Government and people of Turkey are extraordinarily sensitive to any action from abroad which can be construed as interference in Turkey's affairs or as official or quasi-official censure of acts which are alleged to have occurred in Turkey, even in the remote past, and would interpret adoption of HJ Resolution 148 as evidence of hostility to Turkey by the Congress."

Thus, in arguing against adoption of the resolution in any form, Mr. McCloskey went beyond simply pointing out Turkey's sensitivity to the truth about its past and by using the phrase, "acts which are alleged to have occurred . . . ," attempts to cast doubt on a historic fact which is as real as the Genocide of the Jews two decades later, and, in fact, served as a precedent for that crime.

For instance, in addressing his commanders on August 22, 1939, at Obersalzberg, a few days before the Nazi invasion of Poland, Hitler said, "Our strength is in our quickness and our brutality . . . For the time being I have sent to the east only my Death's Heads units, with the order to kill without pity or mercy all men, women and children," adding rhetorically, "Who talks nowadays of the extermination of the Armenians?", in an obvious reference to the world's shameless betrayal



of Armenia and the acceptance enjoyed by the Turkish criminals just a few short years after the Genocide.

Today, our own State Department seems eager not only to bury the truth about the Armenians, but to overlook the unprovoked and illegal invasion and continued occupation of Cyprus by Turkey in violation of U. S. arms agreements - all because of the imagined benefits derived from keeping Turkey as a most questionable and ~~un~~dependable ally and because of the alleged strategic value of bases, the most significant of which are actually in Turkish-occupied Armenia.

#### CONCLUSION:

Present-day Turkey is the State which has succeeded to the rights and duties of the former Ottoman Empire under international law, and Turkey today still holds all the land and property illegally seized in 1915 and the subsequent years and refuses to return these to their legitimate owners.

There are express provisions in international law against genocide and illegal seizure of property: the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide of 1948, signed and ratified, among others, by Turkey; the human rights provisions in the Charter of the United Nations; and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948. All of these enactments are declaratory of long-recognized customary rules of international law in existence at the time of the commission of the acts of genocide and illegal seizure. Also a

Resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations of November 26, 1948, decided on the non-applicability of statutory limitations in the case of crimes against humanity.

Justice was promised to the Armenian people in the Declaration of War Aims of the Allies during the First World War, by the victorious Powers after the War, by the Treaty of Sevres of 1920, by President Wilson's Arbitration, by Resolutions of the General Assembly of the League of Nations of September 21, 1921, and September 22, 1922, and by the statements of American and other political leaders over the years.

However, none of the above declarations and undertakings have been implemented, and this ancient people to this date is illegally denied its historic and legal rights by unlawful force and against its free will. Furthermore, the genocide started in 1915 against the Armenians CONTINUES, as long as the Armenians are still not allowed to go back to their ancestral lands and, therefore, are subjected in many lands to a gradual process of losing their identity.

The territorial and national rights of so ancient a nation, so attached to its distinctive culture and history and to the lands it had inhabited for thousands of years, must not be denied when a large part of its homeland lies empty, unproductive, and desolate.

Indeed, the continuation of the present situation creates increasing indignation and resentment among the world's six million

Armenians, as it should among all peace-loving peoples laboring for justice and a better world through respect for the purposes and principles of the United Nations. The protests last April in Washington and New York and in scores of other U. S. cities are expressions of our people's indignation and impatience.

But the Armenian Question is not just an Armenian problem. It is an international problem, the solution of which would benefit the United States and much of the world and would contribute toward a lasting world peace.

For instance, the world is faced with food problems - problems of production and distribution. The Armenian Plateau is now barren and depopulated. It need not be. It can grow wheat and other grains to fight world hunger, and its location makes distribution feasible. The area to the east and south of Mt. Ararat is now little more than a malarial swamp, but it was a great rice producing area when Armenians worked the land. The fact is that the only time in the recorded history of the world when this geographical area has been prosperous with exportable surpluses has been when Armenians have worked the land.

Our Government favors stability in the Middle East, but there is more to the Middle East than Arabs and Jews. There are, for instance, Armenians and Kurds. The natural aspirations of a people such as the Armenians cannot be stifled forever. The Turkish

solution was massacre. The world solution should be better than that. Both Kurds and Armenians can be expected to pursue their respective causes by whatever means seem to offer the most promise. U. S. policy can help determine what means Armenians will choose.

The world has witnessed for many years a "Super-power" struggle characterized by attempts to win "the hearts and minds" of other peoples and nations. This struggle, which continues in various forms, has also been characterized by repeated betrayals by both sides of adherents sought and "won." In this context, the natural sympathies of the people of the United States for the Armenian people have been demonstrated many times, but the official actions of the United States Government have rarely reflected the feelings of the people of the United States insofar as Armenian interests are concerned. Indeed, it seems that the United States Government has singled out the Armenian Case for "benign neglect." The point is this: Should the smaller nations - whether states or stateless - ever conclude that it does not pay to be a friend of the United States, it will be a major loss to the United States.

