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ASSEMBLY OF
TURKISH
AMERICAN
ASSOCIATIONS

P.O. Box 19063
Washington, DC 20036
Telephone 202/293-4670

August 29, 1984

Mr. Linas Kojelis
Associate Director
Office of Public Liaison
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Kojelis:

Last June, you were gracious enough to meet with Mr. Ali Ferda Sevin, First Vice President of the Assembly of Turkish American Associations, and me to discuss some of the problems faced by Turkish Americans in this country. At that time you offered to make introductions to various Commissions and/or Departments within the Administration, when and if necessary. We are deeply grateful for this.

Now, the attached article has appeared in an Armenian newspaper. Please read it. It is not actually clear whether the Holocaust Council has actually invited the formation of this Armenian Committee, whether the invitation came from one man--Set Momjian (an Armenian member of the Council)--or whether this is all wishful thinking on the part of the Armenian Assembly. Whatever the origins may be, we feel strongly that the civil rights of the Turkish Americans will be affected, given the known nature of what the Armenians hope to include. The Holocaust Memorial concept originated out of a desire to expose Genocide. The Civil War of 1915 has been shown conclusively not to be a genocide by reputable scholars. One of the exhibits which the Armenians hope to include, for example, is a quotation allegedly made by Hitler; this quotation has been shown to be a forgery by numerous scholars, including (more recently) an Armenian scholar, as disclosed by the ARMENIAN REPORTER on August 2, 1984!

The circulation and exhibition of forged "historical" documents and their preservation in a federally-supported institution runs counter to the civil rights of innocent Turkish Americans.

It is hard for us to believe that, despite all the evidence which debunks the Armenian claims of a Genocide, a government-sponsored agency can be preparing to proceed to exhibit false history. We need your guidance on this and whatever entree you can provide to bring this matter to a successful conclusion.

Please choose a time when Mr. Sevin and I can meet with you, again. We look forward to your reply.

Cordially,

Dr. Leon Picon
Secretary General

Enclosure

Armenian Assembly Names New Holocaust Museum Committee

WASHINGTON — The Armenian Assembly announced that a new committee of Armenian scholars and other experts has been named to work with the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council in planning for inclusion of the Armenian Genocide in the exhibit and research facilities of the Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C.

Continued from Page 1

ice, Voice of America and Time, Inc., where he was Vice-President for Broadcasting and Washington Affairs.

Serving on the Museum Committee with Mr. Zorthian are Nazaret Cherkezian, Director of the Office of Telecommunications at the Smithsonian; Lucy Der Manuelian, Professor of Fine Arts at Tufts University; Marjorie Housepian Dobkin, Dean of Studies at Barnard College; J. Michael Hagopian, President of Atlantis Productions; Richard Hovannisian, Professor of Armenian and Near Eastern History at UCLA; and Ronald Suny, Alex Manoogian Chair of Armenian Studies at the University of Michigan. Additionally, Vartan Gregorian, President and Chief Executive Officer of the New York Public Library, and Gerard Libaridian, Director of the Zoryan Institute, will serve as special consultants to the committee.

"This core committee will provide the skill, knowledge, and discipline necessary for our deliberations and coordination with the Holocaust Council," said Mr. Zorthian. He explained that the committee was purposely small but that other individuals with special skills would be bought in as consultants from time to time. "I am very pleased," he added, "that these individuals agreed to commit their time and energies to this important effort. They will be a working committee, not a figurehead group," he stressed. Mr. Zorthian added that the Committee

will provide the skill, knowledge, and discipline necessary for our deliberations and coordination with the Holocaust Council," said Mr. Zorthian. He explained that the committee was purposely small but that other individuals with special skills would be bought in as consultants from time to time. "I am very pleased," he added, "that these individuals agreed to commit their time and energies to this important effort. They will be a working committee, not a figurehead group," he stressed. Mr. Zorthian added that the Committee would continue to coordinate closely with Set Momjian, a member of the Holocaust Council.

Mihran Agabian, Chairman of the Armenian Assembly of America commented that the Assembly had worked closely over the past four years with Mr. Momjian, the only Armenian member of the Council, in obtaining Council commitment to inclusion of the Armenian

Genocide and in drawing up preliminary plans for the Museum. "Set Momjian's presence on the Council and his many efforts on behalf of Armenian inclusion in the Museum and educational programs of the Holocaust Council are greatly appreciated," he said. "Now that we are moving into substantive planning for the exhibits and archival holdings of the Museum, the Executive Committee voted to give additional support to this project and asked Barry Zorthian to accept the chairmanship of the Holocaust Museum Committee."

The U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum will house a permanent exhibit and archives in the nation's capital. The Holocaust will be depicted, as will the Armenian Genocide. The museum will draw attention to the horrors and lessons of the Holocaust and the Armenian Genocide and at the time serve as an educational memorial to victims and survivors.

By October 1, 1985, the Holocaust Council must complete the conceptual phase of the Museum. To meet this deadline, the Armenian Assembly was asked to expand upon a prior presentation on possible museum themes and also in surveying the extent, scope and location of research materials and other documentary evidence on the Armenian Genocide.

The specific charge of the Armenian Assembly's Committee will be to work with the Holocaust Council on development of museum plans. Drawing from the Armenian community in the U.S. and abroad, the committee will solicit information and assistance to provide effective representation of the Armenian Genocide in the museum.

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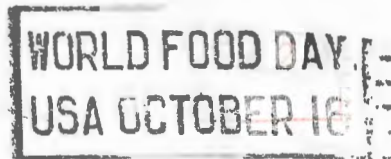
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May 25, 1984

Mr. Linas Kojelis
Associate Director
Office of Public Liaison
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Kojelis:

Please accept my personal thanks and those of the vast majority of the attendees at the White House Conference of May 18, 1984 for the arrangements you made in our behalf during the Convention of the Assembly of Turkish American Associations. Our Assembly unites forty-one separate associations, spread throughout the United States, from Massachusetts to Hawaii.

In private discussions that took place at our Convention, following our meeting with you, I was very impressed by the wide-spread feelings of satisfaction and pleasure that were expressed over the kind arrangements you had made and your willingness to meet with us again to discuss some of the major problems that we face as Turkish Americans.

To tell you quite openly, many of the more thoughtful participants were pleasantly surprised to encounter the spirit of obviously genuine concern you exhibited by telling us that your door was always open to us. For many of us, until we met you, the White House was a rather cold and forbidding entity---far out of our reach in any sense of real bilateral communication. Letters written to the White House, in the past, were generally handled in an unsatisfying, disinterested, and bureaucratic manner. In contrast, your personal warmth and readiness to listen, your invitation for future meetings, and your offer to intercede in our behalf with agencies within the Executive Branch have given us a new and refreshing insight into the Presidency. They raise our hope that, through you, our voices may finally be heard.

The problems that Turkish Americans face in this country are myriad. Although we are, by and large, highly educated professionals and business people, our numbers are small. We find it extremely difficult to eradicate some of the deep seated and vestigial prejudices against our people, which are based upon long-accepted falsehoods and distortions of history. Unfortunately, these falsehoods are currently being amplified in the schools of the United States, and they will be taught to American children---including our own---unless the vicious hate-campaign now being conducted by certain groups can be stopped. While this is only one of the major problems we face, it is possibly the most urgent. Furthermore, it is a matter that should be of concern to the Presidency, because the proponents of this campaign have succeeded in infiltrating one of the President's worthwhile commissions.

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We recognize that the educational system of the United States is a matter that is left to the various separate States. On the other hand, the President's Commission is leading the thrust in the development of curricula that are being used by the schools. The entire subject of these curricula needs to be discussed in the Executive Branch, and we would deeply appreciate the opportunity of reviewing the subject, first with you---and then with any other official whom you may deem appropriate, after you have heard our case.

To this end, I am designating our First Vice President, Mr. Ali F. Sevin, and our General Secretary, Dr. Leon Picon, to represent the Assembly in meeting with you. Please designate a time when you can meet with them for an hour at your earliest convenience. You offered us the help of the White House. Be assured that we need it.

Again, my personal thanks for everything already expressed in this letter. I hope that we may meet.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Kemal Goknar".