Over the past several decades, the conduct of the U. S. Foreign policy has apparently gradually changed from a set of rather clearly definable principles to something called pragmatism. Pragmatism may, in this case, be defined as acting in ones own best interests regardless of principle. The strength of such pragmatism is that

it does not require the United States to be consistent in its foreign policy. The weakness of pragmatism is that it depends exclusively upon the skill of the practitioner of foreign policy to determine that which in his judgement is in the best interests of the United States. The essence of democracy is in the system by which the majority determines for itself that which is in the best interests of the majority. As a consequence, it may be argued that pragmatism in the conduct of foreign policy, as opposed to well defined principles, is the antithesis of democracy. The current conflict between the Administration and the Congress on matters of foreign policy is at least evidence that pragmatism and the practitioners of pragmatism are under scrutiny.

Armenians in the United States are not content to see the United States become just another country. The United States was founded upon principle, not self-interest. The United States must never be placed in the position whereby the world can point out cynically that the United States regards its slogans of freedom and justice for all as applying only to Americans.

In this Bi-centennial year, the United States should reaffirm the principles upon which it was founded and declare to the world that it will stand by the principles in its conduct of its affairs, foreign and domestic. The Preamble to the Constitution and the Bill of Rights should offer ample guidance to those responsible for the conduct of Foreign affairs to distinguish between those governments

who, by their behavior toward their own people as well as toward others, deserve enlightened American interest, and hence support, and those which do not.

Unfortunately, the situation which the Armenian people face is not an isolated aberration in an otherwise well-ordered world. The tragedy of the Armenian situation can, has, and will most probably be visited upon others as well. In the slow and painful efforts of nations to seek devices by which the world can live in relative harmony, certain positive developments have taken place. A forum for seeking peaceful solutions to the problems to the world has been created in the United Nations organization. However, the structure of the UN does not normally allow for any truly meaningful participation by peoples not represented by a national government. Thus, the Armenians are denied the means to confront those whose Genocidal "solution" is responsible for the non-existence of a free Armenia.

However, Article 14 of the Charter of the United Nations provides that " . . . the General Assembly may recommend measures for the peaceful adjustment of any situation, regardless of origin, which it deems likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations, including situations resulting from a violation of the provisions of the present Charter setting forth the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations."

Thus, it would be possible for the Government of the United States to propose, under Rule 13 (e) of the Rules of Procedure of the General Assembly of the United Nations and in the spirit of the

Charter of the United Nations, the inclusion of the Armenian Question in the Agenda of the General Assembly of the United Nations for discussion to the end that justice be done to the Armenian people through peaceful means.

As Americans, we are concerned that what seems to be the current Administration's policy of ignoring, or worse, covering up the truth about the Armenian Genocide and about the current realities of the Armenian Case is unnecessarily antagonizing and alienating the world's six million Armenians and is driving some to the conclusion that so-called "civilized" nations will not listen to peaceful appeals from the disinherited and dispossessed nations of the world.

We believe and we expect that America will provide the moral leadership necessary to take the first and long-overdue steps toward an equitable solution to the Armenian Question. It is not a question of "reviving" an old issue. The issue is alive. The cause is alive. The question is whether the U.S. will contribute toward a peaceful solution or not? The question is: Will we be on the right side, on the morally-defensible side, or not?

As the Party of marked justice in the conduct of world affairs, the Republican Party must stand with us - for justice.

SUMMARY STATEMENT

- To Be Presented Orally -

Two hundred years ago, our nation committed itself to oppose tyranny and oppression, and began its historic struggle for independence. From that time to the present, that commitment has given hope and inspiration to millions of victims of persecution and oppression all over the world, many of whom have found refuge in our country.

As we recall the glorious events of 200 years ago, let us also remember that 60 years ago, hundreds of thousands of Armenians fled in terror from their ancient homeland, where one-and-a-half million of their brothers and sisters were massacred. The world was shocked, for here was a deliberate attempt by the Turkish authorities of that time to exterminate the Armenian people. The word genocide was not known then, but in time, the Armenian massacres were to become known as "the first genocide of the Twentieth Century". It should be also noted, however, that from the ashes of the 1915 Holocaust, the Armenians created a free, but short-lived (1918-20) republic, which collapsed under Turkish and Soviet attacks, while the U.S. Senate debated President Wilson's proposed American Mandate for Armenia. Today, a small portion of historic Armenia is incorporated into the USSR as the Armenian SSR, while most of the remainder is still held by Turkey, desolate and unproductive.

Many prominent Republican leaders joined their fellow citizens of Armenian heritage last year in honoring the memory of those victims of



a precedental act of Genocide, in the hope that the conscience of the world can bring a halt to senseless slaughter, an end to all human suffering, and the beginning of an era of justice for all people, including the Armenians.

The stated purpose of these observances was "to demonstrate to the nations of the world, through united action, that the Armenians are not ready to permit the Turks to bury the Armenian Case through their act of genocide," and that, "more than ever before, the Armenian people, stands united in championing fully its just demands" and "is determined to defend its rights." The number of Armenian-Americans lending their moral and material support and bringing their direct participation to the pursuit of Armenian political and territorial demands is growing like never before, a sign that efforts to "bury the Armenian Case" are doomed to failure and serve only to strengthen Armenian determination.

A case in point is the shameful occurrence of two years ago (March 5, 1974) during the United Nations Human Rights Commission's consideration of subcommission Report on Genocide, when representatives of several member states spoke in support of a move by Turkey to remove from the report a brief reference to the 1915 genocide of the Armenians, a single sentence that does not even mention Turkey.

To advance his position, the Turkish Permanent Representative, Ambassador Osman Olcay, presented a distorted and one-sided view of the genocide, while, under obvious political motivation, not one representative in the Human Rights Commission rose to confront the Turkish

delegate and brand his "version" as a horrifying attempt to justify mass murder. NOT EVEN THE UNITED STATES DELEGATE! The fact is that everyone in the Commission knows full well what happened in 1915, but they are willing to forsake the truth for other reasons, including NATO ties with Turkey.

That action of the UN Human Rights Commission and the U. S. representative resulted in a flood of mail to every foreign delegation involved, and to Ambassador Scali, Secretary of State Kissinger, The President, and many members of Congress. Many congressional leaders, including Majority Leader O'Neill, joined us in our outrage, particularly in regard to statements made by the U. S. representative. Demonstrations and rallies in every major city and at the UN protested the sad attempt to re-write history.

A similar effort by the State Department involved House Joint Resolution 148, co-authored by Congressmen O'Neill and Helstoski and adopted by the U. S. House of Representatives last year, on April 8, 1975. The resolution designated April 24, 1975, as a "National Day of Remembrance of Man's Inhumanity to Man" in commemoration of the 60th Anniversary of the Armenian Genocide. As documented in our Background Statement, the State Department intervened in an effort to stop the resolution from passing at all and was successful in deleting the words "in Turkey" from the resolution. In the process, one State Department official went so far as to callously refer to the brutal and precedental act of genocide as "acts which are alleged to have

occurred in Turkey" - an offensive statement for which the Armenian-American community still awaits an apology.

There have been unfortunately many such attempts in recent years - some of them temporarily successful and too often involving our Government. But the net result is that the Armenian Question - which the Turkish Government had sought to drown in the blood bath of 1915 and which it seeks to bury by behind-the-scene maneuvering today - is very much alive. For our State Department to continue to ignore that fact or to support futile Turkish efforts to escape the truth is simply unrealistic and counter-productive. A full re-examination of our disastrous pro-Turkish policy of recent years is long overdue. That re-examination must include the Armenian Question as it relates to Turkish-held Armenia.

Present-day Turkey is the State which has succeeded to the rights and duties of the former Ottoman Empire under international law, and Turkey today still holds all the land and property illegally seized in 1915 and the subsequent years and refuses to return these to their legitimate owners.

There are express provisions in international law against genocide and illegal seizure of property, all of them declaratory of long-recognized customary rules of international law in existence at the time of the commission of the acts of genocide and illegal seizure.

Justice was promised to the Armenian people in the Declaration of War Aims of the Allies during the First World War, by the victorious

Powers after the War, by the Treaty of Sevres of 1920, by President Wilson's Arbitration, by Resolutions of the General Assembly of the League of Nations, and by the statements of American and other political leaders over the years.

However, none of these declarations and promises have been implemented, and this ancient people to this date is illegally denied its historic and legal rights by unlawful force and against its will. Furthermore, the genocide started in 1915 against the Armenians CONTINUES, as long as the Armenians are still not allowed the option of going back to their ancestral lands and, therefore, are in many lands gradually losing their identity. Those remaining in Turkey are now being subjected to an official policy of cultural genocide.

The territorial and national rights of so ancient a nation, so attached to its distinctive culture and history and to the lands it had inhabited for thousands of years, must not be denied when a large part of its homeland lies empty, unproductive, and desolate.

Indeed, the continuation of the present situation creates increasing indignation and resentment among the world's six million Armenians, as it should among all peace-loving peoples laboring for justice and a better world. The protests last April in Washington and New York and in scores of other U. S. cities are expressions of our people's indignation and impatience.

As Americans, we are concerned that the current administration's apparent policy of ignoring or, worse, covering up the truth about the Armenian Genocide and about the current realities of the Armenian Case is unnecessarily antagonizing and alienating the world's six million Armenians and is driving some to the conclusion that so-called "civilized" nations will not listen to peaceful appeals from the disinherited and dispossessed nations of the world.

We believe and we expect that America will provide the moral leadership necessary to take the first and long-overdue steps toward an equitable solution to the Armenian Question. It is not a question of "reviving" an old issue. The issue is alive. The cause is alive. The question is whether the U.S. will contribute toward a peaceful solution or not. The question is: Will we be on the right side, on the morally-defensible side, or not.