Kemal Goknar, M.D.
President

KG:fg

Holocaust and Genocide: A Search For Conscience

A Student Anthology

Harry Furman, Editor-in-Chief

Richard F. Flaim, Edwin W. Reynolds, Jr.,
John Chupak and Kenneth Tubertini,
Associate Editors

Developed under the auspices of
the State of New Jersey Department of Education

Published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
823 United Nations Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017

The Forgotten Genocide

According to Professor Arnold Toynbee, "the Armenians are perhaps one of the oldest established civilized groups in western Asia." The Armenian Kingdom was the first state in the world to embrace Christianity. Located in the rugged mountain region in eastern Turkey which now spreads across the Soviet boundary, the Armenian minority later became a Christian island in a Moslem state.

In the nineteenth century, the once great Ottoman Empire was in severe decline. When Abdul Hamid became the ruler of the Ottoman Empire in 1876, the Armenians became the target of growing Muslim nationalism. Sultan Abdul Hamid said, "The way to get rid of the Armenian question is to get rid of the Armenians." Throughout his reign, he encouraged Moslem brutality and the further isolation of the Armenians. The first "organized" massacres of Armenians took place in 1895.

During the first world war, Turkey fought on the side of the Germans and against Russia. Some Moslems felt that the Armenians were acting as traitors and supporting the Russians. Ultimately, Talaat Pasha, the Turkish Minister of Interior, decided to end the "Armenian problem" once and for all. By forced marches, starving, and execution, as many as one million Armenians were murdered within a few years.

The following selections include both a personal memoir and a historical overview of this forgotten genocide. In the first reading, Kerop Bedoukian recalls his own experience as a child on a forced march through the Turkish desert. The selection from Michael Arlen's *Passage to Ararat* focuses on the process and the rationalization for the murder of the Armenians.

Armenians and many others rightfully call for us to remember what happened in Turkey. That nation has never had to take moral responsibility for its actions in the Armenian genocide. Nor should it be forgotten that Armenian suffering was largely met with world silence. Ironically, it was Germany that provided Turkey with the equipment and transport that helped carry out the murder process. Years later, in 1939, on the eve of another genocide, Adolf Hitler would say confidently, "Who, after all, speaks today of the annihilation of the Armenians? The world believes in success alone."

Some of Us Survived

Kerop Bedoukian

In Armenian we call the river Euphrates Yegrad Ked, and it is supposed to start in the heart of old Armenia. The river was in sight during our march, but we did not get closer to it than a mile. People were boiling in the sun, their lips cracked, their tongues hanging out; yet they walked on. They dropped on their knees, they took a breath, and then got up to walk farther still. I could watch only those just ahead of me. Dusty, ragged, exhausted, starved; yet they walked on. Will-less, emotionless, stunned by the loss of loved ones and waiting for their turn to die; but still they walked. There was no fear of dying, but to be taken away by the Turks struck horror in them. Turks in this district were more fanatical, more cruel, even more relentless in their enjoyment of watching people tortured.

Early one evening, the caravan veered toward the river. As there was no opposition, the march speeded up, then it became a stampede, a pitiful stampede. Nobody could run, they had no strength, but they broke rank and moved on. I would say that there were about five hundred of us, all jamming the shore and dropping into the water. Some swam too far out and drowned. Some just swam to drown. It looked like mass suicide, though probably no more than twenty died this

way. No one so much as raised a voice to stop the suicides. Were those who drowned friendless, or did their people just not care? I couldn't tell. There was no acknowledgment of their deaths, nobody mourning. It was considered better to die than to serve a Turk as a concubine. Anyway, drowning in the river was easier than jumping into a well. All the wells on the route were filled to the top with bodies of girls and young women. Once a young cousin of mine asked my mother's permission to throw herself into a well. . . . Some time later she came back and said there was no water in the well; it was filled with bodies. Days later this same girl was being forced to go with an elderly Turk. She begged my mother for help. My mother told her to hold back her urine and let go when the Turk tried to rape her. The girl came back the next morning, and according to her story, she was still a virgin.

The news was that we were to cross the Euphrates, which was more than a mile wide. It would have been exciting if this news had not been followed by a rumor that the flat barges which were to carry us across the river had false bottoms that opened in mid-stream and dumped their contents into the water. Another rumor was that we were not to cross the river but would float downstream to a place called Deir el Zor. This was to be

the end of the line for everybody. Everybody would be killed in the valley of Deir el Zor. This was a known fact. But when you have two rumors, the chances are you won't believe either, and that is exactly what I did. . . .

We spent two uncomfortable days by the Euphrates. People tried to live; they bathed, they washed their clothes, they drank water. But the fear of being molested was ever present. One elderly cousin, who had lost her two children, told my mother she was going to throw herself into the river. I followed her to see if she meant it. Her firm walk slowed down when she approached the water; she was hardly moving when she was waist-deep; and when the water was up to her neck, she came to a complete stop, gazing across the river. After a few minutes in that position, she returned to my mother and said she couldn't do it.

I was watchful, both for my own safety and because of the cruelties around me. At one place, half a dozen young Turks were molesting a young girl. This girl was about eighteen; her clothing was ripped down to her waist, exposing white skin in contrast to her face, camouflaged with dirt. The Turkish boys were trying to bare her breasts and she was resisting with all her might. Her efforts proved useless; two of the boys held her arms while the others tore off everything that she had on. The boys holding her arms let go and she dropped to her knees, covering her breasts with her arms. Then they ordered her to get up and dance. When she made no move, they threw stones at her. She made a move, then hesitated, unable to defend herself and to cover her shame both at the same time. The Turks tried to help her decide by taking better aim as well as coaxing her to stand up. She did get to her feet, but she did not

straighten up completely. She held her legs tight together, her arms over her chest, and her body slightly bent over.

The Turks kept ordering "Dance! dance!" but all she did was take a few steps back. This angered the young men, especially one, who began to throw stones with more force. This made her retreat. She turned and, half walking, half running, and still partly bent, went toward the river. The Turks did not stop throwing stones, but most of them missed as the distance increased. They took their time, spread out in a semicircle and closed in on her; by this time she was waist-deep in the water. It was obvious that she could not swim. She would not go any farther than the ten yards she had covered, because of the current and the possible sudden drop in the depth. So she stopped there, facing the river, covering herself with her hands, oblivious of the shower of stones reaching her. Then, as though a decision had been made, she gave herself to the current. She was evidently out of her depth now as she bobbed up and down, moving with the slow flow of the water. The Turks followed parallel with her, each taking a turn throwing stones at the still bobbing head. Then it ceased to bob and there was a blotch of black hair floating on the surface of the water. It kept moving away from the shore, and picked up speed with the current as it went downstream.

For the first time that I can remember, I felt hatred. I hated those six young Turks. I hated them for destroying an innocent and beautiful girl. Unable to take any practical action, I longed for a magic wand to compel these men to follow after the girl, to let them know how it feels to drown! . . .

Passage to Ararat

Michael Arlen

Henry Morgenthau, United States Ambassador to Turkey during the early years of the World War, published his recollections in 1918. From *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story*: "In the early part of 1915, the Armenian soldiers in the Turkish army were reduced to a new status. Up to that time most of them had been combatants, but now they were all stripped of their arms and transformed into workmen . . . road laborers and pack animals.

They had to spend practically all their time in the open, sleeping on the bare ground. . . . They were given only scraps of food; if they fell sick they were left where they had dropped. . . .

"Let me relate a single episode which is contained in one of the reports of our consuls and which now forms part of the records of the American State Department. Early in July, 2,000 Armenian *amélés*—such is the Turkish word for soldiers who have been reduced to workmen—were sent from Harpoot to build roads. The Armenians in that town understood what this meant and pleaded with the Government for mercy. But this official insisted that the men were not to be harmed, and he even called upon the German missionary, Mr. Ehemann, to quiet the panic, giving that gentleman his word of honor that the ex-soldiers would be

protected. . . . Yet practically every man of these 2,000 was massacred, and his body thrown into a cave. . . . A few days afterward another 2,000 soldiers were sent to Diyarbakir. The only purpose of sending these men out in the open country was that they might be massacred. In order that [they] might have no strength to resist . . . these poor creatures were systematically starved. Government agents went ahead on the road, notifying the Kurds that the caravan was approaching. . . . Not only did the Kurdish tribesmen pour down from the mountains upon this starved and weakened regiment, but the Kurdish women came with butcher's knives in order that they might gain that merit in Allah's eyes that comes from killing a Christian." "Two missionaries had just called upon me, giving the full details of the frightful happenings at Konia," he wrote. "After listening to their stories, I could not restrain myself, and went immediately to . . . Talaat. . . . I began to talk about the Armenians at Konia. I had hardly started when Talaat's attitude became . . . belligerent. His eyes lighted up, he brought his jaws together, leaned over toward me, and snapped out: 'Are *they* Americans?' In a moment Talaat said . . . 'The Armenians are not to be trusted. Besides, what we do with them does not concern the United States.' "

Morgenthau's *Story* continues: "I find in my diary on August 3d 'that Talaat is the one who desires to crush the poor Armenians.' He told me that the Union and Progress Committee had carefully considered the matter in all its details and that the policy which was being pursued was that which they had officially adopted. . . . 'Why are you so interested in the Armenians, anyway?' he said on another occasion. 'You are a Jew; these people are Christians. The Mohammedans and the Jews always get on harmoniously. We are treating the Jews here all right. What have you to complain of?'"