The Republican Party must stand with us - for justice - for it is in the traditions of Republicanism to champion justice - at home and abroad.

THE EVIDENCE OF  
THE GENOCIDE

APPENDICES/ADDENDA



## ARMENIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

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### THE EVIDENCE OF THE GENOCIDE

By any standards this was surely the most unprecedented, indeed the most unimaginable racial annihilation, until then, in modern history. Nevertheless, apparently unconcerned by the enormity of their affront to civilization, the members of the Young Turk regime continued to view the "deportations" as nothing more than effective diplomacy, the realization of Abdul Hamid's injunction that "the best way to finish with the Armenian Question is to finish with the Armenians."

Howard M. Sachar  
*Emergence of the Middle East 1914-1924*  
(Knopf, 1969)

From May until October the Ottoman Government pursued methodically a plan of extermination far more hellish than the worst possible massacre. Orders for deportation of the entire Armenian population to Mesopotamia were despatched to every province of Asia Minor. These orders were explicit and detailed. No hamlet was too insignificant to be missed. The news was given by town criers that every Armenian was to be ready to leave at a certain hour for an unknown destination. There were no exceptions for the aged, the ill, the women in pregnancy.

Dr. Herbert A. Gibbons,  
*The Blackest Page of Modern History*  
(Putnam, New York 1916)

In 1915 there occurred a "final solution" which is now almost forgotten, the deliberate extermination of the Armenians by the Turks. The Armenian "problem" was solved by the massacre or deportation of some 1,750,000 men, women and children from the Armenian provinces of Turkey. Over a million died or disappeared through massacres in Turkey or during the forced marches to the deserts of the Turkish eastern territories—the areas which were later to become Syria and Iraq.

Roger Manvell and Heinrich Fraenkel,  
*The Incomparable Crime*  
(Putman 1967)

The evidence of a planned and systematic genocide is overwhelming, as the following quotes—a brief sampling from thousands of readily available, authoritative, non-Armenian sources—indicate:

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

I have by no means told the most terrible details, for a complete narration of the sadistic orgies of which these Armenian men and women were the victims can never be printed in an American publication. Whatever crimes the most perverted instincts of the human mind can devise, and whatever refinements of persecutions and injustice the most debased imagination can conceive, became the daily misfortunes of this devoted people. I am confident that the whole history of the human race contains no such horrible episode as this. The great massacres and persecutions of the past seem almost insignificant when compared to the sufferings of the Armenian race in 1915.

Henry Morgenthau,  
*Ambassador Morgenthau's Story*  
(Doubleday, Garden City 1918)

A foreign witness has said that these deportation columns were merely a polite form of massacre, but in reality they were infinitely worse and more heartless; for instead of instant death they forced the victims to undergo all sorts of inhuman sufferings, while this cowardly and barbarous plan was to save the face of the authorities by posing as a necessary military measure. From June till August 1915, the hottest time of year when the victims were most likely to succumb, these processions of death wended their way endlessly from all the vilayets and towns where there were Armenians southwards in the direction of the desert.

Fridtjof Nansen  
(High Commissioner for Refugees, League of Nations)  
*Armenia and the Near East*  
(New York 1928)

**AND** HITLER cited the Armenian Genocide with the comment, "WHO TALKS NOWADAYS OF THE EXTERMINATION OF THE ARMENIANS? THE WORLD BELIEVES IN SUCCESS ONLY.?"



FEATURE

Terrorism

## Armenian Terrorism: A Profile

by Andrew Corsun  
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### Introduction

Since the advent of modern Armenian terrorism in 1975, the world has witnessed a terrorist campaign that has resulted in at least 170 attacks directed primarily against Turkish installations and diplomatic personnel outside of Turkey's borders.

Enraged over the alleged massacre of 1.5 million Armenians by Turkey during World War I, and the loss of their homeland, Armenians unlike Jews tried and failed as propagandists to focus the world's attention on their grievances.<sup>1</sup>

By resorting to terrorism, Armenian extremists were able to accomplish in 7 years what legitimate Armenian organizations have been trying to do for almost 70 years—internationalize the Armenian cause.

Terrorism may not be able to ease the pain of past agonies, but it is an effective tactic in evoking international sympathy for a previously unknown (or forgotten) cause. How many people had heard of the Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA) or their cause before they bombed the headquarters of the World Council of Churches in Beirut on January 20, 1975? The same can be said for the Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide (JCAG) who gained "prominence" on October 22, 1975, with the assassination of the Turkish Ambassador to Vienna, Dennis Tunaligil. Since then, Armenian extremists have waged a successful campaign against Turkish interests that in recent years has expanded to include Western targets as well.

### The Seeds of Conflict

According to historians, Armenia is believed to be not only the oldest of the

civilized races of Western Asia (dating to pre-1200 B.C.), but eventually grew to become one of the strongest kingdoms in that region. Geographically, Armenia was straddling the crossroads of the world and thus became the victim of many invasions. With the fall of Constantinople in 1453, the Turks finally ruled all the lands that once belonged to Armenians and held them for 465 years.

Since we are interested in the cause-and-effect relationship history has played regarding the recent outbreak of Armenian terrorist activities against Turkish diplomats and establishments, we will jump ahead in time to the Ottoman Empire of the late 19th century.

With the rise of nationalism throughout Europe, the Armenian struggle for autonomy and modernization took on new vigor in the 1880s, and the Armenians began to form political organizations for self-protection and as a vehicle to voice their desire for a free Armenia. One such organization was the Dashnaksutiun (Armenian Revolutionary Federation) which was founded in 1890 in Tiflis, Georgia.

In a multiethnic state, such as the Ottoman Empire, nationalism was viewed by the Turks as a serious internal threat. The result was harsher repression by the Ottoman government which led to thousands of Armenian deaths in 1895. With the rise of the Young Turks in 1908, its policy of pan-Turanism led to even harsher measures in suppressing Armenian nationalism. On April 17 and 24, 1909, over 30,000 Armenians were massacred in Adana and other villages along the Cilician plains in order to suppress the national ambitions of the Armenian people.

With the advent of World War I, the stage was set for what was later alleged to be called the first "genocide" of the



(Gamma)

September 24, 1981, Paris. Four Armenian terrorists seized the Turkish Consulate and threatened to kill more than 20 hostages. A Turkish security guard was killed and three others were wounded (one of the terrorists, a Turkish Vice Consul, and a French security guard). The terrorists, who claimed to be members of the Yeghia Keshishian Commando of ASALA, demanded that all Armenian political prisoners be released from Turkish jails within 12 hours. As the deadline passed and the terrorists realized that the Turkish Government would not negotiate, the terrorists decided to accept a French Government offer of political asylum. Once in custody, however, the French Government stated that their offer was a ploy and that the terrorists would be treated as criminals. During a news conference in Beirut following this incident, ASALA leaders stated that their commandos were willfully deceived and that the promise made by the French Government must be kept or "there is no doubt that there will be a confrontation between them and us." (As of this publication date, the political/criminal status of the terrorists remains undetermined.) This was the first incident of Armenian terrorists seizing a diplomatic mission.



20th century. Turkey entered the war on the side of Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire on October 31, 1914, and offered autonomy to the Armenians if they would foment dissension behind the Russian lines. Partly out of distrust of the Young Turks, and encouraged by the principle of self-determination, they refused.

Turkey viewed this attitude as treasonous, especially in light of the fact that it (Turkey) was suffering heavy military reversals. Minister of Interior Taalat Bey ordered "the elimination of the Armenian element, which had been trying for centuries to undermine the foundation of the state." By 1915 the Turks ordered a mass deportation of Armenians from Turkish Armenia to Syria and Iraq. It was later alleged that 1.5 million people (approximately 60% of the Turkish Armenian population) were killed or died on the journey.

With the conclusion of the war, the Western Powers established the Independent Republic of Armenia on May 28, 1918, which was later guaranteed by the treaty of Sevres, and signed on August 10, 1920, by Turkey, the Allied Powers, and Armenia. But due to the pressures exerted by the Turks and Communists, the new republic collapsed, and by December 2, 1920, Armenia was Sovietized and its territories to the west were awarded to Turkey.

The basis for their grievances, as perceived by the Armenians, is not only the restoration of their homeland but to seek justice for the alleged mass murders (1894-96, 1909, 1915) of more than 1.5 million people. It is these issues that have fostered the armed struggle by Armenian extremists against Turkish diplomats and establishments around the world.

During the diaspora of 1915, many Armenians fled to Lebanon which has long been regarded as a refuge for dispossessed minorities. Although the Armenian community (approximately 200,000) in Lebanon had flourished and played a vital role in Lebanese life, by the 1970s they became caught-up in the internecine fighting that had overtaken Lebanon. When the Phalangists (Catholic Christian rightists) decided to use the Armenian section of east Beirut, known as Bourj Hammoud, to launch their attacks against the adjacent Muslim section called Naba'a, a split

resulted within the Armenian community. Some Armenians felt that they had a duty to take up arms on behalf of their Christian brothers, while others, mainly left-wing Armenian youth through their close contact (via the universities and the proximity of their neighborhoods) with their Palestinian counterparts, realized they shared a similar situation—they had lost their land, had a large diaspora community, and the use of legal methods to bring their cause to world attention had failed. The left-wing Armenian youth began to form their own groups (e.g., ASALA) with the aid of the Palestinians, and links between the two were formed. Many of these youths also moved to the Palestinian section of west Beirut. With the political success that the Palestinians have achieved through terrorism, it is not surprising that these left-wing Armenian youths would choose the same path. The growing sympathy and support that these youths have gained within the worldwide Armenian community had forced the right-wing Armenians to set up their own group (JCAG), but for different goals and objectives.

## Terrorist Activities

Terrorism is certainly not a new tactic for Armenian extremists. At the end of World War I, the Dashnag decided it would carry out its own executions of those Ottoman leaders they believed were responsible for the "genocide" of the Armenian people. As a result, a network called Nemesis was established to track down and execute those Ottoman leaders.