" 'You don't seem to realize,' I replied, 'that I am not here as a Jew but as American Ambassador. . . .'"

" 'We treat the Americans all right, too,' said Talaat. 'I don't see why you should complain.' "

Morgenthau had numerous meetings with the Young Turk leaders—especially with Talaat, the Minister of the Interior, whom he regarded as having become the most powerful figure in the government: "I might as well have been talking to a stone wall. . . . 'These people,' he said, 'refused to disarm when we told them to. They opposed us at Van and at Zeitoun, and they helped the Russians. There is only one way in which we can defend ourselves against them in the future, and that is just to deport them.'

" 'Suppose a few Armenians did betray you,' I said. 'Is that a reason for destroying a whole

race? Is that an excuse for making innocent women and children suffer?'"

" 'Those things are inevitable,' Talaat replied. This remark to me was not quite so illuminating as one which Talaat made subsequently to a reporter of the *Berliner Tageblatt*, who asked him the same question: 'We have been reproached,' he said, according to this interviewer, 'for making no distinction between the innocent Armenians and the guilty; but that was utterly impossible, in view of the fact that those who were innocent today might be guilty tomorrow.' . . . "

" 'It is no use for you to argue,' Talaat answered. 'We have already disposed of three-quarters of the Armenians; there are none at all left in Bitlis, Van, and Erzurum. The hatred between the Turks and the Armenians is now so intense that we have got to finish with them. If we don't they will plan their revenge.' . . . "

" 'Talaat's attitude toward the Armenians was summed up in the proud boast which he made to his friends: 'I have accomplished more toward solving the Armenian problem in three months than Abdul-Hamid accomplished in thirty years!' "

Morgenthau also attempted to put pressure on the Turks through the German Ambassador: "As soon as the early reports [of the massacres] reached Constantinople, it occurred to me that the most feasible way of stopping the outrages would be for the diplomatic representatives of all countries to make a joint appeal to the Ottoman Government.

" 'I approached Wangenheim on this subject in the latter part of March. His antipathy to the Armenians became immediately apparent. He began denouncing them in unmeasured terms. . . . 'The Armenians,' said Wangenheim, 'have shown themselves in this war to be enemies of the Turks. It is quite apparent that the two peoples can never live together in the same country. The Americans should move some of them to the United States, and we Germans will send some to Poland and in their place send Jewish Poles to the Armenian provinces—that is, if they will promise to drop their Zionist schemes.' . . . "

Throughout most of 1915, the deportations continued. From a multitude of eyewitness reports, it is possible to determine that the first convoys started from the Armenian mountain town of Zeitoun, in Cilicia, on April 8, 1915 (almost two weeks before the allegedly provocative "rebellion" in Van), and thereafter steady streams of deportees were driven from the various Armenian centers of the Ottoman empire south toward the desert. . . .

In the first phase of the over-all process, Armenian men had been drafted into the Turkish Army, then disarmed in the labor battalions and massacred, and the men who remained in the

towns and villages had also been disarmed, sometimes imprisoned and tortured, and then either killed by the gendarmes or marched out to be massacred by the Kurds. In the second phase, the remainder of the Armenian population, which meant mostly women and children and older men, had been either packed in cattle cars on the Berlin-Baghdad Railway or driven south on foot across the mountains.

From the Bryce-Toynbee report: "From the moment they left the outskirts of the towns, they [the deportees] were never safe from outrage. The Muslim peasants mobbed and plundered them as they passed through the cultivated lands, and the gendarmes [in charge of the convoys] connived at the peasants' brutality. . . . When they arrived at a village they were exhibited like slaves in a public place . . . and every Muslim inhabitant was allowed to view them and take his choice of them. . . . The gendarmes themselves began to make free with the rest. . . .

"There were still more horrible outrages when they came to the mountains, for here they were met by bands of 'chettis' and Kurds. The 'chettis' were brigands recruited from the public prisons. . . . When these Kurds and 'chettis' waylaid the convoys, the gendarmes always fraternised with them and followed their lead. . . .

"It depended on the whim of the moment whether a Kurd cut a woman down or carried her away into the hills. . . . But while the convoy dwindled, the remnant had always to march on. The cruelty of the gendarmes towards the victims grew greater as their physical sufferings grew more intense. . . . The passage of rivers, and especially of the Euphrates, was always an occasion of wholesale murder. Women and children were driven into the water, and were shot as they struggled. . . .

"The last survivors often struggled into Aleppo naked. . . . [Others] were transported to Aleppo by rail. . . . At Bozanti, the railhead west

of Taurus, and again at Osmania, Mamouret, Islohia, and Kotma . . . vast and incredibly foul concentration camps grew up, where the exiles were delayed for months, and died literally by thousands of hunger, exposure, and epidemics."

The third phase began with that remnant of the Armenians which reached Aleppo, for Aleppo was the point upon which all convoys converged, and those few who had survived the deportations that far were soon marched off again, southeast, into the Syrian desert.

From *Armenia and the Near East*, by Fridtjof Nansen, High Commissioner for Refugees under the League of Nations, published in 1928: "At Meskne on the Euphrates, east of Aleppo, where the Armenians were starved to death in one of the great concentration camps, 55,000 people, according to Turkish figures, lie buried. It is estimated that during 1915, 60,000 deportees were sent to Der-el-Zor on the Euphrates; and the majority of them disappeared. On April 15, 1916, 19,000 were sent in four batches to Mosul, three hundred kilometres across the desert; but only 2,500 arrived. . . . Some of the women and girls had been sold to Bedouins on the way; the rest had died of hunger and thirst. In July, 1916, 20,000 were deported to Der-el-Zor; eight weeks later, according to the testimony of a German officer, only a few artisans were left. . . ."

Thus, it is possible to say, not precisely but with a general respect for accuracy and plausibility, that in the course of the 1915-16 massacres and deportations close to one million Armenians—more than half the Armenian population of Turkey—disappeared; which is to say, were killed, outright by police or soldiers, or by roadside massacres, or by forced marches, or by starvation, or by sickness, or by conditions in the concentration camps.

On August 31, 1915, Talaat Pasha declared to his German allies, "*La question Arménienne n'existe plus.*"

Questions for Discussion

- 1 Why did some Armenians, especially women, throw themselves in the Euphrates?
- 2 How does the young boy first learn to hate?
- 3 How does Talaat Pasha explain why the Armenians must be killed? What is his reaction to Ambassador Morgenthau's interest in the Armenians? Is Talaat Pasha right?
- 4 How do you think Armenians today cope with the events of their history? An episode of the television series "Lou Grant" presented an Armenian girl who wanted to marry a boy of Turkish descent. The girl's guardian was appalled that she could ever consider marrying into a people who had historically been responsible for so much pain among Armenians. How do you feel about this?
- 5 Today there are Armenian terrorist organizations attempting to force Turkey to accept responsibility—and to make amends—for what the Turks did. These groups have used violence and assassination as their method of persuasion. What do you feel about this?

Conclusion

Der-el-Zor—a barren region of what is now Syria where Armenians were taken to be murdered.



ASSEMBLY OF
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37
Yusuf Kizilirmak

September 17, 1984

President Ronald Reagan
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President Reagan:

We are outraged that the House of Representatives passed House Joint Resolution 247 without even a single protest. Its companion, Senate Joint Resolution 87 is to be introduced in the Senate. These resolutions incredibly single out Turks as uniquely responsible for man's inhumanity to man. They rely on a false and one sided view of history which we consider to be shamelessly racist.