On March 15, 1921, the former Ottoman Minister of Interior Taalat Bey—who was living in Berlin under the pseudonym Ali Sayi Bey—was shot and killed at point-blank range after being under surveillance for 2 weeks by Soghoman Tehlirian. Others who met the same fate at the hands of Nemesis were the Ottoman Foreign Minister Said Halim, who was assassinated in Rome in December 1921, and Behaeddin Shakir and Djimal Azmi, two Ottoman officials who were killed a year later in Berlin. It is unknown what became of Nemesis following the incidents of the early 1920s. Yet one must wonder why Armenian extremists have waited over 60

years to carry out their armed struggle. Were they perhaps fulfilling the prophecy of Taalat who in 1915 said, "There will be no Armenian question for 50 years," or (a more plausible explanation) are the times such that terrorism has become an acceptable vehicle for protest?

Whatever the reason, since returning to the scene in 1975, Armenian terrorists have claimed responsibility for over 170 incidents which includes the assassination of 21 Turkish diplomats and / or family members, and 10 attempted assassinations of Turkish diplomats. Although the tactic of assassination has been used repeatedly, the majority of their operations have been bombings which are simple in construction and design. Unlike the Irish Republican Army (IRA), which favors remote-control devices, Armenian terrorists have been partial to a Czechoslovakian-manufactured plastic called Semtex-H. In the overwhelming majority of cases, this device is set at such an hour to cause property damage and not cost lives.

Operationally Armenian terrorists must be viewed as unsophisticated in comparison with other groups since they have never shown the inclination or ability to hit a hard target. The only exceptions were the seizure of the Turkish Consulate in Paris on September 24, 1981, and the attempted assassination of the Turkish Consul General in Rotterdam on July 21, 1982, both of which failed. In the seizure of the consulate, the four terrorists eventually surrendered without any of their demands being met. In Rotterdam the consul general, who was traveling to work in an armored car and escorted by two police vehicles, was attacked by four terrorists. The assailants opened fire with automatic weapons—which proved ineffective against the armored car—and as they attempted to flee the area, one of the attackers was shot and captured. Their bombings and assassinations required the minimum of logistical planning.

While no one can dispute their success, nevertheless, it is such spectacular operations as airport attacks, kidnappings, and assassinations of well-protected political officials that generate maximum publicity and impact which is so important to the terrorists *raison d'etre*.



## FEATURE

### Terrorism

Of the 21 Turkish diplomats / family members slain between 1975-July 1982, 14 were killed while in their car which was stopped at a light, slowing before entering a busy intersection, or parked. And of the 10 attempted assassinations of Turkish diplomats, 8 took place while the diplomat was in his vehicle. These vehicle attacks were carried out by assassination teams armed primarily with 9mm automatic weapons. The teams varied in size from a lone gunman used in eight attacks to two assailants with a third member in a waiting car. With the exception of the July 21 attack in Rotterdam, the diplomatic vehicles that were involved in these attacks were not armored, and the only protective security (if any) was a driver/bodyguard.

#### JCAG and ASALA

While Armenian extremists have carried attacks under 19 operational names, the main terrorists groups are the Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide (JCAG) and the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA).<sup>2</sup> On the surface these two groups appear to be united by a common goal. However, a closer look at their communiques, and targeting, reveals that their methods and objectives are quite different.

**Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide.** Unlike ASALA, which is Marxist oriented and adheres to the philosophy of Scientific Socialism, JCAG appears more closely aligned with the policies of the right-wing Dashnag party. The goals of the Dashnag are to reclaim their lost homeland, as specified in the treaty of Sevres, and to seek reparations and recognition of the crimes committed against their people by Turkey; and they seek a solution similar to Germany's admission of guilt and reparations to Israel after World War II. JCAG, in its communiques, appears to strive for these same goals. Following the assassination of the Turkish Ambassadors to Vienna and Paris in October and December of 1975 respectively, JCAG, in a follow-up communique entitled "To all the Peoples and Governments" wrote:

Let the world realize that we will lay down our arms only when the Turkish Government officially denounces the genocide perpetrated

#### ARMENIAN TERRORISM: INCIDENTS, BY YEAR

1973	3
1975	6
1976	2
1977	8
1978	9
1979	29
1980	38
1981	47
1982 - July 26	22

#### AREAS OF OPERATIONS: NUMBER OF INCIDENTS, 1973 - JULY 26, 1982

FRANCE	33
SWITZERLAND	25
ITALY	20
LEBANON	16
UNITED STATES	15
SPAIN	11
TURKEY	11
ENGLAND	5
IRAN	5
DENMARK	4
BELGIUM	3
CANADA	3
GREECE	3
WEST GERMANY	3
AUSTRIA	1
AUSTRALIA	1
IRAQ	1
NETHERLANDS	2
PORTUGAL	1
USSR	1

by Turkey in 1915 against the Armenian people and agrees to negotiate with Armenian representatives in order to reinstate justice.

And following the bombings in New York City and Los Angeles on October 12, 1980, JCAG stated:

We make clear that our struggle today against the Turkish Government is not to be regarded as revenge for the 1915 genocide in which 1.5 million Armenian men, women, and children were massacred. Our struggle today is directed to have the Turkish Government to admit to its responsibility for that murderous act, as well as to return to the Armenian people the lands taken forceably and today occupied by the imperialist Turkish Government since the genocide. We demand once again that the Turkish Government admit its responsibility for the genocide of 1915 and make appropriate territorial and financial reparations to the long-suffering Armenian people.

This theme remains constant in all their communiques to February 1982 with the assassination of the honorary Turkish Consul to Boston, Orhan Gunduz. In Paris JCAG said that:

The shooting was to reaffirm the permanence of our demands. The Turkish Government must recognize the responsibility of its predecessors in 1915 in the execution and genocide perpetrated against the Armenian people, and it must clearly condemn it. Secondly, the Turkish Government must recognize the right of the Armenian people to constitute a free and independent state of Armenian land which Turkey illegally occupies.

Because ideology affects the operational strategy of a terrorist group, JCAG concentrated its operation solely on Turkish interests. The one possible exception was the January 1980 triple bombing of the offices of Swiss Air, TWA, and British Airlines in Madrid. At first JCAG claimed credit for the bombing, but in a later phone call to the local press, the caller said that JCAG was not responsible for the bombing and, in fact, condemned it.

As the group name implies, of the 22 operations carried out by JCAG, 10 of the operations were assassinations (resulting in 12 deaths), 6 were attempted assassinations, and 6 were bombings.

**Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia.** Whereas JCAG's stance on the Armenian question appears compatible with traditional Armenian political beliefs, ASALA,

whose communiques are replete with Marxist-Leninist rhetoric, considers the Armenian question part of the international revolutionary movement, and they seek closer ties with Soviet Armenia.

For the first 4½ years of its existence, ASALA concentrated its attacks (the sole exception being the bombing of the headquarters of the World Council of Churches in Beirut in January 1975) on Turkish installations and diplomatic personnel. During this period, ASALA was in the process of enlarging its organization and base of operations in



preparation for entering its second and current phase.

Our second step was only possible due to the successful completion of our first step which had politicized the Armenian youth enough to gain their support in the second step. This second step contains four new developments: (1) heavy assault on imperialist and Zionist and reactionary forces; (2) a much greater frequency of attacks; (3) direct communication with the Armenian masses and international opinion; and (4) strong ties with other revolutionary organizations including operational ties with the Kurdish Workers Party [of Turkey].<sup>3</sup>

No doubt this "second step," which began on November 13, 1979, in Paris with the triple bombing of the airline offices of KLM, Lufthansa, and Turkish Airlines, was influenced by ASALA's close cooperation with the Palestinians, most notably the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP). In a follow-up com-

munique to this attack, ASALA set the theme for future operations.

Let imperialism and its collaborators all over the world know that their institutions are targets for our heroes and will be destroyed. We will kill and destroy because that is the only language understood by imperialism.

While ASALA has done its share of assassinating Turkish officials (nine), nevertheless, half of their bombings are directed against Western targets. The group, operating under various *ad hoc* commando names, has taken it upon itself to carry out "military operations" against any country which attempts to jail or try one of its commandos. Examples of this can be seen with the arrest on October 3, 1980, in Geneva of two Armenian extremists—Suzy Mahseredjian and Alex Yenikomechian—who were arrested after a bomb they were making accidentally exploded in their hotel room. Until their eventual release on January 12, 1981, and February 9, 1981, respectively, ASALA—using the name October 3 Organization—in a 4-month period carried out 18 bombings against Swiss interests worldwide in an effort to force the Swiss to release their comrades. The two extremists received 18-month suspended sentences and were barred from Switzerland for 15 years.

On June 9, 1981, Mardiros Jamgotchian was caught in the act of assassinating a Turkish diplomat—Mehmet-Savas Yorguz—outside the Turkish Consulate in Geneva. From the time of his arrest on June 9 to his trial on December 19 (he was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment), ASALA, using the name June 9 Organization, perpetrated 15 bombings against Swiss targets worldwide. After Jamgotchian's trial, ASALA, again using the name Swiss Armenian Group 15, has, to date, carried out five bombings against Swiss targets.

Switzerland is not the only country that has been targeted by ASALA; Italy, France, and most recently Canada have been victims of ASALA's wrath. On May 31, 1982, three alleged ASALA members were arrested for attempting to bomb the Air Canada cargo building at Los Angeles International Airport. It is suspected that this bombing was in retaliation for the May 18 and 20 arrests



## FEATURE

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of four alleged ASALA members / sympathizers by the Toronto police for extortion.