In addition, the Senate will consider Senate Resolution 241 which will legitimize the baseless charge of "genocide" of 1.5 million Armenians by the Ottoman Turks 70 years ago.

Unbiased, reputable historians of all countries are in agreement that the tragic events of 70 years ago, which claimed 600,000 Armenian lives and more than 2 million Moslem lives, were the results of a civil war within a global war. Professor Justin MacCarthy, of the University of Louisville, for once, says the following in his paper titled, "Armenian Terrorism - History as Poison and Antidote": "I first discovered that something was wrong with the accepted wisdom of the Armenians, when I found that many more Anatolian Muslims had died than Armenians. That did not seem to be genocide."

Why, then, is Congress so eager to perpetuate a falsehood which so senselessly will aggravate our trusted ally - Turkey? The powerful fusion of a public myth with the private emotions of Armenian Americans seems to have blinded Congress to the perils of their actions. The public opinion in Turkey is quickly turning against U.S.A., much to the glee of the Warsaw Pact.

If these resolutions become law, we are deeply concerned that they will irreparably damage our strategic position in the Middle East,

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they will undermine NATO, and they will legitimize the sinister purposes of Armenian terrorists who have claimed the lives of 30 Turkish Diplomats and many innocent bystanders since 1975.

Mr. President, we implore you to veto any such senseless piece of legislation which may reach your desk.

Respectfully,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Ali F. Sevin".

Ali F. Sevin
First Vice President

AFS:fg

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 2, 1986

Dear Mr. Camli,

Please excuse our delay in responding to your July 31, 1986 letter. In brief, I do not believe specific documents were referenced before the President's Proclamation 4838 was written. As you know, many, many historical works - far too many to mention here - refer to the "genocide of Armenians." I understand that you disagree with this historical judgement, but it is one that is overwhelmingly accepted in our society.

Sincerely,



Max Green
Associate Director
Office of Public Liaison

Mr. Ugur Camli
Chairperson, Educational Committee
Maryland American Turkish Association, Inc.
P.O. Box 762
Columbia, Maryland 21045

UNITED TURKISH AMERICANS

P. O. BOX 0317
WHEATON, IL 60189-0317

February 3, 1987

Mr. Max Green
Associate Director
Office of Public Liaison
The White House
Washington D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Green:


a copy of your correspondence to Mr. Ugur Camli of the Maryland Turkish American Society, copy attached, came to my attention. Having spent a good ten years on the issue of the so called "Armenian genocide" I am appalled by the strong and convinced tone of your replies emanating from such an important office that you currently occupy.

You would understand, indeed, that this is a very sensitive issue for thousands of American citizens of Turkish origin of the U.S.A because their heritage is at stake on the basis of "allegations" which have been taken for "truth" by many unsuspecting individuals because of the sheer volume of the propaganda campaign carried in the "Western Christian World" to support the "allegations". No Turkish-American or, for that matter, no Turkish Government has denied that the Ottoman citizens of Armenian origin in the Eastern Provinces of the empire suffered horribly from the consequences of a mass relocation decision of the empire on the basis of valid national security concerns then which are routine for many countries even more recently. What is in dispute, however, is if this constitutes a "genocide". What is more in dispute is also how come that more of the "oppressors" perished in the course of the affairs than the "oppressed" (two million versus upto 600,000 respectively by best estimates). What is further in dispute is what to do about the collective statement of 69 leading historians in this country that the issues are very "controversial" and best left to the academia to ring out in due course.

So, therefore, "many, many historical works in our society" fall to those categories as summed up above and please be kind enough to allow room for "truth" to meet the "allegations" in due course which we commonly term "fairness doctrine in our society".

Thank you very much, Sir !

Yours sincerely,


Tuncer M. Kuzay, Ph.D
President

P.S. please accept a copy of
our latest publication.

WHAT IS THE TRUTH ABOUT THE ARMENIAN
CLAIMS OF GENOCIDE BY THE TURKS

A DEPOSITION AND TESTIMONIAL

BY

ABRAHAM SOU SEVER

MARCH 1986

UNITED TURKISH AMERICANS
P.O. BOX 317
WHEATON, ILLINOIS 60189-0317

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FOREWORD

Abraham Sou Sever is a Sephardic Jew, born in izmir, Turkey, before WW1 and later emigrated to the United States of America. He now lives in California.

With this written Deposition and Testimonial, Mr. Sever is telling to the American public the truth about the Armenian genocide claims from his own personal life experiences and knowledge. Particularly significant is his testimony on Franz Werfel, author of *The 40 Days at Moussa Dagh*, whom the Armenian circles have exploited to maximum benefit to cultivate general Jewish support for their cause.

Mr. Sever's notarized deposition is in our safe custody and transmitted also to research institutions as part of a written and oral history collection on the Armenian claims for a genocide.

Editor,
March 1986

WHAT IS THE TRUTH IN THE ARMENIAN CLAIMS OF GENOCIDE BY THE TURKS

A Deposition and Testimonial by

Abraham Sou Sever

At long last the Armenian claims are backfiring. The truth is emerging.

For the past 60 years Armenian terrorists have assassinated a number of consular officials of the Turkish Republic. After every murder, anonymous calls to the media justified their thuggery as revenge for the alleged massacre of 1.5 million Armenians by the Turks in 1915. Neither the civic nor the religious leaders of the Armenians ever expressed disapproval or distress for the crimes. Many in a position to disprove and refute the Armenian claims have been silenced by threats from the terrorists of bodily harm, kidnapping, and even murder.

Fortunately a few have the courage to defy these threats and tell what they know. Arthur A. Derounian, an Armenian who uses the alias of John Roy Carlson, in an introduction he wrote to a monograph entitled *The Manifesto of Hovannes Katchaznoui*,¹ the first Prime Minister of the Independent Armenian Republic. "However the propagandist may try, historical truth cannot be subverted forever in a free country. However hard Dashnag (the Armenian Revolutionary Federation of Boston, U.S.A.), explanation between parentheses mine, propagandists may try to twists and bury the truth...truth eventually prevails. Now for the first time, in English, is a deep and incisive self study by a competent Dashnag observer...Katchaznoui's work is published, at this time, as a refutation to the grandiose, exaggerated and even outrageously fake claims (underline mine) of the Dashnag leadership..." (See complete text in Appendix 1.)

Now Turkish Jews are accusing the Armenians of genocide in 1915. In a recent letter² to the editor of the local paper two members of the prominent BEN-LEVI family of Erzeroum, Turkey, who now reside in Vacaville, California, accused the Armenians of the Erzeroum region of assassinating 148 members of their family in 1915. Writes Elihu Ben-Levi "Members of our family witnessed the murder of 148 members of our immediate family near Erzeroum by Armenian Christians bent on destroying anything remotely Jewish or Muslim." We have firsthand evidence of Armenian atrocities against our people which preceded the so called "massacre of Armenians" in 1915. This confirms the assertion of His Excellency Sukru Elekdag, Ambassador of Turkey in Washington, D.C., in a letter³ to the *New York Times* dated May 23, 1985. "What must be disputed is any selective focus on the sufferings of one ethnic group while ignoring the fate of 2.5 million Turkish and non-Christian people, many of whom died at the hands of Armenian revolutionary groups."

To restate the Armenian claim: That the Turkish Government, without reason or cause forcibly uprooted and exiled 1.5 million Armenian residents of six Vilayets

¹ Superscripts refer to Appendices at the end of text.

(provinces) in Anatolia. (These provinces bordered on Russia, Iran, and Syria, at the time of the Ottoman Empire.) That the Ottoman soldiers who led the Armenians and were responsible for their safety, allowed Muslim Arab and Druzes of the region along the line of march to abuse, harass, rape, and kill many of the Armenian marchers. That 1.5 million men, women, and children were lost by disease, hunger, and assassination. That the Turkish Republican Government has steadfastly refused to disclose the reasons for the forcible relocation of the Armenians or admit its guilt for its inept and criminal handling of the project. That the Turkish Republic Government refuses to even discuss compensation to the Armenians for their grievous losses.

Officials of the Turkish Republic and others in a position to know counter claim: The relocation had been ordered by the government of the Ottoman Empire. In 1915 the Turkish Republic did not exist. It came into existence in 1923, well after the events claimed. Two and a half million of the ethnic Turks who lived in the very same provinces as the Armenians, as subjects of the Ottoman Empire, fatally suffered from a similar lack of provisions as the Armenians, as well as endured abuse, harassment, and torture by officials of that government, in spite of their being Muslims. But hundreds of thousands of Turks perished by assassination by Armenian revolutionary terrorists.

Historical accuracy and truth demand that these claims and counterclaims be examined methodically and analyzed against authenticated facts and a background of historical events.

From 1914-1918 the Ottoman Empire was at war (WWI) with Great Britain, France, and Russia. The Ottoman Empire lost that war. The Armenians were accused by Ottoman officials of sabotaging the war efforts, of attacking the Ottoman armies from the rear, of joining and helping the armies of the Russian Czar in their invasion of Ottoman lands. The Ottoman Government did, at the time, declare it absolutely necessary to move the Armenians from their homes in the region, accusing them of treachery and of using their homes and churches as arsenals for the arms and munitions supplied to them by the Russians. At the end of the war the Ottoman Empire was occupied by the allied armies.

Greece, though not a participant in that war, was allowed by the allies to occupy Izmir and its rich agricultural hinterland, with the avowed intent of annexation. The ethnic Turks organized an army under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal, fought and freed the parts of the Empire inhabited by ethnic Turks. They elected a parliament, with its seat in Ankara, established the Republic of Turkey, strictly confined to the regions inhabited by ethnic Turks and refused to recognize the Sultan or his Empire.

The Ottoman Sultans had frightened the European nations by the rapid conquests of many lands and subjugation of many ethnic people. As capable and successful as they had been in conquering lands and nations, the Ottoman Sultans and their provincial administrators, usually Army generals, were not as capable and successful in governing and/or in persuading the subjected peoples to accept their new status and become a willing part of the ethnic melting pot of the Empire.

The mutual dislike of Turks and Arabs and of Muslims and Christians in the Empire was the natural consequence of the resentment felt by the conquered for their

subservience to the conqueror. But the Armenians were not among the new conquered. They had lived in the Ottoman Empire and among the Turks in peace and mutual tolerance for centuries. Of course, there were the differences of religious beliefs, philosophies of life, and politico-economic interests which breed prejudice and bigotry. The Greeks of the Empire, arch-Chauvinists and more intense in their feelings than the Hellenic nation itself, had nothing but hatred for the Turks. For centuries their dreams of ENOSIS (becoming part of Greece) had been taught in their church schools and preached in their churches.

In the 19th century the European powers reached a secret agreement to weaken the Ottoman Empire from within and cause its breakup. Great Britain, France, and Italy utilized the Christian missionary organizations for the purpose. Under the guise of offering religious education and foreign language instruction, they obtained permits from the Ottoman Government to establish schools which often accepted students without tuition. Armenian youth and their parents were easy and willing converts. Surreptitiously and systematically the missionaries sowed the seeds of discontent and hatred for the Turks and of contempt for the Ottoman Government. This I know also from personal experience.

Russia took a more direct course. It induced the Armenians to subvert and rebel and to join the Russian armies as volunteers and to attack the Ottoman armies from the rear. The quid pro quo for the inducement was the promise to help them organize their own government -- a new Armenia, in the Ottoman provinces where they were concentrated. Of two million Armenians* in the Ottoman Empire, 1.5 million were concentrated in the six Ottoman provinces. The other half million constituted affluent Armenian communities in the large cities of the Empire.

Authentic statements which confirm the Russian Armenian entente, made by officials of the Armenian Republic that was established at the end of the war with the help of the Bolsheviks, are included in Appendix 4 in addition to Appendix 1.

Also, here are additional, important contributory events and factors. For over a century, prior to 1914, the Western World had been conditioned and maneuvered into believing the prejudiced information spread by the Christian missionaries about the alleged hatred and brutality of Turks against Christians. Turks were written up and spoken of as "Terrible Turks" and "Bloodthirsty Turks." In recent years, Western European and American media of information carried slanted news items, correspondence, articles, and editorials using the opprobrium of genocide, massacre, and holocaust to describe the treatment of Armenians and Christians by the Turks. It was never explained that the relocation of the Armenians was ordered by the Ottoman

* More recent academic research and scholarly publications prove that the total number of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire did not exceed 1.5 million - Editor. See, for example: (1) Justin McCarthy, *Moslems and Minorities - The Population of the Ottoman Anatolia and the End of the Empire*, N.Y. University Press, 1983; (2) K.N. Karpat, *Ottoman Population, 1930 to 1914: Demographic & Social Characteristics*, Univ. of Wisc. Press, 1983; and (3) K. Gurun, *The Armenian File*, K. Rustem & Bro. and Weidenfeld J. Nicholson Ltd., London, 1983.

Government and not by the present Turkish Republic. Many letters to the Editors and articles refuting the claims made in Franz Werfel's book entitled *The 40 days at Moussa Dagh* were rejected or refused publication. Moussa Dagh (Mount Moussa), if the truth be known, is the best evidence of the Armenian duplicity and rebellion. Fifty thousand Armenians all armed ascended the summit of that mountain after provisioning it to stand siege. Daily sallies from that summit of armed bands attacked the rear of the Ottoman armies, and disappeared into the mountain. When the Ottomans finally discovered the fortification the Armenians had prepared, they could not assault and invade it. It stood siege for 40 days, which is a good indication of the preparations the Armenians had made surreptitiously under the very nose of the Ottoman Government. Nor was it ever explained that the rebellion of the Armenians had been fostered, organized, financed, and supplied with arms and munitions by the Russians.

Leaders of the Armenian revolutionary organization DASHNAGTZOUTIUN have since admitted to have been seduced by Russia with promises of independence and a New Armenia. They have admitted that they were financed and armed by Russia. They have admitted that bands of Armenian revolutionaries had been organized to sabotage and interfere with the Ottoman armies defending their homeland, even before the Ottoman Government had entered the war against Russia. The thousands who occupied the summit of Moussa Dagh for 40 days escaped by descending the mountain by a secret exit fronting on the Mediterranean, while the Ottoman armies were besieging the front of that mountain. The Armenians had communicated by flambeau signals with the French and British naval ships patrolling the Mediterranean. Those (thousands) who escaped were taken aboard the ships of the British and French and transported to Alexandria in Egypt. The Armenians found it to their interest to invent that these thousands had perished -- keeping their rescue by the British and French a secret. Only a small contingent of Armenians who had remained fighting the Ottomans finally surrendered.

My dear departed friend, Franz Werfel, who wrote that book, *The 40 days at Moussa Dagh*, never was in that region to investigate what he wrote. He wrote it as his Armenian friends in Vienna had told him. Before his death, Werfel told me that he felt ashamed and contrite for having written the book and for the many falsehoods and fabrications the Armenians had foisted on him. But he dared not confess publicly for fear of death by the Dashnag terrorists.

Christian missionaries had found the Armenians willing and easy converts from their ancestral orthodox Christianity to the Protestant and Catholic brands. Sympathetic to their converts, they helped spread the false stories of massacre throughout the Western World. Modern day Armenians heard the false stories from their elders who were never there themselves, but had heard them from the Dashnag revolutionaries who had made deals with the Czar and the Bolsheviks. The Republic they established died aborning because of the intrigues and subtle dealings typical of the Dashnag fanatics. The false claims of genocide and holocaust have gained for them great sympathy throughout the Western World. They cannot tolerate disproof and refutation. They try to stifle and prevent disproof by threats.

Prior to the advent of the Turkish Republic, during the regimes of Sultans Medjid, Aziz, and Hamid, Armenians in the Ottoman Empire -- a minority ethnic population of 1.5 million out of a general population of close to 60 million at its height --

occupied positions of importance in commerce, finance, in the professions, and as representatives of prestigious European firms doing business in the Ottoman Empire. Of all the minority ethnic groups, they alone, had mastered the difficult Turkish language and spoke it among themselves as their second language. Their native intelligence and innate versatility enabled them to master many languages and attain positions of prominence in the Ottoman Ministries of Commerce, Finance, and Foreign Affairs. Many Ottoman Consular officials were Armenians.