It is interesting to note that JCAG has two alleged members in jail in the United States, and they have never launched any terrorist campaign against the United States. The two alleged members are Harout Sassounian, who was arrested and found guilty of the October 1980 firebombing of the home of the Turkish Consul to Los Angeles, Kemal Arikan, and Harout's brother Harry, who was arrested and charged as being one of the assailants in the assassination of Kemal Arikan on January 28, 1982. At this writing, he is awaiting trial.

No terrorist group is monotheistic, and neither are the Armenians. Both groups share a common bond, yet they are quite different when it comes to achieving their goals. This difference is also mentioned in their communiqués. Following the assassination of the Turkish Consul General by JCAG in Sydney, Australia, on December 17, 1980, a woman called the local Australian press to emphasize that her group had no connection with the so-called Armenian Secret Army (aka ASALA) and that the group's attacks were aimed at Turkish diplomats and Turkish institutions. On April 4, 1981, *Le Reveil*, Beirut's Rightist Christian daily, received a phone call from an alleged JCAG member who claimed that his group was not connected with ASALA and that JCAG's attacks are "reprisal measures for the injustice committed against the Armenians; our targets are the Turks, and Turkish institutions."

Even ASALA has made reference to this difference. Hagop Hagopian (the ASALA spokesman) in an interview for *Panorama* magazine said:

The Dashnag party is trying to imitate us [ASALA] in order to regain lost ground. The April 18, 1980, operation in Rome against the Turkish Ambassador to the Vatican was organized by the Dashnags who use the name of a revolutionary group, the Avenger Commandos of the Armenian Genocide.

As for international connections with other groups, it appears that only ASALA, through its relationship with the PFLP and the DFLP, has benefited from any training and logistical support

that the Palestinians can provide. When asked if Palestinians used to train Turkish terrorists in their camps, Mr. Abu Firas, the chief Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) representative in Turkey replied:

In our camps, we train them to be terrorists in their countries but to fight against Israel. For this reason, we cannot be held responsible for training them. Since Armenians are citizens of Lebanon, we also train them to fight for the liberation of Palestine.

Although there have been reports of links between Armenian terrorists and Greek Cypriots, Greeks, and even the Soviets, outside of the assistance that ASALA has received from the Palestinians, there is no proof that Armenian terrorists are plugged into any international terrorist network.

### Conclusion

While Armenian terrorism has evoked a greater interest in and awareness of the Armenian question throughout the world, the chances of Armenians attaining their major objectives through terrorism are nebulous at best. This has been exemplified by the PLO, IRA, Croatians, etc. A viable solution to the Armenian question will only come about through political means (e.g., United Nations, lobbyist groups, etc.) and / or compromise on both sides. Yet, until such a path is followed—if ever—the issues will be kept fresh in the public's mind through acts of terrorism.

Although ASALA is based in west Beirut and JCAG in east Beirut, on the surface it would appear that the recent Israeli invasion of Lebanon has not affected the operational capabilities of Armenian terrorists as witnessed by the July 20 and 24 bombings of two Paris cafes by the Orly Organization and the July 21 attempted assassination of the Turkish Consul General in Rotterdam by the Armenian Red Army.

Yet on closer examination, the bombings of the two cafes are the types of low-level operations that can be carried out by indigenous cells independent of instructions from Beirut. While an attempted assassination of an individual traveling in an armored car with a police escort requires detailed planning, the attack against the consul general appeared

hastily organized and very amateurish in its execution. One possible explanation for its failure was that Beirut was unable to provide the hit team with proper guidance and logistical coordination.

Although ASALA's attack on Ankara's airport on August 7, 1982, was the first airport attack by Armenian extremists, this suicide operation was designed to obtain maximum publicity and did not require elaborate planning or execution.

JCAG has emerged virtually unscathed from the invasion, and it is only a matter of time before ASALA can regroup in another country. France, with its large Armenian population and geostrategic location in Western Europe, has been mentioned as a possible base of operation for ASALA. Wherever they find a "home," what remains to be seen is the type of strategy and tactics they pursue once they are able to fully renew their operations.

### NOTE

Because the historical record of the 1915 events in Asia Minor is ambiguous, the Department of State does not endorse allegations that the Turkish Government committed a genocide against the Armenian people. Armenian terrorists use this allegation to justify in part their continuing attacks on Turkish diplomats and installations.

<sup>1</sup>The number of Armenians killed in 1915 is a central issue in the dispute between Armenians and Turkey. The Armenian community contends that those killed in 1915 were part of a genocide against Armenians orchestrated by the Turkish Government. Turkey on the other hand states that, at most, 200,000 Armenians died, and their deaths were not the result of a planned massacre but rather the tragedies of war in which many Turks also lost their lives. It is for this reason that Turkey refuses to acknowledge any guilt or make any sort of restitution / compensation to descendants or survivors, as Germany did for Israel after World War II.

<sup>2</sup>By operating under many different names, the terrorists hope to give the impression of the existence of numerous groups, implying a broader base of support within the worldwide Armenian community.

<sup>3</sup>The Kurds, who were pressed into military service under the Ottoman Empire, played an important role in the liquidation and massacre of Armenians through World War I. ■