Czarist Russia ever anxious to obtain a foothold in the Near and Middle East, a part of the Ottoman Empire, made several attempts to break out from the Black Sea into the Mediterranean through the Straights of Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. Great Britain and France, purely for their own interests, helped the Sultans to deny Russia the exit and resist Russian pressure. If the rebellion of the Armenians had been successful, the Greek ethnic groups of the Empire were ready to start their own rebellion to help Greece invade and occupy Izmir and its hinterland.

DASHNAGTZOUTIUN, the Armenian revolutionary organization, had used blackmail tactics to coerce the conservative rich Armenians to support them in their revolution. The conservatives were not in favor of revolution. They were happy with their positions of importance and affluence under the Ottoman regimes. Also, they did not trust the Russian promises. In 1914 in Istanbul and in Izmir it was common knowledge among the foreign consular officials that the Ottoman Government had been tipped off to the impending revolution by the wealthy conservative Armenians.

Contemporary to most of the events recited here, I was born and grew to adulthood in the Ottoman Empire. My family resided in the Armenian section of Izmir, called ERMENI MAHALLESSI. Armenian youth of both sexes were my school mates and friends at the International American College. Since I was not a Turk nor a Muslim, my Armenian friends did not hesitate to talk of the impending revolution in my presence. I have had no pecuniary interests in that country since I left it to immigrate to the U.S. I have no family, relatives, or friends living there. It cannot be said that my testimony against them is motivated by self interest. Truth and historical accuracy are sufficient motivating incentives. But as has been stated earlier, these facts have been amply confirmed by the admissions made by officials of the Armenian Independent Republic and by Dashnag renegades. (See Appendices 1 and 4.)

In Izmir the Government was tipped off to the preparations of the Armenian revolutionaries by Mr. Aram Balukjian, the head of the commercially powerful Balukjian family. The Armenian church, just a short block from my home, was searched by the police. A large cache of arms and munitions was discovered and seized. Fearful that the Turkish population of Izmir would become indignant at the disloyalty of the Armenians and possibly attack them, the authorities kept the affair almost a secret. The priests and a few leaders of Dashnag were arrested and taken to Istanbul for trial.

Recently the organized Armenian and Greek communities in the U.S. have attempted to wield their considerable political clout with the U.S. Congress. They have been lobbying in opposition to the Administration's policy of strengthening the armed forces of the Turkish Republic, as a NATO partner, to contain Russia and her satellites.

The Armenian and Greek combine was also able to deceive and influence some writers and media to publish and broadcast items unfavorably slanted against the Turkish Republic. They repeat endlessly the claims of the Armenians of genocide by the Turks. But they never mention that it was the Ottoman Government which was in power and not the present Republic. The Turkish-American community in the U.S. is too recent and small in numbers to counteract the Armenian propaganda maneuverings.

Lately, the Armenians have attempted to gain the sympathy of the American Jewish community. By using the term holocaust, they have been trying to identify the Armenians with the Jewish holocaust by Hitler. Some Jewish-owned newspapers were deceived and published articles unfavorable to the Turkish Republic. Turkish consular officials realize that the Jewish community of six million citizens would wield influence, if they were manipulated to believe the Armenian claims. Turkish Ambassador Sukru Elekdag, in a well-documented but moderately couched letter³ to the Editors of the *New York Times*, May 23, 1985, attempted to disprove the claims of genocide and called attention to the fact that armed Armenian bands murdered thousands of Turks, thievery neighbors among whom they had lived for centuries. And, as shown earlier, now Jews of Erzeroum are accusing the Armenians of murdering 148 members of their families without reason or cause just because they were Jews. They also mention murdering Muslims, again without provocation or reason.

A more direct attempt was also made by Dr. Tuncer M. Kuzay, President of the United Turkish Americans of Chicago, Illinois. In a long, well-documented letter⁵ dated December 9, 1983, Dr. Kuzay calls the attention of the publishers of the *Northern California Jewish Bulletin* to inaccuracies and calumnies made in an article published in the Literary Supplement of that Bulletin by one Gregory Baum, under the title "Franz Werfel Looks at Genocide," November 18, 1983.

Thus far, these and other efforts on the part of Turks to disprove the Armenian claims and to convince the publishers and controllers of the broadcast media of the falsity of these claims have not succeeded.

Belatedly, a Turkish consular official approached the spiritual leader of the Sephardic community in a large city in the United States. This is unusual. At no time since the Sephardic immigration in the 1900's has any Turkish consular official approached or recognized the Sephardic community as a former resident of Turkey and friendly disposed towards the Turks. The Sephardic Jews could, under proper conditions, disabuse their brother Jews of the general community. Like Elihu Ben-Levi of Vacaville, they could inform their brethren in the general Jewish community of the friendliness of the Turks to the Jews in Turkey and of the veracity of many of the facts stated in this exposition.

APPENDIX 1

**THE ARMENIAN
REVOLUTIONARY FEDERATION
(DASHNAGTZOUTIUN)
HAS NOTHING TO DO ANYMORE**

THE MANIFESTO
of
HOVHANNES KATCHAZNOUNI
First Prime Minister of the Independent Armenian Republic

*Translated from the Original by Matthew A. Callender
Edited by John Roy Carlson (Arthur A. Derounian)*

*Published by the
Armenian Information Service
Suite 7D, 471 Park Ave.
New York 22*

1955

TO THE READER

This is a manifesto which I am presenting the Convention of foreign branches of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation convened during this month of April 1923.

Deeply convinced that all the questions raised here will be subjected to the most serious consideration of not only the members of the Party but also of every single Armenian, I thought it was my duty to have this manifesto published and thereby make it public property.

I am having it printed complete and without any alterations* except the final three or four pages which contain concrete proposals that are reserved to the governing bodies of the Party.

Hovhannes Katchaznoui

Bucharest, July, 1923

Comrades:

These matters have had my deliberate and serious consideration. I do not know whether you, too, have arrived at the same conclusions. Allow me to say more: I am afraid that my final conclusion—those very difficult words which I shall here state with all singleness of heart—will cause general embarrassment, perhaps resentment, in the Convention.

I am prepared for that.

I only ask that you believe: a) that it is more difficult for me to write and sign these words than for you to listen to them from my own lips; b) that these words are not the result of thoughtless or petty transient dispositions or hasty resolve. I beg of you therefore that you be patient and approach the matters with an open mind, unhampered—something which is not easy for men who have lived a Party life and have thought from a Party angle.

Let me now proceed with my subject.

In order to present my conclusions in proper sequence I feel it is necessary for me to refresh your memory with the various phases of the Armenian Cause—from the Great War to the Lausanne Conference¹—and the role played by the Dashnagtzoutiun during that period. So that I may not abuse your attention, I shall curtail my speech and present to you a concise yet accurate commentary.

At the beginning of the Fall of 1914 when Turkey had not yet entered the war but had already been making preparations, Armenian revolutionary bands began to be formed in Transcaucasia with great enthusiasm and, especially, with much uproar. Contrary to the decision taken during their general meeting at Erseroum only a few weeks before, the A.R.F. had active participation in the formation of the bands and their future military action against Turkey.

In an undertaking of such gravity, fraught with most serious consequences, individual agents of the Transcaucasian A.R.F. acted against the will of our superior authority, against the will of the General Meeting of the Party. Why? This example urges us to recall that the A.R.F. in Transcaucasia in the past had been a follower rather than an originator of movements that had their inception beyond their control. Thus it was in 1903 (rebellions and demonstrations on the occasion of the seizure of Church properties); thus it was in the year 1905-1906 (bloody encounters between Tartars and Armenians); and thus it was also during the first big movements of the laboring classes (1908-1909) when the A.R.F. was being led at Baku, Tiflis and Batoum by the policies of foreign socialistic parties.

**Except for acknowledgements, made for the sake of brevity by the translator and the editor, Katchaznoui's utterances appear verbatim.*

¹In the Treaty of Lausanne, signed July 21, 1923 between the Allies and Turkey, reference was no longer made to Armenian or Armenians. Both had ceased to exist in the eyes of both Turkey and the Allies. Thus the "Armenian Question" and the question of Armenians was buried in the grave of diplomatic silence.

The same characteristic line of action appears, as we see a little later, in the conduct we pursued afterwards generally.

It would be useless to argue today whether our bands of volunteers should have entered the field or not. Historical events have their irrefutable logic. In the Fall of 1914 Armenian volunteer bands organized themselves and fought against the Turks because they could not refrain themselves from fighting. This was an inevitable result of psychology on which the Armenian people had nourished itself during an entire generation: that mentality should have found its expression and did so.

And it was not the A.R.F. that would stop the movement even if it wished to do so. It was able to utilize the existing conditions, give effect and issue to the accumulated desires, hopes and frenzy, organize the forces—it had that much ability and authority. But to go against the current and push forward its own plan—it was unfit, especially unfit for one particular reason: the A.R.F. is a people's mass strong in instinct but weak in comprehension.

If the formation of bands was wrong, the root of that error must be sought much further and more deeply. At the present time it is important to register only the evidence that we did participate in that volunteer movement to the largest extent and we did that contrary to the decision and the will of the General Meeting of the Party.

The Winter of 1914 and the Spring of 1915 were the periods of greatest enthusiasm and hope for all the Armenians in the Caucasus, including, of course, the Dashnagtzoutiun. We had no doubt the war would end with the complete victory of the Allies; Turkey would be defeated and dismembered, and its Armenian population would at last be liberated.

We had embraced Russia wholeheartedly without any compunction. Without any positive basis of fact we believed that the Tzarist government would grant us a more-or-less broad self-government in the Caucasus and in the Armenian villayets liberated from Turkey as a reward for our loyalty, our efforts and assistance.

We had created a dense atmosphere of illusion in our minds. We had implanted our own desires into the minds of others; we had lost our sense of reality and were carried away with our dreams. From mouth to mouth, from ear to ear passed mysterious words purported to have been spoken in the palace of the Viceroy; attention was called to some kind of a letter by Vorontzov-Dashkov to the Catholicos as an important document in our hands to use in the presentation of our rights and claims—a cleverly composed letter with very indefinite sentences and generalities which might be interpreted in any manner, according to one's desire.

We overestimated the ability of the Armenian people, its political and military power, and overestimated the extent and importance of the services our people rendered to the Russians. And by overestimating our very modest worth and merit was where we naturally exaggerated our hopes and expectations.

APPENDIX 2

Armenians, Turks

This letter is in response to that of L.T. Amirian (Editor's mailbox, Dec. 4). My brother, Scott Ben Levi, had earlier written on this question (Editor's mailbox, Nov. 24) and he is quite accurate, as we have researched certain facts and figures and we have first-hand evidence of Armenian atrocities against our own people which preceded the so-called "massacre" of Armenians in 1915.

That evidence rests with the few members of our family who witnessed the murders of 148 members of our immediate family near Erzurum in present-day Turkey by Armenian Christians bent on destroying anything remotely Jewish or Moslem. Half of those murders have been avenged, and with the present policy in Turkey, I feel that our Moslem comrades will avenge the rest of our departed. I certainly hope so!

If the Armenians feel that they are being singled out, they should sit down and look into their own history and see what type of havoc they and their ancestors have perpetrated upon their neighbors, and especially their Jewish neighbors, since times far in the past — the Bible is a nice accurate source.

In present times, it is well-known that Armenians were in league with Hitler, who promised them an independent nation in return for helping him to exterminate Jews.

They (the Armenians) were also hearty proponents of anti-Semitic activity in league with the Russian communists. Apparently, Armenians have no desire to admit to their sordid past and present.

As to the Kurds, Mr. Amirian, prove it! While you are at it, prove that a large-scale massacre against the Armenians occurred. I have my proof and I don't need your bias.

Elihu Ben Levi
Vacaville

San Francisco Chronicle
Editor's Mailbox
Section B
Dec 11, 1983

APPENDIX 3

The Descendants of Turks and Armenians Alike Deserve Better

To the Editor:

In a span of eight days, you carried two editorials and two Op-Ed pieces that summarily indicted and convicted Turkey of the fallacious charge of genocide.

No one has ever denied the overall tragedy that, 70 years ago, brought death and suffering to all the peoples of the Ottoman Empire's eastern Anatolian region, and that Armenians perished as part of this. What must be disputed is any selective focus on the sufferings of one ethnic group, while ignoring the fate of 2.5 million Turkish and non-Christian people, many of whom died at the hands of Armenian revolutionary groups. The Armenian rebellion was instigated and supported by Czarist Russia, whose armies were invading Ottoman territories.

The Armenian revolutionary organizations intended to benefit from the resulting chaos and establish (by force) an exclusively Armenian state in an area where the population was preponderantly non-Armenian.

Ottoman responsibility, if any, must lie in the empire's inability to protect its civilian population (both Moslem and Christian) from wide-scale civil war, famine and disease while fighting a world war on five fronts. To label that "genocide" threatens to deprive the word of meaning. The charge could apply to most countries at some time.

To compare events of 1914-15 in the Ottoman Empire with Hitler's planned extermination of European Jews in World War II is a disservice to the memory of millions of victims of the Nazis whose only crime was to be born Jewish. Ottoman Jews were loyal citi-

zens, in contrast to the Ottoman Armenians, large numbers of whom joined the invading Russians and served as a fifth column behind Ottoman lines.

The "evidence" advanced by Armenian polemicists to support their claim of a premeditated policy of extermination is a series of forged telegrams attributed to the Ottoman Minister of the Interior, Talat Pasha. Quoted at length by Florence Avakian (Op-Ed, April 27), these crude forgeries were rejected when they appeared in 1920 even by the British, who were holding more than 150 former high-ranking Ottoman officials in Malta to charge with war crimes. The Crown Prosecutor's office, after a two-year investigation that included searches in Ottoman as well as United States archives, dropped the charges and released the detainees; since then no serious scholar has attributed authenticity to the Talat Pasha telegrams.

As for the purported Hitler quotation — "Who today remembers the Arme-

nian extermination?" — the intent is clear. Link the "Armenian cause" to that of the Jewish victims of World War II, and you convince public opinion that the Armenian experience, too, must have been genocide.

But Hitler is not known to have made such a statement! The proceedings of the Nuremberg tribunal, usually given as the source, establish that no document that includes this quotation was introduced there.

Unfortunately, the press's relentless repetition of Armenian charges of "genocide" does nothing less than fuel the hatred that permits terrorist operatives to convert impressionable Armenian youths into murderers of innocents in 1985 — in the name of retribution for erroneously interpreted tragedies of 70 years ago. Surely the descendants of Turks and Armenians alike deserve better than this.

SUKRU ELEKDAG
Ambassador of the Turkish Republic.
Washington, May 6, 1985.

The New York Times
May 23, 1985

APPENDIX 4

TWO ARTICLES

Armenian activists presently claim that the Armenian population of Anatolia were loyal citizens of the Ottoman Empire. They reject the Turkish statements that Armenians were planning and actively pursuing rebellion with the intent of siding with Russia and the Allies against the Ottoman Empire during WWI.

Two documents from the past shed light on this situation:

First, the letter to the Editor, *The Times*, London, January 30, 1919, by Boghos Nubar, head of the Armenian National Delegation to the Paris Peace Conference, lists the contributions of Armenians to the Allied cause. His letter speaks for itself.

Second, a 1914 statement published in an Armenian Hunchak Committee paper clearly outlines the "plans," and indicates that Armenians were working "since over a quarter century in a bloody path..."

THE RIGHTS OF ARMENIA.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

Sir,—The name of Armenia is not on the list of the nations admitted to the Peace Conference. Our sorrow and our disappointment are deep beyond expression. Armenians naturally expected their demand for admission to the Conference to be conceded, after all they had done for the common cause.

The unspeakable sufferings and the dreadful losses that have befallen the Armenians by reason of their faithfulness to the Allies are now fully known. But I must emphasize the fact, unhappily known to few, that ever since the beginning of the war the Armenians fought by the side of the Allies on all fronts. Adding our losses in the field to the greater losses through massacres and deportations, we find that over a million out of a total Armenian population of four millions and a half have lost their lives in and through the war. Armenia's tribute to death is thus undoubtedly heavier in proportion than that of any other belligerent nation. For the Armenians have been belligerents *de facto*, since they indignantly refused to side with Turkey.

Our volunteers fought in the French "Légion Etrangère" and covered themselves with glory. In the Légion d'Orient they numbered over 5,000, and made up more than half the French contingent in Syria and Palestine, which took part in the decisive victory of General Allenby.

In the Caucasus, without mentioning the 150,000 Armenians in the Russian armies, about 50,000 Armenian volunteers under Andranik, Nazarbekoff, and others not only fought for four years for the cause of the Entente, but after the breakdown of Russia they were the only forces in the Caucasus to resist the advance of the Turks, whom they held in check until the armistice was signed. Thus they helped the British forces in Mesopotamia by hindering the Germano-Turks from sending their troops elsewhere.

These services have been acknowledged by the Allied Governments, as Lord Robert Cecil recognized in the House of Commons.

In virtue of all these considerations the Armenian National Delegation asked that the Armenian nation should be recognized as a belligerent. Had the recognition been granted, we should now have been admitted, *ipso facto*, to the Conference, to which even transatlantic States have found access, though having merely broken off diplomatic relations with Germany, without the least sacrifice on their part.

At the moment when the fate of Armenia is being decided at the Peace Conference, it is my duty, as the head of the National Delegation which has no tribune from which its voice can resound, to state once again, in the columns of *The Times*, the important part played by the Armenians in this frightful war. I wish strongly to urge that the Armenians, having of their own free will cast in their lot with the champions of right and justice, the victory of the Allies over their common enemies has secured to them a right to independence.

Believe me, Sir, yours very faithfully,

Paris, Jan. 27.

BOGHOS NUBAR.

From *The Times* of London,
January 30, 1919

**Extracts from the November issue (1914) of the Armenian paper « Hintchak », published in Paris,
organ of the Armenian Hintchak Committee.**

The Hintchak Social Democrat Committee representing the Armenian nation, exposed to vexations and deprived of its rights, which has been working since over a quarter of a century in a bloody path to obtain the liberation of the Armenians in Turkey, now descends, driven by the power of actual political events, from the Taurus Mountains and the borders of Armenia down to the battle-field, blowing the trumpet of strife and revolution, to drown in blood the Ottoman tyranny.

In this gigantic struggle where existence of nations is at stake, the Hintchak Committee as well as the entire Armenian nation, will join their forces, moral and material, and waving the sword of revolution in their hands, will enter into this worldwar.

As comrades of arms of the Triple Entente and particularly of Russia they will co-operate with the Allies, making full use of all political and revolutionary means they possess, for the final victory in Armenia, Cilicia, Caucasus and Azerbaydjan, being always led by their patriotism and thus fulfilling their duties towards themselves and towards civilization,

Let all heroes who will sacrifice their lives for the great cause of the Armenian freedom, come forward with all their moral and material strength for the realisation of this national aspiration.

It is only by these means that the Armenians, proud for having shed their blood for their own cause and that of civilization, may represent the nation at the Congress to be held on the morrow of the war.

Let it obtain its political liberty; let it show to the world that it has a right to live, and finally let it obtain, through the consent of the Triple Entente, the independence granted to their fatherland for which it has shed its blood.

And from the rays of liberty let the sun of right, justice, liberty and fraternity rise.

Well, then, forward Comrades . . . Forward to work. Let us crush down the death, death which threatens Armenia, so that it lives and it lives for ever . . .

(Paris 1914)

Head offices of the social Democrat Hintchak Committee.

APPENDIX 5

United Turkish Americans

P.O. Box 14899
Chicago, Illinois 60614

December 9, 1983

Editor
NORTHERN CALIFORNIA JEWISH BULLETIN
870 Market Street
San Francisco, California 94102

RE: "FRANZ WERFEL LOOKS AT GENOCIDE", NOVEMBER 18, 1983

Dear Sir,

We recently received a copy of your literary supplement and were deeply saddened by the unscrupulous article by Gregory Baum which you saw fit to publish in your Bulletin. All Turks and people who know Turks, should feel betrayed by Gregory Baum's article because it is directed to a country and its people who have unselfishly given home, protection, and freedom to the Jews over the centuries, including to thousands and thousands of them during the Second World War. It may also be remembered that Turkey was the first and only Moslem country to recognize Israel soon after its creation in 1948. However, our purpose in writing this letter is not to remind our Jewish friends of these facts. It is rather to show, within the limitations of a letter, the absurdity of some of the allegations in Gregory Baum's article.

First, the alleged parallel between the Jewish Holocaust and the Turkish-Armenian conflict! Let's take Sarkis Atamian's (an Armenian Dashnak sociolog) book, "The Armenian Community", pages 97 and 105. Year is 1887-88 and Hunchak party was established and in its constitution, Atamian quotes:

"... the immediate question concerned itself with the organization and tactics of revolution. The liberation of Armenia, the immediate aim of the Party, was to be attained by:

1. Oral and written propaganda.
2. Terrorism - both as punishment against the enemy and as a measure of self defense.
3. The creation of an avant-garde of revolutionary groups to be equipped and prepared for action when other nations were prepared for a general uprising.
4. The organization of larger committees to be in constant contact with each other and subject to a central body.
5. Organization of units of guerilla fighters."

Atamian continues, same page 97, ... "The most singular feat of the organization was played in the Sassoun Rebellion of 1894." Now, on page 105, year 1891, the Dashnak Federation was established by the Armenians and Atamian's book quotes of its constitution:

"... If the means was revolution, how was the revolution to be attained?

By:

1. Propaganda
2. Preparation of combat units and their indoctrination
3. Encouragement of the revolutionary morale of the people
4. The arming of the people
5. Organization of revolutionary committees
6. Espionage throughout the country and the exchange of information with the official bodies and journals
7. Organization of financial zones for public collection
8. 'Fighting and using' the weapon of the terror on corrupt government officers, spies, traitors, grafters, and all sorts of oppressors
9. Defense of the people against attacks from the brigandry
10. Building of roads for the transport of arms
11. Wrecking and looting of governmental institutions."

Now, please, tell us, Dear Sir, if Jews in Germany in the 1920s set up similar clandestine revolutionary organizations to liberate and possess a Jewish state? This is the cardinal point between a real genocide and a deportation issue.

After countless rebellions throughout the Ottoman Empire between 1894 and the First World War, finally in 1915, the Armenian Armies joined forces with the invading Russian Armies to capture Eastern Anatolia, and the Ottoman Administration decided to relocate one million Armenians from the Eastern Provinces to the Southern Provinces. The two most recent books, one by Prof. K. Karpat of the University of Wisconsin, and another by Prof. J. McCarthy of the University of Louisville, prove that during the relocation, perhaps, 450,000 to 600,000 Armenians died mainly due to famine, disease, brigandry, and the cold. Only a fraction of these numbers was due to war activity between the Ottomans and the Armenians. In return, the Armenians during their brief statehood from 1918 to 1920, wiped out a good portion of the Ottoman population in Eastern Turkey and Caucasia. The total Ottoman casualties were somewhere between 1.5 to 2 million, greater portion of which was again due to famine, disease, and cold. And, in its barest form, this is the truth backed by documents not by hatred filled propaganda. The 1.5 million Armenian casualty figure is a cliché resulting from open bidding by zealot propagandists. Serious research unequivocally proves that the total Armenian population in the whole Ottoman Empire did not exceed 1.5 million prior to 1915.

Second, the alleged point in Baum's article that the Armenian massacres went unpunished! Let's remember that not only Armenians killed some of the accused Ottoman officials themselves, and the Ottoman government punished some others who were tried for atrocities against the Armenians; but also, the Allied Powers after the First World War set up a war tribunal in Malta to try some 200 Ottoman officials accused of crime. Despite a frantic search of all the world's archives for evidence, not one document was found to charge these people with crime against the Armenians. Consequently, they were all acquitted, in spite of missionary testimonials such as Morgenthau's and others.

It is ironic that Baum's article should stress an "appeal to the Christians to stem the tide of racial hatred". No stronger racial hatred seems to exist today than the one harbored by the Armenians against the Turks. Many of the recent Armenian terrorist acts against the Turkish diplomats were committed by the brainwashed members of the "Tzagharon", namely, "race-worshippers" of the Dashnag Youth Organization. Ironically, again, Tzagharon was set up by an undisputed Armenian Nazi, Karekin Nejdeh, in 1941 (see Atamian, loc cit, page 389).

It is our sincere hope that, Sir, in the name of journalistic fairness and integrity, you will be kind enough to publish this letter in your columns.

Thank you very much,

Sincerely,
UNITED TURKISH AMERICANS

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Tuncer M. Kuzay".

Tuncer M. Kuzay, Ph.D.
President

TMK/akk